**Concordia University Term: Winter 2020**

**Liberal Arts College T/H 1:15-2:30**

**LBCL 495**

**The American Founding**

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1

**ATTENDANCE IS** **REQUIRED AT** **ALL** **SEMINARS.**

**A pattern of non-attendance will result in a failing grade.**

**Assignments submitted late (i.e. after the scheduled class) will be penalized one letter-grade per day (i.e., an “A” becomes “A-”), capped at a “D-”.**

**In accordance with College and University regulations, plagiarism is strictly prohibited and will result in serious sanctions. Students should familiarize themselves with the code of rights and responsibilities of the university: http://concordia.ca/vpirsg/documents/policies/BD-3.pdf**

**Course description**: This course is an introduction to the political thought of the American founding through the examination of primary sources from the 18th and 19th centuries. The readings in this course will focus on the formation of the U.S. Constitution in the 18th century and the threat to the union from slavery and secession in the Civil War era. Through a rigorous analysis of primary sources (essays, speeches, treatises, letters, judicial decisions), this course aims to foster a basic understanding of American politics and its often competing ends of personal liberty, equality, and effective government, within a republican design.

**Evaluation & Term Work**: The final grade will be based on the following scheme:

* + 10% Participation
  + 20% Two short papers (10% each)
  + 30% One Long paper
  + 40% Final Exam

Participation (10%): Students are required to attend class and participate in the discussion of the reading assignments.

Two Short Papers (20%): Students are required to submit two (2) short papers approximately four to five (4-5) pages in length. Each short paper is to be written on one (1) class’s readings from *The Federalist.* The purpose of the short paper is to create a critical introduction to that particular section of *The Federalist*; therefore, it must broadly explain the broad historical context of the essays, succinctly account for their arguments, and briefly discuss their importance for understanding the Constitution. Papers are due **IN CLASS, ONE WEEK FOLLOWING** the scheduled reading in the syllabus. Though students are otherwise free to choose the selections, the first paper must be completed by **February 14th** and the second short paper by **March 14th**.

One Long Paper (30%): Students are required to submit one (1) long paper approximately ten to twelve (10-12) pages in length. Papers are to be written on a topic relating to the course’s primary source materials in the American Founding and Civil War eras. All papers are required to seriously engage with at least two (2) secondary sources pertinent to their studies, including at least one (1) from the list of basic secondary sources appended to this syllabus. Though no specific formatting style is required, papers must nevertheless be properly and consistently made to match a formatting and reference style of the student’s choosing. Long papers are due in class on the last day of term, **April 13**.

Final Exam (40%): The final examination, scheduled in the regular examination period, will be comprehensive.

**Readings**

Since all the readings are public domain, **ALL** materials for this course can be found online through one of the following two websites: the website of the Constitution Society, [www.constitution.org](http://www.constitution.org) (for the Federalist and Anti-Federalist writings look under the Constitution tab to find each collection) and the website of the Abraham Lincoln Association (<http://quod.lib.umich.edu/l/lincoln/>) for the online version of the *Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln*. Note also that the edition of *The Federalist* that I use in print is also available online for free download at libertyfund.org, through their Online Library of Liberty: <http://oll.libertyfund.org/titles/carey-the-federalist-gideon-ed>. Readings in the syllabus marked with an asterisk (\*) can be found online in the Liberty Fund’s anthology *The American Republic: Primary Sources*: <http://oll.libertyfund.org/titles/frohnen-the-american-republic-primary-sources> Scroll down the extended Table of Contents to the specific reading and follow the hyperlink. Since several of our (\*) marked readings are abridged in this volume, so it is best for you to use the selection in this collection.

Since some of you may want to use printed books for The Federalist and Lincoln’s works, two fine editions are highly recommended: the edition of *The Federalist* published by Liberty Fund, and *The Language of Liberty: The Public Speeches and Writings of Abraham Lincoln*, edited by Joseph Fornieri. I will be using these editions in class. However, there are small paperback editions that while inelegant are quite a bit cheaper and available through Chapters or Amazon. The second book is best to purchase through online retailers. All of our Lincoln readings are found in this edition. Print versions of these books are also available on reserve in both the LAC and Webster libraries.

Students are required to bring the day’s readings to class, either in print or electronic form.

### Course Calendar/Reading Schedule

**Introduction**

* **January 7th**: The Constitution of the United States of America.

**The American Revolution**

* **January 9th**:

*Declaration and Resolves of the First Continental Congress\** (1774). *Declaration of Independence* (1776). *Articles of Confederation* (1778) (appended in *The Federalist*, Gideon/LF ed.)

**The Arguments for a New Constitution**

* **January 14th**:

Defects of the Present Union

*The Federalist*, Papers 15-22. Anti-Federalist: Melanchthon Smith, *Speech Before the New York Ratifying Convention*, June 20 (1788).

* **January 16th:**

Utility of Union I

*The Federalist*, Papers 2-8 (1787). Anti-Federalist: Federal Farmer, *Letter I*.

