

Political Economy of American Development, 1860-1900
(Spring 2005)

Government 611
Richard Bensel

Tuesday, 4:30-6:30
White B 04

Course Description

This course will trace the political economy of national state formation from the last decades of the antebellum period, through the Civil War and Reconstruction eras, and conclude with the transition to a more industrial society during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Utilizing a broad survey of the literature on these periods, the course will investigate: (1) the connection between slavery and the emergence of southern separatism; (2) the impact of conflict between the plantation South and industrializing North on American state formation; (3) the failure of post-Civil War attempts to remold the southern political economy; (4) the role of finance capital markets in industrial and western agrarian expansion and the consequent emergence of monetary issues in national politics; (5) the political economic basis of possible developmental trajectories other than the high-tariff, gold-standard one actually followed; and (6) the failure of intense conflict between labor and capital on the factory floor to move into national politics.

Course Requirements:

Students can choose between two options. Both options commit you to organize and lead the opening discussion for at least two of the sessions (usually a 30-35 minute responsibility). Option one also requires a 72 hour take-home examination, conducted as if it were a small version of a Ph.D. qualifying examination. In place of the exam, option two commits you to lead discussion in two additional sessions as well as prepare a research paper of (to be negotiated) length. You should choose this second option only if you believe you might want to publish in this area.

Required Books:

Sven Beckert, The Monied Metropolis: New York City and the Consolidation of the American Bourgeoisie, 1850-1896 (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003; available in paper).

Daniel P. Carpenter, The Forging of Bureaucratic Autonomy: Reputations, Networks, and Policy Innovation in Executive Agencies, 1862-1928 (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2001; available in paper).

Alfred D. Chandler, Jr., The Visible Hand: The Managerial Revolution in American Business (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1977; available in paper).

William Cronon, Nature's Metropolis: Chicago and the Great West (New York: W.W. Norton, 1991; available in paper).

Robert William Fogel, Without Consent or Contract: The Rise and Fall of American Slavery (New York: W.W. Norton, 1989; available in paper).

Eric Foner, Free Soil, Free Labor, Free Men: The Ideology of the Republican Party before the Civil War (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995; available in paper).

Steven Hahn, A Nation under Our Feet: Black Political Struggles in the Rural South from Slavery to the Great Migration (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Belknap Press, 2003)

James M. McPherson, Ordeal by Fire: The Civil War and Reconstruction (New York: McGraw-Hill, 2001; third edition).

Thomas D. Morris, Southern Slavery and the Law, 1619-1860 (Chapel Hill: North Carolina University Press, 1996; available in paper).

Karen Orren and Stephen Skowronek, The Search for American Political Development (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2004).

Paul Pierson, Politics in Time: History, Institutions, and Social Analysis (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2004).

Elizabeth Sanders, Roots of Reform: Farmers, Workers, and the American State, 1877-1917 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999; available in paper).

Rogers M. Smith, Civic Ideals: Conflicting Visions of Citizenship in U.S. History (New Haven, Connecticut: Yale University Press, 1997; available in paper).

Gavin Wright, Old South, New South: Revolutions in the Southern Economy Since the Civil War (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1996; available in paper).

Optional Books:

Richard Bense, The American Ballot Box in the Mid-Nineteenth Century (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2004; available in paper).

Richard Bense, The Political Economy of American Industrialization, 1877-1900 (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2000; available in paper).

Richard Bense, Yankee Leviathan: The Origins of Central State Authority in America, 1859-1877 (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1990; available in paper).

Sarah Barringer Gordon, The Mormon Question: Polygamy and Constitutional Conflict in Nineteenth Century America (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2002).

Steven Hahn, The Roots of Southern Populism: Yeoman Farmers and the Transformation of the Georgia Upcountry, 1850-1890 (New York: Oxford University Press, 1983; available in paper).

Ken I. Kersch, Constructing Civil Liberties: Discontinuities in the Development of American Constitutional Law (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2004).

William J. Novak, The People's Welfare: Law and Regulation in Nineteenth-Century America (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1996).

Martin Sklar, The Corporate Reconstruction of American Capitalism: The Market, the Law, and Politics, 1890-1916 (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1988; available in paper).

Stephen Skowronek, Building a New American State: The Expansion of National Administrative Capacities, 1877-1920 (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1982; available in paper).

William M. Wiecek, The Lost World of Classical Legal Thought: Law and Ideology in America, 1886-1937 (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998).

