

THE SECOND AMENDMENT RIGHTS OF YOUNG ADULTS

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Contents

Introduction.....	495
I. The Supreme Court	499
A. District of Columbia v. Heller.....	499
B. Principles from Other Supreme Court Cases	505
1. The militia is protected by the Second Amendment	505
2. 18-to-20-year-olds have historically been understood as part of the militia	505
3. Militiamen were required to supply their personal arms, which the government could not deprive them of	507
II. Glossary, and cultural background.....	510
A. Glossary of arms and accoutrements in militia laws.....	511
1. Firearms ignition systems	512
2. Types of firearms	514
3. Edged or bladed weapons and accoutrements.....	518
4. Ammunition and related accoutrements.....	520
5. Gun care	521
6. Arms carrying and storage	522
7. Pole arms.....	523
8. Horses and tack accoutrements	524
9. Armor	525
10. Other field gear	525
B. Types of persons covered by arms mandates	526

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C. “Trained to arms from their infancy”	530
III. The Colonial and Founding Periods.....	533
A. New Jersey: “all able-bodied Men, not being Slaves ... between the Ages of sixteen and fifty Years”	536
B. Maryland: “his her or their house”.....	540
C. North Carolina: Land grants for properly armed persons “above the age of fourteen years”	544
D. South Carolina: “all male persons in this Province, from the age of sixteen to sixty years”	548
E. New Hampshire: males under seventy.....	551
F. Delaware: “every Freeholder and taxable Person”	555
G. Pennsylvania: No service “without the consent of his or their parents or guardians, masters or mistresses”	559
H. New York: “every able bodied male person Indians and slaves excepted”.....	564
I. Rhode Island: parents and masters must furnish arms	568
J. Vermont: “the freemen of this Commonwealth, and their sons” ..	570
K. Virginia: “ALL men that are fittinge to beare armes, shall bringe their peices to the church”	573
L. Massachusetts Bay: “from ten yeares ould to the age of sixteen yeares”	583
M. Plymouth Colony: “each man servant”	586
N. Georgia: No going to church without arms	587
O. Connecticut: “all persons shall beare Armes that are above the age sixteene yeeres”	588
IV. Federal Laws	589
V. Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Century State Laws and Cases—and Their Role in Modern Litigation	595
A. State Laws and Cases	596
B. Modern Circuit Cases	601
1. Rene E.	601
2. National Rifle Association v. Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco, Firearms, Explosives	601
3. National Rifle Association v. McCraw	603
4. Horsley v. Trame	604

5. Ezell v. City of Chicago	605
VI. Current State Laws	605
A. State laws with special arms restrictions on young adults	606
B. Policy	611
VII. Conclusion	613

INTRODUCTION

Since the Supreme Court's 2008 decision in *District of Columbia v. Heller*, lower courts have analyzed diverse Second Amendment issues. One question is whether young adults—that is, persons aged 18-to-20—have Second Amendment rights. This article suggests that they do. Indeed, under *Heller*'s originalist methodology, this is an easy question.

Heller provided a methodology for determining whether a person, activity, or arm is protected by the Second Amendment.³ The Court analyzed founding-era sources, including constitutional text and history, to determine the scope of the Second Amendment at the time of ratification.⁴ The Court also looked to 19th century sources, but explained that these “do not provide as much insight into its original meaning as earlier sources.”⁵ We will take the same approach in this article to determine whether young adults aged 18-to-20 have the right to keep and bear arms.

Part I examines what the Supreme Court has said, explicitly and implicitly, about the Second Amendment rights of young adults.

Parts II and III survey colonial and founding-era sources. Part II begins with a glossary of various terms that were used in militia statutes. These show some of the arms and accoutrements that Americans were required to possess. The various items illustrate that the right to arms does not include only firearms and ammunition. The right also includes, for example, edged weapons and gun-cleaning equipment. Part II also describes the arms culture of early America, where it was a point of national pride that people were trained to arms “from their infancy.”

Part III then surveys all the militia statutes from the earliest colonial days through 1800. The survey pays particular attention to two issues. The first is the age for militia service or for other forms of mandatory arms

³ *District of Columbia v. Heller*, 554 U.S. 570, 595 (2008).

⁴ *Id.* at 576 (“In interpreting this text, we are guided by the principle that “[t]he Constitution was written to be understood by the voters; its words and phrases were used in their normal and ordinary as distinguished from technical meaning.”) (quoting *United States v. Sprague*, 282 U.S. 716, 731 (1931)).

⁵ *Id.* at 614.

possession. As the statutes demonstrate, arms possession was mandatory for militiamen and for other categories of people. In some colonies, for example, every head of a house, regardless of gender, had to possess arms. So did men who were too old for militia service. The most common ages for mandatory militia service were from 16 to 60. But by the end of the eighteenth century, the militia mandate had been narrowed in most states to 18 until 45 or 50.

The second issue in Part III is the types of arms that militiamen—and the many other people required to possess arms—were supposed to own. Part III tracks the evolution of these laws, as they become more specific about requiring various accoutrements—such as gun cleaning equipment, holsters, and ammunition storage devices—and the laws' attempts to ensure that the public possesses modern arms.

Part IV describes federal laws regarding the ages for arms possession. These include the 1792 statute making 18-year-olds into members of the federal militia (as they are today, by statute), the 1968 Gun Control Act setting age limits on purchases in gun stores, and the 1994 federal law restricting handgun possession by persons under 18.

Part V covers the five leading post-*Heller* federal circuit court cases on age limits for exercising Second Amendment rights. Two of these cases relied heavily on cases and statutes from the nineteenth century; thus, in the course of discussing the cases, we survey the nineteenth century developments. By the end of the century, a substantial minority of states that placed some restrictions on handgun acquisition by persons under 21.

Finally, Part VI describes some of the present-day state laws that limit firearms acquisition or possession by young adults (18 to 20). Part VI also considers various past and present age limits in American law for different activities, such as voting, vices (e.g., alcohol, gambling), marriage, and the right to keep and bear arms.

In conclusion, this article finds that there is some historical precedent for extra regulation for handgun acquisition by young adults, and very little for extra restrictions on long gun acquisition. Pursuant to *Heller*, extra regulations for young adults may be permissible, but prohibitions or quasi-prohibitions are not. The Second Amendment rights of young adults include a core right affirmed in *Heller*: acquiring and keeping a handgun in the home for lawful self-defense.

I. THE SUPREME COURT

Consider the following syllogism:

The militia has the right to keep and bear arms;
18-to-20-year-olds are part of the militia;
Therefore, 18-to-20-year-olds have the right to keep and bear arms.

The Supreme Court's precedents have held that items one and two are correct.⁶ As will be detailed in Part III, those precedents are correct because colonial and Founding Era militia statutes included young adults.

The *Heller* case affirmed that militiamen have the right to arms and also held that the Second Amendment right is not exclusively for the militia.⁷ Further, according to *Heller*, whoever does have the right to arms has that right for all lawful purposes; these include not only militia service, but also self-defense, hunting, target practice, and so on.⁸

A. *District of Columbia v. Heller*

The *Heller* Court held that the Second Amendment guarantees an individual right, and the right is not dependent on service in a militia. But the Court made clear that the militia is protected. Indeed, all nine Justices agreed that individual militiamen are protected by the Second Amendment. The disagreement between the Justices was whether the right extends beyond the militia, with the majority holding that it does.

The majority stated:

the Second Amendment's prefatory clause announces the purpose for which the right was codified: to prevent elimination of the militia. The prefatory clause does not suggest that preserving the militia was the only reason Americans valued the ancient right; most undoubtedly thought it even more important for self-defense and hunting. But the threat that the new Federal Government would destroy the citizens' militia by taking away their arms

⁶ See discussion *infra* Part I.

⁷ *Heller*, 554 U.S. at 596; see also discussion *infra* Part IA.

⁸ *Id.* at 614 (“[T]he right to keep arms involves, necessarily, the right to use such arms for all the ordinary purposes, and in all the ordinary modes usual in the country, and to which arms are adapted, limited by the duties of a good citizen in times of peace.”) (quoting *Andrews v. State*, 50 Tenn. (3 Heisk.) 165, 178-79 (1871)). Cf. David B. Kopel & Joseph G.S. Greenlee, *The Federal Circuits' Second Amendment Doctrines*, 61 St. L.U.L.J. 193, 204-12 (2017) (surveying post-*Heller* federal Circuit Court decisions, which unanimously find that the right to arms includes self-defense, militia, hunting, target shooting, and all other lawful purposes).

was the reason that right—unlike some other English rights—was codified in a written Constitution.⁹

The dissenting opinions similarly recognized that the Second Amendment prevented the militia from being disarmed. Justice Stevens's dissent stated that "the purpose of the Amendment [was] to protect against congressional disarmament, by whatever means, of the States' militias."¹⁰ The Amendment protects "the collective action of individuals having a duty to serve in the militia that the text directly protects,"¹¹ because the Amendment "was a response to concerns raised during the ratification of the Constitution that the power of Congress to disarm the state militias and create a national standing army posed an intolerable threat to the sovereignty of the several States."¹²

Justice Breyer's dissent noted the "general agreement among the Members of the Court that the principal (if not the only) purpose of the Second Amendment is found in the Amendment's text: the preservation of a 'well regulated Militia.'"¹³ After all, the first clause of "[t]he Amendment itself tells us that militia preservation was first and foremost in the Framers' minds."¹⁴

Although the dissents disagreed with the majority that the right extends beyond the militia, the Court was unanimous that individuals in the militia were fully protected by the Second Amendment, and that the right was codified because the Founders and the public were horrified by the prospect of the government disarming the militia. As explained below, the militias of every colony and state, and the federal militia, included 18-to-20-year-olds. Young adults have been part of the militia from the seventeenth century through the twentyfirst. As Justice Breyer pointed out, the District of Columbia's militia at the time *Heller* was decided included "[e]very able-bodied male citizen resident within the District of Columbia, of the age of 18 years and under the age of 45 years."¹⁵

The *Heller* majority further indicated that 18-to-20-year-olds have Second Amendment rights by explaining:

⁹ *Heller*, 554 U.S. at 599. The majority added: "Does the preface fit with an operative clause that creates an individual right to keep and bear arms? It fits perfectly, once one knows the history that the founding generation knew and that we have described above." *Id.* at 598. Because one reason the right was codified was to protect the militia, an interpretation that did not include the entire militia would destroy this "perfect fit."

¹⁰ *Id.* at 660–61 (Stevens, J., dissenting). Justice Stevens's dissent was joined by Justices Souter, Ginsburg, and Breyer.

¹¹ *Id.* at 645.

¹² *Id.* at 637.

¹³ *Id.* at 706 (Breyer, J., dissenting). Justice Breyer's dissent was joined by Justices Souter, Ginsburg, and Stevens.

¹⁴ *Id.* at 715.

¹⁵ D.C. CODE ANN. § 49-401 (West 1889); *Heller*, 554 U.S. at 707 (Breyer, J., dissenting).

the ordinary definition of the militia [i]s all able-bodied men. From that pool, Congress has plenary power to organize the units that will make up an effective fighting force. That is what Congress did in the first Militia Act, which specified that “each and every free able-bodied white male citizen of the respective states, resident therein, who is or shall be of the age of eighteen years, and under the age of forty-five years (except as is herein after excepted) shall severally and respectively be enrolled in the militia.” Act of May 8, 1792, 1 Stat. 271. To be sure, Congress need not conscript every able-bodied man into the militia, because nothing in Article I suggests that in exercising its power to organize, discipline, and arm the militia, Congress must focus upon the entire body. Although the militia consists of all able-bodied men, the federally organized militia may consist of a subset of them.¹⁶

Because the militia consists of “all able-bodied men,” because “Congress has plenary power to organize ... an effective fighting force” “from that pool” of “able-bodied men,” and because “[t]hat is what Congress did in the first Militia Act” by organizing the able-bodied men between eighteen and forty-five, the Court recognized 18-to-20-year-olds as part of the militia; as such, they necessarily have the right to keep and bear arms.

Perhaps, one could argue, that although 18-to-20-year-olds were part of the militia, they were not trusted with arms outside of their militia service. But the *Heller* majority rejects this, since it affirms the right to arms for all lawful purposes.¹⁷ While the English militia of the time was often supplied with centrally-stored arms that were only brought out for practice days, American militiamen were expected to keep their own arms at home, and to be proficient with those arms.¹⁸

As *Heller* explained, “the conception of the militia at the time of the Second Amendment’s ratification was the body of all citizens capable of military service, who would bring the sorts of lawful weapons that they

¹⁶ *Heller*, 554 U.S. at 596.

¹⁷ *Id.* at 636-37 (“Whether [the Second Amendment] also protects the right to possess and use guns for nonmilitary purposes like hunting and personal self-defense is the question presented by this case. The text of the Amendment, its history, and our decision in *United States v. Miller*, 307 U.S. 174, 59 S.Ct. 816, 83 L.Ed. 1206 (1939), provide a clear answer to that question.” (citation omitted)). See also *McDonald v. City of Chicago*, 561 U.S. 742, 780 (2010) (“the Second Amendment protects a personal right to keep and bear arms for lawful purposes, most notably for self-defense within the home.”); *Caetano v. Massachusetts*, 136 S. Ct. 1027, 1028 (2016) (per curiam) (“the [lower] court used ‘a contemporary lens’ and found ‘nothing in the record to suggest that [stun guns] are readily adaptable to use in the military.’ But *Heller* rejected the proposition ‘that only those weapons useful in warfare are protected.’”) (citing *Heller*, 554 U.S. at 624-25) (internal citation omitted).

¹⁸ NICHOLAS J. JOHNSON, DAVID B. KOPEL, GEORGE A. MOCSARY & MICHAEL P. O’SHEA, *FIREARMS LAWS AND THE SECOND AMENDMENT: REGULATION, RIGHTS, AND POLICY* 110-11, 136-40, 175-86, 237-40 (2d ed. 2017) (comparing and contrasting English and American militia and arms cultures and laws).

possessed at home to militia duty.”¹⁹ The Court quoted with approval a previous Supreme Court decision, *United States v. Miller*, discussed *infra*, which stated that “ordinarily when called for [militia] service [able-bodied] men were expected to appear bearing arms supplied by themselves and of the kind in common use at the time.”²⁰

The Court also quoted “the most famous” late 19th-century legal scholar: “judge and professor Thomas Cooley, who wrote a massively popular 1868 Treatise on Constitutional Limitations.” Cooley explained that “[t]he alternative to a standing army is ‘a well-regulated militia,’ but this cannot exist unless the people are trained to bearing arms.”²¹ Further, as quoted by the Court, “to bear arms implies something more than the mere keeping; it implies the learning to handle and use them in a way that makes those who keep them ready for their efficient use.”²²

Similarly, the Court quoted John Norton Pomeroy, another late-19th-century scholar, stating that the purpose of the Second Amendment is

to secure a well-armed militia But a militia would be useless unless the citizens were enabled to exercise themselves in the use of warlike weapons. To preserve this privilege, and to secure to the people the ability to oppose themselves in military force against the usurpations of government, as well as against enemies from without, that government is forbidden by any law or proceeding to invade or destroy the right to keep and bear arms.²³

And the Court quoted Benjamin Vaughan Abbott, another late-19th-century scholar, who said: “Some general knowledge of firearms is important to the public welfare; because it would be impossible, in case of war, to organize promptly an efficient force of volunteers unless the people had some familiarity with weapons of war.”²⁴

The *Heller* dissent was of a similar mind, explaining that “the Framers recognized the dangers inherent in relying on inadequately trained militiamen ‘as the primary means of providing for the common defense.’”²⁵ The dissent acknowledged that “during the Revolutionary War, ‘[t]his force, though armed, was largely untrained, and its deficiencies were the subject of

¹⁹ *Heller*, 554 U.S. at 627.

²⁰ *Id.* at 624 (quoting *United States v. Miller*, 307 U.S. at 179).

²¹ *Heller*, 554 U.S. at 616-17.

²² *Id.* at 617-18 (quoting THOMAS M. COOLEY, THE GENERAL PRINCIPLES OF CONSTITUTIONAL LAW IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA 271 (1880)); *Id.* at 617 (“Cooley understood the right not as connected to militia service, but as securing the militia by ensuring a populace familiar with arms.”).

²³ *Id.* at 618 (quoting J.N. POMEROY, AN INTRODUCTION TO THE CONSTITUTIONAL LAW OF THE UNITED STATES § 239 152-53 (1868)).

²⁴ *Id.* at 619 (citing B. ABBOTT, JUDGE AND JURY: A POPULAR EXPLANATION OF THE LEADING TOPICS IN THE LAW OF THE LAND 333 (1880)).

²⁵ *Id.* at 653 (quoting *Perpich v. Dep’t of Def.*, 496 U.S. 334, 340 (1990)).

bitter complaint.”²⁶ The dissent quoted George Washington stating that, “The firmness requisite for the real business of fighting is only to be attained by a constant course of discipline and service.”²⁷ And Alexander Hamilton, who wrote that “War, like most other things, is a science to be acquired and perfected by diligence, by perseverance, by time, and by practice.”²⁸

These sources show that those in the militia were expected not only to provide their own arms, but also to practice with them frequently. All nine Justices shared that understanding.

The majority made clear that the right included, but was not limited to, the militia. “‘Keep arms’ was simply a common way of referring to possessing arms, for militiamen *and everyone else*.”²⁹ The Court cited an opinion by the Georgia Supreme Court which “perfectly captured the way in which the operative clause of the Second Amendment furthers the purpose announced in the prefatory clause...”:

The right of the whole people, *old and young*, men, *women and boys*, and *not militia only*, to keep and bear arms of every description, and not such merely as are used by the militia, shall not be infringed, curtailed, or broken in upon, in the smallest degree; and all this for the important end to be attained: the rearing up and qualifying a well-regulated militia, so vitally necessary to the security of a free State.³⁰

Heller’s most definitive recognition that 18-to-20-year-olds have Second Amendment rights came in the Court’s discussion of who “the people” in the Second Amendment are. The operative clause of the Second Amendment states that “the right of *the people* to keep and bear arms, shall not be infringed.”³¹ As the Court observed, “*the ‘militia’ in colonial America*

²⁶ *Id.* (citing Frederick Bernays Wiener, *The Militia Clause of the Constitution*, 54 HARV. L. REV. 181, 182 (1940)).

²⁷ *Id.* at 654.

²⁸ *Id.* at 653 n.17 (Stevens, J., dissenting) (The Federalist No. 25). While these statements from Washington and Hamilton expressed frustration with the militia, they nonetheless demonstrate that the Founders rejected the idea of disarming a substantial segment of the militia, leaving them largely untrained and unfamiliar with firearms when called to duty. *See also* MARK W. KWASNY, WASHINGTON’S PARTISAN WAR: 1775–1783, at 337–38 (1996) (“Washington learned to recognize both the strengths and the weaknesses of the militia. As regular soldiers, militiamen were deficient....He therefore increasingly detached Continentals to support them when operating against the British army....Militiamen were available everywhere and could respond to sudden attacks and invasions often faster than the army could. Washington therefore used the militia units in the states to provide local defense, to suppress Loyalists, and to rally to the army in case of an invasion....Washington made full use of the partisan qualities of the militia forces around him. He used them in small parties to harass and raid the army, and to guard all the places he could not send Continentals....Rather than try to turn the militia into a regular fighting force, he used and exploited its irregular qualities in a partisan war against the British and Tories.”).

²⁹ *Heller*, 554 U.S. at 583 (emphasis in original).

³⁰ *Id.* at 612–13 (quoting *Nunn v. State*, 1 Ga. 243, 251 (1846)) (emphasis added).

³¹ U.S. CONST., amend. II (emphasis added).

consisted of a subset of ‘the people’—those who were male, able bodied, and within a certain age range.”³² Thus, because 18-to-20-year-olds were part of the militia, 18-to-20-year-olds were also part of “the people.” It is “*the right of the people to keep and bear arms*” that the Second Amendment protects.³³

As *Heller* observed, “Logic demands that there be a link between the stated purpose and the command.”³⁴ The prefatory clause may assist in interpreting the operative clause.³⁵ The Second Amendment’s prefatory clause makes it clear that, at a minimum, the main clause protects the entire militia.

The *Heller* Court held that the core of the Second Amendment includes keeping a handgun in the home for lawful defense.³⁶ The Supreme Court reiterated that holding in *McDonald v. City of Chicago*.³⁷ In the modern United States, some young adults maintain their own homes. Some of them are married. Some of them are raising children in their home. To deprive these householders of the right to possess a handgun in their homes for lawful defense thus infringes on the core of their Second Amendment rights.

The Supreme Court’s “first in-depth examination of the Second Amendment”³⁸ demonstrated that 18-to-20-year-olds have Second Amendment rights, because: 1) the militia is protected by the Second Amendment; 2) 18-to-20-year-olds have historically been understood as part of the militia; and 3) militiamen were required to supply their personal arms, which the government could not deprive them of. But the Court had established this long before *Heller*.

³² *Heller*, 554 U.S. at 580 (emphasis added). Elsewhere, the majority quoted Thomas Cooley with approval: “The meaning of the provision undoubtedly is, that *the people, from whom the militia must be taken*, shall have the right to keep and bear arms.” *Id.* at 617 (emphasis added). The quotation similarly treats the militia as a subset of “the people.”

³³ The Court’s full discussion on “the people”:
What is more, in all six other provisions of the Constitution that mention “the people,” the term unambiguously refers to all members of the political community, not an unspecified subset. As we said in *United States v. Verdugo-Urquidez*, 494 U.S. 259, 265, 110 S.Ct. 1056, 108 L.Ed.2d 222 (1990):

“‘[T]he people’ seems to have been a term of art employed in select parts of the Constitution [Its uses] sugges[t] that ‘the people’ protected by the Fourth Amendment, and by the First and Second Amendments, and to whom rights and powers are reserved in the Ninth and Tenth Amendments, refers to a class of persons who are part of a national community or who have otherwise developed sufficient connection with this country to be considered part of that community.”

This contrasts markedly with the phrase “the militia” in the prefatory clause. As we will describe below, the “militia” in colonial America consisted of a subset of “the people”—those who were male, able bodied, and within a certain age range.

Heller, 554 U.S. at 580.

³⁴ *Id.* at 577.

³⁵ *Id.* at 577-78.

³⁶ *Id.* at 628, 635 (“the home [is] where the need for defense of self, family, and property is most acute;” “the right of law-abiding, responsible citizens to use arms in defense of hearth and home.”).

³⁷ *McDonald v. City of Chicago*, 561 U.S. 742, 886 (2010).

³⁸ *Heller*, 554 U.S. at 635.

B. Principles from Other Supreme Court Cases

1. *The militia is protected by the Second Amendment*

While the text of the Second Amendment³⁹ is sufficient to prove that the Founders understood the militia as having the right to keep and bear arms, the Court emphasized the point in *United States v. Miller*:⁴⁰ “With obvious purpose to assure the continuation and render possible the effectiveness of [militia] forces the declaration and guarantee of the Second Amendment were made. It must be interpreted and applied with that end in view.”⁴¹ While *Miller* has been criticized for its “conceptually flawed concentration on the amendment’s militia purpose,”⁴² since the case had little to do with the militia, *Miller* correctly affirmed that the Second Amendment prevents the government from rendering militia forces ineffective. Disarming 18-to-20-year-olds would render them ineffective militia forces in the Founders’ view, especially because militiamen were expected to provide their own arms.

2. *18-to-20-year-olds have historically been understood as part of the militia*

That 18-to-20-year-olds were included in the federal militia and each state’s militia at the time of the founding will be established below, in Parts III and IV. But it is also important to note that the Supreme Court has in every instance understood the militia to include 18-to-20-year-olds.

Citing the constitutional militia, as identified in Article 1, Section 8 of the Constitution, the Court in *Hamilton v. Regents of the University of California*, explained that “[u]ndoubtedly every state has authority to train its able-bodied male citizens of suitable age appropriately to develop fitness, should any such duty be laid upon them, to serve in the United States Army or in state militia (always liable to be called forth by federal authority to execute the laws of the Union, suppress insurrection, or repel invasion...)”⁴³ The *Hamilton* case involved university students who did not wish to participate in the mandatory militia training required by state law. Then as now, many students at the University of California were ages 18 to 20.

³⁹ The Second Amendment provides: “A well regulated Militia, being necessary to the security of a free State, the right of the people to keep and bear Arms, shall not be infringed.” U.S. CONST., amend. II.

⁴⁰ *United States v. Miller*, 307 U.S. 174, 178 (1939).

⁴¹ *Id.* at 178.

⁴² Don B. Kates, *Handgun Prohibition and the Original Meaning of the Second Amendment*, 82 MICH. L. REV. 204, 259 (1983).

⁴³ *Hamilton v. Regents of the Univ. of Cal.*, 293 U.S. 245, 260 (1934) (citing U.S. CONST., art. 1, § 8, cls. 12, 15 and 16).

The *Miller* Court recognized that “the debates in the Convention, the history and legislation of Colonies and States, and the writings of approved commentators . . . show plainly enough that the Militia comprised all males physically capable of acting in concert for the common defense. ‘A body of citizens enrolled for military discipline.’”⁴⁴ *Miller* then offered examples:

The General Court of Massachusetts in 1784 “provided for the organization and government of the Militia. It directed that the Train Band should ‘contain all able bodied men, from sixteen to forty years of age, and the Alarm List, all other men under sixty years of age.’”⁴⁵

The New York Legislature in 1786 “directed: ‘That every able-bodied Male Person, being a Citizen of this State, or of any of the United States, and residing in this State, (except such Persons as are herein after excepted) and who are of the Age of Sixteen, and under the Age of Forty-five Years, shall . . . be enrolled.’”⁴⁶

The General Assembly of Virginia in 1785, the U.S. Supreme Court explained, “directed that ‘All free male persons between the ages of eighteen and fifty years,’ with certain exceptions, ‘shall be inrolled or formed into companies.’”⁴⁷

In *Perpich v. Department of Defense*, the Court acknowledged that “[i]n the early years of the Republic” Congress “command[ed] that every able-bodied male citizen between the ages of 18 and 45 be enrolled” in the militia.⁴⁸ *Perpich* also pointed out that at the turn of the twentieth century, the “The Dick Act divided the class of able-bodied male citizens between 18 and 45 years of age into an ‘organized militia’ to be known as the National Guard of the several States, and the remainder of which was then described as the ‘reserve militia,’ and which later statutes have termed the ‘unorganized militia.’”⁴⁹ As the Court noted, “[i]t is undisputed that Congress was acting pursuant to the Militia Clauses of the Constitution in passing the Dick Act.”⁵⁰

In *Presser v. Illinois*, the Court declared:

It is undoubtedly true that *all citizens capable of bearing arms* constitute the reserved military force or reserve militia of the United States as well as of the states, and, in view of this prerogative of the general government, as well as of its general powers, the states cannot, even laying the constitutional provision in question out of view, prohibit *the people* from

⁴⁴ *Miller*, 307 U.S. at 179. This language was favorably quoted in *Heller*, 554 U.S. at 595.

⁴⁵ *Id.* at 180 (quoting The General Court of Massachusetts, January Session 1784 (Laws and Resolves 1784, c. 55, pp. 140, 142)).

⁴⁶ *Id.* at 180-81 (quoting New York Legislature, an Act passed April 4, 1786 (Laws 1786, c. 25)).

⁴⁷ *Id.* at 181 (quoting The General Assembly of Virginia, 1785 (12 Hening’s Statutes, c. 1, p. 9 et seq.)).

⁴⁸ *Perpich v. Dep’t of Def.*, 496 U.S. 334, 341-43 (1990).

⁴⁹ *Id.* at 342.

⁵⁰ *Id.*

keeping and bearing arms, so as to deprive the United States of their rightful resource for maintaining the public security, and disable *the people* from performing their duty to the general government.⁵¹

Thus, the *Presser* Court, like the *Heller* Court, specified that the militia is part of “the people”—as in “the people” who have the right “to keep and bear arms” protected by the Second Amendment.⁵² The militia identified by the *Presser* Court consists of “all citizens capable of bearing arms,” which most certainly includes 18-to-20-year-olds, since the federal militia statute at the time included 18-to-20-year-olds.⁵³

3. Militiamen were required to supply their personal arms, which the government could not deprive them of

According to the Supreme Court, militiamen were required to provide their own private firearms and were expected to achieve and maintain proficiency with those arms to ensure the effectiveness of the militia.

As *Miller* put it, “the debates in the Convention, the history and legislation of Colonies and States, and the writings of approved commentators . . . show . . . that ordinarily when called for service these men [in the militia] were expected to appear bearing arms *supplied by themselves* and of the kind in common use at the time.”⁵⁴ The *Miller* Court provided founding-era examples from Massachusetts, New York, and Virginia: New York required “[t]hat every Citizen so enrolled and notified . . . provide himself, at his own Expense, with a good Musket or Firelock, a sufficient Bayonet and Belt, a Pouch with a Box therein to contain not less than Twenty-four Cartridges suited to the Bore of his Musket or Firelock, each Cartridge containing a proper Quantity of Powder and Ball, two spare Flints, a Blanket and Knapsack.”⁵⁵

⁵¹ *Presser v. Illinois*, 116 U.S. 252, 265-66 (1886) (emphasis added).

⁵² *Cf. Voisine v. United States*, 136 S. Ct. 2272, 2291 (2016) (Thomas, J., dissenting) (“To be constitutional, therefore, a law that broadly frustrates an individual’s right to keep and bear arms must target individuals who are beyond the scope of the ‘People’ protected by the Second Amendment.”).

⁵³ *See infra* Part IV.

Following precedent, the Court’s opinion in *McDonald* incorporated the Second Amendment on the basis of the Fourteenth Amendment’s Due Process Clause, which protects every “person.” Concurring, Justice Thomas preferred to use the Fourteenth Amendment’s Privileges or Immunities Clause, which protects “citizens.” *McDonald*, 561 U.S. at 850 (Thomas, J., concurring). Because non-citizens who have declared their intent to naturalize are subject to militia duty, they would have to be within the scope of “the militia” and therefore “the people” who are protected by the Second Amendment. *See* 10 U.S.C. § 246 (2019) (including in the militia all able-bodied males from 17 to 45 “who are, or who have made a declaration of intention to become, citizens of the United States.”)

⁵⁴ *Miller*, 307 U.S. at 179 (emphasis added).

⁵⁵ *Id.* at 180–81 (quoting New York Legislature, an Act passed April 4, 1786 (Laws 1786, c. 25)).

Massachusetts mandated each militiaman to “equip himself, and be constantly provided with a good fire arm, &c.”⁵⁶

Under Virginia law,

The defense and safety of the commonwealth depend upon having its citizens properly armed and taught the knowledge of military duty.” So “[e]very officer and soldier shall appear . . . armed, equipped, and accoutred, as follows: * * * every non-commissioned officer and private with a good, clean musket carrying an ounce ball, and three feet eight inches long in the barrel, with a good bayonet and iron ramrod well fitted thereto, a cartridge box properly made, to contain and secure twenty cartridges fitted to his musket, a good knapsack and canteen, and moreover, each non-commissioned officer and private shall have at every muster one pound of good powder, and four pounds of lead, including twenty blind cartridges . . . And every of the said officers, non-commissioned officers, and privates, *shall constantly keep* the aforesaid arms, accoutrements, and ammunition, ready to be produced whenever called for by his commanding officer.”⁵⁷

Recently, in the 2016 *Caetano v. Massachusetts*, the Court reaffirmed that “*Miller* and *Heller* recognized that militiamen traditionally reported for duty carrying ‘the sorts of lawful weapons that they possessed at home.’”⁵⁸

Or as the 1990 Court said in *Perpich*, “in the early years of the Republic, Congress . . . command[ed] that every able-bodied male citizen between the ages of 18 and 45 . . . *equip himself* with appropriate weaponry....”⁵⁹ The Court wrote that Congress’s “choice of a dual enlistment system [for the militia] is just as permissible as the 1792 choice to have the members of the militia arm themselves.”⁶⁰

⁵⁶ *Id.* at 180 (quoting The General Court of Massachusetts, Jan. sess. 1784 (Laws and Resolves 1784, c. 55, pp. 140, 142)).

As in some other states, militiamen “under the control of parents, masters or guardians” were expected to be supplied with arms by their parents, masters, or guardians. General Court of Massachusetts, *supra*, at 142–43. *See also* Part III (listing statutes that required parents, masters, or guardians to supply arms to their dependents). In a militia where duty began at age 16, there would be plenty of militiamen who were not yet living independently, and who could not afford their own arms. As for young people who were already supporting themselves, they typically had to provide their own arms.

Citing seventeenth century laws from the colony of Massachusetts, *Miller* noted that “[c]lauses intended to insure the possession of arms and ammunition by all who were subject to military service appear in all the important enactments concerning military affairs.” *Miller*, 307 U.S. at 180 (citing Osgood, 1 The American Colonies In The 17th Century, ch. XIII).

⁵⁷ *Miller*, 307 U.S. at 181–82 (The General Assembly of Virginia, October, 1785 (12 Hening’s Statutes c. 1, p. 9 et seq.)) (emphasis added).

⁵⁸ *Caetano v. Massachusetts*, 136 S. Ct. 1027, 1032 (2016).

⁵⁹ *Perpich v. Dep’t of Def.*, 496 U.S. 334, 341–43 (1990) (emphasis added).

⁶⁰ *Id.* at 350. Under the modern dual enlistment system, volunteers in the National Guard dually enlist in the National Guard of their state and in the National Guard of the United States. The Guardsmen are state actors unless called into federal service. In either capacity, their arms are supplied by the federal government. The National Guard is the “organized” part of the militia. 10 U.S.C. § 246

The Court said something similar in *Houston v. Moore* in 1820.⁶¹ The Court stated that the congressional militia statutes were within Congress's enumerated Article I militia power to declare "what arms and accoutrements the officers and privates shall provide themselves with."⁶²

In other cases, the Court has confirmed that depriving militiamen of their personal arms would violate their right to keep and bear arms. As discussed above, the *Presser* Court explained that because the Constitution authorizes Congress to call forth the armed citizenry, "the states cannot . . . prohibit the people from keeping and bearing arms, so as to deprive the United States of their rightful resource for maintaining the public security, and disable the people from performing their duty to the general government."⁶³ Since Congress needs to be able to depend on the people being armed, the states cannot disarm them. The *Presser* Court's vision depends on an armed populace.⁶⁴

In *McDonald*, the Court found

the 39th Congress' response to proposals to disband and disarm the Southern militias is instructive. Despite recognizing and deploring the abuses of these militias, the 39th Congress balked at a proposal to disarm them. Disarmament, it was argued, would violate the members' right to

(2019). The "unorganized" militia is all other able-bodied males ages 18 to 45, except for ministers and other exempt persons. 10 U.S.C. § 247 (2019).

⁶¹ *Houston v. Moore*, 18 U.S. (5 Wheat.) 1 (1820).

⁶² *Id.* at 14.

⁶³ *Presser v. Illinois*, 116 U.S. 252, 265-66 (1886); U.S. CONST., art I, § 8, cl. 16 ("To provide for calling forth the Militia to execute the Laws of the Union, suppress Insurrections and repel Invasions.") (Calling Forth Clause).

The *Presser* point was reiterated with approval in a 1900 case:

In *Presser v. Illinois*, 116 U. S. 252, 29 L. ed. 615, 6 Sup. Ct. Rep. 580, it was held that the Second Amendment to the Constitution, in regard to the right of the people to bear arms, is a limitation only on the power of Congress and the national government, and not of the states. It was therein said, however, that as all citizens capable of bearing arms constitute the reserved military force of the national government the states could not prohibit the people from keeping and bearing arms, so as to deprive the United States of their rightful resource for maintaining the public security, and disable the people from performing their duty to the general government.

Maxwell v. Dow, 176 U.S. 581, 597 (1900), *abrogated on other grounds* by *Williams v. Florida*, 399 U.S. 78 (1970). *Presser* had been interpreted to hold that the right to keep and bear arms is not one of the Fourteenth Amendment "privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States" protected from state infringement. Similar holdings applied to most of the rest of the Bill of Rights. The work of incorporating items in the Bill of Rights into the Fourteenth Amendment has instead been accomplished by the Due Process of Law clause of the Fourteenth Amendment. *See, e.g., McDonald v. City of Chicago*, 561 U.S. 742 (2010) (plurality opinion by Justice Alito relies on Due Process; concurrence by Justice Thomas relies on Privileges or Immunities).

⁶⁴ *See also Houston*, 18 U.S. (5 Wheat.) at 52 (Story, J., dissenting) ("Yet what would the militia be without organization, arms, and discipline?").

bear arms, and it was ultimately decided to disband the militias but not to disarm their members.⁶⁵

Thus, the *McDonald* Court suggested what the *Presser* Court flat out said: individual militiamen could not be deprived of their private firearms.

Nothing the Supreme Court has ever written about the militia can be construed to exclude 18-to-20-year-olds. The Court has repeatedly confirmed that militiamen were expected to provide their own private firearms, and to be proficient with those arms. What is more, the Court has twice stated that the militia is a subset of “the people”—the same “people” the Second Amendment protects. Finally, the Court has recognized that any law that would disarm “the people”—and especially the militia—would be unlawful.

The Court’s unwavering descriptions of the militia and the young adults therein are solidly supported by the historical record. Besides the colonial period and Founding Era sources quoted by the Court above, we will in Part III examine *every* colonial and state militia statute up to 1800. They demonstrate that young adults are part of the militia.

II. GLOSSARY, AND CULTURAL BACKGROUND

Before surveying the early state laws, we provide some background. Part A is a glossary of terms used in colonial and state laws regarding equipment that members of the public were required to possess. As will be detailed in Part III, the requirements often applied beyond militiamen. The arms mandates encompassed the militia, many males not in the militia, and sometimes women.

Previous scholarship has not paid much attention to the particular arms that were required. Because American discussion of the right to keep and bear arms has been so fixated on gun control, scholars have noted that most militiamen needed a long gun, while officers and cavalry needed handguns. This is true as far as it goes, but there was much more. Requirements for a knife, a sword, or both were very common.

Of course ammunition was mandatory. Post-*Heller*, courts have readily accepted that ammunition is part of the right to arms and is likewise subject to the arms rights limits that were articulated in *Heller*.⁶⁶ In addition to the

⁶⁵ *McDonald*, 561 U.S. at 780 (citations omitted).

⁶⁶ See, e.g., *Jackson v. City & Cty. of San Francisco*, 746 F.3d 953, 967-68 (9th Cir. 2014) (“the right to possess firearms for protection implies a corresponding right to obtain the bullets necessary to use them”) (internal quotations omitted); *United States v. Pruess*, 703 F.3d 242, 245 (4th Cir. 2012) (treating Supreme Court legal rules about guns as having the same meaning for ammunition); *Ezell v. City of Chicago*, 651 F.3d 684, 704 (7th Cir. 2011) (“The right to possess firearms for protection implies a corresponding right to acquire and maintain proficiency in their use; the core right wouldn’t mean much without the training and practice that make it effective.”); *Herrington v.*

ammunition that would have to be brought to militia muster, further reserves kept at ammunition were required.⁶⁷

Also mandatory was equipment for the cleaning and carrying of arms and ammunition. Horsemen had to have certain horse tack, and everyone needed various field gear, such as knapsacks and blankets.

Next, in Part B, we explain the American attitude that prevailed during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries: part of what makes America different from—and better than—Europe, is that Americans start becoming proficient with arms when they are children.

A. Glossary of arms and accoutrements in militia laws

English spelling did not begin to become standardized until the late eighteenth century, so the reader will find that the statutes spell many of the words below in diverse ways.

The militia statutes required possession of arms (e.g., guns, swords), ammunition, and also equipment for arms—including repair, maintenance, carrying, storage, and home manufacture. The most common term for the other items was *accoutrements*: “Generally defined as a soldier’s personal equipment excepting clothes and weapons.”⁶⁸ These would include “cartridge boxes, pouches, belts, scabbards, canteens, knapsacks, powder horns, etc.”⁶⁹ They are necessarily part of the Second Amendment right, since

United States, 6 A.3d 1237, 1243 (D.C. 2010) (right to ammunition is coextensive with the right to firearms); *Andrews v. State*, 50 Tenn. (3 Heisk.) 165, 178 (1871) (“The right to keep arms, necessarily involves the right . . . to purchase and provide ammunition suitable for such arms”).

⁶⁷ A muster is a periodic assembly of militiamen; the militiamen must prove that they have the certain requisite arms by bringing them the muster. To “pass muster” is to pass the inspection. A muster would not necessarily involve drill or practice. As detailed in Part III, some militia statutes required militiamen (and others) to possess reserves of bullets and gunpowder at home, beyond the quantity that would have to be brought to muster.

⁶⁸ GEORGE C. NEUMANN & FRANK J. KRAVIC, *COLLECTOR’S ILLUSTRATED ENCYCLOPEDIA OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION* 8 (1975); see also *Accoutrements Definition*, CHARLES JAMES, *AN UNIVERSAL MILITARY DICTIONARY* (4th ed. 1816) (“ACCOUTREMENTS, in a military sense, signify habits, equipage, or furniture of a soldier, such as buffs, belts, pouches, cartridge boxes, &c.”).

An older, similar term was “furniture,” in the sense of furnishing. For example, the first written guarantee of arms rights in Anglo-American law was the 1606 Virginia charter. It gave settlers the perpetual right to import “the Goods, Chattels, Armour, Munition, and Furniture, needful to be used by them, for their said Apparel, Food, Defence or otherwise.” 7 *Federal and State Constitutions Colonial Charters, and Other Organic Laws of the States, Territories, and Colonies Now or Heretofore Forming the United States of America* 3783, 3786 (Francis Newton Thorpe ed., 1909). As of 1606 (and for long after), the word “armor” included arms. The word “apparel” in the Virginia Charter had the narrow meaning of equipment for fighting, including defensive clothing, and the broader meaning of other necessities, such as ordinary clothing.

⁶⁹ NEUMANN & KRAVIC, *supra* note 68, at 8.

they are necessary to the use of arms.⁷⁰ In the same sense, “the freedom of the press” is not just about owning printing presses, but also includes the relevant accessories, such as printing ink, ink magazines, moveable type, etc., and indeed the entire system of gathering, publishing, and distributing periodicals, pamphlets, and books.⁷¹

1. *Firearms ignition systems*

Matchlock. When the English settlers began arriving in Virginia in 1607, the predominant ignition system for firearms was the matchlock. When the trigger is pulled, a slow-burning cord is lowered to a small pan (the *priming pan* or *firing pan*). The lit end of the cord ignites a small quantity of gunpowder in the firing pan. The flame from the gunpowder travels along a narrow channel to the touch-hole—a small hole next to the main charge of gunpowder, in the gun’s barrel. The flame that enters via the touchhole ignites the main powder charge.

