

The people's Democratic Republic of Algeria
University of Algiers 2
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Faculty of Foreign Languages
Department of English

The Popular, Religious, and Philosophical Roots of American Radicalism

**Thesis Submitted in Fulfilment for the Degree of
Doctorate in American Civilization**

Supervised by
Professor Nadjia Amrane

Presented by
Houria Mihoubi

Academic year : 2015 - 2016

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Declaration

I declare hereby that the substance of this thesis entitled: *The Popular, Religious, and Philosophical Roots of American Radicalism* is entirely the result of my investigation and that due reference or acknowledgement is made, whenever necessary to the work of other researches. I am duly informed that any person practising plagiarism will be subject to disciplinary action issued by university authorities and the rules and regulation in force.

Date:

Signature

Dedication

This work is dedicated to the soul of my dear father.

Acknowledgements

Above all, I should admit that I have had the good fortune with this research to work with the best teacher, Professor Nadjia Amrane a student could hope for. I was enormously flattered when she accepted to be my supervisor. Her excitement about the topic and her devotion to academic research were very encouraging to me. She, indeed, spared no effort to offer countless suggestions and wise advice on style and substance, especially in framing the arguments which I tried to take all into consideration. I would like to think that she would be pleased with the result. I am also indebted to the panel of examiners who read and examined my thesis . I take this opportunity to express my gratitude to many dear persons who helped me along the way especially my mother , husband, and all my brothers and sisters whose help and support made this work possible.

Abstract

The major purpose of the present doctoral thesis is to provide a deep analysis of the roots of the American radicalism. The United States saw the emergence of various radical movements throughout its history such as feminism, abolitionism, and the labor movement which all struggled to improve life inside the American society and make it conform to the democratic principles that were adopted by the American government. The present study argues that American radicalism has historical, religious, and philosophical roots. It also demonstrates that these roots are, at the same time, in the very origins of the American republic and democracy. The historical approach is to be used to trace the different roots of American radicalism and then analyze how these roots intermingled together to allow the shaping of the unique and innovating American radical attitude

The thesis ,therefore first addresses the great impact of the British radical legacy that was subterranean in the streets of London like the Coleman Street radicalism . Another significant British impact on the Americans was that of the Levellers and Diggers who debated hot issues about liberty and human rights . The study traces also the religious roots of radicalism in the USA through the analysis of the religious element in the American radical thought.. The Puritans, who were already radicals, opposed the Puritan theocracy through calling for more religious freedom. Roger Williams and Ann Hutchinson were the first to call for a complete separation between the church and the state in what would become the United States.

The American radical trends can be traced back also to some philosophical and political theories that emerged and prevailed in the Old World before and during the Enlightenment and which were the result of the ideas of thinkers like Thomas Hobbes ,john Locke ,and Jean Jack Rousseau. In addition to this, American radicalism has often been linked to Thomas Paine. Indeed, by

the standards of the day, Paine's total rejection of monarchy in his *Common Sense* was truly radical. Like Paine, Jefferson was also a hallmark in the history of American radicalism.

Finally, and because of the complexities in the American history, one needs to demonstrate in this thesis how both republican principles and Puritan principles worked together to shape American radicalism through their call for equality and freedom as well as through their successful attempt to gradually integrate religion in the republic and achieve what is called American exceptionalism.

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Introduction

Recently, the issue of American radicalism has become highly controversial and increasingly studied simply because scholars and all those interested in the American affairs need to understand the mechanisms that govern the American social and political life. Part of what the present thesis tries to demonstrate is that only through uncovering the roots of American radicalism can one perceive the changeable nature of the American society as well as the American endless search for a better democratic life. But this goal cannot be precisely attained without clarifying what is exactly meant by the term *radicalism* that is the reason why there is a need to define this key concept of the study.

To start with, the term *radical*, which is derived from "the Latin word *radix* meaning *root*"¹, has emerged and started to be used since the late 18th century in political science to describe and refer to those "favouring or trying to produce thoroughgoing or extreme political reforms which can include changes to the social order to a greater or lesser extent".² But what is remarkable is that nowadays, the term *radicalism* rather refers to the desire to change society for the better in all the domains simply because, as an ideology, radicalism is recently defined as "a tendency towards social reform according to democratic lines".³ This is the reason why it is widely held that the very roots of American radicalism are in the origins of the American republic and democracy. In the present thesis, all that serves the American republican and democratic ideals is to be considered radical.

¹ *The Dictionary of the English Language*, Fourth Edition, (Houghton Mifflin Company, 2000), p.567.

² SARTRE, « What Does it Mean To Be A Radical? - Breaking All the Rules »— November 17, 2005 <http://www.batr.org/reactionary/111705.html>. Accessed 15 July, 2015.

³ Richard Bellamy, *Political Constitutionalism: A Republican Defense of the Constitutionality of Democracy*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 2007), p.78.

It is no secret that in the United States, and throughout history, radicalism has been one of the major characteristics and basic features of the American social and political life. It is worth noting that radicals in the USA often attempt to change the American public opinion about several social, political, and even economic issues. They also tend “to challenge the Americans to live up their professed ideals”.⁴ Moreover, some of them went beyond that to severely criticize the social, economic, and political inequality; and they even led radical movements which struggled for securing a better life for all the Americans.

One should, furthermore, mention that the American radical movements often aim at defending the sacred democratic principle of the freedom of the individual and seek to eradicate all that may hinder the fulfillment of this ideal inside the American society. That is why they often struggle to make the excluded groups in society enjoy this natural right. Among the representatives of this kind of American radicalism, I can cite the nineteenth century labor radicals who defended a fair economic system, the feminists who struggled for a better social status for women in society, and the abolitionists who fought against racial racism. It is noticeable that all those radical movements fought to change public opinion and to gain more rights in terms of class, gender, and race.

Tracing back the first origins of this American radical attitude and impulse, as this study hopefully shows, one can easily observe that the English popular protest tradition has helped shape radicalism in colonial America. In other words, one can even say that the Americans have learnt the concept of *free Englishman* and practiced it in particular through establishing a political system in which the government did not possess the right to interfere in the individual's basic liberties. Besides, it is no secret that the American society was also the result of a religious radical struggle for a society free from corruption and sin.

⁴ Timothy Patrick McCarthy, John Campbell, *The Radical Reader: A Documentary History of the American Radical Tradition* (McMillanNew Press, 2003), p. xi.

The newly settled land was a refuge for the English religious men who strongly defended the idea that religious men should struggle for reform that might be radical.

The American desire for change can, therefore, be traced back to the colonial period during which the Americans were aware of the necessity of change, and they started resisting the British rule. This, in fact, culminated in the American Revolution. With the Revolution, many radical political ideas started to find a way to the American mind. One of those ideas was republicanism that was based on the possibility of establishing a stable democratic government that allows citizenry to possess political virtue. The Declaration of Independence, the document that called for freedom, justice, and equality of human kind, has legitimized the Americans' right to resist the unjust political system. It inspired later generations of American radicals and paved the way for the foundation of the American political and social thought by which the American society could be exceptional and successful to a great extent in respecting its citizens' individual freedom.

Indeed, one is not likely to miss the important fact that it is thanks to radicalism, which rejected racial discrimination, that the United States of America is now headed by a black man. Indeed, the arrival of Barak Obama to power can be considered as one of the latest achievements carried out by American radicalism. This drastic change in the American public opinion was not sudden, but it was the result of a long radical struggle for change towards a better life for all. Today, one can say that the dreams of human equality of all the American radicals have come true. The importance of this topic, therefore, lies in that it is an attempt to demonstrate how the USA, despite its newness, could create its own mechanism of reform in the different aspects of life. The topic seems to be recent since nowadays almost all the world seems to be influenced by the American radical thought.

It is worth noting that in this thesis, focus will be neither on the characteristics of American radicalism nor on the influence of the American radicals on the American society. Rather it will be on shedding light on the major roots of American radicalism. Indeed, the theme of this work has been inspired not by the desire to retell the familiar story of American radicalism, but by the need for a new analysis of the roots of the American radical attitude; the latter that enabled America to be exceptional and, therefore, capable of leading the world not only economically and politically but ideologically as well.

The first interest throughout the present thesis, then, will be the deep study and exploration of the very origins of American radicalism. Focus, then, will be on how the first seeds of the radical thought impacted American progress. Indeed, social and political institutions are often attached to their origins. This idea was made clear by Oscar S. Straus when he affirmed that “the older and more permanent our government becomes, the greater will be the interest that attaches to its origin”⁵. One can, thus, understand that the roots of the political thought can have a continuous impact on its future achievements. This implies that any valuable study of American political thought would never be complete without shedding light on the first seeds of that thought.

Broadly speaking, most historians seem preoccupied mainly with the development of the American political thought. That is the reason why for well over two centuries, the development of the American political thought in general and radicalism in a more particular sense has been debated in American society as it has become interesting and directly substantial as a subject of study. This might be attributed to the fact that the question of how American citizens should

⁵ Oscar S. Straus, « The Origin of Republican Form of Government in the United States of America ». <http://www.christianheritagemins.org/articles/The%20Origin%20of%20Republican%20Form%20of%20Government%20in%20the%20United%20States%20and%20the%20Hebrew%20Commonwealth.pdf>. Accessed August 13, 2015.

behave as they struggle to create a more democratic society has haunted the United States throughout its history. Here, there is a need to draw attention to the important fact that this continuous and innovative radical impulse often leads the historians to talk about the death and then the rebirth of radicalism in the United States.

As noted earlier, the theme of American radicalism has recently constituted a major space of debate because scholars have taken intense interest in questions concerning this issue. That is the reason why the present study builds on a number of previous efforts and is to be carried out in the light of what scholars have reflected upon in respect of this important American issue. Paul Rahe's landmark *Republics Ancient and Modern*⁶ traced the origins and development of republicanism as a radical mode of thought from Greek antiquity until the early American Republic. In his analysis of over 2,000 years of ancient and modern political and constitutional thought, Rahe could skillfully show the deep conceptual and philosophical differences between classical thought and the early modern republican one.

What can be observed is that Rahe in his study sought to challenge the prevailing assumptions about the republican thought by demonstrating the stiff opposition of modern theorists such as Machiavelli, Hobbes, Locke, and others to the classical republican principles of moral education and distributive justice. What is interesting is that Rahe's work sheds light on the drastic impact early modern political theory had on the republican dimension of the Anglo-American political and constitutional tradition.

Among the most remarkable authors who treated the topic was Staughton Lynd who analyzed the early intellectual seeds of American

⁶ See Paul Anthony Rahe, *Republics Ancient and Modern*, (University of North Carolina Press, 1994).

Radicalism in his book, *The Intellectual Origins of American Radicalism*⁷. The book can be considered as the first study that directly tackles the origins of the American political thought. In this book, Lynd explores how in the seventeenth-century English Revolution, many issues like private property and the sovereignty of the nation-state started to be publically discussed in the social and political scene. In addition to this, he demonstrated how the period saw many calls for securing the right of the common man to be governed by his own consent. Moreover Lynd strongly argued how by the time of the American Revolution, Thomas Paine became the great radical whom he described as the real representative for the British intellectual legacy.

In his iconic book, *The Ideological Origins of the American Revolution*⁸; Bernard Bailyn also discusses the topic. He provides a new analysis to the roots of American radicalism through concentrating more on the ideals such as liberty, justice, and equality that led the Americans to reject the British rule and therefore resist it through a revolution and he considers the American Revolution as the major source of the American radical attitude because of the many changes it brought to the American life.

Furthermore, among the most recent historians who dealt with American radicalism, I can cite Margaret Jacob and Jonathon Israel who both wrote articles on the roots of the Anglo American radicalism. In fact, both seem to stress the impact of the continental legacy on the American mind emphasizing the influence of the European Enlightenment thinkers on the development of American radicalism. In the same context, Margaret Jacob and James Randall Jacob wrote *The Origins of the Anglo American Radicalism*⁹, in which they

⁷ Staughton Lynd, *The Origins of the Anglo American Radicalism*, (Cambridge University Press, 2009).

⁸ See Bernard Bailyn, *The Ideological Origins of the American Revolution*, (Harvard University Press), 2011.

⁹ See James Randall Jacob, *The Origins of the Anglo American Radicalism*, (Prometheus Books, Publishers, 1991).

stressed the impact of the philosophy of John Locke and Jean Jacques Rousseau on shaping the Americans' radical attitude as well as their political thought.

Still in this direction, Jerome Huyler also was among those who stressed the impact of the Enlightenment thinkers on the American radical attitude with a special emphasis on the impact of Locke. In his *Locke in America*¹⁰, Huyler showed how Lockean liberalism and classical republicanism were not antithetical modes of thought for eighteenth-century American Whigs.* And he demonstrated that the Opposition Whig classic *Cato's Letters* implied a combination of Lockean individualism and natural rights, on the one hand, and the "Old Whig" constitutional republicanism of Algernon Sidney, on the other.

It is obvious then that the American radical political and social thought has really been the topic of hot debates among historians and all those interested in American studies. All the works mentioned above are carefully selected because they are slightly related to my present study in certain points, and the idea that will be discussed in the study have been already tackled in each work of these, but limitedly and separately. What is noticed is that the great bulk of these studies confined themselves to exposing the different roots of American radicalism without explaining how these roots worked together as a mechanism in order to create the American political and social thought which can be described as unique. Therefore, in the present thesis, there will be an attempt to demonstrate how the Americans were inspired by those different sources in order to successfully build a radical ideology that can be described as typically

¹⁰ Jerome Huyler, *Locke in America*, (University Press of Kansas, 1995).

* The Whigs were a political group who were active in the middle of the 19th century in the United States of America. The Whigs supported the supremacy of Congress over the Presidency and favored a program of modernization and economic protectionism. This name was chosen to echo the American Whigs of 1776, who fought for independence, and because "Whig" was then a widely recognized label of choice for people who identified as opposing tyranny. Smith, Ernest Anthony (1975). <https://www.en.wikipedia.org>. See also *Whig Principles and Party Politics: Earl Fitzwilliam and the Whig Party, 1748-1833*, (Manchester University Press, 1975).

American and which really suited the American character and contributed to putting into practice the American famous aspiration of building an exceptional nation.

Consequently , the concerns of the present thesis can be summarised in the following questions: What are the roots of American radicalism? To what extent did the Americans know how to benefit from the other peoples' experiences and ideologies? If the Americans ,in their construction of their typically American social, economic, and political systems ,had applied all that they have learnt from the past experiences of the Old World, does this mean that there was no space for American creativity? In other words, to what extent have the Americans contributed to the foundation of the American radical thought? This leads to another important and fundamental question which is to what extent were the Americans skillful in Americanizing the Western thought? These are the issues that will be addressed throughout the present research.

To answer those questions about the roots of American radicalism, one needs to use an approach that involves a deep analytical focus, critical thinking skills and evaluation of facts and information related to the research being conducted; it is the historical research method which will be the appropriate method as a systematic process of describing, analyzing, and interpreting the roots of American radicalism based on information from selected sources as they relate to the study of American radicalism. The historical method comprises the techniques by which the primary sources¹¹ will be used to research and then to deal with American radicalism in the form of accounts of the past.

It is certain that this approach provides the basis for understanding the major traditional sources of American radicalism. As it provides a context for understanding why the American radical social and political thoughts are as they

¹¹ Robert Jones Shafer, David Harry Bennett, *A Guide to Historical Method*,(Dorsey Press, 1980),p.78.

are. It is also useful in identifying the traditional radical trends and applying these to current and future ones, as it might enable me to understand and judge current radical ideas and attitudes. Most importantly, this method might facilitate the understanding of the roots of American radicalism through the disciplined and systematic analysis of the 'traces' they leave behind.

The present thesis is made up of five chapters. The first chapter deals directly with American radicalism as well as the social values often related to it. The chapter also demonstrates how the putting of all these social values into practice led to republicanism which has always been associated with democracy. For this reason, it is necessary in the same chapter to shed light on this political system as the natural result of radicalism as well as on the American endless struggle for a democratic and; therefore, a better society for all the Americans.

The second chapter of the research is dedicated to the historical roots of radicalism in the USA. Focus in this chapter will be on the impact of the British popular radicalism on the emergence of American radicalism. This part of the research offers an American continuation of the British radical thought especially during the period that followed the British Civil War. A period that saw the emergence of the most daring radical discourse in the pamphlets of the Levellers and Diggers, the radical groups whose members called for a better place for the lower classes in the British society and who struggled to advance the argument that the Englishman was innately free; the idea that would revolutionize the relation between the leader and the led.

Stressing the idea of free Englishman, the Levellers called for natural equality, freedom of speech, broad franchise, and the citizen's right to possess land. The impact of that radical group was not limited to the British society, but it went further to influence political life in the newly settled land. The chapter also addresses the impact of another British radical faction who was active during the eighteenth century: the Whigs or Commonwealth men whose

principles contributed to shaping the radical political ideology of the founding generation.

The third chapter of the thesis engages with the religious roots of American radicalism. In fact, the most significant and, in some ways far reaching, voices for religious liberty emerged in England during the Puritan Revolution (1640-1660). The era saw also a vigorous and articulate debate on the principle of toleration. But in the USA, the Puritan Massachusetts Bay Colony witnessed the emergence of some radicals who sought further change in both religion and civil life.

The radical Puritan Roger Williams' defense of the liberty of conscience led him to be convinced that the church should be separated from the state. This view made Williams considered by the Massachusetts authorities as a radical since he challenged their theocracy . Based on the idea that their whole godly community was being redeemed, these authorities claimed that their civil authority is entitled to protect churches.

In fact, Williams' support of religious toleration and the rights of Indians as well as his opposition to civil authority led to the establishment of Rhode Island on a land purchased from the Narragansett Indians. Williams' use of the phrase "wall of separation" in describing the relationship between religion and civil authority is considered as the first use of that phrase and Thomas Jefferson's source of the idea of the wall of separation between church and state as he put it in a letter to the Danbury Baptist Association in 1802.

Because Anne Hutchinson was another key figure in the study of the development of religious freedom in England's American colonies as well as in the history of women in ministry, it is necessary in this chapter to discuss her radical experience in New England. She ,in fact, could attract the attention of both people and the authorities by her criticisms of some ministers as well as by

her strikingly new interpretations of the Christian doctrine. Undoubtedly, Hutchinson's radicalism has contributed to the consolidation of ideas like religious liberty, separation between the church and state, and natural equality in the American infant community.

The fourth chapter of this study analyzes the role of the thinkers before and during the Enlightenment in shaping the American radical secular thought and their impact on the founding fathers, the major architects of the American radical thought. The Old World saw the emergence of the social contract theory and rights of man among radicals in Europe. Indeed, the Writings of Thomas Hobbes, James Harrington, and John Locke were quite popular in the colonies. This chapter will also highlight the French influence on the American political thought through shedding light on the impact exerted by Jean Jacques Rousseau on the American radical attitude, an impact which has not been sufficiently stressed by the historians who focused mainly on the traditional British influence.

Part of this study is trying to assess how the theories of those philosophers working together suited and were in line with the American project of having a non monarchical political system which was at that time the most radical challenge that the absolute rule of the British monarch had ever faced. These theories advanced the radical idea that government was a contract with the people of a society. They agreed to a certain set of rules in order to make life better than it would be without them. The most radical of the ideas was sovereign authority. That is authority is not of divine right but from people : if a government made things worse or violated the fundamental rights of men, the people could overthrow the old government and create a new one.

One can easily observe that many of those philosophical ideas were incorporated into the Declaration of Independence. It seems that the Americans used those theories in order to establish their radical ideology of republicanism.

They took from Hobbes the idea of the state of nature and the government as a necessary evil in a civil society. From Harrington they took the necessity of the just distribution of power through the egalitarian distribution of land as well as the concept of rotation in office while they held Locke's political theory of the right of the led to overthrow the abusive leader without forgetting Roseau's rights of man and the sovereignty of people. Afterwards this American republican project paved the way to a more democratic political system.

The fifth chapter of the study is intended to be an attempt to demonstrate how the Americans out of all the previously stated sources were able to create an original ideology that is often considered as typically American and as the most appropriate one to a country like the USA. Thomas Paine philosophically justified the American Revolution using persuasive and logical arguments in his "common sense" in which he backed and directly stressed the natural rights philosophy and the famous Lockean theory of revolution.

In the footsteps of Paine, the radical Thomas Jefferson managed to work out a philosophy that gives a specific American vision of the real democratic society; a society based on the self evident truths of liberty, equality, and the pursuit of happiness as he stated in The Declaration of Independence. Besides, the chapter discusses also how American radicalism continued to foster radical change in the nineteenth century through the philosophy of transcendentalism that consolidated the principle of liberty of conscience, the idea of civil disobedience against unjust rulers as well as the philosophy of environmentalism.

In the conclusion, it is necessary to review the findings of each chapter to finally suggest that American radicalism was not only the result of a purely American mind or a generation, but it was the product of different minds of different origins and generations. The American people seem to have learnt from the major civilizations in the world in order to be able to found their own

civilization and then be proud of their exceptionalism. But radicalism seems to be an important component of both civilization and exceptionalism in the American society. For this reason, one hopes that the observations of this study will be taken as another contribution and a spur to further studies of American radicalism and not as an attempt to render a final judgment.

Chapter One: American Radicalism: a Continuous Search for a Better Life

“The only real radicalism in our time will come as it always has—from people who insist on thinking for themselves and who reject party-mindedness.”

Christopher Hitchens, *Christopher Hitchens and His Critics: Terror, Iraq, and the Left*, 2008.

As noted earlier, history shows that the American people have always been haunted by the desire for change even before founding their independent state. Among the first people who found in the New World a safe refuge were the British radical religious groups who struggled to carry out radical religious changes and who sought to change England from a Protestant to a Puritan nation. What is remarkable is that this desire for change has continued to characterize the American personality and even to shape the American life to this day. Nowadays, the USA is said to be the greatest nation in the world in approximately all aspects. Politically speaking, the Americans believe that they are the most developed people in all over the world. This conviction springs mainly from the fact that they could establish a political system that leaves the space for the individual to participate in changing all that goes against his natural rights.

The Americans seem to be aware that they had the chance of enjoying all their rights as citizens in a democratic society. This very feeling of being exceptional springs particularly from the prevailing values of liberty, equality, and justice in the American civic life. This, of course, was not easily achieved but was the result of tremendous efforts of many radical generations who all struggled to foster change in the American political thought. This thesis is, thus, meant to uncover the major roots of this American radical attitude.

But before delving into debating the roots of American radicalism, it might be useful in this part of the research to indicate precisely what is meant by being radical and clarify what is exactly meant by the word *radicalism* and then discuss the major values that the concept radicalism implies. After that, light will be shed on the American continuous radical struggle which led to the adoption of republicanism as an American radical ideology that did not allow the adoption of monarchy in the independent United States and marked a historical departure from the traditional belief of the divine right of the king.

In line with this, it might be useful in this section of the thesis to explain how when republicanism became necessary with time, radicals in the American society started calling for a more democratic society by democratizing fields hitherto not democratized. This will be followed by a general overview of the major areas of American radicalism which emerged through different and versatile social and political movements which all struggled to promote equality and freedom in the American society. For this, it might be necessary to define radicalism, the fundamental key word in this thesis.

1- Defining Radicalism

Etymologically speaking, if *The Concise Oxford English Dictionary* (COED) does not provide a definition of *radicalism*, it does, however, cite the term as a derivative of the root radical. Among the adjectival definitions of that latter that the dictionary gives and which seems to be the most relevant is “relating to or affecting the fundamental nature of something”; and “advocating a thorough or a complete political or social reform.” But, the relevant and more appropriate noun definition is “an advocate of radical political or social reform”¹. Accordingly, I can therefore confirm that the radical person is “anyone who supports and exercises an extreme or fundamental change in existing institutions or in political, social, or economic conditions”.²

One should further note that if The COED adjectival definitions of radical thus stress the characteristics of completeness and extremity³, (but also the fundamental nature of the thing in question), another reading of the meaning of the term *radical* in the second edition of *the Oxford English Dictionary* (OED), tells us however, that if the notions of *extremity* and *completeness* associated with the term are more recent connotations, “the notion of fundamentals, or going to the root nature of a thing, go back to the earliest usages of the term”.⁴

Indeed, tracing the first uses of the term *radical*, one can say that the earliest uses, which are listed in OED, go back to the end of the 14th and the beginning of the 15th centuries and refer to “the humour or moisture naturally inherent in all plants and animals, its presence being a necessary condition of

¹ *The Concise Oxford English Dictionary* (Oxford Dictionaries, 2012).

² *The Concise OED, Oxford English Dictionary* (1989), p.1120.

³ *Ibid.*, namely, definition 3.

⁴ *Ibid.*

their vitality.”⁵ For example, John Rastell in *A New Booke of Purgatorye* (1530) wrote “The radycall naturall humour of that appell wyll increase whyle it is growing”.⁶

It is worth mentioning that by the 16th century, the term had come to refer, more generally, to fundamental qualities inherent in the nature of a thing or person. In this context, OED provides the following example from Richard Hooker published in 1597 in Book V of a book series entitled *Of the Lawes of Ecclesiasticall Politie*: “They intimate the radical cause out of which it growth”.⁷ Taking the term from this perspective, it would be more common nowadays to use the term in order to refer to the “root cause” of the relevant phenomenon.

Later in the 18th century, the meaning of the term began to change so that it not only referred to traditional and fundamental qualities of an entity, but began to also refer more and more often to “all practices, forces, or processes that might directly or indirectly contribute to change those fundamental and original qualities”. This is in line with what in 1735, Henry St John, 1st Viscount Bolingbroke wrote in *A Dissertation upon Parties*, “Such a Remedy might have wrought a radical Cure of the Evil, which threatens our Constitution”⁸. One can observe that, in this context, a radical cure means the one that can bring a change to the traditional constitution.

Still historically speaking and in more practical terms, according to *Encyclopedia Britannica*, the first use of the word *Radical* in a political sense is

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ See definition 1. a. of entry “radical, a.” in *Concise Oxford English Dictionary* (OED), 1989, p.1120.

⁷ See definition 2. a. of entry “radical, a.” in OED, (1989).

⁸ See definition 3. a. of entry “radical, a.” in OED, (1989).

generally attributed to the English Whig parliamentarian Charles James Fox^{*}. In 1797, Fox was the man who called for the radical reform of the electoral system by drastically expanding the franchise to the point of universal manhood suffrage. Later the same term was used to identify all those who supported the thorough and extreme parliamentary reform.