General Bibliography:

In addition to the required and optional books listed above, a small library built around the following volumes can supply both a general survey of the period as well as a quick reference resource. Note that some of the weekly assignments will also be drawn from these works.

Eric Foner, Reconstruction: America's Unfinished Revolution, 1863-1877 (New York: Harper and Row, 1988; available in paper).

Herbert S. Klein, A Population History of the United States (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2004).

Milton Friedman and Anna Jacobson Schwartz, A Monetary History of the United States, 1867-1960 (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1971; available in paper).

Alexander Keyssar, The Right to Vote: The Contested History of Democracy in the United States (New York: Basic Books, 2000).

D.W. Meinig, The Shaping of America: 1492-1867, three volumes (New Haven: Connecticut: Yale University Press, 1986 and 1993).

Richard B. Morris, Encyclopedia of American History (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1961; more recent editions available).

Karen Orren, Belated Feudalism: Labor, the Law, and Liberal Development in the United States (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1991; available in paper).

Roger L. Ransom and Richard Sutch, One Kind of Freedom: The Economic Consequences of Emancipation (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1977; available in paper).

Joel H. Silbey, The American Political Nation, 1838-1893 (Stanford, California: Stanford, 1991; available in paper).

Theda Skocpol, Protecting Soldiers and Mothers: The Political Origins of Social Policy in the United States (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1992; available in paper).

C. Vann Woodward, Origins of the New South, 1877-1913 (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1967; available in paper).

Topics and Weekly Reading Assignments

First Session (January 25): **Introduction to the Course--no assignment.**

Second Session (February 1): **General Approaches to American Political**

Development.

Required Readings:

- 1) Karen Orren and Stephen Skowronek, **The Search for American Political Development** (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2004), Preface and pp. 1-201.
- 2) Samuel P. Huntington, **Political Order in Changing Societies** (New Haven, Connecticut: Yale University Press, 1970), pp. 93-139.
- 3) Stephen Skowronek, **Building a New American State: The Expansion of National Administrative Capacities, 1877-1920** (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1982), pp. vii-x, 3-35.
- 4) Paul Pierson, **Politics in Time: History, Institutions, and Social Analysis** (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2004), pp. 1-178.
- 5) Richard Bense, **Yankee Leviathan: The Origins of Central State Authority in America, 1859-1877** (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1990), pp. ix-xi, 1-17, 416-436.

General Questions to Guide Discussion in the Second Session

1) American political development has been defined as “the study of processes through which political institutions have been reproduced or changed in the United States. While these institutions may be formally constituted structures of governance (e.g., the central state or its various departments and divisions), the essential criteria are simply their identifiability as distinct social bodies of one sort or another (e.g., political coalitions, economic cooperatives, social movements, or ideational communities). American political development involves the longitudinal investigation of such institutions, including explanations of their origin, the conditions sustaining their existence (i.e., reproducibility), and the reasons for their demise. A necessary element in such theoretical investigations is their explicit insertion into one or more of the larger thematic tapestries which attempt to encompass all or at least major parts of the American experience. Such insertion will almost always situate the case at hand with respect to similar (and possibly contrasting) institutions, either in other periods of American history or in contexts drawn from cross-national comparisons.” How would the authors we read this week react to this definition?

Recommended background:

- 1) Louis Hartz, **The Liberal Tradition in America** (New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, 1955).
- 2) John Gerring, **Social Science Methodology: A Criterial Framework** (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2001).
- 3) Martin J. Sklar, **The United States as a Developing Country: Studies in U.S. History in the Progressive Era and the 1920s** (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1992).

4) Theda Skocpol, Protecting Soldiers and Mothers: The Political Origins of Social Policy in the United States (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1992).

5) Paul Pierson, "Increasing Returns, Path Dependence, and the Study of Politics," American Political Science Review 94 (2000): 251-268.

6) James Mahoney, and Dietrich Rueschemeyer, Ed's, Comparative Historical Analysis in the Social Sciences (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003).

Third Session (February 8): The Political Economy of Slavery and the Rise of Southern Separatism.

Required Readings:

1) Robert William Fogel, Without Consent or Contract: The Rise and Fall of American Slavery (New York: W.W. Norton, 1989), pp. 9-198.

2) Mark Tushnet, The American Law of Slavery, 1810-1860: Considerations of Humanity and Interest (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1981), pp. 3-43, 229-232.

3) Thomas D. Morris, Southern Slavery and the Law, 1619-1860 (Chapel Hill: North Carolina University Press, 1996), pp. 1-158, 303-368, 424-443.

