

Course plan for POL-406, The American Founding

Spring 2017

Thomas G. West, Hillsdale College

updated 2/11/17

1/19. Introduction. Overview. Method. Historicism. Today’s errors.

West, *Vindicating the Founders*, Preface, xi-xv.

The rest of today’s readings are on Blackboard, in “1st day readings”:

Selections from Chavez, “The Landmark Struggle ... 1964 Civil Rights Act”; Hillary Clinton, Human Rights Agenda; Obama, Second inaugural; U.N., Universal Declaration of Human Rights; Joseph Ellis, “Who Owns the 18th Century?”; Paul Ryan on the Decl. of Ind.; Ellis, *American Sphinx*, 10-12; Roosevelt, *New Nationalism*, pp. 211-15.

OPTIONAL:

Shain, “Oversights, Leaps, and Confusions.” Blackboard.

1/24. Equality, natural rights, and the laws of nature.

Declaration of Independence, 1776 Packet, p. 6
PA Const., 1776, Preamble 8
GA Const., 1776, Preamble 9
NJ Const., 1776, Preamble 9
Crosskey, *Politics and the Constitution*, 1953, 1:139-46 11
VA Const., 1776, Declaration of Rights, in *Founders’ Constitution*, vol. 1, pp. 6-7 (hereafter 1:6-7).

MA Const., Preamble and Decl of Rts, in *Founders’ Const.*, 1:11-14.

DE Declaration of Rights, in *Founders’ Constitution*, 5:5-6.

PA Const., 1776, Decl of Rts, in *Founders’ Constitution*, 5:6-7.

OPTIONAL:

Hamburger, “Natural Rights, Nat. Law, and Amer. Const.” Blackboard.

1/26. Rights and duties.

Instructions of the Mass. Assembly to Jasper Mauduit, 1762 10
Hamilton, “Farmer Refuted,” *Founders’ Constitution*, 1:90-92.
Adams, Rights of the Colonists, *Founders’ Const.* 5:394 (1st 5 ¶s only).
Jefferson, Bill for Crimes, *Founders’ Const.*, 5:374 (¶1 only).
Essex Result, in *American Political Writing during the Founding*, ed.
Hyneman and Lutz, 1:487 only (the paragraph on rights and duties).
Abraham Williams, *A Sermon*, in *Amer. Pol. Writing*, 1:3-9 only.
Bradburn, *The Citizenship Revolution*, 22-30.
Jefferson to Holmes, 1820, *Founders’ Const.*, 1:575 (wolf by the ears).
Jefferson to John B. Colvin, Sept. 20, 1810 15
Hamilton, *The Vindication*, No. III, 1792, selections 16
Deneen, “A House Divided: Lawler’s America.” Blackboard.

1/31. Is the founding Christian? Is it anti-Christian?

Intro. to *Founding Fathers and the Debate over Religion*, 3-6, 17-23.
Burke, Speech on Conciliation, 1775, *Founders’ Const.*, 5:67 (only the paragraph starting in the middle of the right-hand column of p. 67).
Boston, Rights of the Colonists, *Founders’ Const.*, 5:394-7.
Congress to Quebec, 1774, *Amer. Pol. Writing*, 1:231-9.
Hitchcock, *Sermon*, in *Amer. Pol. Writing*, 1:281-9, 292, 294-7, 304.
Howard, *A Sermon*, in *Amer. Pol. Writing*, 1:185-7, 191-7, 201, 208.
Samuel West, *Right to Rebel*, in *Amer. Pol. Writing*, 1:410-17 only.
Walter Berns, “Religion and the Founding Principle” 18
Mansfield, Intro. to Jefferson, *Selected Writing*, xiv 21

OPTIONAL:

Harry Jaffa, “American Founding as the Best Regime.” Blackboard.

2/2. Founding: based on natural rights or the British constitution?

Jefferson, *Notes on Virginia*, Query 8 22
MA resolutions on Stamp Act, 1765, *Founders’ Const.*, 1:629-30.
Richard Bland, *Inquiry into the Rights*, in *Amer. Pol. Writing*, 1:67-87.
MA House of Reps., Circular Letter, 1768, *Founders’ Const.*, 5:394.
Jefferson, *Summary View*, 1774, *Founders’ Const.* 1:435-41.
Congress, Declaration & Resolves, 1774, *Founders’ Const.*, 1:1-3.
Thomas Paine, *Common Sense*, 1776, *Founders’ Const.*, 1:103-7.
Reid, “Authority of Rights,” in *Nature of Rights*, 67-71, 81-90, 93-7, 99-102. Blackboard.

