

Political Science 34000: American Political Thought 1700-1860

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Spring 2004, University of Chicago

Tuesdays noon-2:50 pm

Wieboldt 301

Readings

A. Required primary texts:

The following books are available for purchase in the Seminary Co-op.

Thomas Paine, *Political Writings*; Bruce Kuklick ed.; Cambridge University Press 2000

The Portable Thomas Jefferson, Merrill D. Peterson ed., Penguin 1977

The Anti-Federalist Papers and the Constitutional Convention Debates, Ralph Ketcham ed., Signet 2003,

Alexander Hamilton, James Madison, John Jay, *The Federalist, with Letters of Brutus*; Terence Ball, ed., Cambridge 2003

John C. Calhoun, *Union and Liberty*, Ross M. Lence ed., Liberty Fund 1995

Abraham Lincoln, *Selected Speeches and Writings*, Vintage 1992

Henry David Thoreau, *Political Writings*, Nancy L. Rosenblum ed., Cambridge 1996

Ralph Waldo Emerson, *Essays and Lectures*, Joel Porte ed., Library of America 1983

The Political Writings of John Adams, George W. Carey ed., Regnery, 2001, is apparently not available in the Co-op but is available from Amazon.com and BN.com

B. Required secondary/ historiographical works:

The following books are on reserve, but are strongly recommended for purchase, particularly for graduate students who intend to pursue further work on American political thought. Significant portions of these books are assigned as required reading.

Bernard Bailyn, *The Ideological Origins of the American Revolution*

Gordon Wood, *The Creation of the American Republic*

Rogers Smith, *Civic Ideals*

J.G.A. Pocock, *The Machiavellian Moment*

C. Further primary texts:

There are countless collections of primary works. Some of my favorites, all with very different emphases, follow. Each combines editions of some of the universally-agreed-upon major short works with less-well-known complements. We'll mostly be skipping the less-well-known works, but they're often quite valuable.

Charles Hyneman and Donald Lutz, eds., *American Political Writing During the Founding Era, 1760-1805* (in 2 vols)
Donald Lutz, ed., *Colonial Origins of the American Constitution*
Bernard Bailyn, ed., *The Debate on the Constitution*
Jack P. Greene, ed., *Colonies to Nation, 1763-1789: A Documentary History of the American Revolution*.
Gordon Wood, ed., *The Rising Glory of America, 1760-1820*
Richard Sinopoli, ed., *From Many, One: Readings in American Social and Political Thought*

Shorter and more important documents are often available online. Two major online resources:

<http://odur.let.rug.nl/~usa/D/index.htm>

<http://www.constitution.org/liberlib.htm>

Some recommended major primary works from the era that are not covered in the course:

William Penn, *The Political Writings of William Penn*, Andrew Murphy ed.

Benjamin Franklin, *Writings*, J.A. Leo Lemay ed. (or, especially, *Autobiography*, any edition)

George Washington, *Writings*, John Rhodehamel ed.

Frederick Douglass, *Autobiography* (any edition)

Mason Lowance, *Against Slavery: An Abolitionist Reader*

Lester J. Cappon, ed., *The Adams-Jefferson Letters*

John Dickinson, *Letters from a Farmer in Pennsylvania*

In addition to the Franklin and Washington volumes noted above, and the Lincoln and Emerson volumes used in the course, the Library of America series has thorough volumes of the writings of Hamilton, Jefferson, Madison, and Douglass. The unrelated-but-visually-quite-similar-and-similarly-expensive Library of Freedom series also publishes lots of anthologies

In addition to the two Lutz volumes above, Liberty Fund publishes many volumes and collections of less widely-known primary text from the Founding era.

