

# DOWNLOAD PDF AMERICAN REVOLUTION AND THE POLITICS OF LIBERTY

## Chapter 1 : Revolutionary Changes and Limitations: Women [blog.quintoapp.com]

*The American Revolution and the Politics of Liberty is a systematic account of the political thought of the leaders of the American Revolution. In his first six chapters, Robert H. Webking analyzes in turn the ideas of James Otis, Patrick Henry, John Dickinson, Samuel Adams, John Adams, and Thomas Jefferson.*

The Rule of Reason:: It is a mythology. And we have made progress in debunking that mythology. Islam is without a doubt at war with the West, but the West refuses to acknowledge that declaration of war. But the Obama administration and the MSM and all their minions will not be persuaded otherwise. It would scuttle their whole approach to combating Islamic terrorism. They are ideologues trapped in a locked room in which they go round and round, chasing their own tails. Webking, author of *The American Revolution and the Politics of Liberty*, contradicts the received wisdom that the revolutionaries were little more than ideologues who had no philosophical or moral foundation on which to base their opposition to the growing expansion of British power over the lives of the American colonists, and so they declared their independence from Britain more from roiling emotion than from principle. Webking is a professor of political science at the University of Texas at El Paso. The subject of this book is the political thought of the intellectual leaders of the American Revolution. I seek to clarify the arguments about human beings and their governments made by the most thoughtful and influential of the American revolutionaries to explain their opposition to the policies of the British government during the period immediately preceding the American war for independence. The Americans explained their resistance to the British in principled terms. They claimed that British actions were not merely unwise or impolitic but fundamentally wrong and unjust. For much of this century [the 20th] it was the accepted opinion that an examination of the arguments made by the American revolutionaries would yield no important knowledge. Scholarship during the first half of this century was dominated by historians who minimized, if not denigrated, the place of ideas in the genesis of the American Revolution. Among other chalk marks against Marxism, is its denial of human volition. Marxism is a philosophy of determinism. Webking exposes the Progressive determinist premises of such prominent historians as Bernard Bailyn, author of one seminal work, *The Ideological Origins of the American Revolution* Cambridge. Insofar as Bailyn is unclear as to what he means by the ideology of the Americans, he has left unanswered a serious question about the causes and rationality, of the American Revolution. There is, however, much evidence in his work to suggest the question. Still, the Declaration [of Independence] does suggest that the leaders of the Revolution were moved more by rational calculation and less by irrational ideology than Bailyn concludes. Sievers *The Declaration of Independence is the culmination and high point of Western Enlightenment thought about liberty and political freedom.* Henry, who was regarded in his time by many of his contemporaries as a crude country bumpkin, was actually better read in the classics and in the political science of the time than most would credit him for. In May of he rose in the House of Burgesses, Virginia, and stunned the body with his oratory and rational arguments against the Stamp Tax. However, it was not the speech that actually passed the House of Burgesses but the resolves as published in the papers [throughout the colonies] that stirred resistance to the Stamp Act pp. I wrote speech itself, based on the style of 18th century oratory. Here is Henry in action, towards the end of his introduction of the resolves: Henry had removed his hat and handed it again to Colonel Munford. He took a step away from his seat. I own that I am perplexed by his attention to what the Crown can and may do, and by his neglect to speak to the propriety of the resolve and the impropriety of this Stamp Act. Should he have examined for us the basis of his fears? But, he did not. Perhaps he concluded that they were too terrible to articulate. So, I shall examine them, for I believe that he and I share one well-founded fear: The power of the Crown to punish us, to scatter us, to despoil us, for the temerity of asserting in no ambiguous terms our liberty! I fear that power no less than he. But, I say that such a fear, of such a power, can move a man to one of two courses. He can make a compact with that power, one of mutual accommodation, so that he may live the balance of his years in the shadow of that power, ever-trembling in

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soul-dulling funk lest that power rob him once again. I am wise to that Faustian bargain, and will not barter piecemeal or in whole my liberty! Is it because you believe that if it is not spoken, or its fact or action in any form not acknowledged, it will not be what it is? Well, I will speak it for you and for all this colony to hear! The horror is named! Know that I, too, have books, and that they are loose and dog-eared from my having read them, and I have profited from that habit. Like many of you, I, too, have read that in the past, the tyrants Tarquin and Julius Caesar each had his Brutus, Catline had his Cicero and Cato, and, closer to our time, Charles had his Cromwell! I warn you, sir! He stood for a moment more, then turned and strode back to his seat. But, he did not sit, for he was not finished. Sparrowhawk Webking describes in detail how each of the five resolves that were passed and promulgated not by Henry himself throughout the colonies was interconnected by unassailable logic to each of the others. In his attempts to balance the evil of mob violence with the evil of despotism, Adams ultimately makes his decision on the basis of the importance of liberty to human beings and of the seriousness of the threat to liberty presented by the principle of absolute parliamentary authority. He concludes that to allow a right so valuable to human beings to be removed without a fight is a greater evil than the right to fight. So that nothing is lost. If they die, they cannot be said to lose, for death is better than slavery. If they succeed, their gains are immense. They preserve their liberties. This is the tactic of the enemies of freedom today. They can only snort, smirk, and sneer at those principles. Webking ends his book with this observation: The leaders of the American Revolution argued, worked, and fought for peace, stability, and, most important, for liberty. The study of their revolution is the study of the rational pursuit of human liberty.

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## Chapter 2 : Exploring the Bounds of Liberty | Liberty Fund

*The leaders of the American Revolution argued, worked, and fought for peace, stability, and, most important, for liberty. The study of their revolution is the study of the rational pursuit of human liberty.*

Republican virtues[ edit ] The colonial intellectual and political leaders in the s and s closely read history to compare governments and their effectiveness of rule. Country party philosophy relied heavily on the classical republicanism of Roman heritage; it celebrated the ideals of duty and virtuous citizenship in a republic. It drew heavily on ancient Greek city-state and Roman republican examples. This approach produced a political ideology Americans called "republicanism", which was widespread in colonial America by Pocock explained the intellectual sources in America: American republicanism was centered on limiting corruption and greed. Virtue was of the utmost importance for citizens and representatives. Revolutionaries took a lesson from ancient Rome; they knew it was necessary to avoid the luxury that had destroyed the empire. The republic was sacred; therefore, it was necessary to serve the state in a truly representative way, ignoring self-interest and individual will. Republicanism required the service of those who were willing to give up their own interests for a common good. According to Bernard Bailyn, "The preservation of liberty rested on the ability of the people to maintain effective checks on wielders of power and hence in the last analysis rested on the vigilance and moral stamina of the people The duty of the virtuous citizen became a foundation for the American Revolution. Bernard Bailyn states, "The fact that the ministerial conspiracy against liberty had risen from corruption was of the utmost importance to the colonists. The patriot press provided emphasized British corruption, mismanagement, and tyranny. The greatest threat to liberty was thought by many to be corruption â€” not just in London but at home as well. The colonists associated it with luxury and, especially, inherited aristocracy, which they condemned. Pocock argues that Republicanism explains the American Revolution in terms of virtuous Republican resistance to British imperial corruption. They stirred up a martial spirit justified war against England. The sermons called on soldiers to behave morally and in a "manly" disciplined fashion. The rhetoric not only encouraged heavy enlistment, but helped create the intellectual climate the Patriots needed to fight a civil war. He states, "With the onset of the revolutionary crisis, a major conceptual shift convinced Americans across the theological spectrum that God was raising up America for some special purpose. So too did our idea that we Americans are a special people with a special destiny to lead the world toward liberty and democracy. In Discourse of Jonathan Mayhew states "An absolute submission to our prince, or whether disobedience and resistance may not be justified able in some casesâ€”to all those who bear the title of rulers in common but only to those who actually perform the duty of rulers by exercising a reasonable and just authority for the good of human society. This need to protect virtue was a philosophical underpinning of the American Revolution. Such a government is evidently restrained to very narrow limits of space and population. I doubt if it would be practicable beyond the extent of a New England township. The first shade from this pure element, which, like that of pure vital air, cannot sustain life of itself, would be where the powers of the government, being divided, should be exercised each by representatives chosen This I should consider as the nearest approach to a pure republic, which is practicable on a large scale of country or population Jefferson and Madison roundly denounced the Federalists for creating a national bank as tending to corruption and monarchism; Alexander Hamilton staunchly defended his program, arguing that national economic strength was necessary for the protection of liberty. Jefferson never relented but by Madison switched and announced in favor of a national bank, which he set up in John Adams often pondered the issue of civic virtue. And this public Passion must be Superior to all private Passions. Men must be ready, they must pride themselves, and be happy to sacrifice their private Pleasures, Passions, and Interests, nay their private Friendships and dearest connections, when they Stand in Competition with the Rights of society. He decided that history taught that "the Spirit of Commerce This had a great influence on the revolution as it implied the inborn right of the people to overthrow their leaders should those leaders betray the agreements implicit in the