In connection, according to The *Britannica*, Fox^{**} was dismissed from the Privy Council in 1798 because he was the first to advocate the doctrine of the sovereignty of the people in a public speech.⁹ That is the reason why I can say that fox deserved the term *radical*. During that period and by the standards of his era, Fox was the kind of the reformist who did not show conformity to the system. That is why his radical action was not welcomed in the absolute monarchical system of the United Kingdom of the era simply because it marked a real departure from the then known political tradition and was considered as a challenge to the system.

In this regard, there is another detail worth mentioning here. The word *radical* was first used in an ideological sense in the 18th century Great Britain in reference to "all those who sought social or political reform"¹⁰. What is noticeable is that at first, it was confined to the upper and middle classes, but in the early 19th century "popular radicals" could exert an impact on artisans and the "laboring classes" and bring them into a kind of social uprising in the face of

^{*} Fox is known to be Thomas Jefferson's friend, and it is also said that he had met Benjamin Franklin in Paris; he was politically mature enough to predict that Britain could never defeat the colonies, more than that he could even consider the American cause a struggle for liberty against the oppressive policies of a despotic king. See *Encyclopedia Britannica*. www.britannica.com. 2006. Accessed June 12, 2012.

^{**} Fox held that the property would never be safe in a democratic society in which the property-less voters would obviously be in a majority.

⁹ *Encyclopedia Britannica* (2006), p. 365. p.1184.

¹⁰ <http://www.en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Radical>. Accessed March 4, 2014.

the harsh and unfair practices exercised by the government and this made them really deserve the term.

Still in Britain, the same era saw the emergence of a more intellectual radical group often called "the Philosophical radicals" who adopted later the utilitarian philosophy of Jeremy Bentham* and strongly advocated parliamentary reform despite the fact that they were totally against any popular protest and they severely criticized the arguments and strategies of the "popular radicals". By the middle of the century, "parliamentary Radicals joined with others in the Parliament of the United Kingdom to form the Liberal Party, eventually achieving reform of the electoral system".¹¹

By the end of the 18th century and even till the early part of the 19th century, the expression of *radical reform* started to be used in English politics to refer also to "a thorough or sweeping political change".¹² For example, in 1830, Gen. Thomas Perronet Thompson wrote in *Exercises, Political and Others*, "The actual agent...will be a radical reform in what is called the commons house of parliament".¹³

What is observed is that by the end of the 19th century and into the 20th century, the term *radical* started to be widely used to refer to "representing or supporting extreme sections of a political party"¹⁴; or, more generally, to that

* Jeremy Bentham is an English philosopher and political radical. He is basically known for his moral philosophy, especially his theory of utilitarianism, a philosophy which evaluates actions based upon their consequences. He was influenced by many Enlightenment thinkers, especially the empiricists like John Locke and David Hume; for this reason Bentham could develop an ethical theory based on a largely empiricist interpretation of human nature.

¹¹ Douglas Brinkley, *History of the United States* (New York, 1998), p.186.

¹² <http://www.en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Radical>. Accessed April 3, 2014.

¹³ See definition 3. b. of entry "radical, a." in OED, (1989).

¹⁴ See definition 3. e. of entry "radical, a." in OED, (1989).

which is “characterized by independence of, or departure from, what is usual or traditional; progressive, unorthodox, or revolutionary in outlook, conception, or even design”¹⁵ For instance, in *Radical Man* (1970), Charles Hampden-Turner ,in an attempt to distinguish between what is conservative and what is radical , writes, “While Conservative Man is caused to behave, Radical Man imagines and reasons autonomously”.¹⁶

It is noticeable that the majority of those who are interested in studying radicalism have confirmed that it was hard for scholars to agree on one definition to the term *radicalism* simply because its meaning differs from one person to another and from a historical context to another .About the fluidity of the concept, Timothy Patrick McCarthy and John Campbell explicate:

“Radical” has always been an elusive adjective, a contested, and fluid concept that owes no allegiance to any particular movement, ideology, or period .Radicalism must always be understood, therefore, within a specific historical context. It is also a painfully subjective concept: One person’s radicalism is often another person’s reform.¹⁷

Perhaps ,this is the reason why that, in this direction, one has to observe that the meaning of the term *radical* has evolved from one that emphasizes what is fundamental to one that emphasizes what is extreme, particularly in relation to social or political traditionalisms. In this respect, it is interesting to note that, nowadays the term *radicalism* started to have much wider than the above limited definitions .For instance, it is often used to refer to “any political and social

¹⁵ See definition 3. e. of entry “radical, a.” in OED, (1989).

¹⁶ See definition 3. e. of entry “radical, a.” in OED, (1989).

¹⁷ Timothy Patrick McCarthy, John Campbell,op.cit., p.3

movements and ideologies that aim at fundamental change in the structure of society”.¹⁸

Still, it is necessary to clarify here that, generally, the elusive and fluid nature of the term *radicalism* allowed it to have negative connotations and positive ones. Radicalism as a derogatory term might mean “extremism, evolutionism, and even utopianism in its negative sense that means the impossibility of a social vision and the *dangerousness* of the attempt to realize it”.¹⁹ Indeed, taken from this perspective, the word *radical* is sometimes popularly used negatively to refer “to individuals, parties, and movements who support great social and political change and wish to change any existing social system in politics”.²⁰

Interestingly, among the positive connotations of *radicalism* is the positive social and political reform because the term is often associated with any activism that leads society to a positive change towards better living conditions at all the aspects of life. Taken from this perspective by recent scholars, who often bear in mind its positive connotations, the word *radicalism* is often associated with “progress or progressivism; that is the endeavor to achieve a change for the better in society and other domains”.²¹

It needs to be stressed here that part of what this study is trying to approximate is that the most modern sense of the term *Radical* might mean “any individual or party upholding leftist views”.²² In reality, this meaning originated during the French Revolution where those “who opposed the king sat

¹⁸ *Encyclopedia Britannica* (2006), p. 365.

¹⁹ Paul McLaughlin, *Radicalism :a Philosophical Study* (Palgrave Macmillan:2012),p.22.

²⁰ <http://www.en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Radical>. Accessed April 4, 2014.

²¹ *Ibid.*, p.10.

²² Lasch, Christopher. *The New Radicalism in America, 1889–1963: The Intellectual as a Social Type*.(New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1965).

in the national Assembly at the far left and those who supported the king at the far right”.²³

There is an important and more general point to be made here about radicalism. In an important sense, *radicalism* can be positively “associated with innovation”²⁴ simply because the radical attitude often “implies the desire to revolt against tradition to seek the emancipation of people from mystical obligations to dead generations releasing in them the full recognition of the boundless potential for change and innovation that is inherent in human nature”.²⁵

As mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, the radicals share the desire to carry out a change; that is the reason why one can sustain the idea that they must have common beliefs and convictions, or in other words radicalism; as an ideology, must have fixed tenets and specific vision of how society should be. Perhaps, the two fundamental questions that confront anyone interested in the topic of radicalism are: what are the major values that radicalism tends to strengthen in society so that the great project of the utopia can be achieved? And what are the social, political, and economic goals the radicals often tend to attain in order to enable the ordinary citizen to enjoy a better life? In other words, what are the component parts of the radical thought?

²³ Buhle, Mary Jo, Paul Buhle, and Dan Georgakas, eds. *Encyclopedia of the American Left*. (New York: Garland Publishers, 1990),p.543.

²⁴ Paul McLaughlin op.cit.p.22.

²⁵ Jason Edwards, *The Radical Attitude in Modern Political Thought* (Macmillan, 2007), p. 63.

2- The Tenets of Radicalism

To answer the questions raised earlier, one needs to be clear about the social, political, and economic goals behind radicalism .Attempting to explore the issue of radicalism, Russell Kirk in his work; *The Conservative Mind* lists the general tenets of radicalism; he writes that the radicals generally believe in the natural goodness of man and in the endless and the continuous progress of society. They strongly uphold the idea that education, positive legislation, and alteration of environment can produce men of divine qualities as they strongly oppose the idea that man has a natural inclination toward violence and sin. In other words, the radical is a person who firmly believes in the innate perfectibility of man.²⁶

According to Kirk, the radicals are often hostile to the belief that tradition, reason, and materialistic philosophy are the appropriate guides to social welfare and common good. That is the reason why they often refuse to depend on the wisdom of the ancestors. This might explain the radicals' fundamental principle of rejecting formal and central religion and their desire to develop various ideologies as substitutes.²⁷

Politically speaking, still according to Kirk, the radicals often believe in the necessity of political levelling or egalitarianism which means the equal and the just distribution of the nation's wealth. Little wonder then that they usually fight against any kind of order or privilege in society. In a more modern sense, they are staunch defenders of total democracy as the core of the professed radical ideal. Because of this ideological background and convictions, the radicals

²⁶ Russell Kirk, *The Conservative Mind*, (Regnery Publishing, 2001), p. 27.

²⁷ Ibid.

generally, openly express “their dislike of old parliamentary arrangements and showed eagerness for centralization and social consolidation”.²⁸

As regards organizing the economic life of society, one can hardly overlook the fact that the radicals strongly advocate what they call economic leveling. For this reason, they do not believe in the ancient rights of property²⁹, especially property in land. Being more inclined to support the just distribution of land among people, they further consider the common property of land as a fundamental condition for social equality and welfare.³⁰

Interestingly, the radicals share a very specific view of the state’s function. About the radicals’ conception of the state, Kirk affirms that:

There is an agreement between them in detesting [Edmund] Burke’s description of the state as ordained of God, and his concept of society as joined in perpetuity by a moral bond among the dead, the living, and those yet to be born—the community of souls. From this conception of the state, their spirit of change is often nourished.³¹

One can understand then that Radicalism ,as a mode of thought, is an attempt to achieve “ a fundamental change with respect to fundamental sociopolitical norms, practices, relations, and institutions”³².

Bearing in mind all the previously listed tenets of radicalism, there is a need in this study of American radicalism to specify that throughout this thesis, the term *radical* is to be linked to all the religious, political, and philosophical

²⁸ Ibid.

²⁹ Ibid.

³⁰ Ibid.

³¹ Ibid.

³² Paul McLaughlin, op.cit., p. 22.

theories and notions that defended and worked to consolidate the God-given natural rights of human beings to life, liberty, and property in America and struggled so that the role of government should be to protect those rights.

In reality, adopting the aforesaid conception of radicalism, it becomes valid that radicalism in the USA cannot be discussed without putting it in its context which is republicanism as a political system that allowed the exercise of radical activism for the sake of consolidating man's natural rights .At this point , it should be stressed that in this thesis the term *radical* is to be used to refer to all that contributed to the promotion of republicanism and democracy in the United States .This the reason why it will be referred to Paine ,Jefferson, Jean Jack Rousseau ,and the like as radicals. Here, there is a need to shed light on republicanism ,since the roots of radicalism are in its very origins.

3- American Republicanism: a Radical Political Ideology

What is certain is that political radicalism in the USA was first founded by the founding fathers. The founding fathers were often described as "Classical Liberals."* Most of them, however, adopted republicanism which, being opposed to monarchy, was one of the radical ideologies that appeared in the political value system and became a major part of the American civic thought since the American Revolution .In its early context ,it can be defined as any kind of a "self-government by a community of citizens in a city-state".³³

* A classical liberal, is often a person who believes in the God-given natural rights of human beings to life, liberty, and property; and insists that the role of government must be the protection of those rights. For him the usurpation of another person's rights is a crime and if one violates the rights of others ,the response should be his deprivation of his natural rights. See Charles Seigle, *Classical liberalism*, (Berkeley, California, 2011).

³³ Maurice Goldsmith, "Republican Liberty Considered," *History of Political Thought*, (2000). p. 543–559.

Convinced that republicanism is the ideal political system, the American founding generation deemed that it was necessary for the Americans to gain their independence. Moreover, they sought to establish a new republic that “stresses *liberty* and *inalienable rights* as central values, makes the people as a whole sovereign, rejects inherited political power, expects citizens to be independent in their performance of civic duties, and vilifies corruption”.³⁴

It goes almost without saying that republicanism was the most important turning point in the history not only of the American democratic political thought but of the entire world as well. Republican ideology is based on the belief that citizens of a republic should enjoy a liberty that is completely absent in monarchies simply because in the republic, people are governed by laws that they themselves had made, and are not passive entities and subjects to an individual monarch. This is the reason why republicanism, as a mode of thought, came to be considered as a fundamental principle for all the political and social actions and thought that attempt to achieve a fundamental change in society.

Historically speaking, one can say that if republicanism as a political system and a radical ideology can be traced back to Aristotle (384–322 BCE)³⁵, its first institutional embodiment goes back to the republic of Rome (510–23 BCE). In fact, the most clear expression of republicanism as a political system is found in the writings of Marcus Tullius Cicero (106–43 BCE) and Titus Livius³⁶ (59 BCE –17 CE). Both Cicero and Livius could persuasively argue that republicanism was the necessary solution for the injustice that was the natural result of Rome’s failure to eradicate internal corruption and conflict which

³⁴ See Cecile Laborde, John Maynor, *Republicanism and Political Theory*, (2009), p. 13.

³⁵ See Erik J. Olsen, *Civic Republicanism and the Properties of Democracy: A Case Study of Post-socialist Political Theory*, (Lexington Books, 2006).

³⁶ See Erich S. Gruen, *The Last Generation of the Roman Republic* (University of California Press, 1974), p. 139.

disrupted the checks and balances between the senate, the magistrates, and the people.

In one of his basic works, *De re publica*, Cicero tightly “linked the Roman concept of *re publica* to the Greek *politeia*”³⁷ Some political scientists have translated the Greek term *politeia* as *republic*. The same concept was modified and appeared again during the Middle Ages and the Renaissance with Italian thinkers such as Niccolò Machiavelli (1469–1527) and Francesco Guicciardini (1483–1540).³⁸

Having advanced the very origins of republicanism, practically speaking, one can ,therefore, assume that republicanism revived or, in other words ,was born again thanks to the American founding fathers whose embrace of this radical political thought led to the American War of Independence which the historian Gordon S. Wood considered as “the major source of radical energy that drives popular democracy”.³⁹ About the radical nature of the American Revolution, Wood notes:

If we measure the radicalism by amount of social change that actually took place- by transformations that bound people to each other- then the American Revolution was not conservative at all on the contrary it was as radical and as revolutionary as any history... it was one of the greatest revolutions the world has known, a momentous upheaval that not only fundamentally altered the character of American

³⁷ Daniel M. Weinstock, Christian Nadeau, *Republicanism: History, Theory, and Practice*, (2004), p. 35.

³⁸ See Daniel J. Kapust , *Republicanism, Rhetoric, and Roman Political Thought*: (2001), p.12.

³⁹ Gordon S. Wood ,*The Radicalism of the American Revolution* (Paperback ,1993) ,p.3.

society but decisively affected the course of subsequent history.⁴⁰

Indeed, “with its emphasis on independence, liberty, and equality; the American Revolution helped inspire a mounting opposition to all that might hinder the fulfillment of those ideals in the American society”.⁴¹ For instance, it was the source of inspiration for the African Americans who struggled to eradicate slavery as “it nourished the abolitionists’ opposition to it as an institution in the American society”.⁴² It might be clear that the founding fathers decided to govern the independent United States according to the republican principles because its principles “guaranteed liberty, with opposing, limited powers offsetting one another”.⁴³

It is not surprising, then, that republicanism could really form a remarkably strong basis for the American Revolution, for the Declaration of Independence and for the Constitution as it paved the way to democracy as a fundamental principle of the American government. As such, it paved the way for democracy as a fundamental of the American government. This leads me to distinguish between the two concepts: *republicanism* and *democracy* as applied in the American political context, of course.

3.1- Republicanism and Democracy in the USA

The debate is centered now on how republicanism led to democracy in the American society and how it provided the appropriate climate for radical activism. Perhaps, it might be useful here to distinguish between the two

⁴⁰ Ibid., p. 5.

⁴¹ Timothy Patrick McCarthy, John Campbell, op.cit., p.24.

⁴² Ibid.

⁴³ David Wootton, *Republicanism, Liberty, and Commercial Society, 1649-1776* (Stanford University Press, 1994), p.10.

concepts: *republicanism* and *democracy*. In fact, Republicanism differs from democracy, in that it asserts that people have unalienable rights that cannot be voted away by a majority of voters, whereas in democracy "the voters can terminate the rights of an unpopular minority".⁴⁴ The founding fathers viewed Republicanism as the most appropriate political doctrine because it is concerned with and stressed the individual freedom and its realization through self-governance.

For American republicans, the people are the source of sovereignty. Freedom "thus consists in not being subject to another's will by having the power to raise claims for or against the laws under which one is governed."⁴⁵ The primary danger to freedom, republicans argue, comes in the form of internal corruption and conflict that, if left unchecked, might threaten the common good.

What is certain is that, in its classical form, republicanism often emphasizes the importance of a mixed constitution that provides an institutional balance between the different interests of the many who are the people, of the few who are the aristocratic class, and of the one who is the monarch so that all can peacefully and respectfully live in the same society.

The above described classical model of republicanism, as pointed out earlier, was applied in the Roman system, which included tribunes of the people, the aristocratic Senate, and consuls. This classical model of republicanism, however, has seen an important change, or let's say amendment, in modern times. Basically centered on the principle of self-governance which is considered

⁴⁴ See Becker, Peter, Jürgen Heideking and James A. Henretta, eds. *Republicanism and Liberalism in America and the German States, 1750-1850*. (2002).

⁴⁵ See Bryan-Paul Frost, Jeffrey Sikkenga, *History of American Political Thought* (Lexington Books, 2003).

as the core of democracy, American republicanism is usually viewed as the best example of that new modified form of republicanism,.

In an attempt to shed light on the strong link between republicanism and democracy in the American political system, Robert Dahl ^{*} refers to the shift in emphasis from the classic aristocratic republicanism to the American radical view that places a greater emphasis on the democratic character of the constitution. The older aristocratic model of republicanism was the result of the ideas of thinkers such as Aristotle and Guicciardini, while the second radical character appeared in the works of Tomas Paine, and Thomas Jefferson. Those two thinkers, as it will be shown more deeply in the subsequent chapters, believed that the difference between republicanism and democracy should be too delicate and subtle.

It is worth noting that in classical republicanism, the people have an important role in framing the constitutional structure since they are entitled to participate in the drafting of the constitution; but because they cannot control their desires, the constitution allows their representatives to govern on their behalf. Aristocratic republicans argue that these individuals are often "guided by an interest in the public good and have an ability to engage in impartial and careful reflection, making them uniquely situated to govern on the people's behalf and for their long-term interests".⁴⁶

By contrast, American republicans believe that modern societies are no longer divided into different social classes. The presence of a hereditary aristocracy, for example, became "increasingly difficult to distinguish, especially

^{*} Robert Alan Dahl is a Professor of political science and a honorary Doctor of Law at Yale University;he holds Ph.D. in political science.

⁴⁶ John W Maynor,. op.cit., p.13.

in the earlier American context".⁴⁷ They further argue that those in charge of balancing the aristocratic and democratic needs of society often fail to see that the only legitimate goal is the common good.

That is the reason why the Americans believed that republicanism should be based mainly on dividing powers among separate institutions, with each serving as a check on the other. Besides, one can observe that the republican political system in the USA is based on three fundamental branches: the executive branch, the legislative (the House and Senate), and the judicial branch. What is important to be stressed, here, is that these three major branches of government tend to avoid reflecting any political division in opinion, beliefs, and interests, in society. This allowed the American model of a republic to acquire political credibility and seriousness in applying the government laws.

As was noted earlier, the rejection of the ancient rights of property, especially property of land has long been one of the major tenets of radicalism and ,therefore, as one of the fundamental goals of the radicals. Edmund Morgan has recently emphasized that "the spectre of a large class of property haunted the republican theorists of the American Revolution."⁴⁸

Moreover, it is ,perhaps, necessary to refer to the important fact that republicanism itself was hostile to capitalism that saw a fearful development during the eighteenth century. Paine and Jefferson, as radicals and republicans, wished to keep the social basis of republicanism which was the wide diffusion of property among farmers, a principle that is fundamental in the radical conception of an ideal society. This , in fact, goes with the general principle of radicalism

⁴⁷ Becker, Peter, Jürgen Heideking and James A. Henretta, op.cit., p.34.

⁴⁸ See Edmund S. Morgan, Rosemarie Zagari ,*The Birth of the Republic, 1763-89*, Fourth Edition (University of Chicago Press, 2012).

which is justice and the tendency of optimism about the positive nature of man as well as the rejection of all kind of supremacy when the matter is related to the right of possessing land. In the United States, the commitment to the common property became more concrete in Jeffersonian republicanism or what became known as Jeffersonianism.

In this connection, one can easily notice that Jeffersonianism as an ideology was markedly based on the commitment to ownership of landed property as the core of the individual's independence. As Gary Wills has recently stated:

Jefferson allowed that society had a responsibility to promote the widest diffusion of landed property. One way of doing this would be to grant every head of family fifty acres to stake out his own independence where uncultivated land and poverty coexisted, the natural right of all men to a portion of the land had been violated.⁴⁹

As a matter of fact, Jefferson argued that the Americans should build their economy around agriculture rather than manufacturing. Over two decades later, as President, Jefferson spared no effort to encourage the expansion of the agrarian republic, this why he purchased the Louisiana Territory in 1803. Despite the fact that The War of 1812 led him feel and then recognize the American need for a real and a strong industrial background, no one can deny that his agrarian ideology remained influential in American politics for many decades.

⁴⁹ The edition of *Notes on the State of Virginia* from the Avalon Project at Yale Law School at <http://www.yale.edu/lawweb/avalon/jevifram.htm>. April 25, 2013.

What has been stressed so far is that thanks to republicanism, as a social and political system, that the USA could achieve democracy; the latter that started to be linked to radicalism because the Americans considered any change towards democratic lines as a radical attitude. Republicanism then enabled the Americans to get rid of the authoritarianism of the king and his divine right as well as from the authoritarianism of the land owners and helped consolidate both freedom and equality. For this reason, throughout the present work, it seems appropriate to link republicanism as a mode of action and a mode thought to radicalism. But before delving into debating the roots of American radicalism, however, it would be of relevance to demonstrate in the following section of the chapter how radicalism was and is still circulating inside the American society.

4- The Major Areas and Issues of American Radicalism

Indeed, it would be very interesting, now, to know about the major issues of the American radical struggle and to demonstrate how radicalism was the right path towards democracy in the United States. As was stated in our previous analysis, the American republican system, and since it is based on guarantying the natural rights of individuals, allowed radicalism to survive and act inside the American society. American radicals saw a contradiction between republicanism as a system and some governmental practices of the American political regime that sometimes led to the marginalization of some sections of the American community such as blacks, women, workers, and the like who according to the radicals, should struggle to get their rights. From the foregoing, it should be clear that radicalism in the United States had to act in favor of all those who suffered from injustice or marginalization. In describing the radical nature of the American nation, Timothy Patrick McCarthy and John Campbell declare that:

The United States has always been a protest nation. From the political unrest that gave birth to the Declaration of Independence to the recent mobilization against unbridled corporate greed and war, the United States has boasted rich traditions of resistance and dissent.⁵⁰

Indeed, having a look at the history of radicalism in the American society, one can easily observe that radicalism gave birth to the United States and continued to shape life in the American society. But what is remarkable is that the term *radical*, broadly speaking, did not gain a widespread political usage in the USA until the pre Civil War era when the American Republican party was divided into different groups. Among the republicans, there were men who had been Whigs, Anti-Slavery Democrats, and Abolitionists. By the outbreak of the war, these fragments became three basic factions: conservatives, moderates, and radicals. The most radical and, eventually, most influential of the three was the Radical Republican faction.

Despite the fact that all republicans were against slavery, Lincoln and his followers were described as the most "radical" political group in that era. Their radicalism implied their opposition to slavery and call for the immediate emancipation of all the American slaves more than that they insisted that the rights of Freedmen in the south should be protected⁵¹.

By contrast, the conservative faction of the era called for the gradual emancipation, whereas moderates supported the emancipation but with reservations. In the meantime, and in an unprecedented attempt of a public call for the end of slavery, the radicals favoured immediate eradication of slavery

⁵⁰ Timothy Patrick McCarthy, John Campbell, op.cit., p.8.

⁵¹ Nelson, Robert. "Society of Souls: Spirit, Friendship, and the Antebellum Reform Imagination." Ph.D. dissertation, (William & Mary university, 2006), p.69.

because for them it was a crime, and they waged the war for "abolition". "Whenever I hear anyone arguing for slavery, I feel a strong impulse to see it tried on him personally."⁵² Lincoln once claimed. As radicals, Lincoln and his followers advocated the war against the Southern rebellion because they were convinced that, "Those who deny freedom to others deserve it not for themselves".⁵³

But it is important in this regard to stress the fact that, though closely associated with it, the eradication of slavery as a racist social institution had never meant the end of the radical struggle and ambition of drastically changing the American social and political thought along more democratic lines. With Lincoln's assassination and Andrew Johnson's succession, the Radicals' domination of the party and Congress remarkably increased. These radical politicians would have a great role in the reconstruction of the American society. In fact, they would continue struggling for a more democratic American society through securing a better social status not only for the African Americans but for the American common man in general. Because, as Charles Sumner, the antislavery radical and Massachusetts senator notes, "the age of chivalry has gone; the age of humanity has come".⁵⁴ Sumner, like all the radicals of the reconstruction, believed that it was time for a radical change so that the American common man would enjoy a better life in which all his natural rights would be guaranteed; he adds that:

The highest greatness, surviving time and stone, is that
which proceeds from the soul of man. Monarchs and

⁵² *The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln* edited by Roy P. Basler, Volume VIII, "Speech to One Hundred Fortieth Indiana Regiment" (March 17, 1865), p. 361.

⁵³ *The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln* edited by Roy P. Basler, Volume III, "Letter To Henry L. Pierce and Others" (April 6, 1858), p. 376.

⁵⁴ <http://www.bartleby.com/348/authors/531.html> Accessed September 13, 2015.

cabinets, generals and admirals, with the pomp of court and the circumstance of war, in the lapse of time disappear from sight; but the pioneers of truth, though poor and lowly, especially those whose example elevates human nature, and teaches the rights of man, so that “a government of the people, by the people, for the people, may not perish from the earth;” such a harbinger can never be forgotten, and their renown spreads co-extensive with the cause they served so well⁵⁵.

In fact, one cannot miss the important fact that the post Civil War era was also characterised by the growth of the capitalist greed .This is the reason why political radicalism from the end of the Reconstruction to the beginning of the Cold War was generally associated with radical calls and activism that aimed at fundamentally reform or even change the capitalist economic and social system in the American industrialised society⁵⁶. Generally, the radicals of the era shared the belief that radical changes in property relations became necessary and that it was time to achieve what they called economic levelling; the latter that was one of the fundamental tenets of radicalism. Because of this non conformism to the prevailing system, this radical wave was called leftism.