The matchlock was the main type of ignition system in Great Britain during the seventeenth century.⁷² Although the first English settlers came to America with matchlocks, Americans upgraded to more sophisticated guns (flintlocks) much earlier than the British did, because the burning cord makes it much more difficult to have a firearm always ready for immediate use. The

⁷⁰ Constitutional rights thus implicitly protect those closely related acts necessary to their exercise. “There comes a point ... at which the regulation of action intimately and unavoidably connected with [a right] is a regulation of [the right] itself.” *Hill v. Colorado*, 530 U.S. 703, 745, 120 S.Ct. 2480, 147 L.Ed.2d 597 (2000) (Scalia, J., dissenting). The right to keep and bear arms, for example, “implies a corresponding right to obtain the bullets necessary to use them,” *Jackson v. City and County of San Francisco*, 746 F.3d 953, 967 (C.A.9 2014) (internal quotation marks omitted), and “to acquire and maintain proficiency in their use,” *Ezell v. Chicago*, 651 F.3d 684, 704 (C.A.7 2011). See *District of Columbia v. Heller*, 554 U.S. 570, 617-618, 128 S.Ct. 2783, 171 L.Ed.2d 637 (2008) (citing T. Cooley, *General Principles of Constitutional Law* 271 (2d ed. 1891) (discussing the implicit right to train with weapons)); *United States v. Miller*, 307 U.S. 174, 180, 59 S.Ct. 816, 83 L.Ed. 1206 (1939) (citing 1 H. Osgood, *The American Colonies in the 17th Century* 499 (1904) (discussing the implicit right to possess ammunition)); *Andrews v. State*, 50 Tenn. 165, 178 (1871) (discussing both rights). Without protection for these closely related rights, the Second Amendment would be toothless. Likewise, the First Amendment “right to speak would be largely ineffective if it did not include the right to engage in financial transactions that are the incidents of its exercise.” *McConnell v. Federal Election Comm’n*, 540 U.S. 93, 252, 124 S.Ct. 619, 157 L.Ed.2d 491 (2003) (Scalia, J., concurring in part, concurring in judgment in part, and dissenting in part).

The same goes for the Sixth Amendment and the financial resources required to obtain a lawyer...

Luis v. United States, 136 S. Ct. 1083, 1097-98 (2016) (Thomas, J., concurring).

⁷¹ In the Bill of Rights, “the press” and “arms” are synecdoches. That is, they use a part of a term to refer to the whole—like calling an automobile “my wheels.” “The press” refers not only to printing presses, but also to communications that do not involve a printing press, such as handwritten flyers or television broadcasting. Likewise, “arms” includes defensive devices (armor) and devices that raise an alarm (literally, a call to arms). See David B. Kopel, *The First Amendment Guide to the Second Amendment*, 81 TENN. L. REV. 417, 448 (2014).

⁷² JOHNSON ET AL., *supra* note 18, at 140-42.

matchlock's burning cord also impeded concealment in the woods.⁷³ Matchlocks usually did not work at all in the rain, and only sometimes in the damp.⁷⁴ The safety problem of burning rope near gunpowder is apparent.

The slow-burning cord is called the *match* or *match rope*.⁷⁵ The cord burns on both ends.⁷⁶ When matchlocks were the predominant firearm, militia statutes might also specify the requirement for a sufficient quantity of match, expressed by the total length of match rope.

Firelock or *flintlock*.⁷⁷ In a flintlock, the gunpowder is ignited by flint striking a piece of steel and producing sparks. The steel is a part of the gun. The flint (which eventually wears out and must be replaced) is held in the jaws of a movable vise that is a part of the gun.

Flintlocks are faster to reload and to fire than matchlocks. And they are much less likely to *misfire* (fail to ignite).⁷⁸

Many militia statutes from the latter eighteenth century specify that the firearm must be a firelock *or* some more specific type of firearm (e.g., musket, rifle). This is a violation of the rule against surplusage, since the other type of firearm would still be a flintlock. The rule against surplusage was not as prominent in eighteenth century drafting as it is today.

Lock, gun lock. What we today call the *action* of a firearm. It is the part of the gun that performs the mechanical work of firing the ammunition. It has small moving parts that must be carefully fitted to each other. The distinction between a matchlock and a flintlock was the difference in the lock.

All of the types of guns described in the next section could be either matchlocks or flintlocks (except when specifically noted otherwise). Matchlocks were the most common in the early seventeenth century, but were subsequently displaced by flintlocks. As noted above, Americans were

⁷³ *Id.* at 220.

⁷⁴ *Id.*

⁷⁵ GEORGE C. NEUMANN, BATTLE WEAPONS OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION 6 (2011).

⁷⁶ *Id.* at 6-7. The rope was usually made from flax tow or hemp tow. *Id.* "Tow" is defined *infra*, text at note 140. It was soaked in saltpeter (a gunpowder ingredient). The two ends of the cord would be ignited the same way that any other fire was ignited at the time, such as by striking two pieces of metal against each other, or rubbing two sticks to create a spark. What we call "matches" in the twenty-first century are paper or wood sticks with sesquisulfide of phosphorus attached to the tip. As common consumer items, they were preceded in the nineteenth century by matchsticks with white phosphorus tips. The principle was discovered in 1669, but it was not practical to apply due to the difficulty in obtaining phosphorus. See Anne Marie Helmenstine, *History of Chemical Matches*, THOUGHTCO. (Jan. 3, 2018), <https://www.thoughtco.com/history-of-chemical-matches-606805>

⁷⁷ RICHARD M. LEDERER, JR., COLONIAL AMERICAN ENGLISH 88 (1985).

⁷⁸ A well-trained user could fire up to five shots per minute, depending on the gun. W.W. GREENER, *THE GUN AND ITS DEVELOPMENT* 66-67 (9th ed. 2010); CHARLES C. CARLTON, *THIS SEAT OF MARS: WAR AND THE BRITISH ISLES 1585-1746*, at 171-73 (2011). Because ignition time (the interval from when the trigger is pressed until the shot is fired) is shorter for flintlocks, shooting at a moving target became much easier. TOM GRINSLADE, *FLINTLOCK FOWLERS: THE FIRST GUNS MADE IN AMERICA* 13 (2005).

much quicker to adopt flintlocks than were their British cousins. This is one of the many ways that Americans and British arms cultures have diverged since the earliest times.⁷⁹

By the time of the Revolution, the large majority of American and British guns were flintlocks, although presumably there may have been some poorer people whose only gun was an old matchlock.

2. *Types of firearms*

Guns that can fire more than one shot without reloading are called *repeaters*. They were invented in the late sixteenth century, but they were much less common than single-shot guns.⁸⁰ Until the second quarter of the nineteenth century, repeaters were much more expensive to produce than single-shot guns. All the guns described below (except for the *blunderbuss*) could be repeaters, but relatively few of them were.

Musket. The musket is a long gun which has a smooth *bore* (the interior of the barrel). If the bore is not smooth, but instead has grooves, the firearm is a *rifle*, not a classic musket.⁸¹ Muskets are not highly accurate, but they did not need to be. The standard European fighting method of the time was massed lines of infantry, so a high rate of fire in the enemy's general direction was sufficient.

Bastard musket. Shorter and lighter than a standard musket.

⁷⁹ See JOHNSON ET AL., *supra* note 18, at 171-74, 239-40 (summarizing divergence of American and British arms cultures, in part because Americans adopted much of Indian arms culture).

⁸⁰ *Id.* at 142-44, 223-24; David B. Kopel, *Firearms Technology and the Original Meaning of the Second Amendment*, REASON (Apr. 3, 2017, 9:34 PM), <https://reason.com/volokh/2017/04/03/firearms-technology-and-the-or>.

⁸¹ Rifled muskets were invented in the latter part of the 18th century but did not see widespread use by Americans in this period.

Snaphaunce. An early version of the flintlock.⁸² “During the 17th century, *snaphaunce* commonly referred to any flintlock system.”⁸³

Fusee, fuse, fuze, fuze, fusil. Often, a synonym for flintlock.⁸⁴ More precisely, “a light, smoothbore shoulder arm of smaller size and caliber than the regular infantry weapon.”⁸⁵

Carbine or *carabine.* In the seventeenth century, a long gun with a smaller bore than a musket. By the eighteenth, also shorter and lighter than a musket. Well-suited for horsemen.⁸⁶ The word could “denote almost any small-calibre firearm irrespective of barrel length.”⁸⁷

Caliver. A matchlock larger than a carbine but smaller than a musket.⁸⁸

The various smaller long guns typically had smaller bores (the empty interior of the barrel). Their smaller bullets were less powerful but were more aerodynamically stable at longer distance. Also, the smaller bore meant that a given quantity of lead could produce more bullets for the particular gun.

Fowling piece. A smoothbore long gun well-suited for bird hunting. In contrast to the classic musket, a fowling piece had a lighter barrel and stock, and its muzzle was slightly flared, to increase the velocity of the birdshot.⁸⁹

⁸² PATRICK A. MALONE, *THE SKULKING WAY OF WAR: TECHNOLOGY AND TACTICS AMONG THE NEW ENGLAND INDIANS* 34 (1991) (explaining that “[t]he true snaphaunce, rarely used in New England” differs from the “true” flintlock in how the cover of the firing pan is connected to the rest of the gun lock. American sources often do not use the different terms with precision.).

“Snaphaunce” may derive from the Dutch word for “chicken thief,” based on “the occupation of the inventors.” GEORGE CAMERON STONE, *A GLOSSARY OF THE CONSTRUCTION, DECORATION AND USE OF ARMS AND ARMOR IN ALL COUNTRIES AND IN ALL TIMES* 233 (1999). The mechanical action of a snaphaunce (and of a flintlock), “resembled the pecking motion of a bird.” BILL AHEARN, *MUSKETS OF THE REVOLUTION AND THE FRENCH & INDIAN WARS* 98 (2005). The resemblance “appears to be the origin of the term cock which was the English 18th-century word used for this component.” *Id.*

The “cock” (sometimes called the “hammer”) is the pivoting part of the flintlock that holds the flint in screw-tightened jaws. When the trigger is pressed, the cock falls forward so that the flint strikes an immobile piece of hardened steel (the *frizzen*, *steel*, or *battery*). The collision produces a shower of sparks that fall into the firing pan and ignite the gunpowder. NEUMANN, *supra* note 75, at 7.

To cock a gun is to pull the cock (or today, the hammer) backwards so that it is ready fire. JAMES, *supra* note 68. The *sear* is an internal part that holds the cock in its backwards position. The more advanced sears of the eighteenth century had an intermediate position (half-cock) that facilitated loading, without risk of the gun firing. If the sear malfunctioned and released the cock, then the gun “went off half-cocked.”

⁸³ NEUMANN, *supra* note 75, at 8 (italics in original).

⁸⁴ STONE, *supra* note 82, at 242; JIM MULLINS, *OF SORTS FOR PROVINCIALS: AMERICAN WEAPONS OF THE FRENCH AND INDIAN WAR* 53, 65 (2008) (when matchlock muskets, snaphaunces, and true flintlocks were used by European armies, “fusil” or “fire-lock” meant a flintlock musket; by the mid-eighteenth century, “the term ‘fusil’, ‘fuzee’ or ‘fusee’ came to be used by the English to denote a wide variety of light-weight guns.”). “Fusil” was also used to mean “carbines.”

⁸⁵ NEUMANN, *supra* note 75, at 19.

⁸⁶ STONE, *supra* note 82, at 163.

⁸⁷ STUART REID, *THE FLINTLOCK MUSKET: BROWN BESS AND CHARLEVILLE 1715-1865* (2016).

⁸⁸ STONE, *supra* note 82 at 158.

⁸⁹ J. N. GEORGE, *ENGLISH GUNS AND RIFLES* 85 (Palladium Press 1999) (1947); GRINSLADE, *supra* note 78, at 5.

During the Revolution, many fowling pieces were employed as militia arms. Ideally, although not always in practice, they would be retrofitted to allow for the attachment of a bayonet.⁹⁰

Rifle. A long gun with interior grooves (*rifling*). The grooves make the bullet spin on its axis, greatly improving aerodynamic stability and thus adding considerable range. Little-used in New England prior to the Revolution, but popular elsewhere, especially in frontier areas.

Pistol. Any handgun. (Unlike today, when a semi-automatic pistol is distinct from a revolver.) Most handguns of the time were single-shot, although there were some expensive models that could fire multiple shots without reloading.⁹¹ Handguns ranged from large holster pistols to small pocket pistols.⁹² They were often carried by officers.⁹³

Blunderbuss. The name perhaps comes from the Dutch “donder-buse” or “thunder gun.”⁹⁴ The blunderbuss was notable for its flared muzzle, which made reloading easier while riding on a stagecoach or aboard a water vessel. It could be loaded with a single very large bullet, but the more common load was twenty large pellets, or even up to fifty.⁹⁵ It was devastating at close range, but not much use beyond twenty yards.⁹⁶ In the Revolution, it was most useful for “street control, sentry duty and as personal officer

⁹⁰ GRINSLADE, *supra* note 78, at 5, 54, 63 (“In times of Indian raids or war, the family fowling-piece served the need for a fighting gun.”); MULLINS, *supra* note 84, at 49 (The classic fowling piece lacked the musket’s swivels for attachment of a sling.).

The first identifiably American-made arms are fowling pieces built in the seventeenth century by Dutch settlers in the Hudson River Valley. AHEARN, *supra* note 82, at 101. As the American fowler evolved, influenced by the English and by immigrant French Huguenot gunsmiths, “The result was the development of a unique variety of American long fowler. These American long guns served as an all-purpose firearm. When loaded with shot, they were suited to hunt birds and small game, and when loaded with a ball, they could provide venison for the table. In times of emergency, they were needed for militia, and more than a few saw service in the early colonial wars as well as the Revolution.” *Id.* As a British officer noted after the battles of Lexington and Concord in 1775, “These fellows were generally good marksmen, and many of them used long guns made for Duck-Shooting.” FREDERICK MACKENZIE, A BRITISH FUSILIER IN REVOLUTIONARY BOSTON, BEING THE DIARY OF LIEUTENANT FREDERICK MACKENZIE, ADJUTANT OF THE ROYAL WELCH FUSILIERS, JANUARY 5-APRIL 30, 1775, at 67 (Allen French ed., 1926; rpt. ed. 1969) (quoting an unnamed officer).

⁹¹ CHARLES WINTHROP SAWYER, FIREARMS IN AMERICAN HISTORY: 1600 TO 1800, at 194-98, 215-16 (1910) (late eighteenth century American pistols with two to four rounds); NEUMANN, *supra* note 75, at 259 (double-barreled pistols used by many French officers).

⁹² LEE KENNETT & JAMES LAVERNE ANDERSON, THE GUN IN AMERICA: THE ORIGINS OF NATIONAL DILEMMA 208-11 (1975).

⁹³ NEUMANN, *supra* note 75, at 231, 275 (explaining that most pistols were smoothbores, but some models had rifling).

⁹⁴ D.R. BAXTER, BLUNDERBUSSES 13 (1970); GEORGE, *supra* note 89, at 59.

⁹⁵ GEORGE, *supra* note 89, at 92-93.

⁹⁶ See Baxter, *supra* note 94; James D. Forman, The Blunderbuss 1560-1900 (1994).

weapons.”⁹⁷ A blunderbuss could be a very large handgun.⁹⁸ Or it could have a short stock attached and be used as a shoulder arm.

Horse-pistols. “[S]o called from being used of horseback, and of a large size.”⁹⁹

Case of pistols. Handguns were often sold in matched pairs.¹⁰⁰ A “case of pistols” is such a pair. Also called a “brace of pistols.”

Gun. In the usage of the time, any long gun, but not a handgun.

Peece, peice. Today, *piece*. Any firearm.

In the period before the Revolution, most American gunsmiths used imported locks (the moving part of the firearm).¹⁰¹ The use of recycled parts was also common.¹⁰² So, for example, a damaged fowling piece might be repaired with some lock parts scavenged from a musket. Thus, the above categories of firearms should not be viewed as rigidly divided. There were many hybrids.¹⁰³ The variety of American firearms and edged weapons was further increased by the fact that America at all times, including after the Revolution, was a major export market for older, surplus European arms—not only from the United Kingdom, but also from Germany, France, Spain, and the low countries; to these would be added firearms scavenged from the various European armies that fought in colonial wars or the American Revolution.¹⁰⁴

Whatever the specifics of any state or colony’s arms requirements, Americans went to war with a very wide variety of personal arms, not always necessarily in precise compliance with the narrowest definitions of arms that might appear in a militia equipment statute. At Valley Forge in 1777, Baron Von Steuben was encamped with the Continental Army, most of whose members had brought their personal firearms to service. Von Steuben observed that “muskets, carbines, fowling pieces, and rifles were found in the same company.”¹⁰⁵

⁹⁷ NEUMANN, *supra* note 75, at 20.

⁹⁸ See, e.g., *id.*, at 247 (“blunderbuss holster pistol”).

⁹⁹ JAMES, *supra* note 68, at 638; see also NEUMANN, *supra* note 75, at 263 (American horseman pistol).

¹⁰⁰ Clayton E. Cramer & Joseph Edward Olson, *Pistols, Crime, and Public: Safety in Early America*, 44 WILLAMETTE L. REV. 699, 709, 719 (2008).

¹⁰¹ GRINSLADE, *supra* note 78, at 1, 5, 15, 23-25.

¹⁰² *Id.*

¹⁰³ ERIK GOLDSTEIN & STUART MOWBRAY, *THE BROWN BESS 40-41* (2010); GRINSLADE, *supra* note 78, at 5, 23 (“The distinction between fowlers and muskets in the eighteenth century was not always clear-cut. Those manufactured from existing parts shared a common appearance, often combining aspects of both fowler and musket.”). For example, the locks from French muskets that were captured during France’s various wars in North America were often recycled into use on American fowlers.

¹⁰⁴ GEORGE G. NEUMANN, *SWORDS & BLADES OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION* 7, 53 (3d ed. 1991).

¹⁰⁵ Friedrich Kapp, *The Life of Frederick William Von Steuben* 117 (2d ed. 1859), <https://ia802700.us.archive.org/33/items/lifeoffrederickw00kappuoft/lifeoffrederickw00kappuoft.pdf>.

3. *Edged or bladed weapons and accoutrements*

Most firearms could fire only one shot, after which the user might have to take several seconds to reload. So, at close quarters, a firearm would be good for only one shot. If a person carried a pair of pistols (a *brace*), then he or she could fire two shots. But there would be no time to reload anything more against an adversary who was within arm's reach. So edged weapons were essential to self-defense.¹⁰⁶

Bayonet. A dagger or other straight knife that can be attached to the front of a gun. The word comes from Bayonne, France, the bayonet-manufacturing capital.¹⁰⁷

The bayonet could be used for all the purposes of any knife. In European-style combat—and much of the combat of the American Revolution—when the two armies met at close quarters, the bayonet would be attached to the end of the long gun, so that the long gun could be used as spear or pole-arm. Compared to muskets, rifles were longer, thinner, and more fragile, and thus poorly suited for use with a bayonet.

Some militiamen who lacked bayonets used daggers for up-close fighting.¹⁰⁸ Typically they had a double-edged blade, about six to ten inches long.¹⁰⁹

Knife. Same meaning as today.

Jack knife. As today, a folding pocket knife. Blades could range from three to twelve inches.¹¹⁰ Primarily for use as a tool, although available as a last-resort weapon.

Sword. Same meaning as today. The next four items are types of swords. Some militia statutes required a “sword or hanger” or a “sword or cutlass,” or some similar formulation. Again, this is a violation of the rule against surplusage, but that rule was apparently not much in mind when statutes were drafted in the eighteenth century.

¹⁰⁶ Harold L. Peterson, *Arms and Armor in Colonial America 1526-1783*, at 69-101 (Dover 2000) (1956).

¹⁰⁷ Bayonne had long been a manufacturing center for cutlery and weapons. While it is generally agreed that bayonets were invented around 1640, there are several stories about how the invention happened. Logan Thompson, *Daggers and Bayonets: A History* 61-62 (1998). According to one version, “Some peasants of the Basque provinces, whilst on an expedition against a company of bandits, having used all their ammunition, were driven to the desperate necessity of inserting their long knives into the mouths of their arquebuses [an early type of long gun], by which means they routed their adversaries.” W.W. Greener, *The Gun and Its Development* 626 (9th ed. 1910).

¹⁰⁸ Neumann, *supra* note 104, at 228.

¹⁰⁹ *Id.* at 229-30.

¹¹⁰ *Id.* at 231. Some jackknives were multitools, also containing forks, saws, heavy needles, or “bleeders” (used to pierce veins in medical treatment). *Id.* at 231, 248.

Broad sword. Has a straight, wide, single-edged blade. “It was the military sword of the 17th century as distinguished from the civil sword, the rapier. It was also the usual weapon of the common people.”¹¹¹

Hanger. By one definition, a “short sword (blade averaging twenty-five inches) having at least one cutting edge.”¹¹² Alternatively, a lightweight saber.¹¹³ A classic saber has a curved blade, thick back, and a handguard.¹¹⁴

Cutlass or cutlash. In the seventeenth and early eighteenth century, “used interchangeably with the term ‘hanger’.”¹¹⁵

Simeter. Today, *scimitar*. Precisely speaking, a sword with a very curved blade that is narrow and thick. Often associated with Persia or the Middle East.¹¹⁶ In usage of the time, “a short sword with a convex edge.”¹¹⁷

Scabbard or bucket. The former remains in modern usage. A container for carrying or storing the sword. Similar to a holster for pistols.

Belt, girdle, or strap. A sword or bayonet could be carried in a waist belt.¹¹⁸ A belt could also be used for attaching holsters, scabbards, etc. Some equipment could be held by shoulder belts.¹¹⁹

Swivel. Rings on a firearm to which a sling can be attached.¹²⁰

Hatchet. Same meaning as today. “‘Axe’, ‘hatchet’, and ‘tomahawk’ were used interchangeably in America during most of the 18th century.”¹²¹

Tomahawk. In a militia context, similar to a hatchet. Before European contact, Indian tomahawks had a stone attached to the end and were used as clubs, but not as cutting tools. Indian-European trade put steel blades into Indian hands, and led to the development of the bladed tomahawk, familiar to viewers of cinematic Westerns.¹²² One popular American innovation was the pipe tomahawk, which could be used for smoking as well as cutting.¹²³

¹¹¹ STONE, *supra* note 82, at 150-51.

¹¹² NEUMANN, *supra* note 104, at 54.

¹¹³ STONE, *supra* note 82, at 280 (also, a Scotch word for dagger).

¹¹⁴ In the modern sport of fencing, “saber” has a narrower definition. The saber is one of three types of modern fencing swords, the others being épée and foil.

¹¹⁵ NEUMANN, *supra* note 104, at 58.

¹¹⁶ STONE, *supra* note 82, at 544 (cross-referencing “scimitar” to “shamshir”), 550-53.

¹¹⁷ JAMES, *supra* note 68, at 789.

¹¹⁸ *Id.* at 51.

¹¹⁹ *Id.* “Girdle” at the time was the same as “belt.” LEDERER, *supra* note 77, at 102.

¹²⁰ JAMES, *supra* note 68, at 388.

¹²¹ NEUMANN, *supra* note 104, at 253. The “American axe” was smaller than its European ancestor, and better-suited for carrying in a belt. Redesign of the pole, the attachment mechanism, and the blade shape made the American axe sturdier and better suited for chopping. *Id.* at 255-57.

¹²² HAROLD L. PETERSON, AMERICAN INDIAN TOMAHAWKS 8-9 (2d ed. 1971).

¹²³ NEUMANN, *supra* note 104, at 257.

4. *Ammunition and related accoutrements*

Powder. All of the gunpowder of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries was what we today call *blackpowder*. It is a mixture of sulfur, charcoal, and saltpeter (which comes from decayed animal waste) and can be produced at home.¹²⁴

Bullets. All bullets of the time were spheres. As described above, most of the guns of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries were smoothbores.¹²⁵ They could be loaded with either a single bullet (a *ball*, better for long distances) or several smaller pellets (*shot*, better for bird-hunting, and for defense at shorter distances). Many militia statutes required the possession of “sizeable” bullets.¹²⁶ At the least, this rules out the tiny pellets that would be used for hunting small birds like partridges or doves.

Swan shot and *goose shot*. Multiple large pellets suitable for hunting the aforesaid birds.¹²⁷ Today, used in shotguns. In the seventeenth and eighteenth century, usable in all smoothbore handguns or long guns, which is to say all firearms except rifles.

Buck-shot. Multiple large pellets for deer hunting. Today, one of the largest types of shotgun pellets.¹²⁸

Ramrod. Today, the vast majority of new firearms are breechloaders. They are loaded from the back of the gun, near the firing chamber. Breechloaders were invented in the mid-seventeenth century, but they were very expensive.¹²⁹ By far the most common guns at the time were muzzleloaders, which are loaded from the front of the gun, the *muzzle*.

To load a muzzleloader, the user first pours gunpowder down the muzzle. Next, the user uses a pole, the ramrod, to ram the bullet all the way down the barrel.¹³⁰

The ramrod is also used for cleaning a gun and for extracting an unfired bullet, as described below.

Scour or *scowerer.* A ramrod.¹³¹

Match. The slow-burning cord used to ignite a matchlock. If quantities are specified, one fathom equals six feet.

¹²⁴ See generally DAVID CRESSY, *SALTPETER: THE MOTHER OF GUNPOWDER* (2012). Modern gunpowder, invented in the latter part of the nineteenth century, burns more efficiently, and thus produces much less smoke and residue.

¹²⁵ JOHNSON ET AL., *supra* note 18, at 220-23.

¹²⁶ See *infra* Parts III.A. (N.J.), B. (Md.), C. (N.C.), E. (N.H.), H. (N.Y.), and J. (Vt.).

¹²⁷ Cf. R.A. STEINDLER, *THE FIREARMS DICTIONARY* 250 (1970). “Swan drops” used for hunting swan weigh 29 grains each and are .268 inches in diameter. “Goose drops” were smaller than swan drops. *Id.*

¹²⁸ *Id.* at 250 (largest shotgun pellets are “small & large buck shot”).

¹²⁹ JOHNSON ET AL., *supra* note 18, at 142-44.

¹³⁰ STEINDLER, *supra* note 127, at 188 (ramrod is usually wood, but can be metal; also usable as a cleaning tool).

¹³¹ JAMES, *supra* note 68, at 791.

Wadding. Made of tow, hay, or straw. Rammed into the gun after the powder has been poured, and before the bullet is rammed down, it prevented the powder from scattering.¹³²

Patches. Often the bullet would be wrapped in linen or some other fabric.¹³³ This made it easier to ram the bullet down the barrel. The patch also helped to provide a gas seal around the bullet; the seal kept the expanding gas of the gun powder explosion from escaping the barrel before the bullet did. The expanding gas was thus kept behind the bullet, the better to increase the velocity of the traveling bullet.

Cartouche, Cartridge. Paper cartridges were in use by the mid-seventeenth century.¹³⁴ These were cylinders that contained a premeasured amount of gunpowder, plus the bullet. The user would tear open the cartridge and then pour the powder into the muzzle. Then the user would ram the bullet down the muzzle. Although paper cartridges were common at the time of the Revolution, some gun users, including riflemen and many militiamen, still poured in gunpowder from a flask or horn, rather than from cartridges.¹³⁵

Flints. For igniting the powder in a flintlock firearm. Since the flint is softer than the steel that the flint strikes, it will eventually need to be replaced.¹³⁶ So militia laws often mandated possession of certain quantities of flints.

5. Gun care

To reach all the way down the muzzle and to the bottom of the barrel, cleaning tools would often be attached to the *ramrod* or *scour*, described above.¹³⁷

Worm. A corkscrew-shaped device attached to the end of the ramrod. Used for cleaning and also for extracting an unfired bullet and other ammunition components from a firearm.¹³⁸

Brush. As in modern gun cleaning, a small brush.

¹³² *Id.* at 612.

¹³³ See, e.g., JOHN G.W. DILLIN, *THE KENTUCKY RIFLE* 15, 50, 65 (Palladium Press 1998) (1924); William De V. Foulke, Foreword, in *id.* at vi, viii; GREENER, *supra* note 78, at 623-24.

¹³⁴ REID, *supra* note 87, at 20 (quoting JOHN VERNON, *THE YOUNG HORSEMAN* 10 (1644)).

¹³⁵ NEUMANN & KRAVIC, *supra* note 68, at 66.

¹³⁶ REID, *supra* note 87, at 33. A properly shaped flint (one that had been well-knapped) would need to be replaced after about ten to fifteen shots. *Id.*

¹³⁷ GOLDSTEIN & MOWBRAY, *supra* note 103, at 53. The tip of the ramrod would be threaded for attachment of cleaning equipment. *Id.*

¹³⁸ NEUMANN & KRAVIC, *supra* note 68, at 264; STEINDLER, *supra* note 127, at 278. Also, “wormer.” LEDERER, *supra* note 77, at 246.

Wire or *wier*. Also, *picker*. The priming wire was for cleaning the flashpan and the touch hole—the small hole where the fire from the priming pan connected with the main powder charge.¹³⁹

Tow. Tow is a loose ball of coarse and unspun waste fibers from hemp or linen production.¹⁴⁰ It is used for gun cleaning, for wadding, and for tinder.¹⁴¹

Screw driver. This has the same meaning as today. A screw driver is used for cleaning and repairs, especially for the gun lock.¹⁴² Also, it can be used to loosen or tighten the cock's jaws in order to change the flint.¹⁴³

6. Arms carrying and storage

Holster. This has the same modern definition. A holster is used for carrying a handgun or a short long gun, usually attached to the body by a belt or can be attached to a horse saddle.¹⁴⁴ Some later statutes specify that the holsters must have bear skin covers.¹⁴⁵

Scabbard or *bucket*. Similar to a holster.¹⁴⁶

Horn, powderhorn, or flask. This is used for gunpowder carrying.¹⁴⁷ For most colonists, the most common horn came from cattle, rams or similar animals.¹⁴⁸

Charger, shot bag (or *pouch, badge*). The charger is a bulb-shaped flask for carrying powder, attached to metal components that release a premeasured quantity of powder.¹⁴⁹ *Shot bag/pouch/badge* may refer to this device.¹⁵⁰ The terms may also refer to bags for carrying bullets.¹⁵¹

¹³⁹ NEUMANN & KRAVIC, *supra* note 68, at 264.

¹⁴⁰ *Id.* at 269; MULLINS, *supra* note 82, at 48.

¹⁴¹ MULLINS, *supra* note 84, at 48; NEUMANN & KRAVIC, *supra* note 68, at 161, 262.

¹⁴² MULLINS *supra* note 84, at 48 (explaining that the screwdriver is necessary to remove the lock for cleaning and oiling).

¹⁴³ NEUMANN & KRAVIC, *supra* note 68, at 264.

¹⁴⁴ *Holster Definition*, MERRIAM-WEBSTER DICTIONARY, <https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/holster> (last visited Jan. 13, 2019).

¹⁴⁵ *See infra* Parts III.E. (N.H.), F. (Del.), and G. (Penn.)

¹⁴⁶ *Scabbard Definition*, MERRIAM-WEBSTER DICTIONARY, <https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/scabbard#other-words> (last visited Jan. 13, 2019); *Bucket Definition*, 1 THE NEW SHORTER OXFORD ENGLISH DICTIONARY 293 (4th ed. 1993) (“4. A (usu. leather) socket or rest for a whip, carbine, or lance.”).

¹⁴⁷ *Powderhorn Definition*, MERRIAM-WEBSTER DICTIONARY, <https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/powder%20horn> (last visited Jan. 13, 2019).

¹⁴⁸ RAY RILING, THE POWDER FLASK BOOK 13 (1953). *See id.* at 171 for instructions on how to make a horn.

¹⁴⁹ STONE, *supra* note 82, at 563.

¹⁵⁰ RILING, *supra* note 148, at 256-57, 430-31.

¹⁵¹ *See* MULLINS, *supra* note 84, at 43-44.

Cover for the lock. As noted above, a *gun lock* (today, it is called the *action*) is the part of the gun that performs the mechanical work of firing the ammunition.¹⁵² A cover protects the gun lock from the elements.¹⁵³

Wax. This is used to protect firearms from rain.¹⁵⁴ For example, it can be used to cover the opening of the muzzle and prevent water from entering.¹⁵⁵

Cartouche box. This is what we call a cartridge box today. Its purpose is for storage and carrying of cartridges.¹⁵⁶

Bandelero or cross belt. Today, it is referred to as a *bandolier*. A waist or shoulder belt with attachments for carrying units of ammunition or of premeasured powder, usually in the form of a leather strip worn over the chest, containing cartridges in individual loops.¹⁵⁷ The cross belt is a pair of crossing strips, or a single belt “passing obliquely across the breast.”¹⁵⁸

Mould. Today, it is called a *mold*. It is used to cast molten lead into ammunition balls.¹⁵⁹ This shows that militiamen, and all the other persons subject to arms mandates, were expected to be able to produce their own ammunition.

7. Pole arms

Pike. This is a spear with a thrusting or cutting weapon attached to the end.¹⁶⁰ European armies of the seventeenth century were usually a mixture of pikemen and musketmen.¹⁶¹ The use of pikes declined during the eighteenth century, especially in America.¹⁶² In the first two years of the Revolution, when some soldiers lacked firearms, pikes were re-introduced for infantry, since they were readily made from locally available materials.¹⁶³

¹⁵² *Glossary of Firearms Related Terms*, THE FIREARMS GUIDE, <http://www.thefirearms.guide/glossary> (last visited Jan. 13, 2019).

¹⁵³ JAMES, *supra* note 68, at 444 (explaining that a “lock-cover” is “a piece of leather or oil-cloth”).

¹⁵⁴ Doug Wicklund, *Caring for Your Collectible Firearms*, NAT’L RIFLE ASS’N, 2-3, <http://www.nramuseum.org/media/1007361/caring%20for%20your%20collectible%20firearms%20by%20doug%20wicklund.pdf> (last visited Jan. 13, 2019).

¹⁵⁵ *Id.*

¹⁵⁶ RILING, *supra* note 148, at 483. “Cartouche” is the French word for “cartridge.” Cartouche boxes were used for carrying paper cartridges; these contained the bullet and a measured quantity of gunpowder, wrapped in paper. *Id.*

¹⁵⁷ STONE, *supra* note 82, at 91-92; NEUMANN, *supra* note 75, at 21.

¹⁵⁸ *Crossbelt Definition*, MERRIAM-WEBSTER DICTIONARY, <https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/crossbelt> (last visited Jan. 13, 2019).

¹⁵⁹ NEUMANN, *supra* note 75, at 21. Some molds were for a single bullet, while others could cast multiple bullets. *Id.*

¹⁶⁰ STONE, *supra* note 82, at 501.

¹⁶¹ RODNEY HILTON BROWN, *AMERICAN POLEARMS, 1526-1865: THE LANCE, HALBERD, SPONTOON, PIKE, AND NAVAL BOARDING WEAPONS 17-18* (1967).

¹⁶² *Id.* at 18, 34.

¹⁶³ NEUMANN, *supra* note 104, at 192-93.

The pikes used during the Revolutionary War were usually twelve to sixteen feet long, could be anchored in the ground, and were especially useful for defending entrenched positions.¹⁶⁴

Espontoon or *spontoon*. This is a six-foot-long pole-arm, similar to a pike but shorter.¹⁶⁵ It was carried by Revolutionary infantry officers.¹⁶⁶ “It was an officer’s primary weapon, since it allowed him to keep his eyes on the battle at all times ... Furthermore, his signals could be seen from a distance in the din and disorder of the battlefield, when voice commands might be indistinguishable.”¹⁶⁷

Lance. It is a horseman’s spear, the same meaning as today.¹⁶⁸

8. *Horses and tack accoutrements*

Dragoon or *trooper*. This means a horse-mounted soldier.¹⁶⁹

Saddle. This has the same meaning as today.¹⁷⁰

Bridle. This also has the same as today.¹⁷¹

Pillion. This refers to a rear extension on a saddle allowing for a second rider.¹⁷²

Valise holsters. These are saddle-mounted holsters, similar to modern *saddlebags*, that could be used for carrying large handguns.¹⁷³

Breastplate. Straps that prevent the saddle or harness from sliding. They attach to the front of the saddle.¹⁷⁴

¹⁶⁴ *Id.* at 193.

¹⁶⁵ *Id.* at 191.

¹⁶⁶ *Id.* at 191-92.

¹⁶⁷ Joseph Mussulman, *Espontoon*, DISCOVERING LEWIS & CLARK, <http://www.lewis-clark.org/article/2366> (last visited Jan. 13, 2019) (“For Lewis and Clark the espontoon also served as a walking-stick on rough or slippery terrain, as a prop to steady a rifle for a long shot, and as a weapon. Lewis killed a rattlesnake with his (May 26, 1805), and Clark killed a wolf (May 29, 1805).”); see also STONE, *supra* note 82, at 580. See generally MERIWETHER LEWIS AND WILLIAM CLARK, THE JOURNALS OF THE LEWIS & CLARK EXPEDITION (Gary Moulton ed. 1983).

¹⁶⁸ STONE, *supra* note 82, at 407-09. See generally BROWN, *supra* note 161.

¹⁶⁹ LEDERER, *supra* note 77, at 72 (dragoon). “Whereas cavalry fought on horseback, dragoons scouted, pursued, and moved on horseback, but dismounted to fight.” *Id.* The militia statutes do not appear to have such a precise meaning. Some statutes call anyone with a horse a “dragoon,” and other statutes call anyone with a horse a “trooper.” The statutes do not distinguish cavalry from dragoons/troopers.

¹⁷⁰ *Saddle Definition*, MERRIAM-WEBSTER DICTIONARY, <https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/saddle> (last visited Jan. 13, 2019).

¹⁷¹ *Bridle Definition*, MERRIAM-WEBSTER DICTIONARY, <https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/bridle> (last visited Jan. 13, 2019).

¹⁷² *Pillion Definition*, CAMBRIDGE DICTIONARY, <https://dictionary.cambridge.org/us/dictionary/english/pillion> (last visited Jan. 13, 2019).

¹⁷³ *Valise Definition*, MERRIAM-WEBSTER DICTIONARY, <https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/valise> (last visited Jan. 13, 2019).

¹⁷⁴ Jane Myers, *Horse Safe: A Complete Guide to Equine Safety* 83 (2005).

Crupper. This has a similar function to a breastplate, except it attaches to the rear of the saddle or harness.¹⁷⁵ Alternatively, it can be armor for a horse's hind quarters.¹⁷⁶

Spurs. This definition has remained the same.¹⁷⁷ Militia statutes might also specify boots suitable for being attached to spurs.

Hands. This is the standard unit of measure for a horse's height.¹⁷⁸ Today, one hand is equivalent to four inches.¹⁷⁹ The typical minimum size for a militia horse was 14 or 14 ½ hands (66 or 68 inches).¹⁸⁰ The measure is from the ground to the horse's withers, the top of its shoulders.¹⁸¹

9. *Armor*

In the early decades of American settlement, when Indians with arrows were the principal opponent, many Americans wore armor on at least part of their bodies.¹⁸² For purposes of mobility, leather or quilted jackets became popular; they would not always stop an arrow, but they could mitigate its damage.¹⁸³ Once the Indians acquired firearms in large quantities, armor was generally abandoned.¹⁸⁴ By the time of the Revolution, most soldiers did not wear armor; the exceptions were body armor for some specialized engineers, and metal headgear for cavalry.¹⁸⁵

10. *Other field gear*

Knapsack, blanket, and canteen. These are the same as modern definitions.¹⁸⁶

¹⁷⁵ *Crupper Definition*, MERRIAM-WEBSTER DICTIONARY, <https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/crupper> (last visited Jan. 13, 2019).

¹⁷⁶ STONE, *supra* note 82, at 195.

¹⁷⁷ *Spur Definition*, MERRIAM-WEBSTER DICTIONARY, <https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/spur> (last visited Jan. 13, 2019).

¹⁷⁸ *Hand*, ENCYCLOPEDIA BRITANNICA, <https://www.britannica.com/science/hand-measurement> (last visited Jan. 13, 2019).

¹⁷⁹ *Id.*

¹⁸⁰ See 1 JOURNAL OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES OF THE UNITED STATES, BEING THE FIRST SESSION OF THE FIRST CONGRESS-3RD SESSION OF THE 13TH CONGRESS, MARCH 4, 1789-SEPT. 13, 1814, at 814 (1826); Parts III.C. (North Carolina) and III.F. (Delaware) *infra*.

¹⁸¹ *Hand*, *supra* note 178.

¹⁸² PETERSON, *supra* note 106, at 132-42.

¹⁸³ *Id.* at 142-51; See also *id.* at 43 (noting 1645 Massachusetts General Court mandate that every family have "a canvas coat quilted with cotton wool as defense against arrows").

¹⁸⁴ *Id.* at 149.

¹⁸⁵ *Id.* at 307-16.

¹⁸⁶ *Knapsack Definition*, Merriam-Webster Dictionary, <https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/knapsack> (last visited Jan. 13, 2019); *Blanket Definition*, Merriam-Webster Dictionary, <https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/blanket> (last visited Jan. 13, 2019);

Haversack. This bag is like a knapsack but carried over only one shoulder.¹⁸⁷

B. Types of persons covered by arms mandates

In modern times, when we think about “the militia,” we are mainly thinking about males 18 to 45 (or in previous times, 16 to 50 or 60, *infra*). (As used in this article, the ages mean “at least X” and “under Y.” In other words, if the militia was males ages 16 to 50, the militia obligation would begin on a person’s sixteenth birthday, and end on his fiftieth birthday.) Precisely speaking, these enrolled men were a subset of the whole militia—the whole militia consisting of everyone who was able to fight, as detailed in Part I. The enrolled militiamen had to engage in group drills and might be marched away from home for military service. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the scope of persons who were required to possess arms was broader than just the enrolled militia.¹⁸⁸

The arms requirements for other categories of persons were sometimes contained in statutes with the title “militia,” and sometimes in other statutes.¹⁸⁹ Likewise, statutes requiring that males 16-60 be armed were often but not always titled as “militia” laws.