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sovereign-follower relationship. But first and last came a commitment to republicanism, as shown by many historians such as Bernard Bailyn and Gordon S. The interpretation before , following Progressive School historians such as Charles A. Beard , Vernon L. Parrington and Arthur M. Louis Hartz refined the position in the s, arguing John Locke was the most important source because his property-oriented liberalism supported the materialistic goals of Americans. Louis School" was led by J. They emphasized slightly different approaches to republicanism. The relative importance of republicanism and liberalism remains a topic of strong debate among historians, as well as the politically active of present day. The Constitution[ edit ] The Founding Fathers wanted republicanism because its principles guaranteed liberty, with opposing, limited powers offsetting one another. They thought change should occur slowly, as many were afraid that a "democracy" â€” by which they meant a direct democracy â€” would allow a majority of voters at any time to trample rights and liberties. They believed the most formidable of these potential majorities was that of the poor against the rich. They set up a House of Representatives to represent the people. In practice the electoral college soon gave way to control by political parties. As the country urbanized and people took on different work, the property ownership requirement was gradually dropped by many states. Property requirements were gradually dismantled in state after state, so that all had been eliminated by , so that few if any economic barriers remained to prevent white, adult males from voting. The influence of names on the mass of mankind, was never more distinctly exhibited, than in the increase of the democratic party in the United States. After , the Democrats were opposed by another faction that named themselves "Whigs" after the Patriots of the s who started the American Revolution. Both of these parties proclaimed their devotion to republicanism in the era of the Second Party System. Republican motherhood[ edit ] Under the new government after the revolution, " republican motherhood " became an ideal, as exemplified by Abigail Adams and Mercy Otis Warren. The first duty of the republican woman was to instill republican values in her children, and to avoid luxury and ostentation. During the s, thousands of female mill workers went on strike to battle for their right to fair wages and independence, as there had been major pay cuts. Many of these women were daughters of independent land owners and descendants of men who had fought in the Revolutionary War; they identified as "daughters of freemen". In their fight for independence at the mills, women would incorporate rhetoric from the revolution to convey the importance and strength of their purpose to their corporate employers, as well as to other women. If the Revolutionary War was fought to secure independence from Great Britain , then these "daughters of freemen" could fight for the same republican values that through striking would give them fair pay and independence, just as the men had. They were appalled that Hamilton was increasing the national debt and using it to solidify his Federalist base. Burrows says of Gallatin: Not only was it necessary to extinguish the existing debt as rapidly as possible, he argued, but Congress would have to ensure against the accumulation of future debts by more diligently supervising government expenditures. Thus, George Washington in complained, "that you could as soon scrub the blackamoor white, as to change the principles of a profest Democrat; and that he will leave nothing unattempted to overturn the Government of this Country. Therefore, the larger the nation, the safer is republicanism. A precocious legal scholar, Story was appointed to the Court by James Madison in Story opposed Jacksonian democracy because it was inclined to repudiate lawful debts and was too often guilty of what he called "oppression" of property rights by republican governments. Military service thus was an integral duty of the citizen. As John Randolph of Roanoke put it, "When citizen and soldier shall be synonymous terms, then you will be safe. Military service was considered an important demonstration of patriotism and an essential component of citizenship. To soldiers, military service was a voluntary, negotiated, and temporary abeyance of self-governance by which they signaled their responsibility as citizens. In practice self-governance in military affairs came to include personal independence, enlistment negotiations, petitions to superior officials, militia constitutions, and negotiations regarding discipline. Together these affected all aspects of military order, discipline, and life. The party officially designated itself "Republican" because the name resonated with the struggle of Mills Thornton argues that in the antebellum South the drive to preserve republican values was the most powerful force, and

led Southerners to interpret Northern policies against slavery as a threat to their republican values. The main legislation was explicitly designed to promote Republicanism. They held that the republicanism meant that true political knowledge was to be gained in exercising the right to vote and organizing for elections. Anthony and other advocates of woman suffrage said republicanism covered them too, as they demanded the vote. The Progressives restructured the political system to combat entrenched interests for example, through the direct election of Senators, to ban influences such as alcohol that were viewed as corrupting, and to extend the vote to women, who were seen as being morally pure and less corruptible. In the presidential election of 1860, Republicans emphasized that the Democratic candidate Grover Cleveland had purchased a substitute to fight for him in the Civil War, while his opponent General Benjamin Harrison had fought in numerous battles. Army after war broke out in Europe. Many said it violated the republican notion of freely given civic duty to force people to serve. Legal terminology[ edit ] The term republic does not appear in the Declaration of Independence, but does appear in Article IV of the Constitution which "guarantee[s] to every State in this Union a Republican form of Government. The Supreme Court, in Luther v. Borden, declared that the definition of republic was a "political question" in which it would not intervene. During Reconstruction the Constitutional clause was the legal foundation for the extensive Congressional control over the eleven former Confederate states; there was no such oversight over the border slave states that had remained in the Union. In United States v. Cruikshank, the court ruled that the "equal rights of citizens" were inherent to the idea of republic. The opinion of the court from In re Duncan [75] held that the "right of the people to choose their government" is also part of the definition. It is also generally assumed that the clause prevents any state from being a monarchy or a dictatorship. Due to the and court decisions establishing basic definition, in the first version of the Pledge of Allegiance, which included the word republic, and like Article IV which refers to a Republican form of government, the basic definition of republic is implied and continues to do so in all subsequent versions, including the present edition, by virtue of its consistent inclusion. By the 1850s, democracy was seen as an unmitigated positive and the term "Democratic" was assumed by the Democratic Party and the term "Democrat" was adopted by its members. The last restrictions on black voting were made illegal in

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*"Radical Political Thought in the American Revolution." Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society 69 () 2: Historians in the early twentieth century tended to view the American Revolution within a narrow socio-economic framework. Questions of taxation, trade, and conflicts of.*