In this respect, the era saw the birth of many radical groups often described as “leftist” who were for a wide variety of social and political reform; among them were the Knights of Labour*. They called for more democracy in

⁵⁵ Ibid.

⁵⁶ Jentz, John B. *Artisans, Evangelicals, and the City: A Social History of the Labor and Abolitionist Movements in Jacksonian New York*, Ph.D. dissertation, City (University of New York, 1977), p.123.

* other titles: KOL or Noble Order of the Knights of Labor knights of Labor (KOL), first important national labor organization in the United States, founded in 1869. Named the Noble Order of the Knights of Labor led by Uriah S. Stephens, it emerged first as a secret organization to protect its members from their employees' humiliations.

politics, government ownership of railroads, and antitrust legislation to protect skilled workers, and small businessmen threatened by the economic instability and political corruption that characterized the capitalist society.

But, despite the strong radical impulse often associated with the workers, one should not miss the one of the farmers. In 1890 the level of agrarian distress was almost high in the USA, but the first serious, organized effort to address general agricultural problems was the Granger Movement that emerged in 1867 and was led by employees of the USA Department of Agriculture .It is important to note that the farmers' alliances were political organizations with elaborate economic programs. The American farmers tended to work within the Democratic Party in order to acquire a political power .They saw the political system as corrupted by the interests of the industrial and the commercial trusts. They declares:

We are met in the midst of a nation brought to the verge of moral ,political and material ruins .corruption dominated the ballot box ,the legislatures, the congress ,and touches even the ermine of the bench(the court)...From the same prolific womb of governmental injustice we breed the two great classes –tramps and millionaires.⁵⁷

It is quite interesting in this regard to note that the farmers' movement, which started to be called the populist movement, was viewed as “the last phase of a long and perhaps a losing struggle –the struggle to save Agricultural

⁵⁷ Rechatd Hofstadter, *The Age of Reform* (Newyork, 1977),p. 145.

America from the devouring jaws of industrial America".⁵⁸ In describing the radical activism of the nineteenth century Noam Chomsky notes:

In the late 19th century there was a major union organization, Knights of Labor, and also a radical populist movement based on farmers. It's hard to believe, but it was based in Texas, and it was quite radical. They wanted their own banks, their own cooperatives, their own control over sales and commerce.⁵⁹

Later, radical activism continued to shape the American social economic and political scene but this time through another more radical movement: the Marxist socialist movement, an ideology and a system of life brought by refugees from the European revolutions of 1848. In 1901, a number of socialist organizations and factions joined to create the Socialist Party of America. This party adopted the radical goal of promoting the working-class movement and allowing a successful socialist thought and ideology to creep into the USA.

Furthermore, during the Great Depression; they made great success by leading struggles to organize unions, and fight for social reforms. About the potential success of socialism in the United States, Norman Thomas; the Socialist Party presidential candidate in 1940, 1944 and 1948 declares:

The American people will never knowingly adopt socialism. But under the name of Liberalism, they will adopt every fragment of the socialist program until

⁵⁸ Howard Cincotta, *An Outline of American History*, (United States Information Agency, 1994), p.86.

⁵⁹ <http://www.brainyquote.com/quotes/keywords/populist.html>. Accessed November 12, 2014.

one day America will be a socialist nation without knowing how it happened.⁶⁰

In addition, during the Civil Rights Movement of the 1950s, a radical strategy of mass political protest started to be practised in the American streets . In addition to this, new alliances between liberals and radicals were observed. For instance, in 1955, Martin Luther King Jr. who as a radical saw non conformism as a solution not only for the problems suffered by the black minority in the United States but by all the oppressed groups and individuals; This is in line with what King thinks:

This hour in history needs a dedicated circle of transformed nonconformists. Our planet teeters on the brink of atomic annihilation; dangerous passions of pride, hatred and selfishness are enthroned in our lives; truth lies prostrate on the rugged hills of nameless cavalries; and men do reverence before false gods of nationalism and materialism. The saving of our world from pending doom will come, not through the complacent adjustment of the conforming majority, but through the creative maladjustment of a nonconforming minority.⁶¹

What is certain is that the civil rights activists worked against and even challenged the whole system of segregation in order to right the wrong traditional American view of the blacks in the American society. As a radical King, for example, was convinced that “The wrong thing with America is white

⁶⁰ Martin Luther King, Jr. , *A Gift of Love: Sermons from Strength to Love and Other Preachings* (Beacon Press, 2012) ,p. 27.

⁶¹ James H. Cone, *Martin and Malcolm and America: A Dream or a Nightmare* (Orbis Books), p. 234.

racism. White folks are not right...It's time for America to have an intensified study on what's wrong with white folks".⁶²

In more practical terms, those radical campaigns resulted in the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Voting Rights Act of 1965, which ended the system of segregation and marked a real turning point in the history of the African Americans in the American institutions, an achievement often considered as one of the most important achievements of the radicals' struggle for a better society for all the Americans.

Still, one has to note that radical activism in the USA produced also the beat cultural movement* which paved the way to what the American sociologist C. Wright Mills called *a New Left*.⁶³ In fact, it is hard if not impossible to exactly define the phrase *new left*. But Wright used it to refer to "a group of people dedicated to bringing about a violent change in the American society and government"⁶⁴. Indeed, Wright considered all activists, educators, agitators and others who struggled to implement radical reforms on issues such as "gay rights, abortion, gender roles and drugs as new leftists".⁶⁵

There is a need to clarify that though both deserved the term *radical*, one can observe that the New Left is different from the Old Left in that the first is more inclined to use violence in order to bring about a radical change. In

⁶² Ibid., p. 236.

* It is a radical leftist political movement that was active especially during the 1960s and 1970s, the majority of its adherents were of college students and young intellectuals.

⁶³ See Daniel Geary, *Radical Ambition: C. Wright Mills, the Left, and American Social Thought* (University of California Press, 2009) and A. Javier Trevino, *The Social Thought of C. Wright Mills* (Pine Forge Press, 2011)

⁶⁴ Warren B. Morris, Jr. "Some Aspects of the Origins of the New Left" Oklahoma City University http://www.digital.library.okstate.edu/oas/oas_pdf/v50/p187_190.pdf. Accessed September 3, 2013.

⁶⁵ Douglas Kellner. <http://www.uta.edu/huma/illuminations/kell12.htm>. Accessed April 23, 2013.

addition to this, “membership in the New Left consists of people who are younger than those in the Old Left”⁶⁶. In contrast to earlier leftist or Marxist radical movements that had focused mostly on labor unionization and questions of social class⁶⁷ in the USA, the new leftists showed no desire to sympathize with the labor movement. In other words, they were not concerned with Marxism and its theory of class struggle. Instead, they were concerned with issues like racial equality, de-escalation of the arms race, and non-intervention in foreign affairs. In a more important sense, they sought to carry out changes in the political, economic, social, and educational systems of the United States.

In reality, the New Left included organizations such as the Students for a Democratic Society which called for a radical change in the structure of the American society, either through social revolution, or by, as the writer Timothy Leary put it, "turn[ing] in, turn[ing] on, [and] drop [ping] out."⁶⁸ soon the beat movement developed into what became known as “the hippie” counterculture, whose members adopted a quite unusual living arrangements and an extremely strange and radical philosophy of life: “Never doubt that a small group of thoughtful, committed individuals can change the world, indeed it’s the only thing that ever has”⁶⁹, Margaret Meade, the American anthropologist and a hippie activist wrote. This quotation of Margaret Meade that was adopted as the motto for hundreds of radical organizations not only in the USA but in the entire as well indicates the global influence and legacy not only of Margaret Mead but of the Hippie movement as a whole.

⁶⁶ Warren B. Morris. Op.cit.

⁶⁷ Edward G., Carmines, and Layman, Geoffrey C.. "Issue Evolution in Postwar American Politics." In Byron Shafer, ed., *Present Discontents*. (NJ:Chatham House Publishers, 1997). p.112.

⁶⁸ See Timothy Leary. *Turn On, Tune In, Drop Out*, (Ronin Publishing, 2009).

⁶⁹ Nancy Lutkehaus, *Margaret Mead: The Making of an American Icon* (Princeton University Press, 2008), p.261.

What is certain is that the hippie radicalism contributed to a great extent to the initiation of one of the most influential cultures not only in the United States but in all over the world .In the American society; its adherents were viewed as one of the most nonconformist groups in American history. Their impact was strong on music, culture, and even politics in the 1960s and beyond, their wave of protest and strange, radical ideas have shaped the life of youth not only in the United States but all over the world.

It needs to be stressed that the hippies' radical impulse basically stems from their strong belief in the imperativeness of social change and in their eloquence and capacity to argue persuasively for this extremely radical philosophy of life. For instance, about the power of the individuals to change life around them, the hippies were strongly convinced that any change in society must start with the individual first. In this context, Jim Morrison strongly defended the idea that "there can't be any large-scale revolution until there's a personal revolution, on an individual level. It's got to happen inside first."⁷⁰ About the nature of the change sought by this radical group, Morrison announces:

I am interested in anything about revolt, disorder, chaos-especially activity that seems to have no meaning. It seems to me to be the road toward freedom... Rather than starting inside, I start outside and reach the mental through the physical.⁷¹

Interestingly, the status of women in the American society has also been the topic of hot debates among American radicals who sought and struggled for a

⁷⁰ Jim Morrison, *Wilderness: The Lost Writings of Jim Morrison* , (Paw Prints, 2008), p. 96.

⁷¹ Ibid.

better place for American women by calling for more social and political rights so that women could participate in the public life instead of being excluded from the public scene. In 1963, the radical Betty Friedan's famous book *The Feminine Mystique* criticized and even challenged the exclusion of women from all areas of work and sought to change the role of women in the domestic sphere. When the book was first published in 1963, it was a revolutionary text. It is credited with starting the second wave of feminism or radical feminism and ,therefore played an important role in changing the way people view working women. As a radical feminist, Friedan observes that:

Over and over again, stories in women's magazines insist that women can know fulfillment only at the moment of giving birth to a child. They deny the years when she can no longer look forward to giving birth, even if she repeats the act over and over again. In the feminine mystique, there is no other way for a woman to dream of creation or of the future. There is no other way she can even dream about herself, except as her children's mother, her husband's wife.⁷²

Interesting is the idea that it was this radical libertarian impulse, as it is clearly expressed in the above excerpt, that motivated more radical feminist writers like Shulamith Firestone and organizations like Red Stockings to join with liberal feminists to fight for more rights for women⁷³ through achieving an authentic departure from the traditional conception of woman .Basically, they struggled for acquiring more opportunities in public life through their insistence

⁷² Betty Friedan, *The Feminine Mystique* (W. W. Norton, 11, 2013), p.89.

⁷³ Mann, Kimberly L. "The First Thing Out The Window : Race, Radical Feminism, and Marge Piercy's *Woman on the Edge of Time*." Ph.D. dissertation (William & Mary university, 2009), p.67.

on the necessity of the passage of the Equal Rights Amendment. In this context radical feminists affirm that:

women, because of their colonial relationship to men, have to fight for their own independence. This fight for our own independence will lead to the growth and development of the revolutionary movement in this country. Only the independent woman can be truly effective in the larger revolutionary struggle.⁷⁴

One can observe that the radical impulse is quite obvious in this quote because the radical feminists directly express their challenge to the then patriarchal society and call for a revolution against the social system that according to them gives man supremacy over women and enables him to colonise woman and consider her as a second sex.

No less interesting is the idea that even environment was present in the American radical program of reform. The American social radical activism of the 1960s and because of the tremendous development of industrialism at the expense of environment took the responsibility of protecting the environment. Consequently, the decade witnessed the expansion of what became known as the radical environmental movement. In fact, Environmentalism can be defined as a broad radical philosophy, or ideology and social movement “regarding concerns for environmental conservation and improvement of the health of the environment”,⁷⁵ particularly “as the measure for this health seeks to incorporate the concerns of non-human elements”.⁷⁶ Environmentalism then advocates the

⁷⁴ *Columbia World of Quotations*. Columbia University Press, 1996. from Dictionary.com website: <http://www.quotes.dictionary.com/> Accessed January 15, 2014.

⁷⁵ David Pepper, *Modern Environmentalism: An Introduction*, (Psychology Press, 1996), p 234.

⁷⁶ Ramachandra Guha, *Environmentalism: A Global History*, (Longman, 2000), p .16.

preservation, restoration and improvement of the natural environment, and may be referred to as “a movement to control pollution”.⁷⁷

In connection, the American environmentalist Ralph Nader inspired and led a generation of activist researchers to expose and challenge the destructive practices of corporate power. About the nature and the goals of his radical activism, Nader explicates:

I advocate the immediate cessation of commercial logging on US public lands and the protection from road-building of all 60 million acres of large forest tracts remaining in the National Forest system. National Forests produce less than 5% of total volume of timber consumed in the US. I would veto all bills that might include provisions to dismantle any aspect of this National Forest protection policy. I consider it crucial to pursue public and legislative support for such a plan to endure.⁷⁸

One is likely to find out from Nader’s words that the environmentalists as radicals have a very specific and radical vision of environment and that they show readiness to challenge any bill that might go against their ideology that calls for the protection of environment from all manmade problems and threats. This environmentalist voice reveals that democratic sphere in the American society not only allow radicals to defend the natural rights of the humankind but moves to give them the opportunity to call for the same rights for the fauna and flora or in other words the radicals became defenders of the rights of nature, and this is one of the most important achievements of the radical struggle in the modern world.

⁷⁷ <http://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/environmentalism>. Accessed May 5 ,2010 .

⁷⁸ Ralph Nader’s letter to the Sierra Club , Jul 24, 2000.

Having advanced the major areas and issues of American radicalism, one can now establish the fundamental fact that the American radicals could, to a great extent, carry out significant achievements. In stressing the gains brought by radical activism, Timothy Patrick McCarthy and John Campbell note:

Our modern understanding of free expression stems not simply from the Bill of Rights but from the struggles of the labor, birth control and civil rights movements throughout the twentieth century to overturn the laws and governmental practices that restricted the dissemination of ideas deemed radical, obscene or socially dangerous. In many other ways, radical movements have made American society a better place.⁷⁹

It is noticeable, however, that despite the great achievements of American radicalism at the political and social level, the radical activists did not stop their struggle for the consolidation of democracy and human rights in the United States .The last decade of the twentieth century saw the emergence of many radical organizations and issues inside the American society, but there were no clear coherent radical intention to struggle for a far reaching social and political radical change.

There is a need to note that during that era, despite the fact that the American society did not see the birth of radical movements like abolitionism, socialism, and feminism, and the like which were radically active in the twentieth century, one cannot say that the American society ceased to search for change. Radicalism continued in the American society and the radicals did not disappear from the American political and social scene. Perhaps, the most recent radical faction in modern America is what became known as "Wall Street

⁷⁹ Timothy Patrick McCarthy, John Campbell,op.cit., p.xi

Radicals" whose radical activism can be considered as one of the most intriguing and even problematic features of present-day American society.

In reality, Occupy Wall Street is a protest or radical movement that began on September 17, 2011 in Zuccotti Park, located in New York City's Wall Street financial district. The Canadian activist group, Adbusters were the first to initiate that kind of protest, which has led to Occupy protests and movements all over the world. The main issues are "social and economic inequality, greed, corruption and the undue influence of corporations on government".⁸⁰

Indeed, recently, especially after the end of the Cold War, we often hear in the American political life of calls for what the radicals call "the necessity of renewing the American radical tradition".⁸¹ For the first time for many decades, radicals in the USA have recently started "denouncing professional politicians for their hypocrisy, excessive partisanship, and adversarialism⁸²". In addition to this, they have even "derided special interest groups for their corrupting influences, and they demanded that citizens be provided more direct access to decision-making processes".⁸³ This remarkable radical development might be due to the change in the way radicalism is viewed by the American government. In fact, the post Cold War is characterized by a remarkably deliberate, lenient dealing with radical activism. Since it is no more considered as a socialist threat, radicalism is no more checked. About this important development in the American radical attitude, Timothy Patrick McCarthy and John Campbell note:

⁸⁰ "Hundreds of Occupy Wall Street protesters arrested". *BBC News*. October 2, 2011. <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-us-canada-15140671>. Accessed October 2, 2011.

⁸¹ Marc Stears, *Demanding Democracy: American Radicals in Search of a New Politics, introduction*, (Princeton University Press, 2010), p.1.

⁸² *Ibid.*

⁸³ *Ibid.*

Today it is almost common place and as they expanded their field of inquiry and sharpened their intellectual tools, they also began investigating alternative expressions of democracy-the sun dry forms of protest and dissent that have challenged the exclusions and inequalities that have always existed.⁸⁴

More than that, it is worth noting that when Barack Obama ran for presidential election in January 2007 , he insisted in his electoral campaign that “what the United States needed was not a new set of policy programs but a wholly kind of politics .It is time for American democracy to be renewed”⁸⁵.This debate about the necessity of a deep democratic reform emerged in the American society in the early 1990s as a reaction to the prevailing democratic practice which according to many radical activists was corrupt especially by the power of money and special interests and ,therefore it needed reform .This radical vision might bring a new kind of politics to the American life as it might allow the Americans to continue their struggle for a better society void of injustice and monopoly of power and wealth.

From the previous discussion ,and in line with what this thesis tries to demonstrate, one can understand ,therefore, that the American radicals in their struggle to secure a better life for the Americans allowed the American individual to develop a specific conception of the role of the state which is different from both that of the anarchists and that of the classical liberals, who often advocate a minimal state, and from conservatives, fascists and state-

⁸⁴ Timothy Patrick McCarthy, John Campbell, op.cit. p .xi.

⁸⁵ Ibid., For more details , see Barack Obama, *The Audacity of hope :Thoughts on Reclaiming the American Dream* (New York :Crown,2006).

socialists who all call for a strong and more or less authoritarian state. However, Social or progressive liberals may have the same radical conception of the state.

Interesting still is the fact that the radicals in the USA also agree with the radical compromise between individualism and collectivism. Perhaps, this is the reason why American radicalism seems to have much in common with social liberalism. What is remarkable is that in the United States the two modes of thought overlap but never coincide. One can also observe that many qualities of American radicalism can be more attached to socialism or even communism: leftism, for instance.

In a typically American sense, one can notice that what is radical in the political and cultural sense is all that aims at bringing a positive change to the American life. Part of what the present thesis tries to demonstrate is that radicalism in the American society lies between the real meaning of democracy and the nature of life inside the American society. In other words, radicalism is the radicals' actions that stem from their belief in the possibility of achieving the real democratic life. There is a need to clarify that the radicals' desire for struggling stems mainly from their conviction that their function is to challenge conformism in all its forms, allow or even compel society's mainstream to change and progress, and why not act against all the traditional norms through bypassing the limits often put by the system and therefore initiate a new social and political vision of how society should be and how the individuals should behave inside it.

Last, one should mention that what is striking about radicalism in general and the American radical attitude in a more particular sense is that it is tightly linked to social change; because one cannot fail to observe that whenever society changes, the meaning of radicalism itself changes. This explains how ideas and

projects once considered radical in the American public view such as equal rights for minorities and women are now considered to be common place and even part of the American culture and philosophy of life . It is obvious ,then, that since the Revolution ,America has seen the emergence of generations of radicals and one cannot fail to speculate that in the future, the United States will , probably, see other waves of radicals .In addition to this, the very changing nature of radicalism makes the struggle for a more democratic society endless and innovative inside the American society.

As has already been pointed out, After the Cold War, there has been a widespread acknowledgement that American radicalism succeeded to a great extent in improving the American life and in securing more human rights to the American individual. Perhaps, that is the reason why historians often focus on how it paved the way for the construction of an American democratic society in which values like equality and justice should be enjoyed by all the citizens of the USA who were often haunted by the desire to struggle for democratizing fields hitherto considered not democratized.

After having clearly traced the American endless search for a better society for all, there is a need now to look at the very roots of this desire for change in the American radicals. This means asking a fundamental question: what is behind American radicalism? In attempting to answer this question, one may assume that the American radicals ,in their insistent and continuous struggle for a better life for all the Americans , must have a set of fixed principles as well as a strong traditional background or roots that lie behind this remarkable Americans' endless struggle for a better society for all.

There is a need in this thesis, however to draw attention to the important fact that since radicalism or the radical attitude has characterized the British

political scene far before the foundation of the United States , it would be unfair to believe, as is often upheld that the American radicals started their radicalism from scratch. In fact, they must have been inspired by the British radical attempts at reforming the political and social life in Britain especially in the period of Pre Civil War era .Of course, the link between American radicalism and that of Britain might be the result of the tight historical link between the Americans and their mother country, Great Britain. In studying the roots of American radicalism, it will be appropriate at the very outset to trace the impact of the British popular struggle for reforming the monarchical system on shaping American radicalism.

From the foregoing ,it becomes clear that the fundamental question that forces itself and should be answered in the subsequent chapter is the following: To what extent have the Americans been influenced by the British popular radical spirit? To answer this question, one needs to trace the historical link between the American radicals and their mother land's radicals. That is why it is probably necessary to have a general historical overview of the British popular protest tradition as a probable important seed bed for American radicalism.

Chapter Two: American Radicalism and the British Popular Protest Tradition

In verity we are the poor. This humanity we would claim for ourselves is the legacy, not only of the **Enlightenment**, but of the thousands and thousands of European peasants and poor townspeople who came here bringing their humanity and their sufferings with them. It is the absence of a stable upper class that is responsible for much of the vulgarity of the American scene. Should we blush before the visitor for this deficiency?

Mary McCarthy (American novelist and critic, 1912-1989)

The period between the 1630s and the 1660s was among the most extraordinary in our history. It was rich with new ideas as well as novel conflict. The English Commonwealth in the 1650s was, viewed from abroad, as radical an experiment as that presented by Soviet Russia in the 1920s. It is only by standing back and thinking about matters in this light that its significance can be measured. It may have failed but had an influence, for example on the founding fathers of the United States that should not be underestimated.

The London Times

There is a need to note that in tracing the roots of American radicalism or the American radical attitude in general, one should often think about the impact of the British ideological legacy on the American mind. This impact is,

undoubtedly, the natural result of the historical ties between the New World and the Old World which are undeniable simply because the American colonies were settled mostly by Englishmen.

In this respect, the present chapter principally examines how those British settlers had to look to the motherland for political or rather radical leadership. Even when they sought independence, many of those who objected to the British rule argued that their traditional ¹ rights as Englishmen were being violated. This subsequently became one of the original primary justifications for the American Revolution of 1775 and the resulting separation of the colonies from the British Empire.² This means that the Americans as British colonies had to use British ideas in order to argue for separation and independence.

In the present chapter, there will be also an attempt to trace the way the British popular radicalism was used as a basis for the promotion of republicanism and therefore, radicalism in the newly settled land. Simply put, the discussion in this part of the research will basically focus on how the Americans adopted the radical ideas and principles that were circulating among the British popular radicals in the seventeenth century and how they tried not only to apply but to promote them openly in the newly settled American society.

¹ Michael, Zuckert. Greene, Jack P.; Pole, J. R., eds. *A Companion to the American Revolution*, (2003). Chapter 88, "Rights", Wiley–Blackwell, p. 691. "[The American colonists' position depended] not on natural law, but on traditional notions of the rights of Englishmen, the royal charters of the separate colonies and especially on 'long standing constitutional custom'. https://www.en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Rights_of_Englishmen. Accessed July 12, 2015.

² William F. Swindler (May 1976). "Rights of Englishmen" Since 1776: Some Anglo-American Notes". *University of Pennsylvania Law Review* 124 (5): 1083–1103. Miller, John Chester (1959). *Origins of the American Revolution* (2nd ed.). (Stanford University Press). p. 168. "As long as the rights of Englishmen remained the goal, most Americans warmly supported the patriot leaders; when the rights of Americans and independence Great Britain were put forward, the colonists began to divide into hostile camps.", p.206-05.

1- The British Popular Radicalism: the Legacy

At the outset and before expanding on the impact exerted by the British popular radicalism on the American founding fathers, it might be worth noting that Great Britain was among the first countries that saw the birth of radical activism in its society despite the then prevailing strict monarchical system³. In reality, the strong growth of radicalism in Great Britain goes back to the Civil War^{*} which thoroughly changed English politics. It was indeed a turning point in the history of Britain because "it brought the end of claims by the English crown to Divine Right and absolute monarchy".⁴ Against the king, it promoted the political interests of the aristocracy and gentry as a class. In addition, it forced those in the Parliament to be politically effective through exercising power on their own responsibility. Moreover, it "created a political class which saw politics as something they could control rather than merely be part of as a supplement to the crown".⁵ All those achievements led to the adoption of the constitutional process which resulted in cabinet government as it laid the foundations for the formation of political parties. In short, it sowed seeds of modern representative government.

Here, there is a need to clarify that it was only during the 1640s that the belief "that men should be ruled only by those they had themselves elected

³ Margret Jacob's lecture on radicalism, <http://www.thesciencenetwork.org/programs/beyond-belief-enlightenment-2-0/margaret-jacob>. Accessed August 14, 2015.

^{*} Long before the Civil War, the British history saw the struggle of the British society to limit the absolute power of the monarch and the result was the drafting of two important documents that aimed at protecting the people from any power abuse by the monarch. Those documents were *the Magna Carta* in 1215 and the Bill of Rights in 1689.

⁴ For more details about the idea. See R. H. Parry, *The English Civil War and After, 1642-1658* (University of California Press, 1970).

⁵ See *English Civil War Fortifications 1642-51*, (Osprey Publishing, 2003).

became a serious political idea"⁶ and a concrete radical project. Though it may seem common and even necessary nowadays, the idea that every man (though not woman) should have an active voice in choosing those who would represent and govern him was a completely new and even a radical concept in the middle of the seventeenth century. In fact, this form of what one can describe as "a male centered democracy" really existed in the ancient world, but it was never fully applied simply because the citizens were always less in number compared to the slaves and other social entities often considered as non-citizens.

In fact, it needs to be stressed that the very idea of every man being an elector was so revolutionary or radical because, by the standards of that time, giving the right of voting to a wide electorate was perhaps the most fundamental and radical political change a society, especially the British, one could experience. For the first time, the elite had to lessen the voice of the common people who had long been marginalized in a way that no other system does. After the British Civil War the British people started to be convinced that the ordinary individual, even of a low rank and status, could be considered as a man with a vote and needs and rights.