D. Recommended major secondary/ historiographical works:

Some major secondary and historiographic works are necessarily omitted given our abbreviated schedule. These include:

Joyce Appleby, *Capitalism and a New Social Order: The Jeffersonian Vision of the 1790s*

John Patrick Diggins, *The Lost Soul of American Politics*

Eric Foner, *Free Soil, Free Labor, Free Men: The Ideology of the Republican Party before the Civil War*

Eugene Genovese, *Roll, Jordan, Roll and The Southern Tradition: the Achievements and Limitations of an American Conservatism*

Nathan Hatch, *The Democratization of American Christianity*

Winthrop Jordan, *White Over Black: American Attitudes Toward the Negro, 1550-1812*
Aileen Krador, *Means and Ends in American Abolitionism*
Drew McCoy, *The Elusive Republic*
Forrest McDonald, *States' Rights and the Union: Imperium in Imperio 1776-1876*
Barry Allan Shain, *The Myth of American Individualism: The Protestant Origins of American Political Thought*
James Stoner, *Common Law and Liberal Theory: Coke, Hobbes, and the Origins of American Constitutionalism*
Gordon Wood, *The Radicalism of the American Revolution*

These are strongly recommended for those writing papers on the appropriate topics, and are essential for those pursuing future research on the appropriate topics.

D1. Further recommended secondary/ historiographical works

Some works that aren't considered such decisive contributions (sometimes just because the issues they treat are relatively specialized or because they're too new), but that I consider valuable and/or important:

Lance Banning, *Sacred Fire of Liberty: James Madison and the Founding of the Federal Republic and Conceived in Liberty*
David Ericson, *The Debate Over Slavery: Antislavery and Proslavery Liberalism in America*
Gerda Lerner, *The Grimké Sisters from South Carolina*
David Mayer, *The Constitutional Thought of Thomas Jefferson*
Henry Mayer, *All on Fire: William Lloyd Garrison and the Abolition of Slavery*
Steven Dvoretz, *The Unvarnished Doctrine: Locke, Liberalism, and the American Revolution*
Judith Shklar, *Redeeming American Political Thought*
Harry Watson, *Liberty and Power: The Politics of Jacksonian America*
Robert A. Williams, *The American Indian in Western Legal Thought*

The University Press of Kansas [sic] has a major series in American Political Thought.

D2. Secondary/ historiographical works recommended with a proviso:

The following secondary and historiographic works have been of tremendous influence, and are often referred to in the more contemporary literature as points of departure, but should now (in my view) be regarded as of greater interest for what they reveal about their authors and eras than for what they teach about the eras and thinkers they are about. In other words, you might want to read them to know what they say in order to be able to follow more contemporary works that refer to them or treat them as points of departure. You would not want to treat them as reliable and up-to-date works of scholarship. They have acquired the status of works everyone refers to but hardly anyone reads anymore.

Charles Beard, *An Economic Interpretation of the Constitution*
Louis Hartz, *The Liberal Tradition in America*

Arthur Schlesinger, *The Age of Jackson*

Richard Hofstadter, *The American Political Tradition; Anti-Intellectualism in American Life; The Paranoid Style in American Politics*

Prerequisites:

There are no prerequisites for graduate students. Undergraduates must have completed at least five quarters of relevant coursework (political or legal theory, political philosophy, and/or early modern European or American history), which will typically include at least one of the following Common Core sequences:

Classics of Social and Political Thought

Power, Identity, Resistance

Self, Culture, and Society

Human Being and Citizen

America in Western Civilization

If you aren't sure whether you meet the prerequisite, please discuss it with me.

Grading:

20%: regular in-class participation

30%: a short essay (c. 2000 words, \pm 15%) on one week's topics/ readings (beginning with Week 3), which will also serve as an in-class presentation

50%: one of the following:

1) A single research paper of 8000-10000 words

2) Two equally-weighted papers of 4000-5000 words each, one of which must be turned in by 5 pm on May 7.

In either event, your paper may be based on (but must of course significantly expand on) your short essay/ in-class presentation

Very considerable leeway is available on the topic of the research paper, and some (but less) leeway is available on the shorter papers. For undergraduate political science major, satisfactory completion of the research paper will satisfy your concentration writing requirement.

