Chapter One: What Is American Political Theory?


2. For a discussion of the profession’s early years see David M. Ricci, *The Tragedy of Political Science: Politics, Scholarship, and Democracy* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1984), ch. 3.

3. *The American Political Science Association Membership Directory*, published yearly by the association in Washington, D.C. See, for example, the “Classification of Members by Fields of Interest” in the table of contents.

4. See any issue of the *APSA Personnel Service Newsletter* published monthly by the American Political Science Association in Washington, D.C.—especially the September through December issues.


7. See, for example, Angus Campbell et al., *The American Voter* (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1960).


9. The examples are legion, but a clear statement of the view can be found in Alan C. Isaak, *Scope and Methods of Political Science: An Introduction to the Methodology of Political Inquiry* (Homewood, Ill.: Dorsey Press, 1969), 4.

Jovanovich, 1976), Part 4. Those familiar with Bernstein's work will recognize that even though a different vocabulary is being used, the position argued in this chapter is very similar to Bernstein's.

11. See, for example, Albert Somit and Joseph Tannenhaus, The Development of American Political Science: From Burgess to Behavioralism (Boston: Allyn and Bacon, 1967), 24.


15. Most of these definitions are derived from discussions by Isaak, Scope and Methods of Political Science, ch. 2, and Ricci, Tragedy of Political Science, ch. 7.


22. Isaak, Scope and Methods of Political Science, 25.


26. There are distressingly few efforts to blend the empirical and theoretical for purposes of predicting institutional consequences. An especially good example of the argument here is Douglas Rae's The Political Consequences of Electoral Laws (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1967).

27. Again, there are very few examples to which we can point. One might be Christian Bay's The Structure of Freedom (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1970). Another might be Jeanne N. Knutson's The Human Basis of the Polity (Chicago: Aldine/Atherton, 1972). Neither of these deals with American political theory, but both attempt to clean up the literature in political psychology in a search for theoretical propositions.

28. The idea of a science of politics certainly can be found in the writing of Europeans such as Francis Bacon, David Hume, and Baron de Montesquieu, but the receptiveness of twentieth-century American political science
to empirical, statistical, and science-imitating approaches cannot be explained by the presence of these ideas among European thinkers.

29. *The Federalist* by Alexander Hamilton, James Madison, and John Jay is often considered our greatest political text, but as we will see in the next chapter it is an assembled text, not one written as a piece as Tocqueville's work was, and thus is handicapped when compared to the great European thinkers. John C. Calhoun's *Disquisition on Government* is not an assembled text, but its depth suffers from its brevity. Herbert Croly's *The Promise of American Life* physically resembles a great text but is too particularistic to be so categorized. Other candidates spring to mind, but they are not read by anyone; thus Hamilton and Madison, Tocqueville, Calhoun, and Croly would seem to have written the most recognized theoretical texts we have.

Chapter Two: American Political Texts and Their Analysis

1. See, for example, Leo Strauss, *Persecution and the Art of Writing* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1952).


6. Terence Ball and J.G.A. Pocock have edited and contributed to an important book that provides interesting and telling examples from the history of American political theory. See their *Conceptual Change and the Constitution* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1988).


8. For an accessible discussion of cognitive psychology see the book from which this example was taken—Morton Hunt, *The Universe Within: A New Science Explores the Human Mind* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1982).


Chapter Three: Toward a Complete Text on the Bill of Rights

1. I have relied upon the texts as found in Richard L. Perry, ed., Sources of Our Liberties (New York: Associated College Presses for the American Bar Association, 1959), 11-22, 73-75, and 245-50.


5. The most accurate and accessible source for these ratifying convention records is Merrill Jensen, John P. Kaminski, Gaspare J. Saladino et al., eds., The Documentary History of the Ratification of the Constitution (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1976-).


8. Ibid. (Virginia), 3812–14, and (Pennsylvania), 3082–84.
9. These documents are widely scattered, but many can be found in the two series of volumes by Swindler cited in n. 6 as well as in Thorpe. Those not found in these volumes may be located in Donald S. Lutz, *Documents of Political Foundation Written by Colonial Americans* (Philadelphia: ISHI Press, 1986).


14. These documents can be found in varying combinations in the volumes cited in n. 9.


16. Ibid. (Maryland), 1687.

17. Ibid. (Massachusetts), 1891.

18. Ibid. (Pennsylvania), 3083.


21. Ibid. (Massachusetts), 1889.

22. Ibid. (Pennsylvania), 3082.

23. Ibid. (Massachusetts), 1889.

24. Algernon Sidney, a contemporary of John Locke and in the same political faction, was tried and executed in 1683 for treason against the king. His
conviction was based on his writings in an unpublished manuscript entitled *Discourses on Government*, which laid out the case for popular sovereignty, representative government, and natural rights. Published in London in 1698, the book had considerable overlap with Locke’s *Second Treatise on Government*, and in revolutionary America the two men were frequently referred to as theoretically interchangeable. In fact, Sidney was the more radical of the two. Locke supported legislative supremacy, but Sidney defended the more radical popular-sovereignty position in language that was closer to American views. Sidney’s book has been most recently reprinted (1990) by Liberty Press/Liberty Classics of Indianapolis.