4) Jenny Bourne Wahl, The Bondsman's Burden: An Economic Analysis of the Common Law of Southern Slavery (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1998), pp. 1-178 and notes.

Questions to Guide Discussion for the Third Session

1) What is the model of staple production and utilization of slave labor that underlies Fogel's interpretation? How, might you imagine, do the economic institutions supporting a coerced labor system structure the political claims and attitudes of elites in a slave society?

2) What, given this model of staple production, might have been the role of state policy on the construction of race distinctions, class boundaries, and the operation of slavery as a labor system?

3) These authors present very different views on the mechanism through which southern slavery replicated itself as an ensemble of social, political, and economics institutions. For some decades now, debate has raged over whether slaveholders were motivated by profit, whether slavery as a system should be considered capitalist, and whether slavery was on the verge of a "natural" extinction on the eve of the Civil War. The center of that debate has now moved into legal history. How would the last three authors answer such questions?

Recommended background:

- 1) Shearer Davis Bowman, Masters and Lords: Mid-19th Century U.S. Planters and Prussian Junkers (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993).
- 2) Philip D. Curtin, The Rise and Fall of the Plantation Complex, second edition (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1998).
- 3) Barbara J. Fields, "Ideology and Race in American History," in J. Morgan Kousser and James M. McPherson, Region, Race, and Reconstruction (New York: Oxford University Press, 1982), pp. 143-177.
- 4) Robert William Fogel and Stanley L. Engerman, Time on the Cross: The Economics of American Negro Slavery (Boston: Little, Brown, 1974).
- 5) George M. Fredrickson, White Supremacy: A Comparative Study in American and South African History (New York: Oxford University Press, 1981).
- 6) Eugene D. Genovese, The Political Economy of Slavery: Studies in the Economy and Society of the Slave South (New York: Random House, 1967).
- 7) Herbert G. Gutman, The Black Family in Slavery and Freedom, 1750-1925 (New York: Pantheon, 1976).
- 8) Peter Kolchin, Unfree Labor: American Slavery and Russian Serfdom (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1987).
- 9) John D. Majewski, House Dividing: Economic Development in Pennsylvania and Virginia, 1800-1860 (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2000).
- 10) Gavin Wright, The Political Economy of the Cotton South: Households, Markets, and Wealth in the Nineteenth Century (New York: W.W. Norton, 1978).
- 11) Don E. Fehrenbacher (completed by Ward M. McAfee), The Slaveholding Republic: An Account of the United States Government's Relations to Slavery (New York: Oxford University Press, 2001).

Fourth Session (February 15): The Social and Political Origins of Secession and War.

Required readings:

- 1) James L. Huston, Calculating the Value of the Union: Slavery, Property Rights, and the Economic Origins of the Civil War (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2003), Preface and pp. 3-148, 233-286.
- 2) Eric Foner, Free Soil, Free Labor, Free Men: The Ideology of the Republican Party before the Civil War (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995), pp. 1-72, 226-318.
- 3) William E. Gienapp, The Origins of the Republican Party, 1852-1856 (New York: Oxford University Press, 1987), Preface and pp. 239-272, 413-448.

Questions to Guide Discussion for the Fourth Session

- 1) What are the respective weights or saliency of political, cultural, and economic

factors in these explanations of the origins of the American Civil War? Alternatively, if we were to construct counterfactuals through which war would have been avoided, how would these counterfactuals vary for each of these works?

2) Compare the sources and evidence used by each of these authors. How does each author adapt a citation style and utilize primary materials to the varying purposes and ambitions of each work? Conversely, what can you tell about the purposes and ambitions of each author from the way evidence is marshaled?

3) How much contingency is there in each of these explanations? Where is that contingency located in their respective models?

Recommended background:

1) Michael F. Holt, **The Rise and Fall of the American Whig Party: Jacksonian Politics and the Onset of the Civil War** (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999).

2) Mark Voss-Hubbard, **Beyond Party: Cultures of Antipartisanship in Northern Politics before the Civil War** (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2002).

2) Richard Bense, **Yankee Leviathan: The Origins of Central State Authority in America, 1859-1877** (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1990), pp. 18-93.

3) Barrington Moore, Jr., **Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy: Lord and Peasant in the Making of the Modern World** (Boston: Beacon Press, 1966), pp. 111-155.

4) Jean H. Baker, **Affairs of Party: The Political Culture of Northern Democrats in the Mid-Nineteenth Century** (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1983).

