

## THE FEDERALISTS: A SEMINAR

### *INSTITUTE FOR RESPONSIBLE CITIZENSHIP*

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Lecturer and Tutor

#### SYLLABUS

Required Texts<sup>1</sup>:

[James Madison](#), Notes of Debates in the Federal Convention of 1787

**Contributor:** [Adrienne Koch](#) (Introduction by)

**Publication Date:** March 1987

**Publisher:** [W. W. Norton & Company, Incorporated](#)

[Harry V. Jaffa](#), A New Birth of Freedom: Abraham Lincoln and the Coming of the Civil War

**Publication Date:** April 2004

**Publisher:** [Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Incorporated](#)

Alexander Hamilton, et. Al., The Federalist

**Contributor:** [Jacob E. Cooke](#) (Editor), **Publication Date:** July 1982

**Publisher:** [Wesleyan University Press](#)

In this seminar we aim to understand American federalism as it was originally articulated and in the context of the confutations that characterized the first decade under the Constitution. Through the discussion of primary sources, with reference to a few secondary materials, we should discover the principal concerns of the founders and the peculiar expressions that shaped the American experience.

The readings and activities for the course are set forth below on a SESSION-by-SESSION schedule. Each participant in the course is individually responsible for fulfilling the requirements of the course as they are set out. Each must affirm to perform all assignments as required and that all work submitted in response to assignments is one's own

#### Requirements:

1. Attendance on each class session in the course.
2. Advance reading of lesson assignments.
3. Paper: Each class participant must submit an essay, concentrating on some aspect of federalism, the Constitutional Convention or slavery, in relation to the Constitution as articulated at the founding or on some related question arising from discussion. The topic must be discussed with the instructor in advance. The paper must reflect on the express discussions of the seminar. It should not exceed 3,000 words nor be fewer than 1,500 words.

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<sup>1</sup> **N.B.** The required texts generally contain extensive bibliography and footnote listings that introduce further primary and secondary reading material. Class participants should pursue judicious selections among these materials for further reading. They may be referenced in the course of discussions.

SEMINAR SCHEDULE:

- June 4**           SESSION ONE           *Federalist* #1, 84 & 85  
                          Issues: Why Read *The Federalist Papers*?  
                          An Overview  
                          A “Bill of Rights”  
                          Political Goodness
- June 6**           SESSION TWO           *Notes: May 25 – June 4*  
                          Issues: Opening the Constitutional Convention  
                          *E Pluribus Unum*
- June 9**           SESSION THREE        Jaffa, chaps 1-2  
                          Issue: The Slavery Overhang
- June 11**         SESSION FOUR         *Federalist* #10 & 14-17; 22 23, 26-27, 31, 35  
                          Issues: An Improved Science of Politics  
                          Democracy at Large  
                          Power and Purpose
- June 13**         SESSION FIVE         *Notes: June 5 – July 5*  
                          Issues: Confederation vs. Consolidation
- June 16**         SESSION SIX           Jaffa, chaps 4-5  
                          Issue: Debating Slavery, Debating the Constitution
- June 18**         SESSION SEVEN        *Federalist*; # 37, 39; 40-45, 47, 51  
                          Issues: The Just Majority  
                          A Government Wholly Popular
- June 20**         SESSION EIGHT        *Federalist*; # 57; 62, 63; 67,69, 72, 78, 84  
                          Issues: The House of Representatives  
                          The Senate  
                          The Executive and the Judiciary
- June 23**         SESSION NINE         *Notes: July 6 – August 7*  
                          Issue: Compromise or Revolution?
- June 25**         SESSION TEN           *Notes: August 8 – September 17*  
                          Issue: Compromise or Revolution?
- June 27**         SESSION ELEVEN      Jaffa, chaps 6-7 and Appendix  
                          Issue: Union or slavery?
- June 29**         SESSION TWELVE     Review/Closing Dinner

