

Econ2143/Gov2090/Hist2143

The Political Economy of the United States from the Revolution through Reconstruction

Bowdoin College, Fall 2015

Monday and Wednesday, 1:00 - 2:25, Searles315

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This course offers an interdisciplinary study of the first hundred years of the United States. Students will explore a range of topics through the lenses of economics, politics, and history: the formation of the American system of governance, the implications of a growing market economy and the territory it encompassed, the politics and economics of slavery, notions of civic inclusion and exclusion, and the shifting intellectual bases of American economic and political life.

LEVEL: This course is taught at the 2000 level, and is closed to incoming students. It assumes a basic familiarity with events in American history and principles of American governance, but requires no prerequisites in those disciplines (HIST or GOV). (Econ majors may receive credit for the course, for ECON1101 is a prerequisite.) Though the course earns students credit toward majors in each of its three disciplines, a single course at Bowdoin typically can be counted for credit toward only one major. Students are expected to invest an average of 6-8 hours outside of class each week preparing for this course by reading, reviewing notes, and preparing assignments.

COURSE WEBSITE: The material for this course may be found online through the Blackboard system. You will find a copy of this syllabus, as well as all the reading and paper assignments. You may easily refer to the website for the most recent course assignments and requirements. An up-to-date version of the online syllabus may be found at: www.bowdoin.edu/~prael/2143/syllabus.html.

READINGS: You are required to purchase no books for this course, as readings will be made available via Blackboard of the online syllabus. You may find it useful to purchase a general guide to writing, such as Robert Perrin, *Pocket Guide to the Chicago Manual of Style* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006).

ASSIGNMENTS

Weekly responses:

Each week, you will submit a brief essay of 250-500 words (1-2 pages, double spaced), reflecting on aspects of the week's readings. Your analysis should convey an understanding of the central arguments offered, and discuss them in relation to previous material we have covered.

For your submission, you will receive a score of 1 (lowest), 2, or 3 (highest). Your combined score on these will count for 30% of your final grade. In evaluating your work, we will focus on the quality of your ideas over technical considerations.

Responses are due *both electronically and in hardcopy* on Fridays, excepting the first Friday of the course, and Fridays on which position papers are due. The deadline in each instance is 5:00 p.m. for electronic submission via Blackboard, and approximately the same time in hardcopy in Hubbard Hall. Make sure to place your name on your response, and number and staple its pages.

Position papers: In two position papers, students will explore how given documents reflect on course themes. Each paper will be a formal paper of 4-6 pages in length (1" margins, double-spaced). These papers are due both electronically and in hardcopy on Friday, October 9 and Friday, November 20. The deadline in each instance is 5:00 p.m. for electronic submission via Blackboard, and approximately the same time in hardcopy in Hubbard Hall.

Final paper: The final will be a take-home paper due at the end of the normally scheduled final time, which is noon, December 17. (The paper is due both electronically and in hardcopy no later than this date and time, which cannot be changed for any reason whatsoever.) We will discuss the format closer to the date, but the paper will challenge students to comprehend material from the entire course of the semester.

Grade breakdown

Weekly responses: 10 @ 3 = 30%

Two formal papers: 2 @ 20% = 40%

Final paper: 30%

COURSE CONTRACT

Attendance and classroom courtesy: No absences are "excused" -- you are responsible for all material covered during missed class days. As a courtesy, please inform me of planned absences. If special considerations (such as an illness) prevent you from fulfilling course obligations (such as exams), please provide us with documentation so we may consider an exception. Remember that it is *your* responsibility to initiate any discussion about missed work. The use of electronic devices in class, including laptops for taking notes, is prohibited. Because it is disruptive to the entire class, please do not excuse yourself in the middle of a class session, unless you are sick or have an emergency.

Late or missed assignments: Unless stated otherwise, assignments are due at the stated day and time; assignments handed in later in the day will be considered one day late. We will accept late assignments with no penalty only for documented health or other emergencies. In general, assignments which receive letter grades will be marked down one-third of a grade (e.g., from B+ to B), for each day late. A final but crucial point: all work must be completed in order to pass this course.

A note on academic honesty: Each author owns his or her own ideas, words, and research. You must give appropriate credit — generally in the form of quotations and proper citations — when using the work of another scholar. We expect you to be familiar both with Bowdoin's honor code, and with the guidelines for proper citation and attribution of sources provided for this course. Plagiarism, whether intentional or not, is a serious violation of academic standards and Bowdoin's honor code. For resources on avoiding plagiarism, look on the Blackboard website for this course. Campus librarians are also enthusiastic about helping students on these matters.