* **January 21st**:

Utility of Union II

*The Federalist*, Papers 9-14 (1787). Anti-Federalist: Patrick Henry, *Speech Before the Virginia Ratifying Convention*, June 5 (1788).

* **January 23rd:**

Necessity of a Strong Union I: “Energy”

*The Federalist*, Papers 23-29 (1787-1788). Anti-Federalist: Brutus, *Essay V* & *Essay VI* (1787).

* **January 28th:**

Necessity of a Strong Union II: Taxation

*The Federalist*, Papers 30-36. Anti-Federalist: Melanchthon Smith, *Speech Before the New York Ratifying Convention*, June 27 (1788).

* **January 30th:**

Powers Vested and Separated

*The Federalist*, Papers 41-51 (1788).

* **February 4th:**

The Congress: the House of Representatives

*The Federalist*, Papers 52-61 (1788). Anti-Federalist: Melanchthon Smith, *Speech Before the New York Ratifying Convention*, June 21 & 23 (1788).

* **February 6th**:

The Congress: the Senate

*The Federalist*, Papers 62-66. Anti-Federalist: Melanchthon Smith, *Speech Before the New York Ratifying Convention*, June 25 (1788).

* **February 11th:**

The Executive I

*The Federalist*, Papers 67-71 (1788). Anti-Federalist: Cato, *Letter IV* & *Letter V* (1787).

**Last possible due date, 1st Short Paper** (*The Federalist* selections up to February 7th)

* **February 13th:**

The Executive II

*The Federalist*, Papers 72-77 (1788).

* **February 18th:**

The Judiciary

*The Federalist*, Papers 78-83 (1788). Anti-Federalist: Brutus, *Essay XI*, *Essay XII* (1788).

* **February 20th:**

Defending *This* Constitution

*The Federalist*, Papers 37-40. Anti-Federalist: Anti-Federalist: Brutus, *Essay I* (1787).

* **March 3rd:**

The Bill of Rights

*The Federalist*, Papers 84, 85 (1788). Anti-Federalist: Centinel, *Letter I* (1787),

James Madison, *Speech Introducing Proposed Constitutional Amendments\** (1789). *Debate Over First Amendment Language\** (1789).  *Bill of Rights/Amendments 1-10* (1791).

**Crisis of Union**

* **March 5th:**

Slavery, Compromise, and Crisis

*Alien and Sedition Acts\** (1798). *Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions Against the Alien and Sedition Acts\** (1798). *The Missouri Compromise\** (1820).

John C. Calhoun, *Senate Speech on the Compromise of 1850\*.* Daniel Webster, *Senate Speech on the Compromise of 1850\*. The Second Fugitive Slave Law\*.*

* **March 10th:**

Slavery and the Union

Lincoln, *Peoria Illinois Speech* (1854).

Roger Taney, *Scott v. Sandford\** (1856).

**Last possible due date, 2nd Short Paper** (*The Federalist* selections from February 9th up to March 7th)

* **March 12th:**

Lincoln: “A House Divided”

*Speech at Republican Banquet in Chicago* (1856). *Speech on The Dred Scott Decision at Springfield* (1857). *House Divided Speech, Springfield* (1858). *Speech at Chicago, July 10* (1858).

* **March 17th:**

*Lincoln-Douglas Debates* (1858):

First Joint Debate, at Ottawa, August 21, 1858

Second Joint Debate, at Freeport, August 27, 1858

* **March 19th:**

*Lincoln-Douglas Debates* (continued):

Third Joint Debate, at Jonesboro, September 15, 1858

Fourth Joint Debate, at Charleston, September 18, 1858

* **March 24th:**

*Lincoln-Douglas Debates* (continued):

Fifth Joint Debate, at Galesburg, October 7th

Sixth Joint Debate, at Quincy, October 13, 1858

* **March 26th:**

*Lincoln-Douglas Debates* (continued):

Seventh Joint Debate, at Alton, October 15, 1858.

*Address at Cooper Institute, New York* (1860).

* **March 31st**:

The 1860 Election and the Outbreak of War

*Speech at New Haven* (1860). *First Inaugural Address* (1861). *Message to Congress in Special Section, July 4* (1861). *Annual Message to Congress*  (December 1861).

* **April 2nd:**

War and Emancipation

*Appeal to Border States For Compensated Emancipation* (1862). *Emancipation Preliminary Proclamation* (1862) & *Final Emancipation* (1863). *Message To Congress, Dec. 1* (1862). *Letter to Erastus Corning and Others* (1863).

* **April 7th:**

*Gettysburg Address* (1863). *Proclamation of Amnesty and Reconstruction* (1863). *Annual Message to Congress* (1864) *Second Inaugural Address* (1865). *Last Public Address* (1865)

* **April 9th:**

Conclusion and Review

**Long Paper Due**

**Guide to Long Paper Sources**

**The Founding**

Overall Literature Review

* Gibson, Alan. *Interpreting the Founding: Guide to the Enduring Debates over the Origins and Foundations of the American Republic, 2nd Ed.* Lawrence, Kansas: University Press of Kansas, 2009. **[My copy in LAC Library—not to be removed]**

The Progressive Era Interpretation

* Beard, Charles A. *An Economic Interpretation of the Constitution of the United States.* New York: Free Press, 1913.