### **Recommended Readings:**

- Allen, W. B. and Lloyd, Gordon, *The Essential Antifederalist* (Rowman & Littlefield, 2d. ed.)
- Allen, W. B., *The Federalist Papers: A Commentary* (Peter Lang, Inc.)
- Allen, W. B., *George Washington: A Collection* (Liberty Press, Inc.)
- George Anastaplo, *The Constitution of 1787* (Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press)
- Alan Bloom, *Confronting the Constitution* (American Enterprise Institute)
- Alan Brinkley, *The New Federalist Papers: Essays in Defense of the Constitution* (W. W. Norton)
- Conley & Kaminski, *The Constitution and the States* (Madison House)
- Peter J. Galie, *The Law and Politics Book Review*, Vol. 10 No. 11 (November 2000) pp. 610-615, review of *The Federalist Papers: A Commentary*
- Bernard Grofman, *The Federalist Papers and the New Institutionalism* (Agathon Press)
- Kaminski & Leffler, *Federalist and Antifederalists* (Madison House)
- Charles Kesler, *Saving the Revolution* (NY: Free Press)
- William Schambra, ed., *As Far As Republican Principles Will Admit: Essays by Martin Diamond* (AEI Press)
- Colleen Sheehan & Gary McDowell, *Friends of the Constitution: The Writings of the "Other" Federalists* (Indianapolis: Liberty Press)

### Further Reading

- W. B. Allen, *Let the Advice Be Good: A Defense of Madison's Democratic Nationalism* (UPA)
- W. B. Allen, "Montesquieu and America," in *Uncertain Legacy*, ed. by Edward McLean (ISI)
- Lance Banning, *The Sacred Fire of Liberty: James Madison & The Founding of the Federal Republic* (Cornell Univ. Press)
- Barlow, Mahoney, & West, ed., *The New Federalist Papers* (UPA)
- Joseph J. Ellis, *Founding Brothers: The Revolutionary Generation* (Alfred A. Knopf)
- Engeman, Erler, & Hofeller, ed., *The Federalist Concordance* (University of Chicago Press)
- Albert Furtwangler, *The Authority of Publius: A Reading of the Federalist Papers* (Cornell University Press)
- Gillespie & Lienesch, *Ratifying the Constitution* (University Press of Kansas)
- Ralph Ketcham, *The Anti-Federalist Papers & the Constitutional Convention Debates* (NAL)
- Michael Lind, ed., *Hamilton's Republic: Readings in the American Democratic Nationalist Tradition* (Diane Publishing Company)
- Donald S. Lutz, *A Preface to American Political Theory* (University Press of Kansas)
- Edward B. McLean, ed., *Derailing the Constitution: The Undermining of American Federalism* (ISI)

- McWilliams & Gibbons, ed., *The Federalists, the Antifederalists & the American Political Tradition* (Greenwood Publishing Group)
- Manley & Dolbeare, ed., *The Case Against the Constitution from the Antifederalist to the Present* (M. E. Sharpe Inc.)
- Mosteller & Wallace, *Applied Bayesian & Classical Inference: The Case of the Federalist Papers* (Springer-Verlag)
- Peter S. Onuf, ed., *Federalists & Republicans* (Garland Publishing)
- Vincent Ostrom, *The Political Theory of a Compound Republic: Designing the American Experiment* (ICS Press)
- John J. Patrick, ed., *James Madison & the Federalist Papers* (Indiana University, Social Studies Development Center)
- J. R. Pole, ed., *The American Constitution, For & Against: The Federalist & Antifederalist Papers* (Hill & Wang)
- Robert A. Rutland, *The Ordeal of the Constitution: The Anti-Federalists & the Ratification Struggle of 1787-1788* (Northeastern University Press)
- Michael Sandel, *Democracy's Discontent* (Harvard University Press)

GENERAL BIBLIOGRAPHY (from *Essential Antifederalist*, revised edition):