The categories below explain the different classes of people who might have to be armed. Examples of the statutory uses of the various terms below will be found in Part III, the survey of seventeenth and eighteenth century militia statutes.

Trained band. This was the term in some states or colonies for the enrolled portion of the militia that is required to participate in training (i.e. males 16 or 18 to 45, 50, or 60).¹⁹⁰ It could be sent away from home for military missions, although deployments outside the colony or state were disfavored.¹⁹¹

The phrase was copied from Elizabethan England. There, “trained band” referred to a subset of the enrolled militia who received extra training; membership in the English trained band was based on social class. Yeomen—small farmers who owned their own land—could be in the trained band, while lower classes, such as tenants, were not.¹⁹² In American usage, though, “trained band” or “band,” usually refer to the entire enrolled militia.

Canteen Definition, MERRIAM-WEBSTER DICTIONARY, <https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/canteen> (last visited Jan. 13, 2019).

¹⁸⁷ *Haversack Definition*, MERRIAM-WEBSTER DICTIONARY, <https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/haversack> (last visited Jan. 13, 2019).

¹⁸⁸ See *infra* Part III.

¹⁸⁹ *Id.*

¹⁹⁰ *Id.*

¹⁹¹ *Id.*

¹⁹² JOHNSON ET AL., *supra* note 18, at 110.

One early statute in Maryland did provide extra training for a subset of the enrolled militia. Unlike in England, this subset was chosen by merit—physical fitness and courage—rather than by class.¹⁹³

Alarm list. This refers to every other male who was capable of fighting. They were required to possess the same specified arms as members of the trained band (i.e., the enrolled militia) but were not required to participate in training or to serve in ordinary expeditions.¹⁹⁴

Alarm list duty was limited to emergencies, especially, to join in defense of the town or community when under attack. People on the alarm list were primarily: 1. People with an occupational exemption from trained band service (e.g., physicians in some colonies), or 2. People above the age for trained band service.¹⁹⁵ For example, someone who was fifty-two years old. Alarm list duty would usually have some upper limit, such as age sixty or seventy.

In practice, when a town was under attack, everyone who could fight would fight, including women and children.¹⁹⁶

State armies. Although sometimes described as part of the militia, state armies were distinctive in several regards. State armies were established for temporary periods during wartime.¹⁹⁷ They fought in Indian Wars, in the numerous wars against the French colonies in America, and the Revolution.¹⁹⁸

Unlike militia service, state army service was not a universal obligation of every able-bodied male. State armies were select forces with longer enlistment terms than the ordinary militia.¹⁹⁹ They were more willing to be deployed to other states or colonies.²⁰⁰ To the extent possible, their ranks were filled by volunteers.²⁰¹ To the extent necessary, conscription was used, with each town or other locality having an obligation to supply a certain number of men.²⁰² State armies comprised a considerable fraction of

¹⁹³ See *infra* Part III.B (1658 statute).

¹⁹⁴ See *infra* Part III.

¹⁹⁵ *Id.*

¹⁹⁶ See, e.g., STEVEN C. EAMES, *RUSTIC WARRIORS: WARFARE AND THE PROVINCIAL SOLDIERS ON THE NEW ENGLAND FRONTIER, 1689-1748*, at 28-29 (2011).

¹⁹⁷ JOHNSON ET AL., *supra* note 18, at 226, 281.

¹⁹⁸ *Id.* at 225, 235, 283. The wars with the French were the War of the League of Augsburg (1689-97) (known in America as King William's War), the War of the Spanish Succession (1701-13) (Queen Anne's War, in America), and the War of Jenkins' Ear (1741-48) (against France's ally Spain; including an attempted Spanish invasion of Georgia). The latter war blended into the War of the Austrian Succession (1744-48) (King George's War). Finally, the French & Indian War (1754-63) (known to the British as the Great War for Empire). *Id.* at 245. For participation by the armies of the various colonies, see, e.g., RENÉ CHARTRAND, *COLONIAL AMERICAN TROOPS 1610-1774* (2002) (3 vols.).

¹⁹⁹ JOHNSON ET AL., *supra* note 18, at 226, 281.

²⁰⁰ *Id.* at 226, 281.

²⁰¹ *Id.* at 226-27.

²⁰² *Id.* at 194, 226-228, 230.

American fighters during the Revolution, fighting alongside the Continental Army and the state militias.²⁰³

Householder, freeholder, taxable person, titheable person. Many statutes required that these persons possess arms, whether or not they were enrolled in the militia.

A householder is the head of a house, regardless of sex.²⁰⁴ For example, a widow, or any other woman living independently could be a householder.

A *freeholder* owns real property. A single woman could be a freeholder.

The meaning of “taxable” “titheable” (or tithable) person, varied by jurisdiction; some laws exempted government officials, or “immigrants, indigents, and incapacitated persons.”²⁰⁵ In Virginia, everyone over 16 except for free white women was titheable (that is, taxable under a head or capitation tax).²⁰⁶ The revenue could be used for a colony or state’s established church²⁰⁷ or for secular purposes.²⁰⁸

A man aged 65 years old might be too old for the enrolled militia, but he could still be taxable or titheable. Depending on the laws of the particular colony, he might still be required to possess arms.

A fifty-two-year-old widow maintaining her own household would not be in the enrolled militia or the alarm list but would be required to keep arms as a householder. Depending on her colony’s laws, she might also be a taxable or titheable person.

Accordingly, women were sometimes legally required to possess arms in Massachusetts, Maryland, Delaware, New Hampshire, Vermont, and Connecticut.²⁰⁹ Although they were never required to serve in the enrolled

²⁰³ *Id.* at 203, 281, 283.

²⁰⁴ *Householder Definition*, MERRIAM-WEBSTER DICTIONARY, <https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/householder> (last visited Jan. 13, 2019).

²⁰⁵ See John Witte, Jr., *Tax Exemption of Church Property: Historical Anomaly or Valid Constitutional Practice?* S. CAL. L. REV. 363, 371-72 (1991).

²⁰⁶ See Terri L. Snyder, *Marriage on the Margins: Free Wives, Enslaved Husbands, and the Law in Early Virginia*, 30 L. & HIST. REV. 141, 166 (2012):

Local courts were especially anxious to establish accurate lists of all taxable persons in any given jurisdiction. Throughout the colonial period, definitions of which persons were taxable changed, but by 1723, everyone over the age of 16 was taxable, except for free white women. And it certainly was the case that individuals concealed their dependents in order to reduce their annual tax burden. In order to prevent them from so doing, Virginia law required households to provide a list of tithables to the tax collector.

See also James R. Campbell, *Dispelling the Fog about Direct Taxation*, 1 BRIT. J. AM. LEG. STUD. 109, 163 n. 215 (2012) (Massachusetts “poll taxes were imposed on the same set of tithable persons that Virginia and North Carolina taxed”).

²⁰⁷ See *Godwin v. Lunan*, Jeff. 96, 104, 1771 WL 3, 5 (Va. 1771).

²⁰⁸ See *Commonwealth v. Justices of Fairfax Cty. Court*, 4 Va. (2 Va. Cas.) 9, 10 (1815) (“to erect the bridges and causeways in the said mandamus mentioned, and to levy the cost of the same on the tithable persons of the said county of Fairfax”).

²⁰⁹ See Part III, *infra*.

militia, they were part of the militia in the broadest sense: all able-bodied persons capable of bearing arms.

Servants. The statutes detailed in Part III sometimes have special rules for servants. For example, a statute requiring people to provide their own arms may include an exception requiring a master provide his or her servant with arms. Since the servant was, by definition, not living independently, the servant might be not be able to afford all the necessary arms and accoutrements. Many servants were free laborers. They were free persons who entered into voluntary contracts to supply services, such as household help or farm work.

Indentured servants were free immigrants who had signed contracts entitling the other party to use or sell their labor for a period of years.²¹⁰ For example, a poor Englishman, Irishman, or German who wished to emigrate to America might receive free passage in exchange for an indenture for several years, four years being most common.²¹¹ The indenture contract was assignable; the master might use the indented laborer for a while, and then sell the indenture to someone else.²¹² Other indentured servants were convicted criminals who had been given a choice between execution in England, or transportation to America followed by a period of indentured servitude, usually seven years.²¹³ Like slaves, indentured servants were not legally free; they could not marry, travel, or trade without their master's consent.²¹⁴

At the end of an indenture, the former master was usually required to give the former servant "freedom dues"—land, goods, or money allowing the ex-servant to begin independent life.²¹⁵ In Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, and South Carolina, freedom dues included a gun for male ex-servants.²¹⁶

Bought servants. An indentured servant was also called a "bought servant."²¹⁷ Some militias statutes excluded "bought" or "indented" servants or allowed militia service only with the master's consent. Presumably, this was to prevent indentured servants from choosing militia service as a means

²¹⁰ Mary Sarah Bilder, *The Struggle over Immigration: Indentured Servants, Slaves, and Articles of Commerce*, 61

MO. L. REV. 743, 752-53 (1996).

²¹¹ *Id.* at 754-56.

²¹² *Id.* at 758.

²¹³ *Id.* at 754, 756-57.

²¹⁴ *Id.* at 758.

²¹⁵ *Id.* at 759.

²¹⁶ OHNSON ET AL., *supra* note 18, at 185-86.

²¹⁷ See *York Freedom Suits (1685-1715)*, VIRTUAL JAMESTOWN, http://www.virtualjamestown.org/yorkfreedomherits1685_1715.html (last visited Jan. 13, 2019) (Mar. 24, 1686/7 judgement that plaintiff, "having truly served her Limited time as a bought Servant" of decedent, should be paid her freedom dues out of decedent's estate) (quoting 7 York County Deeds, Orders, and Wills 292).

to evade their indenture contracts. Textually, the “bought servant” statutes did not apply to free laborers, who were hired servants.

Slaves were also called “servants” or sometimes “servants for life.”²¹⁸ Imported slaves were Africans sold by Africans to trans-Atlantic slave traders, following capture in war or kidnapping.²¹⁹ Non-imported slaves were Indians captured in war (often by other Indians, and then sold to the English); their slavery/servitude was not necessarily for life.²²⁰ Although slaves were bought and sold, the term “bought servant” does not seem to encompass them, at least as the term was used in Pennsylvania.²²¹

As Part III details, practices varied about whether indentured servants or slave servants were part of the enrolled militia. In general, the former were usually included, and the latter usually excluded, but there were exceptions in both directions.

C. “Trained to arms from their infancy”

Firearms were a way of life in early America. It was common for American children to be familiar with firearms, a circumstance that gave the Americans confidence leading up to the Revolutionary War. On July 8, 1775, the Continental Congress warned King George III that the Americans’ superiority with arms, due to their training beginning in childhood, would make them a formidable foe: “Men trained to Arms from their Infancy, and animated by the Love of Liberty, will afford neither a cheap or easy Conquest.”²²²

²¹⁸ *E.g.*, *Respublica v. Betsey*, 1 U.S. (1 Dall.) 469, 470 (Pa. 1789) (“The words ‘freemen and free-women,’ seem to have been used in opposition to the word ‘slaves,’ or ‘servants for life’”) (interpreting Pennsylvania’s gradual abolition statute in favor of Betsey’s freedom).

²¹⁹ *The Capture and Sale of Enslaved Africans*, INT’L SLAVERY MUSEUM, http://www.liverpoolmuseums.org.uk/ism/slavery/africa/capture_sale.aspx (last visited Jan. 13, 2019) (also noting that some Africans were sold to European traders as criminal punishment or for default on debt); Sheldon M. Stern, *It’s Time to Face the Whole Truth About the Atlantic Slave Trade*, HIST. NEWS NETWORK (Aug. 13, 2007), <https://historynewsnetwork.org/article/41431>.

²²⁰ *See Robin v. Hardway*, Jeff. 109, 1772 WL 11 (Va. 1772) (noting 1670 Virginia statute “that all servants not being Christians, imported into this country by shipping, shall be slaves for their life time,” but “Indians taken in war by any other nation, and by that nation that takes them sold to the English...shall serve, if boys and girls, until thirty years of age, if men and women, twelve years and no longer.”).

²²¹ *See* Gary B. Nash, *Slaves and Slave Owners in Colonial Philadelphia*, in *AFRICAN AMERICANS IN PENNSYLVANIA: SHIFTING HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVES* 43, 46 (Joe Trotter & Eric Ledell Smith eds. 1997) (quoting 1756 message from Pennsylvania Assembly to the Governor, complaining about British recruitment of Pennsylvania indentured servants for the British army in the French & Indian War: “If the Possession of a bought Servant...is... rendered precarious...the People [will be] driven to the Necessity of providing themselves with Negro Slaves...”).

²²² 1 JOURNALS OF THE AM. CONGRESS FROM 1774-1788, at 106-11 (adopted July 8, 1775) (1823) (emphasis added).

This same argument was asserted by John Zubly, a Savannah minister and recent immigrant from Switzerland.²²³ He warned the British that “In the strong sense of liberty, and the use of firearms almost from the cradle, the Americans have vastly the advantage over men of their rank almost every where else.”²²⁴ He added that American children were “shouldering the resemblance of a gun before they are well able to walk.”²²⁵

Similarly, David Ramsay, a legislator from South Carolina and delegate to the Continental Congress, pointed out that, “Europeans, from their being generally unacquainted with fire arms are less easily taught the use of them than Americans, who are from their youth familiar with these instruments of war.”²²⁶ He noted that “[f]or the defence of the colonies, the inhabitants had been, from their early years, enrolled in companies, and taught the use of arms.”²²⁷

Thomas Jefferson, explained what was going on in America to his Scottish friend: “[w]e are all in arms, exercising and training old and young to the use of the gun.”²²⁸ Once the Revolution began, Jefferson suggested that the reasons American battle casualties were so much lower than British ones was “our superiority in taking aim when we fire; every soldier in our army having been intimate with his gun from his infancy.”²²⁹

So too was Jefferson. His father, Colonel Peter Jefferson, taught him to use a firearm at a young age.²³⁰ When Thomas was 10 years old, his father was confident enough to send the boy into the wilderness alone with nothing but his firearm, to learn self-reliance.²³¹ By the time Thomas was 14, his father “had already taught him to sit his horse, fire his gun, boldly stem the Rivanna when the swollen river was ‘Rolling red from brae to brae,’ and press his way with unflagging foot through the rocky summits of the contiguous hills in pursuit of deer and wild turkeys.”²³²

²²³ Zubly, *John Joachim*, BIOGRAPHICAL DIRECTORY OF THE U.S. CONGRESS, <http://bioguide.congress.gov/scripts/biodisplay.pl?index=Z000015> (last visited Jan. 13, 2019).

²²⁴ PETER A. DORSEY, COMMON BONDAGE: SLAVERY AS METAPHOR IN REVOLUTIONARY AMERICA 53 (2009).

²²⁵ *Id.*

²²⁶ 1 DAVID RAMSAY, THE HISTORY OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION 181 (Liberty Fund 1990) (1789).

²²⁷ *Id.* at 178.

²²⁸ 3 Am. Archives 4th Ser. (Clark & Force) 621 (1840).

²²⁹ Letter from Thomas Jefferson to Giovanni Fabbioni (June 8, 1778), in THOMAS JEFFERSON, WRITINGS 760 (Merrill D. Peterson, ed., 1984). In precise legal usage, “infancy” meant the same as “minority.” The word was not used exclusively in the modern sense, in which an “infant” is younger than a toddler. As the above quotes indicate, toddler age was when some Americans began learning to use arms.

²³⁰ *Id.*

²³¹ DUMAS MALONE, JEFFERSON THE VIRGINIAN 46-47 (1948) (Vol. 1 of Dumas Malone, Jefferson and His Time).

²³² HENRY S. RANDALL, 1 THE LIFE OF THOMAS JEFFERSON 14-15 (1865). The “brae to brae” quote is a verse popularized by Sir Walter Scott. 1 MEMOIRS OF THE LIFE OF SIR WALTER SCOTT, part 4, ch. 2, at 52 (1838).

Having valued the firearms training of his childhood, Thomas Jefferson suggested that his 15-year-old cousin, Peter Carr, become similarly acquainted with firearms.²³³ Jefferson told Carr that “a strong body makes a strong mind,” and recommended two hours of exercise every day. Jefferson continued: “[a]s to the species of exercise, I advise the gun. While this gives a moderate exercise to the body, it gives boldness, enterprise and independence to the mind. . . . Let your gun therefore be the constant companion of your walks.”²³⁴ “Another nephew tells us that Jefferson believed every boy should be given a gun at the age of ten, as Jefferson himself had been.”²³⁵

The Adamses felt the same way. “Militiamen on the way to Lexington and Concord stopped at a farm in Braintree, Massachusetts. To their amusement, 8-year-old John Quincy Adams, son of Abigail and John Adams, was executing the manual of arms with a musket taller than he was.”²³⁶ When John Adams had been a nine-or ten-year-old schoolboy, he loved to engage in sports, “above all, in shooting, to which diversion I was addicted to a degree of ardor which I know not that I ever felt for any other business, study, or amusement.”²³⁷ He would leave his gun by the schoolhouse door, so that he could go hunting as soon as classes ended.²³⁸

Ordinary people were just as determined to teach the young how to use arms. John Andrews, an aid to British General Thomas Gage, recounted an incident in which Redcoats were unsuccessfully trying to shoot at a target on the Boston Common.²³⁹ When an American mocked them, a British officer dared the American to do better. The American repeatedly hit the target.²⁴⁰ As Andrews noted, “The officers as well as the soldiers star’d, and tho’t the Devil was in the man. Why, says the countryman, I’ll tell you *naow*. I have got a *boy* at home that will toss up an apple and shoot out all the seeds as its coming down.”²⁴¹

Or in the words of the *Boston Gazette*, “[b]esides the regular trained militia in New-England, all the planters sons and servants are taught to use

²³³ THOMAS JEFFERSON, WRITINGS 816-17 (Merrill D. Peterson ed. 1984).

²³⁴ *Id.*

²³⁵ Kates, *supra* note 42, at 229 (1983) (citing T. JEFFERSON RANDOLPH, NOTES ON THE LIFE OF THOMAS JEFFERSON (Edgehill Randolph Collection) (1879)).

²³⁶ DAVID HACKETT FISCHER, PAUL REVERE’S RIDE 289 (1995). A manual of arms is a drill in which the gun user presents the firearm or other arm in a series of positions (e.g., right shoulder arms, left shoulder arms, fix bayonet, unfix bayonet, etc.). *Manual of Arms Definition*, VOCABULARY.COM, <https://www.vocabulary.com/dictionary/manual%20of%20arms> (last visited Jan. 13, 2019).

²³⁷ 3 DIARY AND AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF JOHN ADAMS 257-59 (Lyman Henry Butterfield ed., 1961).

²³⁸ *Id.* When the schoolmaster told him to stop, he stored the gun at the nearby home of an old woman.

²³⁹ *Id.*

Letter dated Oct. 1, 1774, 1 Am. Archives 4th Ser. (Clark & Force) 58-59 (1840).

²⁴⁰ *Id.*

²⁴¹ *Id.*

the fowling piece from their youth, and generally fire balls with great exactness at fowl or beast.”²⁴²

Later, during the debates on ratification of the Constitution, Virginia’s Richard Henry Lee emphasized: “to preserve liberty, it is essential that the whole body of the people always possess arms, and be taught alike, *especially when young*, how to use them.”²⁴³

III. THE COLONIAL AND FOUNDING PERIODS

Before we begin a colony-by-colony survey of militia laws, we can summarize some common characteristics of laws among the colonies and states, from the creation of different colonies in the seventeenth or early eighteenth century, through the end of the eighteenth century.

First, the most common age for militia duty was 16 to 50 years. The maximum often went as high as 60. The minimum was sometimes 18, and never higher (except for one 19-year period in Virginia). In 1792, Congress enacted the Uniform Militia Act (hereinafter UMA), to govern militia when called into federal service. The federal ages were 18 to 45, and several states revised their laws to make the state militia ages conform to the federal militia ages.²⁴⁴

The survey below in this Part III includes over 250 different enactments, as colonies and states revised and updated their militia laws. They also include many instances in which the colony or state enacted a militia statute that by its terms would expire in one year or a few years. Then, at the appropriate time, the colony would pass a new militia law, with the same terms as the old law. Because the royal governors, appointed by the king, would control the militia once it was in active service, some colonial legislatures were averse to permanent militia laws, which might give the royal governor too much unilateral power.²⁴⁵

The frequent renewals and revisions of colonial and early state militia laws reflect the legislatures’ continuing determination that persons over 18-

²⁴² BOSTON GAZETTE, Dec. 5, 1774, at 4; *See also* HAROLD F. WILLIAMSON: WINCHESTER: THE GUN THAT WON THE WEST 3 (1952) (quoting English visitor to New England in 1774, “in the cities you scarcely find a Lad of 12 years that does not go a Gunning”); DAVID HARSANYI, FIRST FREEDOM: A RIDE THROUGH AMERICA’S ENDURING HISTORY WITH THE GUN 57-58 (2018) (quoting 1760s visitor to the Valley of Virginia: “A well grown boy at the age of twelve or thirteen years was furnished with a small rifle and a shot-pouch. He then became a fort soldier, and has his port-hole assigned him. Hunting squirrels, turkeys and raccoons soon make him expert in the use of his gun.”) (citing Daniel Boorstin, *The Therapy of Distance*, 27 AMERICAN HERITAGE (no. 4 June 1976)).

²⁴³ 17 DOCUMENTARY HISTORY OF THE RATIFICATION OF THE CONSTITUTION 363 (John P. Kaminski & Gaspare J. Saladino eds. 1995) (emphasis added).

²⁴⁴ Uniform Militia Act, 1 Stat. 271-72 (1792).

²⁴⁵ *See, e.g.*, Theodore H. Jabbs, *The South Carolina Colonial Militia, 1663-1733* (1973) (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, U. of N.C. Chapel Hill) (available in ProQuest Dissertations & Theses Global).

years-old be well-armed. The *only* militia law that did not have a minimum age of 18 or less was from Virginia in 1738–57.²⁴⁶

Before discussing militia laws of the colonies and states one-by-one, we should emphasize that the militia was *not* the only institution in which young adults were required to use arms. Three related duties also required young adults (like other adults) to bring their arms to help protect the community. All of these had long-established roots in common law. Sometimes the colonies enacted relevant statutes, but often they simply relied on the common law tradition.

First, all able-bodied men from 15 or 16 to 60 were obliged to join in the “hue and cry” (*hutesium et clamor*) to pursue fleeing criminals.²⁴⁷ Pursuing citizens were allowed to use deadly force if necessary to prevent escape.²⁴⁸

Second, there was “watch and ward”—guard duty for towns and villages. “Ward” was the daytime activity, and “watch” the nighttime activity.²⁴⁹ The patrols would be arranged by a sheriff, constable, justice of the peace, or other official.²⁵⁰

Third, there was the *posse comitatus*. This is the power of the sheriff, coroner, magistrate, or other officials to summon all able-bodied males to assist in keeping the peace.²⁵¹ Posse service could include a few men helping a sheriff serve a writ, or it could include many men helping a sheriff suppress a riot.²⁵² The traditional minimum age for posse service was 15 or 16 years; some commentators said the upper age limit was 70, while others said there was no limit.²⁵³ Shortly before being appointed to the U.S. Supreme Court

²⁴⁶ See *infra* Part III.K.

²⁴⁷ Statute of Winchester, 13 Edward I, chs. 4-6 (1285) (formalizing hue and cry system; requiring all men aged fifteen to sixty to possess arms and armor according to their wealth; lowest category, having less than “Twenty Marks in Goods,” must have swords, knives, bows, and other small arms)

²⁴⁸ See 2 FREDERICK POLLOCK & FREDERIC W. MAITLAND, *THE HISTORY OF ENGLISH LAW BEFORE THE TIME OF EDWARD I*, at 575-81 (1895); 4 WILLIAM BLACKSTONE, *COMMENTARIES* *290-91 (describing hue and cry as still in operation); Statute of Winchester, 13 Edward I, chs. 4-6 (1285).

²⁴⁹ ELIZABETH C. BARTELS, *VOLUNTEER POLICE IN THE UNITED STATES* 2 (2014).

²⁵⁰ MICHAEL DALTON, *OFFICIUM VICECOMITUM: THE OFFICE AND AUTHORITIE OF SHERIF* 6, 40 (Lawbook Exchange 2009) (1923) (sheriff’s oath includes supervising the watch and ward, by reference to his oath specifically to uphold the Statute of Winchester); WILLIAM ALFRED MORRIS, *THE MEDIEVAL ENGLISH SHERIFF* 150, 228-29, 278 (1927); WILLIAM LAMBARDE, *EIRENARCHA* 185, 341 (London, Newbery & Bynnmann 1581); FERDINANDO PULTON, *DE PACE REGIS & REGNI* 153a-153b (Lawbook Exchange 2007) (1609).

²⁵¹ David B. Kopel, *The Posse Comitatus and the Office of Sheriff: Armed Citizens Summoned to the Aid of Law Enforcement*, 104 J. CRIM. L. & CRIMINOLOGY 761, 763 (2015).

²⁵² See *id.* at 796.

²⁵³ CYRUS HARRELD KARRAKER, *THE SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY SHERIFF: A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF THE SHERIFF IN ENGLAND AND IN THE CHESAPEAKE COLONIES, 1607–1689*, at 176-77 (1930) (reprinting an April 29, 1643, warrant for summoning the posse comitatus, applying to persons above the age of sixteen years and “under the age of three score years and able to travel, with such arms or weapons as they have or can provide”); Mordecai M’Kinney, *The United States CONSTITUTIONAL MANUAL* 260 (Harrisburg, Penn., Hickock & Cantine 1845) (all men above the

by President Washington, James Wilson stated in 1790 that “No man above fifteen and under seventy years of age, ecclesiastical or temporal, is exempted from this service.”²⁵⁴

The *posse* was a vital institution not only in colonial days, but throughout the nineteenth century. As the Supreme Court explained in 1855, a sheriff “may command the *posse comitatus* or power of the country; and this summons, every one over the age of fifteen years is bound to obey, under pain of fine and imprisonment.”²⁵⁵

The duties of hue and cry, watch and ward, and *posse comitatus* were male only. However, as will be detailed below, some colonies also required arms possession by any householder, regardless of sex. In addition, most of the colonies required arms carrying under certain circumstances, such as when traveling out of town, or when going to public assemblies, especially to church.²⁵⁶ Usually these laws applied without age limits (i.e., to any able-bodied traveler), or to anyone able to bear arms. Sometimes they applied to militiamen, whose minimum age was 16 or 18.²⁵⁷

In short, the age at which Americans were expected to use their own arms to help enforce the law (including by defending themselves) usually was age 15 or 16. These requirements encompassed the vast majority of males, and also included some females. The age at which Americans were expected to bring their own arms to serve in a military capacity, in the militia, usually was 16 or 18.

In the following survey of militia laws, the states are listed in the order that they ratified the Second Amendment.²⁵⁸

age of fifteen years, “not aged or decrepid”); GEORGE WEBB, *THE OFFICE AND AUTHORITY OF A JUSTICE OF PEACE* 252 (Williamsburg, William Parks 1736) (“all Males Persons therein, whether Freemen, or Servants, above the Age of 15 Years, and able to travel”) (citing LAMBARDE, *supra* note 250, at 309); EDWARD COKE, *2 INSTITUTES OF THE LAWS OF ENGLAND* 194 (Lawbook Exchange 2002) (1628) (ch. 17) (“being above 15 and under 70”); HENRY POTTER, *THE OFFICE AND DUTY OF A JUSTICE OF THE PEACE* 243 (Raleigh, Joseph Gales 1816); JOHN STEPHEN, *SUMMARY OF THE CRIMINAL LAW* 46 (Philadelphia, J.S. Littell 1840) (ages fifteen and over, with no upper age limit).

²⁵⁴ JAMES WILSON, *Lectures on Law*, in 2 *COLLECTED WORKS OF JAMES WILSON* 1017 (Kermit L. Hall & Mark David Hall eds., 2007) (Ch. VII, “The Subject Continued. Of Sheriffs and Coroners”).
²⁵⁵ *South v. Maryland ex rel. Pottle*, 59 U.S. (1 How.) 396, 402 (1856).

²⁵⁶ NICHOLAS J. JOHNSON, DAVID B. KOPEL, GEORGE A. MOCSARY & MICHAEL P. O’SHEA, *FIREARMS LAW AND THE SECOND AMENDMENT: REGULATION, RIGHTS, AND POLICY* 183-85 (2d ed. 2017).

²⁵⁷ *Id.*

²⁵⁸ The colonial and early state laws are available in the Session Laws Library of Hein Online. Many are also available on Google Books or other public Internet sources, as indicated by the URL in the footnote.

A. New Jersey: “all able-bodied Men, not being Slaves ... between the Ages of sixteen and fifty Years”

The English took control of what became New Jersey in 1664, ousting the Dutch from their “New Netherland” colony.²⁵⁹ New Jersey’s first militia act was passed in 1704. It required “[t]hat every Captain within this Province ... make a true and perfect List of all the Men ... between the Age of Sixteen and Fifty years ... Every one of which so listed shall be sufficiently armed with one good sufficient Musquet or Fuzee well fixed, a Sword or Bagonet, a Cartouch-box or Powder-horn, a pound of Powder, and twelve sizeable Bullets.”²⁶⁰ The next militia act, passed roughly a decade later, kept the same requirements for the arms and ages of militiamen.²⁶¹

A 1722 statute retained the sixteen to fifty ages, while revising the ammunition requirements.²⁶² After the 1722 act expired, it was replaced by a 1730 law with the same ages and arms,²⁶³ which was continued in 1739.²⁶⁴

On May 8, 1746, a renewed militia act was necessary because America had been drawn into Great Britain’s most recent war with France and Spain. Like earlier statutes, the 1746 act set the militia age “between the Age of Sixteen and Fifty Years” and required that each militiaman “be sufficiently armed with one good sufficient Musket or Fuzee well fixed, a Sword or Bayonet, a Cartouch-Box or Powder-Horn,” plus bullets and powder.²⁶⁵ This act was continued in 1749,²⁶⁶ 1753,²⁶⁷ 1766,²⁶⁸ 1770,²⁶⁹ and 1771.²⁷⁰

Also in 1746, New Jersey passed an act to raise 500 troops for a state army expedition against Canada.²⁷¹ This act made it unlawful for an officer

²⁵⁹ A *Short History of New Jersey*, NJ.GOV, https://www.nj.gov/nj/about/history/short_history.html (last visited Jan. 13, 2019).

²⁶⁰ 2 BERNARD BUSH, *LAWS OF THE ROYAL COLONY OF NEW JERSEY* 49 (1980). The Act provided an exception for “Ministers, Physitians, School-Masters, Civil Officers of the Government, the Representatives of the General assembly, and Slaves.” This act was continued in 1711. *Id.* at 96 (Sixth Assembly, First Session 6 Dec. 1710 – 10 Feb. 1710/11).

²⁶¹ *Id.* at 133. This Act repeated the exemptions of the 1709 Act and added an exception for “Millers.” *Id.*

²⁶² *Id.* at 289 (“three Charges of Powder and three sizeable Bullets”). The exceptions in the 1722 Act were for “the Gentlemen of his Majestys Council and the Representatives of General Assembly, Ministers of the Gospel, the Civil Officers of the Government, and all Field Officers and Captains that here-to-fore bore Commission in the Militia of this Province, and all that now do or shall hereafter bear such Commission, Physitians, School-Masters, Millers, and Slaves.” *Id.*

²⁶³ *Id.* at 410 (limited to seven years).

²⁶⁴ 1738/9 N.J. Laws ch. 165 (limited to seven years).

²⁶⁵ 3 BERNARD BUSH, *LAWS OF THE ROYAL COLONY OF NEW JERSEY* 5 (1980).

²⁶⁶ 1749 N.J. Laws ch. 232.

²⁶⁷ 1753 N.J. Laws ch. 257.

²⁶⁸ 1766 N.J. Laws ch. 422.

²⁶⁹ 1770 N.J. Laws ch. 520.

²⁷⁰ 1771 N.J. Laws ch. 539.

²⁷¹ BUSH, *supra* note 265, at 15.

“to inlist any young Men under the Age of Twenty One Years, or any Slaves who are so for Term of Life, bought Servants, or Apprentices, without the Express Leave in Writing of their Parents or Guardians, Masters or Mistresses.”²⁷² Similarly, during the French & Indian War, acts to raise small groups of state army soldiers (one in 1755²⁷³ and two in 1756²⁷⁴) set the minimum age at twenty-one for enlistment for out-of-colony service without consent of a parent, guardian, or master.

Permission from parents or masters was necessary for enlistment in the state army, but not the in-state militia. A 1757 supplement to the militia act kept the age for militia “between the Age of Sixteen and Fifty Years.”²⁷⁵

Two decades later, in the midst of the Revolutionary War, New Jersey passed a 1777 militia act, “to defeat the Designs of the *British* Court, and to preserve and defend the Freedom and Independence of the United States of *America*.”²⁷⁶ “[A]ll able-bodied Men, not being Slaves ... between the Ages of sixteen and fifty Years ... and [] capable of bearing Arms” constituted the militia.²⁷⁷ This act was set to automatically expire after one year.²⁷⁸ The following year a new act was put in place. Again, the militia was “all effective Men between the Ages of sixteen and fifty Years.”²⁷⁹

Near the end of the war, in 1781, New Jersey passed its militia law that would be in place when it ratified the Second Amendment on November 20, 1789.²⁸⁰

And Be It Enacted, That the Captain or Commanding Officer of each Company shall keep a true and perfect List or Roll of all effective Men

²⁷² *Id.*

²⁷³ *Id.* at 307.

²⁷⁴ *Id.* at 385, 425.

²⁷⁵ *Id.* at 502. The Act excepted “the Gentlemen of his Majesty’s Council, the Representatives of the General Assembly, Protestant Ministers of the Gospel of every Denomination and Persuasion, Magistrates, Sheriffs, Coroners, Constables, and all Field Officers, and Captains, who heretofore have, now do, or hereafter shall bear such Commissions; Ferry Men, one Miller to each Grist Mill, bought Servants, and Slaves.”

²⁷⁶ 1776 N.J. Laws 26.

²⁷⁷ *Id.*

²⁷⁸ *Id.*

²⁷⁹ 1778 N.J. Laws 44-45. This Act excluded “the Delegates representing this State in the Congress of the United States, the Members of the Legislative-Council and General Assembly, the Judges and Justices of the Supreme and Inferior Courts, the Judge of the Court of Admiralty, the Attorney-General, the Secretary, the Treasurer, the Clerks of the Council and General Assembly, the Clerks of the Courts of Record, the Governor’s private Secretary, Ministers of the Gospel of every Denomination, the Presidents, Professors and Tutors of Colleges, Sheriffs and Coroners, one Constable for each Township, to be selected by the Court of Quarter-Sessions of the County, two Ferry-men for each publick Ferry on the Delaware, below the Falls at Trenton, and one for every other publick Ferry in this State, and Slaves.”

²⁸⁰ 1 JOURNAL OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES OF THE UNITED STATES, BEING THE FIRST SESSION OF THE FIRST CONGRESS-3RD SESSION OF THE 13TH CONGRESS, MARCH 4, 1789-SEPT. 13, 1814, at 313-14 (1826).

between the Ages of sixteen and fifty Years, residing within the District of such Company . . . And Be It Enacted, That every Person enrolled as aforesaid shall constantly keep himself furnished with a good Musket, well fitted with a Bayonet, a Worm, a Cartridge-Box, twenty-three Rounds of Cartridges sized to his Musket, a Priming Wire, Brush, six Flints, a Knapsack and Canteen, under the Forfeiture of Seven Shillings and Sixpence for Want of a Musket, and One Shilling for Want of any other of the aforesaid Articles, whenever called out to Training or Service . . . Provided always, That if any Person be furnished as aforesaid with a good Rifle-Gun, the Apparatus necessary for the same, and a Tomahawk, it shall be accepted in Lieu of the Musket and the Bayonet and other Articles belonging thereto.²⁸¹

The act further required that “each Person enrolled...also keep at his Place of Abode one Pound of good merchantable Gunpowder and three Pounds of Ball sized to his Musket or Rifle...”²⁸² At least three times a year, a Sergeant would inspect the home of every man between sixteen and fifty to ensure he had the proper “Arms, Accoutrements, and Ammunition.”²⁸³

In 1792, Congress enacted the UMA, organizing the militia of the United States, pursuant to enumerated powers under Article I, section 8, clause 16.²⁸⁴ It provided a detailed list of equipment and defined the federal militia as free white males aged 18 to 45.²⁸⁵ (The Act is discussed in Part IV, *infra*.) Over the next several years, most states revised their militia statutes to bring their state militias into conformity with the federal militia. Since individuals were subject to a militia summons from their state or the federal government, the state governments were making it easier for state militiamen to simultaneously comply with federal requirements.

New Jersey was one of the first states to take account of the federal law, enacting a new militia law in 1792.²⁸⁶ The minimum age was raised to 18, and maximum age lowered to 45.²⁸⁷ Copying the federal law, New Jersey required that “every non-commissioned Officer and Private of the Infantry (including Grenadiers, Light Infantry and Artillery) until supplied with Ordnance and Field Artillery, shall have a good Musket or Firelock, a sufficient Bayonet and Belt, two spare Flints and a Knapsack, a Pouch with a Box not less than twenty-four Cartridges suited to the Bore of his Musket or Firelock, each Cartridge containing a proper Quantity of Powder and Ball; or with a good Rifle, Knapsack, Pouch and Powder-Horn, twenty Balls suited

²⁸¹ 1780 N.J. Laws 42-43.

²⁸² *Id.*

²⁸³ 1780 N.J. Laws 43.

²⁸⁴ Uniform Militia Act, 1 Stat. 271 (1792).

²⁸⁵ *Id.*

²⁸⁶ 1792 N.J. Laws 850.

²⁸⁷ *Id.* at 853.

to the Bore of his Rifle, and a Quarter of a Pound of Powder; and shall appear so armed, accoutred and provided, when called out to exercise or into Service.”²⁸⁸

As for commissioned officers, they had to be “armed with a Sword or Hanger and Espontoon.”²⁸⁹ And for “those of Artillery . . . with a Sword or Hanger, a fuzee, bayonet and belt, and a Cartridge-Box containing twelve Cartridges.”²⁹⁰ Troops of Horse had to provide themselves with “a Sword and Pair of Pistols.”²⁹¹ Light-Horsemen and Dragoons had to provide themselves with “a Pair of Pistols, a Sabre and Cartouch-Box containing twelve Cartridges for Pistols.”²⁹²

A 1797 supplement required the assessor of each town to compare the list of 18-to-45-year-olds in the community to the list of persons enrolled for military duty, and to ensure that everyone 18 and older who was not exempted was keeping the proper arms and fulfilling his militia duties.²⁹³

A 1799 revision eliminated non-whites from the militia.²⁹⁴ Persons who were granted militia exemptions (e.g., physicians, clergy) had to pay a three-dollar annual fee.²⁹⁵ In case the militia were “called into actual service,” exempted persons too would be liable to serve.²⁹⁶

As with all militia acts, there was financial punishment for people who neglected their duties to acquire requisite arms, to meet for training, and to serve.²⁹⁷ For militiamen who were “minors, living with their parents, and others having the proper care of charge of them, and those of apprentices,” the fines were to “be paid by their respective parents, guardians, masters or mistresses, or levied of their respective goods and chattels.”²⁹⁸

Military forces of the period used music for morale and for signals during the heat of combat. New Jersey provided rules for voluntary enlistment of military musicians: “any youth of the age of twelve years, and not exceeding the age of eighteen years, shall, with the consent of approbation of his parents, attach himself to any company of militia for the purpose of learning to beat the drum, play on the fife or blow the trumpet.”²⁹⁹

²⁸⁸ *Id.* at 852.

²⁸⁹ *Id.*

²⁹⁰ *Id.*

²⁹¹ *Id.*

²⁹² *Id.* at 852–53.

²⁹³ 1797 N.J. Laws 219–20.

²⁹⁴ 1799 N.J. Laws 609.

²⁹⁵ WILLIAM PATERSON, LAWS OF THE STATE OF NEW JERSEY 441 (1800).

²⁹⁶ *Id.*

²⁹⁷ *Id.* at 440.

²⁹⁸ *Id.*

²⁹⁹ *Id.* at 448.

B. Maryland: “his her or their house”

Maryland’s arms mandate extended to every head of a house, regardless of sex or age. A 1638/9 act required

that every house keeper or housekeepers within this Province shall have ready continually upon all occasions within his her or their house for him or themselves and for every person within his her or their house able to bear armes one Serviceable fixed gunne of bastard muskett boare one pair of bandeleers or shott bagg one pound of good powder foure pound of pistol or muskett shott and Sufficent quantity of match for match locks and of flints for firelocks and before Christmas next shall also find a Sword and Belt for every such person as aforesaid.³⁰⁰

Further, “every householder of every hundred haveing in his family three men or more able to beare armes shall Send one man completely armed for every such three men and two men for every five and so proportionately.”³⁰¹ The act contemplated many persons within a family, including minors, bearing arms.³⁰²

A 1654 act mandated “that all persons from 16 yeares of age to Sixty shall be provided with Serviceable Armes & Sufficent Amunition of Powder and Shott ready upon all occasions.”³⁰³

In 1658, the Council of Maryland adopted “Instructions directed by the Governor and Councill to the severall Captaines of the respective Commissions.”³⁰⁴ Captains had to make “a perfect list” of “all persons able to beare Armes within theyr respective divisions that is of all men betweene 16 and 60 yeares of Age.” From that list, the “fittest” people were to be

³⁰⁰ 1 PROCEEDINGS AND ACTS OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF MARYLAND JANUARY 1637/8—SEPTEMBER 1664, at 77 (William Hand Browne ed, 1883). For dates in this article, readers should be aware that in the English-speaking countries, the calendar changed from Old Style (Julian) to New Style (Gregorian) in 1752. Under the Old Style, the New Year began on March 25 (the traditional date of the Annunciation to the Virgin Mary), not January 1. So, the people of Maryland considered the above date to be 1638, not 1639. We have generally rendered dates in New Style. Scholars using Western European date citations between 1582 (when France adopted the New Style calendar) and 1752 should be aware that the days between January 1 and March 24 may be assigned to a different year, depending on the country. The shift can also move the calendar date as far forward as 11 days; for example, July 1 Old Style can become July 12 New Style. The shift occurs because New Style remedied the incorrect number of leap year days in Old Style. New Style omits leap years every 100 years, except for every 400th year. So, under New Style, there was no leap year day in 1800 or 1900, but there was one in 2000.