Revolutionary Changes and Limitations: The Revolutionary rethinking of the rules for society also led to some reconsideration of the relationship between men and women. At this time, women were widely considered to be inferior to men, a status that was especially clear in the lack of legal rights for married women. Even future First Ladies had relatively little clout. She could not participate in the creation of this government, however. Judith Sargent Murray wrote the most systematic expression of a feminist position in this period in but not published until Her essay, "On the Equality of the Sexes," challenged the view that men had greater intellectual capacities than women. Instead she argued that whatever differences existed between the intelligence of men and women were the result of prejudice and discrimination that prevented women from sharing the full range of male privilege and experience. Murray championed the view that the "Order of Nature" demanded full equality between the sexes, but that male domination corrupted this principle. Revolutionary and Early National America remained a place of male privilege. Nevertheless, the understanding of the proper relationships among men, women, and the public world underwent significant change in this period. The republican thrust of revolutionary politics required intelligent and self-disciplined citizens to form the core of the new republic. This helped shape a new ideal for wives as "republican mothers" who could instruct their children, sons especially, to be intelligent and reasonable individuals. Susanna Haswell Rowson , in the preface to her novel Charlotte Temple, dedicates the book "to the many daughters of Misfortune who, deprived of natural friends, or spoilt by a mistaken education, are thrown on an unfeeling world without the least power to defend themselves from the snares not only of the other sex, but from the more dangerous arts of the profligate of their own. In fact, the benefits that accompanied this new ideal of motherhood were largely restricted to elite families that had the resources to educate their daughters and to allow wives to not be employed outside the household. Republican motherhood did not meaningfully extend to white working women and was not expected to have any place for enslaved women. For example, the s saw the expansion of new kinds of books aimed for a female audience and often written by women. This new form of popular writing reflected and helped further expanded education and literacy for women. The female heroines of these novels frequently provided examples of the unjust suffering of women in a male-dominated world. Judith Sargent Murray Society The life and legacy of the 18th century feminist author, Judith Sargent Murray, is commemorated at this site. The Society has produced an "illustrated tour of her world" that introduces you to her husband and transports you to spots in and around Boston where Murray lived, worked, and relaxed. The entire book is here for you to browse You can search the text of this influential work by Susanna Haswell Rowson. The literature of meets the 21st century at this site. Eliza Lucas Pinckney This short biography gives insight into the life and accomplishments of the woman billed as "the first important agriculturalist of the United States. Her progressive education of her 2 sons made her a pioneer of learning as well. Learn more with this straight-to-the-point info from DistinguishedWomen. Mary Lyon and Mt. Holyoke Female Seminary Mary Lyon had a dream; she wanted women across the young United States to have access to an education equal to that of men. Although ridiculed by those who thought such learning would be "wasted" on women, she managed to change history when she opened Mount Holyoke Female Seminary later College in This fantastic site, provided by the College itself, recounts the life of Mary Lyon and the founding of the school with pictures, artifacts, and more.

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## Chapter 4 : Revolution | politics | [blog.quintoapp.com](http://blog.quintoapp.com)

*Historical analysis of Politics in The American Revolution. The American Revolution through the lens of Politics the war's end was a time of triumph and liberty.*

Revolutions, which are the result of the crisis in its most extreme form, involve the overthrow not merely of the government but of the political order itself. Typically, a revolution is preceded by a series of strains within the system: A revolution constitutes a challenge to the established political order and the eventual establishment of a new order radically different from the preceding one. The great revolutions of European history, especially the Glorious English, French, and Russian revolutions, changed not only the system of government but also the economic system, the social structure, and the cultural values of those societies. Historically, the concept of revolution was seen as a very destructive force, from ancient Greece to the European Middle Ages. The ancient Greeks saw revolution as a possibility only after the decay of the fundamental moral and religious tenets of society. Plato believed that a constant, firmly entrenched code of beliefs could prevent revolution. Any radical alteration in basic values or beliefs provides the ground for a revolutionary upheaval. During the Middle Ages, the maintenance of the established beliefs and forms of government remained the priority. Much attention was given to finding means of combating revolution and stifling changes in society. Religious authority was so strong and its belief in the maintenance of order so fundamental that the church directed people to accept the inequities of power, instead of upsetting the stability of society. Later and modern revolutionary thought only after the emergence of secular humanism during the Renaissance did this concept of revolution, as a cause of the desecration of society, change to embrace a more modern perspective. This new acceptance of change placed Machiavelli at the forefront of modern revolutionary thought, even though he never used the word revolution in his texts, and he was primarily concerned with the creation of a truly stable state. He also saw revolution as the right of society to defend itself against abusive tyrants, creating a new order that reflected the needs of the people. To Milton, revolution was the means of accomplishing freedom. Later, in the 18th century, the French, Haitian, and American revolutions were attempts to secure freedom from oppressive leadership. Modern revolutions have frequently incorporated utopian ideals as a basis for change. John Milton at age 62, chromolithograph after a pastel by William Faithorne. This idea helped serve as a basis for the American and French revolutions. Immanuel Kant, print published in London, Hegel was a crucial catalyst in the formation of 20th-century revolutionary thought. He saw revolutions as the fulfillment of human destiny, and he saw revolutionary leaders as those necessary to instigate and implement reforms. Marx believed in progressive stages of human history, culminating in the working-class overthrow of the property-owning class. For society to advance, the working class, or proletariat, must take over the means of production. Marx viewed this eventuality as the conclusion of the human struggle for freedom and a classless society, thus eliminating the need for further political change. Communist revolutions led by Marxists took place in Russia, Yugoslavia, China, Vietnam, and Cuba, among other countries, in the 20th century. This leads to a fracture of political authority, as the governing body must rely upon an increasingly desperate use of force to remain in power. Commensurate with this is the emergence of reform elements that serve to emphasize the corruption of the political authority. As the existing political order begins to lose its grasp on authority, momentum builds among the diverse forces of the opposition. As the government becomes more precarious, the splinter groups that form the threat to the existing order band together to topple the authority. Brinton also observed the different stages of a major revolution. After the government is overthrown, there is usually a period of optimistic idealism, and the revolutionaries engage in much perfectionist rhetoric. But this phase does not last very long. The practical tasks of governing have to be faced, and a split develops between moderates and radicals. It ends in the defeat of the moderates, the rise of extremists, and the concentration of all power in their hands. For one faction to prevail and maintain its authority, the use of force is almost inevitable. The goals of the revolution fade, as a

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totalitarian regime takes command. Some of the basic tenets of the original revolutionary movement, however, are eventually incorporated in the end. The French and Russian revolutions followed this course of development, as did the Islamic revolution in Iran in the late 20th century. A strictly political revolution, independent of social transformation, does not possess the same pattern of prerevolutionary and postrevolutionary events. Learn More in these related Britannica articles:

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## Chapter 5 : American Revolution - Wikipedia

*Source: Foreword to Political Sermons of the American Founding Era: , 2 vols, Foreword by Ellis Sandoz (2nd ed. Indianapolis: Liberty Fund, ). Vol. 1. To the Pulpit, the Puritan Pulpit, we owe the moral force which won our independence.*