1. March 30. Introduction

Over the course of the next three weeks, please read heavily from (and in this order):

Bailyn, pp. 1-229

Pocock, pp. 462-552

Wood, especially 125-390 and 567-592, but the more the better.

Michael Zuckert, *Launching Liberalism: On Lockean Political Philosophy*, Part 3, and/or Zuckert, *The Natural Rights Republic*

The primary-source reading for the next two weeks is relatively light to allow time to read these secondary sources. The primary source-reading for weeks 4 and 5 is particularly heavy, that for week 6 somewhat lighter.

2. April 6. The Revolutionary Crisis

James Otis, "The Rights of The British Colonies Asserted and Proved,"
<http://www.carleton.ca/~pking/docs/otis-all.htm>

The examination of Benjamin Franklin before the House of Commons:
http://www.publicbookshelf.com/public_html/The_Great_Republic_By_the_Master_Historians_Vol_II/benjaminf_bg.html (questions 36-43, 152-54)

Adams, Feudal Law/ Novangulus (3-107); "Instructions of the Town of Braintree" (478-481)

Paine, Common Sense (2-45)

Jefferson, *A Summary View of the Rights of British America* (3-21)

Smith, 40-69

Recommended: Otis, "Against Writs of Assistance":
<http://www.nhinet.org/ccs/docs/writs.htm>

3. April 13. The Revolution

Jefferson, Declaration of Independence (both drafts), Draft Constitution for Virginia, Bill for Establishing Religious Freedom (235-253)

Adams, "Thoughts on Government" and "Letter to John Penn" (482-497)

Paine, *Crisis* #1 (49-56)

Articles of Confederation

<http://www.yale.edu/lawweb/avalon/artconf.htm>

Pennsylvania Act for the Gradual Abolition of Slavery

<http://www.yale.edu/lawweb/avalon/states/statutes/pennst01.htm>

Massachusetts (1780), Pennsylvania (1776), and Virginia (1776) Constitutions

<http://www.yale.edu/lawweb/avalon/states/pa08.htm>

<http://www.yale.edu/lawweb/avalon/states/va05.htm>

Smith, 70-86

4. April 20. State constitutionalism.

John Adams, selections from *Defense, Davila*, letters to Taylor (108-166, 215-264, 293-303, 355-362, 379-81, 386-96); "The Report of a Constitution" (498-551)

Jefferson, *Notes on the State of Virginia*, ch. 6, 8-9, 11-20, 22 (pp. 56-111, 122-131, 133-221, 224-229)

James Madison, *Memorial and Remonstrance*
<http://www.ukans.edu/carrie/docs/texts/memorial.html>
Smith, 87-114

Recommended: Willi Paul Adams, *The First American Constitutions*
C. Bradley Thompson, *John Adams and the Spirit of Liberty*
Adams, the remainder of *Defense, Davila*, letters to Taylor

5. April 27. The Constitution and The Federalist.

Madison, *Vices of the Political System of the United States*
http://www.constitution.org/jm/17870400_vices.htm

Anti-Federalist pp. 35-41, 58-89

Madison's notes, June 6, 1787
http://www.constitution.org/dfc/dfc_0606.htm
Hamilton's plan:
<http://www.yale.edu/lawweb/avalon/debates/618.htm>
Constitution of the United States, through Amendment X (in *Federalist*, 545-58)

Madison to Jefferson, 10-24-87
http://www.constitution.org/jm/17871024_tj.htm

Madison to Jefferson 10-17-88
http://www.constitution.org/jm/17881017_tj.htm

Madison to Jefferson 2-4-90
http://www.constitution.org/jm/17900204_tj.htm

Jefferson to Madison

The Federalist (Complete, of course, but especially 1-3, 6, 9-10, 14-16, 23-28, 33, 37, 47-51, 54, 62-3, 70, 78, 81, 84-5)

Madison, speech on the Bill of Rights
<http://odur.let.rug.nl/~usa/P/jm4/speeches/amend.htm>