³⁰¹ *Id.* at 77-78.

³⁰² *Id.*

³⁰³ *Id.* at 347.

³⁰⁴ 3 PROCEEDINGS OF THE COUNCIL OF MARYLAND, 1636-1667, at 345 (reprint 1965), ARCHIVES MD. ONLINE, <http://aomol.msa.maryland.gov/000001/000003/html/am3--345.html> (last visited Jan. 13, 2019).

selected to form the “constant Trayned Band.”³⁰⁵ In addition, every householder had to provide himself and “every man able to beare Armes in his house” with sufficient ammunition and a well-fixed gun.³⁰⁶

Twenty years later, a new militia act kept the ages “between sixteen and sixty yeares of age.”³⁰⁷ Like its predecessors, it required that each “appeare and bring with him one good serviceable fixed Gunn and six shoots of Powder.”³⁰⁸ Troopers were required to bring their own horses, and “to find themselves with sword Carbine Pistolls Holsters & Amunition.”³⁰⁹

The 1681 militia law retained the age and arms requirements,³¹⁰ and was continued in 1682.³¹¹ Ages and arms remained the same in successor acts of 1692,³¹² 1695,³¹³ 1698,³¹⁴ 1699,³¹⁵ 1704,³¹⁶ 1708,³¹⁷ 1709,³¹⁸ 1711,³¹⁹

³⁰⁵ *Id.* (basing fitness on “theyr Ability of Body, Estate, & Courage.”)

³⁰⁶ *Id.*

³⁰⁷ 7 PROCEEDINGS AND ACTS OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY, OCTOBER 1678-NOVEMBER 1683, at 53 (1889), ARCHIVES MD. ONLINE, <http://aomol.msa.maryland.gov/000001/000007/html/am7--53.html> (last visited Jan. 13, 2019).

³⁰⁸ *Id.* at 54.

³⁰⁹ *Id.* at 55.

³¹⁰ *Id.* at 188.

³¹¹ *Id.* at 438.

³¹² 13 PROCEEDINGS AND ACTS OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY, APRIL 1684-JUNE 1692, at 554 (1894), ARCHIVES MD. ONLINE, <http://aomol.msa.maryland.gov/000001/000013/html/am13--554.html> (last visited Jan. 13, 2019).

³¹³ Also, in 1695, Maryland took an additional step to ensure that militiamen maintained the arms they were required to provide themselves, by marking them so they could be identified and so that potential buyers knew not to purchase those arms. 38 ACTS OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY HITHERTO UNPUBLISHED 1694-1698, 1711-1729, at 55 (1918), ARCHIVES MD. ONLINE, <http://aomol.msa.maryland.gov/000001/000038/html/am38--55.html> (last visited Jan. 13, 2019).

³¹⁴ 1698 Md. Acts 99, <https://quod.lib.umich.edu/e/evans/N29557.0001.001/1:9.44?rgn=div2;view=fulltext>.

³¹⁵ 22 PROCEEDINGS AND ACTS OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY, MARCH 1697/8-JULY 1699, at 562-63 (1883), ARCHIVES MD. ONLINE, <http://aomol.msa.maryland.gov/000001/000022/html/am22--562.html> (last visited Jan. 13, 2019).

³¹⁶ 26 PROCEEDINGS AND ACTS OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY, SEPTEMBER, 1704-APRIL, 1706, at 269-70 (1906), ARCHIVES MD. ONLINE, <http://aomol.msa.maryland.gov/000001/000026/html/am26--269.html> (last visited Jan. 13, 2019).

³¹⁷ 27 PROCEEDINGS AND ACTS OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY, MARCH, 1707-NOVEMBER, 1710, at 370 (1907), ARCHIVES MD. ONLINE, <http://aomol.msa.maryland.gov/000001/000027/html/am27--370.html> (last visited Jan. 13, 2019).

³¹⁸ *Id.* at 483.

³¹⁹ 38 ARCHIVES MD. ONLINE, *supra* note 313, at 128.

1714,³²⁰ 1715,³²¹ 1719,³²² 1722,³²³ and 1733.³²⁴

In 1756, Maryland passed another militia act, and kept the militia age at 16 to 60.³²⁵ This act changed the ammunition requirement to “nine Charges of Gun-powder and nine Sizeable Bullets.” Troopers needed to provide themselves with “a pair of good Pistols a good Sword or Hanger half a pound of Gun-powder and twelve Sizeable Bullets and a Carbine --well fixed with a good Belt Swivel and Buckett.”³²⁶

The Conventions of the Province of Maryland that took place in Annapolis in 1775 and 1776 produced two militia laws. Both Conventions determined “[t]hat every able bodied effective freeman within this province, between sixteen and fifty years of age . . . enroll himself in some company of militia.”³²⁷ The 1777 convention retained the new maximum of 50 years and excluded non-whites.³²⁸ A 1778 militia act did not change the ages or arms requirements.³²⁹

Then in 1781, the legislature passed “An Act to raise two battalions of militia for reinforcing the continental army, and to complete the number of select militia.” The minimum age remained sixteen.³³⁰ The new law ordered local governments to draft one or two men to serve the Continental Army. It allowed lieutenants to play favorites: “to ease the good people, from the draught, every free male idle person, above 16 years of age, who is able bodied, and hath no visible means of an honest livelihood, may be adjudged

³²⁰ 29 Proceedings and Acts of the General Assembly, Oct. 25, 1711-Oct. 9, 1714, at 437 (1909).

³²¹ 30 Proceedings and Acts of the General Assembly, April 26, 1715-August 10, 1716, at 277 (1910), Archives Md. Online, <http://aomol.msa.maryland.gov/000001/000030/html/am30--277.html> (last visited Jan. 13, 2019).

³²² 36 Proceedings and Acts of the General Assembly, July 1727-August 1729 with an appendix of statutes previously unpublished enacted 1714-1726, at 534 (1916), Archives Md. Online, <http://aomol.msa.maryland.gov/000001/000036/html/am36--534.html> (last visited Jan. 13, 2019).

³²³ 34 Proceedings and Acts of the General Assembly, October 1720-1723, at 480 (1914), Archives Md. Online, <https://msa.maryland.gov/megafile/msa/speccol/sc2900/sc2908/000001/000034/html/am34--480.html> (last visited Jan. 13, 2019).

³²⁴ 39 Proceedings and Acts of the General Assembly, 1733-1736, at 113 (1919), Archives Md. Online, <http://aomol.msa.maryland.gov/000001/000039/html/am39--113.html> (last visited Jan. 13, 2019).

³²⁵ 52 Proceedings and Acts of the General Assembly, 1755-1756, at 450 (1935), Archives Md. Online, <https://msa.maryland.gov/megafile/msa/speccol/sc2900/sc2908/000001/000052/html/am52--450.html> (last visited Jan. 13, 2019).

³²⁶ *Id.* at 458.

³²⁷ 78 Proceedings of the Conventions of the Province of Maryland, 1774-1776, at 20 (1836), Archives Md. Online, <http://aomol.msa.maryland.gov/000001/000078/html/am78--20.html> (last visited Jan. 13, 2019); *id.* at 74.

³²⁸ An Act to Regulate Militia, 1777 Md. Laws, Ch. XVII, Sec. II (expired in 1785), <http://aomol.msa.maryland.gov/megafile/msa/speccol/sc4800/sc4872/003180/html/m3180-0361.html>.

³²⁹ 203 HANSON’S LAWS OF MARYLAND 1763-1784, at 192-93 (1787), ARCHIVES MD. ONLINE, <http://aomol.msa.maryland.gov/000001/000203/html/am203--192.html> (last visited Jan. 13, 2019).

³³⁰ MARYLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY, 18 ARCHIVES OF MARYLAND: MUSTER ROLLS AND OTHER RECORDS OF SERVICE OF MARYLAND TROOPS IN THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION 1775-1783 at 374 (1900).

a vagrant by the lieutenant, and by such adjudication he is to be considered as an enlisted soldier.”³³¹

When Maryland ratified the Second Amendment on December 19, 1789,³³² every militia it had ever assembled consisted of men sixteen and older, who provided their own firearms.

The first time Maryland increased its militia age was in 1793, when it modified its laws to align with the federal Uniform Militia Act of 1792. This new militia statute raised the minimum age to eighteen and lowered the maximum age to forty-five.³³³

A 1793 supplement included a provision for a “one complete company of infantry annexed to each regiment within this state, to be furnished with arms and accoutrements at the expense of the state ... composed of men between the ages of twenty-one and thirty years.”³³⁴ This provision for select companies of infantry did not change the requirement for all other able bodied males between 18 and 45 to enroll in the general militia, and to provide their own personal arms.³³⁵ As the Act explained, “the privates and non-commissioned officers of the said company, as they shall respectively arrive at the age of thirty years, shall be dismissed from the company ... and

³³¹ 203 HANSON’S LAWS OF MARYLAND 1763-1784, at 279 (1787), ARCHIVES MD. ONLINE, <http://aomol.msa.maryland.gov/000001/000203/html/am203--279.html> (last visited Jan. 13, 2019).

³³² 1 JOURNAL OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES OF THE UNITED STATES, *supra* note 280, at 307-09.

³³³ WILLIAM KILTY, THE LAWS OF MARYLAND: 1785-1799, ch. LIII, at 455 (1800), <https://play.google.com/books/reader?id=SZxaAAAAAYAAJ&hl=en&pg=GBS.PT447>. There were exemptions for “quakers, menonists and tunkers, and persons conscientiously scrupulous of bearing arms, and the apprentices of their trade.” Excusal on grounds of disability required a certificate from “the surgeon of the regiment to which he shall belong, or some reputable physician in his neighbourhood.” *Id.* at 460. Quakers, Mennonites, and Dunkers are pacifist Protestant denominations. The Dunkers are also known as the Church of the Brethren and have Baptist roots.

³³⁴ A Supplement to the Act, Entitled, An Act to Regulate and Discipline the Militia of this State, 1798 Md. Laws, Ch. C, Section XXIII, ARCHIVES MD. ONLINE, <http://aomol.msa.maryland.gov/megafile/msa/speccol/sc4800/sc4872/003181/html/m3181-1319.html> (last visited Jan. 13, 2019). These state-provided arms were to be used only for militia duty. If used for “hunting, gunning or fowling” or not kept “clean and in neat order,” the firearm would be forfeited to the state and the militiaman would be forced to obtain a private firearm, which by comparison, was perfectly legal and expected to be used for non-militia purposes. *Id.* at Ch. C, Section XXX.

³³⁵ Since the supplemental act did not address the arms requirement established in the original act passed earlier that year, the following provision still applied:

That every citizen so enrolled and notified, shall, within six months thereafter, provide-himself with a good musket or firelock, a sufficient bayonet and belt, two spare flints, and a knapsack; a pouch with a box therein, to contain not less than twenty-four cartridges suited to the bore of his musket or firelock, each cartridge to contain a proper quantity of powder and ball; or with a good rifle, knapsack, shot-pouch and powder-horn, twenty balls suited to the bore of his rifle, and a quarter of a pound of powder, and shall appear so armed, accoutred and provided, when called out to exercise or into service.

KILTY, *supra* note 333, ch. LIII, at 455.

shall be subject to militia duty in the same manner as other citizens above the age of thirty years.”³³⁶

In 1799, Maryland’s final militia act of the eighteenth century copied federal law by calling for “all able bodied white male citizens between 18 and 45 years of age.”³³⁷

C. North Carolina: Land grants for properly armed persons “above the age of fourteen years”

In 1663, eight noblemen were granted the Carolina territory—which included what is now North Carolina and South Carolina—as a reward for their support of King Charles II as he was “restored” to the throne. The Charter of Carolina gave these men the authority to “to levy, muster and train all sorts of men, of what condition or wheresoever born ... to make war and pursue the enemies.”³³⁸

Pursuant to “Concessions and Agreements” in 1664, “All inhabitants and freemen of Carolina above seventeen years of age and under sixty shall be bound to bear arms and serve as soldiers whenever the grand council shall find it necessary.”³³⁹ To encourage settlement and to ensure that the settlers would be able to protect themselves, land grants were given to every properly armed freeman, every freewoman with an armed servant, plus additional land for each armed person produced who was “above the age of fourteen years” and had “a good firelock or matchlock bore, twelve bullets to the pound, ten pounds of powder, and twenty pounds of bullets.”³⁴⁰ The Fundamental Constitutions of Carolina in 1669 repeated the 1664 Concessions and Agreements rules for people 17-60.³⁴¹

A 1712 letter from North Carolina’s acting Governor Thomas Pollock to Lord John Carteret recalled that “at the last assembly with much struggling we obtained a law that every person between 16 and 60 years of age able to carry arms that would not go out to the war against the Indians, should forfeit and pay £5.”³⁴²

³³⁶ *Id.* at Ch. C, Section XXX.

³³⁷ 1 THOMAS HERTY, A DIGEST OF THE LAWS OF MD. 369 (1799).

³³⁸ CHARTER OF CAROLINA (Mar. 24, 1663), http://avalon.law.yale.edu/17th_century/nc01.asp.

³³⁹ AMERICA’S FOUNDING CHARTERS: PRIMARY DOCUMENTS OF COLONIAL AND REVOLUTIONARY ERA GOVERNANCE 232 (Jon L. Wakelyn ed. 2006) (Concessions and Agreements, Jan. 11, 1664) (available on Google Books).

³⁴⁰ *Id.* at 210-11.

³⁴¹ 1 THE STATE RECORDS OF NORTH CAROLINA 205 (1886).

³⁴² *Id.* at 877 (letter of Sept. 20, 1712). The war was North Carolina and its Indian allies against the Tuscarora Indians and their Indian allies. See DAVID LA VERE, THE TUSCARORA WAR: INDIANS, SETTLERS, AND THE FIGHT FOR THE CAROLINA COLONIES (2016). The Cartaret family were among the proprietors of North Carolina. STEWART E. DUNAWAY, LORD JOHN CARTERET, EARL GRANVILLE: FAMILY HISTORY AND THE GRANVILLE GRANTS IN NORTH CAROLINA 56 (2013).

The minimum militia age of sixteen was maintained in a 1715 act, declaring that “the Militia of this Governmt. shall consist of all the Freemen within the same between the years of Sixteen years & Sixty.”³⁴³ This included free blacks. Each militiaman had to provide himself with “a good Gun well-fixed Sword & at least Six Charges of Powder & Ball.”³⁴⁴

The enrollment of all freemen of all colors aged 16 to 60 was retained in a 1740 act.³⁴⁵ These freemen had to appear with “a good Gun well fixed and a Sword or Cutlass and at least twelve Charges of powder and Ball or Swan Shot”³⁴⁶ (Swan shot is large shotgun pellets.)

The next act in 1746 kept the same ages, but included servants in addition to freemen.³⁴⁷ It also slightly modified the arms requirement, mandating that each militiaman appear with “a Gun, fit for service, a Cartouch Box, and a Sword, Cutlass, or Hanger [a type of sword], and at least Twelve Charges of Powder and Bail, or Swan Shot, and Six Spare Flints”³⁴⁸ This act was extended for another five years in 1749,³⁴⁹ and another three years in 1754.³⁵⁰ The 1756 act slightly modified the necessary arms and equipment, specifically requiring tools for gun cleaning.³⁵¹ When this act was amended and continued in 1759, the arms and ages were unchanged.³⁵²

The 1760 law introduced different arms mandates for mounted militiamen, including a pair of handguns plus a lightweight long gun. Every trooper (horseman) needed “Holsters, Housing, Breast-Plate and Crupper, a Case of good Pistols, a good Broad Sword, Twelve Charges of Powder, Twelve sizeable Bullets, a Pair of Shoe-Boots, with suitable Spurs, and a Carbine well fixed, with a good Belt, Swivel and Bucket.”³⁵³

³⁴³ 1715 N.C. Sess. Laws 29.

³⁴⁴ *Id.*

³⁴⁵ *An Act for the better Regulating the Militia of this Government*, N.C. OFF. ARCHIVES & HIST., <http://www.ncpublications.com/Colonial/editions/Acts/militia.htm> (last updated Dec. 31, 2000).

³⁴⁶ *Id.*

³⁴⁷ *An Act for the better Regulating the Militia of this Government*, 1746 N.C. Sess. Laws 244, <http://docsouth.unc.edu/csr/index.php/document/csr23-0016>.

³⁴⁸ *Id.*

³⁴⁹ *An Act for Altering, Explaining, and Continuing an Act, Intituled, an Act for the better Regulating the Militia in this Government*, 1749 N.C. Sess. Laws 330, <http://docsouth.unc.edu/csr/index.php/document/csr23-0022>.

³⁵⁰ 1754 N.C. Sess. Laws 266, <http://docsouth.unc.edu/csr/index.php/document/csr25-0031>.

³⁵¹ *An Act for the better Regulation of the Militia, and for other Purposes*, 1756 N.C. Sess. Laws 334, <http://docsouth.unc.edu/csr/index.php/document/csr25-0034> (“a well fixed Gun, and a Cartridge Box, and a Sword, Cutlass or Hanger, and have at least nine Charges of Powder and Ball, or Swan Shot, and three spare Flints, and a Worm and Picker”).

³⁵² *An Act to Amend and Continue an Act, Intituled, an Act for the better Regulation of the Militia, and for other Purposes*, 1759 N.C. Sess. Laws 393, <http://docsouth.unc.edu/csr/index.php/document/csr25-0040>.

³⁵³ *An Act for Appointing a Militia*, 1760 N.C. Sess. Laws 521, <http://docsouth.unc.edu/csr/index.php/document/csr23-0040>. This act was continued later that same year, and again in 1762. *An Act to amend and continue an Act intituled An Act for appointing a Militia*, 1760 N.C.

The militia act of 1764 had similar age and arms requirements, except that swan shot was now mandatory for infantry.³⁵⁴ The act was continued in 1766.³⁵⁵ Then in 1768, “sizeable Bullets” were restored as an acceptable alternative to swan shot.³⁵⁶

The 1770 act eliminated a conscientious objector exemption and ordered “all Male Persons of the people called Quakers, between the age of Sixteen and Sixty” to enlist in the militia.³⁵⁷ Additionally, the act provided that “the Father or where there is no Father living, the Mother of each and every Person under the age of Twenty One Years, shall be liable to the Payment of the Fines becoming due from their respective sons so under age.”³⁵⁸

The 1774 militia act retained the age and arm requirements.³⁵⁹ Perhaps reflecting wartime arms shortages, the 1777 act was less specific about particular firearms, requiring only that “each Militia soldier shall be furnished with a good Gun, shot bag and powder horn, a Cutlass or Tomahawk.”³⁶⁰ The maximum age was reduced: “the Militia of every County shall consist of all the effective men from sixteen to fifty years of age.”³⁶¹

With the American Revolution raging, the 1779 act kept the maximum age of 50 and the minimum of 16.³⁶² Religious exemptions were restored for “Quakers, Menonists, Dunkards, and Moravians.”³⁶³ “[E]ach Militia Soldier [had to] be furnished with a Good Gun, Shot bag a Cartouch Box or powder Horn, a Cutlass or Tomahawk.”³⁶⁴

Sess. Laws 535, <http://docsouth.unc.edu/csr/index.php/document/csr23-0041>; 1762 N.C. Sess. Laws 585, <http://docsouth.unc.edu/csr/index.php/document/csr23-0043>.

³⁵⁴ An Act for appointing a Militia, 1764 N.C. Sess. Laws 596, <http://docsouth.unc.edu/csr/index.php/document/csr23-0044>.

³⁵⁵ An Act to amend & Continue An Act, Intitled An Act for Appointing a Militia, 1766 N.C. Sess. Laws 496, <http://docsouth.unc.edu/csr/index.php/document/csr25-0049>.

³⁵⁶ An Act for establishing a Militia in this Province, 1768 N.C. Sess. Laws 761, <http://docsouth.unc.edu/csr/index.php/document/csr23-0049>.

³⁵⁷ An Act for an Addition to, and Amendment of an Act, entitled, An Act for Appointing a Militia, 1770 N.C. Sess. Laws 787, <http://docsouth.unc.edu/csr/index.php/document/csr23-0051>.

³⁵⁸ *Id.* at 788. Similarly, “the master, and where there is no master, the mistress of all such Apprentices and Servants shall be liable to the Payment of Fines becoming Due from their respective Apprentices and Servants.” *Id.*

³⁵⁹ An Act to Establish a Militia for the Security and Defence of this Province, 1774 N.C. Sess. Laws. 940-41, <http://docsouth.unc.edu/csr/index.php/document/csr23-0054>.

³⁶⁰ An Act to Establish a Militia in this State, 1777 N.C. Sess. Laws 1, <http://docsouth.unc.edu/csr/index.php/document/csr24-0001>.

³⁶¹ *Id.*

³⁶² An Act to Regulate and Establish a Militia in this State, 1779 N.C. Sess. Laws 190, <http://docsouth.unc.edu/csr/index.php/document/csr24-0005>.

³⁶³ *Id.* “Menonists” encompasses several Protestant sects who trace their origin to the Dutch pacifist priest Menno Simons. “Dunkards” derived their name from their practice of full-immersion baptism. Moravians descend from the early fifteenth century Czech Protestant reformer Jan Hus. Mainly from central Europe, they became pacifist after failed uprisings in the seventeenth century.

³⁶⁴ *Id.* at 191.

The 1781 act was more flexible on the requisite arms. Infantry needed “a good gun and shot bag, and powder horn or cartouch box, and havre sack.”³⁶⁵ Cavalry troopers needed “a gun, sword, and cartouch box.”³⁶⁶

The following year, “An Act for Raising troops to compleat the Continental Battalions of this State, and other purposes” was passed. This was a draft for the Continental Army. Subject to the draft were “all the inhabitants . . . between the ages of sixteen and fifty.”³⁶⁷ To prevent the widespread community practice of filling draft ranks with the most vulnerable and least motivated, the act specified that “no British or Hessian deserter who hath not been a resident of this State twelve months, or orphan or apprentice under eighteen years of age, Indian, sailor or negro slave, shall be received as a substitute for any class volunteer or draft whatever.”³⁶⁸ So a 19-year-old who was drafted could hire an older man to serve as a substitute, but could not hire a 17-year-old orphan.

After the war was over, the 1785 act raised the minimum militia age to 18. Militiamen included “all freemen and indented servants” (but not servants for life, a/k/a slaves). Militiamen had to arm themselves with “a well fixed gun and cartouch-box, with nine charges of powder made into cartridges and sizeable bullets or swan-shot, and one spare flint, worm and picker.”³⁶⁹

North Carolina’s 1787 militia law³⁷⁰ was in effect when it ratified the Second Amendment on December 22, 1789.³⁷¹ The militia law kept the militia as “all freemen and indented servants within this State, from eighteen to fifty years of age.”³⁷² The required arms and equipment were now more specific and varied by role in the militia.³⁷³

For commissioned officers in the infantry, “side arms” (handguns) “or a spontoon” (a pole arm). For private and non-commissioned officers, a musket or rifle, plus a cartridge box, powder horn, shot pouch “in good condition,” “nine charges of powder made into cartridges with sizeable balls

³⁶⁵ An Act to regulate and establish a Militia in this State, 1781 N.C. Sess. Laws 359, <http://docsouth.unc.edu/csr/index.php/document/csr24-0010>.

³⁶⁶ *Id.* at 366.

³⁶⁷ An Act for Raising troops to compleat the Continental Battalions of this State, and other purposes, 1782 N.C. Sess. Laws 413, <http://docsouth.unc.edu/csr/index.php/document/csr24-0012>.

³⁶⁸ *Id.* at 414.

³⁶⁹ An Act for Establishing a Militia in This State, 1785 N.C. Sess. Laws 710, <http://docsouth.unc.edu/csr/index.php/document/csr24-0016>.

³⁷⁰ An Act for Establishing a Militia in this State, 1787 N.C. Sess. Laws 813, <http://docsouth.unc.edu/csr/index.php/document/csr24-0017>.

³⁷¹ 1 JOURNAL OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES OF THE UNITED STATES, *supra* note 280, at 311–12.

³⁷² An Act for Establishing a Militia in this State, 1787 N.C. Sess. Laws 813, <http://docsouth.unc.edu/csr/index.php/document/csr24-0017>.

³⁷³ *Id.* at 814.

or swan-shot,” a spare flint, and one worm and picker.³⁷⁴ As for artillerymen, they “shall be armed and accoutred with small arms in the same manner of the infantry, except the non-commissioned officers, who shall have swords instead of fire-arms.”³⁷⁵

Horsemen, whether officers or privates, needed “a strong, serviceable horse, at least fourteen hands high, with a good saddle, bridle, holsters, one pistol, horseman’s sword and cap, a pair of shoe boots and spurs,” plus “a proper cartouch-box and cartridges all in good order.”³⁷⁶

North Carolina’s next militia bill, passed on December 29, 1792, conformed to the federal Uniform Militia Act of 1792. The minimum age remained 18, while the maximum dropped to 45. The mandatory arms paralleled the federal statute. Each infantryman was required to “provide himself with a good musket or firelock, a sufficient bayonet and belt, two spare flints, a knapsack, a pouch with a box therein to contain not less than 24 cartridges suited to the bore of his musket or firelock, each cartridge to contain a proper quantity of powder and ball ; or with a good rifle, knapsack, shot-pouch and powder-horn, 20 balls suited to the bore of his rifle, and a quarter of a pound of powder.”³⁷⁷

The state’s final militia act of the eighteenth century was passed in 1796. It improved consistency with federal law and kept the previous age and arms requirements.³⁷⁸

D. South Carolina: “all male persons in this Province, from the age of sixteen to sixty years”

South Carolina was formally separated from North Carolina in 1729 but began making its own laws before that. Its first militia statute was enacted in 1703.³⁷⁹ It included “all and every the inhabitants from the age of sixteen years to sixty.”³⁸⁰ It required “each person or soldier” to appear “with a good sufficient gun, well fixed, a good cover for their lock, one good cartridge box, with at least twenty cartridges of good powder and ball, and one good belt or girdle, one ball of wax sticking at the end of the cartridge box, to defend the

³⁷⁴ *Id.*

³⁷⁵ *Id.*

³⁷⁶ *Id.*

³⁷⁷ 1792 N.C. Sess. Laws 33, <https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=nc01.ark:/13960/t8sb53g1g;view=1up;seq=33>.

³⁷⁸ 1796 N.C. Sess. Laws 57, <https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=nc01.ark:/13960/t6n02562t;view=1up;seq=57>.

³⁷⁹ 9 THE STATUTES AT LARGE OF SOUTH CAROLINA: CONTAINING THE ACTS RELATING TO ROADS, BRIDGES AND FERRIES, WITH AN APPENDIX, CONTAINING THE MILITIA ACTS PRIOR TO 1794, at 617 (David J. McCord ed., 1841), https://books.google.com/books/about/The_Statutes_at_Large_of_South_Carolina.html?id=t7Q4AAAAIAAJ.

³⁸⁰ *Id.*

arms in rain, one worm, one wier and four good spare flints, also a sword, bayonet or hatchet.”³⁸¹

The arms and age requirements were retained in the 1707 militia act.³⁸² This act was revived and continued in 1721.³⁸³ The 1721 act made only minor changes for arms; militiamen now had to bring at least a quarter pound of powder, and only twelve cartridges instead of twenty.³⁸⁴ Additionally, troops of horse or dragoons had to provide themselves with “holsters and a pair of pistols, a carbine and sword.”³⁸⁵ The next act, in 1734, was identical to 1721.³⁸⁶

South Carolina’s 1737/8 militia act is lost.³⁸⁷ A 1739 supplement did make it clear that militia arms were to be kept at home: “all persons who are liable to bear arms, shall constantly keep in their houses such arms, furniture, ammunition and accoutrements.”³⁸⁸

A 1747 act affirmed that it was “lawful to . . . call together all male persons in this Province, from the age of sixteen to sixty years.” It also made “every person liable to appear and bear arms . . . keep in his house, or at his usual place of residence, and bring with him to such muster, exercise or training, one gun or musket, fit for service, a cover for his lock, one cartridge box,” twelve cartridges, horn or flask filled with at least a quarter pound of gun powder, a shot pouch with appropriate bullets, “one girdle or belt, one ball of wax . . . to defend his arms in rain, one worm and picker, four spare flints, a bayonet, sword or hatchet.”³⁸⁹

The next militia act was passed over four decades later, in 1778.³⁹⁰ It applied to “all male free inhabitants . . . from the age of sixteen to sixty years.”³⁹¹ Every militiaman had to “constantly keep in good repair, at his place of abode . . . one good musket and bayonet, or a good substantial smooth bore gun and bayonet, a cross belt and cartouch box” that could hold thirty-six rounds, “twelve rounds of good cartridges,” plus “half a pound of spare powder and twenty-four spare rounds of leaden bullets or buck-shot,” a cover for the gunlock, wax, worm picker, and “one screw driver or

³⁸¹ *Id.* at 618.

³⁸² *Id.* at 625-26.

³⁸³ *Id.* at 631.

³⁸⁴ *Id.* at 632.

³⁸⁵ *Id.* at 639.

³⁸⁶ *Id.* at 641.

³⁸⁷ 3 THE STATUTES AT LARGE OF SOUTH CAROLINA 487 (Thomas Cooper, ed., 1838) (“The original not to be found.”).

³⁸⁸ 9 THE STATUTES AT LARGE OF SOUTH CAROLINA, *supra* note 379, at 643.

³⁸⁹ *Id.* at 645-47. This act was followed in 1760 by an act establishing and regulating the artillery company that was formed out of the Charleston militia. *Id.* at 664.

³⁹⁰ *Id.* at 666.

³⁹¹ *Id.* at 672.

substantial knife.” Instead of the musket plus bayonet, a militiaman could choose “one good rifle-gun and tomahawk or cutlass.”³⁹²

South Carolina’s 1782 militia act kept the minimum age at 16 but lowered the maximum age to 50.³⁹³ A temporary act in 1783 left the age and arms requirements unchanged.³⁹⁴

The minimum age was raised for the first time in South Carolina’s history in the militia act of 1784, which defined the militia when the state ratified the Second Amendment on January 19, 1790.³⁹⁵ The 1784 act “excused from militia duty, except in times of alarm . . . all persons under the age of eighteen years or above the age of fifty years.”³⁹⁶ Thus, men under 18 or over 50 could still be forced to serve in an emergency.

The necessary arms were revised in 1791. Firearms were “a good musket and bayonet . . . or other sufficient gun.”³⁹⁷ Edged arms were “a good and sufficient small sword, broad sword, cutlass or hatchet.”³⁹⁸ Along with the usual cartouch box, powder horn or flask, shot bag or pouch, spare flint, and ammunition.³⁹⁹

Almost exactly one year later, on December 21, 1792, an act⁴⁰⁰ was passed that continued the Acts of 1784 and 1791, until the state could “arrange the militia agreeable to the Act of the United States in Congress.”⁴⁰¹ The South Carolina militia expressly included free people of every color within the state: “all free negroes and Indians, (nations of Indians in amity with the State excepted,) Moors, mulattoes and mestizoes,”⁴⁰² between the ages of eighteen and forty-five, shall be obliged to serve in the said militia.”⁴⁰³

Finally, in 1794, the state organized its militia “in conformity with the act of Congress.”⁴⁰⁴ The South Carolina militia was “every citizen who shall,

³⁹² *Id.* at 672-73.

³⁹³ *Id.* at 682.

³⁹⁴ *Id.* at 688.

³⁹⁵ 1 JOURNAL OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES OF THE UNITED STATES, *supra* note 280, at 309–11.

³⁹⁶ 9 THE STATUTES AT LARGE OF SOUTH CAROLINA, *supra* note 379, at 689–90.

³⁹⁷ *Id.* at 691.

³⁹⁸ *Id.*

³⁹⁹ *Id.*

⁴⁰⁰ *Id.* at 347-59.

⁴⁰¹ *Id.* at 358.

⁴⁰² Mixed-race descent of whites and Indians. The Indian amity language meant that an Indian who lived among South Carolinians was subject to militia duty. Because Indian tribes were legally separate nations, Indians of friendly tribes who lived with the tribe could not be subject to militia duty.

⁴⁰³ *Id.* at 358.

⁴⁰⁴ 8 THE STATUTES AT LARGE OF SOUTH CAROLINA: CONTAINING THE ACTS RELATING TO CORPORATIONS AND THE MILITIA 485 (David J. McCord ed., 1841), <https://books.google.com.fj/books?id=4EgUAAAAYAAJ>.

from time to time, arrive at the age of eighteen years.”⁴⁰⁵ It excluded “all persons under the age of eighteen, and above the age of forty-five years.”⁴⁰⁶ Additionally, “all free white aliens or transient persons, above the age of eighteen and under the age of forty-five years, who have resided or hereafter shall or may reside in this state for the term of six months [were] subject and liable to do and perform all patrol and militia duty which shall or may be required by the commanding officer” of the district.”⁴⁰⁷ The required arms were the same as the federal Uniform Militia Act.⁴⁰⁸

E. New Hampshire: males under seventy

New Hampshire’s first militia act was passed in 1687.⁴⁰⁹ It demanded “that no person whatsoever above Sixteene yeares of age remaine unlisted.”⁴¹⁰ Equipment was “a well fixed musket” with a barrel at least three feet.⁴¹¹ The caliber was large: “the bore for a bullett of twelve to the pound.”⁴¹² Also necessary were bandoliers and a cartridge box, plus bullets and powder.⁴¹³ Officers had the option of allowing their men to have “a good pike and sword” instead of the musket.⁴¹⁴

As for horsemen, “every soldier belonging to the horse” had to bring “a good serviceable horse covered with a good saddle with holsters breastplate and crupper a case of good pistolls and sword and halfe a pound of powder and twenty sizable bullets . . . And every trooper have at his usuall place of abode a well fixed Carabine with belt and swivel.”⁴¹⁵

The next act, in 1692, changed the militia from all “persons” over sixteen to all males over 16.⁴¹⁶ For arms, everyone had to be “well provided

⁴⁰⁵ *Id.* at 487.

⁴⁰⁶ *Id.* at 492.

⁴⁰⁷ *Id.* at 493. The “patrol” was the slave patrol—nighttime patrols to catch slaves who were off their master’s land, and to search slave quarters for weapons. The patrol and the militia had separate origins and were legally distinct. However, as the text indicates, below the Mason-Dixon line, the patrol and the militia were related. *See generally* SALLY E. HADDEN, *SLAVE PATROLS: LAW AND VIOLENCE IN VIRGINIA AND THE CAROLINAS* (2001).

⁴⁰⁸ 8 THE STATUTES AT LARGE OF SOUTH CAROLINA: CONTAINING THE ACTS RELATING TO CORPORATIONS AND THE MILITIA, *supra* note 404, at 498. This law was supplemented later in 1794, but the supplement did not affect the age limits nor arms requirements. *Id.* at 501-02.

⁴⁰⁹ 1 LAW OF NEW HAMPSHIRE: PROVINCE PERIOD 221 (Albert Stillman Batchellor ed., 1904), <https://play.google.com/store/books/details?id=YSgTAAAYAAJ>.

⁴¹⁰ *Id.*

⁴¹¹ *Id.*

⁴¹² *Id.* That is, one pound of lead would make twelve bullets. This was slightly larger than .75 caliber, which is 13 round bullets per pound. RED RIVER BRIGADE, <http://www.redriverbrigade.com/lead-ball-per-pound/> (last visited Jan. 13, 2019).

⁴¹³ 1 LAWS OF NEW HAMPSHIRE: PROVINCE PERIOD, *supra* note 397.

⁴¹⁴ *Id.*

⁴¹⁵ *Id.* at 221-22

⁴¹⁶ *Id.* at 537.

w' th a well fixed gun or fuse," plus "Sword or hatchet."⁴¹⁷ Along with the typical colonial requirements for gunpowder and bullets, a knapsack, a cartridge box, a powder horn, and flints.⁴¹⁸

The above had stated how much ammunition the militiaman had to bring when called to muster—the periodic militia inspections for sufficiency of arms. Besides that, every militiaman had to keep more at home: "every Sooider Shall have at his habitation & abode one pound of good powder & twenty Sizable bullets."⁴¹⁹

A 1704 act did not change the militia ages or arms.⁴²⁰ But the following act did. "An Act for the Regulating of the Militia" in 1718 established New Hampshire's first upper militia age limit, providing that "all Male Persons from Sixteen Years of Age to Sixty [] shall bear Arms."⁴²¹

The primary arms mandate applied to "every Listed Souldier and Housholder (except Troopers)."⁴²² In other words, the head of a house was required to have the specified arms, even if the head were not militia-eligible. These arms were "a well fix'd, Firelock Musket, of Musket or Bastard-Musket bore, the Barrel not less than three foot and a half long; or other good Fire-Arms, to the satisfaction of the Commission Officers of the Company."⁴²³ Now, the mandatory equipment included gun cleaning tools: "a Worm and Priming Wire fit for his Gun."⁴²⁴ Mandatory edged arms were "a good Sword or Cutlash."⁴²⁵

As for horsemen, they needed "a Carbine, the Barrel not less than Two Foot and half long, with a Belt and Swivel, a Case of good Pistols with a Sword or Cutlash, a Flask or Cartouch Box, One Pound of good Powder, Three Pound of sizeable Bullets, Twenty Flints, and a good pair of Boots, and Spurs."⁴²⁶

Acts passed in 1719⁴²⁷ and 1739/40⁴²⁸ did not affect the age limits or arms requirements. A 1754 revision made the parents over persons under twenty-one liable for fines imposed for their sons' militia delinquency or neglect.⁴²⁹

⁴¹⁷ *Id.*

⁴¹⁸ *Id.*

⁴¹⁹ *Id.*

⁴²⁰ 2 ALBERT STILLMAN BATCHELLOR, LAWS OF NEW HAMPSHIRE, PROVINCE PERIOD 61-62 (1913), <https://play.google.com/store/books/details?id=PbxGAQAIAAJ>.

⁴²¹ *Id.* at 284.

⁴²² *Id.* at 285.

⁴²³ *Id.*

⁴²⁴ *Id.*

⁴²⁵ *Id.*

⁴²⁶ *Id.*

⁴²⁷ *Id.* at 347 ("An Act in Addition to the Act for the Regulating the Militia").

⁴²⁸ *Id.* at 575 ("An Act in Addition to an Act Entituled, An Act for Regulating the Militia").

⁴²⁹ 3 LAWS OF NEW HAMPSHIRE, PROVINCE PERIOD 83 (Henry Harrison Metcalf ed., 1915), <https://play.google.com/store/books/details?id=n7xGAQAIAAJ>.

Thus, the social expectation of the time was that parents would ensure that their sons sixteen and older had particular guns, swords, and so on, and that the sons would keep the arms in good condition and practice with them.

In 1773, New Hampshire lowered the maximum militia age from 60 to 50, “it having been found by Experience that persons attending after the Age of Fifty Years was not for the Publick advantage.”⁴³⁰

After the Revolution began, a comprehensive new militia law was enacted.⁴³¹ It retained the recently established age limits of 16 to 50.⁴³²

Any “good Fire Arm” was acceptable. Also mandatory was a “good Ramrod.”⁴³³ The latter was used to ram the bullet down the muzzle, into the firing chamber. It was essential to the use of a muzzle-loading gun. While some militia statutes specified a ramrod, many left it to implication. By requiring that a gun be “well fixed” or “good,” the less specific statutes implicitly required all appropriate accoutrements, including the ramrod.

For gun cleaning, the worm and priming wire had long been mandated. The new laws had an additional item: a brush.⁴³⁴

Two types of edged weapons were needed. First, “a Bayonet fitted to his Gun.”⁴³⁵ In close quarters fighting, an infantryman would attach the bayonet to the front of his gun. Then the gun would be used as a spear. Since there was a bayonet, there had to be “a Scabbard and Belt therefor.”⁴³⁶

Besides the bayonet, one additional edged weapon was mandatory: “a Cutting Sword, or a Tomahawk or Hatchet.”⁴³⁷

The ammunition items were: “Pouch containing a Cartridge Box, that will hold fifteen Rounds of Cartridges at least, a Hundred Buck Shot, a Jack Knife and Tow for Wadding, six Flints, one Pound of Powder, forty Leaden Balls fitted to his Gun.”⁴³⁸

Finally, field supplies: “Knapsack and Blanket, a Canteen or Wooden Bottle sufficient to hold one Quart.”⁴³⁹

Persons who were self-sufficient had to supply themselves with the required items. As for others, “all Parents, Masters, and Guardians, shall

⁴³⁰ *Id.* at 590.

⁴³¹ 4 LAWS OF NEW HAMPSHIRE, REVOLUTIONARY PERIOD 39 (Henry Harrison Metcalf ed., 1916) (“An Act for forming and regulating the Militia within the State of New Hampshire in New England, and for repealing all the Laws heretofore made for that purpose”), <https://play.google.com/store/books/details?id=P71GAQAIAAJ>.

⁴³² *Id.*

⁴³³ *Id.* at 42.

⁴³⁴ *Id.*

⁴³⁵ *Id.*

⁴³⁶ *Id.*

⁴³⁷ *Id.*

⁴³⁸ *Id.*

⁴³⁹ *Id.*

furnish and equip those of the Militia which are under their Care and Command.”⁴⁴⁰

In the War of Independence—for national survival—arms duties were expanded even to 65-year-olds. All men “from Sixteen years of Age to Sixty five” who were *not* part of the militia (“the Training Band”) were required to provide themselves the same “Arms and Accoutrements.” This applied to men “of sufficient Ability” (able-bodied).⁴⁴¹

Later, four years into the war, in 1780, New Hampshire enacted a new militia law.⁴⁴² The militia was ages sixteen and fifty.⁴⁴³ The militiamen had to attend musters and drills, and sometimes had to march off to fight in distant locations.

Under the 1780 law, all males under 70 who were capable of bearing arms were put on the “alarm list.”⁴⁴⁴ This meant that they had to have all the same arms and gear as militiamen.⁴⁴⁵ If there were an attack on their town, or nearby, they would come forth with their arms.