Thirteen Colonies Eastern North America in The border between the red and pink areas represents the "Proclamation line", while the orange area represents the Spanish claim. Early seeds Main articles: On October 9, the Navigation Acts were passed pursuant to a mercantilist policy intended to ensure that trade enriched only Great Britain, and barring trade with foreign nations. This contributed to the development of a unique identity, separate from that of the British people. Dominion rule triggered bitter resentment throughout New England; the enforcement of the unpopular Navigation Acts and the curtailing of local democracy angered the colonists. The taxes severely damaged the New England economy, and the taxes were rarely paid, resulting in a surge of smuggling, bribery, and intimidation of customs officials. The British captured the fortress of Louisbourg during the War of the Austrian Succession , but then ceded it back to France in New England colonists resented their losses of lives, as well as the effort and expenditure involved in subduing the fortress, only to have it returned to their erstwhile enemy. Lawrence Henry Gipson writes: It may be said as truly that the American Revolution was an aftermath of the Anglo-French conflict in the New World carried on between and The lands west of Quebec and west of a line running along the crest of the Allegheny Mountains became Indian territory, barred to settlement for two years. The colonists protested, and the boundary line was adjusted in a series of treaties with the Indians. The treaties opened most of Kentucky and West Virginia to colonial settlement. The new map was drawn up at the Treaty of Fort Stanwix in which moved the line much farther to the west, from the green line to the red line on the map at right. Taxes imposed and withdrawn Further information: No taxation without representation and Virtual representation Notice of Stamp Act of in newspaper In , Parliament passed the Currency Act to restrain the use of paper money, fearing that otherwise the colonists might evade debt payments. That same year, Prime Minister George Grenville proposed direct taxes on the colonies to raise revenue, but he delayed action to see whether the colonies would propose some way to raise the revenue themselves. All official documents, newspapers, almanacs, and pamphlets were required to have the stampsâ€”even decks of playing cards. The colonists did not object that the taxes were high; they were actually low. Benjamin Franklin testified in Parliament in that Americans already contributed heavily to the defense of the Empire. He said that local governments had raised, outfitted, and paid 25, soldiers to fight Franceâ€”as many as Britain itself sentâ€”and spent many millions from American treasuries doing so in the French and Indian War alone. The decision was to keep them on active duty with full pay, but they had to be stationed somewhere. Stationing a standing army in Great Britain during peacetime was politically unacceptable, so the decision was made to station them in America and have the Americans pay them. The soldiers had no military mission; they were not there to defend the colonies because there was no threat to the colonies. They used public demonstrations, boycott , violence, and threats of violence to ensure that the British tax laws were unenforceable. In Boston, the Sons of Liberty burned the records of the vice admiralty court and looted the home of chief justice Thomas Hutchinson. Several legislatures called for united action, and nine colonies sent delegates to the Stamp Act Congress in New York City in October Moderates led by John Dickinson drew up a " Declaration of Rights and Grievances " stating that taxes passed without representation violated their rights as Englishmen. Colonists emphasized their determination by boycotting imports of British merchandise. Parliament insisted that the colonies effectively enjoyed a " virtual representation " as most British people did, as only a small minority of the British population elected representatives to Parliament. Benjamin Franklin made the case for repeal, explaining that the colonies had spent heavily in manpower, money, and blood in defense of the empire in a series of wars against the French and Indians, and that further taxes to pay for those wars were unjust and might bring about

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a rebellion. Parliament agreed and repealed the tax February 21, 1766, but insisted in the Declaratory Act of March 1766 that they retained full power to make laws for the colonies "in all cases whatsoever". Townshend Acts and the Tea Act

Further information: Massachusetts Circular Letter, Boston Massacre, and Boston Tea Party

Burning of the Gaspee In 1768, the Parliament passed the Townshend Acts which placed duties on a number of essential goods, including paper, glass, and tea, and established a Board of Customs in Boston to more rigorously execute trade regulations. The new taxes were enacted on the belief that Americans only objected to internal taxes and not to external taxes such as custom duties. The Americans, however, argued against the constitutionality of the act because its purpose was to raise revenue and not regulate trade. These boycotts were less effective, however, as the Townshend goods were widely used. In February 1769, the Assembly of Massachusetts Bay issued a circular letter to the other colonies urging them to coordinate resistance. The governor dissolved the assembly when it refused to rescind the letter. Meanwhile, a riot broke out in Boston in June over the seizure of the sloop Liberty, owned by John Hancock, for alleged smuggling. Customs officials were forced to flee, prompting the British to deploy troops to Boston. A Boston town meeting declared that no obedience was due to parliamentary laws and called for the convening of a convention. A convention assembled but only issued a mild protest before dissolving itself. In January 1770, Parliament responded to the unrest by reactivating the Treason Act which called for subjects outside the realm to face trials for treason in England. The governor of Massachusetts was instructed to collect evidence of said treason, and the threat caused widespread outrage, though it was not carried out. On March 5, 1770, a large crowd gathered around a group of British soldiers. The crowd grew threatening, throwing snowballs, rocks, and debris at them. One soldier was clubbed and fell. They hit 11 people; three civilians died at the scene of the shooting, and two died after the incident. The event quickly came to be called the Boston Massacre. The soldiers were tried and acquitted defended by John Adams, but the widespread descriptions soon began to turn colonial sentiment against the British. This, in turn, began a downward spiral in the relationship between Britain and the Province of Massachusetts. This temporarily resolved the crisis, and the boycott of British goods largely ceased, with only the more radical patriots such as Samuel Adams continuing to agitate. The affair was investigated for possible treason, but no action was taken. In 1770, it became known that the Crown intended to pay fixed salaries to the governors and judges in Massachusetts. Samuel Adams in Boston set about creating new Committees of Correspondence, which linked Patriots in all 13 colonies and eventually provided the framework for a rebel government. Virginia, the largest colony, set up its Committee of Correspondence in early 1773, on which Patrick Henry and Thomas Jefferson served. The committees became the leaders of the American resistance to British actions, and largely determined the war effort at the state and local level. When the First Continental Congress decided to boycott British products, the colonial and local Committees took charge, examining merchant records and publishing the names of merchants who attempted to defy the boycott by importing British goods. Benjamin Franklin, postmaster general for the colonies, acknowledged that he leaked the letters, which led to him being berated by British officials and fired from his job. Meanwhile, Parliament passed the Tea Act to lower the price of taxed tea exported to the colonies in order to help the East India Company undersell smuggled Dutch tea. Special consignees were appointed to sell the tea in order to bypass colonial merchants. The act was opposed by those who resisted the taxes and also by smugglers who stood to lose business. A town meeting in Boston determined that the tea would not be landed, and ignored a demand from the governor to disperse. Decades later, this event became known as the Boston Tea Party and remains a significant part of American patriotic lore. Intolerable Acts and the Quebec Act

Main articles: Quebec Act and Intolerable Acts

The British government responded by passing several Acts which came to be known as the Intolerable Acts, which further darkened colonial opinion towards the British. They consisted of four laws enacted by the British parliament. The second act was the Administration of Justice Act which ordered that all British soldiers to be tried were to be arraigned in Britain, not in the colonies. The fourth Act was the Quartering Act of 1765, which allowed royal governors to house British troops in the homes of citizens without requiring permission of the owner. During secret debates, conservative Joseph Galloway proposed the creation of a

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colonial Parliament that would be able to approve or disapprove of acts of the British Parliament, but his idea was not accepted. The Congress instead endorsed the proposal of John Adams that Americans would obey Parliament voluntarily but would resist all taxes in disguise. Congress called for a boycott beginning on 1 December of all British goods; it was enforced by new committees authorized by the Congress. The Patriots laid siege to Boston, expelled royal officials from all the colonies, and took control through the establishment of Provincial Congresses. The Battle of Bunker Hill followed on June 17, It was a British victory but at a great cost: The king, however, issued a Proclamation of Rebellion which stated that the states were "in rebellion" and the members of Congress were traitors. The revolutionaries were now in full control of all 13 colonies and were ready to declare independence. There still were many Loyalists, but they were no longer in control anywhere by July , and all of the Royal officials had fled. In all 13 colonies, Patriots had overthrown their existing governments, closing courts and driving away British officials. They had elected conventions and "legislatures" that existed outside any legal framework; new constitutions were drawn up in each state to supersede royal charters. They declared that they were states now, not colonies. In May , Congress voted to suppress all forms of crown authority, to be replaced by locally created authority. Rhode Island and Connecticut simply took their existing royal charters and deleted all references to the crown. They decided what form of government to create, and also how to select those who would craft the constitutions and how the resulting document would be ratified. There will be no end of it. New claims will arise. Women will demand a vote. Lads from twelve to twenty one will think their rights not enough attended to, and every man, who has not a farthing, will demand an equal voice with any other in all acts of state. It tends to confound and destroy all distinctions, and prostrate all ranks, to one common level". Property qualifications for voting and even more substantial requirements for elected positions though New York and Maryland lowered property qualifications [48] Bicameral legislatures , with the upper house as a check on the lower Strong governors with veto power over the legislature and substantial appointment authority Few or no restraints on individuals holding multiple positions in government The continuation of state-established religion In Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and New Hampshire, the resulting constitutions embodied: In , conservatives gained power in the state legislature, called a new constitutional convention, and rewrote the constitution. The new constitution substantially reduced universal male suffrage, gave the governor veto power and patronage appointment authority, and added an upper house with substantial wealth qualifications to the unicameral legislature. Thomas Paine called it a constitution unworthy of America. By June, nine colonies were ready for independence; one by one, the last four fell into line: Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, and New York. Richard Henry Lee was instructed by the Virginia legislature to propose independence, and he did so on June 7, On June 11, a committee was created to draft a document explaining the justifications for separation from Britain.

