

What is a Republic?

Harvard College General Education 1032

Spring Semester 2025

Daniel Carpenter
Allie S. Freed Professor of Government
dcarpenter@gov.harvard.edu

Matthew Cohen
Teaching Fellow

Haidun Liu
Teaching Fellow

General Class Sessions: Mondays and Wednesdays, 3:00-4:15PM

Syllabus as of November 26, 2024, subject to change

§ § §

Res Publica – A New Approach

I first conceived of this course some two decades ago when a Dean confided to me that “I’m not sure students here, or anywhere, know what a republic is.” The course can be considered an attempt to change that fact, slowly and in a spirit of circumspection and dialogue. Spring 2025 marks the 20th anniversary of this course at Harvard. The course has had a range of titles in the past, including “Theory and Practice of Republican Government” and “Res Publica: A History of Representative Government.” I’ve continually redesigned the class and have added new material this year, to focus more on Rome and to add a bit more discussion of another European republic, France in the 3rd and 5th republican periods. How is the course is going to be different in Spring 2025?

1) We will engage with general issues that matter in our particular time, thinking about three general themes:

- **how representation works:** We'll think about the power and limits of elections, conciliar versus individual representation, and the role of separated and constrained powers.
- **the importance of offices and assemblies as vessels of power:** In a sense, republics place power not in persons but in positions, but it's more complicated than that. The "positions" might not be offices per se, but decision-making bodies, including (as with republican Rome or the first state plebiscites in the United States, Massachusetts in 1778/1780) the people at large. Offices might supervise other offices or exist in tension with them. And then there are different kinds of powers: legislative, regulatory, judicial, executive, administrative.
- **representation outside of elections:** What is non-electoral democracy? What is the role of things like petitioning, protest and other modes that do not directly shape our rulers or laws?

2) This version will be more **interactive**, a collective discussion about the past and future of representative government. Sometimes I will present and defend the text. Often enough, **you will**.

3) **You will get to know your classmates.** Borrowing lessons on what worked and did not in Fall 2020 and since, I have redesigned this course to make sure that, more than ever, we are learning from one another. This will happen in our class sessions, and it will happen in our occasional Hangouts for the Republic.

Prologue: Harvard is an American institution, and in America we live in what we call a democracy. But in at least two ways, it's not just any democracy. First, it's not a plebiscitary democracy. Our most important votes as citizens are not those where we directly choose policy (though we sometimes do that), but where we choose those who make and enforce laws. In other words, much of our democracy works through representation. Second, we choose not one representative but many. Those who make law and policy are many in a republic – many legislators in a single body, multiple judges on high courts, and multiple branches of government with separated and shared powers – and their work is a labor of conflict and collaboration.

As regimes and as concepts, **“democracy” and “republic” are not necessary opposites but rather complements.** Representation often brings greater dialogue to democracy and permits localities a greater say in their governance. Republics in particular rely heavily upon the institutions of office and upon representative offices and assemblies. Democracy brings “the people” more prominently into a republic and vaunts equality, making a republic more responsive to the will of all of the people and more attentive to those who do not compose a majority.

This, of course, is the ideal, and not necessarily the reality. As we seek to better understand this ideal throughout the class, we will continually ask ourselves to what extent reality (a) has matched up with the ideal historically and (b) does so today.

Description: A theoretical and historical survey of the evolution of republican (representative) government in modern times, with a particular focus upon United States institutions in the second half of the class, as well as an examination of the third and Fifth Republic of France. Our study will work back and forth between philosophical treatments of republican government and historical studies of monarchical republics, democratic republics, and non-republican democratic institutions (e.g., plebiscitary democracy).

Questions we will ask ourselves include:

- What are the strengths and weaknesses of elections in keeping rulers accountable?
- What is the role of virtue in a republic, and in a democratic republic?
- Can we think of virtue as including modern values of toleration, diversity, inclusion and belonging?
- How can republicanism ensure the “rule of the wise” without fostering autocratic power?
- What institutions besides elections keep the rulers in tune with the people?
- Does the rise of plebiscitary institutions present a threat to representative democracy?
- What is the role of people directly choosing policy in a world where government is mostly representative?