But the popular reformist and democratic spirit that was surprisingly widespread in the 1640⁷ in the British society never meant that the British radical men were commonly calling for full manhood suffrage, even less for the emancipation of women. Rather there was a conviction that the social order had been radically changed by the Civil War and that men were on some new ground of equality and had a right to a public voice and to enjoy more opportunities to be immersed in the political discourse of their country. In particular, there was a

⁶ William E. Burns, *Brief History: Brief History of Great Britain*, (Infobase Publishing, 2009), p.112.

⁷ See Martyn Bennett, *The English Civil War 1640-1649* (Routledge, 2014) and William E. Burns, *Brief History: Brief History of Great Britain* p 11-113.

Chapter Two: American Radicalism and the British Popular Protest Tradition

feeling that those who had fought for Parliament had won the right to enfranchisement.⁸

Most important of all, this radical vision implied a challenge to the then prevailing political norms and traditions. There was also a more widespread conviction among social classes that the existing franchises were frequently too narrow and that the majority of towns were under-represented.

What is noticeable is that the group who successfully represented the popular democratic feelings in the British society was the common good groups called "the Levellers" "who were an influential and secular sect" ⁹ before, during, and even after the British Civil War. That is the reason why in the present chapter, there will be an attempt to demonstrate how this radical group could bring change and radical spirit to Britain to later export radical ideas to the New World. Here, one needs to be clear about the adjective *popular* that is often used to describe this British radical group. In reality, the Levellers' radicalism was described as popular because the Leveller activists were the real representative of the ordinary people since they came out of the different social classes. As radicals, they did not found a political party, instead, they used to travel throughout the kingdom and spread their political and social reformist ideas.

⁸ William E. Burns. *op.cit.*, p.112.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p.113.

1.1- The Levellers in Britain

Broadly speaking, the Levellers were a group of radicals and free thinkers who became noticeably active during the period of instability that characterized the English Civil War of 1642 – 1649¹⁰. In fact, they were eloquent spokesmen who showed a strong desire to consolidate equality in the British society and held that they had to struggle in order to establish a solid and stable society in which people, whatever their class is, could be able to enjoy justice and freedom.¹¹

Significantly enough, the Levellers demanded constitutional reform and equal rights under the law because they believed that all men were born free and equal and possessed natural rights that must be guaranteed to every individual. According to them, those rights must be protected by the government. They believed that every man should have freedom limited only by regard for the freedom of others. They also advocated the principle that "the law should equally protect the poor and the wealthy"¹². Moreover, and what was striking by the standards of their time, was that some of them, though few in number, argued against the absolutism of the Divine Right of Kings, and claimed that "monarchs get their powers not from God alone, but from the people as well."¹³

Perhaps, it is worth stressing that the Levellers "drew their support mainly from the ranks of the Parliamentary armed forces, especially after the

¹⁰ William E. Burns. op.cit.

¹¹ See Henry Holorenschaw, Joseph Needham *The Levellers and the English Revolution*, (Stanford University Press, 1961).

¹² Leonard W. Levy, *Origins of the Fifth Amendment*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1968), p. 272.

¹³ J.P.Sommerville "Democracy and Revolution: the English Levellers"
<http://www.faculty.history.wisc.edu/sommerville/283/283%2520session07.htm>. Accessed January 5, 2013.

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New Model Army ¹⁴was formed by Oliver Cromwell in 1645, as well as from small tradesmen, journeymen, and apprentices. However, this does not mean that they did not include those from higher social classes because popular protest was exercised by activists from all the social portions of the British society who shared the dream of reforming or even changing the British life for the better by consolidating the egalitarian and libertarian ethics. The most famous leader of this group was John Lilburne, the child of minor gentry* who devoted his life to this radical struggle.

Furthermore, one should mention that J Lilburne was so popular that he could gain wide support for the Levellers' ideas among army soldiers and the common people. The other most prominent Levellers were Richard Overton, and Colonel Rainborough who both worked hard in order to consolidate the freedom of speech because they believed that without it, their dream of society based on equality could never turn into reality.¹⁵

Assuredly, because of the domination of religion on the political life, it was difficult for the Levellers to fully secularise their political activism .Their primary source was the Bible which they used to argue for their radical ideas. Even in "their conception of social relations and political structure, the Levellers were very indebted to the teachings of the Bible."¹⁶ That is the reason why it is

¹⁴ Henry Noel Brailsford ,op.cit.

* The term *Leveller* had been used in 17th-century England as a derogatory term for rural rebels. Later , In 1607, the same term was used to refer to those organised riots. politically speaking, the term first referred to a group of the New Model Army Agitators and their London supporters who planned to assassinate Charles I of England. Later the appellation was gradually attached to the radicals: John Lilburne, Richard Overton, and William Walwyn and their supporters .See Whitney Richard David Jones (2000). *The Tree of Commonwealth, 1450 "1793*, (Fairleigh Dickinson Univ Press), pp. 133,164 .

¹⁵ Henry Holorenschaw,op.cit.

¹⁶ Tony Bean,,"The Levellers and the Tradition of Dissent"
http://www.bbc.co.uk/history/british/civil_war_revolution/benn_Levellers_01.shtml#three
Accessed April 12, 2012.

not surprising to observe that they had "to use the conflict in the *Old Testament* between the kings and the prophets, between temporal power and the preaching of righteousness, as basic arguments for the English Revolution"¹⁷

To strengthen and even legitimize their radical ideas, the Levellers prominent leaders took from *Old Testament*^{*} the very radical idea of man's relationship with God as a personal relationship that does not need a mediator. This idea, as it will be shown in the subsequent chapter, would play a significant role in enhancing the radical attitude in the Western culture. In particular, they vigorously argued that they "as human beings created by God neither needed nor required exclusive priestly class which claims a monopoly right to speak on behalf of the Almighty".¹⁸ This is in line with what Lilbume explicates:

If The Lord being an almighty God, is able to bring to passe his owne determinions and counsels by his owne way and means. and in his owne due time, and he, in his wisdome hath so ordered it, that I, his poore servant should be counted worthy by him to have the honour and dignitie bestowed on me for to suffer for his cause and glory and to bean witnesse to the purity of his truth, and to oppose his grand and capital enemies, namely the man of sm and his chiefe servants and confederates. the Bishops, and their Priests and Deacons, who have for many hundred years together buried the truth and the wayes of God in oblivion, and

¹⁷ See David Armitage, "The Cromwellian Protectorate and the Language of Empire," *Historical Journal* 35 (1992), 531-555;); J.H. Burns and Mark Goldie, eds., *The Cambridge History of Political Thought, 1450-1700* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1994).

^{*} *The Old Testament* is the first section of the Christian Bible and is based primarily upon the Jewish, Hebrew Bible, a collection of religious writings by ancient Israelites.

¹⁸ Tony Bean, op.cit.

trodden underfoot the "holy citie and true Church of God."¹⁹

Here, it is worth adding that despite those Levellers' radical and unprecedented ideas of how the structure of society should be, some of them did not dare to challenge the king's divine right to rule simply because they could not rise behind the traditional stereotype that society held about kings.

However, the reader of the Levellers' pamphlets can easily observe that they were filled with religious quotations and terms and divine teaching that all expressly considered the domination of man by man as sinful and called for egalitarianism. According to the Levellers:

The relation of Master and Servant has no ground in the New Testament; in Christ there is neither bond nor free... The common people have been kept under blindness and ignorance, and have remained servants and slaves to the nobility and gentry...²⁰

The interesting element, here, is that the Levellers movement was the natural result of an informal and popular alliance of all those who had contempt to the then social system and pamphleteers who excelled in using religion to argue for their calls for political and social reforms. By this, they became the social libertarians of the day or classic liberals whose demands really reflected their strong radical spirit that was circulating among the British people. In order to put their ideas into practice, those radicals had to find ways to spread their ideas and make them popular inside the British society.

¹⁹ Lilbume, J., *Innocency and Truth Justified.*, (London, 1646), p.1.

²⁰ Andrew Sharp, *The English Levellers*, (Cambridge University Press, 1998), p. 63.

1.1.1- Oratory, Pamphleteering, and Early Nationalism

As already pointed out, the Levellers' major and eloquent spokesmen and campaigners* were widely known to be brilliant pamphleteers who published and spread their views and therefore their impact at "a time when censorship was temporarily inactive and printing presses newly cheap and easy to set up"²¹. In addition, since many of them had fought in Cromwell's New Model Army, they were certainly used to discussion, argument and more importantly the free dissemination of ideas. In order to attract public attention and gain support in the British society, the Levellers felt the need to an elaborate and effective strategy.

Indeed, in order to develop the needed strategy that would fit their reformist project, the Levellers had to develop their own traditions of free discussion and strong petitioning and used them to formulate and promote their radical demands. In fact, it can be easily observed that their political strategy depended mostly on extensive writing and publishing of pamphlets, a strategy that would be used by future radicals as a successful way to indoctrinate those who were dissatisfied with the social injustices and ,therefore, sought social reform.

In addition to their remarkable eloquence and strong arguments, the Levellers were also very successful in explaining the rotten reality of the British society to the common people and making them feel the necessity of the immediate radical change. Advocating a return to the Saxon golden age , they portrayed 1640s England as having declined from the golden age of freedom when it was under the rule of the Normans and their French successors. In short, they could to a great extent other monarchy in Britain because it adopted the

* In addition to Richard Overton and John Lilburn there were also William Walwyn, Gerrard Winstanley

²¹ William E. Burns .op.cit., p.113.

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Norman way of governing the nation . If one looks at their writings, it becomes obvious that they persuasively argued to make people believe that the nobility and gentry of England were real usurpers who had destroyed the legacy of the Saxon golden age. Such interpretation of the British social and political situation was an extremely influential myth for the shaping of the radical attitude of the poor and excluded classes of England. For instance, Gerrard Winstanley begins his famous pamphlet, *The True Levellers Standard Advanced* by saying:

O what mighty Delusion, do you, who are the powers of England live in! That while you pretend to throw down that Norman yoke, and Babylonish power, and have promised to make the groaning people of England a Free People; yet you still lift up that Norman yoke, and slavish Tyranny, and holds the People as much in bondage, as the Bastard Conquerour himself, and his Council of War.²²

And he went further to consider the execution of King Charles as the real end of the Norman Conquest. On behalf of the Levellers, he notes:

Seeing the common people of England by joynt consent of person and purse have caste out Charles our Norman oppressour, we have by this victory recovered ourselves from under his Norman yoake.²³

One can observe that the levellers's discourse through stressing Englishness implied an early sense of nationalism which would later lead the British to other all who was an outsider. It is no secret that in modern time, it seems that after having rejected the Jews before, the British are now treating the Arab immigrants as outsiders who might shake and threaten their social and

²² Gerrard Winstanley ,*The True Levellers Standard Advanced* .
<http://www.kingston.ac.uk/cusp/Lectures/Hill.htm>. Accessed May 12, 2015.

²³ Ibid.

cultural stability. That is why the Arab immigrants often feel the sense of otherness inside the British society.

It is certain that this Levellers' sense of nationalism supplemented by their eloquence, political strategies, and organizations enabled them to get large number of supporters onto the streets especially in London. After that, they created local associations in order to be able to enlarge their influence and spread their activism in society.

1.1.2- The Levellers as Defenders of Freedom :the Concept of Free Born Englishmen

For his part, the Leveller, John Lilburne and his followers often used the concept of "freeborn Englishmen*" to argue for the basic and natural human rights that Lilburne termed "freeborn rights"²⁴. These he defined" as rights that every human being is born with, as opposed to rights bestowed by government or by human law"²⁵.

Perhaps, the most fitting and straightforward interpretation of the expression *freeborn Englishman* is that it is a rhetoric that springs directly from the Levellers 'radical belief in self ownership. Stressing this idea, Richard Overton argued most strikingly: "to every individual in nature is given an individual property by nature not to be usurped by any: for every one as he is himself, he has self property"²⁶.

* As a word, *freeborn* means to be born free, rather than to be born in slavery or bondage or vassalage.

²⁴ Derk Benjamin Heater ,*Citizenship in Britain :a History* (Edinburgh university) pp .33 34.

²⁵ John Lilburne, op.cit., p.53.

²⁶ Overton, *An Arrow against Tyrants*, (London martin clergy 1646) ,p.3 See Bruce Frohnen, Kenneth L. Grasso ,*Rethinking Rights: Historical, Political, and Philosophical Perspectives* ,(University of Missouri Press, 1 janv. 2009),p.46.

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In the same line, too, one needs to clarify that as an expression, *freeborn Englishman* well expresses the Levellers' deep conviction that conscience is God-given, and is directly derived from nature or reason. That is why it must not be controlled or restricted by man-made law. This, in fact, was the foundation for their political and religious belief. According to them, man, whatever the rank he had in society, is certainly endowed by God some natural and inalienable rights. The Law of God and of Nature is, for Overton, the sole essentially reasonable law. He writes: "Reason is the life of the Law."²⁷ Overton further develops this view when he notes:

All formes of Lawes and Governments may fall and passe away; but right Reason (the foundation of all justice and mercy to the creature) shall and will endure for ever; it is that by which in all our Actions we must stand or fall, be justified or condemned; for neither Morality nor Divin'ty amongst men can or may transgress the limits of right reason ... God is not a God of irrationality, and madnesse or tyranny: Therefore all his communications are reasonable and just, and what is so, is of God.²⁸

From the passage above, one can understand that the writings of the Leveller Richard Overton, which all defend the idea that "all men are born free and all have the right of property and liberty and must be granted opportunity in the world to enjoy these innate rights"²⁹, is, undoubtedly, the very root of the American concept of unalienable rights, (Life, Liberty and the pursuit of

²⁷ Overton, R., *A Defiance against all Arbitrary SIIpatiotu*, (1646), p.6.
http://www.constitution.org/lev/eng_lev_05.htm. Accessed July 12, 2015.

²⁸ Overton, R., *An Appeale from the Degenerate Represetllatwl! Bod"1647 (LeveU'er Manifestees*, p.158). See *The Religious Beliefs of the Levellers - BiblicalStudies.org.uk* biblicalstudies.org.uk/pdf/bq/15-6_269.pdf. Accessed April 12, 2015.

²⁹ Overton, R., *An Arrow against all Tyrants*, (London, 1646).

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Happiness.) stated in the United States “Declaration of Independence”. The founding fathers when stating the unalienable rights which they considered as self evident truths must have thought as free born Englishmen and must have the Levellers’ radical legacy in their minds.

As noted earlier, the Levellers ‘radical attitude stems mainly from their firm conviction that they are freeborn Englishmen. That is why they often argued that they were entitled to the protection of a natural law of human rights which they believed to originate in the will of God. Those rights should be enjoyed by the people who should be sovereign. These sovereign rights were only loaned to Parliament, which should be elected on a wide popular franchise to act on behalf of the masses and therefore, be responsible for the full protection of the people's rights.

That is the reason why they took the responsibility to discuss issues raised in the historic conflict between Charles I, who sought to govern Britain on the basis of the divine right of kings, and Parliament, the representative of people who strongly advocated the wider sharing of power and called for the right of the governed to be involved in their government. In other words, the levellers were concerned with the nature and the future of political freedom in the kingdom.

Perhaps, among the interesting points about the levellers is that, because the majority of them were from the low social class, one can even say that they represented the aspirations of the British working people as well as all those who belonged to the lower classes in society who suffered under the persecution of the king, landowners and the priestly class. They spoke and acted on behalf of those who experienced the hardships of poverty and deprivation. It is worth stressing then that anticipating by a century and a half the ideas of the

American and French Revolutions, the Levellers developed and campaigned, first with Cromwell and then against him, for a political and constitutional settlement of the Civil War which would later embody principles of political freedom. In short, one can, then, understand that the Levellers sought to really introduce and then consolidate democratic ideals in the British society such as freedom of speech and human equality.

1.1.3- The Levellers' Struggle for Human Equality

Little wonder that, in their social and political radical activism, the Levellers put a great emphasis on human equality depending, as Christians, on the religious idea that all men were created equal by God. As an old Leveller, Richard Rumbold argues:

I am sure there was no man born marked of God above another; for no man comes into the world with a saddle on his back, neither any booted and spurred to ride him.³⁰

What is interesting in particular is that those words by Rumbold directly express the Levellers' fundamental principle that the individual's natural rights should be secured and guaranteed. In order to strengthen their claim, the Levellers's leaders often appealed to the Magna Carta*. But for the most part, their arguments were universal because they strongly advocated the idea that

³⁰ Andrew Sharp .op.cit., p. VII.

* The Magna Carta was a document signed in June 1215 between the barons of Medieval England and King John. The expression *Magna Carta* is Latin and means "Great Charter". The Magna Carta was one of the most important documents of Medieval England. It was signed between the feudal barons and King John. The document was a series of written promises between the king and his subjects that he would govern the English people according to the norms of the real traditional feudal law. In essence, the Magna Carta was an attempt by the barons to prevent King John and all future kings from monopolizing power. See also http://www.historylearningsite.co.uk/magna_carta.htm. Accessed June 20, 2013.

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those rights were not restricted to the English and could not be lost whatever where the circumstances.

In other words, they believed that everyone whatever was his origin is naturally entitled to freedom from arbitrary arrest, from religious oppression, and from taxation without consent. This, perhaps, was one of the reasons that led the American colonies to declare civil disobedience against the British monarch; the latter who used to tax them without allowing them to be represented in the British parliament. One can, therefore, deduce that the Levellers were not only believers of the natural right philosophy: they worked hard to consolidate it and put it as a basis for the democratic political system in the British society.

Probably, it is important to stress the fact that the ideas of the Levellers were considered extremely dangerous and radical by those who sought to monopolize privilege; property and power in society simply because, as radicals, the Levellers held a firm belief that all men were equal, and they went even further and recommended absolute human equality - including equality between men and women. One can, therefore, assume that the Levellers' standing from the issue of equality between men and women anticipated the feminist calls for improving the status of women through giving them more rights. In fact, they were among the first to call for changing the fixed beliefs often held about women not only in the British society but all over the world. This is in line with what the historians, M.A.Gibb and H.N.Brailsford affirm:

In their attitude to women, the Levellers were a head in their time they encouraged women to play their part in politics side by side with their husbands and brothers because they believed in equality of all made in the image of God.³¹

³¹ David Underdown, Susan Dwyer Amussen, Mark A. Kishlansky *Political Culture and*

It is significant, in relation to what has been stressed so far, to note that the Levellers' strong belief in equality led them to support the establishment of a government that would take its legitimacy directly from the consent of people through election and by this call, they could, therefore, anticipate one of the fundamental principles of modern democracy.

1.1.4- Franchise for all and the Representation of all

As mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, what is striking about the Leveller movement was that it could anticipate the radical project of constructing a society in which freedom and equality would be enjoyed by every individual. For this reason, the Levellers' political leaders and spokesmen claimed that one of the most important principles of their ideology was the broader franchise. The Levellers wanted most adult males to be allowed to vote. Despite the fact that they did not want to extend the ballot to women, children, servants, or people living on charity, their proposals would have contributed to a great extent to the consolidation of the democratic principle "franchise for all and representation for all" through which the right to vote is granted to a much greater proportion of the population.

In this respect, too, the Levellers wanted to make representation in any particular region proportional to its population; this proposal was incorporated into the Instrument of Government of 1653, though reversed at the Restoration, it was restored again in 1832. The Leveller Colonel Thomas Rainborough* argues the case for universal suffrage as follows:

Cultural Politics in Early Modern England: Essays Presented to David Underdown, (Manchester University Press, 1995), p.162.

* Thomas Rainsborough was a prominent figure in the English Civil War, and was the leading spokesman for the Levellers in the Putney Debates.

For really I think that the poorest he that is in England hath a life to live as the greatest he; and therefore truly, sir, I think it's clear that every man that is to live under a government ought first by his own consent to put himself under that government; and I do think that the poorest man in England is not bound in a strict sense to that government that he hath not had a voice to put himself under...³²

Interesting still is the fact that here, Rainborough seems to advocate the opinion that democracy is needed in Britain. It is noticeable that this famous and highly radical call for a form of representative democracy is still heard even in these days of universal suffrage. The radical ideas of Leveler Colonel Thomas Rainborough came in a period during which Britain was still suffering from the effects of the complex Civil Wars that were fought in order to change the way Britain was governed and to create a modern parliamentary system. But the extremely radical or progressive vision of the function of the state was that of a group among the Levellers often named “the Diggers”. This group went further to call for a free commune’s social structure or as the historian Geoff Kennedy called “agrarian capitalism.”³³

1.2-The Diggers: the State of Free Agrarian Communes

Indeed, there is no doubt that the discussion of the British popular radicalism would be incomplete without referring to the so called *Diggers* and their valuable contribution to the development and the consolidation of the radical attitude in Britain. In fact, the Diggers sometimes referred to “True Levellers” were led by William Everard who had served in the New Model

³² Colonel Thomas Rainsborough at The Putney Debates, London, 1647. Extract from Colonel Rainsborough's famous appeal for democratic rights for all men. See Geoffrey Robertson, *The Putney Debates: the Levellers*, (Verso, 2007).

³³ See Geoff Kennedy, *Diggers, Levellers, and Agrarian Capitalism: Radical Political Thought in Seventeenth Century England*. (Lexington Books, 2008).

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Army. As their name implies, the Diggers' radical claims were agrarian³⁴. They aimed at using the earth to reclaim the freedom that they felt had been lost partly through the Norman Conquest. So, it is important to note that the Diggers were intelligent enough to argue that their views on the social order were not particularly radical, but were deeply rooted in British history and tradition. They went back exactly to the era prior to 1066 the date of the Norman Conquest when a democratic society had existed in Anglo-Saxon times where the land was held in common by the people.* In other words, the Diggers could argue that monopolizing the land by the few is not part of the British tradition. According to their beliefs, it was introduced by the Normans who conquered Britain.

It is noticeable that by seizing land and owning it in common, the Diggers sought to challenge what they considered to be "the slavery of property".³⁵ Their belief in the fair distribution of the nation's wealth and, therefore in equal land possession made them ready to act against the monopoly of land by one class in society. They believed that they could create a classless society simply" through seizing land and holding it in the common good".³⁶

Still, one has to note that the True Levellers or the Diggers strengthened their claims by another religious idea that "since God had created all men as equals, the land belonged to all as a right".³⁷ Moreover, they held that man is responsible for this treasure given by God that is he must protect it. By this very specific vision to environment, it is obvious that they anticipated today's

³⁴ Ibid.

* Perhaps, this is in line with Karl Marx's idea of the concept of 'primitive communism'; that is, the form of social organization that existed in pre-industrial society.

³⁵ William E. Burns.op.cit.

³⁶ Ibid.

³⁷ Andrew Sharp, op.cit., p. 26-51.

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environmental and green movements in seeing "the Earth as a precious "common storehouse for all".³⁸

One, indeed, ought not to diminish the Diggers and their struggle to protect the environment. As a call for the protection of earth by all and for all, the Digger leader, Gerard Winstanley, wrote in his pamphlet *The True Levellers' Standard Advanced*, published on April 26th 1649:

In the beginning of Time, the great Creator, Reason, made the Earth to be a Common Treasury, to preserve Beasts, Birds, Fish, and Man, the Lord that was to govern this Creation; for Man had Domination given to him, over the Beasts, Birds and Fish; but not one word was spoken in the beginning, that one group of mankind should rule over another ... And that Earth that is within this Creation made a Common Storehouse for all, is bought and sold, and kept in the hands of a few, whereby the great Creator is mightily dishonoured.³⁹

What is noticeable here, is the importance of environment in the Levellers' radical project. According to them, since earth was created by God for all his creatures, they all have the right to possess it. That is, perhaps, why they often insisted on the idea of establishing a 'commonwealth' in which the common people would be in control of their own destiny without the intervention of a King, the House of Lords or any other potential oppressors. Such a radical attitude is upheld and stated with force in the following lines :

The power of enclosing land and owning property was brought into the creation by your ancestors by the

³⁸ Tony Benn, "The Levellers and the Tradition of Dissent"
http://www.bbc.co.uk/history/british/civil.../benn_Levellers Accessed April 17, 2011.

³⁹ Ibid.

sword; which first did murder their fellow creatures, men, and after plunder or steal away their land, and left this land successively to you, their children. And therefore, though you did not kill or thieve, yet you hold that cursed thing in your hand by the power of the sword; and so you justify the wicked deeds of your fathers, and that sin of your fathers shall be visited upon the head of you and your children to the third and fourth generation, and longer too, till your bloody and thieving power be rooted out of the land.⁴⁰

Despite the fact that the above advanced Diggers' radical ambitions were too ideal to be successfully put into practice as a radical project. In an unprecedented attempt to end land monopoly and in what can be described as a utopian experiment; a small group⁴¹ settled on common land first at St George's Hill and later in Cobham, Surrey and grew corn and other crops. By doing so, this small group of Diggers could challenge the landlords, the army, and even the law for over a year. In addition to this, other Diggers groups travelled through England in an attempt to gather and organize supporters. In this, it is said that they were strongly supported by people in Kent and Northampton shire.

The radical activist who was responsible for producing or spreading propaganda for the Diggers was Gerard Winstanley. It can be noticed that this man could clearly express most of the Digger ideas in his 'The Law of Freedom in a Platform' published in 1652. This work was, in essence, a direct defense and exposition of "the notion of a classless society based on secularism".⁴² What is striking is that, as a Leveller and as a staunch defender of the human rights, Gerard Winstanley, it needs to be stressed, held a

⁴⁰ Gerrard Winstanley *A Declaration from the Poor Oppressed People of England*, (London 1987), p.99.

⁴¹ Initially 12, though rising to 50.

⁴² Vann, Richard T.. "The Later Life of Gerrard Winstanley". *Journal of the History of Ideas*, (1965), pp.133–136.

very optimistic view of the human nature. He regarded the right of property as a legacy of the Fall of Adam and Eve for, according to him, “by nature we are the sons of Adam, and from him we have legitimately derived a natural property”.⁴³ He believed that “the newly-enlightened Christians should not abandon it” and thought that “without the corrupting influence of the state”,⁴⁴ people would work or act together for a common purpose or benefit.

The Diggers went further to regard the state which ignores its people's desires and needs and which uses force to impose proclamations or commands as a cruel exploiter of the poor. That is why Winstanley tended to describe England as “a prison: the variety of subtleties in the laws preserved by the sword is bolts, bars and doors of the prison; the lawyers are the jailors, and poor men are the prisoners”.⁴⁵

As far as the issue of land is concerned, one can say that, according to the true Levellers, the clergy and all the followers of the oppressive ruling classes contributed to the crime of monopolizing the land. The Levellers observed that even church members played a role in the perpetuation of this negative social tradition because they often “tended to show an excessive willingness to serve and please landed gentry”⁴⁶. In other words, the Levellers could uncover the truth and thus make people discover that the church members or the clergy were using religion in order to serve their own interests and deprive people of possessing land.

