This course will examine the principles and practice of leadership within the political context of the founding of the American republic, from 1776 through 1789. The primary focus will be on the Constitutional Convention, the subsequent debates over ratification of the new constitution, and the ratification of the Bill of Rights in the first Congress. Through the study of these records will emerge the intersection of the philosophic aspirations and the political machinations of those involved in the creation of the new republic. By the careful consideration of their speeches, essays, and public actions one will see how that generation of leaders understood and engaged in leadership during that critical period of American history.

Attendance and participation are expected and will be reflected as part of the final grade (15%). There will also be a final examination (35%), one short paper on a topic to be assigned (15%), and a major research paper on a topic to be agreed (35%).

Participation will be calculated on quality, not simply quantity. It is expected that all the readings for a given date will be done in advance of that class meeting and everyone will be prepared to discuss the assigned materials.

The short paper assignment will be distributed in class on October 3rd; the paper will be due at the beginning of class on October 20th. Late papers will be penalized one letter grade per day, including weekends.
The research paper must be approved in advance. A one-page, double-spaced proposal, accompanied by a preliminary bibliography, will be due in class on October 31st. The paper is due on November 29th. As with the short paper assignment, late research papers will be penalized one letter grade per day, including weekends.

The final exam will be administered according to the schedule established by the university.

Required Texts:

Bernard Bailyn, ed., The Debate on the Constitution (two volumes)
Robert A. Goldwin, From Parchment to Power
H. Veit, K. Bowling, and C. Bickford, eds., Creating the Bill of Rights

Reserved Texts:

Jack P. Greene, The Intellectual Heritage of the Constitutional Era
Thomas Hobbes, Leviathan
John Locke, Essay Concerning Human Understanding
John Locke, Two Treatises of Government
Colleen Sheehan and Gary McDowell, eds., Friends of the Constitution
Herbert J. Storing, What the Anti-Federalists Were For
John Trenchard and Thomas Gordon, Cato’s Letters
Montesquieu, Spirit of the Laws

Recommended Texts

Bernard Bailyn, The Ideological Origins of the American Revolution
Gordon S. Wood, The Creation of the American Republic

Assignments

I. The Political and Philosophic Background of the American Founding
   (August 30; September 6)


Jack P. Greene, *The Intellectual Heritage of the Constitutional Era*


John Locke, *Essay Concerning Human Understanding*: Book I, chapters 1-2; Book II, chapters 1, 11; Book III, chapters 2, 7, 9, 10, 11.

John Locke, *Two Treatises of Government*, chapters 2, 7, 9.


Montesqueiu, *Spirit of the Laws*: Book I, chapters 1-3; Book II, chapters 1-2; Book III, chapter 3; Book IV, chapter 5; Book V, chapters 1-5; Book XI, chapters 1-4; Book XII, chapters 1-2; Book XIX, chapters 2-3, 27.

**Recommended Reading:**


II. The Declaration of Independence  
(September 13)


**Recommended:**


III. The Constitutional Convention  
(September 20, 27; October 4)

James Madison to George Washington, April 16, 1787 (handout).

**Recommended:**


*Creating the Constitution*  
[All readings in this section are to be found in A. Koch, ed., *Notes of the Debates in the Federal Convention of 1787 as Reported by James Madison*]

**Establishing the Rules:** May 28-29, pp. 23-28.

*The Virginia Plan*, May 29- June 14, pp. 28-117.

The Hamilton Plan, June 18, pp.129-139.

The New Jersey Plan, June 19, pp.140-154

Compromise, June 20, pp.154-162


The First Draft, August 6, pp.385-396.
Creating the Presidency II, August 15, pp.460-465; September 4-6, pp.573-594.

Conclusion, September 12-17, pp.616-659.

IV. The Struggle for Ratification
(October 25; November 1, 8)

Herbert J. Storing, What the Anti-Federalists Were For.


Recommended Reading:


[All remaining readings in this section are from Bailyn, ed., Debate on the Constitution.]
Immediate Reactions

“‘Z’ replies to Franklin,” I: 6-8.


“James Madison to George Washington,” I: 42-44.

“Richard Henry Lee to George Mason,” I: 45-47.


“James Wilson and his respondents,” I: 63-128.

“Brutus,” I: 164-175.


“Publius [Federalist, No.1],” I: 219-223.


“Publius [Federalist, No. 9],” I: 339-344.

“George Mason’s ‘Objections’,” I: 345-349.

“Cato,” I: 399-403.

“Publius [Federalist, No. 10],” I: 404-411.


States Rights


“Publius [Federalist, No. 37],” I: 754-761.


“Publius [Federalist, No. 78],” II: 467-475.

“Patrick Henry’s Opening Speech,” II: 595-597.

“James Madison Replies to Henry,” II: 611-622.

“Iredell and Bloodworth on Constitutional Supremacy,” II: 899-901.

**Bills of Rights**


“Giles Hickory,” I: 669-672.


“Publius [Federalist, No. 84],” (handout).


**The Necessity of Amendments**


Massachusetts Convention, “Forms of Ratification,” I: 943-945.

“Giles Hickory,” II: 304-315.


“Richard Henry Lee to Edmund Pendleton,” II: 462-466.

“Publius [Federalist, No. 85],” II: 498-505.


“Proposed Amendments,” (handout).

V. Completion: Creating the Bill of Rights
(November 15, 22, 29)

H. Veit, et al, eds., Creating the Bill of Rights

Madison’s Resolution, pp. 11-14
Amendments Proposed by the States, pp. 14-28
House Resolution & Articles of Amendment, pp. 37-41
Articles of Amendment, as Agreed by Senate, pp. 47-49
Conference Committee Report, pp. 49-50
Debates in the House of Representatives, pp. 57-95; 104-107; 112-126; 150-153; 157-159; 182-190.

Robert A. Goldwin, From Parchment to Power: How James Madison Used the Bill of Rights to Save the Constitution (entire).

VI. Epilogue: Leadership and the Creation of the American Republic
(December 6)

The Creation of the American Republic. 2:40 – 5:20 Tuesday 240 Jepson Hall. Professor Gary L. McDowell Jepson Hall 242 Telephone 6085. Office Hours: 1:00 – 2:00 pm Thursday. This course will examine the principles and practice of leadership within the political context of the founding of the American republic, from 1776 through 1789. The primary focus will be on the Constitutional Convention, the subsequent debates over ratification of the new constitution, and the ratification of the Bill of Rights in the first Congress. Through the study of these records will emerge the intersection of the p