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## Chapter 6 : The Rule of Reason: Review: The American Revolution and The Politics of Liberty

*American Revolution and the Politics of Liberty, contradicts the received wisdom that the revolutionaries were little more than ideologues who had no philosophical or moral foundation on which to base their opposition to the.*

The ideology of the French Revolution was broader and more complex than mere slogans, however. French revolutionary ideas drew heavily on the political philosophy of the Enlightenment and the writings of the philosophes. They also borrowed from other political systems. Many French revolutionaries had studied British government and society. They came to admire its constitutional basis, its separation of powers and its tolerance for individual rights and freedoms. The American Revolution provided French reformers with a working example of revolution and a successfully implemented constitution. The ideas of the French Revolution were also shaped by grievances that were specific to 18th century France. Some of the key ideas of the French Revolution are summarised below. In the context of the 18th century, liberty was freedom from oppression, and particularly oppression by the state or government. These lettres had several functions but their most common use was to detain and imprison individuals without trial or due process. Several notable figures were imprisoned by lettres de cachet, including Honore Mirabeau for disgracing his family and Voltaire for defamatory writings. Equality also underpinned the ideas of the French Revolution. The citizens of the Third Estate wanted equality, though some wanted greater levels of equality than others. The rising bourgeoisie wanted political and social equality with the nobility of the Second Estate. They favoured a meritocracy: For this, they looked to the newly formed United States, where a revolution had transferred government to men of talent and ability. But the bourgeoisie was more reluctant about sharing political equality with the lower ranks of the Third Estate. They did not support universal voting rights, believing voting to be a privilege of the propertied classes. In theoretical terms, many of the ideas were ill worked out. For example, the revolutionaries proclaimed the rights of man but women were largely excluded from the process. In practical terms, revolutionary zeal turned to fanaticism and the Revolution turned on itself. Fraternity was the most abstract, idealistic and unachievable of all revolutionary ideals. It was more prevalent in the early phase of the revolution when the new government was churning out positive reforms like the August Decrees and the Declaration of the Rights of Man and Citizen. Many visual sources from show the Three Estates cooperating and working together to improve the nation. As the revolution progressed and political divisions emerged, this focus on unity and brotherhood quickly evaporated. Until the modern era, most kings and governments claimed their authority came from God, a concept called divine right monarchy. This idea was challenged in the Enlightenment by the emergence of popular sovereignty. Popular sovereignty is the idea that governments derive their authority from the consent and support of the people, not from God. A corollary of popular sovereignty is that if a government fails or mistreats its people, the people have the right to replace it. This principle was used to justify the American and French revolutions. They believed a constitutional government would spell the end of absolutism and arbitrary decision making. It would prevent abuses of power and create a government that worked for the benefit of all. For a working example, the French revolutionaries looked to the United States Constitution, which was drafted in and enacted the following year. This Constitution created a democratically elected republic, with the branches of government and their powers clearly articulated. It also embodied Enlightenment political concepts like popular sovereignty, natural rights and the separation of powers. Also emerging from the Enlightenment, particularly in the writings of John Locke, was the concept of natural rights. As the name suggests, natural rights are rights and freedoms bestowed on all people, regardless of whatever laws or governments they live under. According to John Locke, there were three natural rights: All individuals were entitled to live in safety, to be free from oppression, to acquire property and have it safe from theft or seizure. It is the responsibility and the duty of government, Locke wrote, to uphold and protect the natural rights of individuals. The role of the Catholic church in society and government was a divisive issue of the French Revolution. Most of those who criticised

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the church and its higher clergy were not atheists, nor were they opposed to religion. They were anti-clericalists who wanted to reform the clergy and limit its social and political power. Anti-clericalism shaped several revolutionary policies including the seizure of church lands, the Civil Constitution of the Clergy July and attempts to create a state religion. The ideas of the French Revolution were drawn from the Enlightenment, influenced by the British political system, inspired by the American Revolution and shaped by local grievances. The early part of the revolution was motivated by Enlightenment political concepts such as popular sovereignty and constitutionalism, which aimed to create a more effective system of government. Another key revolutionary idea was the codification and legal protection of natural rights: Another important revolutionary idea was anti-clericalism, which sought to reform the Catholic church, particularly the actions of its clergy, reducing political influence, interference and corruption. Content on this page may not be republished or distributed without permission. For more information please refer to our Terms of Use. This page was written by Jennifer Llewellyn and Steve Thompson. To reference this page, use the following citation:

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## Chapter 7 : American Revolution: Causes and Timeline | [blog.quintoapp.com](http://blog.quintoapp.com) - HISTORY

*Father of Liberty is the first book to fully explore Mayhew's political thought and activism, understood within the context of his personal experiences and intellectual influences, and of the cultural developments and political events of his time. Analyzing and assessing his contributions to eighteenth-century New England political culture.*

Henry, who was regarded in his time by many of his contemporaries as a crude country bumpkin, was actually better read in the classics and in the political science of the time than most would credit him for. In May of he rose in the House of Burgesses, Virginia, and stunned the body with his oratory and rational arguments against the Stamp Tax. However, it was not the speech that actually passed the House of Burgesses but the resolves as published in the papers [throughout the colonies] that stirred resistance to the Stamp Act— pp. I wrote speech itself, based on the style of 18th century oratory. Here is Henry in action, towards the end of his introduction of the resolves: Henry had removed his hat and handed it again to Colonel Munford. He took a step away from his seat. I own that I am perplexed by his attention to what the Crown can and may do, and by his neglect to speak to the propriety of the resolve and the impropriety of this Stamp Act. Should he have examined for us the basis of his fears? But, he did not. Perhaps he concluded that they were too terrible to articulate. So, I shall examine them, for I believe that he and I share one well-founded fear: The power of the Crown to punish us, to scatter us, to despoil us, for the temerity of asserting in no ambiguous terms our liberty! I fear that power no less than he. But, I say that such a fear, of such a power, can move a man to one of two courses. He can make a compact with that power, one of mutual accommodation, so that he may live the balance of his years in the shadow of that power, ever-trembling in soul-dulling funk lest that power rob him once again. I am wise to that Faustian bargain, and will not barter piecemeal or in whole my liberty! Is it because you believe that if it is not spoken, or its fact or action in any form not acknowledged, it will not be what it is? Well, I will speak it for you and for all this colony to hear! The horror is named! Know that I, too, have books, and that they are loose and dog-eared from my having read them, and I have profited from that habit. Like many of you, I, too, have read that in the past, the tyrants Tarquin and Julius Caesar each had his Brutus, Catline had his Cicero and Cato, and, closer to our time, Charles had his Cromwell! I warn you, sir! He stood for a moment more, then turned and strode back to his seat. But, he did not sit, for he was not finished. He concludes that to allow a right so valuable to human beings to be removed without a fight is a greater evil than the right to fight. So that nothing is lost. If they die, they cannot be said to lose, for death is better than slavery. If they succeed, their gains are immense. They preserve their liberties. This is the tactic of the enemies of freedom today. They can only snort, smirk, and sneer at those principles. Webking ends his book with this observation: The leaders of the American Revolution argued, worked, and fought for peace, stability, and, most important, for liberty. The study of their revolution is the study of the rational pursuit of human liberty.