5) James L. Huston, **The Panic of 1857 and the Coming of the Civil War** (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1987).

6) John McCardell, **The Idea of a Southern Nation: Southern Nationalists and Southern Nationalism, 1830-1860** (New York: W.W. Norton, 1979).

7) David M. Potter, **The Impending Crisis, 1848-1861** (New York: Harper Torchbooks, 1976).

8) Kenneth M. Stampp, **America in 1857: A Nation on the Brink** (New York: Oxford University Press, 1990).

9) William W. Freehling, **Road to Disunion, 1776-1854** (New York: Oxford University Press, 1990), pp. 487-565.

10) David Grimsted, **American Mobbing, 1828-1861** (New York: Oxford University Press, 2003).

Fifth Session (February 22): War Mobilization in the Confederate and Union States.

Required Readings:

1) Melinda Lawson, **Patriot Fires: Forging a New American Nationalism in the Civil War North** (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2002), pp. 1-13, 40-97, 160-186.

2) James M. McPherson, Ordeal by Fire: The Civil War and Reconstruction (New York: McGraw-Hill, 2001; third edition), seriously skim the book.

3) Richard Bensel, Yankee Leviathan: The Origins of Central State Authority in America, 1859-1877 (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1990), pp. 94-237.

Questions to Guide Discussion for the Fifth Session

1) The general focus of the discussion in this session will be a comparison of the Union and Confederate war mobilizations. What are the differences between the individual explanations for the form and content of these mobilizations? Is there anything odd, in a theoretical sense, in comparing the Union and the Confederacy as "states"?

2) Is it possible to prevent our knowledge of how the conflict actually unfolded, including the outcome, from distorting our explanation for that outcome? How, for example, do we detach ourselves from the society the Civil War made (i.e., the one we now live in) in order to dispassionately identify the contingent choices and processes which constructed the war?

Recommended background:

1) William Blair, Virginia's Private War: Feeding Body and Soul in the Confederacy, 1861-1865 (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998).

2) Allan G. Bogue, The Congressman's Civil War (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1989).

3) Robert Doughty, Ira D. Gruber, et al., The American Civil War: The Emergence of Total Warfare (Lexington, Massachusetts: D.C. Heath, 1996).

4) Eric L. McKittrick, "Party Politics and the Union and Confederate War Efforts," in William Nisbet Chambers and Walter Dean Burnham, Ed's., The American Party Systems: Stages of Political Development (New York: Oxford University Press, 1973), pp. 117-151.

5) Raimondo Luraghi, "The Civil War and the Modernization of American Society," Civil War History 18 (September 1972): 232-250.

6) Emory M. Thomas, The Confederate Nation: 1861-1865 (New York: Harper and Row, 1979), pp. 98-306.

Sixth Session (March 1): Law, Economy, and Society.

Required Readings:

1) Rogers M. Smith, Civic Ideals: Conflicting Visions of Citizenship in U.S. History (New Haven, Connecticut: Yale University Press, 1997), pp. 1-12, 347-409 and notes.

2) William J. Novak, The People's Welfare: Law and Regulation in Nineteenth-Century America (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1996),

Preface, pp. 1-82, 235-248, and notes.

3) Sarah Barringer Gordon, The Mormon Question: Polygamy and Constitutional Conflict in Nineteenth Century America (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2002), pp. 1-83, 119-238.

4) William M. Wiecek, The Lost World of Classical Legal Thought: Law and Ideology in America, 1886-1937 (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998), Preface and pp. 3-174, 246-277.

5) Ken I. Kersch, Constructing Civil Liberties: Discontinuities in the Development of American Constitutional Law (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2004), pp. 1-72.

6) Howard Schweber, The Creation of American Common Law, 1850-1880: Technology, Politics, and the Construction of Citizenship (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2004).

Questions to Guide Discussion for the Sixth Session

1) The common law has always been far more interesting to scholars than public statutes. What explains this bias? What might we be missing when we slight the law of legislatures in favor of the law of judges?

2) Friedrich Hayek described the common law as a “spontaneous order” which incrementally and efficiently adjusted legal rules to changes in society and economy. The authors we read this week present a wide variety of possibly competing factors which have shaped the common law, among them: ideological belief systems, economic philosophy, religion, communal political culture, and statist construction of citizenship. Are they really describing and explaining the same thing?

Recommended background:

1) J. Willard Hurst, Law and Economic Growth: The Legal History of the Lumber Industry in Wisconsin, 1836-1915 (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1964).