The New Hampshire statute reflected a common American practice. Whenever a small town was attacked, everybody who was able would fight as needed, including women, children, and the elderly.⁴⁴⁶

The 1780 firearms requirement was more specific than its 1776 predecessor, requiring “a good Musquet.”⁴⁴⁷ The bayonet was still mandatory, but a second edged weapon was not.⁴⁴⁸ Captains and Subalterns were to be “furnished with a half pike or Esponton” (pole arms) or a “Fusée [lightweight long gun] and Bayonet and also with a Sword or Hanger.”⁴⁴⁹

In 1786, New Hampshire repealed all previous militia laws, and enacted a comprehensive new statute.⁴⁵⁰ This was the state’s militia law when it ratified the Second Amendment on January 25, 1790.⁴⁵¹ The minimum age remained at 16—where it had been throughout all of New Hampshire’s

⁴⁴⁰ *Id.*

⁴⁴¹ *Id.* at 46.

⁴⁴² *Id.* at 273 (“An Act for Forming & Regulating The Militia within this State, and for Repealing All the Laws heretofore made for that Purpose.”).

⁴⁴³ *Id.* at 274.

⁴⁴⁴ *Id.* at 276.

⁴⁴⁵ *Id.*

⁴⁴⁶ See, e.g., STEVEN C. EAMES, *RUSTIC WARRIORS: WARFARE AND THE PROVINCIAL SOLDIERS ON THE NEW ENGLAND FRONTIER, 1689-1748*, at 28-29 (2011).

⁴⁴⁷ *Id.* at 276-77.

⁴⁴⁸ *Id.*

⁴⁴⁹ *Id.* at 277.

⁴⁵⁰ 5 *LAWS OF NEW HAMPSHIRE, FIRST CONSTITUTIONAL PERIOD 177* (Henry Harrison Metcalf ed., 1916), <https://play.google.com/store/books/details?id=iKkwAQAAAMAJ>. An addition to this act was passed in September of 1786, but it did not affect the age limits or arms requirements. *Id.* at 197.

⁴⁵¹ 1 *JOURNAL OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES OF THE UNITED STATES*, *supra* note 280, at 303-04.

history. The maximum age fell to 40, its lowest yet.⁴⁵² Older men were on the alarm list until age 60.⁴⁵³

Arms were the same as in 1780.⁴⁵⁴ As before, militiamen “under the care of parents masters or Guardians” were “to be furnished by them with such Arms and accoutrements.”⁴⁵⁵

A 1792 militia law introduced a racial element; the militia consisted of “every free, able bodied white male citizen of this State resident therein who is, or shall be of the age of eighteen years and under the age of Forty years.”⁴⁵⁶

The 1792 arms requirements were mostly the same as before, with some additional details. For example, commissioned officers had to have “a pair of Pistols, the holsters of which to be covered with bear-skin Caps.”⁴⁵⁷ Commissioned officers might have an espoutoon (a pole arm often used for signaling), but field officers would not.⁴⁵⁸ Again, “parents, Masters, or Guardians” had to furnish their charges with “Arms and Accoutrements.”⁴⁵⁹ And again they were “liable for the neglect and non appearance of such persons . . . under their care.”⁴⁶⁰

In 1795 the starting militia age was lowered back to sixteen, where it had been until recently.⁴⁶¹ Perhaps the 1792 age-eighteen law was in deference to the federal Uniform Militia Act passed earlier that year. Later, the people decided that they wanted to keep their traditional lower age.

F. Delaware: “every Freeholder and taxable Person”

First a colony of Sweden and then the Netherlands, Delaware was taken by the English in 1664. Initially, New York claimed it. A statute New York passed in 1671 to defend against Indian attacks along the Delaware River became Delaware’s first militia act. It required “That every Person that can

⁴⁵² 5 LAWS OF NEW HAMPSHIRE, FIRST CONSTITUTIONAL PERIOD, *supra* note 450, at 177.

⁴⁵³ *Id.* at 178.

⁴⁵⁴ *Id.* at 180.

⁴⁵⁵ *Id.* at 179. Also, as usual, “Parents Masters and Guardians shall be liable for the Neglect and Non Appearance of such persons as are under their Care and are liable by Law to train.” *Id.* at 181.

⁴⁵⁶ 6 LAWS OF NEW HAMPSHIRE, SECOND CONSTITUTIONAL PERIOD 84-85 (N.H. Sec’y of State ed., 1917) (available on Google Books).

⁴⁵⁷ *Id.* at 88.

⁴⁵⁸ *Id.* at 89.

⁴⁵⁹ *Id.*

⁴⁶⁰ *Id.*

⁴⁶¹ *Id.* at 263-64 (“[E]very free, able bodied, white male citizen of this State resident therein who is or shall be of the age of sixteen years, and under forty years of age, under such exceptions as are made in this act, shall be enrolled in the Militia, and shall in all other respects be considered as liable to the duties of the Militia, in the same way and manner, as those of the age of eighteen years and upwards. And every citizen enrolled and liable as aforesaid; shall, while under the age of twenty one years be exempt from a poll tax.”).

Other additions to the 1792 militia law were enacted in 1793. *Id.* at 110 (assigning certain militia units to regiments), 1795 (*id.* at 279), and 1798 (*id.* at 545).

bear Arms from 16 to 60 years of Age, bee allways provided with a convenient proportion of Powder & Bullett fit for Service, and their mutual Defence.”⁴⁶²

Eventually, Delaware got its own legislature, but the three compact counties were too small to merit a royal governor. Consequently, the Governor of Pennsylvania was also the Governor of Delaware. Delaware did not enact a militia statute until 1740.⁴⁶³ It required “all the inhabitants and freemen” aged fifteen to sixty-three to “provide and keep . . . a well-fixed firelock or musket,” plus ammunition supplies and cleaning tools.⁴⁶⁴

The next year, a new law required males from 17 to 50 years to enlist. Besides that, everyone else who was living self-sufficiently (“every Freeholder and taxable Person”) had to have the same arms as militiamen.⁴⁶⁵

Because “the Subjects of the French King, and their Savage Indian Allies . . . in the most cruel and barbarous Manner, attacked and murdered great Numbers” of colonists, the Assembly of the Counties of New Castle, Kent, and Sussex enacted a militia law in 1756.⁴⁶⁶ This militia law for the French & Indian War was for the people to “assert the just Rights, and vindicate the Honour, of His Majesty’s Crown, but also to defend themselves and their Lives and Properties, and preserve the many invaluable Rights and Privileges that they enjoy under their present Constitution and Government.”⁴⁶⁷

The militia law covered every male “above Seventeen and under Fifty Years of Age (except bought Servants, or Servants adjudged to serve their Creditors).”⁴⁶⁸ The gun was to be a musket or rifle.⁴⁶⁹ The next year the militia act was extended “so long as the War proclaimed by his Majesty against the French King shall continue and no longer.”⁴⁷⁰

After the Revolution began, Delaware enacted several militia statutes in 1778. The foundational act “establishing a Militia within this State” included “each and every able-bodied, effective, Male white Person between the Ages of Eighteen and Fifty.”⁴⁷¹ Militiamen had to provide their own

⁴⁶² GEORGE H. RYDEN, DELAWARE—THE FIRST STATE IN THE UNION 103-104 (1938), https://archives.delaware.gov/wp-content/uploads/sites/156/2017/05/DE_Terc_Publications.pdf.

⁴⁶³ 1 LAWS OF THE STATE OF DELAWARE 175 (1797), <https://play.google.com/store/books/details?id=GXJKAAAAAYAAJ>.

⁴⁶⁴ *Id.* at 175, 178.

⁴⁶⁵ RYDEN, *supra* note 462, at 117. A “freeholder” owned real property. Single women could be freeholders. A tenant was not a freeholder, but could be a taxable person.

⁴⁶⁶ ARTHUR VOLLMER, MILITARY OBLIGATION: DELAWARE ENACTMENTS 179 (1947).

⁴⁶⁷ *Id.*

⁴⁶⁸ *Id.*

⁴⁶⁹ *Id.* at 180.

⁴⁷⁰ RYDEN *supra* note 462, at 126.

⁴⁷¹ AN ACT of the General Assembly of the Delaware State for establishing a militia within the said state, 1778 Del. Acts, March Adjourned Session 3-4. The several acts from the March 1778 session are separately paginated, so each new act begins on its own page 1.

“Musket or Firelock with a Bayonet,” plus the cartridge box, cartridges, priming wire, brush, and six flints. For 18-to-20-year-olds who could not afford the mandatory arms, the parents had to provide them, if the parents could afford them.⁴⁷²

Another law punished people who bought from militiamen the arms or accoutrements that militiamen were supposed to always keep. If the illicit buyer were a man 18 to 50, the punishment could include six months’ service in the militia.⁴⁷³ The third act in 1778 provided regulations for the militia “whilst under Arms or embodied” (i.e., in active service).⁴⁷⁴ A 1779 supplement specified the punishment for persons between 18 and 50 who failed to appear for militia duty with the required arms.⁴⁷⁵

A comprehensive new militia act in 1782 included “every able-bodied effective Male white Inhabitant between the Ages of eighteen and fifty years.”⁴⁷⁶ Again, parents who could afford to had to provide the required arms to persons aged 18-to-20 who could not afford them.⁴⁷⁷ Arms were the same as before.⁴⁷⁸

The act that established the militia when Delaware ratified the Second Amendment on January 28, 1790,⁴⁷⁹ was passed in 1785.⁴⁸⁰ Each white male 18-50 whose taxes were at least twenty shillings a year had to provide equipment “at his own expence.”⁴⁸¹ As for apprentices and persons over 18 and under 21, their parent or guardian would provide the arms—if the militiaman’s estate were at least eighty pounds, or if the parent paid “six pounds annually towards the public taxes.”⁴⁸²

Arms were “a musket or firelock, with a bayonet,” a cartridge box with twenty-three cartridges, “a priming wire, a brush and six flints, all in good order.”⁴⁸³ Fines for neglect were to be paid by militiamen “of full age or by the parent or guardian of such as are under twenty-one years.”⁴⁸⁴ The

⁴⁷² *Id.* at 4-5.

⁴⁷³ An Act against Desertion, and harboring Deserters, or dealing with them in Certain Cases, 1778 Del. Acts Mar. Adjourned Sess. 1-3.

⁴⁷⁴ Rules and Articles, for the better regulating of the militia of this State, whilst under Arms or embodied, 1778 Del. Acts Mar. Adjourned Sess. 1.

⁴⁷⁵ A Supplement to an Act, intituled, An Act for establishing a Militia within this State, 1778 Del. Acts Oct. Regular Sess. 14.

⁴⁷⁶ AN ACT for establishing a Militia within this State, 1, Jan. Adjourned Sess. 1782, <http://heinonline.org/HOL/P?h=hein.ssl/ssde0069&i=1>.

⁴⁷⁷ *Id.* at 3.

⁴⁷⁸ *Id.*

⁴⁷⁹ 1 JOURNAL OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES OF THE UNITED STATES, *supra* note 280, at 307.

⁴⁸⁰ An Act for Establishing a Militia, 1785 Del. Acts. May Adjourned Sess. 11.

⁴⁸¹ *Id.* at 13.

⁴⁸² *Id.*

⁴⁸³ *Id.*

⁴⁸⁴ *Id.*

guardian could charge his ward for the expense when the time came for “settling the accounts of his guardianship.”⁴⁸⁵

Like most states, Delaware enacted a new militia law after the federal Uniform Militia Act passed in 1792. Delaware’s 1793 act included “each and every free able bodied white male citizen of this state, who is or shall be of the age of eighteen years, and under the age of forty-five years.”⁴⁸⁶ However, “all young men under the age of twenty-one years, and all servants purchased *bona fide*, and for a valuable consideration, [were] exempted from furnishing the necessary arms, ammunition and accoutrements . . . and [were] exempted from militia duties and fines during such minority or servitude, except in cases of rebellion, or an actual or threatened invasion.”⁴⁸⁷

In other words, servants and males 18 to 20 would not be fined if they did not participate in drills. Additionally, they would not be fined if they lacked the requisite equipment. Of course, if they wanted to keep arms and train, they could.

Required arms mostly tracked the federal law, with some more detail for horsemen.⁴⁸⁸

A 1796 supplement revised the organization and regulation of the militia, and again included able-bodied white males from 18 to 45.⁴⁸⁹ The act also forbade volunteer militias, because there were “a number of free able bodied white men in this state, between the ages of eighteen and forty-five years, who neglect and refuse to muster and do militia duty, in the companies

⁴⁸⁵ *Id.*

⁴⁸⁶ 2 LAWS OF THE STATE OF DELAWARE 1134 (1797), <https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?num=1134&u=1&seq=641&view=image&size=100&id=njp.32101042903870&q1=twenty-one>.

⁴⁸⁷ *Id.* at 1135. In other words, hired servants were part of the enrolled militia. Indentured servants were not, except in emergencies. Textually, slaves were “purchased . . . for a valuable consideration,” but we are not certain whether they too would be part of the militia during an emergency. *Cf. supra* note 221 (distinguishing “bought” servants from African slaves).

⁴⁸⁸ *Id.* at 1136.

[E]very non-commissioned officer and private of the infantry (including grenadiers and light infantry, and of the artillery shall have a good musket or firelock, a sufficient bayonet and belt, two spare flints and a knapsack, a pouch, with a box therein to contain not less than twenty-four cartridges suited to the bore of his gun, each cartridge to contain a proper quantity of powder and ball, or with a good rifle, knapsack, shot pouch and powder horn, twenty balls suited to the bore of his rifle, and a quarter of a pound of powder; the commissioned officers of the infantry shall be armed with a sword or hanger, and an esponton, and those of artillery with a sword or hanger, a fuzee, bayonet and belt, and a cartridge box to contain twelve cartridges; the commissioned officers of the troops of horse shall furnish themselves with good horses of at least fourteen hands and a half high, and shall be armed with a sword and pair of pistols, the holsters of which shall be covered with bear skin caps; each light-horseman or dragoon shall furnish himself with a serviceable horse at least fourteen hands and an half high, a good saddle, bridle, mail pillion and valise holsters, and a breast plate and crupper, a pair of boots and spurs, a pair of pistols, a sabre, and cartouch box to contain twelve cartridges for pistols; the artillery and horse shall be uniformly clothed in regimentals, to be furnished at their own expence.

⁴⁸⁹ *Id.* at 1225.

in which they have been enrolled . . . and yet meet together with arms in bodies distinguished and known by the name of Volunteer Companies.”⁴⁹⁰

Delaware’s hostility to volunteer companies was not the national norm. In fact, the federal Uniform Militia Act expressly recognized independent volunteer companies.⁴⁹¹ The UMA set forth the conditions and regulations for independent militia service in the federal militia.⁴⁹²

Delaware passed its final militia act of the eighteenth century in 1799.⁴⁹³ The scope of the militia remained the same.⁴⁹⁴ The arms were mostly the same: for the infantryman, “a good musket” plus a bayonet, or “a good rifle.” Commissioned officers needed “a sword or hanger, a fusee, bayonet,” and troopers had to be “armed with a sabre and pair of pistols.”⁴⁹⁵

Men 18 to 20 were again exempted from fines for non-performance of militia duties “during such minority, except in cases of rebellion or any actual invasion of this State.”⁴⁹⁶

G. Pennsylvania: No service “without the consent of his or their parents or guardians, masters or mistresses”

In the days when Pennsylvania was claimed by New York, a 1671 law required “every person that can bear arms from 16 to 60 years of age, be always provided with a convenient proportion of powder and bullet fit for service, and their mutual defence.”⁴⁹⁷ This meant “at least one pound of powder and two pounds of bullet.”⁴⁹⁸ As backup to insufficient armament by the people, “his Royal Highness’ Governor [N.Y. Gov. Francis Lovelace] is

⁴⁹⁰ *Id.* at 1234 (noting that besides the concern about the state militia, Delaware also worried about “the assembling of large bodies of armed men, who do not acknowledge, and refuse to submit to, the legal military establishment.”).

⁴⁹¹ More effectually to provide for the National Defence by establishing an Uniform Militia throughout the United States (Uniform Militia Act) (UMA), 1 Stat. 271, 274, §§ 10-11.

⁴⁹² *Id.* (providing “And whereas sundry corps of artillery, cavalry, and infantry now exist in several of the said states, which by the laws, customs, or usages thereof have not been incorporated with, or subject to the general regulations of the militia: SEC. 11. Be it enacted, That such corps retain their accustomed privileges, subject, nevertheless, to all other duties required by this Act, in like manner with the other militia”).

⁴⁹³ An Act to Establish an Uniform Militia throughout this State, 3 Del. Laws 82 (1798), <https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?q1=militia;id=njp.32101042904340;view=image;seq=88;start=1;sz=10;page=search;num=82>.

⁴⁹⁴ *Id.*

⁴⁹⁵ *Id.* at 84-85. Unlike muskets or fowling pieces, rifles of the time were too fragile to use with bayonets.

⁴⁹⁶ *Id.* at 84.

⁴⁹⁷ *Ordinances for Defence*, in DUKE OF YORKE’S BOOK OF LAWS 450 (1664), <https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?q1=ARMS;id=hvd.32044022680946;view=image;start=1;sz=10;page=root;size=100;seq=466;num=450>.

⁴⁹⁸ *Id.*

willing to furnish them out of the magazine or stores, they being accountable and paying for what they shall receive, to the Governor or his order.”⁴⁹⁹

Five years later, it was mandated that:

Every Male within this Government from Sixteen to Sixty years of age, or not freed by public Allowance, shall if freeholders at their own, if sons or Servants at their Parents and Masters Charge and Cost, be furnished from time to time and so Continue well furnished with Armes and other Suitable provision hereafter mentioned . . . Namely a good Serviceable Gun, allowed Sufficient by his Military Officer to be kept in Constant fitness for present Service, with a good sword bandeleers or horne a worme a Scowerer a priming wire Shott Badge and Charger one pound of good powder, four pounds of Pistol bullets or twenty four bullets fitted to the gunne, four fathom of Serviceable Match for match lock gunn four good flints fitted for a fire lock gunn.⁵⁰⁰

As for horsemen, their mandatory arms were “Holsters, Pistolls, or Carbine, and a good Sword.”⁵⁰¹

Pennsylvania became a separate colony in 1681, following a royal grant to the Quaker aristocrat William Penn.⁵⁰² Early Pennsylvania was the only colony without an organized functional militia.⁵⁰³ Political power was in the hands of Quakers, many of whom (not all) were pacifists.⁵⁰⁴ Additionally, the Quakers had generally non-violent relations with Indians, and thus less need for collective self-defense.⁵⁰⁵

However, after the French & Indian War began in 1754, George Washington raised and paid for an army of Virginians to fight the French in the Ohio River Valley, and attitudes began to change.⁵⁰⁶ Because of non-Quaker immigration, Quaker hegemony over Pennsylvania politics had been challenged in the previous decades.⁵⁰⁷ Then in 1755 Pennsylvania passed an

⁴⁹⁹ *Id.*

⁵⁰⁰ CHARTER TO WILLIAM PENN, AND LAWS OF THE PROVINCE OF PENNSYLVANIA, PASSED BETWEEN THE YEARS OF 1682 AND 1700, PRECEDED BY DUKE OF YORK’S LAWS IN FORCE FROM THE YEAR 1676 TO THE YEAR 1682, at 39 (1676).

⁵⁰¹ *Id.* at 43.

⁵⁰² *Pennsylvania History 1681-1776: The Quaker Province*, PA. HIST. & MUSEUM COMMISSION, <http://www.phmc.state.pa.us/portal/communities/pa-history/1681-1776.html> (last visited Jan. 13, 2019).

⁵⁰³ *Id.*

⁵⁰⁴ DAVID B. KOPEL, *THE MORALITY OF SELF-DEFENSE AND MILITARY ACTION: THE JUDEO-CHRISTIAN TRADITION* 384-89 (2017) (describing diverse Quaker views on defense of self and others, during and before the American Revolution).

⁵⁰⁵ PAUL A.W. WALLACE, *INDIANS IN PENNSYLVANIA* 142-46 (2d ed. 2005); *see also*, Thomas J. Sugrue, *The Peopling and Depeopling of Early Pennsylvania: Indians and Colonists, 1680-1720*, 116 PA. MAG. HIST. & BIO. 3 (Jan. 1992) (explaining the relationship of Penn’s settlers with the Indians as, although not typically characterized by war, not always idyllic and generous).

⁵⁰⁶ WALLACE, *supra* note 505, at 147-59.

⁵⁰⁷ JACK D. MARIETTA, *THE REFORMATION OF AMERICAN QUAKERISM, 1748-1783*, at 132-22 (2007).

act to formalize voluntary militias wanting to defend the colony.⁵⁰⁸ The 1755 militia law explained the assembly was respecting the conscience rights of Quakers (most of whom were unwilling to fight) *and* the conscience rights of people of other faiths, who did want to join in associations for community defense.⁵⁰⁹

Minors and indentured servants could not join the new militia without the consent of their superiors: “no youth under the age of twenty-one years nor any bought servant or indented apprentice shall be admitted to enroll himself or be capable of being enrolled in the said companies or regiments without the consent of his or their parents or guardians, masters or mistresses, in writing under their hands first had and obtained.”⁵¹⁰ Later in 1755, as the pressures of war were growing, the assembly adopted a non-binding resolution “that it be recommended to all male white persons within this province, between the ages of sixteen and fifty years, who have not already associated, and are not conscientiously scrupulous of bearing arms, to join the said [militia] association immediately.”⁵¹¹

Five months later, Pennsylvania imposed a special tax on “every male white person capable of bearing arms, between the ages of sixteen and fifty years” who had *not* joined a militia.⁵¹² This penalty was reaffirmed by “Resolutions directing the Mode of Levying Taxes on Non-Associators in Pennsylvania” two months later.⁵¹³ Finally, the entire militia act was repealed on July 7, 1756.⁵¹⁴

In 1755, and the first half of 1756, Quakers had been under pressure.⁵¹⁵ They were willing to pay taxes in general, knowing that some of the revenue would be used for military activity.⁵¹⁶ Most of them were pacifists, and they were not only unwilling to fight, but they were also unwilling to pay a special tax levied on them for not fighting, especially because they knew the tax would be used for the military.⁵¹⁷

⁵⁰⁸ 5 THE STATUTES AT LARGE OF PENNSYLVANIA FROM 1682-1801, at 197 (1898), <https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?view=image;size=125;id=mdp.39015050623548;q1=militia;page=root;seq=203;num=197;orient=0>.

⁵⁰⁹ *Id.* (The act began: “Whereas this province was first settled by (and a majority of the assemblies ever since been of) the people called Quakers, who, though they do not, as the world is now circumstanced, condemn the use of arms in others, yet are principled against bearing arms themselves.” The militia/associator statute was non-compulsory for everyone: “for them by any law to compel others to bear arms and exempt themselves would be inconsistent and partial”).

⁵¹⁰ *Id.* at 200.

⁵¹¹ 8 THE STATUTES AT LARGE OF PENNSYLVANIA FROM 1682 TO 1801, at 492 (1902).

⁵¹² *Id.* at 539.

⁵¹³ *Id.* at 512.

⁵¹⁴ 5 STATUTES AT LARGE OF PENNSYLVANIA, *supra* note 508, at 201, <https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?view=image;size=125;id=mdp.39015050623548;q1=militia;page=root;seq=207;num=201>.

⁵¹⁵ MARIETTA, *supra* note 507, at 141-58.

⁵¹⁶ *Id.* at 136-37.

⁵¹⁷ KOPEL, *supra* note 504, at 388.

During the eighteenth century, Americans grappled with how to deal with conscientious objectors.⁵¹⁸ Sometimes a mutually acceptable accommodation was found.⁵¹⁹

Once the Revolutionary War began, Pennsylvania had to create a formidable militia. By this time, non-Quakers held the political power.⁵²⁰ The new militia law of 1777 was for “every male white person usually inhabiting or residing within his township, borough, ward or district between the ages of eighteen and fifty-three years capable of bearing arms.”⁵²¹

For conscientious objectors, Pennsylvania adopted a variant of the practice used in some other colonies: the reluctant man subject to militia service could pay for a substitute to serve in his stead. In some states, this would be simply be a negotiated contract between the conscript and the substitute. In Pennsylvania, the fee or penalty was apparently to be paid to the militia itself, which could then hire a substitute.⁵²² Pennsylvania allowed for appeals if the objector thought the fee too high.⁵²³ For militiamen 18 to 20, the parents could appeal the fee, as could masters of indentured servants who were 18 to 20.⁵²⁴

The 1777 Act was non-specific on equipment, requiring only a militiaman’s “arms and accoutrements” be “in good order.”⁵²⁵ This Act was supplemented in 1777, without affecting age limits or arms.⁵²⁶

A new Act in 1780, five years into the Revolutionary War, kept the ages at 18 to 53, and reiterated the non-specific mandate for arms and accoutrements “in good order.”⁵²⁷ This Act was Pennsylvania’s militia act

⁵¹⁸ See LIBERTY AND CONSCIENCE: A DOCUMENTARY HISTORY OF CONSCIENTIOUS OBJECTORS IN AMERICA THROUGH THE CIVIL WAR 3-67 (Peter Brock ed. 2002). For example, the constitutions of Vermont, New Hampshire, Kentucky, and Tennessee included specific protections for conscientious objectors. JOHNSON ET AL., *supra* note 18, at 293, 296, 386. When ratifying the Constitution, the states of Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, and Rhode Island asked for conscientious objector protections for the federal militia power. *Id.* at 313, 322, 327, 328. James Madison included such a protection in his draft of what became the Second Amendment, but the clause was removed in the Senate, based on the argument that that matter was best left to legislative discretion. *Id.* at 335-37.

⁵¹⁹ See generally LIBERTY AND CONSCIENCE, *supra* note 518 (describing examples of persecution and tolerance). Accommodations were easier for the non-Quaker pacifists, who did not object to paying war taxes or special fees for exemptions from military duty. *Id.* at 48.

⁵²⁰ MARIETTA, *supra* note 507, at 219-20 (noting that from 1774 onward the Pennsylvania Assembly was under control of non-Quakers who advocated vigorous confrontation with Great Britain).

⁵²¹ 9 THE STATUTES AT LARGE OF PENNSYLVANIA FROM 1682 TO 1801, at 77 (1903); MARIETTA, *supra* note 507, at 225-29.

⁵²² 9 STATUTES AT LARGE OF PENNSYLVANIA, *supra* note 521, at 77.

⁵²³ *Id.*

⁵²⁴ *Id.* at 87 (“[I]f any parent, guardian, master or mistress of any person between the ages of eighteen and twenty-one years or of any other person made liable to serve in the militia by this act shall think him or herself aggrieved by any of the rates, fines or sum or sums of money agreed for in the procuring of substitutes . . . he, she or they may appeal”).

⁵²⁵ *Id.* at 80.

⁵²⁶ *Id.* at 131.

⁵²⁷ 10 THE STATUTES AT LARGE OF PENNSYLVANIA FROM 1682 TO 1801, at 144-46 (1904).

when it ratified the Second Amendment on March 10, 1790.⁵²⁸ There was a supplement in 1780,⁵²⁹ repeal and replacement of that supplement in 1783,⁵³⁰ more supplements in 1783⁵³¹ and 1788,⁵³² and a repeal of parts of those supplements in 1790.⁵³³ None of these changed the ages or the arms.

During the Revolutionary War, not long after the 1780 Militia Act had been enacted, the assembly established the Pennsylvania Volunteers.⁵³⁴ The Pennsylvania Volunteers were a state army, similar to the armies raised by other states. Every militia company had to “provide or hire one able-bodied man not less than eighteen or more than forty-five years of age” to serve in the Pennsylvania Volunteers.⁵³⁵ Notably, the whites-only provision from the militia law was omitted. As was true throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries in America, whatever racial limits existed on militia or other military service tended to be repealed or overlooked under the pressure of wartime exigencies.⁵³⁶

After Congress passed the federal UMA in 1792, Pennsylvania enacted conforming legislation in 1793.⁵³⁷ The Act tracked the federal militia definition: free white males 18 to 45.⁵³⁸ The mandatory arms and accoutrements within the Act copied the extensive federal list.⁵³⁹

Like neighboring Delaware, Pennsylvania relaxed the peacetime requirements for young adults.⁵⁴⁰ “[A]ll young men under the age of twenty-one years, and all servants purchased bona fide and for a valuable consideration,” had to enroll in the militia.⁵⁴¹ But “during such minority or servitude,” they were exempt from training and from fines for not having the

⁵²⁸ 1 JOURNAL OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES OF THE UNITED STATES, *supra* note 280, at 306-07.

⁵²⁹ 10 STATUTES AT LARGE OF PENNSYLVANIA, *supra* note 527, at 225.

⁵³⁰ 11 THE STATUTES AT LARGE OF PENNSYLVANIA FROM 1682 TO 1801, at 91-93 (1906). (The new 1783 supplement stated that it applied to “young men who have arrived to the age of eighteen years.”).

⁵³¹ *Id.* at 161.

⁵³² 13 THE STATUTES AT LARGE OF PENNSYLVANIA FROM 1682 TO 1801, at 41 (1908).

⁵³³ *Id.* at 451, https://books.google.com/books?id=HRxEAAAAYAAJ&printsec=frontcover&source=gbs_ge_summary_r&cad=0#v=onepage&q=MILITIA&f=false.

⁵³⁴ 10 STATUTES AT LARGE OF PENNSYLVANIA, *supra* note 527, at 191.

⁵³⁵ *Id.*

⁵³⁶ JOHNSON ET AL., *supra* note 18, at 194.

⁵³⁷ 14 THE STATUTES AT LARGE OF PENNSYLVANIA FROM 1682 TO 1801, at 454 (1909), <https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?q1=militia;id=mdp.39015050623514;view=image;start=1;sz=10;page=root;size=100;seq=460;num=454>.

⁵³⁸ *Id.* at 455.

⁵³⁹ *Id.* at 457-58.

⁵⁴⁰ 2 Laws of the State of Delaware 1135 (1797).

⁵⁴¹ 14 STATUTES AT LARGE OF PENNSYLVANIA, *supra* note 537, at 456.

requisite equipment.⁵⁴² The exception did not apply “in cases of rebellion, or an actual or threatened invasion of this or any of the neighboring states.”⁵⁴³

Pennsylvania’s final militia act of the eighteenth century was passed in 1799.⁵⁴⁴ It kept the previous act’s age limits of 18 and 45,⁵⁴⁵ as well as the peacetime exemptions.⁵⁴⁶ However, the new act explicitly allowed “sons who are not subject to the militia law may be admitted as substitutes for their fathers.”⁵⁴⁷ In other words, if a 42-year-old father were summoned into the militia, the 17-year-old son could choose to serve in his stead. The arms requirements were slightly modified, with more elaboration of accoutrements for horsemen, and making sure handgunners had “bear skin caps” for their holsters.⁵⁴⁸

H. New York: “every able bodied male person Indians and slaves excepted”

New York’s first militia act came among The Duke of York’s Laws in 1665.⁵⁴⁹ It provided that:

Every Male within this Government from Sixteen to Sixty years of age, or not freed by public Allowance, shall if freeholders at their own, if sons or Servants at their Parents and Masters Charge and Cost, be furnished from time to time and so Continue well furnished with Armes and other Suitable provision hereafter mentioned: under the penalty of five Shillings for the least default therein Namely a good Serviceable Gun, allowed Sufficient by his Military Officer to be kept in Constant fitness for present Service, with a good sword bandeleers or horne or worme a Scowerer a priming wire Shott Badge and Charger one pound of good powder, four pounds of Pistol bullets or twenty four bullets fitted to the gunne, four fathom of Serviceable Match for match lock gunn four good flints fitted for a fire lock gunn.⁵⁵⁰

⁵⁴² *Id.*

⁵⁴³ *Id.*

⁵⁴⁴ 16 THE STATUTES AT LARGE OF PENNSYLVANIA FROM 1682 TO 1801, at 276 (1911), <https://play.google.com/store/books/details?id=zRtEAAAAYAAJ&rdid=book-zRtEAAAAYAAJ&rdot=1>.

⁵⁴⁵ *Id.*

⁵⁴⁶ *Id.* at 278.

⁵⁴⁷ *Id.* at 297.

⁵⁴⁸ *Id.* at 281.

⁵⁴⁹ 1 THE COLONIAL LAWS OF NEW YORK FROM THE YEAR 1664 TO THE REVOLUTION, INCLUDING THE CHARTERS TO THE DUKE OF YORK, THE COMMISSION AND INSTRUCTIONS TO COLONIAL GOVERNORS, THE DUKES LAWS, THE LAWS OF THE DONAGAN AND LEISLER ASSEMBLIES, THE CHARTERS OF ALBANY AND NEW YORK AND THE ACTS OF THE COLONIAL LEGISLATURES FROM 1691 TO 1775 INCLUSIVE 49-50 (1896).

⁵⁵⁰ *Id.*

Troopers had to “keepe and maintaine a good Horse Fitted with Sadle, bridle, Holsters, Pistolls or Carbine, and a good Sword.”⁵⁵¹

The act additionally provided that: “In defence of himself his wife Father or Mother Children or Servants a man may Lawfully use force to resist any attempt made to that purpose.”⁵⁵² Thus, the right of 18-to-20-year-olds to use arms in self-defense was expressly guaranteed.

A 1684 law ensured that persons exempted from the militia still kept the militia arms in their homes.⁵⁵³

In 1691, New York lowered the minimum militia age, so that “noe person whatsoever from fifteen to Sixty years of Age remaine unlisted.”⁵⁵⁴

The arms were typical of the time: For every foot soldier, “a well fixed muskett or fuzee” for officers, “a good pike or Sword or lance and pistoll.”⁵⁵⁵ At home, every foot soldier was to have “one pound of good powder and three pound of Sizeable bullets,” and every Trooper (horseman) had to “have at his usuall place of abode a well fixed Carabine with belt and Swivell and two pounds of fine powder with Six pounds of Sizeable bullets.”⁵⁵⁶

The minimum age for militia service was raised back to 16 in 1702.⁵⁵⁷ The militia arms remained unchanged.⁵⁵⁸ The 1702 act was continued in 1706,⁵⁵⁹ 1708,⁵⁶⁰ 1709,⁵⁶¹ 1710,⁵⁶² 1711,⁵⁶³ 1712,⁵⁶⁴ 1713,⁵⁶⁵ 1715,⁵⁶⁶ 1716,⁵⁶⁷ 1717,⁵⁶⁸ 1718,⁵⁶⁹ and 1720.⁵⁷⁰

A new act in 1721 applied to every “[p]erson whatsoever from Sixteen to Sixty Years of Age.”⁵⁷¹ Foot soldier equipment was nearly the same as before.⁵⁷² Many subsequent acts kept the same age limits and arms

⁵⁵¹ *Id.* at 54.

⁵⁵² *Id.* at 15.

⁵⁵³ *Id.* at 161 (“all persons though freed from Training by the Law yet that they be obliged to Keep Convenient armes and ammunition in Their houses as the Law directs to others”).

⁵⁵⁴ *Id.* at 231.

⁵⁵⁵ *Id.* at 232.

⁵⁵⁶ *Id.* “Fine powder” is gunpowder made of very small grains. Small grains burn faster and more uniformly. Hence, “fine powder” propels the bullet faster than does powder with larger grains.

⁵⁵⁷ *Id.* at 500.

⁵⁵⁸ *Id.* at 500-01.

⁵⁵⁹ *Id.* at 591.

⁵⁶⁰ *Id.* at 611.

⁵⁶¹ *Id.* at 675.

⁵⁶² *Id.* at 706.

⁵⁶³ *Id.* at 745.

⁵⁶⁴ *Id.* at 778.

⁵⁶⁵ *Id.* at 781.

⁵⁶⁶ *Id.* at 868.

⁵⁶⁷ *Id.* at 887.

⁵⁶⁸ *Id.* at 917.

⁵⁶⁹ *Id.* at 1001.

⁵⁷⁰ 2 THE COLONIAL LAWS OF NEW YORK FROM THE YEAR 1664 TO THE REVOLUTION 1 (1894).

⁵⁷¹ *Id.* at 84-85.

⁵⁷² *Id.*

requirements. There were new acts (all which had interim continuations) in 1724,⁵⁷³ 1739,⁵⁷⁴ 1743,⁵⁷⁵ and 1744.⁵⁷⁶ The 1746 act told soldiers to appear with nine rounds of ammunition, rather than the previous minimum of six.⁵⁷⁷ The requirement was lowered back to six in 1755.⁵⁷⁸ The age and arms requirements remained the same in the acts of 1764⁵⁷⁹ and 1772.⁵⁸⁰

On April 1, 1775, less than three weeks before the Revolutionary War would begin, New York enacted a new militia law.⁵⁸¹ This act retained the same arms requirements as its predecessors, and kept the minimum age at 16, but lowered the maximum age to 50.⁵⁸²

The 1775 law was for “every Person.”⁵⁸³ In the middle of the war, in 1778, the 1775 law was narrowed to “every able bodied male person Indians and slaves excepted.”⁵⁸⁴ The new arms requirement was “a good musket or firelock fit for service,” plus the bayonet, sixteen rounds of ammunition, and the usual accoutrements.⁵⁸⁵

In 1778, the British, “adopted terror tactics across upstate New York to divert American forces away from more southern battle fields and to inhibit American’s ability to produce food and supplies from the large war effort.”⁵⁸⁶ A statute that year established “a night watch in the counties of Ulster, Tryon,

⁵⁷³ *Id.* at 187. The act was continued in 1728, *id.* at 421; and in 1730, *id.* at 657; then in 1731, *id.* at 698; again in 1732, *id.* at 734; and in 1733, *id.* at 858; and 1735, *id.* at 905; and 1736, *id.* at 922; and 1737, *id.* at 947.

⁵⁷⁴ 3 COLONIAL LAWS OF NEW YORK FROM THE YEAR 1664 TO THE REVOLUTION 3 (1894), <https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=umn.319510021585399;view=1up;seq=11>. The act was continued in 1740, *id.* at 69; in 1741, *id.* at 168; and 1742, *id.* at 224.

⁵⁷⁵ *Id.* at 296.

⁵⁷⁶ *Id.* at 385. This act was continued in 1745. *Id.* at 510.

⁵⁷⁷ *Id.* at 511, 513. This act was continued in 1746, *id.* at 621; then again in 1747, *id.* at 648; then in 1753, *id.* at 962; and again in 1754, *id.* at 1016.

⁵⁷⁸ *Id.* at 1051. This act was continued twice in 1756, 4 COLONIAL LAWS OF NEW YORK FROM THE YEAR 1664 TO THE REVOLUTION 16, 101 (1894), <https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=mdp.39015011398438;view=1up;seq=22>; twice in 1757, *id.* at 187, 293; then in 1759, *id.* at 363; in 1760, *id.* at 475; in 1761, *id.* at 553; in 1762, *id.* at 636; and in 1763, *id.* at 698.

⁵⁷⁹ *Id.* at 767; continued in 1765, *id.* at 852; in 1766, *id.* at 915; and in 1767, *id.* at 952.

⁵⁸⁰ 5 COLONIAL LAWS OF NEW YORK FROM THE YEAR 1664 TO THE REVOLUTION 342 (1894), <https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=mdp.39015011398420;view=1up;seq=348>.

⁵⁸¹ *Id.* at 732.

⁵⁸² *Id.*

⁵⁸³ *Id.* at 342.

⁵⁸⁴ LAWS OF THE STATE OF NEW YORK: PASSED AT THE SESSIONS OF THE LEGISLATURE HELD IN THE YEARS 1777, 1778, 1779, 1780, 1781, 1782, 1783, AND 1784, INCLUSIVE, BEING THE FIRST SEVEN SESSIONS 62 (1886), https://books.google.com/books?id=D8GwAAAAMAAJ&printsec=frontcover&source=gbs_ge_summary_r&cad=0#v=snippet&q=%22every%20able%20bodied%20male%20person%20Indians%20and%20slaves%20excepted%22&f=false. (Hereinafter LAWS OF THE STATE OF NEW YORK: PASSED AT THE SESSIONS 165-66.) The act was amended in 1778, *id.* at 86, and 1779, *id.* at 157. The age limits and arms requirements were unaffected.

⁵⁸⁵ *Id.*

⁵⁸⁶ Stefan Bielinski, *Albany County*, in THE OTHER NEW YORK: THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION BEYOND NEW YORK CITY, 1763-1787, at 165-66 (Joseph S. Tiedemann & Edward R. Fingerhut eds. 2006).

Charlotte, Dutchess, and Albany.”⁵⁸⁷ Service on the watch was required of “every able bodied male inhabitant, Indians and slaves excepted...from sixteen years of age till sixty.”⁵⁸⁸

A 1780 act “to raise troops for the defence of the frontiers” required “all the male inhabitants (slaves excepted) of the age of sixteen years and upwards” to provide themselves with “a good musket or firelock” plus seventeen rounds of ammunition.⁵⁸⁹

Militia acts of 1780 and 1782 retained the age limits and arms requirements of 1778.⁵⁹⁰

In 1783, New York passed “AN ACT to authorize his excellency the governor to raise troops for the defence of the frontiers.”⁵⁹¹ It included “all the male inhabitants and sojourners of the age of sixteen years and upwards . . . excepting slaves,” and ordered each of them to possess the usual equipment.⁵⁹²

In 1786, New York passed the law defining its militia.⁵⁹³ That was the definition in effect when the state ratified the Second Amendment on February 24, 1790.⁵⁹⁴ The law defined the New York militia as “every able-bodied male person, being a citizen of this state, or of any of the United States, and residing in this state (except such persons as are herein after excepted) and who are of the age of sixteen, and under the age of forty-five years.”⁵⁹⁵

The arms were “a good musket or firelock,” 24 bullets, “a sufficient bayonet” and other standard items.”⁵⁹⁶ In 1787, New York amended the 1786 law without change to ages or arms.⁵⁹⁷

Finally, in 1793 New York aligned with the federal UMA.⁵⁹⁸ The minimum age rose to 18, while the maximum remained at 45—both ages the

⁵⁸⁷ LAWS OF THE STATE OF NEW YORK PASSED AT THE SESSIONS, *supra* note 584, at 94.

⁵⁸⁸ *Id.* at 95.

⁵⁸⁹ *Id.* at 232.

⁵⁹⁰ *Id.* at 237, 441.

⁵⁹¹ *Id.* at 529.

⁵⁹² *Id.*

⁵⁹³ 1 LAWS OF THE STATE OF NEW YORK: COMPRISING THE CONSTITUTION, AND THE ACTS OF THE LEGISLATURE, SINCE THE REVOLUTION, FROM THE FIRST TO THE FIFTEENTH SESSION, INCLUSIVE 227 (Thomas Greenleaf 1792), https://books.google.com/books?id=9Hs4AAAAIAAJ&pg=PA26&dq=new+york+state+laws+1779&hl=en&sa=X&ved=0ahUKEwiCvauHn_LZAhVEVWMKHSToDG8Q6AEIKTAA#v=onepage&q=militia&f=false.