Required Texts

Not available electronically, or available in paper:

- [Wolff] Hans Julius Wolff, *Roman Law: An Historical Introduction* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1951), Chapters 1 and 2.
- [Machiavelli] Machiavelli, *Discourses on Livy* (University of Chicago Press or Oxford University Press).*
- [Montesquieu] Baron de Montesquieu, *The Spirit of the Laws* (Cambridge University Press).*
- [Morgan] Edmund Morgan, *Inventing the People: The Rise of Popular Sovereignty in England and America* (New York: Norton, 1988).

*Note: These are the translations used and recommended by the instructors. Other translations are acceptable, some of which are available online for free (public domain). Use of a different translation will not impact grading or evaluation in any respect.

Available electronically (freely or through Harvard library):

- [Achen and Bartels] Christopher Achen and Larry Bartels, *Democracy for Realists: Why Elections Do Not Produce Responsive Government* (Princeton University Press). [E]
- [Allen] Danielle Allen, *Talking to Strangers: Anxieties of Citizenship since Brown v. Board of Education* (University of Chicago Press). [E]
- [Anti-Federalist] *The Anti-Federalist Papers*. [E]
- [Du Bois] W. E. B. Du Bois. *Black Reconstruction in America: An Essay Toward a History of the Part Which Black Folk Played in the Attempt to Reconstruct Democracy in America, 1860–1880*. [E]
- [Federalist] Hamilton, Madison, Jay. *The Federalist Papers*. [E]
- [Grimké] Angelina Grimké, *An Appeal to the Women of the Nominally Free States*. [E]
- [Jefferson, Notes] Thomas Jefferson, *Notes on the State of Virginia*. [E]
- [Wolff] Hans Julius Wolff, *Roman Law: An Historical Introduction* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1951), Chapters 1 and 2.
- [Wood] Gordon Wood, *The Creation of the American Republic, 1763-1789* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1962; new paperback version available). [E]

These and other readings will be available at the Coop and/or electronically. **Please consult the “Files” tab of the CANVAS course page.**

Other texts in which you may be interested:

- Philip Pettit, *Republicanism: A Theory of Freedom and Government* (Oxford: Oxford University Press).
- Emmanuel Sieyès, *Political Writings*, ed. Michael Sonenscher (Hackett, 2003)
- Joel Silbey, *The American Political Nation, 1828-1892* (Cornell University Press, 1994)

Course Work

A General Education course at Harvard University should challenge you in work, in reading, in discussion and, in my strongly held judgment, in argumentative and interpretive writing. This course embodies those values. Regular, punctual attendance is not prize-worthy but expected. We also expect regular, respectful engagement with the arguments and viewpoints of others in class. The course demands demonstrated knowledge of very complex, historically situated and philosophically rich readings.

My philosophy of undergraduate education places strong emphasis upon written argumentation. I therefore assign two (3) papers during the semester, each of 3-5 pages, *plus* a final paper of 4-7 pages. I have a strong expectation that all reading will be completed punctually, and that students will attend and participate in discussion sections.

The three papers cumulatively will account for 40-60% of the final grade; the remaining 40-60% are based on participation in section and lectures. For each student, we will choose the weighting that maximizes the final grade. The written portion of the grade is weighted as follows: Paper 1 is worth 20%, Paper 2 is 25%, the midterm is 20%, and the Final Paper is worth 35%. We will explicitly account for improvement when assigning final grades.