- Banning, Lance. 1995. *Jefferson and Madison Three Conversations From the Founding*. Madison: Madison House.
- Blackstone, William. 1765. *Commentaries on the Laws of England*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Bloom, Sol. 1943. *History of the Formation of the Union Under the Constitution*. Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office.
- Borden, Morton, editor. 1965. *The Antifederalist Papers*. East Lansing: Michigan State University Press.
- Cohen, Lester H., editor. 1988. *Mercy Otis Warren: History of the Rise, Progress and Termination of the American Revolution*. Indianapolis: Liberty Classics.
- DePauw, Linda Grant, et al, editors. 1972. *Documentary History of the First Federal Congress, 1789-1791*. Six Volumes. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Elliot, Jonathan, editor. 1836. *The Debates in the Several State Conventions on the Adoption of the Federal Constitution*. Five Volumes. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippencott Company.
- Farrand, Max, editor. 1966. *The Records of the Federal Convention of 1787*. Four Volumes. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Ford, Paul Leicester, editor. 1968. *Pamphlets on the Constitution of the United States*. New York: Da Capo Press.
- Ford, W. C., editor. 1904. *Journals of the Continental Congress: 1774-1789*. Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office.
- Gales, Joseph, Sr., editor. 1834. *Annals of Congress (The Debates and Proceedings in the Congress of the United States)*. Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office.
- Handlin, Oscar, and Mary Handlin, editors. 1966. *The Popular Sources of Political Authority: Documents on the Massachusetts Constitution of 1780*. Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press.
- Hunt, Gaillard, editor. 1900-1910. *The Writings of James Madison*. Nine Volumes. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons.
- Hutson, James H., editor. 1975. *A Decent Respect to the Opinions of Mankind*. Washington, D. C.: United States Printing Office.
- Hyneman, Charles S., and Donald S. Lutz, editors. 1985. *American Political Writings During the Founding Era*. Two volumes. Indianapolis: Liberty Press.

- Jensen, Merrill, et al, editors. 1976. *Documentary History of the Ratification of the Constitution*. Thirteen Volumes. Madison: State Historical Society of Wisconsin.
- Kammen, Michael, editor. 1986. *The Origins of the American Constitution: A Documentary History*. New York: Viking Penguin Inc.
- Kenyon, Cecelia M., editor. 1966. *The Antifederalists*. Indianapolis: The Bobbs Merrill Company.
- Koch, Adrienne, and William Peden, editors. 1973. *The Life and Selected Writings of Thomas Jefferson*. New York: The Modern Library.
- Kurland, Philip B., and Ralph Lerner, editors. 1987. *The Founders' Constitution*. Five Volumes. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Lewis, John D., editor. 1967. *Anti-Federalists Versus Federalists: Selected Documents*. San Francisco: Chandler Publishing Company.
- Lloyd, Gordon and Margie Lloyd, editors. 1998. *The Essential Bill of Rights: Original Arguments and Fundamental Documents*. Lanham, MD: University Press of America.
- MacDonald, William, editor. 1914. *Documentary Source Book of American History, 1606-1898*. New York: The MacMillan Company.
- Mason, Alpheus Thomas, editor. 1972. *The States Rights Debate: Antifederalism and the Constitution*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- McMaster, John B., and Frederick Stone, editors. 1888. *Pennsylvania and the Federal Constitution: 1787-1788*. Lancaster, PA: The Historical Society of Pennsylvania.
- Montesquieu, Baron de. 1752. *The Spirit of Laws*. Translated by Thomas Nugent. Second Edition. London: J. Nourse, and P. Vaillant.
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- Rutland, Robert Alan, et al., editors. 1975. *The Papers of James Madison*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Schwartz, Bernard, editor. 1971. *The Roots of the Bill of Rights*. Five Volumes. New York: Chelsea House Publishers.
- Storing, Herbert J., editor. 1981. *The Complete Anti-Federalist*. Seven Volumes. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Swindler, William F., editor. 1973. *Sources and Documents of United States Constitutions*. Dobbs Ferry, NY: Oceana Publications, Inc.
- Tansill, Charles. 1927. *Documents Illustrative of the Formation of the Union of the American States*. Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office.
- Thorpe, F. N. 1909. *The Federal and State Constitutions*. Seven Volumes. Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office.
- United States. Bureau of Rolls and Library. 1894. *Documentary History of the Constitution of the United States of America, 1786-1870*. Washington: Department of State.
- Veit, Helen E., Kenneth R. Bowling, and Charlene Bangs Bickford, editors. 1991. *Creating the Bill of Rights: The Documentary Record From The First Federal Congress*. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press.
- The Writings of Thomas Jefferson*.