Offensive materials disclaimer: Students occasionally find some course materials offensive. Views expressed in the material we will cover do not reflect my own personal opinions. The academic enterprise invites vibrant class discussion, which balances critical thinking with mutual respect. Students are expected to take responsibility for their experience in this course by examining their own reactions to material they consider offensive. At all times, our priority will be critical engagement with scholarly material. By continuing with this course, you are agreeing to be held academically accountable for all required materials in the syllabus, regardless of your own personal reactions to it. Those unwilling to hear or think critically about such material are encouraged to drop this course at their discretion.

Disabilities: Students who have documented learning disabilities with the Office of the Dean of Student Affairs may be entitled to various accommodations. It is your responsibility to initiate with your instructors any conversation over accommodations.

SCHEDULE OF CLASS MEETINGS, READINGS, AND ASSIGNMENTS

- This schedule is liable to change to suit class needs. *The online syllabus always offers the most recent version of the syllabus.*
- Complete readings prior to class and be prepared to discuss them. Multiple readings are listed in order of significance.

Sept. 7	Introductions
Sept. 9	<p>Framing a new government (JS) <i>Central question: What problems did the Framers of the Constitution confront? How did the Constitution solve these problems?</i></p> <p><u>READINGS:</u> Allan Kulikoff, “ ‘Such Things Ought Not To Be’: The American Revolution and the First National Great Depression,” 134-164 (on e-reserve); Woody Holton, “ ‘From the Labours of Others’: The War Bonds Controversy and the Origins of the Constitution in New England,” <i>William and Mary Quarterly</i> 61 (April 2004): 271-316. [Jstor]</p> <p><u>RECOMMENDED:</u> Madison, “Vices of the American Political System” [online]; Max Edling and Mark Kaplanoff, “Alexander Hamilton’s Fiscal Reform: Transforming the Structure of Taxation in the Early Republic,” <i>William and Mary Quarterly</i> 61 (2004): 713-44. [Jstor]</p>
Sept. 14	<p>Slavery and the founding (PR) <i>Central question: Should the Founders have abolished slavery? Why did they do what they did?</i></p> <p><u>READINGS:</u> John Hope Franklin, "Slavery Left America with a Weak Moral Foundation," and Herbert J. Storing, "America's Founders Recognized the Dilemma of Slavery," in <i>Slavery: Opposing Viewpoints</i> (San Diego: Greenhaven Press, 2002), 270-89 [Blackboard]; selections from Madison’s Notes on the Debates in the Federal Convention [Blackboard].</p> <p><u>RECOMMENDED:</u> Robin Einhorn, “Patrick Henry’s Case against the Constitution: The Structural Problem with Slavery,” <i>Journal of the Early Republic</i> 22, no. 4 (Winter 2002): 549-73. [Jstor]</p>
Sept. 16	<p>Madison, Hamilton, and union I (JS) <i>Central question: Madison worried about the potential tyranny of majority faction. What minority interests might be exploited by a majority faction?</i></p> <p><u>READINGS:</u> Federalist Papers, nos. 10 and 51 (Madison). [Online]</p>
Sept. 21	<p>Madison, Hamilton, and union II (JS) <i>Central question: What are the advantages and disadvantages of viewing the U.S. Constitution as a treaty ratified by thirteen separate and sovereign nation-states?</i></p> <p><u>READINGS:</u> David Hendrickson, <i>Peace Pact</i>, 3-29 [Blackboard]; Federalist Papers, nos. 6-9 (Hamilton) and 11-13 (Hamilton). [Online]</p>
Sept. 23	<p>International relations and domestic development in the early republic (SM) <i>Central question: Alexander Hamilton and Thomas Jefferson were political opponents with a common understanding that the United States’ fortunes were linked to its merchants’ abilities to trade overseas. Or did their understandings differ? Compare and contrast their trade policies and their related visions of domestic development.</i></p> <p><u>READINGS:</u> Thomas Jefferson, “Commercial Privileges and Restrictions” (1793), in <i>American State Papers</i>, Foreign Relations, vol. 1, pp. 300-304. Alexander Hamilton, Report on Manufactures (1790), in <i>Annals of Congress</i>, vol. 3, pp. 969-1034.</p> <p><u>RECOMMENDED:</u> John R. Nelson, Jr., “Alexander Hamilton and American Manufacturing: A Reexamination,” <i>Journal of American History</i> 65.4 (Mar., 1979), pp. 971-995.</p>