6. May 4. The Anti-Federalists.

Anti-Federalist 171-75; 199-226; 227-269
Brutus, in *Federalist*, pp. 435-533
Storing, *What the Anti-Federalists Were For*, 3-76
Smith, 115-136

7. May 11. Constitutional Interpretation and Disputes.

Jefferson, opinion on the constitutionality of a national bank, Kentucky resolution; first and second inaugurals, first State of the Union, letter to Nehemiah Dodge (261-7, 281-95, 300-304, 316-21)

Madison, Virginia Resolution:

<http://odur.let.rug.nl/~usa/D/1776-1800/constitution/virg1798.htm>

Hamilton, opinion on the constitutionality of a national bank

<http://www.yale.edu/lawweb/avalon/amerdoc/bank-ah.htm>

Madison's veto message: http://www.constitution.org/jm/18170303_veto.htm

Jackson's veto message: <http://www.yale.edu/lawweb/avalon/presiden/veto/ajveto01.htm>

Lincoln, "Speech on Dred Scott" (117-22)

Lysander Spooner, "The Unconstitutionality of Slavery," ch. IX, "The Intentions of the Convention" <http://www.lysanderspooner.org/UnconstitutionalityOfSlavery9.htm>

Joseph Story, *Commentaries on the United States Constitution* (1833): Book III ch. 3, 4, 6 (and, recommended: Book III chs. 1-2, 5, 44)

<http://www.lonang.com/exlibris/story/>

If you want to print Story out rather than reading it online, you may prefer

http://www.utulsa.edu/law/classes/rice/Constitutional/Storey/00_story_vol1_intro.html

Cases: (Extracts will be made available; those at <http://odur.let.rug.nl/~usa/D/index.htm> are OK but on the short side)

Dred Scott v. Sanford

Calder v. Bull

Martin v. Hunter's Lessee

Marbury vs. Madison

McCullough vs. Maryland

Gibbons v. Ogden

Cherokee Nation v. Georgia

8. May 18. Radical legacies.

Paine, *The Rights of Man*, Part II (155-265)

Emerson, "Man the Reformer," "Lecture on the Times," "The Conservative," "The Young American," "Self-Reliance," "Politics," "New England Reformers," "Plato; or, the Philosopher," "Montaigne; or, the Skeptic," "Napoleon; or, the Man of the World," "Wealth" (133-190, 211-230, 557-72, 591-609, 633-54, 690-709, 727-745, 989-1011)

Thoreau, *Resistance to Civil Government* (1-21)

The Seneca Falls Declaration <http://odur.let.rug.nl/~usa/D/1826-1850/women/seneca.htm>

Recommended:

Paine, *Rights of Man*, Part I; *The Age of Reason*; *Agrarian Reform*

Thoreau, *Walden* (including but not limited to the extracts in *Political Writings*)

Emerson, "An Address to the Senior Class," "The Transcendentalist," "Uses of Great Men," "English Traits"

Octavius Brooks Frothingham, *Transcendentalism in New England*
Nathan Hatch, *The Democratization of American Christianity*
James Morone, *Hellfire Nation*

9. May 25. Calhoun, nullification, and slavery.

Calhoun, *Discourse, Disquisition*, "the reception of abolitionist petitions" (3-284, 463-76)
Thoreau, "Life without principle," "Slavery in Massachusetts," "A Plea for Captain John Brown" (103-57)

Jackson on nullification:

<http://www.yale.edu/lawweb/avalon/presiden/proclamations/jack01.htm>

William Lloyd Garrison, Preface to Douglass, *Narrative*

<http://members.aol.com/jfepperson/garrison.html>

Garrison, "No Compromise" <http://members.aol.com/jfepperson/garrison.html>

Daniel Webster, 7th of March speech

<http://www.danorr.com/webster/7thofmarch-text.html>

Frederick Douglass, "Independence Day Oration"

<http://www.libertynet.org/edcivic/freddoug.html>

Strongly recommended: Bailyn, 230-319

Recommended:

Thoreau, "Martyrdom of John Brown," "The last days of John Brown."

