Statesmanship:
Abraham Lincoln and Constitutional Leadership

2:15-3:30 Tuesday and Thursday
Jepson Hall 108

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Office Hours: Tuesday 3:30-5:00
(and by appointment)

This course will analyze the ways in which institutional arrangements can encourage, direct, or thwart leadership. The focus will be on the presidency of the United States and how the constitutional arrangements governing that office affect the way those who fill it might use its powers. The course will consider in detail the presidency of Abraham Lincoln.

In addition to the readings on Lincoln, you are encouraged to arrange a visit to the Museum of the Confederacy. In addition, the award-winning documentary by Ken Burns, The Civil War, will be available for viewing in Boatwright Library and is highly recommended.
Attendance and participation are expected and will be reflected as part of the final grade (30%). Participation will be calculated on quality, not simply quantity. It is expected that all the readings for a given date will be done in advance of that class meeting and everyone will be prepared to discuss the assigned materials. The grade for participation will also include brief paper assignments to guide the discussion.

The primary assessments in this course will be a major research paper (40% of the final grade) and a final examination (30% of the final grade). Rather than simply require the submission of the paper at the end of the semester, we will work together on it over the course of the term, allowing opportunities for discussion and criticism that might not otherwise be possible. The final grade for the paper will consist of several components: a formal proposal; a preliminary but substantial bibliography; a review of the literature; a first draft of the paper; and, finally, a revised final draft of the paper. All assignments should be typed (13 point font), double-spaced, paginated, with 1" margins. You should feel free to contact me by appointment or by email (gmcdowel@richmond.edu) to discuss these matters as we move along. The schedule of due dates for these various components is outlined below.

**Research Paper Schedule**

I. Proposed Research Project Statement (10%): Due February 3rd

The formal proposal should be a 2-3 pp. statement of what the main thesis of the research paper will be. Attention should be given to making the case for the importance of the topic, explaining how it will be carried out, and demonstrating how this will contribute to a better understanding of Abraham Lincoln, his time, and his constitutional leadership.

II. Preliminary Bibliography (15 %): Due February 17th

This should be the preliminary, not necessarily the final bibliography. You should assemble those sources most likely to benefit your researches as outlined in the project statement discussed above. This bibliography should include scholarly articles and books, as well as
government documents and any court cases that may be appropriate. This will be assessed on the thoughtfulness of the listings, not simply the number included. This should reflect careful consideration on your part as to what sources would appear to be most helpful to your making the case for your thesis.

III. Review of the Literature (25%): Due March 5th

This should be a 5-7 pp. essay on the materials you have selected for use in your project. It should display a keen familiarity with the works discussed, an appreciation for how they help define the existing scholarly understanding of your area of interest, and an awareness of the areas in which they might be deficient. In short, it should be a critical assessment of both the scholarly research to which you are turning to complete your project and how your thesis fits within that existing body of literature.

IV. Research Paper (50%): Due April 14th

Your paper should conform to all scholarly conventions of style, be supported by a proper system of footnote citations, and be accompanied by a comprehensive bibliography. The paper should be 20-22 pp. in length, including footnotes or endnotes but not including the final bibliography.

Class Reading Assignments

Required Texts:

Don Fehrenbacher, Prelude to Greatness
Don Fehrenbacher, ed., Lincoln: Speeches and Writings (two volumes)
Charles Kesler and Clinton Rossiter, eds., The Federalist Papers
Ralph Ketcham, ed., The Anti-Federalist Papers and the Constitutional Convention
James M. McPherson, *Tried by War: Abraham Lincoln as Commander in Chief*

William Lee Miller, *Lincoln’s Virtues*

Stephen B. Oates, *With Malice Toward None*

Charles Thach, *The Creation of the Presidency, 1775-1789*

Douglas L. Wilson, *Lincoln’s Sword: The Presidency and the Power of Words*

*Reserved Texts:*

Harry V. Jaffa, *Crisis of the House Divided*

John Locke, *Two Treatises of Government*

I. Leadership and Liberal Constitutionalism (January 13, 15, 20)

John Locke, “Of the State of Nature”, (chapter two); “Of Political or Civil Society” (chapter 7); “Of the Ends of Political Society and Government” (chapter 9); “Of the Extent of the Legislative Power” (chapter 11); “Of the Legislative, Executive, and Federative Power of the Commonwealth” (chapter 12); “Of the Subordination of the Powers of the Commonwealth” (chapter 13); “Of Prerogative” (chapter 14); “Of Tyranny” (chapter 18), in *Two Treatises of Government.*

II. The Creation of the American Presidency (January 22, 27)

Charles Thach, *The Creation of the Presidency, 1775-1789* (entire)


**Recommended Readings:**


III. The Nature of the Union: The “Political Metaphysics” of States Rights
(January 29; February 3)

Thomas Jefferson, “The Kentucky Resolutions” (handout)

James Madison, “The Virginia Resolutions” (handout)

John C. Calhoun, “South Carolina Exposition and Protest” (e-reserve)

Joseph Story, “Nature of the Constitution – Whether a Compact”
(e-reserve)

John Marshall – Joseph Story correspondence (handout)

James Madison, “Advice to My Country” (handout)

IV. Abraham Lincoln’s Education for Leadership (February 5, 10, 12)


William Lee Miller, *Lincoln’s Virtues* (entire)


Thucydides, *The Peloponnesian War* (Pericles’ funeral oration: handout)
V. Prelude to Greatness: Lincoln in the 1850s

(February 17, 19, 24, 26; March 3, 5)


Don E. Fehrenbacher, *Prelude to Greatness: Lincoln in the 1850s* (entire)


The Lincoln-Douglas Debates

[All readings are in Fehrenbacher, ed., *Lincoln Speeches and Writings*, vol. I]

First Debate at Ottawa, I: 495-536
Second Debate at Freeport, I: 537-580
Third Debate at Jonesboro, I: 586-634
Fourth Debate at Charleston, I: 636-684
Fifth Debate at Galesburg, I: 687-729
Sixth Debate at Quincy, I: 730-773
Seventh Debate at Alton, I: 774-822


Recommended Reading:


VI. President Lincoln

(March 17, 19, 24, 26, 31; April 2, 7, 9, 14, 16, 21, 23)

Oates, With Malice Toward None, parts VI-XI, pp. 195-436.

Douglas L. Wilson, Lincoln’s Sword: The Presidency and the Power of Words (entire)

James M. McPherson, Tried by War: Abraham Lincoln as Commander in Chief (entire)

(All other readings in this section are to be found in volume two of Fehrenbacher, ed., Lincoln: Speeches and Writings; all page numbers of the readings refer to that volume)

Preserving the Union


**Emancipation**


**Reconstruction**