Sept. 28	<p>How wide the empire of liberty? (SM) <i>Central question: What did Jefferson and other statesmen of the early United States mean by speaking of the country as an “empire,” and what were the principled and practical constraints on its domain?</i></p> <p><u>READINGS:</u> Arthur P. Whitaker, <i>The Western Hemisphere Idea: Its Rise and Decline</i> (Cornell University Press, 1954), ch. 2: “Political Expression of the Idea: the American System.”</p> <p><u>RECOMMENDED:</u> George Washington, Excerpts from the President’s Farewell Address, Sept. 17, 1796, in Henry Steele Commager, ed., <i>Documents of American History</i>, 6th ed. (Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., 1958). Henry Clay, Excerpt from “South American Independence,” speech in the U.S. House of Representatives. <i>Annals of Congress</i>, May 10, 1820. James Monroe, The President’s Annual Message to Congress, Dec. 2, 1823, in Commager, op. cit.</p>
Sept. 30	<p>The market revolution, North and South (PR) <i>Central question: Slavery is frequently understood as a “pre-capitalistic” mode of production, antithetical to the development of industrial capitalism. How then do we explain the simultaneous rise of the plantation complex and northern manufactory system?</i></p> <p><u>READINGS:</u> Alexis de Tocqueville, “The Present and Probable Future Condition of the Three Races That Inhabit the Territory of the United States,” from <i>Democracy in America</i> (1835) [Blackboard]; Patrick Rael, “African Americans, Slavery, and Thrift from the Revolution to the Civil War” [online].</p>
Oct. 5	<p>Political economy of Smith and Ricardo (SM) <i>Central question: How was British and continental political-economic thought “domesticated” by North Americans in the 1820s and ‘30s, and to what end? Explain the different uses of the ideas of Adam Smith and David Ricardo by the likes of Mathew Carey and John McVickar, or other American economists who capture your fancy.</i></p> <p><u>READINGS:</u> Paul Conkin, “European Sources,” ch. 2 in <i>Prophets of Prosperity: America’s First Political Economists</i> (Indiana University Press, 1980). Mathew Carey (a.k.a. “Hamilton”), “To the Cotton Planters of the U.S.,” <i>Niles’ Weekly Register</i>, Nov. 27 & Dec. 24, 1824. John McVickar, “Political Economy: Introductory Lecture,” in <i>The Banner of the Constitution</i> (Condy Raguet, ed.), Apr. 17, 1830.</p> <p><u>RECOMMENDED:</u> Conkin, <i>Prophets of Prosperity</i>, op. cit., various chapters. [On reserve.]</p>
Oct. 7	<p>Second party system (JS) <i>Central question: Why do national political parties form? Does Aldrich’s account of party formation explain why parties prioritize some issues and subordinate others on the national political agenda?</i></p> <p><u>READINGS:</u> John Aldrich, <i>Why Parties?</i>, 102-59 [Blackboard] <u>RECOMMENDED:</u> Martin Van Buren to Thomas Ritchie, January 13, 1827 [online]. <i>First paper assignment due on Friday, October 9</i></p>
Oct. 12	<p>Fall break – no class</p>