2) Christopher L. Tomlins and Bruce H. Mann, ed's., The Many Legalities of Early America (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2001).

3) Morton Horowitz, The Transformation of American Law, 1780-1860 (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1977).

Seventh Session (March 8): The Political Economy of the Post-war South.

Required Readings:

1) Roger L. Ransom and Richard Sutch, One Kind of Freedom: The Economic

Consequences of Emancipation (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1977), pp. 1-105.

2) Gavin Wright, **Old South, New South: Revolutions in the Southern Economy Since the Civil War** (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1996), pp. vi-x, 3-197.

3) Steven Hahn, **A Nation under Our Feet: Black Political Struggles in the Rural South from Slavery to the Great Migration** (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Belknap Press, 2003), pp. 1-61, 265-313, 364-411, 465-476.

4) Robert Higgs, **Competition and Coercion: Blacks in the American Economy, 1865-1914** (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1977), Preface and pp. 1-134.

5) SKIM: Charles S. Aiken, **The Cotton Plantation South since the Civil War** (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2003).

Questions to Guide Discussion for the Seventh Session

1) These authors agree that the post-war South was far less developed than the northern industrial economy and grew fairly slowly through the last decades of the nineteenth century. They disagree, however, on the reasons for this stagnation. Compare their analyses by constructing counterfactuals in which the South might have prospered during this period.

2) Segregation and racism have often been assigned major roles in the underdevelopment of the post-war southern economy. What are the relative weights each of these authors places on racism in their interpretations? Would the South have developed much differently in the absence of segregated institutions? Assuming the task to be to explain the distinct trajectory of the plantation South in post-Civil War national economic and political development, how would you integrate the interpretations offered here into one theoretical frame?

Recommended background:

1) Richard Velely, **The Two Reconstructions: The Struggle for Black Enfranchisement** (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004).

2) Jay R. Mandle, **Not Slave, Not Free: The African American Experience since the Civil War** (Durham, North Carolina: Duke University Press, 1992).

3) William Ivy Hair, **Carnival of Fury: Robert Charles and the New Orleans Race Riot of 1900** (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1976).

4) Joseph P. Reidy, **From Slavery to Agrarian Capitalism in the Cotton Plantation South: Central Georgia, 1800-1880** (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1992).

5) Jennifer Roback, "The Political Economy of Segregation: The Case of Segregated Streetcars," **Journal of Economic History** 46:4 (December 1986): 893-917.

6) C. Vann Woodward, **Origins of the New South, 1877-1913** (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1967).

7) Werner Troesken, **Water, Race, and Disease** (Cambridge, Massachusetts: MIT Press, 2004).

Eighth Session (March 15): The Growth and Politics of Cities.

Required Readings:

1) William Cronon, Nature's Metropolis: Chicago and the Great West (New York: W.W. Norton, 1991), pp. 55-262.

2) Sven Beckert, The Monied Metropolis: New York City and the Consolidation of the American Bourgeoisie, 1850-1896 (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003), pp. 1-204, 293-334.

General Questions to Guide Discussion in the Eighth Session

1) Cronon appears to view Chicago's founding and subsequent expansion as almost a "naturalistic" process. Governmental plans and policies are almost nowhere to be seen. Beckert, on the other hand, sees the visible hands of economic elites poking their fingers in every pie. How would you reconcile the two interpretations?

2) In the context of American economic development, industrialization and urbanization are often viewed as synonymous or, at least, so closely intertwined that the one would not have been possible without the other. How might the two processes be distinguished from each other? Would a political perspective serve to analytically separate these processes or conflate them?

3) Finally, think carefully about the ways in which city, state, and nation came to have boundaries and the relationship between those boundaries and the structure of economic exchange. Which is the most "natural" unit (in the sense that its boundaries best correspond to spatial patterns of economic and social activity)?

Recommended background:

1) Peter G. Boag, Environment and Experience: Settlement Culture in Nineteenth-Century Oregon (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992).

2) Michael P. Conzen, "The Maturing Urban System in the United States, 1840-1910," in David Ward, ed., Geographic Perspectives on America's Past (New York: Oxford University Press, 1979), pp. 253-274.

3) Allan Pred, Urban Growth and City-Systems in the United States, 1840-1860 (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1980).

4) Mary P. Ryan, Civic Wars: Democracy and Public Life in the American City during the Nineteenth Century (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997).

5) David Ward, Cities and Immigrants (New York: Oxford University Press, 1971).