Deliberative Papers. For at least one of the papers, I will be asking you to co-author an argument with one or more of your classmates, and then I will ask two or more classmates to take a position counter to yours. After an initial rebound of arguments, I will then direct you to engage in rebuttal of one another's claims. Questions might be of the following form: (1) Following Machiavelli, should a representative government have emergency powers? Who should exercise them? (2) Contra Montesquieu, should adolescents (say those 14 year or 16 years of age and higher, who can drive and who can often be tried as adults in criminal court) be entitled to vote? Where, if anywhere, should the line be drawn? (3) Are elections a reliable method of keeping officials accountable? What might supplement them? (4) Do recent events suggest that the elective presidency should be weakened in favor of a stronger Congress? If so, how?

Course Meetings

Classroom Policy: No Electronics. While we all use laptops and tablets for our work and our daily routines, I aim to create a space where our attention can be focused upon the lecture, the readings, the themes with which we are engaged, and the ensuing discussions. (I will also make slides available before class so that you can print them if you wish for better note taking.) When we meet in person (which I plan to be every lecture in Spring 2023), there are no exceptions to this policy; turn off your electronics when you come to class.

Readings and Course Schedule/Outline

A. Introduction and Course Overview

Session 1 (Monday, January 27, 2025)

What is a Republic?

Arguments for and against the American Revolution and the U.S. Constitution.

Required Readings

(If you know you are taking the course before January 24th, I suggest getting a head start on these readings, not least because we will be revising them later in the semester.)

- *Declaration of Independence* [E]
- Thomas Paine, *Common Sense* [E]
- The Rev. Charles Inglis, *The Deceiver Unmasked; Or, Loyalty and Interest United: In Answer to a Pamphlet Entitled Common Sense* [E]
- *Constitution of the United States* (including first 10 amendments) [E]
- *Federalist* Nos. 1-10, 23, 34, 39, 51, 84. [E]
- Anti-Federalist Essays: [E]
 - Letter from the Federal Farmer (Lee?), October 9, 1787
 - Essays of Brutus (Yates?), November 1, 1787
 - Patrick Henry at the Virginia Ratifying Convention, June 5, 1788

B. The Roman Republic and the Machiavellian Model

Sessions 2 and 3 (Wednesday, January 29th and Monday, February 3rd)

Republican Rome: Institutions and Practices

We will discuss factual structure of Roman constitution and arrangements. Facts are important, but so too is their distillation, particularly by Machiavelli (through Polybius and Livy).

Required Readings

- Hans Julius Wolff, *Roman Law: An Historical Introduction* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1951), Chapters 1 and 2. [E] (This treatment is somewhat dated and reflects the Cold War context in which it was conceived and written, but does provide a useful summary of the principal offices and institutions.)

- Polybius, *The Histories*, Volume III, Book VI (in Fragments), Sections 2 through 18. [E]
- Machiavelli, *Discorsi*
 - Book I Chapters 1-4, 34-35
 - Book II, Chapters 1-3, 7-8

Optional Readings on the Roman Republic, basis for Lecture:

Andrew Lintott, *The Constitution of the Roman Republic* (OUP 1999) Chapters V and XII (pp. 40- 65, 214-232).

Livy, *History of Rome*, Books I-X.

Moses Finley, *Politics in the Ancient World* (Cambridge U.P. 1983), 50-96 S.
Stavely, *Greek and Roman Voting and Elections* (Thames and Hudson 1972), 157-216
Fergus Millar, *The Roman Republic in Political Thought* (Brandeis University Press 2002), 135-182.

Session 3 (Monday, February 3)

The Roman Republic as a Model: Machiavelli's Interpretation

We will discuss factual structure of Roman constitution and arrangements; stress the significance of the framing and interpretation of Rome. Facts are important, but so too is their distillation, particularly by Machiavelli (through Polybius and Livy).

Required Readings

- Hans Julius Wolff, *Roman Law: An Historical Introduction* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1951), Chapters 1 and 2. [E]
 - *This treatment is somewhat dated and reflects the Cold War context in which it was conceived and written, but does provide a useful summary of the principal offices and institutions.*
- Machiavelli, *Discorsi*
 - Book I Chapters 1-4, 34-35
 - Book II, Chapters 1-3, 7-8

Optional Readings on the Roman Republic, basis for Lecture

- Andrew Lintott, *The Constitution of the Roman Republic* (OUP 1999) Chapters V and XII (pp. 40- 65, 214-232).
- Livy, *History of Rome*, Books I-X.