2/7. The “amalgam thesis” in recent scholarship.

Review Deneen, “A House Divided: Lawler’s America.” Blackboard.
Bradburn, *Citizenship Rev.*, 4-10, 42-8. Reread 22-30.
Pauline Maier, *American Scripture*, 1998 22
Alan Gibson, *Understanding the Founding*, 134-49 23
Kirk, “A Revolution Not Made but Prevented” 31
Gordon Wood, *Creation of the Amer. Republic*, 53-65 36

OPTIONAL:

Tocqueville, *Democracy in America*, vol. 1, pt. 1, ch. 2, “Point of Departure” (Mansfield trans., 27-44).
James Ceaser, “Political Foundations in Tocqueville.” Blackboard.
West, “Misunderstanding the Founding: Tocqueville.” Blackboard.

2/9. The arguments for equality, natural rights, and natural law

Review preambles of state constitutions.
Four Official Statements on Equality (MA Council, 1773; PA Committee, 1774; KY Const., 1792; CT Const., 1818) 43
Resolution of Charleston, South Carolina, June 4, 1774 44
Reese, *Essay on the Influence of Religion*, 1788, 1-22 only 46
Dickinson, To the Inhabitants of the British Colonies, 1774, Letter IV (happiness and natural rights) 57
James Wilson, "Of the Law of Nature," in *Lectures on Law*, in *Collected Works*, ed. Hall, 1:500-525 58
Jefferson, Opinion on the French Treaties (moral sense) 71
Otis, Rights of the British Colonies, in *Founders' Const.*, 1:52-3 (God v. man; solitary state unnatural).
Federalist 51, para. 4 only, pp. 318-9 (men are not angels).
Fed. 54, first 5 paragraphs only, pp. 333-5 (unnaturalness of slavery).

2/14. State of nature and the transition to citizenship.

Review Otis, Rights of the Brit. Colonies, in *Founders' Const.*, 1:52-3.
Review Boston, Rights of the Colonists, *Founders' Const.*, 5:394-7.
Review West, *Right to Rebel*, in *Amer. Pol. Writing*, 1:410-17 only.
Berkshire's Grievances, 1778, *Amer. Pol. Writing*, 1:455-70 only.
Washington, Circular to States, last para, *Founders' Const.*, 1:219-20.
Massachusetts, "To All Nations," *Amer. Pol. Writing*, 1:209-16.
Samuel Adams, "Valerius Poplicola" (all in a state of nature) 71
Federalist 40, ¶16 (248-49). Legality must yield to law of nature.
Federalist 43, para beginning with "9" to end (275-77).
Fed. 51, reference to state of nature in last paragraph, p. 321.
Bradburn, *Citizenship Rev.*, 19-22, 38-42, 104-7 (state of nature).

2/16. Four kinds of consent: (1) the social compact; (2) forming a government; (3) in the legislative body, and (4) right to revolution.

Review MA and VA Decl. of Rts., in *Founders' Const.*, 1:6-7, 11-14.
Review Boston, Rights of the Colonists, *Founders' Const.*, 5:394-7.
Return of Sutton, MA, 1778, *Founders' Constitution* 1:526.
Return of Northampton, MA, 1780, *Founders' Constitution* 1:528-31.
Review Otis, Rights of the British Colonies, in *Founders' Const.*, 1:52-3.
Essex Result, in *Amer. Pol. Writing*, 1:488-92, 496-8.
Diamond, "Amer. Idea of Equality," *As Far as*, 242-7 72
Michael Zuckert, *Natural Rights Republic*, 16-31 75
Bradburn, *Citizenship Revolution*, 12-13, 30-38, 104-7.

2/21. Women and consent.

West, *Vindicating the Founders*, ch. 3 ("Women and the Vote").
Adams to Sullivan, 5/26/1776, *Founders' Constitution* 1:394-5.
Lee to Hannah Corbin, 3/17/1778, *Founders' Constitution* 1:396.
John and Abigail Adams, letters, *Founders' Constitution* 1:518-20.
Bradburn, *Citizenship Revolution*, review 42-8 and add 49-60.

2/23. Consent and voting rights.