6) Michael Williams, Americans and Their Forests: A Historical Geography (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1989).

7) Blair A. Ruble, Second Metropolis: Pragmatic Pluralism in Gilded Age Chicago, Silver Age Moscow, and Meiji Osaka (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2004).

Ninth Session (March 29): Parties and Policy in the Late Nineteenth Century.

Required Readings:

1) Daniel P. Carpenter, The Forging of Bureaucratic Autonomy: Reputations, Networks, and Policy Innovation in Executive Agencies, 1862-1928 (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2001), pp. 1-143, 353-367.

2) Elizabeth Sanders, Roots of Reform: Farmers, Workers, and the American State, 1877-1917 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999), pp. 1-177.

3) John Gerring, Party Ideologies in America, 1828-1996 (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1998), pp. 3-124, 161-226, 257-298.

4) Michael Perman, Struggle for Mastery: Disfranchisement in the South, 1888-1908 (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2001), pp. 1-47, 70-90, 195-223, 321-328.

5) J. Morgan Kousser, The Shaping of Southern Politics: Suffrage Restriction and the Establishment of the One-Party South, 1880-1910 (New Haven, Connecticut: Yale University Press, 1974), pp. 1-82, 224-265.

6) Richard Benschel, The American Ballot Box in the Mid-Nineteenth Century (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2004), Preface and pp. 1-297.

Questions to Guide Discussion for the Ninth Session

1) We can imagine at least two competing explanations of the origins and development of the American party system: (a) a top-down, elite-driven interpretation in which the design and presentation of competing symbolic and substantive packages of policy issues are controlled by narrowly-circumscribed and insulated groups of well-placed individuals and (b) a bottom-up, popular interpretation in which opportunities for insurgency and intense party competition allow the masses to more or less control the electoral agenda. How do each of the studies read this week come down on this dichotomy?

2) From the simplest perspective, a democratic system connects people to parties to policy. How we conceive of these connections underpins how much autonomy state agents may have from the "popular will." How much autonomy do these authors believe state agents possessed in the nineteenth century?

Recommended background:

1) Glenn C. Altschuler and Stuart M. Blumin, Rude Republic: Americans and Their Politics in the Nineteenth Century (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2000).

2) Richard Benschel, Sectionalism and American Political Development, 1880-1980 (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1987).

3) Walter Dean Burnham, "Periodization Schemes and 'Party Systems': The 'System of 1896' as a Case in Point," Social Science History 10 (Fall 1986): 263-314.

4) Elizabeth Clemens, **The People's Lobby: Organizational Repertoires and the Rise of Interest Group Politics in the United States, 1890-1925** (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998).

5) Alexander Keyssar, **The Right to Vote: The Contested History of Democracy in the United States** (New York: Basic Books, 2000).

6) Paul Kleppner, **The Third Electoral System, 1853-1892: Parties, Voters, and Political Cultures** (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1979), pp. 3-15, 238-382.

7) Paul Kleppner, **Continuity and Change in Electoral Politics, 1893-1928** (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1987), pp. 59-119.

8) Joel H. Silbey, **The American Political Nation, 1838-1893** (Stanford, California: Stanford, 1991).

9) Charles Stewart III and Barry R. Weingast, "Stacking the Senate, Changing the Nation: Republican Rotten Boroughs, Statehood Politics, and American Political Development," **Studies in American Political Development**, 6 (1992): 223-271.

Tenth Session (April 5): Capital Markets, the Financial System, and the Legacy of the Civil War.

Required Readings:

1) Irwin Unger, **The Greenback Era: A Social and Political History of American Finance, 1865-1879** (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1964), pp. 3-40, 286-407.

2) Gretchen Ritter, **Goldbugs and Greenbacks: The Antimonopoly Tradition and the Politics of Finance in America, 1865-1896** (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1997), pp. 1-109.

3) Milton Friedman and Anna Jacobson Schwartz, **A Monetary History of the United States, 1867-1960** (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1971), pp. 3-188.

4) Richard Bense, **Yankee Leviathan: The Origins of Central State Authority in America, 1859-1877** (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1990), pp. 238-365.

Questions to Guide Discussion for the Tenth Session

1) One of the most striking characteristics of the post-war period was the emergence of monetary policy as one of the major organizing features of national political conflict and competition. This emergence was all the more striking because of the rather oblique fit between monetary policy and the equally important issues raised by the reentry of the South into the political system. How do Unger, Ritter, and Friedman/Schwartz account for the prominence of financial policy and its rather distant relationship to Reconstruction as a political project?