⁵⁹⁴ 1 JOURNAL OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES OF THE UNITED STATES, *supra* note 280, at 304-06.

⁵⁹⁵ *Id.*

⁵⁹⁶ *Id.* at 228.

⁵⁹⁷ *Id.* at 454.

⁵⁹⁸ 3 LAWS OF THE STATE OF NEW YORK: COMPRISING THE CONSTITUTION AND THE ACTS OF THE LEGISLATURE, SINCE THE REVOLUTION, FROM THE FIRST TO THE TWENTIETH SESSION, INCLUSIVE 58 (1797), https://books.google.com/books?id=Mns4AAAAIAAJ&printsec=frontcover&source=gbs_ge_summary_r&cad=0#v=onepage&q=militia&f=false.

same as for the federal militia.⁵⁹⁹ The arms requirement copied the federal statute.⁶⁰⁰

I. Rhode Island: parents and masters must furnish arms

Rhode Island established a militia in 1673, consisting of persons from 16 to 60 years old.⁶⁰¹ Each militiaman was required to “at all times hereafter have on[e] good gun or muskitt Fitt for Service one pound of good powder & thirty bullits at Least.”⁶⁰² If a son or servant had no valuable estate of his own, his parents or master would be liable for any fines imposed upon him.⁶⁰³ A 1677 revision retained the laws for ages and arms.⁶⁰⁴

A 1700 statute specified that persons subject to militia service also had to serve on watch and ward (day and night guard duty in towns).⁶⁰⁵ The Act elaborated on the arms requirements, mandating that each militiaman appear with a “Good & Sufficent muskett or Fuze a Sword or Bayenet, Catooch box or Bandelers wth twelve Bulets fit for his Piece half a Pound of Powder & Six good Flints.”⁶⁰⁶

A 1718 law provided that “all male Persons . . . from the Age of Sixteen, to the Age of Sixty Years, shall bear Arms.”⁶⁰⁷ Arms were “one good Musket, or Fuzee, the Barrel whereof not to be less than three foot and an half in length,” plus a sword or bayonet, a pound of gunpowder, thirty bullets, six flints, and a cartridge box.⁶⁰⁸

⁵⁹⁹ *Id.*

⁶⁰⁰ *Id.*

⁶⁰¹ LAWS AND ACTS OF HER MAJESTIES COLONY OF RHODE ISLAND, AND PROVIDENCE-PLANTATIONS MADE FROM THE FIRST SETTLEMENT IN 1636 TO 1705, at 23 (1896), https://books.google.com/books?id=VZs0AQAAIAAJ&pg=PA48&lpg=PA48&dq=%22an+act+for+ye+better+regulating+ye+militia%22+%2B+%22rhode+island%22&source=bl&ots=HHzuITQDoD&sig=UB5aPjlcOOwaXouze0Dru3PGdUI&hl=en&sa=X&ved=0ahUKEwiT6a3MpL_aAhVq4oMKHb9jB0oQ6AEIKzAA#v=onepage&q=at%20least&f=false.

⁶⁰² *Id.*

⁶⁰³ *Id.*

⁶⁰⁴ *Id.* at 25.

⁶⁰⁵ *Id.* at 48. The statute was miswritten: “all persons wthn this Colony Above ye Age of Sixteen Years & Under ye Age of Sixteen Yeares as well housekeepers as others Shall be Obligated to watch or ward.” Read literally, no one was required to perform watch and ward, since no one can be “Above” and “Under” the “Age of Sixteen Years.” Presumably the intended and understood upper age limit remained 60.

⁶⁰⁶ *Id.*

⁶⁰⁷ THE CHARTER AND THE ACTS AND LAWS OF HIS MAJESTIES COLONY OF RHODE-ISLAND, AND PROVIDENCE-PLANTATIONS IN AMERICA, 1719, at 86 (Sidney S. Rider, ed. 1895), <https://archive.org/details/thecharteractsla00rhod/page/86>.

⁶⁰⁸ *Id.* at 87.

The next act appeared in 1755, at the beginning of the French & Indian War.⁶⁰⁹ It did not revise ages or arms.⁶¹⁰ An addition in 1756 made the parents of militiamen under 21 liable for unpaid fines for neglect of duty.⁶¹¹ A 1774 amendment left arms and ages unchanged.⁶¹²

Rhode Island created a state army in 1776, a regiment to serve for three months.⁶¹³ The Rhode Island army was to be “composed of six Men as Soldiers of every Hundred of the male Inhabitants of Sixteen Years of Age, and upwards.”⁶¹⁴ As the quota indicates, at least some of the soldiers were to be raised by conscription, with each town to supply a quota if there were not sufficient volunteers. The soldiers of this regiment had the option of having the town provide their arms, or an enlistment bonus was available for soldiers who furnished their own arms.⁶¹⁵

This policy of soldiers providing their own arms was typical during the Revolution.⁶¹⁶ The Continental Army generally refused volunteers who could not supply their own arms.⁶¹⁷ State armies sometimes accepted unarmed volunteers, while offering bonuses to recruits with their own arms.⁶¹⁸

A new militia law was enacted in 1779.⁶¹⁹ The new law would be Rhode Island’s militia act when it ratified the Second Amendment on June 7, 1790.⁶²⁰ The lower age limit remained at 16, but the upper age limit dropped to 50.⁶²¹ “[E]ach and every effective Man as aforesaid [had to] provide, and at all times be furnished, at his own Expence (excepting such Persons as the Town-Councils of the Towns in which they respectively dwell or reside shall adjudge unable to purchase the same) with one good Musquet, and a Bayonet fitted thereto, with a Sheath and Belt, or Strap, for the same, one Ram-rod, Worm, Priming-wire and Brush, and one Cartouch-Box.”⁶²²

⁶⁰⁹ An Act in Addition to the several Acts regulating the Militia in this Colony, 1755 R.I. Laws, Jan. Sess. 71.

⁶¹⁰ *Id.*

⁶¹¹ An Act in addition to, and Amendment of the several Acts regulating the Militia, 1756 R.I. Laws, Feb. Sess. 73.

⁶¹² An Act in addition to, and amendment of, an Act entitled “An Act regulating the Militia of this Colony,” 1774 R.I. Laws, Dec. Sess. 150.

⁶¹³ An Act for raising a Regiment, to serve for Three Months, 1776 R.I. Laws, Nov. Called Sess. 6.

⁶¹⁴ *Id.*

⁶¹⁵ *Id.* at 7.

⁶¹⁶ JOHNSON ET AL., *supra* note 18, at 283.

⁶¹⁷ *Id.*

⁶¹⁸ *Id.*

⁶¹⁹ An Act for the better forming, regulating and conducting the military Force of this State, 1779 R.I. Laws, Oct. Regular Sess. 29.

⁶²⁰ 1 JOURNAL OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES OF THE UNITED STATES, *supra* note 280, at 312-13.

⁶²¹ An Act for the better forming, regulating and conducting the military Force of this State, 1779 R.I. Laws, Oct. Regular Sess. 29.

⁶²² *Id.* at 32.

Then in 1781 Rhode Island passed a law to raise a militia force of 1,200 men, with the statutory guarantee that the term of service would be only one month, and they were “not to be marched out of” the state.⁶²³ The number of men each county raised depended on the number of militia-aged men (16 to 50) within that county.⁶²⁴ “[E]ach of the non-commissioned Officers and Soldiers” had to “furnish himself with a good Musket, Bayonet, Cartouch-Box, Knapsack, and Blanket.”⁶²⁵ Later that year, a similar law aimed to raise another 500 “able-bodied effective Men.”⁶²⁶ Again, the number of required recruits per county was based on the number of militia-aged men within the county.⁶²⁷ Arms were the same as before, except that “a good Fire-Arm,” was sufficient, rather than only a musket.⁶²⁸

Following the 1792 federal UMA, a 1794 law adopted the federal ages and arms.⁶²⁹ More militia laws were passed in 1795, 1796, 1798, and 1799, none of them altering ages or arms.⁶³⁰

J. Vermont: “the freemen of this Commonwealth, and their sons”

Vermont declared its independence from the competing claims of New York and New Hampshire in January 1777.⁶³¹ A constitution was adopted in July.⁶³² Because New York and New Hampshire still claimed Vermont, Vermont was rebuffed from its attempt to send delegates to Congress. So,

⁶²³ An Act for embodying and bringing into the Field Twelve Hundred able-bodied effective Men, of the Militia, to serve within this State for One Month, from the Time of their Rendezvous, and no longer Term, and not to be marched out of the same, 1781 R.I. Laws, Feb. Adjourned Sess. 5.

⁶²⁴ *Id.*

⁶²⁵ *Id.* at 8.

⁶²⁶ An Act for incorporating and bringing into the Field Five Hundred able-bodied effective Men, of the Militia, to serve within this State for one Month, from the Time of their Rendezvous, and no longer, and not to be marched out of the same, 1781 R.I. Laws, May Second Sess. 11.

⁶²⁷ *Id.*

⁶²⁸ *Id.* at 15.

⁶²⁹ An Act to organize the Militia of this State, 1794 R.I. Laws, Mar. Adjourned Sess. 14.

⁶³⁰ An Act establishing a Company of Horse, by the Name of The Independent Light Dragoons of the Second Regiment of Militia in the County of Newport, 1795 R.I. Laws, Jan. Adjourned Sess. 33; An Act in Addition to, and Amendment of, the Act entitled “An Act to organize the Militia of this State,” 1796 R.I. Laws, Feb. Adjourned Sess. 33; An Act for calling out the Militia, 1798 R.I. Laws, June Adjourned Sess. 13; An Act in Addition to an Act, entitled “An Act to organize the Militia of this State,” 1799 R.I. Laws, Feb. Sess. 17.

⁶³¹ Harvey Strum & Paul G. Pierpaoli, Jr., Vermont, in *THE ENCYCLOPEDIA OF THE WARS OF THE EARLY AMERICAN REPUBLIC, 1783-1812: A POLITICAL, SOCIAL, AND MILITARY HISTORY* 705 (Spencer C. Tucker et al. eds. 2014).

⁶³² *Id.*; Celise Schnieder, The Green Mountain Boys Constitute Vermont, in *THE CONSTITUTIONALISM OF AMERICAN STATES* 79 (George E. Connor & Christopher W. Hammons eds. 2008); Sanford Levinson, The 21st Century Rediscovery of Nullification and Secession in American Political Rhetoric: Frivolousness Incarnate, or Serious Arguments to be Wrestled With? 67 *ARK. L. REV.* 17, 49 (2014). See generally *FREDERIC FRANKLYN VAN DE WATER, THE RELUCTANT REPUBLIC: VERMONT, 1724-91* (1941); Peter S. Onuf, State-Making in Revolutionary America: Independent Vermont as a Case Study, 67 *J. AM. HIST.* 797 (1981).

starting in 1777, it operated as something of an independent republic. Vermont had its own currency and postal service, and exchanged ambassadors with France and the Netherlands.⁶³³ In 1791, Vermont applied to join the Union, and was admitted.⁶³⁴

The 1777 Vermont Constitution drew on Pennsylvania's 1776 Constitution, which was the first state constitution adopted after the Declaration of Independence.⁶³⁵ Vermont copied Pennsylvania's right to hunt: "that the inhabitants of this State, shall have liberty to hunt and fowl, in seasonable times, on the lands they hold, and on other lands (not enclosed)."⁶³⁶

Vermont's Declaration of Rights included human rights language, based on models from Pennsylvania, Massachusetts, and Virginia, that would, with variations in wording, become ubiquitous in American state constitutions:

That all men are born equally free and independent, and have certain natural, inherent and unalienable rights, amongst which are the enjoying and defending life and liberty; acquiring, possessing and protecting property, and pursuing and obtaining happiness and safety.⁶³⁷

and

That every member of society hath a right to be protected in the enjoyment of life, liberty and property, and therefore, is bound to contribute his proportion towards the expense of that protection, and yield his personal service, when necessary, or an equivalent thereto.⁶³⁸

This language is irreconcilable with a law that requires a person to contribute his personal service but deprives that person of the right to protect his own life.

The Constitution further provided "[t]hat the people have a right to bear arms for the defence of themselves and the State."⁶³⁹ This language is irreconcilable with a law that requires a person to bear arms for the defense of the state but would prohibit that person from bearing arms for defense of himself.

⁶³³ Strum & Pierpaolia, *supra* note 631.

⁶³⁴ Levinson, *supra* note 632, at 50.

⁶³⁵ Schneider, *supra* note 632, at 82.

⁶³⁶ VT. CONST. ch. II, art. XXXIX (1777), http://avalon.law.yale.edu/18th_century/vt01.asp.

⁶³⁷ *Id.* at ch. II, art. I.

⁶³⁸ *Id.* at ch. I, art. IX.

⁶³⁹ *Id.* at ch. I, art. XV.

The Vermont Constitution's Declaration of Rights was separate from the Plan or Frame of Government.⁶⁴⁰ The latter provided that "[t]he freemen of this Commonwealth, and their sons, shall be trained and armed for its defence, under such regulations, restrictions and exceptions, as the General Assembly shall, by law, direct."⁶⁴¹

In 1779, Vermont enacted a statute "for forming and regulating the militia; and for encouragement of military skill, for the better defence of this state."⁶⁴² It provided that "all male persons, from sixteen years of age to fifty, shall bear arms."⁶⁴³ The arms mandate was not militia-only; it applied to "every listed soldier and other householder."⁶⁴⁴

The firearm could be "a well fixed firelock, the barrel not less than three feet and a half long, or other good fire-arms."⁶⁴⁵ The edged arm was to be "a good sword, cutlass, tomahawk or bayonet."⁶⁴⁶ For cleaning, a soldier or "other householder" needed "a worm, and priming-wire, fit for each gun." Suitable ammunition storage for a soldier could be with "a cartouch box, or powder-horn and bullet-pouch."⁶⁴⁷ Adequate supplies were at least a pound of gun powder, four pounds of bullets, "and six good flints."⁶⁴⁸

Militia regulations were changed twice in 1780, and again in 1781,⁶⁴⁹ but the age limits and arms requirements were not impacted.⁶⁵⁰

In 1786, Vermont wrote a new constitution.⁶⁵¹ The convention entertained and rejected a proposal to change the 1777 language of "a right to bear arms for the defence of themselves and the State" into "a right to bear arms for the defence of the community."⁶⁵²

The same year, a new militia act kept the minimum militia age at 16, but lowered the maximum age to 45.⁶⁵³ The gun mandate was changed to "a good musket or firelock."⁶⁵⁴ The bayonet was now mandatory.⁶⁵⁵ The new

⁶⁴⁰ See *Id.* at ch. I-II.

⁶⁴¹ *Id.* at ch. II, art. 5.

⁶⁴² VERMONT STATE PAPERS, BEING A COLLECTION OF RECORDS AND DOCUMENTS, CONNECTED WITH THE ASSUMPTION AND ESTABLISHMENT OF GOVERNMENT BY THE PEOPLE OF VERMONT; TOGETHER WITH THE JOURNAL OF THE COUNCIL OF SAFETY, THE FIRST CONSTITUTION, THE EARLY JOURNALS OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY, AND THE LAWS FROM THE YEAR 1779 TO 1786, INCLUSIVE 305 (1823).

⁶⁴³ *Id.* at 307.

⁶⁴⁴ *Id.*

⁶⁴⁵ *Id.*

⁶⁴⁶ *Id.*

⁶⁴⁷ *Id.*

⁶⁴⁸ *Id.*

⁶⁴⁹ 1781 Vt. Acts Feb. Sess. viii.

⁶⁵⁰ VERMONT STATE PAPERS, *supra* note 642, at 415; 1780 Vt. Acts Mar. Sess. i.

⁶⁵¹ VERMONT STATE PAPERS, *supra* note 642, at 518; VT. CONST. (1786), http://avalon.law.yale.edu/18th_century/vt02.asp (last visited Jan. 13, 2019).

⁶⁵² VERMONT STATE PAPERS, *supra* note 642, at 518.

⁶⁵³ 1786 Vt. Acts Oct. Sess. 6.

⁶⁵⁴ *Id.*

⁶⁵⁵ *Id.* at 8.

law made separate provisions for horsemen; each dragoon had to provide “a case of good pistols, a sword or cutlass not less than three and one half feet in length,” plus a pound of gunpowder, “three pounds of sizeable bullets,” and eight flints.⁶⁵⁶ Since horsemen would have at least two guns (the pair of handguns) they needed a bigger supply of flints.⁶⁵⁷

Ages and arms were kept the same in the 1787 militia act.⁶⁵⁸ This was the act in effect when Vermont ratified the Second Amendment on November 3, 1791.⁶⁵⁹

In 1793, Vermont revised its constitution again and also passed a militia act in response to the federal UMA. Vermont’s 1793 constitution kept the same arms guarantees as before.⁶⁶⁰ The new militia act repealed all previous militia laws.⁶⁶¹ The new law applied to “each and every free, able-bodied white male citizen . . . who is, or shall be of the age of sixteen years, and under the age of forty-five.”⁶⁶² Like New Hampshire, Vermont diverged from the federal act by keeping a minimum militia age of sixteen.⁶⁶³

Every non-commissioned officer and private had to “constantly keep himself provided with a good musket, with an iron or steel rod, a sufficient bayonet and belt, two spare flints, a priming wire and brush, and a knapsack ; a cartridge box and pouch, with a box therein, sufficient to contain not less than twenty-four cartridges suited to the bore of his musket.”⁶⁶⁴ Horsemen were required to provide themselves with “a pair of pistols, and sabre, and cartridgebox to contain twelve cartridges for pistols.”⁶⁶⁵ Cavalry officers needed “a pair of pistols, and sword.”⁶⁶⁶

K. Virginia: “ALL men that are fittige to beare armes, shall bringe their peices to the church”

Virginia enacted a myriad of laws in the seventeenth century regarding firearms ownership, many of which allowed or required 18-to-20-year-olds to bear arms. It was not until 1639 that Virginia enacted a statute expressly

⁶⁵⁶ *Id.* at 7.

⁶⁵⁷ *Id.*

⁶⁵⁸ 1787 Vt. Acts Feb. & Mar. Sess. 94.

⁶⁵⁹ JOURNAL OF THE FIRST SESSION OF THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, BEGUN AND HELD AT THE CITY OF NEW YORK, MARCH 4, 1789, AND IN THE THIRTEENTH YEAR OF THE INDEPENDENCE OF THE SAID STATES 377-78 (1820).

⁶⁶⁰ VT. CONST. (1793).

⁶⁶¹ 1793 Vt. Acts – Oct. Sess. 19.

⁶⁶² *Id.* at 20.

⁶⁶³ 1 LAWS OF NEW HAMPSHIRE: PROVINCE PERIOD, 1679-1702, at 221 (Albert Stillman Batchellor ed., 1904).

⁶⁶⁴ 1793 Vt. Acts – Oct. Sess. at 30.

⁶⁶⁵ *Id.* at 26.

⁶⁶⁶ *Id.*

requiring arms ownership.⁶⁶⁷ Previous statutes simply assumed that everyone already did possess arms, and thus ordered arms-carrying when traveling, going to church, or working in the fields. The church mandate reflected the general risks of travel, and the more specific risk that when a large number of people are densely gathered indoors, they are easy targets for hostiles intent on mass killing.

- 1623: “That no man go or send abroad without a sufficient partie will armed.”⁶⁶⁸
- 1624: “That men go not to worke in the ground without their arms (and a centinell upon them).”⁶⁶⁹
- 1624: “That the commander of every plantation take care that there be sufficient of powder and amunition within the plantation under his command and their pieces fixt and their arms compleate.”⁶⁷⁰
- 1632: “NOE man shall goe or send abroad without a sufficient party well armed.”⁶⁷¹
- 1632: “NOE man shall goe to worke in the grounds without their armes, and a centinell upon them”⁶⁷²
- 1632: “ALL men that are fittige to beare armes, shall bringe their pieces to the church”⁶⁷³
- 1632: “NOE man shall goe to worke in the grounds without their armes, and a centinell upon them places where the commander shall require it”⁶⁷⁴

⁶⁶⁷ 1 WILLIAM WALLER HENING, THE STATUTES AT LARGE: BEING A COLLECTION OF ALL THE LAWS OF VIRGINIA, FROM THE FIRST SESSION OF THE LEGISLATURE, IN THE YEAR 1619, at 226 (1809).

⁶⁶⁸ *Id.* at 127.

The above dates are listed by the New Style year, whose new year begins on January 1. Until 1752, Englishmen used the Old Style calendar, whose new year begins on March 25. Thus, the above enactment in March is 1624 to the modern reader but was considered 1623 by Virginians of the time.

⁶⁶⁹ *Id.*

⁶⁷⁰ *Id.*

⁶⁷¹ *Id.* at 173.

⁶⁷² *Id.*

⁶⁷³ *Id.*

⁶⁷⁴ *Id.* at 198.

- 1632: “ALL men that are fittinge to beare armes, shall bringe their peices to the church”⁶⁷⁵
- 1639: “ALL persons except negroes to be provided with arms and ammunition or be fined at pleasure of the Governor and Council”⁶⁷⁶
- 1643: “masters of every family shall bring with them to church on Sundays one fixed and serviceable gun with sufficient powder and shott”⁶⁷⁷
- 1645: “all negro men and women, and all other men from the age of 16 to 60” could be drafted to carry on war against the Indians.⁶⁷⁸ This indicates that persons over 16 were considered capable of bearing arms.
- 1659: “That every man able to beare armes have in his house a fixt gunn two pounds of powder and eight pound of shott at least”⁶⁷⁹
- 1662: “that every man able to beare armes have in his house a fixed gun, two pound of powder and eight pound of shot at least”⁶⁸⁰
- 1676: “that in goinge to churches and courts in those tymes of danger, all people be enjoyned and required to goe armed for their greate security”⁶⁸¹

Also in 1676, Virginia enacted a law “for the safeguard and defence of the country against the Indians.”⁶⁸² The number of militiamen to be supplied by the counties was based on “the number of tytheables of each county.”⁶⁸³ Persons over 16 were considered titheable (required to pay a tax), thus indicating that the minimum age for the militia was 16.⁶⁸⁴

Laws in 1676 expressly authorized persons to carry arms anywhere, but not in large groups. After a short-lived rebellion involving crowds of armed men, the legislature prohibited armed gatherings of more than five people:

⁶⁷⁵ *Id.*

⁶⁷⁶ *Id.* at 226.

⁶⁷⁷ *Id.* at 263.

⁶⁷⁸ *Id.* at 292.

⁶⁷⁹ *Id.* at 525.

⁶⁸⁰ 2 WILLIAM WALLER HENING, THE STATUTES AT LARGE: BEING A COLLECTION OF ALL THE LAWS OF VIRGINIA, FROM THE FIRST SESSION OF THE LEGISLATURE, IN THE YEAR 1619, at 126 (1823).

⁶⁸¹ *Id.* at 333.

⁶⁸² *Id.* at 326.

⁶⁸³ *Id.* at 350.

⁶⁸⁴ *Id.* at 84 (defining what persons are tithable).

whereas by a branch of an act of assembly made in March last, liberty is granted to all persons to carry their armes wheresoever they goe, which liberty hath beene found to be very prejudiciall to the peace and wellfaire of this colony. Bee it therefore further enacted by this present grand assembly, and the authority thereof, and it is hereby enacted, that if any person or persons shall, from and after publication of this act, presume to assemble together in armes to the number of five or upwards without being legally called together in armes the number of five or upwards, they be held deemed and adjudged as riotous and mutinous, and that they be proceeded against and punished accordingly.⁶⁸⁵

Acts passed in 1679⁶⁸⁶ and 1682⁶⁸⁷ made no changes to the ages or arms requirements of militiamen. In 1684, arms requirements were made more specific, and separate standards were enacted for mounted militiamen.⁶⁸⁸

every trooper of the respective colonies of this country, shall furnish and supply himself with a good able horse, saddle, and all arms and furniture, fitt and compleat for a trooper, and that every foot soldier, shall furnish himselfe, with a sword, musquet and other furniture fitt for a soldier, and that each trooper and foot soldier, be provided with two pounds of powder, and eight pounds of shott, and shall continually keep their armes well fixt, cleane, and fitt for the king's service.⁶⁸⁹

These more specific arms requirements were complemented by another law establishing troops of horsemen.⁶⁹⁰ Horsemen's arms requirements were now more detailed, requiring three guns: "a case of pistolls, a carbine, sword and all other furniture usuall and necessary for horse souldiers or troopers."⁶⁹¹

Militia-related acts were passed in 1692,⁶⁹² 1693,⁶⁹³ 1695,⁶⁹⁴ and 1699,⁶⁹⁵ but none of them addressed age limits or arms requirements.

In 1701, "An act for the better strengthening the frontiers and discovering the approaches of an enemy" was passed.⁶⁹⁶ It provided 500-

⁶⁸⁵ *Id.* at 381. The precipitating event was Bacon's Rebellion, a short-lived uprising of frontiersman who marched on the capital because they were disgruntled with the colonial government's failure to protect them from Indians. *See* JAMES D. RICE, *TALES FROM A REVOLUTION: BACON'S REBELLION AND THE TRANSFORMATION OF EARLY AMERICA* (2013).

⁶⁸⁶ 2 HENING, *supra* note 682, at 433.

⁶⁸⁷ *Id.* at 498.

⁶⁸⁸ 3 WILLIAM WALLER HENING, *THE STATUTES AT LARGE: BEING A COLLECTION OF ALL THE LAWS OF VIRGINIA, FROM THE FIRST SESSION OF THE LEGISLATURE, IN THE YEAR 1619*, at 13 (1823).

⁶⁸⁹ *Id.* at 14.

⁶⁹⁰ *Id.* at 17.

⁶⁹¹ *Id.*

⁶⁹² *Id.* at 98, 115.

⁶⁹³ *Id.* at 119.

⁶⁹⁴ *Id.* at 126.

⁶⁹⁵ *Id.* at 176.

⁶⁹⁶ *Id.* at 205.

acre land grants, with the proviso that the grantee keep “upon the said land one christian man between sixteen and sixty years of age perfect of limb, able and fitt for service.”⁶⁹⁷ Such men should be “continually provided with a well fixt musquett or fuzee, a good pistoll, sharp simeter, tomahauk and five pounds of good clean pistoll powder and twenty pounds of sizable leaden bulletts or swan or goose shott to be kept within the fort directed by this act besides the powder and shott for his necessary or usefull shooting at game...”⁶⁹⁸ In other words, the frontier guardians would keep at home small quantities of gunpowder for ordinary use, but their larger reserves of gunpowder would be kept in a fort. The gunpowder of the time was blackpowder, which is volatile, so large quantities often were centrally stored, ideally in reinforced brick buildings.⁶⁹⁹

Virginia’s first elaborate militia act was passed in 1705.⁷⁰⁰ The militia included “all male persons whatsoever, from sixteen to sixty years of age . . . to serve in horse or foot.”⁷⁰¹ An infantryman needed “a firelock, muskett or fusee well fixed, a good sword,” cartridge box, and ammunition.⁷⁰² He had to bring six rounds of ammunition to muster. Additionally, he had to “have at his place of abode two pounds of powder and eight pounds of shott, and bring the same into the field with him when thereunto specially required.”⁷⁰³

A horseman needed the usual tack and ammunition accoutrements along with a pair of pistols and a sword.⁷⁰⁴ He had to bring eight rounds of ammunition to muster.⁷⁰⁵ At his usual place of abode, he also had to keep a well fixed carabine, two pounds of powder and eight pounds of shot.⁷⁰⁶

The act made it unlawful for creditors to seize a militiaman’s arms as payment for debts.⁷⁰⁷ If a creditor nevertheless took someone’s militia equipment, the seizure would “be unlawful and void.”⁷⁰⁸ Any “officer or person that presumes to make or serve the same” (e.g., a sheriff serving a writ of attachment) would “be lyable to the suit of the party grieved, wherein double damages shall be given upon recovery.”⁷⁰⁹ Later in the century, the

⁶⁹⁷ *Id.*

⁶⁹⁸ *Id.* at 206-07.

⁶⁹⁹ JOHNSON ET AL., *supra* note 18, at 250.

⁷⁰⁰ 3 HENING, *supra* note 688, at 335.

⁷⁰¹ *Id.* at 336.

⁷⁰² *Id.*

⁷⁰³ *Id.*

⁷⁰⁴ *Id.* at 338.

⁷⁰⁵ *Id.*

⁷⁰⁶ *Id.*

⁷⁰⁷ *Id.* (The required arms and accoutrements were “free and exempted at all times from being impressed upon any account whatsoever, and likewise from being seized or taken by any manner of distress, attachment, or writt of execution.”)

⁷⁰⁸ *Id.*

⁷⁰⁹ *Id.*

federal UMA would likewise make militia equipment immune from seizure for debts.⁷¹⁰

Subsequent Virginia acts of 1705⁷¹¹ and 1711⁷¹² kept the age and arms rules. A 1720 act appropriated one thousand pounds to distribute “to each christian titheable [subject to taxation], one firelock, musket, one socket,⁷¹³ bayonet fitted thereto, one cartouch box, eight pounds bullet, two pounds powder, until the whole one thousand pounds be laid out.”⁷¹⁴

A 1723 act made “the colonel, or chief officer of the militia of every county, have full power and authority to list all free male persons whatsoever, from twenty-one to sixty years of age, within his respective county, to serve in horse or foot.”⁷¹⁵ However, “nothing in this act contained, shall hinder or debar any captain from admitting any able-bodied white person, who shall be above the age of sixteen years, to serve in his troop or company, in the place of any person required by this act to be listed.”⁷¹⁶ In other words, 16-20-year-olds could be hired or could volunteer as substitutes for older men.

The arms requirements were elaborate. For horsemen, a good serviceable horse, tack accoutrements, “holsters, and a case of pistols, cutting sword, or cutlace, and double cartouch box.”⁷¹⁷ At home, they had to keep a carbine, plus “one pound of powder, and four pounds of shot.”⁷¹⁸

Infantry needed “a firelock, musquet, or fuzee, well fixed, and bayonet fitted to such musquet or fuzee, or a good cutting sword or cutlace,” along with the cartridge box.⁷¹⁹ Reserves to be kept at home were the same powder and shot as for horsemen.⁷²⁰

Again, militiamen’s arms were immune from creditors.⁷²¹

⁷¹⁰ 1 Stat. 271, § 1 (1792) (“And every citizen so enrolled, and providing himself with the arms, ammunition and accoutrements, required as aforesaid, shall hold the same exempted from all suits, distresses, executions or sales, for debt or for the payment of taxes.”).

⁷¹¹ 3 HENING, *supra* note 688, at 362.

⁷¹² 4 WILLIAM WALLER HENING, THE STATUTES AT LARGE: BEING A COLLECTION OF ALL THE LAWS OF VIRGINIA, FROM THE FIRST SESSION OF THE LEGISLATURE, IN THE YEAR 1619, at 9 (1823).

⁷¹³ Located near the muzzle of a gun, the socket was used to attach the bayonet to the gun, so that the gun could be used as a pole-arm at close quarters. J.N. GEORGE, ENGLISH GUNS AND RIFLES 80-81 (1947).

⁷¹⁴ 4 HENING, *supra* note 712, at 77-78.

⁷¹⁵ *Id.* at 118.

⁷¹⁶ *Id.* at 125.

⁷¹⁷ *Id.*

⁷¹⁸ *Id.*

⁷¹⁹ *Id.*

⁷²⁰ *Id.* at 120.

⁷²¹ *Id.* at 121.

And for an encouragement of every soldier to provide and furnish himself, according to the directions of this act, and his security to keep his horse, arms and ammunition, when provided, *Be it enacted, by the authority aforesaid*, That the horses and furniture, arms and ammunition, provided and kept, in pursuance of this act, be free and exempted at all items from being impressed upon any account whatsoever; and likewise, from being seized or taken by any manner of distress, attachment, or writ of execution. And that

Acts passed in 1727,⁷²² 1732,⁷²³ and 1734⁷²⁴ made no changes to the militia ages or arms.

Virginia's 1738 act "for the settling and better Regulation of the Militia,"⁷²⁵ appears to be the only militia act in the colonial or founding era that excluded persons aged 18-to-20. The militia under this act consisted of "all male persons, above the age of one and twenty years."⁷²⁶

With the French & Indian War underway, Virginia passed several militia-related acts in 1757. The first act augmented the already-existing forces in the field by allowing officers to add certain men between 18 and 50.⁷²⁷ Reflecting a still greater need for additional forces, Virginia's 1757 militia act restored the minimum age to 18 and set the maximum age at 60.⁷²⁸ Soldiers had to furnish themselves with "a firelock well fixed, a bayonet fitted to the same," and keep an extra pound of powder and "four pounds of ball" at home.⁷²⁹

Three other acts were passed in 1757; the first preventing mutiny and desertion,⁷³⁰ the second preventing invasions and insurrections,⁷³¹ and the third protecting against Indian attacks.⁷³² None addressed militia ages.

Acts passed in 1758⁷³³ and 1759⁷³⁴ made no changes to the militia's age limits or arms requirements.

Like other colonies, Virginia had various exemptions from militia duty. A 1762 amendment ensured that "every person so exempted shall always keep in his house or place of abode such arms, accoutrements, and ammunition, as are by the [1757] act required to be kept by the militia."⁷³⁵ The 1757 act was continued in 1771.⁷³⁶

every distress, seizure, attachment, or execution, made or served upon any of the premises, be unlawful and void: And that the officer or person that presumes to make or serve the same, be liable to the suit of the party grieved: wherein double damages shall be given upon a recovery.

⁷²² *Id.* at 197.

⁷²³ *Id.* at 323.

⁷²⁴ *Id.* at 395.

⁷²⁵ 5 WILLIAM WALLER HENING, THE STATUTES AT LARGE: BEING A COLLECTION OF ALL THE LAWS OF VIRGINIA, FROM THE FIRST SESSION OF THE LEGISLATURE, IN THE YEAR 1619, at 16 (1823).

⁷²⁶ *Id.*

⁷²⁷ 7 WILLIAM WALLER HENING, THE STATUTES AT LARGE: BEING A COLLECTION OF ALL THE LAWS OF VIRGINIA, FROM THE FIRST SESSION OF THE LEGISLATURE, IN THE YEAR 1619, at 69, 70 (1823).

⁷²⁸ *Id.* at 93.

⁷²⁹ *Id.* at 94. This act was continued in 1759. *Id.* at 274.

⁷³⁰ *Id.* at 87. This act was continued in 1758, *id.* at 169, and 1759, *id.* at 280.

⁷³¹ *Id.* at 106. This act was continued in 1758, *id.* at 237, and 1759, *id.* at 384.

⁷³² *Id.* at 121.

⁷³³ *Id.* at 171. This act was amended in 1758, but the ages and arms of militiamen remained unchanged.

Id. at 251.

⁷³⁴ *Id.* at 279.

⁷³⁵ *Id.* at 534, 537. The printed volume does not have a page 535 or 536.

⁷³⁶ 8 WILLIAM WALLER HENING, THE STATUTES AT LARGE: BEING A COLLECTION OF ALL THE LAWS OF VIRGINIA, FROM THE FIRST SESSION OF THE LEGISLATURE, IN THE YEAR 1619, at 503 (1823).

The American Revolution began on April 19, 1775, when armed Americans resisted British attempts to seize firearms and gunpowder at Lexington and Concord, Massachusetts. In Virginia, A Convention of Delegates for the Counties and Corporations in the Colony of Virginia was held in the summer of 1775. The first enactment of the Convention was “An ordinance for raising and embodying a sufficient force, for the defence and protection of this colony.”⁷³⁷ The ordinance established militia age limits of 16 and 50.⁷³⁸ Every militiaman had to “furnish himself with a good rifle, if to be had, or otherwise with a tomahawk, common firelock, bayonet, pouch, or cartouch box, three charges of powder and ball, and appear with the same at the place appointed for mustering, and shall constantly keep by him one pound of powder and four pounds of ball.”⁷³⁹

In 1777, Virginia passed its first militia act as a state, with Patrick Henry as governor.⁷⁴⁰ “An Act for regulating and disciplining the Militia” applied to “all free male persons, hired servants [not indentured], and apprentices, between the ages of sixteen and fifty years.”⁷⁴¹ “The county lieutenant, colonels, lieutenant colonels, and major” had to appear “with a sword.”⁷⁴² Every captain and lieutenant needed a “firelock and bayonet, a cartouch box, a sword, and three charges of powder and ball.”⁷⁴³ Ensigns needed a sword.⁷⁴⁴ Non-commissioned officers and privates had to have

a rifle and tomahawk, or good fire-lock and bayonet, with a pouch and horn, or a cartouch or cartridge box, and with three charges of powder and ball; and, moreover, each of the said officers and soldiers shall constantly keep

⁷³⁷ 9 WILLIAM WALLER HENING, THE STATUTES AT LARGE: BEING A COLLECTION OF ALL THE LAWS OF VIRGINIA, FROM THE FIRST SESSION OF THE LEGISLATURE, IN THE YEAR 1619, at 9 (1823). According to the statutory compiler, “In the original, the title of this ordinance is wanting; nor are any of the chapters numbered. The title is here inserted from the Chancellors’ Revisal, edi 1785, p. 30, and the late edition of the Ordinances of 1816, p. 29.” *Id.*

⁷³⁸ *Id.* at 16.

⁷³⁹ *Id.* at 28. A militia ordinance passed at the Convention held the following year did not change the militia ages. *Id.* at 139. Nor did an act passed in October of 1776. *Id.* at 267.

A report from July 28, 1775, mentioned a British major who was killed in action, and had four balls lodged in his body. “The Americans load their rifle-barrel guns with a ball slit almost in four quarters, which when fired out of those guns breaks into four pieces and generally does great execution.” Alexander Purdie, VA. GAZETTE (Oct. 20, 1775), <http://research.history.org/DigitalLibrary/va-gazettes/VGSinglePage.cfm?IssueIDNo=75.P.74>.

⁷⁴⁰ 9 HENING, *supra* note 737, at 267.

⁷⁴¹ *Id.* This act was amended in 1781, but the amendment did not change the required arms or ages. 10 WILLIAM WALLER HENING, THE STATUTES AT LARGE: BEING A COLLECTION OF ALL THE LAWS OF VIRGINIA, FROM THE FIRST SESSION OF THE LEGISLATURE, IN THE YEAR 1619, at 416 (1823).

⁷⁴² 9 HENING, *supra* note 737, at 268.

⁷⁴³ *Id.*

⁷⁴⁴ *Id.*

one pound of powder and four pounds of ball, to be produced whenever called for by his commanding officer.⁷⁴⁵

Virginia also passed an act in 1777 to raise troops for the Continental Army.⁷⁴⁶ “[A]ble bodied young men above the age of sixteen years” were eligible for enlistment.⁷⁴⁷

Another 1777 act required “all free born male inhabitants of this state, above the age of sixteen years” to “renounce and refuse all allegiance to George the third” and swear to “be faithful and bear true allegiance to the commonwealth of Virginia, as a free and independent state.”⁷⁴⁸ Because 16-year-olds were old enough to fight, they were old enough to decide whether their loyalty lay with the king or the commonwealth.

Another statewide law in 1777 left arms and ages unchanged.⁷⁴⁹

The militia laws had educational exemptions, but these were tightened in May 1777, by “An act for regulating and disciplining the militia of the city of Williamsburg and borough of Norfolk.”⁷⁵⁰ Its purpose was “FOR forming the citizens of Williamsburg, borough of Norfolk, and the professors and students of William and Mary college, into a militia.” The William & Mary militia included “all male persons between the ages of sixteen and fifty years.”⁷⁵¹

Later that year, an October 1777 “Act for speedily recruiting the Virginia Regiments on the continental establishment and for raising additional troops of Volunteers” called for drafting single men above eighteen and with no children for the Continental Army.⁷⁵²

Virginia passed many militia laws in 1778, but none of these changed the militia ages or arms.⁷⁵³ Nor did the militia-related acts passed in 1779.⁷⁵⁴

Three acts regarding the militia were passed in 1781. The first was “to raise two legions for the defence of the state.”⁷⁵⁵ Neither this act, nor its amendment added that same year, altered the arms or ages of militiamen.⁷⁵⁶

⁷⁴⁵ *Id.* at 268-69.

⁷⁴⁶ *Id.* at 275.

⁷⁴⁷ *Id.*

⁷⁴⁸ *Id.* at 281.

⁷⁴⁹ *Id.* at 291.

⁷⁵⁰ *Id.* at 313.

⁷⁵¹ *Id.*

⁷⁵² *Id.* at 337, 339.

⁷⁵³ *Id.* at 445, 449, 452, 454, 458.

⁷⁵⁴ 10 HENING, *supra* note 741, at 18, 23, 28, 32, 83. One act, entitled “An Act for raising a body of Volunteers for the defence of the commonwealth,” allowed two battalions responsible for protecting the western frontiers to furnish themselves “with such clothing, arms, and accoutrements, as are most proper for that service.” *Id.* at 20.

⁷⁵⁵ *Id.* at 391.

⁷⁵⁶ *Id.* at 410.

The second 1781 act was “for ascertaining the number of militia in this state.”⁷⁵⁷ It ordered “captains or commanding officers of the respective companies in their several counties,” to make “an exact list of each company, distinguishing all such as are under eighteen years of age.”⁷⁵⁸

The third 1781 act was “for enlisting soldiers to serve in the continental army.”⁷⁵⁹ It made no mention of arms or ages, but it did require that a Continental soldier be at least “five feet four inches tall.”⁷⁶⁰

A 1782 act added some equipment detail for cavalry: “horseman’s sword and cap, one pistol, and a pair of holsters.”⁷⁶¹

In 1784, Virginia increased its militia’s minimum age to 18, and kept the maximum age at 50.⁷⁶² Militiamen were required to appear “armed, equipped, and accoutred” according to rank.⁷⁶³ “The county lieutenants, lieutenant colonels commandant, and majors, with a sword; the captains, lieutenants, and ensigns, with a sword and esponton.”⁷⁶⁴ Noncommissioned officers and privates needed to supply themselves “with a good clean musket, carrying an ounce ball,⁷⁶⁵ and three feet eight inches long in the barrel, with a good bayonet and iron ramrod well fitted thereto.”⁷⁶⁶ Plus also “a cartridge box properly made, to contain and secure twenty cartridges” and “a good knapsack and canteen.”⁷⁶⁷

Previously, militiamen had simply been told to keep an extra pound of powder and four pounds of lead at home, and to bring it with them if they were called into action. Now, to prove that they possessed such quantities, they had to bring to “every muster...twenty blind cartridges.”⁷⁶⁸ Further “each sergeant shall have a pair of moulds fit [to] cast balls for their respective companies.”⁷⁶⁹

Finally, “the militia of the counties westward of the Blue Ridge, and the counties below adjoining thereto,” could forego the muskets, and instead choose “good rifles with proper accoutrements.”⁷⁷⁰

⁷⁵⁷ *Id.* at 396.