West, *Vindicating the Founders*, ch. 5.
MA Const, on rt to vote and serve in office, *Founders' Const.*, 1:14-17.
Madison, Note on Suffrage, 1829, *Founders' Constitution* 1:603.
Federalist 35 (read from 5th paragraph to end, 210-13).
Fed. 51, last paragraph (on Rhode Island); *Fed.* 55, last paragraph.
Fed. 57, ¶12-13 (from "I will add" to "anything but liberty").

2/28. The problem of slavery and race

West, *Vindicating the Founders*, ch. 1, "Slavery."
Review *Federalist* 54, first 5 paragraphs only, pp. 333-5.
West, *Vindicating*, 166-171 (race in immig. & naturalization law).
Hamilton to Jay, arming and freeing slaves, *Founders' Const.* 1:527.
Return of Northampton, MA, 1780, in *Founders' Const.* 1:528-31.
Jefferson, *Notes on Va.*, Q. 14, 18, *Founders' Const.* 1:534-37.
Review Jefferson to Holmes, *Founders' Const.*, 1:575.
Jay to Society for Manumission, 1788, *Founders' Constitution* 1:550.
Madison, Memo on African Colony, 1789, *Founders' Const.* 1:552.
Madison to Rush on SC & GA congressmen, *Founders' Const.* 1:555.
Lincoln, Address on Colonization to a Deputation of Negroes 83
Merriam, *Hist. of Amer. Pol Theories*, 311-15 (race and liberty) 86

3/2. Race and citizenship

Bradburn, *Citizenship Rev.*, 235-71 (ch. 7, on white and black citizenship).

3/7. Institutional structure: federal and state powers

U.S. Const., all. Focus on Article I, sections 8, 9, 10, and 14th amdts.
West, "Federal and State Government Powers in the Constitution" 89
West, "Presidential powers in the Constitution" 90
Review VA and MA Decl. of Rights.
Federalist 23, ¶3-4 (149). Purposes of federal govt, and the means.
Fed. 41, ¶5 (252), ¶22 (258). Powers of fed govt; bounties and tariffs.
Fed. 42, ¶10-11 (263-4), ¶17, 19 (267). Commerce, bankruptcy, roads.
Fed. 44, ¶4-8 (277-80). Coins, paper money ban, contract clause.
Fed. 45, ¶9-10 (289). Federal and state govts. Expectation of peace.
Essex Result, in *Amer. Pol. Writing*, 1:492-504.

3/9. Institutional structure: separation of powers and rule of law

Hamilton, comment on Madison’s argument in *Fed. 10* 91
Madison, “Public Opinion,” 1791, *Founders’ Constitution* 1:73-4.
Federalist 9 (first 4 paragraphs only), pp. 66-8.
Federalist 10 (all), pp. 71-9.
Federalist 47 (¶1-3 only), pp. 297-8.
Federalist 48 (¶1-6 only), pp. 305-7.
Federalist 51 (all), pp. 317-22.
Federalist 62 and 63, pp. 374-88.
Essex Result, in *Amer. Pol. Writing*, 1:504-22.

3/9, 5:00pm. MIDTERM EXAM DUE.

3/21. Natural rights and public policy

Review state preambles and declarations of rights (on rule of law, protection of life, liberty, property, and reputation, etc.).
Review Boston, Rights of the Colonists, *Founders’ Const.*, 5:394-7.
Review *Essex Result*, in *Amer. Pol. Writing*, 1:484-94.
Jefferson, Bill for Crimes, *Founders’ Const.*, 5:374 (¶1-4 only).
Commonwealth v. Blanding, Mass. 1825, in *Founders’ Const.* 5:176-9.
Fed. Convention to Congress, *Founders’ Const.*, 1:195 (alienable rts).
Federalist 2, ¶2 (alienable rights).
Bradburn, *Citizenship Rev.*, 22-30 again; 217-23 (freedom of assn).
Butterfield, *Making of Tocqueville’s Amer.*, 21-6, 29-37, 63-71 92