## Chapter 8 : The ideas of the French Revolution

*2 Politics of Liberty in England and Revolutionary America of the liberal-versus-republican debate is the dispute over the dominance, the relative importance, or even the existence of one or the other system of.*

Carl Eric Scott Summer In American civic and political life, nearly everyone is a champion of liberty, but not everyone means the same thing by that term. We hold several conflicting ideas about liberty, though we are usually unaware of that fact. This lack of awareness means that, whenever a conflict between these conceptions leads to a political dispute, people on all sides of the dispute are apt to be shocked and to regard their opponents either as enemies of liberty or as lacking any understanding of what it really means. This adds to both the bitterness and the confusion of our most prominent political and cultural battles. To better understand our common life, therefore, we need to step back and examine the different meanings of liberty and how they have played out in our history and continue to shape our contemporary debates. When we carefully consider the idea of liberty through the lens of the American political tradition, we find that Americans have held, and continue to hold, five interlocking but distinct understandings of the term. But they are theoretically distinct and fundamentally in tension in ways that have shaped our history and will certainly shape our future as well. The core principles of natural-rights liberty are those expressed in the opening of the Declaration of Independence, and they are correctly regarded as reflecting the teachings of John Locke, as well as other early-modern liberal thinkers. The core practice of classical-communitarian liberty, meanwhile, is given most vivid display by Alexis de Tocqueville in his descriptions of the participatory townships he observed in s New England. That the principles and practice of early-American politics tended to answer to two different understandings of liberty is one key reason why the political teaching of the American founding is no simple matter. In contending with some political questions, such as breaking away from Britain, these two conceptions complemented one another. But regarding other questions, such as the ratification of the Constitution, they tended to oppose one another. Many of the Anti-Federalists — the writers and activists who opposed ratification — insisted that the key political unit for the fostering of liberty would have to remain the small polis-like republic, whereas the authors of the Federalist Papers famously made a case for the superior ability of the extended republic to secure natural rights. Of course, certain Lockean understandings of politics permeated the thought of many of the Anti-Federalists as well. Still, it is easy to show that Jefferson was more Lockean than classical republican when it came to the fundamentals of politics, and it is easy to recall several famous passages from the Federalist Papers that warn that small republics foster, among other rights-endangering maladies, majority faction and continual war-making. Natural-rights doctrine did a great deal to light the fire of American independence: We can trace its influence upon key figures like James Otis, John Dickinson, John Adams, Thomas Paine, and others, and we can work out the way it supplied key doctrines of the revolution. This point is well illustrated by an anecdote from the s about a conversation between an elderly veteran of the Battle of Concord, Levi Preston, and a young historian, Mellon Chamberlain. That experience had significant influence in key respects prior to their widespread adoption of natural-rights doctrine. Over time, the hold that the classical-communitarian conception of liberty had exercised over our thought and sentiment ebbed, particularly as the prominence of the town in American life diminished. A similar spirit of prudence pervades the Federalist Papers, which is one long reflection about what kind of union and government is necessary to preserve liberty given what experience teaches us about human nature, political dynamics, and geostrategic realities. The founders were not for a come-what-may insistence upon perfectly securing all natural rights, nor were they for following out every implication of natural-rights thought. Such radicalism would likely result in the inability to establish or maintain effective government, and thus in the inability to secure any rights at all. Instead, the founders and perhaps adherents of natural-rights liberty in America more generally understood liberty as the prudential protection of natural rights. Louisiana and Lochner v. The Lochner era of American jurisprudence, which ran roughly from to , saw

state courts and the Supreme Court strike down laws that, for instance, regulated wages and work hours because such laws violated a right to contract as one chose. But regardless of how one comes down on the question of constitutional interpretation, one might still find the overall conception of liberty here compelling. Such economic self-reliance does not necessarily translate into social atomization. Still, the basic idea here can be captured by a rather individualistic image: This is the primary content of liberty, and what its defense mainly requires, once the two necessary conditions of liberty — law-bound government and the removal of the threat of enslavement — have been achieved. Moreover, it is the successful use of these economic liberties that is seen as the key to giving the other aspects of liberty their vigor. We still commonly hear libertarians and conservatives say that we can know whether liberty is increasing or diminishing simply by gauging whether there is increasing or diminishing freedom for the operation of private enterprise. The goal is a market system made as free as is practicable, so as to allow the individual to achieve real self-reliance. Good politics protects the free operation of the economic arena by discouraging, through regular legislative politics and through constitutional restrictions of government powers, the temptation of poorer majorities to take from the more prosperous. Good politics also protects such liberty by resisting the operation of monopolies in business or labor markets and by generally opposing laws that grant subsidies, protect collective-bargaining agreements, set up market-entry barriers, fix prices, and the like. The claim underlying this understanding of liberty is that it is not just a prudent theory of political economy that opposes such laws but the demands of liberty itself, and thus of the Constitution as well. This hope was coupled, however, with a fear that if political advances did not keep up with and regulate the advances in other fields, democracy would suffer severe degradation, including a loss of effectual individual liberty. Yes, for the industrial wage-laborer, this formal liberty would mean he could not be made a slave, but how would this really matter if his family was likely to suffer life-threatening penury the moment he left or lost his job? Not only would he live a life shorn of opportunities for self-development, but he would probably be pressured to conform to the behavior, perhaps even the political and religious behavior, approved of by his employer. Such men would be drawn to creeds dedicated to the overthrow of liberal-democratic government. Liberty is not separable from such justice, nor can it be understood by focusing on the individual alone, since it is only the socially just society that makes truly free individuals possible. They found two dogmas particularly regrettable. Progressives traced the roots of this individualism to the founding itself, but many of them put more of the blame upon economic theories of later origin. Either way, while such individualism had been a useful creed for pioneer farmers and small-town merchants to hold, the modern economy was increasingly coming to be divided into corporations and wage-earners. Thus, belief in inviolable individual rights, and particularly the rights to contract and use property freely, actually served to further entrench the power of corporations against that of individuals. The second dogma was that of old-fashioned American federalism, which held that the power granted the national government by the Constitution to regulate interstate commerce mainly applied to commercial exchanges between the states. The regulation of an economic activity occurring within one state could only be undertaken by that state, even if the product of it affected the entire nation. This dogma was in denial about the truly national nature of the American economy, the Progressives asserted. At their best, the ties earlier Americans had to their towns and localities fostered patterns of fraternal care for their fellow citizens; but now such instincts had to be given means of being exercised through the emerging national community if they were to exist at all. In sum, justice could not be limited to the honoring of individual rights; it had to be social justice, and the proper political arena for its pursuit was the nation. Correctly understood, liberty was nothing but another way of speaking about the mutual enjoyment of such justice. Aspects of it had been affirmed by the Supreme Court in a number of landmark First Amendment decisions since the 1870s regarding political expression, the regulation of obscenity, and the non-establishment and free-exercise of religion. *Wade*, and *Lawrence v. Wade*. The core idea of personal-autonomy liberty is the notion that the individual should be allowed to do whatever he wishes, so long as he does not harm others or violate their rights. Indeed, all modern democratic nations have witnessed, and will continue to see, some majorities becoming convinced that society will be harmed by