⁷⁵⁸ *Id.*

⁷⁵⁹ *Id.* at 433.

⁷⁶⁰ *Id.*

⁷⁶¹ 11 WILLIAM WALLER HENING, THE STATUTES AT LARGE: BEING A COLLECTION OF ALL THE LAWS OF VIRGINIA, FROM THE FIRST SESSION OF THE LEGISLATURE, IN THE YEAR 1619, at 173 (1823).

⁷⁶² *Id.* at 476.

⁷⁶³ *Id.* at 478.

⁷⁶⁴ *Id.*

⁷⁶⁵ That meant 16 balls to the pound of lead. This is slightly smaller than .69 caliber, which is 15 balls to the pound. *Lead ball, per pound*, RED RIVER BRIGADE (Jan. 26, 2014), <http://www.redriverbrigade.com/lead-ball-per-pound/>.

⁷⁶⁶ 11 HENING, *supra* note 761, at 478-79.

⁷⁶⁷ *Id.* at 479.

⁷⁶⁸ *Id.* The meaning of “blind cartridge” is obscure. It may mean a standard paper cartridge.

⁷⁶⁹ *Id.*

⁷⁷⁰ *Id.*

The following year, Virginia passed the act⁷⁷¹ that defined its militia when it ratified the Second Amendment on December 15, 1791,⁷⁷² making the Amendment part of the Constitution. Virginia ratified nine other amendments on the same day, enshrining them in the Constitution, and making December 15 the birthday of the Bill of Rights.⁷⁷³

The 1785 Virginia act included in the general militia “all free male persons between the ages of eighteen and fifty years.”⁷⁷⁴ Some young men would get extra training in a

light company to be formed of young men, from eighteen to twenty-five years old, whose activity and domestic circumstances will admit of a frequency of training, and strictness of discipline, not practical for the militia in general, and returning to the main body, on their arrival at the latter period, will be constantly giving thereto a military pride and experience, from which the best of consequences will result.⁷⁷⁵

These light companies were “in all respects [] subject to the same regulations and orders as the rest of the militia.”⁷⁷⁶ For all the militia, the requisite arms were the same as before.⁷⁷⁷

On December 22, 1792, Virginia passed a new militia law in response to the federal Uniform Militia Act, to “carry the same into effect.”⁷⁷⁸ The act provided for the continuation of the same “light company” “of young men from eighteen to twenty-five years age” that had been established in Virginia’s previous militia act.⁷⁷⁹ The 1792 Virginia law made no changes in the age limits. A 1799 amendment did not address ages or arms.⁷⁸⁰

L. Massachusetts Bay: “from ten yeares ould to the age of sixteen yeares”

Virginia’s ratification of the Second Amendment and of nine other Amendments made the Bill of Rights the supreme law of the land, effective

⁷⁷¹ 12 WILLIAM WALLER HENING, THE STATUTES AT LARGE: BEING A COLLECTION OF ALL THE LAWS OF VIRGINIA, FROM THE FIRST SESSION OF THE LEGISLATURE, IN THE YEAR 1619, at 9 (1823). This act was amended in 1786, but it did not impact the age limits or arms requirements. *Id.* at 234.

⁷⁷² JOURNAL OF THE FIRST SESSION OF THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, *supra* note 659, at 361.

⁷⁷³ U.S. CONST. amends. I-X.

⁷⁷⁴ 12 HENING, *supra* note 771, at 10.

⁷⁷⁵ *Id.* at 14-15.

⁷⁷⁶ *Id.* at 15.

⁷⁷⁷ *Id.* at 12.

⁷⁷⁸ 13 WILLIAM WALLER HENING, THE STATUTES AT LARGE: BEING A COLLECTION OF ALL THE LAWS OF VIRGINIA, FROM THE FIRST SESSION OF THE LEGISLATURE, IN THE YEAR 1619, at 340 (1823).

⁷⁷⁹ *Id.* at 344.

⁷⁸⁰ 2 THE STATUTES AT LARGE OF VIRGINIA: FROM OCTOBER SESSION 1792, TO DECEMBER SESSION 1806 [I.E. 1807], INCLUSIVE, IN THREE VOLUMES, (NEW SERIES,) BEING A CONTINUATION OF HENING 141 (1835).

December 15, 1791.⁷⁸¹ The three states that had not yet acted—Massachusetts, Georgia, and Connecticut—therefore had no reason to take up the issue. Yet in all three of these states, ratification of the Second Amendment and the rest of the Bill of Rights was placed on the legislative agenda in early 1939. These 1939 ratifications were apparently enacted to make a statement at a time when right-wing fascists (e.g., Mussolini, Hitler, Franco), and left-wing fascists (e.g., Stalin, Mao) were wantonly murdering disarmed victims. The first state to ratify in 1939 was Massachusetts, on March 2.⁷⁸²

In the colonial period and Founding Era, the Bay State had especially strong laws for mass armament. In 1631, Massachusetts Bay enacted a law mandating that all adult males be armed.⁷⁸³ A 1637 statute required everyone 18 and older to “come to the publike assemblies with their muskets, or other peeeces fit for servise, furnished with match, powder, & bullets.”⁷⁸⁴

Young people of both sexes were expected to be proficient with arms. A 1645 statute mandated that “all youth within this jurisdiction, from ten yeares oud to the age of sixteen yeares, shalbe instructed, by some one of the officers of the band,⁷⁸⁵ or some other experienced souldier...upon the usuall training dayes, in the exercise of armes, as small guns, halfe pikes, bowes & arrows.”⁷⁸⁶ There was an exemption for conscientious objectors; youths would not have to train “against their parents minds.”⁷⁸⁷

In the 1770 Boston Massacre, British soldiers fired on a crowd that was pelting them with stones and ice balls. John Adams served as defense attorney.⁷⁸⁸ Both sides agreed that the soldiers and the crowd each had the right to carry arms for self-defense. “The court’s charge to the jury asserted the traditional duty of private persons to respond to the hue and cry and to carry arms: ‘It is the duty of all persons (except women, decrepit persons, and infants under fifteen) to aid and assist the peace officers to suppress riots

⁷⁸¹ U.S. CONST. amends. I-X.

⁷⁸² JOURNAL OF THE SENATE OF THE COMMONWEALTH OF MASSACHUSETTS 369 (1939). For the essential similarity of the totalitarian “fascist,” “communist,” or “national socalist” regimes, *see*, e.g., Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., *The Vital Center: The Politics of Freedom* (1949).

⁷⁸³ KYLE F. ZELNE, *A RABBLE IN ARMS: MASSACHUSETTS TOWNS AND MILITIAMEN DURING KING PHILIP’S WAR* 28 (2009).

⁷⁸⁴ 1 RECORDS OF THE GOVERNOR AND COMPANY OF THE MASSACHUSETTS BAY IN NEW ENGLAND 190 (Nathaniel B. Shurtleff ed., 1853).

⁷⁸⁵ The “trained band.” In American usage, either the militia in general, or an elite militia unit that received extra training. In British usage, only an elite unit.

⁷⁸⁶ 2 RECORDS OF THE GOVERNOR AND COMPANY OF THE MASSACHUSETTS BAY IN NEW ENGLAND 99 (Nathaniel B. Shurtleff ed., 1853).

⁷⁸⁷ *Id.*

⁷⁸⁸ JOHN ADAMS, 3 LEGAL PAPERS OF JOHN ADAMS 5-6 (L. Kinvin Wroth & Hiller B. Zobel eds., 1965).

& c. when called upon to do it. They may take with them such weapons as are necessary to enable them effectually to do it.”⁷⁸⁹

As political tensions mounted, the British tried to suppress political meetings. They could not do so, for the Redcoats were far outnumbered by armed Americans, including teenagers. When British General sent two companies of Redcoats to dissolve an illegal town meeting in Salem, soldiers backed down when swarms of armed patriots began to appear.⁷⁹⁰ Gage’s aide John Andrews wrote:

there was upwards of three thousand men assembled there from the adjacent towns, with full determination to rescue the Committee if they should be sent to prison, even if they were Oblig’d to repel force by force, being sufficiently provided for such a purpose; as indeed they are all through the country—every male above the age of 16 possessing a firelock with double the quantity of powder and ball enjoin’d by law.⁷⁹¹

At the time Massachusetts ratified the Constitution on February 6, 1788, its militia laws provided for “the train-band to contain all able-bodied men, from sixteen to forty years of age, and the alarm-list all other men under fifty years of age.”⁷⁹²

Every militiaman “not under the control of parents, masters or guardians, and being of sufficient ability therefore in the judgment of the selectmen of the town in which he shall dwell,” had to “equip himself, and be constantly provided with a good fire-arm,” plus a ramrod, cleaning tools, a bayonet and scabbard, a cartridge box to hold “fifteen cartridges at least,” plus six flints, one pound of powder, forty leaden balls suitable for this firearm, a haversack, blanket, and canteen.”⁷⁹³ Officers and cavalrymen had to provide themselves with horses plus associated equipment, and a carbine (a shorter, lighter-weight long gun, well-suited for use while mounted).⁷⁹⁴

Militiamen who failed to equip themselves with the required arms could be fined.⁷⁹⁵

Regarding militiamen who *were* “under the control of parents, masters or guardians,” the parent, master, or guardian was responsible for providing the equipment, and could be fined for failure to do so.⁷⁹⁶ Both servants and

⁷⁸⁹ *Id.* at 285.

⁷⁹⁰ RAY RAPHAEL, A PEOPLE’S HISTORY OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION: HOW COMMON PEOPLE SHAPED THE FIGHT FOR INDEPENDENCE 55 (2002).

⁷⁹¹ *Id.*

⁷⁹² I. THOMAS & E.T. ANDREWS, THE PERPETUAL LAWS OF THE COMMONWEALTH OF MASSACHUSETTS FROM THE ESTABLISHMENT OF ITS CONSTITUTION IN THE YEAR 1780 TO THE END OF THE YEAR 1800, at 339 (1801).

⁷⁹³ *Id.* at 340-41.

⁷⁹⁴ *Id.* at 347.

⁷⁹⁵ *Id.* at 341.

⁷⁹⁶ *Id.*

young people who were living at home were, presumably, not yet earning enough income to live independently, so they might not be able to afford their own arms.

For older militiamen who were genuinely unable to afford arms, the town would be responsible for providing them.⁷⁹⁷ The donated arms remained town property and could not be sold by the militiaman.⁷⁹⁸

M. Plymouth Colony: “each man servant”

By 1939, Plymouth had long ceased to exist as an independent political entity. Even in the early days, it had been overshadowed by its larger and culturally similar neighbor, the Massachusetts Bay Colony. In 1691, Plymouth chose assimilation with Massachusetts; it was a defensive measure, since New York was trying to annex Plymouth.⁷⁹⁹ So we cover Plymouth Colony in order with Massachusetts Bay.

Plymouth’s first written arms mandate came in 1632.⁸⁰⁰ “[E]very freeman or other inhabitant must provide for himselfe and each under him able to beare arms a musket and other serviceable peece with bandeleroes and other apurtanances,” plus two pounds of powder and 10 pounds of bullets.⁸⁰¹ This was reenacted in 1636, specifying that it included “each man servant.”⁸⁰² As in Massachusetts, the master had to provide the arms for the servants, many of whom presumably could not afford their own.⁸⁰³

A 1643 update revised the required firearms.⁸⁰⁴ A comprehensive recodification in 1671 specified that the militia is “every man from the age sixteen and upwards.”⁸⁰⁵ It also required smiths to repair arms and to charge the same rates they charged for other work.⁸⁰⁶ In 1676, old-fashioned matchlocks (ignited by burning cord) were no longer acceptable for the militia; the gun had to be a flintlock or a snaphaunce (ignited by a spark from flint striking steel).⁸⁰⁷ A 1681 revision added the requirement to possess a sword or cutlass.⁸⁰⁸

⁷⁹⁷ *Id.*

⁷⁹⁸ *Id.*

⁷⁹⁹ DAVID S. LOVEJOY, *THE GLORIOUS REVOLUTION IN AMERICA* 347 (1972).

⁸⁰⁰ *THE COMPACT WITH THE CHARTER AND LAWS OF THE COLONY OF NEW PLYMOUTH* 30-31 (William Brigham ed., 1836).

⁸⁰¹ *Id.* at 31.

⁸⁰² *Id.* at 44-45.

⁸⁰³ *Id.*

⁸⁰⁴ *Id.* at 74 (service guns should be matchlocks, snaphaunces [an early version of the flintlock], or flintlocks, not longer than four and a half feet, and of a bore at least the size of a caliver or a bastard musket).

⁸⁰⁵ *Id.* at 285-86.

⁸⁰⁶ *Id.* at 286.

⁸⁰⁷ *Id.* at 184.

⁸⁰⁸ *Id.* at 192.

Like the other colonies, Plymouth had many indentured servants. After their term of service was completed, they became legally free. The age of attaining freedom would vary of course, but it could include people in their late teens or early twenties. Former male servants, or other male single persons, could not set up their own households unless they possessed the requisite arms and ammunition.⁸⁰⁹ If they did not, they had to work for someone who would buy the arms and ammunition for them.⁸¹⁰

N. Georgia: No going to church without arms

Georgia did not get around to ratifying the Second Amendment until March 18, 1939.⁸¹¹ It was only three days after Hitler had invaded Czechoslovakia. As was the typical Nazi practice, one of the first acts of the dictatorship was to confiscate arms from the new subjects.⁸¹²

In 1791, when the Second Amendment became part of the Constitution, Georgia required males between 16 and 50 to serve in the militia and provide their own arms.⁸¹³ The arms requirement was “one rifle musket, fowling-piece or fusee fit for action, with a cartridge box or powder-horn answerable for that purpose with six cartridges or powder and lead equal thereto and three flints.”⁸¹⁴

A 1770 Georgia law, copied from South Carolina, imposed fines on those in the militia who came to church unarmed.⁸¹⁵

⁸⁰⁹ *Id.* at 35.

⁸¹⁰ *Id.* On top of the individual requirement to possess arms, towns had to have their own: two flintlocks and two swords per 30 men. *Id.* at 84. These could be available as a reserve in case of breakage during war; they could also be furnished to persons who could not afford their own.

⁸¹¹ ACTS AND RESOLUTIONS OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF THE STATE OF GEORGIA 1414 (1939).

⁸¹² See, e.g., THE TIMES (London), Mar. 16, 1939, at 16b.

Immediately a proclamation, bordered in red and bearing the German eagle and swastika which is now familiar to every Czech town and village, was posted...Under this proclamation no one was allowed in the streets after 8 p.m. . . .; all popular gatherings were forbidden; and weapons, munitions, and wireless sets were ordered to be surrendered immediately. Disobedience of these orders, the proclamation ended, would be severely punished under military law.

⁸¹³ 19 (pt. 2) THE COLONIAL RECORDS OF THE STATE OF GEORGIA 348 (Allen D. Candler ed., 1911), https://books.google.com/books?id=1TMTAAAAYAAJ&printsec=frontcover&source=gbs_ge_summary_r&cad=0#v=onepage&q&f=false.

⁸¹⁴ *Id.* at 353.

⁸¹⁵ 19 (pt. 1), *id.* at 137-40. Georgia continued to mandate the carrying of arms in non-militia contexts in the nineteenth century. An 1806 law required “All male white inhabitants . . . from the age of eighteen to forty-five years . . . to appear and work upon the several roads, creeks, causeways, water-passages, and bridges” and to “carry with him one good and sufficient gun or pair of pistols, and at least nine cartridges to fit the same, or twelve loads of powder and ball, or buck shot.” OLIVER H. PRINCE, DIGEST OF THE LAWS OF THE STATE OF GEORGIA 407, 409 (1822), <https://books.google.com/books?id=9tUtYuEuWC0C&pg=PA339&dq=georgia+1786+laws&hl=en&sa=X&ved=0ahUKEwj9Ym0nafeAhVhpoMKHaLIC0IQ6AEIRzAF#v=onepage&q=%22gun%22&f=false>.

O. Connecticut: “all persons shall beare Armes that are above the age sixteene yeeres”

The Nutmeg State was also slow in its Second Amendment ratification, finally acting on April 19, 1939.⁸¹⁶ The date was the anniversary of the battles of Lexington and Concord, when the American Revolution had begun in 1775.⁸¹⁷ On that date, American militia and irregulars had repulsed British efforts to confiscate arms. But 164 years later, totalitarianism was on the march. Italian tyrant Mussolini had invaded Albania on Good Friday, April 7, 1939, and conquered the small nation in a few days.⁸¹⁸

When Connecticut was founded in 1636, its government ordered that “every souldier” should have “in his own howse in a readiness” two pounds of gunpowder and twenty lead bullets.⁸¹⁹ A more detailed law in 1637 ordered “that all persons shall beare Armes that are above the age sixteene yeeres.”⁸²⁰ Commissioners and church officers were exempt.⁸²¹ “[E]very military man” had to have “continually in his house” half a pound of powder and two pounds of bullets.⁸²² Towns were required to have specified reserves of gunpowder and lead bullets.⁸²³

Central stores of bullets and gunpowder were important in case of extended fighting. The colonists’ personal supplies of ammunition might run out. During wartime, roads might be captured by the enemy, so a town might not be able to bring in more gunpowder and lead from outside.

In 1650, the colony ordered “[t]hat all persons that are above the age of sixteene yeares, except magistrates and church officers, shall beare Armes...; and every male person ... aboue the said Age, shall have in continuall readines, a good muskitt or other gunn, fitt for service, and allowed by the Clark of the Band.”⁸²⁴

⁸¹⁶ JOURNAL OF THE SENATE OF THE STATE OF CONNECTICUT, JAN. SESS., 1939: PART 2, at 1403 (1939), <https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=mdp.39015067981400;view=1up;seq=193>.

⁸¹⁷ See, e.g., ALLEN FRENCH, THE DAY OF CONCORD AND LEXINGTON: THE NINETEENTH OF APRIL, 1775 (1984).

⁸¹⁸ Albania had won its independence from the Ottoman Empire, in a 1908-12 war in which Albanians demanded, inter alia, the right to bear arms. But in 1928 King Zog, an authoritarian ruler, had banned arms for all tribes but his own. OWEN PEARSON, ALBANIA AND KING ZOG: INDEPENDENCE, REPUBLIC AND MONARCHY 1908-1939, at 21, 26-27, 299, 304 (2005).

⁸¹⁹ 1 PUBLIC RECORDS OF THE COLONY OF CONNECTICUT 3 (J. Hammond Trumbull ed., 1850).

⁸²⁰ *Id.* at 15.

⁸²¹ *Id.*

⁸²² *Id.*

⁸²³ *Id.* at 15-16.

⁸²⁴ *Id.* at 542-43; CODE OF 1650, BEING A COMPILATION OF THE EARLIEST LAWS AND ORDERS OF THE GENERAL COURT OF CONNECTICUT 72-73 (Silas Andrus ed., 1822).

New Haven, a separate colony until 1662, required males 16 to 60 to have “a good serviceable gun...to be kept in a constant fitness in all Respects for service.”⁸²⁵ Also necessary were a “a good sword,” bandoleers, a powder horn, worm, scourer, priming wire, shot bag, charger, “and whatsoever else is necessary for such service.”⁸²⁶ The ammunition minimum was at least “a pound of good powder” plus “four pounds of pistol bullets” or twenty-four long gun bullets, plus match for a matchlock or flints for a flintlock.⁸²⁷

Connecticut ratified the Constitution a week after Georgia on January 9, 1788. Under the state law of the time, “[A]ll male Persons, from sixteen Years of Age to Forty-five, shall constitute the Military Force of this State.”⁸²⁸ Although not part of “the military force,” all “Householders under fifty-five Years of Age” had to “be furnished at their own Expence” with the same arms as the militia.⁸²⁹

These arms were “a well fixed Musket, the Barrel not less than three Feet and an Half long, and a Bayonet fitted thereto, with a Sheath and Belt or Strap for the same.”⁸³⁰ Militiamen, males under fifty-five, and householders also needed a ramrod, worm, priming-wire, and cartridge box with “fifteen rounds of Cartridges, made with good Musket Powder and Ball, fitting his Gun.”⁸³¹ Also needed were “six good Flints” and “one Canteen holding not less than three Pints.”⁸³²

Light-Dragoons (horsemen) had to have “a Case of good Pistols...one Pound of good Powder, three Pounds of sizable Bullets, twelve Flints, a good pair of Boots and Spurs.”⁸³³

IV. FEDERAL LAWS

The Continental Congress, consisting of delegates from the thirteen colonies,⁸³⁴ began exercising powers of national sovereignty in 1774.⁸³⁵ Independence was formally declared in 1776. In 1781, the Continental

⁸²⁵ NEW-HAVEN’S SETTLING IN NEW-ENGLAND AND SOME LAWES FOR GOVERNMENT: PUBLISHED FOR THE USE OF THAT COLONY 60-61 (1656).

⁸²⁶ *Id.* at 61. The worm was a device for cleaning the barrel and for extracting an unfired bullet from a firearm. The priming wire was for cleaning the touch hole—the small hole where the fire from the priming pan connected with the main powder charge in the barrel.

⁸²⁷ *Id.*

⁸²⁸ ACTS AND LAWS OF THE STATE OF CONNECTICUT IN AMERICA 144 (1786).

⁸²⁹ *Id.* at 145.

⁸³⁰ *Id.* at 150.

⁸³¹ *Id.*

⁸³² *Id.*

⁸³³ *Id.*

⁸³⁴ Georgia was unrepresented at the 1774 Convention because it was preoccupied by an Indian uprising, and dependent on the British for supplies.

⁸³⁵ *Documents from the Continental Congress and the Constitutional Convention, 1774 to 1789*, LIBR. CONGRESS, <https://www.loc.gov/collections/continental-congress-and-constitutional-convention-from-1774-to-1789/articles-and-essays/timeline/1773-to-1774/> (last visited Jan. 13, 2019).

Congress turned into the Confederation Congress, when the Articles of Confederation were ratified.⁸³⁶ During the Revolution, the Congress did its best to provide for the Continental Army. But management of the wartime militia was far beyond the administrative capacity of the Congress.

Under the Articles of Confederation, every state was obliged to “always keep up a well regulated and disciplined militia, sufficiently armed and accoutered.”⁸³⁷ While the militias were a state responsibility, the Confederation Congress could requisition the states to supply land forces “for the common defense.”⁸³⁸ Also, Congress could appoint militia officers above the rank of colonel when the state militia forces were in national service.⁸³⁹ Under a federal requisition, the state legislature had the duty to “raise the men and cloath, arm and equip them in a soldier like manner,” with the Confederation Congress paying the expense.⁸⁴⁰

The Confederation Congress drew up a militia plan, putting married men and single men in different classes. The militia were to be “All the free male inhabitants of each state from 20 to fifty, except such as the laws of the State shall exempt, to be divided into two general classes; one class to consist of married and the other class of single men.”⁸⁴¹ Required arms for infantry and dragoons were similar to, although less detailed than, the state laws.⁸⁴²

The Articles of Confederation gave Congress few powers to legislate directly on the people, instead requiring Congress to act through the state governments. As far as we can tell, the 1783 congressional militia plan did not have much influence.

The United States Constitution, proposed in 1787 and ratified in 1789, was intended to change things. Congress was given a list of enumerated powers, by which it could directly act on the people.⁸⁴³ Article I, section 8

⁸³⁶ ARTICLES OF CONFEDERATION OF 1781.

⁸³⁷ ARTICLES OF CONFEDERATION OF 1781, art. VI.

⁸³⁸ ARTICLES OF CONFEDERATION OF 1781, art. VII.

⁸³⁹ *Id.*

⁸⁴⁰ ARTICLES OF CONFEDERATION OF 1781, art. IX.

⁸⁴¹ 25 JOURNALS OF THE CONTINENTAL CONGRESS 741 (Oct. 23, 1783), [https://memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin/query/r?ammem/hlaw:@field\(DOCID+@lit\(jc02544\)\)](https://memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin/query/r?ammem/hlaw:@field(DOCID+@lit(jc02544))).

⁸⁴² Each class to be formed into corps of Infantry and Dragoons, organized in the same manner as proposed for regular troops.

Those who are willing to be at the expense of equipping themselves for Dragoon service to be permitted to enter into that corps, the residue to be formed into the Infantry; this will consult the convenience and inclinations of different classes of citizens.

Each officer of the Dragoons to provide himself with a horse, saddle &c. pistols and sabre, and each non-commissioned officer and private with the preceding articles and these in addition, a carbine and cartouch box, with twelve rounds of powder and ball for his carbine, and six for each pistol.

Each officer of the Infantry to have a sword, and each non-commissioned officer and private, a musket, bayonet and cartouch box, with twelve-rounds of powder and ball.

Id. at 741-42.

⁸⁴³ U.S. CONST., art. I, § 8.

contained two militia clauses.⁸⁴⁴ Clause 15 (the Calling Forth Clause) gave Congress power “To provide for calling forth the Militia to execute the Laws of the Union, suppress Insurrections and repel Invasions.”⁸⁴⁵ Clause 16 (the Arming Clause) gave Congress power:

To provide for organizing, arming, and disciplining, the Militia, and for governing such Part of them as may be employed in the Service of the United States, reserving to the States respectively, the Appointment of the Officers, and the Authority of training the Militia according to the discipline prescribed by Congress.⁸⁴⁶

After several years of prodding by President Washington, Congress exercised its power to organize and to provide for arming the federal militia. The Militia Act of 1792 (Uniform Militia Act) was signed into law by President Washington on May 8, 1792.⁸⁴⁷ The Act provided:

That each and every free able-bodied white male citizen of the respective States, resident therein, who is or shall be of age of eighteen years, and under the age of forty-five years (except as is herein after excepted) shall severally and respectively be enrolled in the militia, by the Captain or Commanding Officer of the company, within whose bounds such citizen shall reside, and that within twelve months after the passing of this Act. And it shall at all time hereafter be the duty of every such Captain or Commanding Officer of a company, to enroll every such citizen as aforesaid, and also those who shall, from time to time, arrive at the age of 18 years, or being at the age of 18 years, and under the age of 45 years (except as before excepted) shall come to reside within his bounds; and shall without delay notify such citizen of the said enrollment, by the proper non-commissioned Officer of the company, by whom such notice may be proved. That every citizen, so enrolled and notified, shall, within six months thereafter, provide himself with a good musket or firelock, a sufficient bayonet and belt, two spare flints, and a knapsack, a pouch, with a box therein, to contain not less than twenty four cartridges, suited to the bore of his musket or firelock, each cartridge to contain a proper quantity of powder and ball; or with a good rifle, knapsack, shot-pouch, and powder-horn, twenty balls suited to the bore of his rifle, and a quarter of a pound of powder; and shall appear so armed, accoutred and provided, when called out to exercise or into service, except, that when called out on company

⁸⁴⁴ U.S. CONST., art. I, § 8.

⁸⁴⁵ U.S. CONST., art. I, § 8, cl. 15.

⁸⁴⁶ U.S. CONST., art. I, § 8, cl. 16.

⁸⁴⁷ More effectually to provide for the National Defence by establishing an Uniform Militia throughout the United States, 1 Stat. 271 (1792) (Uniform Militia Act) (UMA). The UMA was sometimes called the Second Militia Act, since a statute enacted earlier that year had provided a system for calling forth the militia in times of necessity. To provide for calling forth the Militia to execute the laws of the Union, suppress insurrections and repel invasions, 1 Stat. 264 (1792).

days to exercise only, he may appear without a knapsack. That the commissioned Officers shall severally be armed with a sword or hanger, and esponton; and that from and after five years from the passing of this Act, all muskets from arming the militia as is herein required, shall be of bores sufficient for balls of the eighteenth part of a pound; and every citizen so enrolled, and providing himself with the arms, ammunition and accoutrements, required as aforesaid, shall hold the same exempted from all suits, distresses, executions or sales, for debt or for the payment of taxes.⁸⁴⁸

The legislative history of the Militia Act reveals why eighteen was selected as the minimum age. Secretary of War Henry Knox had presented an ambitious militia plan to Congress in 1790.⁸⁴⁹ Knox wanted to create a national select militia, founded on intensive training of males aged 18 to 20.⁸⁵⁰ Even in a Federalist-dominated Congress, the idea was anathema. As opponents pointed out, the nascent federal government did not have the administrative capability to establish an effective national militia.

For the more realistic 1792 statute, Knox explained that “[t]he period of life in which military service shall be required of the citizens of the United States [was] to commence at eighteen.”⁸⁵¹ Knox acknowledged that “military age has generally commenced at sixteen,” but Knox instead set the bar at 18 because “the youth of sixteen do not commonly attain such a degree of robust strength as to enable them to sustain without injury the hardships incident to the field.”⁸⁵² Knox also stated that “all men of the legal military age should be armed.”⁸⁵³ Representative Jackson of Georgia agreed “that from eighteen to twenty-one was found to be the best age to make soldiers of.”⁸⁵⁴

Knox’s first, rejected, plan had implied that the select militia of 18-20 would be armed by the federal government. This brought stern objection:

Representative Wadsworth warned that supporters of the federal arming proposal seemed to be suggesting that large segments of the population would be armed by the government, with the attendant dangers: “At first it appeared to be intended for the benefit of poor men who were unable to spare money enough to purchase a firelock: but the gentleman from Delaware (Mr. Vining) had mentioned apprentices and young men in their non-age: he would be glad to know whether there was a man within these walls, who wished to have so large a proportion of the community by the United States, and liable to be disarmed by the government, whenever it should be thought proper.” Masters could be expected to furnish arms to

⁸⁴⁸ *Id.*

⁸⁴⁹ 1 ANNALS OF CONG. app. 2141-61 (Jan. 18, 1790).

⁸⁵⁰ *Id.* at 2146.

⁸⁵¹ *Id.*

⁸⁵² *Id.* at 2153.

⁸⁵³ *Id.* at 2145-46.

⁸⁵⁴ *Id.* at 1860.

their apprentices. As to other young men, “their parents would rather give them guns of their own, than let them take others from the U.S. which were liable to be taken away at the very moment they were most wanted.”⁸⁵⁵

The notion that the federal government might be able to take provided arms away from 18-to-20-year-olds set off alarm bells.

The idea that 18-year-olds should be part of the militia was hardly controversial. They had been part of every colonial and state militia from the very beginning, except for a nineteen-year period in Virginia in the middle of the eighteenth century. George Washington believed that 18 was the ideal age for militia enrollment.⁸⁵⁶ Nearly a decade before he signed the Militia Act of 1792, he wrote to Alexander Hamilton that, “the Citizens of America ... from 18 to 50 Years of Age should be borne on the Militia Rolls” and “so far accustomed to the use of [arms] that the Total strength of the Country might be called forth at a Short Notice on any very interesting Emergency.”⁸⁵⁷

Congress made no changes to the 1792 Militia Act until the Civil War, when an 1862 revision removed the word “white” from the definition of the militia.⁸⁵⁸

By the early twentieth century, the 1792 Act was in obvious need of revision. Muskets, powderhorns, and flints were no longer the appropriate equipment for militiamen. President Theodore Roosevelt, a gun enthusiast and National Rifle Association (NRA) member,⁸⁵⁹ declared: “Our militia law is obsolete and worthless.”⁸⁶⁰

A new law, the Dick Act (named for its sponsor, Charles Dick) repealed the 1792 Act and replaced it with the modern definition of the militia of the United States.⁸⁶¹ This militia consisted of all able-bodied male citizens between 18 and 45 years of age, and also aliens who have declared intent to naturalize.⁸⁶² The “organized militia” was the National Guard of the several States.⁸⁶³ Everyone else was part of the “reserve militia,” which later statutes labeled the “unorganized militia.”⁸⁶⁴

⁸⁵⁵ 14 DOCUMENTARY HISTORY OF THE FIRST FEDERAL CONGRESS: DEBATES IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES 62 (1992).

⁸⁵⁶ 26 THE WRITINGS OF GEORGE WASHINGTON 389 (John C. Fitzpatrick ed., 1938).

⁸⁵⁷ *Id.*

⁸⁵⁸ Militia Act of 1862, 12 Stat. 597 (July 17, 1862).

⁸⁵⁹ For information on Roosevelt, guns, and the NRA, *see, e.g.*, THEODORE ROOSEVELT, HUNTING TIPS OF A RANCHMAN (NRA Heritage Library 1999) (1885); THEODORE ROOSEVELT, GOOD HUNTING: IN PURSUIT OF BIG GAME IN THE WEST (1907); Ashley Halsey, Jr., *Theodore Roosevelt, Trailblazer among Hunter-Conservationists*, THE AMERICAN RIFLEMAN, June 1972, at 14, 16.

⁸⁶⁰ 14 MESSAGES AND PAPERS OF THE PRESIDENTS 6672 (Bureau of National Literature, 1917).

⁸⁶¹ Dick Act, ch. 196, 32 Stat. 775 (1903).

⁸⁶² *Id.*

⁸⁶³ *Id.*

⁸⁶⁴ *Id.*

There was no mandate for personal possession of arms. Nor, except for the National Guard, was there any provision for the federal government to provide arms.

In the current version of the statute:

- (a) The militia of the United States consists of all able-bodied males at least 17 years of age and, except as provided in section 313 of title 32, under 45 years of age who are, or who have made a declaration of intention to become, citizens of the United States and of female citizens of the United States who are members of the National Guard.
- (b) The classes of the militia are--
 - (1) the organized militia, which consists of the National Guard and the Naval Militia; and
 - (2) the unorganized militia, which consists of the members of the militia who are not members of the National Guard or the Naval Militia.⁸⁶⁵

In 1903, Congress created the National Board for the Promotion of Rifle Practice (NBPRR).⁸⁶⁶ It did not require citizens to possess arms or to practice with them, but it encouraged them to do so. The NBPRR developed a close relationship with the NRA, which had been founded in 1871, growing from concerns about the poor marksmanship of Union soldiers during the Civil War.⁸⁶⁷ By statute, the NBPRR and the NRA were linked.⁸⁶⁸ The NRA was the NBPRR's agent for distributing heavily discounted surplus arms to the American public, via NRA gun clubs.⁸⁶⁹

The National Guard Association (an association of state entities), the National Board for the Promotion of Rifle Practice (a federal entity), and the National Rifle Association (a membership organization) developed a close and mutually supportive relationship. Their boards of directors often overlapped.⁸⁷⁰

Through this relationship, over the course of the twentieth century the federal government put millions of military-grade firearms into the hands of

⁸⁶⁵ 10 U.S.C. § 246 (2019). There are various occupational exemptions; conscientious objectors may be required to perform noncombat duty. 10 U.S.C. § 247 (2019).

⁸⁶⁶ *The National Matches History*, CIVILIAN MARKSMANSHIP PROGRAM <http://thecmp.org/competitions/cmp-national-matches/the-national-matches-history/> (last visited Jan. 13, 2019).

⁸⁶⁷ *A Brief History of the NRA*, NAT'L RIFLE ASS'N (2018), <https://home.nra.org/about-the-nra/>.

⁸⁶⁸ Act of Mar. 3, 1905, ch. 1416, 33 Stat. 986-87.

⁸⁶⁹ *Id.*

⁸⁷⁰ JEFFREY A. MARLIN, *THE NATIONAL GUARD, THE NATIONAL BOARD FOR THE PROMOTION OF RIFLE PRACTICE, AND THE NATIONAL RIFLE ASSOCIATION: PUBLIC INSTITUTIONS AND THE RISE OF A LOBBY FOR PRIVATE GUN OWNERSHIP* 182 (May 10, 2013) (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Ga. St. U.), https://scholarworks.gsu.edu/history_diss/33/; RUSSELL S. GILMORE, *CRACKSHOTS AND PATRIOTS: THE NATIONAL RIFLE ASSOCIATION AND AMERICA'S MILITARY-SPORTING TRADITION, 1871-1929* (1974) (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Univ. of Wisc.) (available in ProQuest Dissertations & Theses Global).

private American citizens, including young adults aged 18 to 20. This bore fruit in World War II. With the National Guard federalized and sent into overseas service, coastal security was provided by the unorganized militia, “whose ages ranged from 16 to 65, served without pay and provided their own arms.”⁸⁷¹

The federal Gun Control Act of 1968 required all persons “engaged in the business” of selling firearms to obtain a Federal Firearms License.⁸⁷² (“FFL”; the term is used for both the license and the licensee.) An FFL may not deliver a handgun to a person under 21, or a rifle or shotgun to a person under 18.⁸⁷³ As the Supreme Court later noted, the 1968 Act aimed to keep guns away from “juveniles, criminals, drug addicts, and mental incompetents.”⁸⁷⁴

The FFL rule for handgun deliveries will be discussed in Part V.B., which examines the unsuccessful challenge to the statute in *NRA v. BATF* (5th Cir.).

In 1994, Congress prohibited handgun possession by minors (under 18), with certain exceptions.⁸⁷⁵ That law was upheld by the First Circuit in *Rene E.*, which is discussed below in Part V.A.

V. NINETEENTH AND EARLY TWENTIETH CENTURY STATE LAWS AND CASES—AND THEIR ROLE IN MODERN LITIGATION

Our article in the previous issue of the Southern Illinois University Law Journal surveyed nineteenth and early twentieth century state laws and cases about firearms restrictions on young people.⁸⁷⁶ We also examined the five leading post-Heller federal circuit cases involving challenges to state or federal arms laws aimed at young people. In this Part, we will summarize the findings from that Article. In the interests

⁸⁷¹ Don B. Kates, *Handgun Prohibition*, 82 MICH. L. REV. 204, 272, (1983) (citing Office of the Assistant Secretary of Defense, U.S. Dept. of Defense, *U.S. Home Defense Forces Study*, 58, 62-63 (1981)).

⁸⁷² Gun Control Act of 1968, Pub. L. No. 99-308, 100 Stat. 449, 450 (1968); 18 U.S.C. § 923, 27 C.F.R. § 478.41.

⁸⁷³ 18 U.S.C. § 922(b)(1) (2019).

⁸⁷⁴ *Huddleston v. United States*, 415 U.S. 814, 828 (1974). The federal legislation aimed to curb crime by keeping “firearms out of the hands of those not legally entitled to possess them because of age, criminal background, or incompetency.” *Id.* at 824.

A study of the 1968 law found that it had no impact on the share of 18-to-20-year-olds arrested for homicide, robbery, or aggravated assault. Gary Kleck, *The Impact of the 1968 Gun Control Act's Restrictions on Handgun Purchases by Persons Age 18 to 20* (2011), <https://ssrn.com/abstract=1843526>.

⁸⁷⁵ 18 U.S.C. 922(x)(2) (2019).

⁸⁷⁶ David B. Kopel & Joseph G.S. Greenlee, *History and Tradition in Modern Circuit Cases on the Second Amendment Rights of Young People*, 43 S. ILL. U. L.J. 119 (2018).

of concision, many of the footnotes and many details of the discussion from the original article are omitted in this summary.

A. State Laws and Cases

As in the colonial period and the Founding Era, there were no age-based arms restrictions in the early republic or the Jacksonian period. The first age restrictions appear in the South shortly before the Civil War. In 1856 Alabama prohibited giving handguns to male minors. In 1860 Kentucky outlawed providing handguns to minors, free blacks, or slaves. Other than these two laws, age-based restrictions did not appear until the last quarter of the nineteenth century.

As of 1899, there were forty-six states in the Union. Nineteen of them had some sort of law involving handguns and minors and the other twenty-seven had no such laws. No state criminalized handgun possession by minors. Ten states generally prohibited handgun transfers to minors; four of those ten had exceptions for self-defense, hunting, or home possession, and Alabama's law was only for males. Of these ten statutes, five expressly prohibited loans, while the other five were phrased in terms that could be construed to refer only to permanent dispositions.

Three other states did not restrict transfers in general, but did restrict sales (Delaware, Mississippi) or dealer sales (Wisconsin). Five states required parental consent for handgun transfers to minors (Illinois, Iowa, Kentucky, Missouri, and Texas). Nevada simply prohibited concealed carry.

No state restricted long gun purchases by minors, long gun loans to minors, or other long gun transfers to minors, such as gifts.

Modern courts have cited about a dozen cases that involved these statutes. We examined each of those cases, as well as precedents used in those cases. The majority of those cases did not involve constitutional issues. Instead, the decisions were about rules for issues on appeal, the facts of tort liability in a particular situation, and so on.

Four cases did have some substantive analysis of the rights of young people. Tennessee's *State v. Callicutt* (1878) upheld a statute against giving handguns to minors.⁸⁷⁷ *Callicutt* was explicitly founded on the Tennessee Supreme Court's 1840 *Aymette v. State*.⁸⁷⁸ According to *Aymette*, the Second Amendment right to "bear" arms only means bearing arms while actively serving in a militia.⁸⁷⁹ The *Heller* Court expressly denounced *Aymette*: "This odd reading of the right is, to be sure, not the one we adopt."⁸⁸⁰ Accordingly, *Callicutt* should have little weight as a modern precedent.

⁸⁷⁷ *State v. Callicutt*, 69 Tenn. 714 (1878).

⁸⁷⁸ *Aymette v. State*, 21 Tenn. (2 Hum.) 154 (1840).

⁸⁷⁹ *Id.* at 158.

⁸⁸⁰ *District of Columbia v. Heller*, 554 U.S. 570, 613 (2008).

The Georgia Supreme Court in 1911 upheld a 1910 statute that prohibited the carrying of firearms without a license and did not make licenses available to persons under 18.⁸⁸¹ The same statute made it illegal to “knowingly sell, or furnish, any minor with ‘any pistol, dirk, bowie knife, or sword cane, except under circumstances justifying their use in defending life, limb, or property.’”⁸⁸²

The Georgia court in *Glenn v. State* made numerous errors. First, it interpreted the statute as a complete prohibition on persons under 18 from possessing pistols.⁸⁸³ The interpretation is plainly incorrect, since the statute expressly allowed possession for self-defense.