In this connection, many Levellers supported the idea that the abolition of private property was the first step on the road of social and political reform.

⁴³ Andrew Sharp, op.cit., p.32.

⁴⁴ Ibid.

⁴⁵ Gerard Winstanley, *The Law of Freedom in a Platform*, (London 1976), p.56.

⁴⁶ Howard Shaw, *The Levellers*, (Harper & Row, 1968).

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They thought that the poor should refuse to work for gentlemen and instead farm the land to gain their livelihood. They were convinced that the lack of labor hand would certainly compel the gentry to voluntarily give away their land. The following words of Winstanley had a great impact on the future generations of radicals throughout the centuries:

When men take to buying and selling the land, saying 'This is mine', they restrain other fellow creatures from seeking nourishment from mother earth.....so that he that had no land was to work for those, for small wages, that called the land theirs; and thereby some are lifted up into the chair of tyranny and others trod under the footstool of misery, as if the earth were made for a few and not for all men.⁴⁷

In the Diggers' thought, in order to avoid despotism and tyranny, the role of the state should be limited, and the rulers must be left with few functions such as the control of foreign trade. Winstanley argued that monarchy, rank, and property had to be abolished, so that the state would automatically disappear because no longer necessary. In the latter case, free communes would have the opportunity to grow and develop freely in the British society. About the necessity of eradicating monarchy; he declares:

Kingly power is like a great spread tree; if you lop off the head or top bough, and let the other branches and root stand, it will grow again and recover fresher strength".⁴⁸

Concerning the right of the individual to govern himself, he adds:

⁴⁷ Gerard Winstanley, *A Declaration from the Poor Oppressed People of England* (London 1985), p.65.

⁴⁸ Ibid.

The poorest he that is in England has a life to live, as the greatest he; and therefore truly, sir, I think it's clear, that every man that is to live under a government ought first by his own consent to put himself under that government; and I do think that the poorest man in England is not at all bound in a strict sense to that government that he has not had a voice to put himself under.⁴⁹

What is certain is that the relatively small group of the followers of the Digger ideas was never particularly influential and was quite easily and rapidly overpowered by Cromwell. But what is observed is that the revolutionary ideas of that radical group continued to shape the British political scene as well as public opinion throughout the succeeding centuries. Their ideas were mostly supported by the ranks of the army which led the British Civil War and which became to be known as "the New Model Army". That is why it is not surprising to say that they were to a great extent responsible for the defeat of the Royalist forces led by Charles I*, particularly in the decisive Battle of Naseby in June 1645.

2- The Putney Debates: a Democratic Discussion

During the post Civil War era and exactly in 1646, the Levellers ideas were particularly influential and culminated in the historically famous Putney Debates where ordinary soldiers were engaged in a democratic discussion in which they argued for revolutionary ideas with their generals for the first time in

⁴⁹ Andrew Sharp, op.cit.p56.

* Charles I was arrested for treason. He was tried in 1649 before a large crowd and executed in the same year. Many British kings lost their thrones, and some their heads but king Charles I became the only English king to lose the monarchy. King Charles is said to be stupid, obstinate, and weak. That is why he brought about his own downfall "English Puritanism and The Puritan Revolution », <http://www.hymnsandcarolsofchristmas.com/>. Accessed April 23, 2014.

the history of the United Kingdom. ¹The Putney Debates were then "a series of discussions between factions of the New Model Army and the Levellers concerning a new constitution for England".⁵⁰

In this regard, it is ,therefore, quite important to note that the primary goal of those debates was not only to discuss political issues but to argue for democracy for the first time in British history, an issue never entirely resolved. It remains a critical political matter and a delicate issue to this day because Britain does not have an officially elaborate written constitution.

In reality ,the ideas exposed by Rainsborough in the debate were not new. But generally speaking , the changes which resulted from the radical events of this period, including the Putney Debates, probably had deeper influence than the impact of any previous attempt at changing the political life through rebelling against the state in the British history .

One can understand, then ,that those historical debates produced the most democratic political ideas in the history of Britain. In addition to this, the radical, political ambitions it displayed were new and unprecedented. That is the reason why it can be considered as a remarkably important turning point in the history of political reform in the British society and in the history of radicalism in a more particular sense. Moreover, it can be considered as a concrete evidence that in the 1640s there was a very serious sense of anxiety as well as a democratic awareness amongst the politically interested class. The ideas "run from the monarchical to the unreservedly democratic".⁵¹ Undoubtedly,the consequent document of the debates together with the Leveler pamphlets provided not only a sufficient evidence and background for the Levellers'

⁵⁰ Philip Baker ,*The Putney Debates: The Levellers* (Verso, 2007).

⁵¹ Heather M. Campbell, *The Britannica Guide to Political Science and Social Movements That Changed the Modern World*. (The Rosen Publishing Group, 2009), pp. 127–129.

radical thinking but an important legacy by which the radical attitude would be further promoted and consolidated .

3- *The Agreements of the People* or the Importance of a Written Constitution

In an unprecedented attempt to draft a written constitution, the Levellers, worked hard to develop a very fixed, and elaborate political programme in a series of documents known as *The Agreements of the People*. Basically, these Agreements dealt directly with " political representation and structure"⁵². And were a series of constitutional articles in a more modern sense written by Levellers, soldiers of the New Model Army and other citizens in an attempt to make the first serious step towards democracy in Britain. Perhaps one of the most important of these documents was the one that first launched the idea that the authorities should depend on the agreement of the entire population to choose the right political system that could provide the means to reconstruct the post-Civil War English state upon constitutional grounds.

In this regard, it is ,therefore, important to note that the emphasis made by this British radical group on equality led them to advocate the political and radical principle of the sovereignty of the people which was one of the fundamental principles of the republican system. Whereas many parliamentary theorists believed that Parliament, as the people's representative , was sovereign, the Levellers insisted that Parliament must entirely rely on people as far as decision making was concerned. In other words, they wanted frequent elections

⁵² Philip Baker, Elliot Vernon,*The Agreements of the People, the Levellers, and the Constitutional Crisis of the English Revolution*, (Palgrave Macmillan, 2012).

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to ensure that MPs really and sufficiently serve the people's needs and aspirations. In addition, they strongly supported and fought for the exclusion of the king and lords from power.

Most of all, as a radical group, the Levellers sowed the primary seeds of a new and democratic written constitution for Britain. This constitution, they underlined, should be written. The preamble to the third draft of this Agreement, published on May 1, 1649, states that

We, the free People of England, to whom God hath given hearts, means and opportunity to effect the same, do with submission to his wisdom, in his name, and desiring the equity thereof may be to his praise and glory, agree to ascertain our Government to abolish all arbitrary Power, and to set bounds and limits both to our Supreme, and all Subordinate Authority, and remove all known Grievances. And accordingly do declare and publish to all the world, that we are agreed as followeth:

That the Supreme Authority of England and the Territories therewith incorporate, shall be and reside henceforward in a Representative of the people consisting of four hundred persons, but no more; in the choice of whom (according to naturall right) all men of the age of one and twenty yeers and upwards (not being servants, or receiving alms, or having served with the late King in Arms or voluntary Contributions), shall have their voices...⁵³

This excerpt suggests that the Levellers, though a popular radical group, could produce a written document in which they used their fundamental rhetoric

⁵³ *The Agreement of the People*, William, Cobbett, ed. (1808). "A partition from the Army presented to the Commons inclosing 'An Agreement of the People', for the settlement of the Nation upon a new plan...". *Cobbett's parliamentary History of England, from the Norman Conquest, in 1066 to the year, 1803*. p.345.

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of freeborn Englishmen. As it appears in the expression *free people of England*, they seem to base their claims on the natural right philosophy that defended the natural rights of the human being as endowed by God.

What is equally striking is that the British people still have not achieved this democratic principle which was so defended and eloquently expressed by the Levellers in the very exact, vigorous, and appropriate words during the Putney debates and in the eloquent language of *the Agreements of People*. It is worth adding that, in this very historical political document, the Levellers could really anticipate many of the principles of the republican parliamentary theorists such as the contractual roots of government and the sovereignty of the people.

In fact, the ideas and the democratic ideals defended in this document would later serve and suit the founding fathers' republican and democratic aspirations. What is really striking is that the version of *The Agreements of the People*, “was smuggled out of the Tower of London, where Lilburne and the others were being held captive.”⁵⁴ This might strengthen the belief that the Levellers' radical ideas had really been exported to the New World. No wonder then that the documents drafted by the British Levellers would constitute the corner stone for the future American written documents. That is the reason why it is widely agreed among historians that the most important impact of this manifesto for constitutional reform was that it gave birth to many of the ideas that are embodied in the U.S. Constitution.

⁵⁴ Leonard W Levy, *Origins of the Fifth Amendment*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1968), p. 272.

4- The Levellers, and the Diggers ,or the True Levellers ' legacies

For many reasons, the libertarian calls of the radical Levellers could not last long because of the political persecution. The result was that the Leveller movement became one of the shortest-lived political movements in English history because it lasted for only about ten or eleven years. By the mid of the seventeenth century, the British authorities spared no effort to end the threat of the Levellers. Though Cromwell's Commonwealth represented a considerable achievement compared to the reign of King Charles which preceded it , it could not fully put into practice the principles that the Levellers like Lilburn, Overton Walwyn, and still less Winstanley, were attempting to consolidate in the British social and political life . Ten years later came the Restoration of Charles II.

Significantly enough, it was only in 1688 that Britain saw the first attempt at a constitutional monarchy, though it has little in common with real political democracy, it can, nonetheless, be considered as a considerable step towards democracy. But it is important to stress the fact that history showed it was unfair to exclude the Levellers from consideration as an organized and influential popular movement in Britain. In fact, their remarkable role in preparing the ground for other radicals in the future should always be highlighted and admitted. Indeed, their absence from the British political scene has never erased the impact of the ideas which they had tried to spread and promote inside the British society. As has already been pointed at in the previous discussion, the importance of the Levellers as a radical group lies in that they could play a drastic role in reshaping and challenging the political methods and vocabulary of their era. In this context, the historian Jason Edwards declares:

The Levellers are important not because they mark the beginning of political modernity or modern political movements but because in their texts we see the

employment of concepts of political order and political action what emerges out of their texts is a particular notion of a political character of man.⁵⁵

Consequently, one may sustain that the English reformers of the eighteenth and nineteenth century took many ideas and concepts from the Levellers' political dissent, social equality and democracy. Indeed, the Levellers' radicalism was a major source of inspiration for generations of radicals in Britain. It is not surprising then to observe that when the industrial age came with all its social illnesses and capitalist greed, the British felt the need to go back to the Levellers' legacy and search for the appropriate radical solution. What is also noticeable is that the demands of the Levellers could be seen as a form of early socialism. In reality, they were to a great extent similar to the demands of the Chartists* two centuries later.

5- The British Radical Whigs

The discussion of British radicalism might be incomplete without referring to the radical activism of the British Radical Whigs. The phrase *English Radical Whigs* might be ambiguous, for there were several different political groups to whom that appellation could be associated with. During the early 18th century, the British Radical Whigs had different names: Real Whigs, True Whigs, and Commonwealth Men and were widely known as British Protestant religious, political, and economic reformers who were active in the popular movement called the Country Party.

⁵⁵ Jason Edward, op.cit., p.36.

* Working-class radicals who would struggle for political reform in Britain; they started their movement in 1838.

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During the eighteenth century, which saw the flourishing of industrialism, the British radicals continued encouraging mass support for democratic reform along with the rejection of monarchy, aristocracy, and all forms of privilege. In reality, if "Popular radicals" drawn from the middle class and from artisans agitated to assert more rights for the British citizen, the Whig movement was developed by middle class "reformers" aiming to widen the franchise to represent commercial and industrial interests and towns without enough parliamentary representation. In other words, there was an agreement among the British radicals that their society was really in need of an immediate change. In his description of the rotten situation of the society, J.H. Plumb wrote:

From the early sixties there had been a steadily mounting volume of criticism of every aspect of life. Adam Smith maintained that the root of the trouble lay in the organization of English economy, and the immediate need was to replace mercantilism with free trade. To Jeremy Bentham the trouble was the nature of the British institutions, which were built on false principles. Wesley, Whitfield, and their evangelical sympathizers in the established church called for a change of heart, for a return to Christian life. Opposition politician believed that George III and his advisors were responsible for the national decay.⁵⁶

Although *The Magna Carta* of 1215 had limited the power of the British monarch and the Glorious Revolution of 1688 had increased parliamentary power with a monarchy, the monarch still had considerable influence over the Parliament of Great Britain which itself was dominated by the English aristocracy. Candidates for the House of Commons stood as Whigs or Tories*,

⁵⁶ J.H. Plumb, *England in the Twentieth Century*. (London, 1985), p.133.

* *Whig* and *Tory* are terms generally used to refer to members of two opposing political parties or factions in England, particularly during the 18th century. Originally *Whig* and

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but once elected decided to form a coalition rather than founding opposing political parties. At general elections, the vote was restricted to property owners in constituencies, a practice which did not reflect the growing importance of manufacturing towns or shifts of population, so that many seats could be bought or were controlled by rich landowners, while major cities remained unrepresented. The popular discontent with this unfair representation led to the emergence of a new radical faction who later became known as the “Whigs” who were partly influential to the Americans of the Founding era.

What is also significant in the Whigs’ radical attitude was that the Magna Carta of 1215, according to them, was a reaffirmation of the ancient, pre-Norman traditions of liberty and common law in the Western, classical and Anglo-Saxon tradition. About this issue, the historian Colbourn observes that

The nemesis of Saxon liberties was feudalism, generally held to have been introduced into England by William ‘the accursed Norman’ in 1066... The conquest deprived Englishmen of their liberty, established the tyranny of an alien king and landlords, and replaced the Saxon militia of Alfred’s time with the odious form of holding land of the King in return for military service.⁵⁷

Tory were derogatory terms introduced in 1679 during the conflict over the bill to exclude James, duke of York (afterward James II), from the succession. Whig—originally a Scottish Gaelic term applied to horse thieves and, later, to Scottish Presbyterians; later the same term was used to refer to all the nonconformists and rebels and was applied to those who claimed the power of excluding the heir from the throne. *Tory* was an Irish term used to describe those who supported the hereditary right of James despite his Roman Catholic faith. *Whig and Tory (historical British political party)* -- *Encyclopedia ...* See <http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/641802/Whig-and-Tory>. Accessed May 23, 2014.

⁵⁷ Caroline Robbins, *The Eighteenth-Century Commonwealth man: Studies in the Transmission, Development, and Circumstance of English Liberal Thought from the Restoration of Charles II until the War with the Thirteen Colonies*, (Harvard University Press, 2004). p.88.

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What is also worth stressing in relation to the Whigs is that they adopted and tried to consolidate and defend the major ideas which constructed the basis of their radical project. First of all ,as radicals who sought social and political reform, they strongly believed in Natural Rights. Despite the fact that , according to them ,natural rights are confined to Englishmen, the great bulk of them had a firm belief that since Englishmen had natural rights, this very principle should be applied equally to those who lived at home or abroad in the newly settled land. For this reason, Common wealth men fought for individual liberty and dignity, especially in matters of religion. This included religious tolerance for “Jews, Atheists, Unitarians, and many other religious groups.”⁵⁸ The Commonwealth Men had often argued for “the equality of man before God.”⁵⁹

It is worth noting too that the Whigs were against monarchy; undoubtedly, that is the reason why they sought to promote republicanism as a radical ideology .For this reason, their ideas "were welcomed among Americans and had a great influence on the elite in the United States."⁶⁰ The most noted commonwealth men were John Trenchard and Thomas Gordon*.About the nature of this historical radical group, the American historian, Trevor Colbourn declares:

The historical Whigs were writers seeking to support Parliamentary claims and by asserting that their political ambitions had solid foundation in ancient customs. They presented an idealized version of an Anglo-Saxon democracy, which they usually found overturned by Norman treachery and feudalism.⁶¹

⁵⁸ Ibid.

⁵⁹ Ibid.

⁶⁰ Ibid.

* He was the one who wrote *Cato's Letters* between 1720 and 1723 the seminal work which could have great influence on the then political life.

⁶¹ Trevor Colbourn, *The Lamp of Experience. Whig History and the Intellectual Origins of*

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In addition to this, because they had contempt for mercantilism, the Whigs had to work against the financial revolution supported by the creation of the Bank of England and other large moneyed corporations in order to underwrite the new national debt. Fearing that it would hinder the foundations of liberty, they were hostile to the spread of market relations among the English people.

Furthermore, aiming at putting an end to the manipulation of Parliament by the Crown, they encouraged the democratic principle of a balanced government. The Whigs or Commonwealth men strongly opposed the emergence of speculators and financiers, in the national debt, simply because they were aware that they all depended on the state for their income. In short, they "looked with nostalgia to a time when men of independent means controlled the destiny of Parliament".⁶²

However, it needs to be noted that despite their desire to change society and foster democracy, this radical group, did not consider revolution as a possible, wise solution.⁶³ In fact, they had a firm belief that peaceful reform would always prove better and more effective than revolution. In short, they believed that "revolution often tends to destroy too much of the past"⁶⁴. Instead, the duty of a real Englishman, according to them, should be to preserve, purify, and promote the checks and balances of the Constitution. In this regard, Historian Bruce Frohnen has argued that Englishmen sought to keep a political

the American Revolution (1998), p.78.

⁶² The most important contributions to the study of ideology during the era of the American Revolution have been the following iconic books: Bailyn, *Ideological Origins*; Pocock, *Machiavellian Moment*; and Gordon Wood, *Creation of the American Republic*. All rely heavily on the pioneering work of Caroline Robbins, *Eighteenth Century Commonwealth man*. 2004.

⁶³ Ibid.

⁶⁴ Ibid.

structure based on local rule leaving a very limited, derivative authority to central political institutions. In other words, they supported the principle that "the freedom of local communities to arrange their lives in common with relatively little interference from the central government was considered important."⁶⁵

6- The Country Party

There is a need to clarify that during that period, the Country Party was more a movement than an organized political party and had neither formal structure nor official leaders. The Country Party members considered themselves as a popular nonpartisan group struggling for the whole nation's interests through peaceful social and political reform. They called for annual parliamentary elections and used to oppose any practices they saw as corruption.

More significantly, the Country Party could attract a considerable number of writers such as Samuel Johnson and Jonathon Swift who, though not very influential in England, could have a great influence in America. Their writings helped shape an image of a corrupt Old World through portraying it as a place in which liberty was declining.

Consequently, it is obvious that since Britain was increasingly viewed by the Americans as hopelessly corrupt and therefore, hostile to American republican aspirations and democratic interests; it seemed "to threaten the liberties that Americans wanted to establish".⁶⁶ The greatest threat to liberty according to the American founding generation was depicted as corruption, not just in London but in the American infant community as well. Generally

⁶⁵ Bruce Frohnen, *The New Communitarians and the Crisis of Modern Liberalism* (University Press of Kansas, 1996), p.143.

⁶⁶ J.H. Plumb, *op.cit.*p56.

speaking , the colonists associated corruption with "luxury and, especially, inherited aristocracy, which they condemned."⁶⁷

From the foregoing discussion one can deduce that, in secular terms, republicanism as a radical political theory was also inspired by the British Whigs in general and the "country party" in a more particular sense, whose literature depicted the dark aspect of the British society and whose critique of British government emphasized that immorality was a terrible reality in Britain. Historian Horace Walpole described Britain as "... railing nation without principles, genius, character, or allies; the overgrown shadow of what it was."⁶⁸ This, as noted earlier, led to the American embrace of "republicanism" as a radical political ideology which in its turn was the motivating force behind the desire of political detachment from the British rule and then the ruling ideology of revolutionary America.

7- The British Radical School of Thought and American Radicalism

It becomes obvious that the most important idea that this chapter hopefully attempts to tackle is that the historical and cultural ties between the United Kingdom and the American colonies were ,and are still, undeniable .That is the reason why it is not surprising that the founding fathers ,who were good readers especially of literature related to the history of the British historical struggle for the consolidation of the human natural rights, had learnt from the British radical experience .In other words , it was easy for the radical political

⁶⁷ Ibid.

⁶⁸ David Wootton, op.cit.p 123.

struggle that had already started in the British society to inspire the American radicals who would even take the British radical ideas much further.

Here, there is a need to emphasise the important fact that the Levellers' principles of political freedom and equality continued to shape the radical attitude not only in Britain but in the New World as well since they have reappeared again and again and were used as a strong argument in order to defend the colonists' rights. In line with this, one cannot fail to notice that the very radical idea of American independence as well as the radical impulse in the American colonies had British roots because the War of Independence, as a radical project, started when the American colonists sought "to be treated as free Englishmen, a concept often used and stressed by the Levellers before them."^{*} One can understand then that the British who have always called for freedom and who preferred the appellation "free born Englishmen" were reluctant to grant freedom to the Americans or as the then great friend of America, Dr. Richard Price puts it in his poem:

But alas! It often happens in the political world
as it does in religion, that the people who cry out
most vehemently for liberty to themselves are the
most unwilling to grant it to others.⁶⁹

^{*} By contrast, in interpreting the radical influence in the thirteen colonies, other historians, according to Edward Ashbee, consider that it is not the tradition of Freeborn Englishmen, as espoused by Lilburne, Overton, John Milton and John Locke, that were the major influence on the concept of unalienable rights in the United States Declaration of Independence but what the American did was "an attempt to recreate *civic republicanism* established in classical Greece and Rome". Ashbee, Edward; Ashford, Nigel, *US Politics Today* (4, illustrated ed.).(Manchester University Press, 1999), p154.

⁶⁹ Oscar S. Straus, "The Origin of Republican Form of Government in the United States and the Hebrew Commonwealth" (Manuscript of Speech delivered by Oscar S. Straus on January 10, 1884). Transcribed by Dr. Catherine Millard, www.christianheritagemins.org/ Accessed May 13, 2013.

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In the light of what has been noted so far, one can thus assume that when the American Congress set out their political principles in the Declaration of Independence on July 4th 1776, the ideas were directly taken from the English Levellers a century and a quarter before. One can also observe that the echo of the Levellers was obvious in the first words of the Declaration of Independence:

We hold these Truths to be self-evident, that all Men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights, which among these are Life, Liberty and the Pursuit of Happiness. That to secure these Rights, Governments is instituted among Men deriving their just Powers from the Consent of the governed.⁷⁰

In addition, it is worth noting that the Americans were also greatly influenced by the writing techniques of the majority of the British radicals. In the footsteps of the Levellers, Thomas Paine, for instance, when coming to America, saw pamphleteering as the best political strategy to impact and why not indoctrinate large sections in society. Perhaps, this is the reason why historian Staughton Lynd considers him as a direct heir of the Leveller tradition and, as noted earlier, "the very representative of the British intellectual legacy",⁷¹ In fact, Paine's *Rights of Man* also gave him a place in the history of the French Revolution as one of the most important radical events in the entire world that put the ground for democracy and republicanism .

Furthermore, the ideas of the Commonwealth Men or the British Whigs were also all eloquently expressed in books and essays which were circulating and widely read all around the colonies. As mentioned earlier, their radical ideas

⁷⁰ Thomas Jefferson, The Declaration of independence.

⁷¹ See Staughton Lynd, *The Intellectual Origins of American Radicalism*, (Cambridge University Press, 2009).

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appeared in sermons, newspapers, and political pamphlets throughout the 18th century in America and the founding generation must have learnt from the Whigs literature how the state should be in order to succeed in protecting the individual's natural rights..

In this regard, too, history showed that the American founding fathers really excelled in putting into practice the legacy of the British Commonwealth Men or the Whigs. The latter that can be considered as one of the major non Puritan schools of thought often ignored by professional historians. I can therefore deduce that Commonwealth Men's radical ideas were really a source of secular European and Western thought that had a great influence on the founding generation who led the American Revolution despite the fact that revolution was not quite encouraged by the British Commonwealth men who had always preferred peaceful reform to revolution.

Indeed, it seems that what the British failed to fulfill in their country, the Americans could perfectly achieve in the newly settled land. The radical project of establishing a democratic republic whose foundation were first put by the British radical Levellers and the Whigs after them was the basis for an American democratic republic. About the influence of the Commonwealth Men as a school of thought on the shaping of the American political and social thought in general and on the American constitution and the American political regime in particular, Caroline Robbins wrote:

In the constitutions of the several United States many of the ideas of the Real Whigs found practical expression. A supreme court, rotation of office, a separation of powers, and a complete independence from each other of church and state fulfilled many a so-called utopian dream. The endless opportunities of the new World brought about a considerable degree of

social equality, if not an equality stabilized by agrarian law. The democratical element in the state was much extended.⁷²

In reality, the impact of the British traditional popular radicalism further appears in the American republican dealing with the issue of land in the independent United States . As pointed out previously, the British Diggers' took their name directly from a radical agrarian movement that flourished briefly in England when Gerrard Winstanley challenged private property rights by arguing that "the earth. . . [was created] as a common storehouse for all."⁷³ The Diggers put their firm libertarian beliefs and egalitarian convictions into practice by working in the fields and sowing crops on Wastelands in Surrey until they were forced to leave the fields by local landowners. By seizing land and owning it 'in common' the Diggers were convinced that they would challenge what they considered to be the slavery of property. For this reason, they were totally against the use of force and believed that they could create a classless society simply through seizing land and holding it in common.

Interesting is the idea that the same agrarian ideas were fostered in the USA by the Jeffersonians who adopted what they call "agrarianism" .American republicans, it needs to be stressed, in particular those who adopted Thomas Jefferson's ideology considered land as a central issue: "Those who labour in the earth," Jefferson asserts, "are the chosen people of God.... Corruption of morals in the mass of cultivators is a phenomenon of which no age nor has nation furnished an example."⁷⁴ "This belief has often been interpreted as a pure nostalgia to the "myth of the garden" according to Henry Nash Smith.⁷⁵

⁷² Caroline Robbins, *op.cit.*, p.462.

⁷³ Gerard Winstanley, *A Declaration from the Poor Oppressed People of England* (London1985), p.67.