Oct. 14	<p>Nullification and compromise (SM) <i>Central question: The Civil War has cast a long shadow over the mantra of “states’ rights.” That same mantra was heard well before the war, during the nullification controversy of 1828-33. What rights were at stake? Do you see the same shadow?</i></p> <p><u>READINGS:</u> Merrill D. Peterson, “Matrix,” ch. 1 in <i>The Olive Branch and the Sword: The Compromise of 1833</i> (Louisiana State University Press, 1982) Mathew Carey, “The New Olive Branch: A Solemn Warning on the Banks of the Rubicon, No. II,” with annotations by Condy Raguet, <i>The Banner of the Constitution</i>, ed. Condy Raguet, Aug. 25, 1830.</p> <p><u>RECOMMENDED:</u> Gov. James Hamilton, Extract of Message to the Legislature of South Carolina, in <i>The Banner of the Constitution</i>, Dec. 28, 1831.</p>
Oct. 19	<p>The second party system and slavery (PR) <i>Central question: What circumstances led to the formation of the second party system? What role did slavery play in shaping the system?</i></p> <p><u>READINGS:</u> Leonard L. Richards, <i>The Slave Power: The Free North and Southern Domination, 1780-1860</i> (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2000), chs. 5-6 [Blackboard].</p>
Oct. 21	<p>Currency, credit, and crisis (SM) <i>Central question: State and adjudicate the Whigs’ and Democrats’ allegations of each other’s responsibility for the Panic of 1837. How are the allegations rooted in different notions of what makes a “good” system of currency and credit?</i></p> <p><u>READINGS:</u> Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., “Panic” and “Divorce of Bank and State,” chs. XVIII and XIX in <i>The Age of Jackson</i> (Little, Brown & Co., 1945).</p> <p><u>RECOMMENDED:</u> Peter Temin, “Introduction” and “The Panic of 1837,” chs. 1 and 4 in <i>The Jacksonian Economy</i> (W. W. Norton & Co., 1969).</p>
Oct. 26	<p>Parties, policy, and representation (JS) <i>Central question: How do McCormick and Benseal account for the disparity between the grassroots level of politics, defined by ethnocultural attachments and prejudices, and the national “macro” level, where powerful stakeholders appear to act primarily in their material self-interests?</i></p> <p><u>READINGS:</u> Richard McCormick, “The Party Period and Public Policy: An Exploratory Hypothesis,” <i>Journal of American History</i> 66 (September 1979): 279-98 [Jstor]; Richard Benseal, “The American Ballot Box: Law, Identity, and the Polling Place in the Mid-Nineteenth Century,” <i>Studies in American Political Development</i> 17 (Spring 2003): 1-27 [Jstor].</p>
Oct. 28	<p>Political economy of moral uplift (SM) <i>Central question: Trace the connections, to a certain cast of the mid-19th century American mind, between religion, free trade, and abolitionism. Were the connections made by logic or expediency?</i></p> <p><u>READINGS:</u> Marc-William Palen, “Free-Trade Ideology and Transatlantic Abolitionism: A Historiography,” <i>Journal of the History of Economic Thought</i> vol. 37, no. 2 (June 2015), pp. 291-304. William Goodell, Address of the Macedon Convention (1847), in C. Bradley Thompson, ed., <i>Antislavery Political Writings, 1833-1860: A Reader</i> (M. E. Sharpe, 2004).</p>
Nov. 2	<p>Antislavery and proslavery (PR) <i>Central question: How did antislavery and proslavery ideology form in dialectical relation to each other?</i></p> <p><u>READINGS:</u> William Lloyd Garrison, Thoughts on African Colonization (Boston, 1832), section VII, “The American Colonization Society Aims at the Utter Expulsion of the Blacks,” 111-24 (Blackboard); John C. Calhoun, “Speech on the Reception of Abolition Petitions, Delivered in the Senate, February 6th, 1837”(Blackboard); George Fitzhugh, Cannibals All! Or, Slaves Without Masters (Richmond, 1857), ch. 1 (Blackboard)</p>