Constitution of the Confederate States of America

Jefferson Davis, Inaugural Speech

Eugene Genovese, *The Southern Tradition*

10. June 1. Lincoln.

Lincoln: Address to the Young Men's Lyceum, Address to the Washington Temperance Society, 'Spot' Resolutions, Speech on the War With Mexico, Speech on Kansas-Nebraska Act, 'House Divided' speech, selections from Lincoln-Douglas Debates, Address at Cooper Institute, Speech at Independence Hall, First Inaugural, Message to Congress in Special Session, Address on Colonization, Letter to Greely 8/22/62, Proclamation Suspending the Writ of Habeas Corpus, Emancipation Proclamation, letter to Conkling 8/26/63, Gettysburg Address, letter to Robinson 8/6/64, Second Inaugural

(pp. 13-21, 34-43, 57-65, 93-9, 131-9, 149-96, 240-51, 282-93, 300-15, 338-43, 348, 368-9, 389-93, 405, 428-30, 449-50)

Smith, 243-285

Recommended:

Harry Jaffa, *Crisis of the House Divided*

Jaffa, *A New Birth of Freedom*

The Seneca Falls Declaration

Elizabeth Cady Stanton

1848

1. Declaration of Sentiments



When, in the course of human events, it becomes necessary for one portion of the family of man to assume among the people of the earth a position different from that which they have hitherto occupied, but one to which the laws of nature and of nature's God entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes that impel them to such a course.

We hold these truths to be self-evident: that all men and women are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness; that to secure these rights governments are instituted, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed. Whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of those who suffer from it to refuse allegiance to it, and to insist upon the institution of a new government, laying its foundation on such principles, and

organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness. Prudence, indeed, will dictate that governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes; and accordingly all experience hath shown that mankind are more disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. But when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same object, evinces a design to reduce them under absolute despotism, it is their duty to throw off such government, and to provide new guards for their future security. Such has been the patient sufferance of the women under this government, and such is now the necessity which constrains them to demand the equal station to which they are entitled. The history of mankind is a history of repeated injuries and usurpations on the part of man toward woman, having in direct object the establishment of an absolute tyranny over her. To prove

this, let facts be submitted to a candid world.

- He has never permitted her to exercise her inalienable right to the elective franchise.
- He has compelled her to submit to laws, in the formation of which she had no voice.
- He has withheld from her rights which are given to the most ignorant and degraded men—both natives and foreigners.
- Having deprived her of this first right of a citizen, the elective franchise, thereby leaving her without representation in the halls of legislation, he has oppressed her on all sides.
- He has made her, if married, in the eye of the law, civilly dead. He has taken from her all right in property, even to the wages she earns.
- He has made her, morally, an irresponsible being, as she can commit many crimes with impunity, provided they be done in the presence of her husband.
- In the covenant of marriage, she is compelled to promise obedience to her husband, he becoming, to all intents and purposes, her master, the law giving him power to deprive her of her liberty, and to administer chastisement.
- He has so framed the laws of divorce, as to what shall be the proper causes, and in case of separation, to whom the guardianship of the children shall be given, as to be wholly regardless of the happiness of women, the law, in all cases, going upon a false supposition of the supremacy of man, and giving all power into his hands.
- After depriving her of all rights as a married woman, if single, and the owner of property, he has taxed her to support a government which recognizes her only when her property can be made profitable to it.
- He has monopolized nearly all the profitable employments, and from those she is permitted to follow, she receives but a scanty remuneration. He closes against her all the avenues to wealth and distinction which he considers most honorable to himself. As a teacher of theology, medicine, or law, she is not known.
- He has denied her the facilities for obtaining a thorough education, all colleges being closed against her.
- He allows her in Church, as well as State, but a subordinate position, claiming Apostolic authority for her exclusion from the ministry, and, with some exceptions, from any public participation in the affairs of the Church.
- He has created a false public sentiment by giving to the world a different code of morals for men and women, by which moral delinquencies which exclude women from society, are not only tolerated, but deemed of little account in man.
- He has usurped the prerogative of Jehovah himself, claiming it as his right to assign for her a sphere of action, when that belongs to her conscience and to her God.
- He has endeavored, in every way that he could, to destroy her confidence in her own powers, to lessen her self-respect and to make her willing to lead a dependent and abject life.