⁷⁴ The edition of *Notes on the State of Virginia* from the Avalon Project at Yale Law

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What is also noticeable is that like the British Diggers, the Jeffersonians in fact, expressed the common republican conviction that liberty sprang directly and mainly from the independence of the individual. Jefferson considered self-sufficient farming as the fundamental basis for republican independence and virtue. Like so many Americans of the era, Jefferson showed contempt to large cities with their population of wealthy nonproducers and dependent, impoverished labourers. Thus, as Leo Marx argues, "it was not simply the livelihood of the farmer but his social, moral, and political qualities which made the yeoman the basis of Jeffersonian republicanism."⁷⁶

Later, the Diggers' environmentalist ideas would reappear again in environmentalism, the American radical movement that called for the protection of environment. Simply put, in the footsteps of the Diggers, American radicals who were concerned with nature, as pointed earlier, strongly defended the so called "the rights of nature".

Significantly enough, from the foregoing discussion of the historical link between British radicalism and the American one, one can underline a last important point, namely that it would be perhaps unfair to focus on the British impact on the Americans and ignore the consequent American influence on the British elite and politics. Consequently, one may sustain that the Americans not only could perfectly put into practice what the British radicals could not but went further to exercise a strong influence on the coming generation of British

School at <http://www.yale.edu/lawweb/avalon/jevifram.htm>. Accessed April 23, 2013.

⁷⁵ See Henry Nash, "Rain Follows the Plough", Henry James, *The American Scene: Together with Three Essays from "Portraits of Places"* (Arden Media, 1946).

⁷⁶ Leo Marx, *The Machine in the Garden: Technology and the Pastoral Ideal in America* (Oxford University Press, 1964), p.129.

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radicals. One cannot therefore fail to notice that the success of the American Revolution with the subsequent American democratic achievements encouraged the British radicals to continue their radical struggle.

In this connection, the British radical Major John Cartwright supported the colonists, even when the American Revolutionary War began. In 1776, he deserved to be called the “Father of Reform» especially when he published his pamphlet *Take Your Choice!*, in which he directly called for annual parliaments, the secret ballot, and manhood suffrage. Moreover, he wrote his “American Independence the Glory and Interest of Great Britain” which can be considered as his first radical plea on behalf of the colonists.

It is no secret that the American War of Independence ended in a humiliating defeat of the policy which King George III had attempted to impose on the colonies, and in March 1782 the King was forced to appoint an administration led by his opponents which sought to limit the king's power. But in 1783, he took his opportunity and used his influence in the House of Lords to dismiss the government and appoint William Pitt the Younger as his Prime Minister. Though Pitt had previously called for Parliament to begin to reform itself, he did not insist on that measure because he soon found out that those kinds of reforms were not welcomed by the King who did not like the idea of a strong parliament. One can understand, then, that radical activism made the British king feel insecure and, therefore, wage a war against parliament which represented the people's voice.

But what is remarkable is that the end of the eighteenth century saw also another kind of radical activism in the United Kingdom with the birth of many Radical organizations such as “*The London Corresponding Society* of artisans

formed in January 1792 under the leadership of the shoemaker Thomas Hardy to call for the vote."⁷⁷

Another source of radical activism was that of the Scottish *Friends of the People society* * formed by the Whigs at the end of the 18th century as part of a Radical Movement seeking political reform "that would widen electoral enfranchisement at a time when only a wealthy minority had the vote".⁷⁸ In 1793, this British movement held a *British Convention* in Edinburgh. They issued "a manifesto demanding universal male suffrage with annual elections".⁷⁹ Most of all, they expressed their support for the principles of the French Revolution. But what is remarkable is that the members involved in these movements were small and the majority of them wanted reform rather than revolution. But for the first time, working men were organizing for political change. What is noticeable here is the importance of the success achieved by the American radicals in strengthening the pressure exerted by the radicals in Britain.

The conclusion that can be drawn from the previous discussion of the link between American radicalism and the British one is that the American radical experience was successful enough to become influential after having been influenced by the traditional British radical protest. One may also deduce that the popular radical struggle for the construction of a democratic society which started in Britain continued in the newly settled land. The latter that

⁷⁷ See Arnold-Bake, Charles *The Companion to British History*, 2nd ed. (Routledge: London, 1996), pp. 364-365; I. R. Christie, *Stress and Stability in Late Eighteenth-Century Britain. Reflections on the British Avoidance of Revolution* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1986), pp.50-51.

* The full title is *The Society of the Friends of the People, Associated for the Purpose of Obtaining a Parliamentary Reform*.

⁷⁸ Michael Lynch. *Scotland: A New History*. (Pimlico 1992), p. 389.

⁷⁹ See Lynch, 1992, op. cit.

Chapter Two: American Radicalism and the British Popular Protest Tradition

opened new horizons to the radicals' ambitions and fresh ideas which found difficulty to survive in the United Kingdom because they were considered as a threat to the then prevailing monarchical system.

But if the British popular protest tradition taught the Americans how to struggle for their rights as free English men, Puritanism as a radical religious doctrine and philosophy of life might have helped the Americans shape their own radical ideology. Properly understood, religious radicalism that emerged in early America might be another real bed seed for the American struggle for a more egalitarian and libertarian society as a real Christian society. This, in fact, opens the discussion about other important roots of American radicalism: the religious roots, so the question that forces itself is the following: what are the religious roots of American radicalism?

Chapter Three: The Religious Roots of American Radicalism

“Religion is the fashionable substitute for belief.”

Oscar Wilde, *The Picture of Dorian Gray*, 1890.

Man is a Religious Animal. He is the only Religious Animal. He is the only animal that has the True Religion—several of them. He is the only animal that loves his neighbor as himself and cuts his throat if his theology isn't straight.

Mark Twain, "The Lowest Animal",
The Damned Race, 1905.

After having thoroughly traced the significant impact of the British popular radicalism on the shaping of the American radical attitude, one needs in this part of the research to explore how the great protestant project that started in Great Britain turned to be a holly commonwealth* in early America as well as how the sectarian practical Christianity¹ often known as “antinomianism” contributed to the emergence of the republican thought that stood against various forms of oppression practiced by Massachusetts authorities.

* By the standard of the era, the word *commonwealth* might refer to any political system (including absolute monarchy) that serves the public good.

¹ See Peter Linebaugh and Marcus Rediker, *The Many-Headed Hydra: Sailors, Slaves, Commoners, and the Hidden History of the Revolutionary Atlantic* (Boston: Beacon Press, 2000).

This chapter examines also how the harsh colonial imperial dealings with Native Americans led to a controversy over the human rights and imperialism in the infant American society . The conflict with the Indians also contributed to shaping different visions of the shape of religious liberty in New England. Unlike Winthrop and his followers, those who suffered religious persecution in the colony and who enjoyed good relation with Native Americans insisted on the necessity of the full application of religious toleration .That is the reason why they held that there was a need for a commonwealth in which authority would be based on the consent of the people. The chapter also demonstrates how those who were persecuted in Massachusetts would make religious liberty as the central principle of their exile commonwealth in Rhode Island.

1-The Puritan Revolution

Indeed, any study of the first seeds of American radicalism might be incomplete if it omits or undermines religion. For this reason, there is a need to tackle the contribution of religion to the emergence of the radical mind and attitude in the USA. It is, perhaps, necessary to go back to the religious reform movement often called the “Puritan Revolution” that emerged in the late 16th and 17th centuries and sought to “purify” the Church of England of all the traditional remnants of the Roman Catholic “popery” that the Puritans claimed had been kept after the religious settlement in the reign of Queen Elizabeth I. Puritans became famous in the seventeenth century for a spirit of moral and religious earnestness that reformed their whole way of life, and they sought through church reform to make their philosophy of life the pattern for the whole nation. Their efforts to transform the nation contributed both to the Civil War in England and to the founding of colonies in America as practical attempts to put into practice the Puritan lifestyle.

For his part, Historian Bialy, in emphasizing the role played by Puritanism in consolidating radicalism, states that:

Puritanism... and the epidemic evangelism of the mid-eighteenth century, had created challenges to the traditional notions of social stratification by preaching that the Bible taught all men are equal, that the true value of a man lies in his moral behavior, not his class, and that all men can be saved.²

Furthermore, and in line with Bialy's conception of Puritanism, scholars such as Caroline Hibbard and William Lamont considered "anti-Catholicism as the definitive hallmark of Puritanism."³ In groups like the Presbyterians* and the Quakers**, the radical saints wanted the Church of England to get rid of its remaining "popish" rituals. Although other Protestants shared this concern, the more radical Puritans sought to carry out an extremely radical change that would touch even statues, crosses, and stained glass. Those radical men and women focused mainly on "scriptural reading, meditation, and preaching in a "plain style" and avoided all rhetorical and allegorical exaggerations".⁴

² Ibid.

³ William Lamont, "The Religious Origins of the English Civil War," in Gordon Schochet, ed., with Patricia E. Tatspaugh and Carol Brobeck, *Religion, Resistance, and Civil War* (Washington, D.C.: The Folger Institute, 1985), 11; Caroline Hibbard, *Charles I and the Popish Plot* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1983).

* a member of a branch of the Christian Protestant Church that is the national Church of Scotland and one of the largest Churches in the US. It is governed by elders who are all equal in rank.

** The Society of Friends, more commonly known as the Quakers, are a radical group who believe in the Inner Light. According to their religious beliefs, as part of God, the Inner Light can be found in all human beings simply because they strongly believe that God exists in all people. The Quakers were against violence and war. While the Quakers were convinced that all human beings had this Inner Light, they made no real effort to convert other people to their religious beliefs.

⁴ See Patrick Collinson, *The Birthpangs of Protestant England* (London, 1988); Eamon Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992); Perry Miller, *The New England Mind in the Seventeenth Century* (Cambridge: Harvard

In line with this, the Puritan saints were certain that the dangerous religious disputes and controversies foretold in *The Book of Revelation* would lead not only to the defeat and elimination of the Protestants but of the Catholics as well. Although most of the Protestants held firm millennial beliefs, the Puritans, who were hostile to both Catholicism and Protestantism, saw Christ “clothed in Calvinistic garb, with Anti-Christ draped in the Episcopal robes of Rome”.⁵ That is the reason why struggling against the perpetuation of both the protestant and catholic doctrines and practices became a basic millennial duty for the Puritan saints, and made them determine to further reform the English church through adopting and consolidating Puritanism as the right religious doctrine.

It is quite interesting in this regard to observe that as a radical religious practice, Puritanism may be defined by the intensity of the religious reforms that it called for. Puritans believed that it was necessary to be in a covenant relationship with God in order “to redeem oneself from one’s sinful condition, that God had chosen to reveal salvation through preaching, and that the Holy Spirit was the energizing instrument of salvation”.⁶ One can understand then that because Calvinist theology was the major source of Puritan teachings, the Puritans tended to reject all “that was characteristic of Anglican ritual at the time, these being viewed as “popish idolatry.”⁷

University Press, 1939).

⁵ Nicholas Tyacke, *The Fortunes of English Puritanism, 1603-1640* (London: Dr. Williams’ Library, 1991); Bernard Capp, “The Political Dimension of Apocalyptic Thought,” in C.A. Patrides and Joseph Wittreich, eds., *The Apocalypse in English Renaissance Thought and Literature: Patterns, Antecedents and Repercussions* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1984), 93-106; Malcolm Bull, ed., *Apocalypse Theory and the Ends of the World* (Oxford: Blackwell Press, 1995); James Holstun, *A Rational Millennium: Puritan Utopias of Seventeenth-Century England and America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1987).

⁶ Nathan Glazer “Individualism and Equality in the USA”, *The Making of America*, ed Luther s. Luedtke. (Washington, 1995). p. 225.

⁷ Douglas Brinkley, *History of the United States*, (Newyork, 1998),p. 214.

In this regard too, it is therefore quite important to note that in their attempts to eradicate the traditional popish rituals, the Puritans emphasized the importance of preaching that drew on images directly from the Bible and from everyday experience. Because of the importance of preaching, the Puritans paid a special attention to learned ministry and to education in general. In fact, the remarkable success of the Puritans might be attributed to their strong presence at colleges and professorships at Oxford and Cambridge Universities. In other words, the Puritans were an intellectual elite in the then British society. That is why they could write and therefore, influence all those who read their writings.

There is a need to draw attention to the important fact that the moral and religious earnestness that characterized the Puritans “was combined with the doctrine of predestination inherited from Calvinism to produce a “covenant theology”.⁸ It is fitting now to clarify the historical fact that the driving force that led to radicalism in Britain was the conviction of the majority of the people there that the Episcopal organization of the Church of England had corrupted the original purity of the real Christian church. In line with the old ancestral Christian values and in unprecedented radical action, later the Independents or the so called “separatists” replaced the idea of a national church hierarchy by voluntary associations between congregations. In contrast, those who came to be called “Presbyterians” established a national church with a hierarchy based on elected members. This in fact marks a great radical departure from the religious tradition of the era. Indeed, they were strongly convinced that as an elect group chosen by God should live religious lives both as individuals and as a community. For this reason, they became ambitious to establish a real godly community.

⁸ Ibid, p.27.

As a matter of fact, many of those Puritans sought parliamentary support for their project of establishing a Presbyterian form for the Church of England while other Puritans, the separatists, wanted to entirely withdraw from the church and sought a radical change in the practice of Christianity. Because they were not given the opportunity to reform the established church, English Puritans turned to preaching, pamphlets, and many other experiments in religious expression and organization.

Interesting, moreover, is the idea that the British protestant radicals were living in a specific place known as Coleman Street which was famous in seventeenth-century London as the source of all radicalism. The fame of this quite specific place, Adrian Johns affirms, “arose not only from the fact that radicals did live there but also from an intense controversy those radicals ignited about the proper relation of place to politics and religion in general”.⁹

It needs to be emphasized that Coleman Street radicals believed that there was a strong and a tight personal union between the Holy Spirit and the believer. Properly understood, they were convinced that “their regeneration came through this personal union with the spirit, and not through church rituals and ordinances, or from any meritorious work of the believer”.¹⁰ According to their belief, “God alone saves man through his mercy; humans could not convince God to save them through their own actions”.¹¹

⁹ Adrian Johns, “Coleman Street”,

<http://www.home.uchicago.edu/~johns/papers/colemanstreet>. Accessed June 23, 2012.

¹⁰ John Winthrop, Richard S. Dunn, Laetitia Yeandle, *A Model of Christian Charity, The Journal of John Winthrop, 1630-1649* (Harvard University Press, 1996), p.195.

¹¹ Emery John Battis, *Saints and Secretaries: Anne Hutchinson and the Antinomian Controversy in the Massachusetts Bay Colony*, (Williamsburg, Va., 1962) p. 129-133.

In addition to this, the Protestants were ready for millenarianism. They were called Fifth Monarchists because of their conviction that the Protestant Reformation would initiate the Fifth Monarchy* or the thousand-year rule of Christ the King with his saints on earth.

In reality, the bishops tended to call those radicals *Puritans*, a derogatory term coined by English Protestants, to blacklist, describe, categorize, imprison, and sometimes even execute those whom they considered as the more devoted anti-Catholic religious radical faction. In fact, the severe Episcopal actions aimed at imposing doctrinal conformity even though at the expense of the fundamental Puritan principle, the religious freedom; the latter which seemed difficult and too ideal to be put into practice.

Because they were committed and faithful to their religious cause and thanks to their extreme confidence in the straightness of their faith, the Puritan saints finally decided to escape by leaving the country. But if in the mid-Sixteenth Century, Marian exiles had found in the Netherlands safe shelter, the later persecuted generations decided settlements in the New World.¹² Here, it needs to be emphasized that for the radical Puritan saints, the newly settled land not only offered them a safe shelter from persecution but was an empty or rather a virgin space in which they could establish a godly church and

* *The Fifth Monarchists* is an expression often used to refer to a radical religious group who emerged in the British society in 1651. The so called "The Fifth Monarchists" looked for an imminent reign of Christ and displayed a strong desire to reform parliament which they accused of hindering their achievement of their millennial expectations. According to prophecies in *the Daniel 7 and Revelation 20-21*, this thousand-year reign, which the saints preferred to call "the New Jerusalem", will mark the end of life and therefore, the fall of the world's four tyrannical empires. In other words, there will be a transition from the profane history of the Mede, Persian, Greek, and Roman empires to the "Fifth Monarchy" of sacred time, when Christ would be the King and therefore, would rule with his saints on earth till the Judgment Day.

¹² See Michael Walzer, *The Revolution of the Saints* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1965).

community according to their criteria and standards far from all the confining catholic beliefs and practices. Consequently ,during the seventeenth century, great numbers of saints could travel to the New World and then establish godly commonwealths there.

From the foregoing analysis ,it becomes clear that if the British authorities did not allow the easy spread of Puritanism as a radical ideology, the same thing could not be said about the Puritan experience in the New World. When the Puritans and among them members of the Coleman Street circle went to the New World, they, and without any doubt, not only took with them their radical ideology but more than that they tried to create a society that would be purified from all the hierarchy and the injustices of the British society. They chose the Holy Commonwealth as a name to the godly community they founded in America. In other words , Puritanism that was persecuted in Britain is no longer seen as a radical ideology in the newly settled land; by contrast it became necessary in the infant community.

2-The Bay Colony: From Protestantism to the Holy Commonwealth

What has been stressed so far is that Puritanism was a radical philosophy of life that really questioned the validity of Protestantism in Britain .As far as the influence of the same philosophy in the New World, Alexis de Tocqueville in his *Democracy in America* (1835), debated the importance of this type of religious radicalism in the rise of the American radical spirit to finally suggest that Puritanism was as much a political theory as a religious doctrine. In this regards, Alexis de Tocqueville notes:

...The general principles which are the groundwork of modern constitutions, principles which, in the seventeenth century, were imperfectly known in

Europe, and not completely triumphant even in Great Britain, were all recognized and established by the laws of New England: the intervention of the people in public affairs, the free voting of taxes, the responsibility of the agents of power, personal liberty, and trial by jury were all positively established without discussion.¹³

If one accepts what Tocqueville advances, it becomes obvious that Puritanism encouraged both a republican and a democratic virtue and has enabled the kind of civic responsibility necessary for limited and federal government.

In this respect, one should also stress the fact that in the century's second decade, separatists under John Robinson, in their attempt to consolidate the Puritan doctrine, founded churches in Rotterdam, Leyden, and Amsterdam. This experiment later inspired the 1620 establishment of the separatist colony at Plymouth in New England that was governed by William Bradford. During the next decade, with the rise of Laud and his Court of High Commission, a Puritan generation fled across the Atlantic to establish the Massachusetts Bay Colony.

What is certain is that the greatest opportunity for the Puritan ideal project of realizing the dream of founding a Holy Commonwealth by the establishment of a covenanted community finally came in New England. Here, there is a need to clarify that the church organization in the Massachusetts Bay colony was a "middle way" between Presbyterianism and Separatism. Yet in 1648, four New England Puritan colonies jointly adopted the Cambridge Pattern,

¹³ Ibid.

establishing a congregational form of church government. In line with this, Both Perry Miller* and Sacvan Bercovitch** argue that:

Saints found that exile on the American strand offered golden opportunities for the establishment of a new commonwealth purified of the Old World's corruptions, one that fulfilled a providentially-ordained role of apocalyptic redemption in the script of sacred time.¹⁴

As a matter of fact, the New England settlers had to elect a number of men who would govern the colony in line with the liberties that the saints could expect as Protestants and freeborn Englishmen. But it is important to note, however, that the desire for reform led them to disagree on theology and church organization.

In the commonwealth, the authorities insisted that the real social unity could not be fully achieved in the infant American society if the saints failed to put into practice God's natural hierarchy. The community, according to Winthrop, should be a place in which "as in all times, some must be rich; some poor, some high and eminent in power and dignity; others mean and in submission." But this hierarchal social relation should be within the Christian values, where "the rich and mighty should not eat up the poor." "Man," added Winthrop, was "commanded to love his neighbor as himself...Upon this ground stands all the precepts of the moral law," which required all men to "give beyond

* An American intellectual historian and Harvard University professor. He is specialized in American Puritanism, and a founder of the field of American Studies. Alfred Kazin referred to him as "*The Master of American Intellectual History*".

** A Canadian Americanist, literary and cultural critic and academic.

¹⁴ For more details see Perry Miller, *The New England Mind in the Seventeenth Century*; Sacvan Bercovitch, *The American Jeremiad* (New York: Routledge, 1993).

their ability.” “A community of perils” in the “wilderness” called “for extraordinary liberality.”¹⁵

In this respect ,it might be easy to deduce that the belief that political life and therefore, the relation between the leader and the led in the godly community should be based on the idea of the covenant "carried both conservative and radical implications"¹⁶ .In the first instance , the idea called upon people to submit to their rulers and to obey the rules of the land as the will of God as part of the Calvinist political philosophy. It needs to be further stressed that the basic principle, that the people had the right to disobey and even overthrow and alter the rulers when they acted in ways that violated the covenant of God , also prevailed . If disobedient rulers were allowed to continue in office, the people would be disobeying God and risking His strong anger by accepting being governed by those who had broken the sacred covenant.

That is why many Historians such as William S Morgan insist that the Puritan covenant which gave birth to the Bay Colony is really “the intellectual seed of the American Revolution”¹⁷ to the extent that the Americans when they indicted the British rule for its unjust treatment as well as political harshness, they were firmly convinced that the only way to put an end to corruption and injustice was to resist, oppose, and even defy the Stamp Act* and other unjust rules and regulations.

There is a need to emphasize that the New England Puritans founded the civil commonwealth in line with the structure of the church. Only the elect could

¹⁵ John Winthrop, Richard S. Dunn, Laetitia Yeandle, *A Model of Christian Charity* , *The Journal of John Winthrop, 1630-1649* (Harvard University Press, 1996), p.2.

¹⁶ Nathan Glazer ,*The Making of America*, ed Luther s .Luedtke. (Washington, 1995), p.68.

¹⁷ Nathan Glazer ,op.cit, p.68.

* In order to raise revenue in the American Colonies , the British Parliament in1765 required the use of stamps and stamped paper for official documents . This British action was met with intense opposition and was repealed in March, 1766.

vote and rule. It was obvious then that Governor Winthrop and other Puritan founders of the Massachusetts Bay Colony chose this theory of governing the community because they did not want to share the religious liberty they had obtained for themselves with the rest of the community. Instead, they decided to impose their own specific vision of religious correctness. In fact, they tried to monopolise both power and control through creating a theocracy or a state ruled by God, that is a "government of a state by immediate divine guidance or by officials who are regarded as divinely guided."¹⁸ One can understand, then, that in the new community, only ministers and magistrates were entitled to interpret the Bible. This was, in fact, seen by the laity as a violation of the principles of the Puritan Revolution and a deviation from the real Puritan thought.

In fact, it seems, perhaps, clear that since they enjoyed the natural right philosophy as part of their tradition, the seventeenth century American radical Puritans, like the Coleman street radicals in Great Britain, had to use it as a powerful weapon in their struggle against all the attempts of perpetuating the corrupting doctrine in New England. I can, therefore say that the American religious men were not only acquainted with the human right philosophy but they tended to put it into practice.

In this connection, one will note that the belief in the natural right philosophy made all saints consider "liberty of conscience" as their major practical concern, but "the lack of agreement concerning toleration's proper extent caused a difficult problem".¹⁹ The majority of the religious radicals in the Bay Colony were hostile to clerical monopolies of religious doctrine and magisterial authority in religious affairs because, for them, they represented a

¹⁸ *Oxford English Dictionary* (2015).
<https://www.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/english/theocracy>; Accessed June 28, 2015.

new form of corruption and tyranny. They feared that this strict control would limit their “liberty of conscience” and prevent them from worshipping outside the control of church authoritative rule and the interference of civil magistrates. Religious radicals in the Bay Colony did not hesitate to declare in public their readiness to fight and challenge those who according to them had violated the principles of Puritanism. In their turn, the Bay Colony Court and clergy decided to put an end to all the religious expressions that might threaten the civil peace and social unity of the community.

What seems to be at stake in this debate is that the difference in viewing religious freedom created a very important American characteristic feature for the radical challenge in the Bay Colony. Indeed, in contrast to the religious separatism of London that was an extremely radical movement acting “below the surface of the earth and existing underground out of sight”^{*} in Coleman Street Ward, religious activism or radicalism in the newly settled land was described as "an outright, active struggle which aimed at taking religious and political power away from those who held it by force of social convention".²⁰ One may understand then that the New World radicalism was more daring than the one exercised in the Old World. This, of course, would strengthen the myth that America was the land of liberty and since it was a new world, it had to reveal new truths and one of those truths was that the human being must be free at least as far as the religious practice was concerned.

One may also observe that ,while Puritanism was seen as a form of religious radicalism in Britain, religious radicalism in the New World" tended to put free grace, lay preaching as well as prophecy in New England into a more

^{*} the underground Coleman Street radicalism.

²⁰ Bercovitch, *American Jeremiad*, 44-61.

enlightened social and political context" ²¹ and, therefore deal with them as the major radical issues. Consequently, Winthrop did not hesitate to publicly express his opposition to all kinds of popular opposition that might threaten magisterial authority in Massachusetts Bay colony when he announced that "Judges are Gods upon earth."²²

It is worth adding that Winthrop on *the Arabella**, as mentioned before, considered the preservation of traditional hierarchies not only a sacred issue but a prophetic matter as well. This is the reason why resisting the authority of the magistrates in religious and civil matters in the Bay Colony was considered both sinful and criminal as" it violated the hierarchical character of the moral law that provided ethical cohesion and secured civil order in the community"²³.By violating this law, religious radicals and separatists were viewed as radicals who dared to go willingly far beyond the bounds Winthrop, the clergy, and courts put for religious toleration in the theocracy.

One departure from the norm occurred when the religious radicals in the Commonwealth started to spread the idea that opposing Winthrop and the Bay Colony authorities was a very reformist action that would recover the individual's natural rights in the community. More than that, they claimed that it was their duty to preserve the religious freedom simply because they had left the bishops in England. They had a firm belief that a new world could" reveal new truths as well as new revelations about the shape and character of the religious

²¹ Archer, *Fissures in the Rock*, 27-97.

²² Bercovitch, op, cit.

* *Arbella* or *Arabella* was the ship on which in 1630, Governor John Winthrop and other Puritan emigrants transported themselves and the Charter of the Massachusetts Bay Company from England to Salem. See *Dictionary of American History* by James Truslow Adams, New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1940. p.105.

²³ Quoted in Schweninger, *John Winthrop*, 99; Stoeber, *Faire and Easy Way*, 161-184; Bozeman, *Precisianist Strain*, 281-306

life in the godly community. It is this very belief that made even prophesying indispensable to the laity".²⁴ Let's now discuss antinomianism, the radical Puritan doctrine, as one of the fundamental roots of American radicalism.