The Liberal & “Neo-Lockean” Interpretation

* Hartz, Louis. *The Liberal Tradition in America : An Interpretation of American Political Thought since the Revolution.* San Diego: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1955.
* Pangle, Thomas. *The Spirit of Modern Republicanism: The Moral Vision of the American Founders and the Philosophy of John Locke*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1988.
* Rahe, Paul. *Republics Ancient and Modern: Classical Republicanism and the American Revolution*. Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1992.

The Republican Interpretation

* Bailyn, Bernard. *The Ideological Origins of the American Revolution*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1967.
* Pocock, J. G. A. *The Machiavellian Moment*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1975.

The Scottish Enlightenment and the Founding

* Wills, Gary. *Inventing America: Jefferson’s Declaration of Independence*. Garden City, NY: Doubleday & Co., 1978.
* White, Morton. *The Philosophy of the American Revolution*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1978.

Combined Sources/Influences Interpretation

* Zuckert, Michael P. *Natural Rights and the New Republicanism*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1994.
* \_\_\_\_\_. *The Natural Rights Republic: Studies in the Foundation of the American Political Tradition*. Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 1996.
* Banning, Lance. *The Sacred Fire of Liberty: James Madison and the Founding of the Federal Republic*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1995.

The Anti-Federalists

* Storing, Herbert J. *What the Anti-Federalists Were* For. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1981.

Women & Gender, Native Americans, Slavery & Race

* Kerber, Linda. *Women of the Republic: Intellect and Ideology in Revolutionary America*. Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1980.
* Wallace, Anthony. *Jefferson and the Indians: The Tragic Fate of the First Americans*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1999.
* *William and Mary Quarterly* 53 (July 1996): forum on the Iroquois Thesis [JSTOR]
* Fehrenbacher, Don E. *The Slaveholding Republic: An Account of the United States Government’s Relationship to Slavery*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2001.
* Finkelman, Paul E. *Slavery and the Founders: Race and Liberty in the Age of Jefferson*. Armonk, NY: M.E. Sharpe, 2001.

Geopolitical Interpretation

* Hendrickson, David. *Peace Pact: the Lost World of the American Founding*. Lawrence, Kansas: University Press of Kansas, 2003.

**Lincoln’s Political Thought**

For an excellent and extensive bibliography, consult the “Select Bibliography” of the anthology recommended for the course, *The Language of Liberty*, pp. lxiii-lxvi.

Civil War History

* Guelzo, Allen C. *Fateful Lightening: A New History of the Civil War and Reconstruction*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2012.
* McPherson, James M. *The Battle Cry of Freedom: The Civil War Era.* New York: Oxford, 1988.

Lincoln’s Pre-presidential career

* Fehrenbacher, Don E. *Prelude to Greatness: Lincoln in the 1850s.* Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1962.
* Harris, William C. *Lincoln’s Rise to the Presidency.* Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2006.
* Nevins, Allen. *The Emergence of Lincoln* [Two Volumes]. New York: Scribner’s, 1950.

Dred Scott

* Fehrenbacher, Don E. *The Dred Scott Case: Its Significance in American Law and Politics.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1978

Lincoln-Douglas Debates

* Jaffa, Harry V. *Crisis of the House Divided*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1959.
* Guelzo, Allen C. *Lincoln and Douglas: The Debates that Defined America*. New York: Simon & Schuster, 2008.

Lincoln’s Presidency

* Burlingame, Michael. *The Inner World of Abraham Lincoln.* Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1994.
* Cox, LaWanda. *Lincoln and Black Freedom: A Study in Presidential Leadership*. Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1994.
* Fornieri, Joseph R. *Abraham Lincoln’s Political Faith*. DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press, 2003.
* Guelzo, Allen C. *Abraham Lincoln: Redeemer President.* Grand Rapids: Eerdmans Publishing, 1999.
* Paludan, Phillip Shaw. *The Presidency of Abraham Lincoln.* Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1994.

Books on Speeches

* Guelzo, Allen C. *Lincoln’s Emancipation Proclamation: The End of Slavery in America*. New York: Simon and Schuster, 2004.
* Holzer, Harold. *Lincoln at Cooper Union: The Speech That Made Abraham Lincoln President*. New York: Simon and Schuster, 2004.
* Lehrman, Lewis E. *Lincoln at Peoria: the Turning Point.* New York: Simon and Schuster, 2008.
* White, Ronald C. Jr. *Lincoln’s Greatest Speech: The Second Inaugural*. New York: Simon and Schuster, 2002.
* Wills, Gary. *Lincoln at Gettysburg: The Words That Remade America.* New York: Simon and Schuster, 1992.