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permitting certain lifestyles — such as those of the overweight or uncleanly, the uneducated, the drug-addicted or otherwise vice-besotted, the sexually deviant or promiscuous, or those publicly adhering to a false religion or atheism. Personal-autonomy liberty pushes against societal regulation of all these aspects of life and flatly rejects it with respect to consensual sex and religious opinion. But this understanding was not embraced by all or even most of the founders. And with respect to sexuality, the record of state legislation was even more repugnant to the personal-autonomy idea of liberty. We could turn to various political theorists to more fully understand personal-autonomy liberty, but simpler articulations of it may be found in the public declarations of two of our Supreme Court justices: The text marks the metes and bounds of official authority and individual autonomy. When one studies the boundary Case, the decision that reaffirmed the core holding of *Roe v. Wade*, spoke of the same vision: Our law affords constitutional protection to personal decisions relating to marriage, procreation, contraception, family relationships, child rearing, and education. These matters, involving the most intimate and personal choices a person may make in a lifetime, choices central to personal dignity and autonomy, are central to the liberty protected by the Fourteenth Amendment. It is now clear that, so long as the Court remains dedicated to this understanding, it will eventually overturn laws that prohibit same-sex marriage. This fifth conception of liberty is clearly ascendant in our time. On the right, this has meant the rise of a libertarian social ethic rather than a communitarian conservatism. And on the left, it has meant a de-emphasis of the progressive ideal of liberty even as progressivism has appeared resurgent in the Obama years. As recently as the s, there were large numbers of pro-life Democrats who, like the social-gospel Progressives or New Deal Catholics of old, mainly cleaved to the progressive notion of liberty and certainly did not accept the overall personal-autonomy conception. But they are a dying breed now, and typically in those instances when the progressive ideal of liberty comes into conflict with personal autonomy on the left, it is the progressive ideal that must make way. The classical-communitarian conception of liberty, meanwhile, is the least championed one today in American politics. It tends to oppose itself to both the Democratic and Republican coalitions, and thus far its political impact has been negligible. Liberals today emphasize and to some degree combine conceptions four and five, conservatives one and three, and libertarians three and five, although all tend to assume they hold only a single and straightforward conception of liberty. In fact, one benefit of the five-fold framework offered here is that it leads us away from the dichotomous frameworks typically used to analyze liberty, and it allows us to see not only that liberty means different things to different people, but that it can mean multiple things to each of us. The same people similarly make no distinction between the progressive and personal-autonomy conceptions of liberty. Everything is reduced to two opposing sides. All of these dichotomies are too simplistic for making fair judgments or adequate accounts of history. The five-fold framework offered here avoids such reduction. It thus allows the examination of liberty to become dialogic and dynamic, shedding light on American history and on our misunderstandings or misrepresentations of it. In fact, both liberals and conservatives form their ideas of liberty through the lens of their understanding of history — and the ways they do so are instructive. Why did our conceptions of liberty develop as they did? By this account, our journey from the founding to the present has involved two key corrective steps. First, the progressive conception was formulated in response to the way the natural-rights conception developed over time into an economic-autonomy ideal of liberty. This response involved something of an overreaction, however, for the progressive conception was too negligent of civil liberties, as these were associated with the natural-rights tradition, and too complacent about the potential for government expansion into all areas of life. So a second corrective step was taken, involving both a re-appreciation of inviolable individual liberties tied to the Bill of Rights and a further carving out, particularly through the right-to-privacy cases, of a much larger sphere of personal autonomy in non-economic matters. And regarding the trend illustrated by the right-to-privacy cases, the following from Justice Brennan is similarly revealing: Until the end of the nineteenth century, freedom and dignity in our country found meaningful protection in the institution of real property. To a growing extent economic existence now depends on less certain relationships with government. In the old days, the dignified sphere of individual liberty was

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economic, but now, given the growing power that progressives had given and think they ought to continue to give to government, a new approach was needed. Originalist constitutional scholars harp on the inconsistency of a liberal court that, after emphatically rejecting economic substantive due process in the late s, turned to what was essentially non-economic substantive due process from the s forward. But if it was not a move that made perfect sense as an interpretation of the 14th Amendment, it is easily understood as being motivated by a need to guarantee the individual some arena for autonomous action. And it also helps explain the mix of progressive liberty and autonomous-individual liberty that now defines the left. This development of American progressivism and liberalism is certainly an important part of the story of our conceptions of liberty. But two alternative conservative explanations give us reason to think it is not the whole story. The Progressives rejected these elements and began to shape the government in a manner, later taken much further by New Deal and Great Society liberals, which undermined each of them. It is crucial to understand how novel this interpretation of Progressivism has been. Prior to the work of these scholars, the dominant academic understanding was that Progressivism had been an obviously necessary response to growing corporate power in America, and that, in comparison with more fundamental critiques of capitalism, it was in many ways quite tepid.

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## Chapter 9 : Republicanism in the United States - Wikipedia

*Journal of the American Revolution* is the leading source of knowledge about the American Revolution and Founding Era. Appealing to scholars and enthusiasts alike, we feature meticulous, groundbreaking research and well-written narratives from scores of expert writers.

To the Pulpit, the Puritan Pulpit, we owe the moral force which won our independence. John Wingate Thornton This principle, that a whole nation has a right to do whatever it pleases, cannot in any sense whatever be admitted as true. The eternal and immutable laws of justice and morality are paramount to all human legislation. The violations of those laws is certainly within the power of a nation, but it is not among the rights of nations. What had passed for pamphlets in my reading of excerpted eighteenth-century American material often turned out to be published sermons. The rule of this collection has been to reprint unannotated editions of complete sermons that would permit their authors to speak fully for themselves. The genre is the political sermon, broadly construed so as to include a few pieces never preached that are sermonic in sense and tone—that is, hortatory and relating politics to convictions about eternal verities. The chief criterion for selection of the various pieces was their intellectual interest. An effort was made to diversify viewpoints denominationally, theologically, politically, geographically, and even nationally. Since only previously published materials have been selected—that is, nothing from manuscript sources has been included a limitation resided in the fact that the publication of sermons in America in the eighteenth century was a specialty, if not a monopoly, of New Englanders. To permit the religious perspective concerning the rise of American nationhood to have representative expression is important because a steady attention to the pulpit from to unveils a distinctive rhetoric of political discourse: Preachers interpreted pragmatic events in terms of a political theology imbued with philosophical and revelatory learning. Their sermons also demonstrate the existence and effectiveness of a popular political culture that constantly assimilated the currently urgent political and constitutional issues to the profound insights of the Western spiritual and philosophical traditions. Religion gave birth to America, Tocqueville observed long ago. And while the role of the clergy as the philosophers of the American founding has not received great attention from students of political theory, it was abundantly clear to contemporaries. Perhaps the best insight into the role of the ministry was expressed by a participant, Reverend William Gordon of Roxbury, Massachusetts, who wrote the celebrated *History of the American Revolution*. They oppose arbitrary rule in civil concerns from the love of freedom, as well as from a desire of guarding against its introduction into religious matters. The clergy of this colony are as virtuous, sensible and learned a set of men, as will probably be found in any part of the globe of equal size and equally populous. You have frequently remarked that though the partizans of arbitrary power will freely censure that preacher, who speaks boldly for the liberties of the people, they will admire as an excellent divine, the parson whose discourse is wholly in the opposite, and teaches, that magistrates have a divine right for doing wrong, and are to be implicitly obeyed; men professing Christianity, as if the religion of the blessed Jesus bound them tamely to part with their natural and social rights, and slavishly to bow their neck to any tyrant. Whatever the differences among them, all the sermon authors take as their reality the still familiar biblical image of Creator and creation, of fallen and sinful men, striving in a mysteriously ordered existence toward a personal salvation and an eschatological fulfillment. The varieties of spiritual belief fundamental to the writers represented herein cannot be explored here, but some background can be indicated. For though our concern is with political sermons—and thus exceptional expressions of the faith of a people who looked to the eternal beyond for the perfect fulfillment of their pilgrimage through time in partnership with God—the spiritual root of that collaborative enterprise directed by Providence requires a word or two of clarification. Of course, the political background is the direct movement of disparate British colonial societies toward independent nationhood, federally organized under a Constitution that preserves the essentials of English liberty under law. It was a passage of history that involved the concerted effort of military force evinced in the Revolution and the