2) Many historians view the political issues surrounding debates over the American monetary system as devoid of substance--their emergence was the result of almost a kind of

false consciousness that subsequently deflected political insurgency and unrest from the real issues associated with rapid industrialization and corporate consolidation in the late nineteenth century. Other, perhaps fewer, historians view the same debates as both a reflection of actual stresses in the economy that could be addressed in the ways "soft money" advocates suggested and thus much more connected to other substantive issues (such as public ownership of railroads and anti-trust policy). How do these authors view the material implications of monetary debates, both as critique and remedy?

Recommended background:

- 1) Lance E. Davis and Robert J. Cull, International Capital Markets and American Economic Growth, 1820-1914 (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1994).
- 2) Bray Hammond, Banks and Politics in America from the Revolution to the Civil War (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1957).
- 3) Bray Hammond, Sovereignty and an Empty Purse: Banks and Politics in the Civil War (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1970).
- 4) Bruce Palmer, "Man over Money": The Southern Populist Critique of American Capitalism (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1980).
- 5) Richard Sylla, "Federal Policy, Banking Market Structure, and Capital Mobilization in the United States, 1863-1913," in Journal of Economic History 29 (December 1969): 657-686.
- 6) Mira Wilkins, The History of Foreign Investment in the United States to 1914 (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1989).

Eleventh Session (April 12): Industrialization.

Required Readings:

- 1) Alfred D. Chandler, Jr., The Visible Hand: The Managerial Revolution in American Business (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1977), pp. 1-144, 455-500.
- 2) Charles Perrow, Organizing America: Wealth, Power, and the Origins of Corporate Capitalism (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2003), pp. 1-95, 217-235.
- 3) William G. Roy, Socializing Capital: The Rise of the Large Industrial Corporation in America (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1997), pp. 1-20, 115-286.
- 4) Martin Sklar, The Corporate Reconstruction of American Capitalism: The Market, the Law, and Politics, 1890-1916 (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1988), pp. ix-xii, 1-85, 431-441.
- 5) Richard Bense, The Political Economy of American Industrialization, 1877-1900 (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2000), Preface and pp. 1-527.

Questions to Guide Discussion for the Eleventh Session

1) With its emphasis on organizational design as the driving force behind rapid industrialization in the United States, Chandler's Visible Hand is widely regarded as the foremost interpretation of America's rise to preeminence in the world economy. But as Perrow and Roy would hasten to point out, organizational design can itself be driven by factors which lay outside the economy. What are these factors and what drives them?

2) Sklar and Chandler are unrelentingly national in their focus; the United States often appears to be an undifferentiated whole as they describe the late nineteenth century. The Political Economy of American Industrialization, on the other hand, reminds us of the wide regional variation within the United States during the late nineteenth century. How would the first two interpretations be modified if this regional variation and its political consequences were acknowledged?

3) Sklar would have us view late nineteenth century industrialists and their community as a "social movement." What is to be gained, in theoretical terms, by such an interpretation? What is to be lost?

Recommended background:

1) Alfred Chandler, Scale and Scope: The Dynamics of Industrial Capitalism (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Belknap, 1990).

2) Colleen A. Dunlavy, Politics and Industrialization (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1993).

3) Stanley L. Engerman and Robert E. Gallman, ed's., The Long Nineteenth Century, Vol. II of The Cambridge Economic History of the United States (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2000).

4) Naomi R. Lamoreaux, The Great Merger Movement in American Business, 1895-1904 (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1985).

5) David R. Meyer, The Roots of American Industrialization (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2003).

6) D.W. Meinig, The Shaping of America: Transcontinental America, 1850-1915, volume three of a series (New Haven, Connecticut: Yale University Press, 1998).

7) W.W. Rostow, The Stages of Economic Growth (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1990; third edition).

Twelfth Session (April 19): Agrarian Insurgency and the Populist Party.

Required Readings:

1) Steven Hahn, The Roots of Southern Populism: Yeoman Farmers and the Transformation of the Georgia Upcountry, 1850-1890 (New York: Oxford University Press, 1983), pp. 1-85, 204-238, 269-289.

2) Michael Schwartz, Radical Protest and Social Structure: The Southern Farmers' Alliance and Cotton Tenancy, 1880-1890 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1988), pp.

3-16, 155-215, 269-287.