Now, in view of this entire disfranchisement of one-half the people of this country, their social and religious degradation, in view of the unjust laws above mentioned, and because women do feel themselves aggrieved, oppressed, and fraudulently deprived of their most sacred rights, we insist that they have immediate admission to all the rights and privileges which belong to them as citizens of the United States.

In entering upon the great work before us, we anticipate no small amount of misconception, misrepresentation, and ridicule; but we shall use every instrumentality within our power to effect our object. We shall employ agents, circulate tracts, petition the State and National legislatures, and endeavor to enlist the pulpit and the press in our behalf. We hope this Convention will be followed by a series of Conventions embracing every part of the country.

2. resolutions

WHEREAS, The great precept of nature is conceded to be, that "man shall pursue his own true and substantial happiness." [Blackstone](#) in his Commentaries remarks, that this law of Nature being coeval with mankind, and dictated by God himself, is of course superior in obligation to any other. It is binding over all the globe, in all countries and at all times; no human laws are of any validity if contrary to this. and such of them as are valid, derive all their force. and all their validity, and all their authority, mediately and immediately, from this original; therefore,

Resolved,

That such laws as conflict, in any way with the true and substantial happiness of woman, are contrary to the great precept of nature and of no validity, for this is "superior in obligation to any other."

Resolved,

That all laws which prevent woman from occupying such a station in society as her conscience shall dictate, or which place her in a position inferior to that of man, are contrary to the great precept of nature, and therefore of no force or authority.

Resolved,

That woman is man's equal, was intended to be so by the Creator, and the highest good of the race demands that she should be recognized as such.

Resolved,

That the women of this country ought to be enlightened in regard to the laws under which they live, that they may no longer publish their degradation by declaring themselves satisfied with their present position, nor their ignorance, by asserting that they have all the rights they want.

Resolved.

That inasmuch as man, while claiming for himself intellectual superiority, does accord to woman moral superiority. it is pre-eminently his duty to encourage her to speak and teach. as she has an opportunity, in all religious assemblies.

Resolved,

That the same amount of virtue, delicacy, and refinement of behavior that is required of woman in the social state, should also be required of man, and the same transgressions should be visited with equal severity on both man and woman.

Resolved,

That the objection of indelicacy and impropriety, which is so often brought against woman when she addresses a public audience, comes with a very ill-grace from those who encourage, by their attendance, her appearance on the stage, in the concert. Or in feats of the circus.

Resolved,

That woman has too long rested satisfied in the circumscribed limits which corrupt customs and a perverted application of the Scriptures have marked out for her, and that it is time she should move in the enlarged sphere which her great Creator has assigned her.

Resolved,

That it is the duty of the women of this country to secure to themselves their sacred right to the elective franchise.

Resolved,

That the equality of human rights results necessarily from the fact of the identity of the race in capabilities and responsibilities.

Resolved, therefore.

That, being invested by the creator with the same capabilities, and the same consciousness of responsibility for their exercise, it is demonstrably the right and duty of woman, equally with man, to promote every righteous cause by every righteous means; and especially in regard to the great subjects of morals and religion, it is self-evidently her right to participate with her brother in teaching them, both in private and in public, by writing and by speaking. by any instrumentalities proper to be used. and in any assemblies proper to be held; and this being a self evident truth growing out of the divinely implanted principles of human nature, any custom or authority adverse to it, whether modern or wearing the hoary sanction of antiquity, is to be regarded as a self-evident falsehood, and at war with mankind.

Resolved,

That the speedy success of our cause depends upon the zealous and untiring efforts of both men and women, for the overthrow of the monopoly of the pulpit. and for the securing to women an equal participation with men in the various trades. professions. and commerce.