articulation of the principles of free government; these principles inspired creation of a national community and became the grounds of a political orthodoxy called republican and constitutional government. Momentous developments crescendoed with British adoption of the Stamp Act of 1765, leading in little more than a decade to the decision for independence in 1776, which demanded eight years of fighting and formally ended with the signing of the peace treaty in Paris in 1763. The Federal Convention in 1787 provided a barely accepted Constitution, one immediately embellished by a Bill of Rights, that became the supreme law of the land in 1791. But another strand of history accompanies, interacts with, and gives roots to this familiar progress, one that is less known and lacks the direct line of development just rehearsed. The revolution in the spiritual life of America began within a decade of the preaching of the first sermon reprinted here, that of the celebrated Benjamin Colman in Boston in 1734. It is called the Great Awakening. There is reason to suppose that the two lines of development are intimately, even decisively, connected. Narrowly construed as occurring in the years 1730 to 1740, the Great Awakening designates the outburst of religious revival that swept the colonies in those years. Since the earthquake of that Benjamin Colman alludes to in his sermon, however, there had been a quickening of religious impulses. American events could be seen as part of the general rise of religious sentiment traceable in Europe between 1720 and 1740, particularly in England, where the catalysts were the itinerant Anglican priests John and Charles Wesley, the founders of Methodism, and their compatriot George Whitefield. The great political events of the American founding, thus, have a backdrop of resurgent religion whose calls for repentance and faith plainly complement the calls to resist tyranny and constitutional corruption so as to live virtuously as God-fearing Christians, and, eventually, as responsible republican citizens. James Downey has written: The theme of his preaching is that of evangelicals in every age: Its special appeal for eighteenth-century audiences lay partly in the fact that it answered an emotional need the established Church had for too long tried to ignore, and partly in the charismatic personality of the man who revived it. The great cry of the awakeners was for a converted ministry, one able to revive religious communities lacking vitality and zeal, so as to make the presence of God with his people a palpable reality. Such hortatory preaching and intent were the hallmarks of the so-called New Light, or New Side, clergy, as contrasted with their opposites Old Light, Old Side ministers, who eschewed emotion and experimental religion. Many of the former, like Whitefield himself, had no church of their own but traveled the country preaching in homes and pastures or wherever they could four and five times in a day that often began before dawn. They were not always treated as welcome visitors by the established clergy, with whom serious conflict sometimes arose. It is against the experiential background of such preaching that the political teaching of the ministers of the eighteenth century is to be seen as it was powerfully displayed in crisis and revolution. From their biblical perspective, it can be said that man is a moral agent living freely in a reality that is good, coming from the hand of God: Among the chief hindrances to this life of true liberty is the oppression of men, who in service to evil deceive with untruth and impose falsehood in its place, proclaiming it to be true. Man, blessed with liberty, reason, and a moral sense, created in the image of God, a little lower than the angels, and given dominion over the earth Psalm 8; Hebrews 2: The growth of virtue and perfection of being depends upon free choice, in response to divine invitation and help, in a cooperative relationship. The correlate of responsibility, liberty is most truly exercised by living in accordance with truth. Our preachers, however, understood that this gift of freedom to do right and live truly carries another possibility, rebellion and rejection, as well. This, in turn, leads to the necessity of government to coerce a degree of right living and justice from a mankind fallen from the high road of willing obedience to the loving Father. Unfortunately, coercive law can be inflicted in ways that are not merely just and conducive to truth, righteousness, and union with God, but not infrequently to their very opposites. This biblical understanding of the human condition is reflected in the most famous passage of The Federalist no. 10. It is the end of civil society. It ever has been, and ever will be pursued, until it be obtained, or until liberty be lost in the pursuit. The Sunday service might typically open with a prayer that lasted an hour as measured by a glass on the pulpit; it would then be turned twice during the course of the sermon. A short break for lunch would be taken, and then the preaching would continue in the afternoon. The principle basic to his approach was,

following Augustine and Calvin, that the Bible is reflexive in the sense of providing its own explanation of its meaning in a consistent whole. This literal meaning is to be found through use of the three methods of circumstance, collation, and application. The result of this, because of the emphases in Romans, will be a stress on justification, sanctification, and true faith. The steps in writing and delivering the sermon begin with the reading of the divine text, considered as the holy Word of God and superior to or outside of the remainder of the presentation. To read the Text distinctly out of the canonically Scripture. To give the sense and understanding of it being read by the Scripture itself. To collect a few and profitable points of doctrine out of the natural sense. To apply if he have the gift the doctrines rightly collected to the manners of men in a simple and plain speech. This form is understood to embody the circumstances, collations, and analogies of faith previously mentioned. These were sermons preached annually to the governor and legislature after the election of officers. It is at least arguable that a published sermon is a mark of its excellence to begin with, whatever the occasion of its utterance. In the screening of several thousand items, the intention has been that only leading clergymen putting their best foot forward on important political matters are here represented. One index of quality is suggested by the fact that very few of the sermons preached ever were published; thus Samuel Dunbar, an Old Light minister from Stoughton, Massachusetts, wrote out some eight thousand sermons during his long career but published only nine of them see no. Besides the election sermon, the artillery sermon was also an annual affair in Massachusetts and dealt with civic and military matters. The Thursday or Fifth-day Lecture was begun by the Reverend John Cotton in Boston in and was practiced for years; it was a popular event and was combined with Market Day for gathering and discussing matters of social and political interest. Election sermons were sometimes then repeated for a different audience. Convention sermons also were political in nature and grew out of election-day ceremonies. There were many other opportunities for political discourse, such as the annual observation of January 30 as the execution day of the king-turned-tyrant, Charles I. The century sermon of Elhanan Winchester is included here no. Days of prayer, fasting, and thanksgiving were proclaimed for particular occasions throughout the eighteenth century and even earlier. The end of the war brought a great outpouring of praise and gratitude, and four sermons, nos. The Fourth of July regularly occasioned political sermons as well as orations. The death of Washington evoked a universal grief and countless sermons extolling the character of the American Joseph; an example is that of Henry Holcombe, a Baptist, who preached in Savannah, Georgia no. Not only was such preaching widely attended, repeated, and published as tracts, but it was often reprinted in the newspapers as well. This rhetorical form expressed the philosophical mean that free government is based on liberty, and liberty is founded in truth and justice as framed by eternal laws. Republicanism and virtue were far from split apart by James Madison and his colleagues at the Federal Convention, as the clergy understood our constitutional system. For these preachers and their flocks, the two remained essentially bound together. Mayer Garden City, N. Cohen Indianapolis, , II, New York, , I, "Cohen, The Revolutionary Histories: Projected as a two-volume work, only the first volume, of pages, appeared, covering the years to Evans ; Huntington Osgood, American Colonies in the Eighteenth Century, 4 vols. Urban Life in America, " New York, , 64, "56, On the Gin Age, see W. London, , II, chap. Greene and William G. London, " , V, This, and Psalm So will I keep thy precepts. Hatch and Harry S. Hervey, A System of Christian Rhetoric, For the use of Preachers and Other Speakers New York, ; an "index" or glossary of rhetorical figures from *accismus* and *addubitatio* to *votum* and *zeugma*, is given on pp. Last modified April 13,