3- Antinomian Radicalism: the Religious Dissent

Indeed, as stated earlier in this chapter, dissent or radicalism in Massachusetts Bay Colony began with the first generation of settlers who brought the seeds of the radical attitude with them from England. Saints called "antinomians" by their critics held a firm belief and a supreme confidence in their election that led them to reject church ordinances that other saints embraced as godly reforms.²⁵ In fact, there is a need, here, to clarify that the origin of the word *antinomianism* comes from two Greek words, *anti*, meaning "against"; and *nomos*, meaning "law." *Antinomianism*, then, means "against the law."²⁶ The antinomians "were those against the law, those who did not care for the law".²⁷

Theologically speaking, antinomianism "derives from the syndrome's distinctive mark, namely the denial of the relevance of the moral law to true Christians because of the ability claimed for the Holy Spirit to separate persons directly and radically from the obligations of ordinary worldly existence."²⁸ Antinomianism may also be conceived as any "belief against the notion that

²⁴ Anthony Pagden, "The Impact of the New World Upon the Old," *Renaissance and Modern Studies* 30 (1986), 1-11.

²⁵ For more details about the salvation anxieties of the godly, see John Stachniewski, *The Persecutory Imagination: English Puritanism and the Literature of Religious Despair* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991). John Morrill, however, sees the godly more preoccupied with liberation than doom. See his, "A Liberation Theology?" 30.

²⁶ <http://www.britannica.com/topic/antinomianism>. Accessed November 25, 2014.

²⁷ Witness Lee, *Life-Study of 1, 2, & 3 John, Jude: 1 John-Part One* (Living Stream Ministry 2003), p.72.

²⁸ William K. B. Stoever, *A Faire and Easie Way to Heaven: Covenant Theology and Antinomianism in Early Massachusetts*, (Middletown, Connecticut: Wesleyan University Press, 1978), p. 161.

obedience to a code of religious law is necessary for salvation" and the antinomian is "a person who maintains that Christians are freed from the moral law by virtue of grace as set forth in the Gospel."²⁹

Broadly speaking, antinomianism as a radical mode of thought was based on the idea that Christians are not obliged to follow the Old Testament Law in order to be saved. When Jesus Christ died on the cross, he fulfilled *The Old Testament* Law: therefore there is no moral law Christians should obey. Moral law then is needless simply because faith alone is necessary as a means of salvation.

It is worth underlining that in Christian theology, *Antinomianism* is a derogatory term used to refer to any teaching that advocates the belief that Christians are not required to obey the laws of ethics or morality. It is usually a charge levelled by one group against an opposing faction, for instance, "Roman Catholicism tends to charge Protestantism with antinomianism".³⁰ Although the concept is related to "the basic Protestant belief of *Sola Fide*"³¹ which supports the idea that justification is through faith in Christ alone, it is taken too much further by the antinomians.

As noted earlier, the present part of the thesis revolves around antinomianism as a central root of American radicalism. In this respect, one needs to clarify and trace the historical struggle of the antinomians as a radical group and to demonstrate how they struggled so that the Holy Commonwealth would become a society in which the individual could work out his own values

²⁹ *Webster's New Universal Unabridged Dictionary*, (New York: Barnes & Noble Books, 1996), p. 92.

³⁰ Bercovitch, op.cit.

³¹ Historically known as the doctrine of justification by faith alone. See R.C. Sproul *Faith Alone: The Evangelical Doctrine of Justification* (Baker Books, 1999).

by faith. It is in this way that this radical movement was very important in the history of religious freedom in the USA society. To the American religious radicals or antinomians, the methods employed by the court and clergy to secure unity around a traditional ideal of hierarchical power appeared as an external form of hegemony of arbitrary government and a religious tyranny.

This state of unrest soon led to a disagreement about the needed and the right philosophy of life between the authorities and the rest of the community as it provoked a strong desire of separation from the already established church. It is remarkable that nonconformity in the Bay Colony was eventually considered as a kind of sedition simply because the Winthrop faction was stronger than any one who dared opposing them. Therefore, they could be victorious in their political struggle against the religious radicals who sought any kind of religious reform.

The discussion above leads me to deduce that just as English Puritans found themselves face to face to radical questions about political liberty and religious tolerance during the Puritan Revolution in the Putney and Whitehall debates in 1647 and 1648, American Puritans also faced controversies and similar religious disputes. This leads me also to open a debate on the two famous American controversies with Roger Williams and Anne Hutchinson. As radicals or antinomians, indeed, Williams and Hutchinson, to a great extent, anticipated hot and substantially important radical issues such as religious toleration, freedom of women, and ethnic issues as well as the separation of state and church. In other words, the majority of the debates were about how could the ideal, Puritan project be really achieved?

3.1- Roger Williams: Freedom of Conscience Reconfirmed

Since he was one of the most important figures in the intellectual life of his time, Williams often found himself engaged in polemics on very critical political and religious questions. Though the direct influence of his writings is considered by scholars such as Professor Brockunier to have been slight, Roger Williams is known to be:

" the earliest of the fathers of American democracy, he owes his enduring fame to his humanity and breadth of view, his continuous devotion to the cause of democracy and free opportunity, and his long record of opposition to the privileged and self-seeking".³²

Indeed , Roger Williams not only deserves the term *radical* but the title of “the early American radical and reformist “as well because one cannot fail to notice that long before modern thinkers advocated the principles of toleration, as it will be shown in the next chapters of the thesis , Williams was the first American radical to proclaim the laws of civil and religious liberty .He asserted that " the people were the origin of all free power in government," that God has given to men no power over conscience, nor can men grant this power to each other”, and that “the regulation of the conscience is not one of the purposes for which men combine in civil society.”³³ In this context, he explicates:

God requireth not a uniformity of religion to be enacted and enforced in any civil state; which enforced uniformity (sooner or later) is the greatest occasion of civil war, ravishing of conscience, persecution of Christ Jesus in his servants, and of the hypocrisy and destruction of millions of souls.³⁴

³² John Wheelwright, op .cit.

³³ Hugh Spurgin,op.cit. p.67.

³⁴ See Roger Williams ,*A Plea for Religious Liberty*, (1644) OnlineLaw.Wustl.edu/LLM

It should be readily apparent that this democratic vision stems from Williams' firm conviction that sovereign religious authority, as well as civil government, must be based on the consent of those who chose to enter into religious or civil compacts. In the light of this, the privately gathered Salem church got its independence from the Boston congregation. Accepting Williams' idea, one can understand that, as separatists, the members of this church and who had not entered into ecclesiastical communion with other churches, could not be treated like the other settlers of the colony simply because the court and clergy had no right to religious jurisdiction within their colony. Moreover, Williams insisted that the sovereignty of church and civil government should be based on the consent of its members.

It is significant, in relation to what has been noted so far to highlight Williams' insistence on the radical idea that since Church members did not compact with civil magistrates in the formation of their congregations, they should be free to govern themselves according to their conscience. In another departure from the General Court, convinced that there should be nothing called superiority of the elect, Williams strongly opposed the practice of depriving non-church members from civil equality and political participation. Although a staunch defender of Calvinism, Williams believed and persuasively argued that the "awards of election were to be enjoyed in the afterlife, not to be used as discriminating qualifications between men in the civil sphere or for regulating them in matters of worship through the courts".³⁵

Williams' religious disputes with other ministers turned to a direct political confrontation and a sharp conflict with the General Court. This was,

Early expression of the principle of religious tolerance by the founder of the colony of Rhode Island.

³⁵ Morgan, *Williams*, 86-114; Ziff, *Puritanism in America*, 100-102; Miller, *New England Mind*, 420.

perhaps, one of the great radical achievements of his time. In addition to this, he was the first to call for a high wall of separation between the "Garden of Christ" and the "Wilderness of the World."³⁶

What is remarkable is that Williams was the first to deny the General Court's religious authority when he challenged the constitutional legitimacy of the Plymouth and Bay Colonies. He denied both "the Royal and providential authority that each colonial government used to proclaim their jurisdiction over the local Pequot, Wampanoag, and Naraggansett Indians".³⁷ This argument sprung from Williams' religious convictions. Williams' challenge to the Bay Colony became serious when he claimed that "governments could only be sovereign if subjects had, at some point in history, given their consent to the laws by which they would be ruled".³⁸ In fact, this was one of Williams' major contributions to American radicalism.

Here, one needs to draw attention to the important fact that in his great struggle against the Massachusetts theocratic regime, Williams "finally came to the conclusion that the true church had long ago ceased to exist on earth"³⁹. That is the reason why he insisted that the affairs of the state should forever be separate from the affairs of religion and spared no effort to establish a state that respected man's freedom of conscience.

³⁶ Bryan K Langlands, *Cultivating Neighborhood: Identifying Best Practices for Launching a Christ-Centered Community Garden* (Wipf and Stock Publishers, 2014), p.2.

³⁷ Winthrop's Journal, 1: 110, 151, 162, 163; Selma Williams, *Kings, Commoners, and Colonists: Puritan Politics in Old and New England* (New York: Atheneum, 1974), 122-116.

³⁸ Weston and Greenberg, *Subjects and Sovereigns*, 128-130; Greenberg, *Radical Face of the Ancient Constitution*, 117; Garrett, *Roger Williams*, 72-80, 193-199.

³⁹ "Will History Repeat Itself ? " <http://twelvetribe.org/sites/.../will-history-repeat-itself.pdf>, Accessed July 12, 2015.

One can understand, then, that William's radical belief in the necessity of religious freedom brought him to his understanding of the proper and specific vision of the real role that the state should play. He realized that the affairs of the state ought to be purely secular. Moreover, the very fact that he rejected John Winthrop's strict control implied a rejection to "the City on a Hill" vision of the Puritan colony in Massachusetts. This means that he became convinced that the civil government had no power to impose religious correctness through a strict control. In other words, he strongly advocated the idea that "no nation had a mandate from God to bring His redemptive plan to the world".⁴⁰

For his clear cut radical standings, Williams became the great founder of the American liberties. Most importantly, when he was expelled and driven into the wilderness to endure the severity of winter and hunger, he did not find himself alone because, fortunately, the Indians, whom he had long defended, provided him with sustenance and support. He became their trustworthy and friend and ever remained. So, this might lead us to discuss his radical vision of the natives of the New World.

3.1.1- Williams, Religion, and the Indians' Natural Rights

In fact Williams' antinomianism and radical struggle have often been an important topic in American "Puritan" studies.⁴¹ But the ways in which Williams linked his struggle for religious tolerance with the defense of Native American rights in New England was remarkably neglected by scholars. It is important to

⁴⁰ "Roger Williams: Father of Religious Freedom in America", <http://twelvetribe.org/articles/roger-williams-religious-freedom>. Accessed July 12, 2015.

⁴¹ Among the major works on Williams, I can cite: Hugh Spurgin, *Roger Williams and Puritan Radicalism in the English Separatist Tradition* (Lewiston: Edwin Mellen Press, 1989); L. Raymond Camp, *Roger Williams: God's Apostle of Advocacy* (Lewiston: Edwin Mellen Press, 1989); Perry Miller, *Roger Williams: His Contribution to the American Tradition* (New York: Bobs-Merril, 1953).

stress that the radical quest for liberty of conscience in New England began by Roger Williams in the context of his opposition to magisterial claims over Native American civil and spiritual liberties.

Bearing in his mind the universal natural right philosophy, Williams seemed quite convinced that new governments such as the Bay Colony had no right to use a royal patent to claim sovereignty over Indians who had not voluntarily subjected themselves to the King's authority. By holding this radical belief Williams was not inspired by the secular tradition of English political and legal thought. Instead he was convinced as a fierce Calvinist that spiritual election did not give the saints the power or the right to usurp the natural rights of the Indians who, according to him, should continue holding control of their own land.

In line with this and according to Williams, "if election was used as a criterion for sovereignty, men of all races could be supplanted by alien powers and left destitute without the protection of legitimately constituted government".⁴² That is the reason why he maintained that the usurpation of the Indian land not only violates the fundamental principles of Puritanism, but was a clear corruption of the sacred principles of the Christian religion. Interestingly, this specific vision of commonwealth justice implied an even radical belief that Christians had a special duty to put into practice the true Christian religion by exercising the Christ's theory of selfless love. Williams used practical Christianity in a very radical way. He maintained that since they were created by God who had endowed them, despite the difference in culture and race, with the

⁴² Roger Williams, *The Bloody Tenet of Persecution* (London, 1644) in Woodhouse, ed., *Puritanism and Liberty*, 283-284; Ziff, *Puritanism in America*, 100-102;; Spurgin, *Roger Williams*, 26-28; Miller, *Roger Williams*, 93.

same natural mental capacities, Indians just like the rest of Americans have the right to enjoy justice under the laws of God.

It is worth noting that if Williams, like Crèvecoeur, came to the New World with many Western Eurocentric beliefs, specifically that conversion to Christianity would bring enlightenment and civilization to the Native Americans, this did not prevent him from appreciating several aspects of the Indian culture and traditions.

For instance, Williams often considered the generosity the Indians displayed toward him and towards all the strangers in need as a concrete example of Christian love which, according to him, the Puritans especially the Bay colony authorities seemed to have forgotten. They were “remarkably free and courteous, to invite all strangers in...a man shall generally find more free entertainment amongst these Barbarians, then amongst thousands that call themselves Christians.”⁴³ Williams wrote in describing the Indians’ generosity and kindness. In fact, one may observe that Williams’ appreciation of the Indians’ kindness can be understood as a severe criticism to the Puritan selfishness and harshness. In this context, Williams wrote: “that a man shall generally find more free entertainment and refreshing amongst these barbarians, than amongst thousands that call themselves Christians”.⁴⁴

In this respect, Williams as a radical and a human rights defender rejected all kinds of violation of the natural rights of human beings whatever was

⁴³ Jack L. Davis, “Roger Williams among the Narragansett Indians,” *New England Quarterly* 43 (1970), 593-604; Staveland, “Enclosed Gardens,” in Bremer, ed., *Puritanism: Trans-Atlantic Perspectives*, 270-275; Roger Williams, *A Key into the Language of America*, Teunissen and Hinz, eds., 97-104, 203; a comparison between the European wars of religion and the Indian battles, he surprisingly found out that Indian wars were “much less bloody than the cruel wars of Europe.” (204).

⁴⁴ Edwin S. Gaustad, *Roger Williams: Prophet of Liberty* (Oxford University Press, USA, 2001), p.40.

their race. In arguing for equality as one of the fundamental natural rights, Williams insisted that all mankind were “of one blood.” “Nature knows no difference between *Europe* and *Americans*.”⁴⁵ And he added, “No man, no court, and no King could claim any power over his fellow creatures if it denied or contradicted this fundamental principle upon which the moral law of Christ and the justice of the common law rested”.⁴⁶

In fact, Williams’ humanitarian dealing with the Indian issue was similar to a great extent to that of the Spanish Bartolomé de las Casas who defended the rights of the Indians and denounced the cruelty done to them. Las Casas devoted his whole life struggling for a better life for the Indians in Spanish America.⁴⁷

In contrast to the earlier discussed Williams vision, the Massachusetts Bay authorities, among them ministers and magistrates, insisted that they were entitled to put the native peoples under the permanent civil jurisdiction and the direct governance of the colonists. The saints and the Indians waged war against each other, but colonists waged the war in order to expand their territory and fulfill their imperialist project while natives struggled to preserve their natural right of possessing the land which was originally their ancestors’ land. Supporting the Indians, Williams was among the first to denounce this colonial imperialism. His struggle for putting an end to the colonial territorial expansion made him really deserve the title of “the early anti imperialist” in the history of America.

⁴⁵ Roger Williams, *A Key into the Language of America* (London, 1643), p.53.

⁴⁶ Camp, *Roger Williams*, 126.

⁴⁷ See Marcel Brion, *Bartolomé de las Casas; Father of the Indians*. (New York: E. P. Dutton, 1929).

3.1.2- Williams' Anti imperialism: the Empire as a National Sin

Interestingly enough, Williams raised the radical issue of antimperialism when dealing with the Indian land. In reaction to the imperial view of reformation, Williams drew the conclusion that the conflict had nothing to do with the desire of the Bay Colonists to convert the natives to Christianity through overcoming diabolical forces in them. All the wars waged against the Indians, according to Williams, were the natural result of the strong imperialist impulse within the godly community.

Imperialism as defined by *The Dictionary of Human Geography* is "an unequal human and territorial relationship, usually in the form of an empire, based on ideas of superiority and practices of dominance, and involving the extension of authority and control of one state or people over another."⁴⁸ It is often considered in a negative light, as "merely the exploitation of native people in order to enrich a small handful."⁴⁹ Both definitions can be useful to describe the Bay colonists' treatment of the Indians when the matter is related to land.

Simply put, Williams considered the strong desire for land as an imperialistic greed that troubled the Bay Colonists with:

“ a depraved appetite after the great vanities, dreams and shadows of this vanishing life, great portions of land, land in this wilderness, as if men were in a great necessity and danger for want of great portions of land, as poor, hungry, thirsty seamen have, after a sick and stormy, a long and starving passage.”⁵⁰

⁴⁸ Gregory, Derek, Johnston, Ron, Prattt, Geraldine, Watts, Michael J., and Whatmore, Sarah (2009). *The Dictionary of Human Geography* (5th ed.). Wiley-Blackwell. p. 373. ISBN 978-14051-3288-6.

⁴⁹ <http://www.robertnielsen21.wordpress.com/2012/05/18/war-is-a-racket/>. Accessed June 23, 2015.

⁵⁰ John Bartlett, ed., *The Letters of Roger Williams, 1632-1682* (Providence, 1874), 6: 342

Here, there is a need to clarify that the usurpation of the Indian land in America was also morally and religiously justified by the traditional Christian prejudice against all the "pagans". This in turn paved the way "for an intense racism that considered and interpreted Indian culture as the demonic life ways of a naturally degenerate people."⁵¹

Consequently, Land hunger; to use Williams' words, soon became "one of the gods of New England, which the living and most high Eternal will destroy and famish."⁵² According to Williams dispossessing the Indians not only deprived them of their natural rights, but more dangerously hindered the fulfillment of one of the most important colonial missions which was the Christian conversion of New England's Indians.

Perhaps, there is a need to emphasize that Williams' radical view of white–Native American relations was not based solely on his personal philosophical conviction of the concept of natural equality. It was also the result of his direct and personal experience of living among the Native Americans during a period of intense colonial imperialist expansion that often led to violent and sharp conflicts between the two ethnically different communities. As a reaction to this violence, Williams strongly opposed the bloodshed because he saw land hunger as sign of moral corruption that sprang, according to him, from the deviation from the godly religious principles. He totally denounced the then prevailing racist attitude that Native Americans were naturally inferior to whites in terms of mental capacities.

⁵¹ Ronald Takaki, "Tempest in the Wilderness", *William and Mary Quarterly* 38 .1981.pp 904- 912; William Simmons, "Cultural Bias in the New England Puritans Perception of Indians," *William and Mary Quarterly* 38 (1981), 62, 70; Alfred Cave, "Why was the Sagadahoc Colony Abandoned? An Evaluation of the Evidence," in Vaughan, ed., *New England Encounters*, 47-50.

⁵² Bartlett, ed., *Letters of Roger Williams*, 7: 342; Quoted in Francis Jennings' *The Invasion of America*," *Journal of Ethnic Studies* 7 (1978), p.181.

Equally interesting is the idea that when Williams challenged the Bay Colony by asking for a just and fair treatment of the Narragansett* and Pequot tribes**, the radical principle that “God is no respecter of persons,”⁵³ which was repeatedly used by the radicals in Coleman Street Ward in order to struggle against the then class-based injustice, was now being highlighted and used again in America to criticize not only the dispossession of the Indian people of their land but to denounce the racial arguments that were used to religiously justify and legitimize what we can call imperial practices.

In line with this, one can assume that by defending the Indians’ natural rights, Williams could persuasively argue and then confirm that Massachusetts’ authorities could not claim jurisdiction over matters of religious practice outlined in the Ten Commandments. According to him, this practice “amounted to a violation of liberty of conscience”.⁵⁴ It might be clear then that Williams was convinced that neither the King’s charter, nor any other law gave magistrates this right to govern people and to act on their behalf. That is the reason why usurping the Indian lands, according to him, was a “National sin” and therefore, renouncing it was a “National duty.”⁵⁵ At this point, it becomes readily apparent that Williams tended to use separatist arguments in order to indict the supporters of the territorial expansion or that later would be called “the

* The Narragansett were one of the most important and famous tribes of New England; Actually they control the west of Narragansett Bay in Rhode Island, and also large parts of Connecticut and eastern Massachusetts, from the Providence River on the northeast to the Pawcatuck on the southwest.

** Pequot is an appellation used to refer to the people of one of the tribes of American Indians who, in the 17th century, inhabited the present-day Connecticut. The sociopolitical influence of this tribe in southern New England was reduced just after the Pequot War and Mystic massacre.

⁵³ King James Version (KJV) Acts 10:34 *the BibleGateway.com*. Accessed May 24, 2015.

⁵⁴ Jennings, *Invasion of America*, 139-140.

⁵⁵ Roger Williams, *Mr. Cotton’s Letter Lately Printed, Examined, and Answered* (Providence: Narragansett Club Publications, 1866), 324-325.

manifest destiny”, the great myth that would provide the Americans with wealth and allow their country to rise as an international economic power.

Consequently, one can observe that it is not surprising to say that in America, far long before the rise of the Levellers and before martyr Sidney* discusses and argues for the peoples' natural rights in his *A Plea for Religious Liberty* in Britain, Roger Williams seemed to be the first to intelligently use religious radicalism, constitutional arguments, and natural law theory in a very persuasive way in order to raise fundamental and dangerous questions through which he could ignite very complex and previously never known controversies about the legitimacy of civil and religious authority in the reformed infant commonwealth. In other words Williams could provide a new vision of how the ideal society should look like . In describing the political system of the colony of Providence, Williams notes:

“We, whose names are hereunder written, being desirous of to inhabit in the town of Providence, do promise to submit ourselves in active and passive obedience to all such orders or-agreements as shall be made for public good of the body, in an orderly way, by the major consent of the present inhabitants, masters of families incorporated together into a township, and such others as they shall admit into the same, only in civil things.”⁵⁶

About the liberty of conscience in the new colony, he adds:

“No person within the said colony at any time hereafter shall be any wise molested, punished, disquieted, or called in question for

* He is an English politician and a republican political theorist He was executed for treason. After his death, Sidney was revered as a "Whig patriot–hero and martyr". Charles Harding Firth, *Dictionary of National Biography, 1885-1900*, Volume 52 Sidney, Algernon http://www.en.wikisource.org/wiki/Sidney,_Algernon. Accessed April 20, 2013.

⁵⁶ Roger Williams, *Mr. Cotton's Letter Lately Printed, Examined, and Answered* (Providence: Narragansett Club Publications, 1866)324-325.

any differences in opinion, in matters of religion, who do not actually disturb the civil peace of the now called American colony; but that all and every person and persons may from time to time, and at all times hereafter, freely and fully, have and enjoy his own and their judgments and consciences, in matters of religious concernments”⁵⁷.

It is quite important in this regard to note that most of Williams’ contemporaries and critics considered his ideas as a fountain of chaos and anarchy in the new American community simply because he was acting during the Dark Ages, an era during which people believed that each community must have its national church and that all radicals were so threatening and therefore, ought to be forced to conform. Perhaps, for the same reason, Rhode Island seemed to the rest of colonies as a great danger. That is why despite the radical struggle of Williams, the extremely severe and harsh spirit of intolerance prevailed.

But if Williams’ controversy shocked the Bay Colony leaders, the one caused by Anne Hutchinson and her many followers was more dangerous. In fact, the popularity of Hutchinson’s teachings may be justified by Winthrop’s confession that "her supporters made up the majority of Boston’s First Church"⁵⁸. Scholars often agree that Anne Hutchinson’s contribution to the American religious radicalism should be better discussed in the context of what became known as “the free grace controversy”.

4- The Free Grace Controversy in Massachusetts Bay Colony

In addition to Williams’ religious radical ideas, the Antinomian Controversy, also known as” the Free Grace Controversy “, caused the earliest major theological and political conflict in colonial New England. It

⁵⁷ Ibid.

⁵⁸ *Winthrop’s Journal* p. 212.

took place in Massachusetts Bay Colony in 1636-1638. The movement attracted some of the most prominent ministers of the colony including: John Cotton, Henry Vane, Anne Hutchinson and her brother in law, John Wheelwright.⁵⁹

The basic teaching of free grace theology is based on the idea that the belief in Jesus Christ through faith alone is all that is necessary for man to be saved and, therefore to receive eternal life. This basic, simple belief allows people to enter the kingdom of God. This view "distinguishes between the "call to believe" in Christ as a Savior and receiving the gift of eternal life, and the "call to follow" Christ and become obedient disciples",⁶⁰ which includes receiving particular rewards based on works that were done for God on Earth. God refers to the belief when stating that "Jesus is the Son of God and therefore able to be their "Savior".⁶¹

In the Holy Commonwealth, the theological principle of free grace was at first strongly defended by Wheelwright and John Cotton, before being finally consolidated by the radical Ann Hutchinson.⁶² Like Winthrop, John Wheelwright left England as a radical man who sought to promote the Reformation in America. He soon found out that his antinomianism conflicted with how Winthrop and most of the Bay Colony clergy viewed Puritanism as a religious doctrine in the very immature and inexperienced community. For his

⁵⁹ For the best work on the salvation anxieties of the godly, see John Stachniewski, *The Persecutory Imagination: English Puritanism and the Literature of Religious Despair* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991). John Morrill, however, sees the godly more preoccupied with liberation than doom. See his, "A Liberation Theology?" 30.

⁶⁰ David D. Hall, *The Antinomian Controversy 1636-1638: A Documentary History*, 1990

⁶¹ See <http://www.gotquestions.org/free-grace.html#ixzz33nNaqNru>. Accessed July 3, 2013.

⁶² See William Stoeber, 'A Faire and Easy Way to Heaven:' *Covenant Theology and Antinomianism in Early Massachusetts* (Middletown: Wesleyan University Press, 1978), 58-81.

part, Wheelwright considered the very fact that most of the members of Boston's First Church came to New England with antinomian beliefs as a great opportunity for him to be radically active in the New World.

As a preacher in the First Church of Boston, Wheelwright quickly accused his opponents in the church of embracing a "covenant of works" and more than that regarded them as "the greatest enemies of Christ." Moreover, he soon ordered the religious radicals in the new community to "prepare for spiritual combat between the upright and the degenerate".⁶³ Despite the fact he was aware that his words would cause a kind of unexpected rebellion in the church and commonwealth, Wheelwright encouraged the saints:

Never fear combustions and burnings...Christ will purge his floor, layeth the axe to the root, and cutteth down all hypocrites and those that build anything besides Christ...he will purge the church.⁶⁴

One can observe that the message that Wheelwright intended to convey to the ministers and magistrates was clear and direct. One may understand from the sermon that Wheelwright had directly declared them persons who deserted their religion and had violated and even corrupted the real Puritan belief.