Second, the Georgia court asserted in dicta that all modern handguns could be banned for everyone.⁸⁸⁴ Of course, that assertion is contrary to *Heller*.⁸⁸⁵ That assertion was also contrary to the Georgia Supreme Court’s 1846 decision in *Nunn v. State*, which struck down a state ban on almost all handguns.⁸⁸⁶ The *Nunn* decision is quoted and lauded by *Heller* more than any other precedent.⁸⁸⁷ As of 1846, repeating handguns were already well-established and common in the market.

Most egregiously, the *Glenn* court upheld the statute under the theory that minors have *no* rights that the legislature is bound to respect:

It is entirely within the province of the Legislature, in the exercise of the police power of the state, to prohibit, on the part of minors, the exercise of any right, constitutional or otherwise, although it might only have the right in the case of adults to regulate and restrict such rights.⁸⁸⁸

Glenn’s ratio decidendi is contrary to modern precedent.⁸⁸⁹ It is also plainly wrong under the law of the time. If Glenn were correct that minors have no constitutional rights, then the Georgia Constitution of 1877, which

⁸⁸¹ *Glenn v. State*, 72 S.E. 927 (Ga. Ct. App. 1911).

⁸⁸² *Id.* at 928.

⁸⁸³ *Id.* (“We conclude, therefore, that the act of 1910 not only prohibits minors under the age of 18 years from obtaining license to have a pistol or revolver on their persons, but that the clear intentment of said act is to prevent minors from having about their persons at all this character of weapons, and this construction is in harmony with the general legislation of the state on the subject of minors.”).

⁸⁸⁴ *Id.* at 929.

⁸⁸⁵ *Heller*, 554 U.S. 570.

⁸⁸⁶ *Nunn v. State*, 1 Ga. 243 (1846).

⁸⁸⁷ *Heller*, 554 U.S. 570.

⁸⁸⁸ *Glenn*, 72 S.E. at 928-29.

⁸⁸⁹ *See, e.g., Application of Gault*, 387 U.S. 1, 13 (1967) (holding that “neither the Fourteenth Amendment nor the Bill of Rights is for adults alone” and that juveniles have the right to counsel, right to notice of charges, right to confront and cross-examine witnesses, and right against self-incrimination); *Tinker v. Des Moines Indep. Cty. Sch. Dist.*, 393 U.S. 503, 511 (1969) (“Students in school as well as out of school are ‘persons’ under our Constitution. They are possessed of fundamental rights which the State must respect...”).

was still in effect in 1911, would have been no barrier to the Georgia legislature enacting laws against some or all minors: to take their property without due process of law, to banish them from the state, to inflict cruel and unusual punishments on them, to require Georgia minors to profess belief in an official state religion, to punish their dissent from said religion as heresy, to forbid them from criticizing government officials of Georgia, to search their houses without warrants, to forbid them to petition government, and to punish them with ex post facto laws and bills of attainder.⁸⁹⁰ The absurdity of the proposition is self-evident.

The most thorough analysis of the arms rights of young people came from the Kansas Supreme Court in *Parman v. Lemmon*.⁸⁹¹ The case was initially decided one way, then reversed following rehearing, so that the original dissent became the opinion of the court.

The issue was whether a 20-gauge Winchester pump-action shotgun was a “dangerous weapon” prohibited by the Kansas statute that made it a misdemeanor to “sell, trade, give, loan or otherwise furnish any pistol, revolver or toy pistol, by which cartridges or caps may be exploded, or any dirk, bowie knife, brass knuckles, sling shot, or other dangerous weapons, to any minor, or to any person of notoriously unsound mind.”⁸⁹²

Applying *ejusdem generis*, the court held that long guns are not covered by the phrase “dangerous weapons.”⁸⁹³ The shotgun “is such a common implement that, if the lawmakers intended to include it in the prohibited list, it is extremely unlikely they would have failed to mention it.”⁸⁹⁴

Moreover, “the right of the people to keep and bear arms ... is a basic principle of statecraft of deep concern to all who are clothed with authority and who feel their responsibility to hand on undiminished to future generations those liberties which are our proud American heritage.”⁸⁹⁵

The experience from the first days of the Atlantic colonies through the Indian Wars of the late nineteenth century in Kansas had meant that

the rifle over the fireplace and the shotgun behind the door were imperatively necessary utensils of every rural American household. And it was just as imperative that the members of such household, old and young, should know how to handle them. And it was almost equally true that,

⁸⁹⁰ See GA. CONST. of 1877, art. I, § 1, parts 3, 7, 12, 15, 16, 24, § 3, part 2 (enumerating prohibitions on aforesaid types of government action, and not limiting the protections to only adults).

⁸⁹¹ *Parman v. Lemmon*, 244 P. 227 (Kan. 1925).

⁸⁹² *Id.* at 228 (citing R. S. 38-701). R.S. 38-702 made it unlawful for minors to possess these “dangerous weapons.” *Id.*

⁸⁹³ “The rule, ‘*ejusdem generis*’ ordinarily limits the meaning of general words to things of the same class as those enumerated under them.” *Id.* at 229 (citing 2 Words and Phrases, Second Series, 225).

⁸⁹⁴ *Id.* at 232 (Mason, J., dissenting) (later became opinion of the court).

⁸⁹⁵ *Id.* at 231 (Dawson, J., dissenting) (later became opinion of the court).

unless a man were trained in the use of the rifle and shotgun in his boyhood, he seldom learned to use them.⁸⁹⁶

Announcing the reversal following the petition for rehearing, the Kansas Court explained:

[I]t is reasonable to conclude that the Legislature did not intend to make law violators of 60 per cent. of the militia of the state, it being estimated that 60 per cent. of the personnel of that body are minors; that it did not intend to prohibit students under 21 years of age in the colleges from taking military training; that it did not intend to prohibit young men under 21 years of age from taking out hunters' licenses and hunting, that it did not intend to prohibit young men who have not yet reached the age of 21, who reside on the farms and ranches, from carrying and using shotguns and rifles when necessity requires.

These suggestions and many others have had the consideration of the court. We do not deem it necessary to discuss the question at length, nor to analyze the cases. We are of the opinion that, if the Legislature of 1883 had intended to include shotguns in the prohibited list of dangerous weapons, it would have specifically mentioned them.

...

By a change of view on the part of some of the Justices, the dissenting opinion at the time of the first decision has now become the controlling voice of the court, and further discussion is needless.⁸⁹⁷

None of the Justices in *Parman* seemed to see a problem with the law against giving handguns to minors, which the Justices characterized as being needed occasionally for self-defense; the court's focus was on long guns, which it characterized as the typical arm of rural self-defense, the ordinary arm of the militia, and a daily tool for rural life.

The final case that involved arms and minors was Virginia's *United States v. Blakeney*.⁸⁹⁸ It did not involve any law that targeted the arms rights of minors. Instead, the issue was application of the general rule that minors could not enter into enforceable contracts without the consent of their parent or guardian.⁸⁹⁹ (In the latter twentieth century, the age of majority for exercise of contract and property rights without parental consent would be

⁸⁹⁶ *Id.*

⁸⁹⁷ *Id.* at 233.

⁸⁹⁸ *United States v. Blakeney*, 44 Va. (3 Gratt.) 405 (1847).

⁸⁹⁹ *Id.*

lowered to 18 in most states, the age that continues to prevail as the national norm.)

The Supreme Court of Appeals of Virginia held that 18-to-20-year-old “minors” were to be treated as adults in the context of bearing arms.⁹⁰⁰ Blakeney was a 19-year-old who volunteered for military duty, and regretting his decision, argued that a minor could not enter into a valid contract.⁹⁰¹ The court held the contract valid, based in part on the fact that as a 19-year-old, Blakeney had the mental and physical capacity to bear arms.⁹⁰²

The court explained that “children” were exempted from military service because they are incapable of handling arms:

No person is naturally exempt from taking up arms in defence of the State; the obligation of every member of society being the same. They only are excepted who are incapable of handling arms, or supporting the fatigues of war. This is the reason why old men, children, and women are exempted.⁹⁰³

By contrast, “We know, as a matter of fact, that at the age of eighteen, a man is capable intellectually and physically of bearing arms.”⁹⁰⁴ And since 18-year-olds were just as capable as 21-year-olds of both carrying arms and consenting to military service, the court held that 18-to-20-year-olds were bound by military enlistments just as adults over 21 were.⁹⁰⁵ The general rule about contracts

has no application to the subject. The capacity of all citizens or subjects able to bear arms to bind themselves to do so by voluntary enlistment, is in itself a high rule of the public law, to which the artificial and arbitrary rule of the municipal law forms no exception.⁹⁰⁶

In sum, the statutory and case law record on the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries provide no support for age-based restrictions on long guns. There were a minority of states with age-based restrictions on handguns. The largest group in the minority would be those that either banned retail sales or required parental permission for sales. Laws broad enough to prohibit parents from letting minors use handguns existed in five states. Few cases from the period address the arms rights of minors, and of those, hardly any can be considered valid precedents in light of *Heller* and other modern doctrine.

⁹⁰⁰ *Id.* at 414-15.

⁹⁰¹ *Id.* at 406-07.

⁹⁰² *Id.* at 425.

⁹⁰³ *Id.* at 408.

⁹⁰⁴ *Id.* at 418.

⁹⁰⁵ *Id.* at 416.

⁹⁰⁶ *Id.* at 409-10.

B. Modern Circuit Cases

Our Article in the previous issue reviewed the nineteenth and early twentieth century history and tradition in the context of their use by the five post-*Heller* Circuit Court of Appeals cases examining the arms rights of young people. We will summarize the analysis of those cases.

1. *Rene E.*

In *United States v. Rene E.*, the First Circuit upheld the 1994 federal statute (discussed in Part IV) that prohibits handgun possession by persons under 18.⁹⁰⁷ The court emphasized the importance of the statute's exceptions, such as self-defense in the home, ranching, hunting, militia service, and so on.⁹⁰⁸

For historical support, *Rene E.* relied primarily on the state cases discussed above.⁹⁰⁹ This is thin support, for reasons that we summarized above, and detailed in the previous Article.

Regarding the Founding, *Rene E.* could not cite any original American source—hardly surprising in light of the many statutes detailed in Part III, *supra*. The colonial and early state governments had repeatedly mandated that persons 16 and older (or sometimes 18, 15, or 10) be armed.

Instead, the First Circuit cited some modern law review articles stating that the Founders believed that unvirtuous persons could be disarmed.⁹¹⁰ The paradigmatic examples in these articles were persons who were disloyal to the government during wartime, as well as slaves and hostile Indians. The point of the article is true enough, but nothing from the colonial or founding periods indicates that young people were considered unvirtuous people who should be disarmed. The statutory evidence is quite the opposite.

2. *National Rifle Association v. Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco, Firearms, Explosives*

In this case, the Fifth Circuit upheld the 1968 federal statute that prohibits persons 18-20 from buying handguns in retail stores.⁹¹¹ The statute does not prohibit young adults from acquiring firearms from persons who are

⁹⁰⁷ *United States v. Rene E.*, 583 F.3d 8 (1st Cir. 2009).

⁹⁰⁸ *Id.* at 13-14.

⁹⁰⁹ *Id.* at 14-15.

⁹¹⁰ *Id.* at 15-16.

⁹¹¹ *Nat'l Rifle Ass'n v. Bureau of Alcohol, Firearms, and Explosives*, 700 F.3d 185 (5th Cir. 2012); 18 U.S.C. § 922(x)(2) (2019).

not “engaged in the business of selling arms.”⁹¹² The statute allows persons 18 and older to buy long guns from stores (and from others).

The strongest part of the court’s historical analysis was its list of state statutes. As discussed above, by 1899 there were fifteen states that prohibited minors from buying handguns in stores, and three more that required parental permission. These restrictions were not the majority approach, but neither were they eccentric.

For earlier history, the opinion was weaker. As the court stated (without citation), gun control laws did exist at the time of the Second Amendment and before.⁹¹³ This was true, but there were no age restrictions on buying, owning, or carrying firearms.

There were laws that “targeted particular groups for public safety reasons.”⁹¹⁴ These were laws aimed at slaves, Indians, and, during wartime, “laws that confiscated weapons owned by persons who refused to swear an oath of allegiance to the state or to the nation.”⁹¹⁵ The disarmament of persons not considered citizens (slaves and Indians), or who demonstrated disloyalty, should not create precedent for targeting other “particular groups” whose loyalty is unquestioned.⁹¹⁶ The Fifth Circuit also cited William Rawle, whose 1825 constitutional law treatise was cited with approval in *Heller*.⁹¹⁷ Rawle, as fully quoted in *Heller*, wrote that persons who “abused” the right to arms could be disarmed.⁹¹⁸ The Fifth Circuit chopped Rawle to make it appear that he supported disarmament of people who had never abused the right, but whom the government might consider prospectively dangerous.⁹¹⁹

Like the Georgia Supreme Court in the 1911 *Glenn* case, the Fifth Circuit resorted to the claim that minors lack constitutional rights.⁹²⁰ As the court pointed out, the age majority at common law was 21.⁹²¹ Therefore,

If a representative citizen of the founding era conceived of a ‘minor’ as an individual who was unworthy of the Second Amendment guarantee, and conceived of 18-to-20-year-olds as ‘minors,’ then it stands to reason that

⁹¹² *NRA v. BATF*, 700 F.3d at 189.

⁹¹³ *Id.* at 200.

⁹¹⁴ *Id.*

⁹¹⁵ *Id.*

⁹¹⁶ *Id.*

⁹¹⁷ *Id.* at 201.

⁹¹⁸ WILLIAM RAWLE, A VIEW OF THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA 125-26 (William S. Hein & Co. 2003) (2d ed. 1829), https://books.google.com/books?id=akEbAAAAYAAJ&printsec=frontcover&source=gbs_ge_summary_r&cad=0#v=onepage&q&f=false; *District of Columbia v. Heller*, 554 U.S. 570, 607-08 (2008) (quoting RAWLE, A VIEW OF THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA).

⁹¹⁹ *NRA v. BATF*, *supra* note 918, 700 F.3d at 201 (quoting RAWLE, *supra* note 913).

⁹²⁰ *Id.*

⁹²¹ *Id.*

the citizen would have supported restricting an 18-to-20-year-old's right to keep and bear arms.⁹²²

The Fifth Circuit's speculation is contrary to all the evidence. Persons under 21 were certainly minors under the common law of the Founding Era. Thus, their independent exercise of contract and property rights was limited. However, there is no evidence "a representative citizen" (or anyone else) in the Founding Era considered all minors "unworthy of the Second Amendment guarantee."⁹²³ To the contrary, state and federal laws of the Founding Era are unanimous that minors aged 18-to-20 *were* considered worthy of the Second Amendment guarantee. As had been the case from the earliest colonial days, they were part of the militia and were required to possess their own arms. Massive and uncontradicted evidence from the Founding Era shows that 18-to-20-year-olds *did* have the right to keep and bear arms, and indeed were required by law to exercise that right.

Assuming arguendo that young adults have Second Amendment rights, the Fifth Circuit applied intermediate scrutiny. The court chose intermediate scrutiny in part because the federal law did not prohibit minors from acquiring handguns for home defense or for other lawful purposes.⁹²⁴

The Fifth Circuit found laws against 18-20-year-olds supportable by *Heller*'s emphasis on arms possession by "responsible" citizens.⁹²⁵ As the Fifth Circuit accurately stated, persons 18-to-20 commit gun crimes at a higher rate than do older people.⁹²⁶ The same can be said of persons 21-to-25, who commit crimes at a higher rate than do people over 25. The same is true for persons 60-to-65, who commit crimes at a higher rate than do persons over 65. The same point can also be made based on race. Americans of some races commit violent crimes at higher rates than persons of other races. Likewise, males perpetrate violent crimes at a much higher rate than females.

As the Fifth Circuit acknowledged, law-abiding, responsible citizens are at the core of the Second Amendment right.⁹²⁷ Their rights should not be forfeited because of irresponsible behavior by other persons of the same age, race, or sex.

3. *National Rifle Association v. McCraw*

Here the Fifth Circuit upheld the Texas statute that prevented 18-to-20-year-olds from applying for a license to carry handguns for lawful protection

⁹²² *Id.* at 202.

⁹²³ *Id.*

⁹²⁴ *Id.* at 206-07 (quoting *District of Columbia v. Heller*, 554 U.S. 570, 628-30, 635 (2008)).

⁹²⁵ *Id.* at 206.

⁹²⁶ *Id.* at 206-07.

⁹²⁷ *Id.*

in public places.⁹²⁸ Having recently decided *NRA v. BATF*, the Fifth Circuit did not engage in further historical analysis.⁹²⁹ The court reiterated the *BATF* theory that “the conduct burdened by the Texas scheme likely ‘falls outside the Second Amendment’s protection.’”⁹³⁰ Also like the *BATF* court, the *McCraw* court applied intermediate scrutiny in an abundance of caution and upheld the law for similar reasons.⁹³¹

However, the court skipped part of the intermediate scrutiny analysis. In strict scrutiny, the government must prove that there is no “less restrictive alternative.” Under the more relaxed standard of intermediate scrutiny, the government must prove that there is no “substantially less burdensome alternative.” The plaintiffs had argued that instead of banning licensed carry for young adults, Texas could have a more rigorous licensing system for young adults, compared to applicants over 21. The *McCraw* court dismissed that alternative and said that “less restrictive alternative” is not part of intermediate scrutiny.⁹³² True enough, but “substantially less burdensome alternative” is part of intermediate scrutiny, and the court offered no explanation for refusing to consider it.

4. *Horsley v. Trame*

Illinois requires that residents obtain a firearm owner’s identification (FOID) card before acquiring or possessing a firearm.⁹³³ In *Horsley v. Trame*, the plaintiff challenged the requirement that FOID card applicants between 18 and 21 obtain the consent of a parent or guardian.⁹³⁴ The parental permission rule has a safety valve, by which an applicant can instead apply for consent from the Director of the Illinois firearms license office.⁹³⁵ If the office denies the permission, the applicant can appeal to a court.⁹³⁶

The Seventh Circuit decided that it need not decide whether it agreed with the Illinois Attorney General that the Second Amendment does not

⁹²⁸ Nat’l Rifle Ass’n of Am., Inc. v. McCraw, 719 F.3d 338 (5th Cir. 2013).

⁹²⁹ *Id.*

⁹³⁰ *Id.* at 347 (quoting Nat’l Rifle Ass’n v. Bureau of Alcohol, Firearms, and Explosives, *supra* note 911, 700 F.3d at 203).

⁹³¹ *Id.*

⁹³² *Id.* at 349.

⁹³³ 430 ILL. COMP. STAT. 65 (2013).

⁹³⁴ *Horsley v. Trame*, 808 F.3d 1126 (7th Cir. 2015). The law, 430 ILL. COMP. STAT. 65/4(a)(2)(i), requires an applicant to submit evidence that “[h]e or she is 21 years of age or over, or if he or she is under 21 years of age that he or she has the written consent of his or her parent or legal guardian to possess and acquire firearms and firearm ammunition and that he or she has never been convicted of a misdemeanor other than a traffic offense or adjudged delinquent, provided, however, that such parent or legal guardian is not an individual prohibited from having a Firearm Owner’s Identification Card...”

⁹³⁵ 430 ILL. COMP. STAT. 65/10 (2013).

⁹³⁶ *Id.*

apply to persons under 21.⁹³⁷ Regardless, the law was valid since it is not prohibitory, since young adults have a higher crime rate, and since the parental permission law has a safety valve similar to what has been allowed for abortion.⁹³⁸

5. *Ezell v. City of Chicago*

Ezell challenged a Chicago ordinance that prohibited anyone under 18 from entering a shooting range.⁹³⁹ Chicago argued that persons under 18 have no Second Amendment rights.⁹⁴⁰ But the nineteenth century statutes on handgun sales were not much help for a total ban on practice with any firearm. As the Seventh Circuit observed, “There’s zero historical evidence that firearm training for this age group is categorically unprotected. At least the City hasn’t identified any, and we’ve found none ourselves.”⁹⁴¹

Chicago was “left to rely on generalized assertions about the developmental immaturity of children, the risk of lead poisoning by inhalation or ingestion, and a handful of tort cases involving the negligent supervision of children who were left to their own devices with loaded firearms.”⁹⁴² Since the government could address these concerns with “a more closely tailored age restriction—one that does not *completely extinguish* the right of older adolescents and teens in Chicago to learn how to shoot in an appropriately supervised setting at a firing range,” the law violated the Second Amendment.⁹⁴³

VI. CURRENT STATE LAWS

Part VI surveys current state laws that impose special limits on arms possession or acquisition by young adults. We do not include state statutes that mimic federal law (such as preventing gun stores from selling handguns to young adults). We do not address state laws that apply only to persons under 18. Nor do we address laws, such as the Texas law discussed in the *McCraw* case above, that set the minimum age for a defensive handgun carry license at 21. The majority of states do set 21 as the carry permit age, while a minority set the age at 18. A few states, such as Texas, which have a general rule of 18, allow carry permits for young adults in certain circumstances, such

⁹³⁷ *Horsley*, 808 F.3d at 1130.

⁹³⁸ *See id.* at 1127, 1130-32.

⁹³⁹ *Ezell v. City of Chicago (Ezell II)*, 846 F.3d 888 (7th Cir. 2017). The *Ezell I* case held unconstitutional the city’s ban on all shooting ranges within city limits. *Ezell v. City of Chicago (Ezell I)*, 651 F.3d 684 (7th Cir. 2011).

⁹⁴⁰ *Id.* at 896.

⁹⁴¹ *Id.*

⁹⁴² *Id.* at 898.

⁹⁴³ *Id.* (emphasis in original).

as a young adult who is currently serving in, or has been honorably discharged from, the armed forces.⁹⁴⁴

As has been true throughout American history, state militia laws include 18-to-20-year-olds. Fifteen state constitutions specify that the starting age for militia service is 18.⁹⁴⁵ Two state constitutions, Indiana and Wyoming, specify the starting militia age as 17.⁹⁴⁶ Uniquely, the Kansas Constitution makes 21 the starting militia age.⁹⁴⁷ The constitutions of Illinois and Montana used to declare that the militia was males 18 to 45; the constitutions were revised to broaden the militia obligation to all able-bodied persons, regardless of age or sex.⁹⁴⁸ For many other states, the constitution grants the legislature authority to define the militia, and the legislature has passed laws including 18-to-20-year-olds.

Section A of Part VI describes state laws imposing special limits on firearms acquisition or possession by young adults. Section B discusses the varying age limits for different activities, past and present.

A. State laws with special arms restrictions on young adults

California. “No person, corporation, or firm shall sell, loan, or transfer a firearm to a minor, nor sell a handgun to an individual under 21 years of age.”⁹⁴⁹ The only circumstance under which a Californian aged 18-20 may purchase a handgun is if the handgun is an antique.⁹⁵⁰

Parents and grandparents (with parental permission) may loan long guns to minors for indefinite periods.⁹⁵¹ Other persons may loan long guns to minors (with parental permission) for up to 30 days.⁹⁵²

⁹⁴⁴ TEX. CODE ANN. § 411.172(g).

⁹⁴⁵ ARIZ. CONST. art. XVI, § 1; ARK. CONST. art. XI, § 10; COLO. CONST. art. XVII, § 1; IDAHO CONST. art. XIV, § 1; IOWA CONST. art. VI, § 1; KY. CONST. § 219; ME. CONST. art. VII, § 5; MISS. CONST., § 214; N.M. CONST. art. XVIII, § 1; N.D. CONST. art. XI, § 16; OHIO CONST. art. IX, § 1; S.C. CONST. art. XIII, § 1; S.D. CONST. art. XV, § 1; UTAH CONST. art. XV, § 1; WASH. CONST. art. X, § 1.

⁹⁴⁶ IND. CONST. art. XII, § 1; WYO. CONST. art. XVII, § 1.

⁹⁴⁷ KAN. CONST. art. VIII, § 1.

⁹⁴⁸ ILL. CONST. of 1870, art. XII, § 1; MONT. CONST. of 1889, art. XIV, § 1. Illinois now provides that “The State militia consists of all able-bodied persons residing in the State except those exempted by law.” ILL. CONST. art. XII, § 1; MONT. CONST. art. VI, § 13(2).1.

In both states, current laws show that the newer provisions still include 18-to-20-year-olds. *See* 20 ILL. COMP. STAT. 1805/1 (“All able-bodied citizens of this State . . . between the ages of 18 and 45 . . . shall be subject to military duty and designated as the Illinois State Militia”); MONT. CODE ANN. § 10-1-103(1) (“the organized militia [] consists of the national guard and the Montana home guard”); 32 U.S.C. § 313 (“To be eligible for original enlistment in the National Guard, a person must be at least 17 years of age and under 45”).

⁹⁴⁹ CAL. PENAL CODE § 27505(a) (West 2011).

⁹⁵⁰ *Id.* (b)(1).

⁹⁵¹ *Id.* (b)(2), (3).

⁹⁵² *Id.* (b)(4).

A parent may loan a handgun to a minor for sporting activities, agriculture, ranching, or theatrical and entertainment events that use firearms props.⁹⁵³ The loan may last no longer than “the amount of time that is reasonably necessary to engage in” the activity.⁹⁵⁴

Other persons may loan handguns to minors for the same purposes, if written permission from the parent or legal guardian is presented to the lender.⁹⁵⁵ The same time limits apply, with the addition proviso that the loan may never exceed ten days.⁹⁵⁶

Thus, a minor may never be transferred a handgun for lawful defense of self and others, even in the parental home, and even in situations of imminent peril.

Connecticut. A state certificate is necessary to own a handgun, and only persons at least 21 years old may apply for the certificate.⁹⁵⁷

Delaware. No person shall sell to someone under 21 “any pistol or revolver, or stiletto, steel or brass knuckles, or other deadly weapon made especially for the defense of one’s person.”⁹⁵⁸ The prohibition does not apply “to toy pistols, pocket knives or knives used for sporting purposes and in the domestic household, or surgical instruments or tools of any kind.”⁹⁵⁹

District of Columbia. Persons may only possess firearms that have been registered with the Municipal Police Department.⁹⁶⁰ Persons under 18 may not register. Persons 18 to 20 may register if the registrant provides a notarized permission statement from a parent or guardian.⁹⁶¹ In the notarized statement, the parent or guardian must “assume[] civil liability for all damages resulting from the actions of such applicant in the use of the firearm to be registered; provided further, that such registration certificate shall expire on such person’s 21st birthday.”⁹⁶²

Florida. “A person younger than 21 years of age may not purchase a firearm. The sale or transfer of a firearm to a person younger than 21 years of age may not be made or facilitated by a licensed importer, licensed manufacturer, or licensed dealer.”⁹⁶³ Thus, persons under 21 may borrow firearms, or receive them as gifts from private

⁹⁵³ *Id.* (b)(5)(A).

⁹⁵⁴ *Id.* (b)(5)(B).

⁹⁵⁵ *Id.* (6)(A), (B).

⁹⁵⁶ *Id.* (6)(C), (D).

⁹⁵⁷ CONN. GEN. STAT. § 29-36f(a).

⁹⁵⁸ DEL. CODE ANN. tit. 24, § 901.

⁹⁵⁹ *Id.* § 903.

⁹⁶⁰ D.C. CODE § 7-2502.01(a).

⁹⁶¹ *Id.* § 7-2502.03(a)(1)(A).

⁹⁶² *Id.* § 7-2502.03(a)(1)(B).

⁹⁶³ FLA. STAT. § 790.065(13) (2018).

persons. The restrictions on persons under 21 do not apply to servicemembers.⁹⁶⁴

Hawaii. Permits to acquire firearms may be issued “to citizens of the United States of the age of twenty-one years or more.”⁹⁶⁵ Permits may also be issued to aliens under certain circumstances, including to aliens 18 or older “for use of rifles and shotguns for a period not exceeding sixty days, upon a showing that the alien has first procured a hunting license.”⁹⁶⁶

Illinois. To purchase or own a firearm, a person must have a Firearm Owner’s Identification (FOID) Card.⁹⁶⁷ Applicants under 21 must have written permission from a parent or guardian.⁹⁶⁸ The parent giving permission must not be someone who is prohibited from owning a firearm (e.g., a convicted felon).⁹⁶⁹ The under-21 applicant must, in addition to satisfying generally applicable eligibility requirements, have no misdemeanor convictions other than traffic offenses, and must never have been adjudged delinquent.⁹⁷⁰

As discussed in the section on *Horsely v. Trame, supra*, there is a safety valve provision for situations in which parental permission is denied or is unavailable. Any applicant who is denied can petition the Director of State Police for relief.⁹⁷¹ The applicant may present evidence, and the State Attorney must be notified and have an opportunity to oppose the petition for relief. The applicant must prove that “granting relief would not be contrary to the public interest.”⁹⁷² A rejected applicant may appeal to state court.⁹⁷³

Iowa. In 2017, the legislature repealed a law that had forbidden minors under 14 from temporarily possessing a handgun under any circumstances, even while under direct parental supervision at a target range.⁹⁷⁴

Under current law, anyone who “sells, loans, gives, or makes available a rifle or shotgun or ammunition for a rifle or shotgun to a minor” is guilty of a serious misdemeanor.⁹⁷⁵ Anyone who does the same for a handgun or handgun ammunition is guilty of a serious misdemeanor.⁹⁷⁶

⁹⁶⁴ *Id.*

⁹⁶⁵ HAW. REV. STAT. § 134-2(d) (2017).

⁹⁶⁶ *Id.*

⁹⁶⁷ 430 ILL. COMP. STAT. 65/2.

⁹⁶⁸ *Id.* 65/4(a)(2)(i).

⁹⁶⁹ *Id.*

⁹⁷⁰ *Id.*

⁹⁷¹ *Id.* 65/10(c).

⁹⁷² *Id.* 65/10(c)(3).

⁹⁷³ *Id.*

⁹⁷⁴ IOWA CODE § 724.22(8); 2017 Iowa Acts 555.

⁹⁷⁵ IOWA CODE, *supra* note 975, § 724.22(1).

⁹⁷⁶ *Id.* § 724.22(2). Ammunition in .22 caliber is considered rifle ammunition, not handgun ammunition. *Id.* § 724.22(6).

However, a parent, guardian, spouse (if over 18), or anyone else with express permission from such persons may allow a minor to possess rifles, shotguns, and ammunition therefor.⁹⁷⁷

For handguns, the authorizing parent, guardian, or spouse must be over 21, and the person under 21 may possess the handgun only while under direct supervision.⁹⁷⁸ Alternatively, the supervision may be provided by an instructor.⁹⁷⁹ Any supervisor or instructor who is intoxicated at the time is guilty of child endangerment.⁹⁸⁰

If the minor with the handgun is under 14, the parent, guardian, or spouse is strictly liable for any resulting damages.⁹⁸¹

Persons 18-to-20 may possess firearms and ammunition without need for parental or spousal permission “while on military duty or while a peace officer, security guard or correctional officer” if the job requires it.⁹⁸² They may also possess arms while receiving instruction from an instructor who is at least 21.⁹⁸³

It is unlawful to store a loaded gun in such a manner that “a minor under the age of fourteen years is likely to gain access to the firearm” without the permission of the minor’s parent.⁹⁸⁴ Storage is *per se* compliant with the statute if the gun has a trigger lock or is “placed in a securely locked box or container, or placed in some other location which a reasonable person would believe to be secure from a minor under the age of fourteen years.”⁹⁸⁵ There is no violation of the law unless a minor does actually access the firearm, and then unlawfully exhibits the firearm in a public place or injures someone by using the firearm unlawfully.⁹⁸⁶ There is no violation “if the minor obtains the firearm as a result of an unlawful entry by any person.”⁹⁸⁷

Maryland. Under Maryland law, a “regulated firearm” is a handgun or certain long guns that have been labeled “assault weapons.”⁹⁸⁸ Of course there are still laws for other guns, namely rifles and shotguns that are not “assault weapons,” but these laws are less stringent than the laws for “regulated firearms.”

In general, a person under 21 may not possess a regulated firearm.⁹⁸⁹ Possession is allowed for temporary transfers if the person under 21 will be

⁹⁷⁷ *Id.* § 724.22(3).

⁹⁷⁸ *Id.* § 724.22(5).

⁹⁷⁹ *Id.*

⁹⁸⁰ *Id.* § 724.22(9).

⁹⁸¹ *Id.* § 724.22(8).

⁹⁸² *Id.* § 724.22(4).

⁹⁸³ *Id.*

⁹⁸⁴ *Id.* § 724.22(7).

⁹⁸⁵ *Id.*

⁹⁸⁶ *Id.*

⁹⁸⁷ *Id.*

⁹⁸⁸ MD. CODE ANN. PUB. SAFETY § 5-101(r) (2018).

⁹⁸⁹ *Id.* § 5-133(d)(1).

“under the supervision of another who is at least 21 years old” and the parents or guardian consent.⁹⁹⁰ Possession is also allowed if the person needs the firearm for employment.⁹⁹¹ Temporary transfers are also permitted to participants in marksmanship training who are supervised by an instructor.⁹⁹² Also lawful is “the possession of a [regulated] firearm for self-defense or the defense of others against a trespasser into the residence of the person in possession or into a residence in which the person in possession is an invited guest.”⁹⁹³

Massachusetts. A “Class A” license is necessary to possess a handgun or long guns that are dubbed “assault weapons.”⁹⁹⁴ The Class A license also functions as a license to carry; the issuing law enforcement agency has the discretion to issue the license to allow carrying only for sports and target practice, or to issue as a defensive carry permit.⁹⁹⁵ Class A licenses may not be issued to persons under 21.⁹⁹⁶

New Jersey. In general, persons under 18 may not “purchase, barter or otherwise acquire a firearm” and persons under 21 may not do so for handguns.⁹⁹⁷ Further, no one under 18 “shall possess, carry, fire or use a firearm.”⁹⁹⁸ The same is true for handguns for persons under 21.⁹⁹⁹

Exceptions are for gun use “[i]n the actual presence or under the direct supervision of his father, mother or guardian, or some other person” who has the appropriate gun possession permit from the state.¹⁰⁰⁰ Also allowed is “competition, target practice, instruction, and training” at a firing range.¹⁰⁰¹ Finally, persons can possess the guns “during the regularly designated hunting season,” if they have a hunting license and have passed a hunter safety course.¹⁰⁰²

New York. A license is necessary to possess a handgun.¹⁰⁰³ Licenses may be issued only to persons who are at least 21.¹⁰⁰⁴ But if the applicant has been honorably discharged from the armed forces, no age restriction applies.¹⁰⁰⁵

⁹⁹⁰ *Id.* § 5-133(d)(2)(i).

⁹⁹¹ *Id.* § 5-133(d)(2)(v).

⁹⁹² *Id.* § 5-133(d)(2)(iv).

⁹⁹³ *Id.* § 5-133(d)(2)(vi).

⁹⁹⁴ MASS. GEN. LAWS ch. 140, § 131(a).

⁹⁹⁵ *Id.* § 131(d).

⁹⁹⁶ *Id.* § 131(d)(iv).

⁹⁹⁷ N.J. STAT. ANN. § 2C:58-6.1(a).

⁹⁹⁸ *Id.* § 2C:58-6.1(b).

⁹⁹⁹ *Id.*

¹⁰⁰⁰ *Id.* § 2C:58-6.1(b)(1).

¹⁰⁰¹ *Id.* § 2C:58-6.1(b)(3). The range must have been approved by a local governing body or by the National Rifle Association. *Id.*

¹⁰⁰² *Id.* § 2C:58-6.1(b)(4).

¹⁰⁰³ N.Y. PENAL LAW § 400.00(15).

¹⁰⁰⁴ *Id.* § 400.00(1).

¹⁰⁰⁵ *Id.*

Ohio. No one shall sell any firearm to a person under 18, or a handgun to a person under 21.¹⁰⁰⁶ Nor shall anyone “furnish” such guns to such persons, “except for lawful hunting, sporting, or educational purposes, including, but not limited to, instruction in firearms or handgun safety, care, handling, or marksmanship under the supervision or control of a responsible adult.”¹⁰⁰⁷ Persons 18-to-20 may acquire handguns if they are law enforcement officers or active duty members of the armed forces who have received certain training.¹⁰⁰⁸

Rhode Island. A permit is necessary to purchase or acquire a handgun.¹⁰⁰⁹ Permits are not issued to persons under 21.¹⁰¹⁰

B. Policy

In American law, different activities have been subject to different age limits. Under the U.S. and state constitutions, the age for service in elective offices is sometimes 18, but also may be 21, 25, 30, or (for President) 35.¹⁰¹¹ Activities that are considered by some to be vices—such as alcohol, tobacco, recreational marijuana, and gambling—have sometimes been prohibited, sometimes unregulated, and sometimes had age limits of 18 or 21.¹⁰¹² The trend of the 1960s and the 1970s was for lower age limits for vices, while in recent decades many states have moved to 21.

Perhaps the most important decision a person will ever make is marriage. Certainly, the decision to marry is more momentous than the decision about whether to drink a beer. Today, in every state, the age for marriage *without* parental consent is 16, 17, or 18.¹⁰¹³ The age is lower (or there is no age limit) when there is parental consent.¹⁰¹⁴

In every state, the age at which a criminal defendant can be prosecuted as an adult is no older than eighteen, and usually younger. Eighteen-year-olds are subject to conscription into the U.S. military, notwithstanding vehement parental objection. With parental consent, persons under 18 may enlist in the U.S. Armed Forces.¹⁰¹⁵

¹⁰⁰⁶ OHIO REV. CODE ANN. § 2923.21(A)(1)-(2).

¹⁰⁰⁷ *Id.* (A)(3).

¹⁰⁰⁸ *Id.* (B).

¹⁰⁰⁹ 11 R.I. GEN. LAWS ANN. § 11-47-35.

¹⁰¹⁰ *Id.* § 11-47-35(a)(1).

¹⁰¹¹ See, e.g., U.S. CONST. art II, § 1 (35 for President); ILL. CONST. art. V, § 3 (25 for statewide constitutional officers); IOWA CONST. art. III, § 4 (21 for the Iowa House of Representatives).

¹⁰¹² See, e.g., Michael Phillip Rosenthal, *The Minimum Drinking Age for Young People: An Observation*, 92 DICK. L. REV. 649 (1988).

¹⁰¹³ *State-by-State Marriage “Age of Consent” Laws*, FINDLAW (2018), <https://family.findlaw.com/marriage/state-by-state-marriage-age-of-consent-laws.html>.

¹⁰¹⁴ *Id.*

¹⁰¹⁵ *Are You Eligible to Join the Military?*, MILITARY.COM (2018), <https://www.military.com/join-armed-forces/join-the-military-basic-eligibility.html>.

For voting, the usual starting age used to be 21. That was lowered to 18 by the Twenty-Sixth Amendment, ratified in 1971, and applying to all federal and state elections.¹⁰¹⁶ That young adults did not have voting rights in the Founding Era is not evidence that young adults lacked arms rights. Some states had property requirements for voting, and higher property requirements for election to the legislature or the governorship.¹⁰¹⁷ No one would contend that people who did not own a certain amount of property were excluded from the Second Amendment.

After the Nineteenth Amendment in 1920 guaranteed women the right to vote, Justice Sutherland, writing for the Court, praised “the great—not to say revolutionary—changes which have taken place since that utterance, in the contractual, political, and civil status of women, culminating in the Nineteenth Amendment.”¹⁰¹⁸ Although laws could still take into account the physical differences between men and women, laws could not treat women like children, by imposing special restrictions on female contract rights that could not constitutionally be imposed on men.¹⁰¹⁹

Although Justice Sutherland’s strong defense of the competence and free choices of women was later swept away when the New Deal Supreme Court abandoned nearly all judicial protection of the right of contract, Justice Sutherland turned out to be on the right side of history. Since the 1970s, very few laws that impose special disabilities on account of sex are considered constitutional.

Similar observations can be made about the rights of young adults, and the constitutional guarantee of their voting rights in 1971. The trend over the last half-century has been towards recognizing that people who bear the burdens of adulthood—including military conscription and liability to criminal prosecution as an adult—also have the rights of adulthood. In general, the rights of young adults include the same contract and property rights as of older persons. The only notable exception to the trend of recognizing young adult rights has been re-raising the age for various “vices,” such as alcohol. Under American law, none of these vices are constitutionally protected; instead, these vices can be—and sometimes have been—prohibited for the entire population, regardless of age.¹⁰²⁰

¹⁰¹⁶ U.S. CONST. amend. XXVI.

¹⁰¹⁷ See DONALD S. LUTZ, *POPULAR CONSENT AND POPULAR CONTROL: WHIG POLITICAL THEORY IN EARLY STATE CONSTITUTIONS* 90-91 (1980) (Ga., S.C., Pa., N.C., and N.H. limited voting to taxpayers; Mass. required £60 of property, N.J. £20, and N.Y. £20; Md. required 50 acres, and Del. a freehold).

¹⁰¹⁸ See *Adkins v. Children’s Hospital*, 261 U.S. 525, 553 (1923), *overruled by West Coast Hotel Co. v. Parrish*, 300 U.S. 379 (1937); U.S. CONST. amend. XIX.

¹⁰¹⁹ *Adkins*, *supra* note 1018, at 401 (“nor is there ground for distinction between women and men, for, certainly, if women require a minimum wage to preserve their morals men require it to preserve their honesty”).

¹⁰²⁰ See Rosenthal, *supra* note 1012.

The right to arms is just the opposite. While the Twenty-First Amendment affirms very broad state power over alcohol, up to and including prohibition, the Second Amendment guarantees the right to keep and bear arms.¹⁰²¹ As has been detailed above, the original meaning of the Second Amendment recognized that young adults have a right and duty to keep and bear arms.

VII. CONCLUSION

If the Second Amendment is interpreted according to the original public meaning, as *Heller* says it must be, the Constitution contains a clear rule for the arms rights of young adults. It is beyond dispute that when the Second Amendment was ratified, young adults had the right to keep and bear arms. State and colonial assemblies collectively legislated on the militia hundreds of times, revising many subjects. The militia entry age was 15-18. Sixteen was the most common. The only 21-year-old law existed for two decades in colonial Virginia; that law was repealed long before the Second Amendment was adopted. From the first federal militia laws to the present, the militia of the United States has always included eighteen-year-olds. During the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, the federal government worked to put arms in their hands.

According to *Heller*, the innermost core of the Second Amendment is the right to keep a handgun in the home for lawful self-defense. Laws that prohibit or nearly prohibit young adults from doing so are unconstitutional.

¹⁰²¹ U.S. CONST. amends. II, XXI.