- Polybius, *The Histories*, Volume III, Book VI (in Fragments), Sections 2 through 18.
- Moses Finley, *Politics in the Ancient World* (Cambridge U.P. 1983), 50-96
- E.S. Staveland, *Greek and Roman Voting and Elections* (Thames and Hudson 1972), 157-216
- Fergus Millar, *The Roman Republic in Political Thought* (Brandeis University Press 2002), 135-182.

Session 4 (Wednesday, February 5)

The Roman Republic and Machiavelli's Reading in Republican Thought

Themes: Liberty through Government, and the mixture of autocratic/tyrannical elements in republics. Religion, virtue, and the dangers of corruption. On founding republics and maintaining them. How to contain the wealthy. The power and importance of the people/plebs, and the mutual constraint of "elite" and "mass." Superiority of republican arrangements to principalities. War and the Republic.

Required Readings

- Machiavelli, *Discorsi*
 - Book I
 - Re-read: Chapters 1-3, 34-35
 - Required: Chapters 9-10, 16-17, 24-30, 36-37, 40-44, 49-51, 53-55, 58
 - Book II
 - Re-read: Chapters 1, 3
 - Optional: Chapters 2, 4-6
 - Book III
 - Required: Chapters 1-4
 - Optional: Chapters 8-9
 - *For topical relevance we are skipping NM's wonderful chapter on conspiracies, but it is worth a read.*

Optional Readings on Machiavellian republicanism

- J.G.A. Pocock, "Virtues, rights and manners" in his *Virtue, Commerce and Industry* (CUP 1985), 30 pp.
- Guicciardini's Reply to Machiavelli in *Considerations*; in *The Sweetness of Power: Machiavelli's Discourses and Guicciardini's Considerations*, James B. Atkinson and David Sices, eds. and trans. (DeKalb, 2002), pp. 381-438.
- Leo Strauss, *Thoughts on Machiavelli* (Chicago).
- John McCormick, *Machiavellian Democracy* (Cambridge, 2011).

FIRST PAPER ASSIGNMENT

First paper due Friday, February 21, 2025, at 8PM. [“Stamp” is electronic; 8:31:00 or later counts as late.]

C. Modern Monarchical Republicanism: Medieval Europe and Early Modern England and France

Theoretical focal points of lectures and discussions:

- (1) the role played by monarchies in the creation and development of republican institutions,
- (2) the hybrid regime (mixed monarchical and democratic),
- (3) discussion of alternative legislative forms,
- (4) role of the petition as a representative mechanism for lower estates and other populations without franchise power,
- (5) role of social and political revolutions in expanding and undergirding new institutional forms and new liberties.

Session 5 (Monday, February 10)

The Co-Evolution of Monarchy and Representative Government: Medieval Origins of Representation

Aim: Quickly discuss medieval precedents of representation, Elizabethan and early Bourbon arrangements, and move to note how divine right theory was a departure even from these. We will note some contradictions of Machiavelli here, notably that Elizabeth is a particularly powerful author of republican innovation and expansion.

Required Readings

- Wim Blockmans, “The Medieval Origins of Constitutional Representation,” Europaeum Lecture at Oxford (2009) [E]
- Morgan, *Inventing the People*, Chapter 1, “The Divine Right of Kings”
- Petitions to Edward I and his Parliament, at British History Online, available at <https://www.british-history.ac.uk/no-series/parliament-rolls-medieval/petition-1#h3-0003> (peruse, but numbers 13, 14, 17, 18, 19, 20, 33, 40, 53, 59, 62 are interesting)

Optional Readings on the Evolution of Parliaments, Representation and Systems of Estates

- Thomas Bisson, *The Crisis of the Twelfth Century: Power, Lordship, and the Origins of European Government* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2009).
- Geoffrey Koziol, *Begging Pardon and Favor: Ritual and Political Order in Early Medieval France* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1992).
- J. R. Maddicott, *The Origins of the English Parliament, 924-1327* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010).
- Major, *Representative Government in Early Modern France* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1980).
- Hayden, J. Michael. *France and the Estates-General of 1614* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1974).