26. These and other documents can be found in various combinations in the previously cited volumes by Thorpe, Swindler, and Jensen et al. and in Lutz (*Documents*).


Chapter Four: Use of History in American Political Theory


2. See, for example, Judith Jarvis Thomson, *The Realm of Rights* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1990). Although in many ways typical of the philosophical literature, it is also among the best of its kind.

3. Andrew C. McLaughlin, *Foundations of American Constitutionalism*
4. Frederick Jackson Turner did not publish much during his lifetime, and his famous thesis was presented in a paper entitled "The Significance of the Frontier in American History" at the 1893 annual meeting of the American Historical Association. Charles Beard's most influential work was An Economic Interpretation of the Constitution of the United States (New York: Macmillan, 1913), and Vernon L. Parrington is best known for Main Currents in American Thought, 3 vols. (New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1927–1930).


12. As distant as the 1940s' perspective seems to us now, historians and social scientists still have the task of explaining why most of our high school texts today use the Beard/Locke approach as their primary explanation for the genesis of the Constitution. Even a number of college-level texts fail to reflect the impact of the past forty years of scholarship.


15. See Brown, *Charles Beard*, and McDonald, *We the People*.


21. Robert A. Dahl, *A Preface to Democratic Theory* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1956). The book has been in continuous print for thirty-five years now and shows no sign of disappearing. It is one of the few books that one can assume has been read by almost every political scientist alive today, regardless of specialization.


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32. For a fuller discussion of this point see Donald S. Lutz, The Origins of American Constitutionalism (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1988), ch. 9.

of American Civilization (New York: Knopf, 1972). Kammen, in this and later writing, has also been an important contributor to historical analysis using the political class as a focus, although he is more interested in detailing the origin and nature of the shared mental states, or culture, that underlie the attitudes of the political class than he is in detailing the political struggles of that class. These are far from the only historians using such a focus, since recourse to the pamphlet literature and a wider base among original sources have become common over the past two decades, but special note might be made of Jack Greene’s work. His Peripheries and Center: Constitutional Development in the Extended Polities of the British Empire and the United States, 1607-1788 (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1986) is notable for exploring the fissures within the Anglo-American political class that resulted in a de facto system of federalism in the British imperial constitution prior to 1776.

34. See McDonald, Novus Ordo Seclorum, 209. Notably, despite the obvious major differences that distinguished these theories, Americans were justified in also seeing some important areas of commonality—for example, the identification of human nature with the body and its instincts, senses, and passions; a conviction that human beings are in conflict with nature; and a belief that government is a contrivance to achieve human ends.

35. Gordon Wood criticizes Kramnick’s book as an example of the tendency to argue anachronistically over which paradigm dominated the founders’ thinking, but Wood also points to J.G.A. Pocock as a major offender in this regard (see n. 23 for some of Pocock’s major work). However correct Wood may be, one must remember that those scholars engaged in developing theory, during the founding or other eras, may or may not have seen the implications (or even the contradictions) of the categories they used. They may have preferred ambiguities but relied on arguments that—if driven to fundamental assumptions—might give a decisive advantage to one or another of the later interpretations. In this sense, one would have to go beyond the ostensible categories of the logic-in-use during the founding era to understand a position completely. Still, the place to begin is with the logic-in-use, not with some prepackaged European model.

37. Ibid., 517.

Chapter Five: Intellectual History and the American Founding

1. Locke uses the phrase “pursuit of happiness” several times in ch. 21, book 2 of the Essay Concerning Human Understanding, so the term, if not Jefferson’s formulation linking it with life and liberty, can be found in Locke. Happiness as the end of government is a proposition that can be traced back to Aristotle, but the modern formulation in Jefferson and the other writers mentioned here—the pursuit of happiness—implies that either there is no sum­ mum bonum or that it is unattainable. A discussion of the various possible sources of Jefferson’s phrase can be found in Herbert Gantner, “Jefferson’s ‘Pursuit of Happiness’ and Some Forgotten Men,” William and Mary Quarterly 2nd ser., 16 (1936): 558-85.


5. The books written by the authors mentioned in the text are listed in the Appendix (see pp. 159–64).


8. Ibid., 421.


13. Included among these supporters of Coke were Chief Justice Sir Mathew Hale, William Petty, Lord John Somers, Daines Barrington, Henry Care, William Atwood, Obadiah Hulme, Francis Stoughton Sullivan, William Hawkins, and the Earl of Clarendon (Edward Hyde). The works of these legal historians were scattered throughout personal and college legal libraries in America.


15. Steven Dworetz’s *The Unvarnished Doctrine* (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1990) demonstrates Locke’s importance for the American revolutionary era (see also Table 5.3).


18. The categorization here is a combination/revision of earlier efforts by Bailyn (in *Ideological Origins*), Lundberg and May (in "Enlightened Reader in America"), and Greene (in *Intellectual Heritage*).


22. A useful discussion of the special status that these three men had at the constitutional convention can be found in Forrest McDonald, *Novus Ordo Seclorum: The Intellectual Origins of the Constitution* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1986), 209.

Chapter Six: Prolegomenon


6. The characterization of Voegelin's theory is taken primarily from the introductions to Eric Voegelin, *Israel and Revelation* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1956), and *The World of the Polis* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1957), vols. 1 and 2 of *Order and History*. See also