3/23. Foreign policy

Review Decl. of Independence 6
Review Jefferson, “Opinion on the French Treaties” 71
Review Hamilton, Vindication, No. III 16
MA Preamble; ch. 2, sec. 1, art. 7, *Founders’ Const.*, 1:11, 1:17-18.
Washington, Farewell Address, *Founders’ Const.*, 1:684-5 (for. pol.).
Federalist 3, ¶3, 6, 7, 10 (36-8). Purpose and moral basis of for. pol.
Federalist 6, ¶1-3, ¶8-9, ¶18-20 (pp. 48-9, 50-51, 53-4).
Federalist 11, last paragraph, pp. 85-6 (proto-Monroe Doctrine).
Federalist 37 (para 6 only, “Among the difficulties . . .”).
Federalist 43, last paragraph, pp. 276-7.
Walter Lippmann, “Isolation and Expansion” 105
Grant, “Taft on America and the Philippines,” 121-9 111
John Quincy Adams, “An Address,” July 4, 1821 116
George Hoar et al., Senate debate on the Philippines, 1899-1902 116

OPTIONAL:

Lincoln and Douglas on manifest destiny. Blackboard.
Jaffa, *Crisis*, manifest destiny, 65-9, 75-83, 99-103, 405-9. Blackboard.

3/28. Natural rights and public policy: civil rights.

Review Congress to Quebec, 1774, *Amer. Pol. Writing*, 1:231-9.
Review relevant parts of state and federal constitutions.
Northwest Ordinance, unabridged, *Founders’ Constitution*, 1:27-9.
Hamilton, The Examination, no. 7, ¶3 only (on equal protection) 121
Campbell v. Morris, Maryland General Court, 1797 124
Corfield v. Coryell, U.S. Circuit Court case, 1823 124
Paragraph on privileges of citizenship in *Dred Scott* 125
Christopher Green, “Original Sense of Equal Protection,” 1-3, 32-6, 39-44, 49-51, 61-3 126
Hamburger, “Equality and Diversity,” 295-6, 299-318, 331-44, 350-55, 361-66 137

OPTIONAL:

Nelson Lund, “Federalism and Civil Liberties.” The Bill of Rights is unimportant as a restraint on state governments. Blackboard.
Sherry, “Founders’ Unwritten Constitutionalism.” Some court cases on civil rights were resolved with a view to natural law. Blackboard.

3/30. Religious liberty.

Review Butterfield, *Making of Tocque’s America*, 29-37 95-9 only
Review Mansfield, Intro. to Jefferson, *Selected Writings*, xiv 21
Review Congress to Quebec, *Amer. Pol. Writing*, 1:231-9 (on relig.).
State Constitutions: VA, DE, MD, NJ, NC, PA (*Founders’ Const.* 5:70-71), NY, VT, SC (75-6), MA (77), NH (81), VT 1786 (85). Also NY Const., Art. 40 (42-3).
Boston, Rights of the Colonists, on religion, *Founders’ Const.* 5:60.
Congress to the People of Great Britain, 1774, *Founders’ Const.*, 5:61.
NW Ordinance, *Founders’ Const.*, sec. 13, art. 1, and art. 3 only, 1:28.
Jefferson, in *Founding Fathers and the Debate*, VA bill (71-6), first inaugural (127-8), Danbury Baptists and fast days (149-55).
Madison, Memorial and Remonstrance, *Founding Fathers*, 62-71.
Washington to Baptists and Hebrews, *Founding Fathers*, 136-9.
John Carroll, *Gazette of the U.S. and Columbian Magazine*; on Georgetown University; Catholic letter to Washington; Washington’s reply; sermon; prayer for civil authorities 162
Washington to Quakers 170
Religious tests: *Founding Fathers and the Debate*, 41 (PA), 47-8 (VT), 49 (MD), 58-9 (Franklin), 81-2 (L. Martin), 88-96 (Ellsworth, Williams).

OPTIONAL:

Other selections in *Founders’ Constitution*, vol. 5.
McConnell, “Origins and Historical Understanding of Free Exercise.” This article, and Hamburger’s response, were the basis of the Scalia and O’Connor opinions in the *Boerne* case. Blackboard.

Hamburger, "Constitutional Right of Religious Exemption." Response to McConnell. Blackboard.
Williams, *Essential Rights and Liberties*, in *Puritan Pol. Ideas*, 267-304.

4/4. Should government support religion?