Session 6 (Wednesday, February 12)

Print, Petitions and the Emergence of Public Spheres in France and England

Required Readings

- David Zaret, “Petitions and the Creation of Public Opinion in the English Revolution,” *American Journal of Sociology* 101 (1996): 1497-1555. [E]
- Daniel Carpenter, “Recruitment by Petition: American Antislavery, French Protestantism, English Suppression,” *Perspectives on Politics* (2016). [E]

Optional Readings for those interested in French history

- J. Michael Hayden, “The Uses of Political Pamphlets: The Example of 1614-1615 in France,” *Canadian Journal of History*, August 1986, pp. 143-65. [E]
- Jeffrey K. Sawyer, “Conclusion: Pamphleteering and the Development of Absolutism,” in *Printed Poison: Pamphlet Propaganda, Faction Politics, and the Public Sphere in Early Seventeenth-Century France* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990). <http://ark.cdlib.org/ark:/13030/ft7f59p1db/> [pp. 133-146]

Monday, February 17, 2025: University Holiday (Presidents’ Day)

Session 7 (Wednesday, February 19)

Early modern England: The Revolt against Absolute Monarchy

Required Readings

- *The Leveller Tracts* (1647-53). [Also in Haller and Davies, *The Leveller Tracts 1647-1653* (Gloucester, Massachusetts: Peter Smith).]
 - “A Declaration, or Representation” [E]

- “The Case of the Armie” [E]
- “An Agreement of the Free People of England” [E]
- Morgan, *Inventing the People*, Chapter 3, “Inventing the Sovereign People.”

Optional Readings for this session and next

- Mark Kishlansky’s *A Monarchy Transformed: Britain, 1603-1714* (Penguin).
 - I recommend a skim of Chapter 1 (“The Social World”) and Chapter 2 (“The Political World”).
 - A very useful chapter for our purposes is Chapter 5, “The Reign of Charles I, 1629-1637.”

Session 8 (Monday, February 24)

Early modern England: Institutional re-emergence, the philosophy of institutional form, and the ascendance of Parliament

Required Readings

- Morgan, *Inventing the People*,
 - Chapter 4, “The People’s Two Bodies” and
 - Chapter 5, “A Cautious Revolution.”
- James Harrington, *A System of Politics, The Commonwealth of Oceana*, “The Preliminaries, Showing Principles of Government.” [E]

Optional Readings

- John Locke, *Second Treatise of Government*, Chapters 9-14.
- Eric Nelson, *The Hebrew Republic: Jewish Sources and the Transformation of European Political Thought* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2010).

Session 9 (Wednesday, February 26)

Montesquieu and the republican reading of the English constitution.

Required Readings

- Montesquieu, *The Spirit of the Laws*, Part II, Books 11 and 12
 - esp. Book 11, Chapter 6, “On the constitution of England,” pp. 156-66.

Optional Reading, but strongly suggested to consult for your papers:

- Philip Pettit, “Free Persons and Free Choices,” *History of Political Thought* 28 (4) (Winter 2007) 709-18. [E]

Session 10 (Monday, March 3)

Montesquieu on republican arrangements: governance, religion, and lawmaking.

Required Readings

- Montesquieu, *The Spirit of the Laws*, Books 1-3, 5, 7-8

Optional Readings

- Montesquieu, *The Spirit of the Laws*, Books 13, 19-20, 24, 29
- Pettit, “Freedom in the market,” *Politics, philosophy and economics*, 5 (2) (2006) 131-49.
- Guillaume Barrera, *Les Lois du Monde: Enquête sur le dessein politique de Montesquieu* (Paris: Gallimard, 2009).
- Eric Nelson, “Montesquieu’s Greek Republics,” Chapter 5 in *The Greek Tradition in Republican Thought* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006).