Nov. 4	<p>Antislavery ambivalence (SM) <i>Central question: On the eve of the Civil War, was “anti-slavery anti-abolitionism” a coherent category of thought? In any case, what was its objective?</i> <u>READINGS:</u> Henry C. Carey’s “Memphis Letters” (1860), ed. by Stephen Meardon, in <i>Journal of the History of Economic Thought</i>, vol. 37, no. 2 (June 2015), electronic supplement. Daniel Walker Howe, “Whig Conservatism,” ch. 9 in <i>The Political Culture of the American Whigs</i> (University of Chicago Press, 1979). <u>RECOMMENDED:</u> Henry C. Carey, <i>The Slave Trade, Domestic and Foreign: Why it Exists, and How it May Be Extinguished</i> (A. Hart, 1853) [online]</p>
Nov. 9	<p>The crisis of the 1850s (PR) <i>Central question: How did antislavery infiltrate national politics and lead to civil war?</i> <u>READINGS:</u> James M. McPherson, “The War of Southern Aggression,” in <i>Drawn with the Sword: Reflections on the American Civil War</i> (New York: Oxford, 1996), 37-51; John C. Calhoun, “The Clay Compromise Measures” (1850) [online]; William H. Seward, “A Higher Law” (1850) [Blackboard]; Abraham Lincoln, “A House Divided” (1857) [online]; William H. Seward, “An Irrepressible Conflict” (1858) [online]; Abraham Lincoln, first inaugural address (1861) [online].</p>
Nov. 11	<p>Political economy of secession and union (JS) <i>Central question: Why did the South secede from the Union? Why did the North choose to suppress the rebellion?</i> <u>READINGS:</u> Richard Bense, <i>Yankee Leviathan</i>, preface (ix-x), 18-40, 57-64, 88-93 [Blackboard].</p>
Nov. 16	<p>Emancipation (PR) <i>Central question: If the Union went to war not to end slavery but maintain the Union, how and with what consequence did mass emancipation emerge on the Union war agenda?</i> <u>READINGS:</u> James M. McPherson, “Who Freed the Slaves?” in <i>Drawn with the Sword: Reflections on the American Civil War</i> (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998), 192-207 [Blackboard]; Ira Berlin, “Who Freed the Slaves? Emancipation and Its Meaning,” in <i>Major Problems in the Civil War and Reconstruction</i>, Michael Perman, ed., 2nd ed. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1998), 288-97 [Blackboard]. <u>RECOMMENDED:</u> George M. Fredrickson, “A Man but Not a Brother: Abraham Lincoln and Racial Equality,” <i>Journal of Southern History</i> 41, no. 1 (February 1975): 39-58 [Jstor].</p>
Nov. 18	<p>From Presidential to Radical reconstruction (PR) <i>Central question: What was the outlook for immediate post-war America? Why did Presidential Reconstruction give way to Radical Reconstruction? What did this era accomplish, and where did it fail?</i> <u>READINGS:</u> Sherman Meets The Colored Ministers In Savannah (1865) [online]; Frederick Douglass, “What the Black Man Wants” (1865) [online]; 13th Amendment [online], Black codes of Mississippi and South Carolina [Blackboard]; Andrew Johnson’s Veto of the Freedmen’s Bureau Bill (1866) [online]; Frederick Douglass, “Reconstruction,” <i>Atlantic Monthly</i> (December 1866) [online]; 14th Amendment [online]. <i>Second paper assignment due on Friday, November 20</i></p>
Nov. 23	<i>In-class film screening: “Lincoln” (2012)</i>
Nov. 25	Thanksgiving break – no class
Nov. 30	<p>The postwar party system (JS) <i>Central question: How did the dynamics of party competition in the post-Civil War years impact Reconstruction policy? How did efforts to reduce corruption at the ballot box transform the structure of the party system?</i> <u>READINGS:</u> Paul Frymer, <i>Uneasy Alliances</i>, 8 (definition of “electoral capture”), 27-34, 49-86 [Blackboard]; Lisa Disch, “The Politics of the Two Party System” [Blackboard].</p>

Dec. 2	<p>Protectionism and revenue reform (SM) <i>Central question: What postbellum political and ideological skirmishes grew out of the system of Civil-War finance, and what were the sides?</i></p> <p><u>READINGS:</u> Herbert Ronald Ferleger, "The Man and His Background" and "Indiscriminate Protection Exposed," chs. I and XI in <i>David A. Wells and the American Revenue System, 1865-1870</i> (Porcupine Press, [1942] 1977). Henry C. Carey, "Conclusion" of "Review of the Report of the Hon. D. A. Wells" (1869), pp. 55-68 <i>only</i>, in <i>Carey's Works</i>, ed. by William Elder, vol. 2 [online]</p> <p><u>RECOMMENDED:</u> David A. Wells, Report of the Special Commissioner of the Revenue for the Year 1868, U.S. House Ex. Doc. No. 16, 40th Cong., 3rd Sess., 1869.</p>
Dec. 7	<p>The undoing of Reconstruction (PR) <i>Central question: Why did Reconstruction fail?</i></p> <p><u>READINGS:</u> Ku Klux Klan Violence in Georgia, 1871, from <i>Testimony Taken by the Joint Select Committee to Inquire Into the Condition of Affairs in the Late Insurrectionary States. Georgia, vol. I</i>. Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1872. 411-12 [Blackboard]; Senator Lyman Trumbull's speech in Congress against the Force Bill (1871) [Blackboard]; Herbert Shapiro, "The Ku Klux Klan During Reconstruction: The South Carolina Episode," <i>Journal of Negro History</i> 49, no. 1 (January 1964): 34-55. (Jstor)</p>
Dec. 9	<p>The long shadow of the nineteenth century (JS) <i>Central question: Did the ratification of the Constitution set the United States on a distinctive developmental path (distinct, at least, from comparable European nation-states)? If so, did the post-Civil War settlement reinforce or alter the country's developmental trajectory?</i></p> <p><u>READINGS:</u> David Robertson, "Our Inheritance: The Constitution and American Politics," 236-265 [Blackboard]; Richard Bense, "Southern Separatism and the Class Basis of American Politics," ch. 7 in <i>Yankee Leviathan</i>, pp. 416-436 [Blackboard].</p>
Dec. 17	<p>Final paper Take-home paper due 12:00 noon <i>The final exam due date and time cannot be changed for any reason!</i></p>