Review selections from Hamburger, "Equality and Diversity" 149
MD Act on Vice, *Founding Fathers and the Debate*, 76-7.
Continental Congress, *Founding Fathers and the Debate*, 24-8, 32-8.
Jefferson, *Notes on Va.*, Q. 18, *Founders' Const.* 1:537 (quote on God).
Jefferson, *Notes on Virginia*, Query 17, *Founders' Const.* 5:79-80.
Washington, Thanksgiving Proclamation, *Founders' Const.*, 5:94.
William Brennan, opinion in *Abington v. Schempp*, 1963 170
Supreme Ct. of NH, *Muzzy v. Wilkins*, 1802 (estab. of religion) 171
Supreme Ct. of MA, *Barnes v. First Parish*, 1810 (estab.) 174
Thomas Pangle, *Spirit of Modern Republicanism*, 1988, 78-85 178
Federalist 49, ¶6-7 only (need for prejudice and passion).
West, *Political Theory*, 198-214: govt support of religion. Blackboard.

OPTIONAL:

Madison, Detached Memoranda, 1817, *Founders' Const.* 5:103-5.
Leland: Baptists against establishment, *Founding Fathers*, 140-49.
"The Founding Fathers' Own Views," *Founding Fathers*, 157-85.

4/6. NO CLASS.

4/9. PAPER DUE.

4/11. Immigration and character.

West, *Vindicating the Founders*, ch. 7, "Immigration and Citizenship"
Bradburn, *Citizenship Rev.*, 104-7, 123-38 (immigration).
Federalist 2, ¶2, ¶5-6 (31-3).
Review Jefferson, *Notes on Virginia*, Query 8 (immigration) 22
Hamilton, The Examination, Number 7 and 8, 1802 121
Franklin, "Information to Those," *Founders' Const.*, 1:531-4.

4/13. Sex and Marriage.

Abigail and John Adams, *Founders' Const.* 1:518-20.
Witherspoon, "Queries, and Answers, on Marriage," 1788 182
James Wilson, Lectures on Law, 1791, on the family 183
Webster, *An American Selection*, virtues of men and women 187
Joseph Story, "Natural Law," 1836, discussion of the family 196
West, *Political Theory*, 219-43 - sex and marriage. Blackboard.

OPTIONAL:

Jan Lewis, "The Republican Wife." Blackboard.

4/18. Virtue and education.

Review readings assigned for "Should government support religion?"
Review NW Ordinance, *Founders' Const.*, art. 3 only, 1:28.
Review Provisions in state declarations of rights on virtue, in *Founders' Const.*: VA (1:6-7), MA art. 18 (1:13), PA art. 14 (5:7). Also MA provision on education, ch. 5, sec. 1-2 (1:20-21).
Review Zuckert, *Natural Rights Republic*, 26-7 only p. 80 only
Jefferson, *Notes on Va.*, Q. 14, in *Founders' Const.*, 1:673-4 only.
Jefferson, Report of the Commissioners, *Founders' Const.*, 1:689.
Federalist 12, second-last paragraph only (taxing liquor).
Federalist 55, final paragraph, pp. 342-3.
Federalist 85, 3rd paragraph only ("prostration of morals").
West, *Political Theory*, 165-98, 214-18 - virtue and morality. Blackboard.

4/20. Virtue, education, and freedom of the press.

Diamond, "Democracy and *The Federalist*," 64-8 197
Washington, First Inaugural Address, 1789 200
Washington, First Annual Message, 1790 200
Review Washington, Farewell Address, on religion and morality, in *Founders' Const.*, 1:684 (left column only).
Congress, Causes of Taking Up Arms, 1775 (honor, posterity) 201
Washington, General Orders, 7/2/1776 (warlike virtues) 201
John Adams to Mably (towns, churches, schools, guns) 201
Respublica v. Oswald, Pa. 1788, *Founders' Const.* 5:126-7.
People v. Ruggles (NY 1811), *Founders' Constitution* 5:101-2.
Updegraph, 1824, *Founders' Constitution* 5:170-75 (mainly 170 and 172).
James Kent, *Commentaries*, 1826, in *Founders' Constitution* 5:179-80.
Hamilton, speech in *People v. Crosswell*, *Founders' Const.*, 5:160-62.
Congress to Quebec, *Amer Pol Writing*, 1:233-4 (para on free speech).

OPTIONAL:

Mansfield, "Those Hell-Hounds Called Terrorists." Blackboard.
Mansfield, "Liberty and Virtue in the Founding." Blackboard.

4/25. Poverty and welfare.

Review U.N. Universal Declaration of Human Rights; Hillary Clinton, Human Rights Agenda; Roosevelt, New Nationalism; in "1st day readings." Blackboard.
West, *Vindicating the Founders*, ch. 6, "Poverty and Welfare."
West, *Political Theory*, 393-400 - welfare. Blackboard.