D. The Theory and Practice of a Democratic Republic: Montesquieu, the American Revolution and the New Constitution

Theoretical focuses of lectures and discussions:

- (1) how constitutions undergird and inhibit republican government,
- (2) how do republics extend the franchise?
- (3) the return to strong(er) executive government (“the revolt against 1776”),
- (4) role of the petition as a representative mechanism for lower estates and other populations without franchise power,
- (5) civic institutions for keeping citizens well informed.

Sessions 11 - 12 (Wednesday, March 5 & Monday, March 10)

The emergence of assemblies, the revolt against royal authority and the American Revolution.

Required Readings

- Morgan, *Inventing the People*, Part 2, Chapters 7-9, and Chapter 10.
- Gordon Wood, *Creation of the American Republic*, Chapters 2-3, 5. [E]
- *The Great Law of Peace and the Iroquois Constitution* [E]
- *The Declaration of Independence* (re-read) [E]
- *The Articles of Confederation* [E]

- Du Bois, *Black Reconstruction*, Chapter 1 (“The Black Worker”) [E]

Optional Reading

- Pauline Maier, *American Scripture: Making the Declaration of Independence* (1998).

Wednesday, March 12th – Midterm Examination

Spring Break – March 14th to 23rd

Sessions 14 and 15 (Monday, March 24 and Wednesday, March 26)

Democratic Energies, the Repudiation of 1776 and the American Constitution.

Required Readings

- The Massachusetts Constitution of 1780. [E]
- *The Great Law of Peace and the Iroquois Constitution* (re-read) [E]
- Emmanuel Joseph Sieyès, *What is the Third Estate?* (1789) (short selection from beginning of pamphlet) [E]
- *The Federalist Papers* [E]
 - Nos 1-10 [Hamilton, Madison and Jay];
 - 15, 23, 34-35 [Hamilton];
 - 39, 45, 47-51 [Madison];
 - 67-73, 78-80, 84-85 [Hamilton].
- Jefferson letter to Madison on adding rights to the Constitution, 1789 [E]
- *The Anti-Federalist*, selections.
 - Letter from the Federal Farmer (Lee?), October 9, 1787 [E]
 - Essays of Brutus (Yates?), November 1, 1787 [E]
 - Patrick Henry at the Virginia Ratifying Convention, June 5 1788 [E]
- George Washington, *Letter to the Hebrew Congregation at Newport*, 1790 [E]
- Paine, *Common Sense* (reread) [E]
- Letters by John Adams [E]
 - to James Sullivan, May 26, 1776
 - to John Taylor, December 17, 1814

Session 16 (Monday, March 31)

The Hamiltonian vision [commercial republic, strong executive] versus the Jeffersonian vision [weaker executive, agrarian republic, decentralized government].

Battles over monetary policy.

Hamiltonian v. Jeffersonian Political Economy: The Public Debt and National Bank Questions

Required Readings

- Hamilton:
 - *Report on the Public Credit* (selections) [E]
 - *Report on a National Bank* (selections) [E]
- Jefferson:
 - *Notes on the State of Virginia*, Queries 13-14, 17-19 [E]
 - 1799 letter to Elbridge Gerry [E]
 - Letter to Madison, 1791 [E]
- Read/review *Federalist* Nos. 11-13, 28-30, 35-6, 84-85. [E]

Optional Readings on Republican Government in the Early United States, basis for lecture

- Wright, *One Nation Under Debt*, Chapter 3, Chapter 4, “The Constitution and the National Debt,” and Chapter 5, “Alexander Hamilton’s Grand Plan,” esp. pp. 147-160.
- Joanne Freeman, *Affairs of Honor* (Yale).
- Thomas Pangle, *The Spirit of Modern Republicanism* (Chicago). Very useful critique of Wood, Pocock, and Skinner. Emphasis on Locke’s contributions.
- Sandel, *Democracy’s Discontent*, Chapter 5, “Economics and Virtue in the Early Republic”
- Eric Foner, *Free Soil, Free Labor, Free Men: The Ideology of the Republican Party before the Civil War* (Oxford), chapter on free soil ideology (40 pages).
- Robert Dahl, *The Anti-Democratic Character of the U.S. Constitution*.