3) Lawrence Goodwyn, Democratic Promise: The Populist Moment in America (New York: Oxford University Press, 1976), Introduction and pp. 3-153, 470-564.

4) William H. Sewell, Jr., "A Theory of Structure: Duality, Agency, and Transformation," American Journal of Sociology, 98 (1992): 1-29.

Questions to Guide Discussion for the Twelfth Session

1) Each of these works addresses in some way the relationship between "structure" and "agency" in the formation of agrarian insurgency in the late nineteenth century. How would you describe the relative roles of structure and agency in each case?

2) Given the narrative descriptions and analysis presented by each author, what would you conclude were the major differences between the western and southern branches of the Populist movement?

3) Consider, for a moment, the Populist platform as a program for the national political economy. Would its adoption have solved the agrarian problem? What assumptions would you have to make about the subsequent trajectory of American political development and the characteristics of central state power for the Populist program to have solved the agrarian crisis in the late nineteenth century? What would have been the impact, if any, on industrial expansion and the technological adaptation of the American economy to world competition?

Recommended background:

1) Gerald Berk, Alternative Tracks: The Constitution of American Industrial Order, 1865-1917 (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1994).

2) John D. Hicks, The Populist Revolt: A History of the Farmers' Alliance and the People's Party (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1961).

3) Michael R. Hyman, The Anti-Redeemers: Hill-Country Political Dissenters in the Lower South from Redemption to Populism (Baton Rouge: Louisiana University Press, 1990).

4) Scott McNall, The Road to Rebellion: Class Formation and Kansas Populism, 1865-1900 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1988).

5) Fred A. Shannon, The Farmer's Last Frontier: Agriculture, 1860-1897 (Armonk, New York: M.E. Sharpe, 1991).

6) Ann-Marie E. Szymanski, Pathways to Prohibition: Radicals, Moderates, and Social Movement Outcomes (Durham, North Carolina: Duke University Press, 2003).

Thirteenth Session (April 26): Labor, Industrialization, and Political Development.

Required Readings:

1) Karen Orren, Belated Feudalism: Labor, the Law, and Liberal Development in the United States (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1991), pp. 1-28, 118-230.

2) Joshua L. Rosenbloom, Looking for Work, Searching for Workers: American Labor Markets during Industrialization (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2002), pp. 1-79, 114-146, 173-181.

3) David Brian Robertson, Capital, Labor, & State: The Battle for American Labor Markets from the Civil War to the New Deal (Lanham, Maryland: Rowman & Littlefield, 2000), Preface and pp. 1-63.

4) Kevin H. O'Rourke and Jeffrey G. Williamson, Globalization and History: The Evolution of a Nineteenth-Century Atlantic Economy (Cambridge, Massachusetts: MIT Press, 2001), pp. 1-55, 93-245, 269-287.

Questions to Guide Discussion for the Thirteenth Session

1) What is the role of labor, state policy, and national politics in each of these works? What does the role assigned to each of these say about the author's interpretation of the importance of state policy in American industrialization?

2) Labor historians tend to view the American development through the lens of events and conflicts within the floor of a northeastern or midwestern factory. In this tendency, they might remind you of the works by Chandler and Sklar. What is gained through this conflation of paradigmatic site-privileging and an ostensible national experience? What is lost?

Recommended background:

1) Eric Arnesen, Waterfront Workers of New Orleans: Race, Class, and Politics, 1863-1923 (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1994), Preface and pp. 3-159.

2) William E. Forbath, Law and the Shaping of the American Labor Movement (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1991).

3) Herbert Gutman, "Work, Culture, and Society in Industrializing America, 1815-1919," American Historical Review 78 (June 1973): 531-588.

4) Victoria Hattam, Labor Visions and State Power: The Origins of Business Unionism in the United States (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1994).

5) Leon Fink, Workingmen's Democracy: The Knights of Labor and American Politics (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1985), Preface and pp. 1-37, 149-233.

6) Pater Rachleff, Black Labor in Richmond, 1865-1890 (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1989).

7) Eric Foner, "Why Is There No Socialism?," History Workshop 17 (Spring 1984), pp. 63-80.

8) Ira Katznelson, "Working-Class Formation: Constructing Cases and Comparisons," and Aristide R. Zolberg, "How Many Exceptionalisms?," in Ira Katznelson

and Aristide R. Zolberg, eds., Working-Class Formation: Nineteenth-Century Patterns in Western Europe and the United States (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1986).

Fourteenth Session (May 3): Overview.

Date for Take-home Examination: (to be arranged).