4/27. The founders on property and economics.

- West, "The Economic Principles of America's Founders" 203
Review Resolution of Charleston, SC, 1774 44
Review provisions on property, commerce, etc., in state Declarations of Rights, NW Ordinance, and U.S. Const.
James Wilson, "On the History of Property," 1791 217
Madison, "Property," 1792, *Founders' Constitution* 1:598-9.
Jefferson to Madison, 10/28/1785, *Founders' Constitution* 1:539.
Vanhorne's Lessee, *Founders' Const.*, 1:599 (this page only).

5/2. Property and economic policy, continued.

- Review *Fed.* 42, ¶10-11 (263-4), ¶17, 19 (267). Commerce, roads.
Review *Fed.* 44, ¶4-8 (277-80). Coins, paper money, contracts.
Madison to Jefferson, 6-19-1786, *Founders' Constitution* 1:539-40.
Jefferson, *Notes on VA*, Q. 19, *Founders' Const.* 1:118-9 (farmers).
Hamilton, Report on Manufactures, 1791, *Founders' Const.* 1:139-40.
West, *Vindicating*, ch. 2, pp. 37-43, 46-54.

OPTIONAL:

- Clays, "Revolution in Nuisance Law," 26-52. Blackboard.

COURSE REQUIREMENTS

- Midterm exam, due March 9. Counts about 25%. Details to be announced.
Paper, due April 9. Counts about 25% of the grade. Details later.
Final examination, about 25% of the grade.

Attendance, participation, preparation, "comments." About 25%. More than 3 unexcused absences will affect this part of the grade. So also will failure to answer questions or otherwise show that you have understood the main points of the readings.

"Comments." Once a week, students are required to hand in a printed short "comment" at the beginning of class. Length: between 1/2 and one page, double-spaced, with normal margins. Half the students' comments will have a Tuesday due date, and the other half Thursday. The quality of the "comments," and how many of them are missing, will be a factor in the grade. I do not accept late comments. No comments are due during the first or last week. In the remaining 13 full weeks of class, you may skip up to 4 comments without penalty. The total number of comments due is therefore 9.

The point of the comment is to say something informative and insightful about the main point(s) of the readings assigned for that day. For your comment topic, you can sometimes get help from the course plan, which mentions some of the themes of each day's reading. If there are contrasting views presented or suggested in the readings, it can be useful to compare them. Interpretive difficulties are also an appropriate topic.

We will typically begin to discuss the readings on the day they are assigned and continue on the class day after that. Therefore, for any class day, students should prepare not only the readings assigned for that day, but also review the readings assigned for the previous class day.

TO CONTACT THE INSTRUCTOR:

Email: twest@hillsdale.edu. Cell phone 972-849-8515, 8:00am to 10:00pm. Leave a message or text. Office hours (Kendall 313): TuTh 11:00-11:15, 1:00-2:15, 3:45-4:00. I am often in the office at other times. Knock if the door is closed or if I am talking.

OTHER MATTERS

Computers and other electronic devices must be silenced and put away. Explanation: <http://pss.sagepub.com/content/25/6/1159> ("Advantages of Longhand Over Laptop Note Taking"). Food and drinks are permitted if consumed silently and cleaned up afterward. Reasonable disability accommodations will be granted with appropriate documentation.

Blackboard files are on my Sugarsync site at tinyurl.com/founding17s

BOOKS REQUIRED:

Bradburn, Douglas. *The Citizenship Revolution: Politics and the Creation of the American Union, 1774-1804*. Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2009.

Hamilton, Alexander, et al. *The Federalist*. Any edition will do. I will be the Rossiter ed. Signet Classic, Penguin Putnam, 2003.

Harris, Matthew and Thomas Kidd, ed. *The Founding Fathers and the Debate over Religion in Revolutionary America: A History in Documents*. Oxford Univ. Press, 2011.

Hyneman, Charles S. and Donald S. Lutz, ed. *American Political Writing During the Founding Era, 1760-1805*. Liberty Fund, 1983.

Kurland, Philip B. and Ralph Lerner, ed. *The Founders' Constitution, volume 1*. Liberty Fund, 2000.

Kurland, Philip B. and Ralph Lerner, ed. *The Founders' Constitution, volume 5*. Liberty Fund, 2000.

West, Thomas G. *Vindicating the Founders*. Rowman & Littlefield, 2001.

West, Thomas. *Course Packet*. Handout.