E. A Democratic Republic in Practice: Contests over Institutions and Policy, and Challenges to the Tradition

Sessions 17-19 (Wednesday, April 2, to Wednesday, April 9)

Slavery, Dispossession, Race, Abolition and Republicanism;

Expansions of Citizenship: From Abolitionism to Women's Rights and Civil Rights

Required Readings

- Du Bois, *Black Reconstruction*, Chapters 2 and 3. [E]
- Sagoyewatha (Red Jacket), Petition to President (1818) [E]
- Petition of Cherokee Women's Council (1817) [E]
- Angelina Grimké, *An Appeal to the Women of the Nominally Free States*. [E]
- *The Seneca Falls Declaration* (1844) [E]
- Speeches by Frederick Douglass: [E]
 - March 1847, Farewell Address to the British People (Douglass on pro-slavery spirit of the U.S. Constitution)
 - May 15, 1851: Change of Opinion on Constitution, in Douglass' *North Star*
 - July 5, 1852: "Meaning of July 4th for the Slave"
- Antislavery petitions from the Digital Archive of Massachusetts Antislavery and Anti-Segregation Petitions [E]
(<https://dataverse.harvard.edu/dataverse/antislaverypetitionsma>)
 - Petition of Prince Hall, 1777 [transcription -- <https://teachingamericanhistory.org/document/massachusetts-antislavery-petition/>]
 - Belinda's Petition, 1783 [transcription -- <https://royallhouse.org/belinda-suttons-1783-petition-full-text/>]
 - Petition of Ruth C. Johnson, 1837
 - Petition of Lydia Maria Child, 1839
 - Petition of Victor W. Barker, 1843
 - Petition of William Lloyd Garrison for woman suffrage

SECOND PAPER ASSIGNMENT

Second Paper due **Friday, April 11, 2025**, at 8pm.

Sessions 20 and 21 (Monday, April 14 and Wednesday, April 16)
Civil War and Reconstruction. The Lost Republics of the South.

Required Readings

- Du Bois, *Black Reconstruction*, Chapters 5, 10-11, 14-17 (the Civil War and the contributions of black activists to abolition and the Reconstruction Amendments; the black-majority republic of South Carolina; the fall of Reconstruction) [E]
- M. L. King, Jr., *Letter from a Birmingham Jail*, 1963 (the question of non-violent resistance to laws considered unjust) [E]

Sessions 22 - 26 (Monday, April 21 to Wednesday, April 30)
America's Democratic Republic, France's Third Republic and Other Republics

Required Readings

- Documents for the Third Republic of France
 - From Fortescue, *The Third Republic in France, 1870-1940: Conflicts and Continuities* (London and New York: Routledge, 2000) [E]
- The Nature of Representation
 - Jane Mansbridge, "Rethinking Representation," *American Political Science Review* 97 (4) (November 2003) 515-528. [E]
- The Issue of Plebiscites:
 - Sherman J. Clark, "A Populist Critique of Direct Democracy," *Harvard Law Review* (1988) [E]
- The Need for Inclusive Citizenship:
 - Allen, *Talking to Strangers*, Chapters 5-7 [E]
- The Limits of Elections:
 - Christopher Achen and Larry Bartels, *Democracy for Realists: Why Elections Do Not Produce Responsive Government* (Princeton University Press). [E]

FINAL PAPER ASSIGNMENT

Due date TBA.