What is noticeable is that Wheelwright's "the Fast Day Sermon really displayed the division within the godly community in America"⁶⁵. This conflict reached its peak in New England's most famous religious controversy: the Antinomian Controversy of 1636-1638, where religious radicals would come to be known as the major opponents of the religious policies of the General Court.

⁶³ John Wheelwright, "Fast Day Sermon," in Hall, ed., *The Antinomian Controversy*, 165.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, pp.165-166.

⁶⁵ David D. Hall, *op.cit.*p.153.

In ways “similar to the Coleman Street sectarians”⁶⁶, they would challenge the authority of clerics and magistrates and even determine the shape and direction of the godly community’s radicalism and struggle for reformation.

In connection, in the Holy Commonwealth, the antinomians cited also the doctrine of John Cotton on free grace and they adopted it as an official clerical permission and as a religious background for their antinomian belief that “the Holy Spirit live in each saint even in women, and that his presence in the believer authorized them to exercise spiritual gifts, especially prophecy”⁶⁷. Perhaps, this can be considered as the radical religious basis of what is called feminine equality. Like Coleman Street radicals, Boston’s antinomians believed that their strength came “through this personal union with the spirit, and not through church rituals and ordinances, or from any meritorious work of the believer”.⁶⁸ God alone saved through his mercy; “humans could not convince God to save them through their own actions”.⁶⁹

4.1- Anne Hutchinson: Radical Feminism and Lay Ministry in Priest-Dominated and Male Dominated Church

As was described by Winthrop, Hutchinson was “a woman of a haughty and fierce carriage, of a nimble wit and active spirit, and a very voluble tongue, more bold than a man.”⁷⁰ Her skill as a midwife made her respected and trusted

⁶⁶ Foster, *Long Argument*, 177; “English Puritanism and the Progress of New England Institutions, 1630-1660,” in David D. Hall, John Murrin, and Thad Tate, eds., *Saints and Revolutionaries: Essays on Early American History* (New York: Norton, 1984), 3-38. For more details about toleration in Old and New England, see Philip Gura’s *A Glimpse of Zion’s Glory* entitled, “Toleration: The Great Controversial radical ideas”.

⁶⁷ George Selement, “John Cotton’s Hidden Antinomianism: His Sermon on Rev 4: 1-2” *NEHGR* 129 (1975), pp.285-99.

⁶⁸ *Winthrop’s Journal*, 1:195.

⁶⁹ Battis, op.cit, pp.129-133.

⁷⁰ John Winthrop, “A Short Story of the Rise, Reign and Ruin of the Antinomians, Familists, and Libertines,” (London, 1644) in Hall, ed., *Antinomian Controversy*, 263.

by a great number of the families of the Massachusetts Bay Colony, as did her “appreciation of the simplicity of free grace preaching in an community dominated by the saints”.⁷¹

For his part, the historian Hall ,when exploring the major cause and events that led to the Antinomian Controversy ,has placed Anne Hutchinson at the center of the controversy:

Though the document cover a period of nearly three years , the Antinomian Controversy took place essentially in seventeen months between October 1636 and March 1638 , the story of what accrued during those months must begin with a women ; Anne Hutchinson.⁷²

one should further note that while Anne Hutchinson is often associated with the American religious radicalism ,John Cotton is actually considered as her spiritual mentor. Another mentor was John Wheelwright, a clergyman who was close to the her family. But in 1633, Cotton's preaching was banned by the Established Church and he immigrated to America's Massachusetts Bay with Wheelwright who was also banned. Anne Hutchinson left England for Massachusetts the next year.

When in the New World, the Hutchinson’s tried to join Cotton's congregation. Later the church discovered that Anne Hutchinson was both a political and theological thinker whose ideas provoked dangerous religious and political problems in the Massachusetts Bay Colony . In other words, she challenged the principles of the religious and political system of the

⁷¹ Battis, op.cit, pp.10-15; Fischer, *Albion’s Seed*, pp.42-50.

⁷² Jonathan Beecher Field,” The Antinomianism Controversy Did Not Take Place”,*Early American Studies :An Interdisciplinary Journal* 6,2 (2008), p. 461.

Puritans .Charles Francis Adams said about that :” she challenged the union of church and state represented by Winthrop and others”.⁷³

Important is the idea that Anne Hutchinson challenged also the role of women in the Puritan society; she strongly defended her beliefs and did not feel herself inferior to men as other women in the colony did. Indeed ,she was extremely courageous to bypass the limits put for women in the godly community .That is the reason why I can thus say that in American history, Anne Hutchinson was probably the first American woman to lead a public fight not only for religious liberty but for female rights as well.

Interestingly , having discovered the Covenant of Grace through the preaching of Cotton, Anne began to spread her own specific vision and understanding of Puritan theology. According to some of Boston's most famous clergymen and ministers , Anne’s radicalism and desire to reform religion threatened Puritan Orthodoxy . Church members in the colony did not accept her views because she insisted and persuasively argued that their teachings and their authority ought to be rejected. The chief differences between the Hutchinson's ideas and the Puritan Orthodoxy of the colony basically lied in the ways in which the theological concepts of the Covenant of Grace and of divine election were to be applied in colonial America.

It is worth mentioning that the core of Hutchinson’s belief was the idea that Christians who had achieved grace actually became the spirit of God . Therefore ,the Covenant of Grace made the Covenant of Works unnecessary . According to her , "if people had this special connection with

⁷³ Garry Wills, *Under God*, (Simon and Schuster, 2013), p. 344.

God , then they did not have to do good works to show that they had been saved"⁷⁴.

What is certain is that John Cotton's teachings on free grace both inspired Hutchinson and infused in her mind a deep distrust of ministers whom she discovered using a misleading discourse that did not serve the Puritan doctrine. But soon her devotion to free grace went beyond Cotton's teachings and "resembled more closely what Coleman Street radicals held concerning the *personal* union between the Holy Spirit and the believer".⁷⁵

As a matter of fact, Hutchinson's radicalism and strong desire for change made her a key figure not only in the development of religious freedom in the American society but in the history of women in ministry as well. She was the first to oppose the subordination of women in the culture of the Holy Commonwealth. And by doing so she showed that even the most radical dissent was possible. It is readably, apparent ,then, that talking about the feminist issue is not modern debate in the American society it goes back to the colonial period and more precisely to the period when Hutchinson and her supporters started to gain public support for defending women's freedom of practicing religion freely and out of all external constrains.

Consequently, the court and the clergy in Massachusetts had to defend their ideas and principles to gain the support of the colonial laity whom they feared to become adherents to the secret religious meetings of the radicals .In other words, they had to put an end to lay prophecy which challenged clerical control and magisterial regulation of religious belief and correctness.

⁷⁴ Ibid.

⁷⁵ Sargent Bush, "Revising What We Have Done Amis," *William and Mary Quarterly* 45 (1988), p.738.

In an unprecedented action, and in order to spread her radical ideology, Anne began holding meetings twice a week in her home. A considerable number of men and women came and listened as she read aloud and often repeated from memory the sermons of local ministers, afterwards telling her own thoughts on how Boston's clergy might practice Puritanism according the true religious principle of free grace. After that, she publicly expressed her opposition to the Boston ministers.

Significantly enough, Hutchinson's reformist religious convictions and desire to change the political life in the new community made her radical enough to criticize Shepard and other New England ministers for teaching the doctrine of "preparation," by which sincere believers "prepared" their hearts for salvation through prayer, good works, and godly devotion to church ordinances. From the separatist perspective, if the teaching of preparation went unchallenged, the reformed Protestant commonwealth would be built upon a false spiritual foundation.⁷⁶ Some of Hutchinson's supporters began to publicly tell people that God had given her to New England for some divine purpose.⁷⁷ One may understand that the Hutchinsonians did not only accept the idea of having a woman as an interpreter of God's words but they considered her as a prophetess.

⁷⁶ George Selement and Bruce Wolley, eds., *Thomas Shepard's Confessions* (Boston: Colonial Society of Massachusetts, 1981), Introduction. For the tension between the doctrine of preparation and the covenant of grace, see Perry Miller, *New England Mind*, pp. 57-67; Andrew Delbanco, *The Puritan Ordeal*, pp.118-148; William Stoeber, 'A Faire and Easy Way to Heaven:' *Covenant Theology and Antinomianism in Early Massachusetts* (Middletown: Wesleyan University Press, 1978), pp.58-81; 192-200. For more on Shepard, see Michael McGiffert, ed., *God's Plot: Puritan Spirituality in Thomas Shepard's Cambridge* (Amherst, 1994).

⁷⁷ Battis, op.cit, 7-15; Winthrop, "Short Story," in Hall, ed., *Antinomian Controversy*, pp.262-264.

4.2- Feminine Prophecy in New Jerusalem: a Sign of the Millennium

As noted earlier in this chapter, Mrs. Hutchinson's strong personality and high social status made her a respectable and popular woman in Boston, but as Rebecca Tannenbaum* has recently underlined, "she first acquired a faithful following through her travels as a midwife".⁷⁸ Indeed, it seems that Anne excelled in using her skills as a medical practitioner, and prophetess to earn the trust, the affection and even the support of the women whom she used to serve.

Indeed, taken from another perspective and bearing in mind the prevailing ideology of the then Puritan society, Anne Hachonson's experience can be helpful for attracting attention to the issue of women at that time. One might think that Hutchinson wanted to prove that women were no longer publically passive social entities whose role should be confined to the private sphere. As an active social entity Hutchinson had a role in the public sphere because she used to work as a midwife. That is the reason why I can say that she was so gifted that she used to cure the bodies of people through her medical experience and to cure their souls by preaching the doctrine of free grace.

It is worth noting that women in Boston knew Anne as a friend, doctor, and preacher. As the number of her female supporters grew, the men of Boston "could not help but acknowledge her growing power and status within the community, which went beyond the patriarchal limitations of colonial New England".⁷⁹ That is the reason why Winthrop, Shepard, and Cotton looked at

* History professor at Yale University ;Tannenbaum's research is focused on Colonial America, especially women's history and the history of medicine, history of women's health, as well as history of the family.

⁷⁸ For more details, see Rebecca Tannenbaum, *The Healer's Calling: Women and Medicine in Colonial New England*, (Cornell University Press, 2002).

⁷⁹ Rebecca J. Tannenbaum, *The Healer's Calling: Women and Medicine in Early New England* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2002), pp.84-89.

Hutchinson's religious meeting as "the thin edge of a libertine wedge that would introduce a "community of women" into the colony."⁸⁰ But unfortunately, Anne Hutchinson's feminist project had to wait for the women's movement of the 1960s, the era that saw the birth of the feminist movement. American feminism was, in fact, the radical movement that struggled for the protection of women's rights in the American society. I can say, therefore that the radical struggle of Anne Hutchinson was the primary root for this movement in the New World.

It is quite interesting in this regard to note that Mrs. Hutchinson's followers considered her as a prophetess of the Reformation who could anticipate the millennial reign of the saints in New Jerusalem.⁸¹ This may explain the strong influence of some women in the same period whose voices started to be heard here and there in the colony*. As a matter of fact, this marked the beginning of a very strong feminist discourse in the hitherto man centered society. What can be understood is that the very fact that Hutchinson was a woman giving public lectures was regarded as dangerously disruptive activity in the then male establishment of the Bay Colony.

Proving that even women could have a strong intellectual capacity and a very active analytical mind, the radical Hutchinson used to repeat sermons to her audience and then subjecting them to exceedingly elaborate and intense examination through her own reading of the Bible, Hutchinson went beyond that to announce herself spiritually gifted of prophesy. Through prophecy, Hutchinson's conventicle, was basically aiming at "democratizing the church's

⁸⁰ "Examination of Mrs. Ann Hutchinson," in Hall, ed., *Antinomian Controversy*, pp.368-374.

⁸¹ *Winthrop's Journal*, 1: 240.

* Anne Bradstreet as a poet defending feminist ideology is a good example of those women in colonial America.

spiritual gifts, making them the property of a mixed-gendered laity."⁸² One can easily observe that Hutchinson's antinomian conventicles backed and even popularized Williams' challenge to the New England clerisy. Perhaps, what strengthened Hutchinson's radical attitude was her extraordinary capacity to defend intelligently her orthodoxy by citing Scriptures that supported her radical and new interpretations.

4.3- The Rejection of the Sovereignty of Civil Authority over Religion : a Hutchinsonian Issue

As has already been pointed at in our discussion of Hutchinsonianism as an antinomian mode of religious thought and practice, Hutchinson's radical ideas clearly went beyond what the court considered as a liberty of conscience. In fact, what was at stake was the sovereignty of civil authority. Like Williams before her, Hutchinson insisted that there should be no civil authority over religious practice. For her man's relation to God is a matter of individual and direct revelation. This is why she insisted that there should be no intermediary between God and man. As Winthrop wrote:

She walked by such a rule as cannot stand the peace of any state; for such immeasurably deep and mysterious revelations, as either came without any word, (which was framed to human capacity) if they be allowed in one thing, must be admitted a rule in all things; for they being above reason and scripture, they are not subject to control.⁸³

After Hutchinson's exile, the governors feared anarchy and bloodshed because they expected an antinomian uprising in the colony since they were

⁸² Gura, op.cit., pp.61, 62.

⁸³ Winthrop, "Short Story," in Hall, ed., *Antinomian Controversy*, 274; Also quoted in Lovejoy, *Religious Enthusiasm*, p.76.

quite aware that uprising is one of the most expressive radical techniques; therefore, Winthrop called for "the disarming of the Hutchinson party".⁸⁴

To prevent any expected chaos and popular uprising in the community, the Massachusetts authorities decided to spread out an extremely negative image of "the radical terror."⁸⁵ They tended to frighten people from any kind of sympathy with or support to the antinomians. In fact, they tended to spread the idea that the popular, widespread antinomian movement was a rebellion of bloodthirsty who planned to put an end to the godly commonwealth.

Thus, with antinomians, political authorities of the Holy Commonwealth did not only refuse to consider the radicals as reformists. They spared no effort to make people view antinomianism as a terrorist movement in order to have the opportunity to easily exercise ideological and political control and hegemony over the commonwealth.

The most important idea that this discussion has attempted to tackle is that through antinomianism, America has long been a land of religious radicalism and a free space in which people can exercise the right to challenge all that might hinder the freedom of the individual. An attitude often associated with the man of a radical mind and character. Many early settlers left England because they were dissatisfied with English religious and political practice. Roger Williams and Anne Hutchinson were two brave radicals who reminded everyone in the Holy Commonwealth of that most sacred American right.

⁸⁴ *Winthrop's Journal*, 1: 247-248; Winthrop, "Short Story," in Hall, ed., *Antinomian Controversy*, p.275.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*

5- Religious Radicalism and the American Utopian Vision of society

The natural result of all the previously stated religious radical ideas and antinomian struggle was the extremely strong libertarian impulse that led to the American War of Independence which can be considered as the great radical uprising. For the Baptists and Presbyterians the success of the Revolution meant the eradication of a confining establishment which they feared and strongly disliked.

In line with this, Jefferson states that two thirds of the people had become dissenters when the Revolution started: "I am inclined to think," Says Robert Baird⁸⁶, "that the greater part professed or favored Episcopacy; but the majority was against its civil establishment."⁸⁷

Another result of religious radicalism in America was religious freedom. Thomas Jefferson was the great champion of religious liberty. Ten years after the beginning of the Revolution, an act for establishing religious freedom took a place. Through the First Amendment of the U.S Constitution⁸⁸, Jefferson sought to make religious freedom a constitutional right by calling back Roger Williams' concept of the wall of separation between the "Garden of Christ" and the "Wilderness of the World"⁸⁹, though the language of the founders is quite different.

⁸⁶ Robert Baird (1798, 1863) was an American clergyman and author.

⁸⁷ Henry Martyn Baird, *Life of the Rev. Robert Baird, D. D.* (New York: A.D.F. Randolph, 1866).

⁸⁸ See more at

<http://www.constitution.findlaw.com/amendment1/amendment.html#sthash.aSyqKwAF.dpu>
f. Accessed July 3, 2013.

⁸⁹ Bryan K Langlands, *Cultivating Neighborhood: Identifying Best Practices for Launching a Christ-Centered Community Garden* (Wipf and Stock Publishers, 2014), p.2.

In fact, the First Amendment guarantees religious freedom in two ways: first, it forbids Congress from establishing a national religion; secondly and more importantly it prohibits Congress from passing any law that prevents the freedom of Americans to practice their faith however they wish. According to Thomas Jefferson, the First Amendment was meant to build a kind of "a wall of separation between church and state":

Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of Speech, or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to Assemble, and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances.⁹⁰

Years later, in 1802 Thomas Jefferson wrote of the "wall of separation"⁹¹ in a letter to the Danbury Baptist association, echoing Roger Williams:

...should "make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof," thus building a wall of separation between Church & State. [Congress thus inhibited from acts respecting religion, and the Executive authorised only to execute their acts, I have refrained from prescribing even those occasional performances of devotion...⁹²

It seems obvious that there was a common belief among the radicals of the new nation that the best solution for all the religious disputes and differences and the only basis upon which it was possible to form a successful federal union

⁹⁰ Neil H. Cogan, *The Complete Bill of Rights: The Drafts, Debates, Sources, and Origins*, (OUP USA, 2015), p.11.

⁹¹ Daniel L Dreisback, *Thomas Jefferson and the Wall of Separation between Church and State* (New York: New York university Press, 2002), p.68.

⁹² Thomas Jefferson, Barbara B. Oberg, *The Papers of Thomas Jefferson: 1 December 1801 to 3 March 1802* (Princeton University Press, . 2009), p.255.

lay in giving the National Government no power over religion in the United States. Judge Story puts this idea this way:

“It was impossible that there should not raise perpetual strife and perpetual jealousy,” “if the National Government were left free to create a religious establishment. But this alone would have been an imperfect security, if it had not been followed up by a declaration of the right of the free exercise of religion, and a prohibition of all religious tests.”⁹³

At this point, it must be noted that despite this separation between church and state, religious radicalism continued to shape the radical attitude in the USA especially during the evangelical revivals known as the Second Great Awakening in the Pre-Civil War era. Evangelist Preachers like Charles G. Finney led great revivals in New England, New York, and some of the urban centers, advocating the belief that men were free moral entities, and had both the right and the power to choose between good and evil. That is the reason why The Second Great Awakening "stimulated the establishment of many reform movements designed to remedy the evils of society before the anticipated Second Coming of Jesus Christ"⁹⁴. This was a significant radical departure from the traditional predestinarian Calvinism that had long prevailed in the newly settled land. The Americans started to accept the idea that evil was no longer the result of man's free choice, nor of his innate depravity.

Significantly, the pre Civil War revivals emphasized first the ability of men to save themselves, and secondly and most importantly the necessity on the part of the saved to attack the sins of others. The result of this new religious and

⁹³ Joseph Story, *Commentaries on the Constitution of the United States*, 2d ed. (1851), vol. 2, chapter 45, p. 617.

⁹⁴ See Timothy L. Smith, *Revivalism and Social Reform: American Protestantism on the Eve of the Civil War* (1957).

social vision was a reformist or rather a radical movement called "perfectionism"; the latter which was based on the belief that both man and society could entirely be freed from sin. This gave birth to a utopian vision which not only inspired the creation of new reform and radical movements, but more importantly led to the transformation of old ones. There was a tendency to struggle against evils which could never be wholly eradicated from human life. Reforms became efforts "to clean the world of sin entirely; antislavery became immediate abolitionism, temperance became total abstinence; the movement against war became pacifism"⁹⁵.

Despite the fact that the influence of the Awakening continued in the form of other more secular movements⁹⁶, Evangelists were often directly concerned with issues such as slavery, greed, and poverty. Consequently, one can understand that during that era; American Christians began progressive movements to reform society through paving the way for later reform movements.⁹⁷ Broadly speaking, the antebellum reform, included "reforms in temperance, women's rights, abolitionism, and a multitude of other questions faced by society".⁹⁸

There is a need, here, to note that the reform movements of the pre Civil War years were therefore, the result of the religious enthusiasm and the libertarian impulse embodied in Second Great Awakening. It is worth noting

⁹⁵ See Alice Felt Tyler, *Freedom's Ferment*, and Walters, *American Reformers*, survey the reform movements. On perfectionism, see John Thomas, "Romantic Reform," and on pacifism, Peter Brock, *Radical Pacifism*. See also, Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., *Orestes Brownson*.

⁹⁶ Barbara Leslie Epstein, *The Politics of Domesticity*. (Middletown: Wesleyan University Press, 1981), p.234.

⁹⁷ Timothy L. Smith, *Revivalism and Social Reform: American Protestantism on the Eve of the Civil War* (1957).

⁹⁸ Alice Felt Tyler, *Freedom's Ferment: Phases of American Social History from the Colonial Period to the Outbreak of the Civil War* (1944).

here that despite this tendency toward the liberation of man from all the religious ideas that might hinder his freedom, in the meantime; there was also a tendency toward the consolidation of social control. Perhaps, this was part of the Protestant legacy and therefore a continuation of the antinomian radical struggle, which also stressed the freedom of the individual and at the same time sought to keep order and stability in society.

Finally, one has to bear in mind that if religious radicalism in the Massachusetts Bay Colony marked the historical departure from the traditions of Puritanism in New England through their religious and emotional arguments for man's natural rights, the Enlightenment European thinkers could, in their turn, develop a scientific vision to the natural rights of man. In fact, their strong scientific and rational way in searching for truth and in exposing their radical ideas made the founding fathers, who were known to be well read men, adopt a radical attitude in dealing with the mother country and in planning for the future American nation. This, in fact, leads to debating the philosophical roots of American radicalism.

Chapter Four: The Philosophical Roots of American Radicalism

“This is not a new idea; this is the idea of the age of reason. This is the philosophy that guided the men that made the democracy that we live under. The idea that no one really knew how to run a government led to the idea that we should arrange a system by which new ideas could be developed, tried out, and tossed out if necessary, with more new ideas brought in—a trial and error system.”

Richard Feynman, *What Do You Care What Other People Think?*

Much of the world today, including the United States, is still living in the social, cultural, and political aftermath of Britain’s cultural achievements, its industrial revolution, its government of checks and balances, and its conquests around the world.

Thomas Sowell, *Conquests And Cultures: An International History*, 1999.

As was illustrated in the previous chapters, the colonists in New England were inspired by the traditional natural right philosophy in their revolt against the policies of their mother country. In fact , they backed their radical attitude by their emphasis on their right as freeborn English men to their colonial charters and then to their libertarian conception of self owning dominion. This

chapter centers upon how the American founding fathers' desire to establish a non-monarchical political system led them to search for an appropriate alternative regime. Part of the present chapter examines how the social contract that gave birth to the republican mode of thought was one of the basic roots of American radicalism. It should be stressed that the founding fathers' agreement to select republicanism was not spontaneous: they viewed it as the sole political system that secures for the Americans a better life free from all the authoritarianism of the monarch and that of the land lords. In fact, it is important to study the philosophical basis of this ideology since philosophy has always contributed to shaping people's way of life.

1- Radicalism: from Revelation and Faith to Science and Reason

As mentioned in the previous chapter, in Europe of the Dark Ages, interpretation was by faith and emotion because of the dominance of religion and the church. Even poverty was considered as a sign of God's wrath that is why one cannot talk about humanitarianism at that time. The church together with a king of divine right maintained their strong hold on the people's social and political life. In addition to this the Bible, during that era, was the people's sole source of knowledge and laws.

After 1650, due to the development of science, Europe saw a real revolution in thought and a radical change in the Europeans' world vision. The emergence of scientists like Isaac Newton who contributed to the flourishing of the Scientific Revolution led to a remarkable shift in the way the truth was perceived. In fact, there was a real departure from the traditional ways of searching for truth to modern ones. Soon, faith and revelation were replaced by reason. In fact, the Scientific Revolution consolidated the use of reason in interpreting the mechanism of the universe because scientists such as Newton

could argue that natural laws governed the universe .This, in fact, questioned the traditional idea of God's interference in man's life. About this shift from the emotion to reason, Jonathan I. Israel writes:

During the later Middle Ages and the early modern age down to 1650, everything was based on a largely shared core of faith, tradition, and authority. By contrast, after 1650, every thing no matter how fundamental or deeply rooted was questioned in the light of philosophical reason and frequently challenged or replaced by startling different concepts generated by the New Philosophy and what may still usefully be termed as Scientific Revolution ¹.

As a matter of fact, this scientific spirit led to the emergence of deism which can be defined as " the belief in the existence of a God on the evidence of reason and nature only, with rejection of supernatural revelation²", just as it may be also defined as "the belief in a God who created the world but has since remained indifferent to it³". In other words, it is the conviction that God has created the universe and let it be governed by natural laws . In fact, the deists do not believe in God 's interference in man's life ; this is why they do not depend on religion in their interpretations . In light of this fact , it is worth emphasizing that, due to the spread of deism, the Enlightenment was an era during which the church was insecure and the king's divine right started to be questioned. In addition to this ,there is a need to add that during that era the Bible became no longer the source of inspiration for people who became

¹ Jonathan I. Israel *Radical Enlightenment: Philosophy and the Making of Modernity 1650-1750*, (2002).p.56.

² www.dictionarreference.com/browse/deism, available on the web.

³ Ibid.

interested in political life more than any period before. Of course, this paved the way to the dominance of philosophy.

In human sciences too, thinkers influenced by the Scientific Revolution called for the use of reason even in studying social relations. This led to the emergence of the belief that if the universe is governed by natural laws, human sciences are also governed by natural law. In fact, there was an agreement that man is innately endowed with natural rights such as birthright of freedom and equality. At this point, it should be stressed that the belief in natural rights made of egalitarianism and freedom the primary concerns of the Age of Reason. Consequently, people started to be aware that overthrowing the unjust and corrupt political system was necessary for the fulfillment of the natural rights.

With the passing of time, philosophy replaced religion in the shaping of the political thought. Soon, political views on the philosophy of government gradually emerged in Great Britain, France, Holland, and Scotland. Despite their differences, Hobbes, Locke, and Rousseau, became influential political theorists in the world⁴, while their ideas and philosophies could lay down the basis of republicanism as a modern political system.

Since they suffered from monarchy and its injustice, the Americans displayed willingness to fight against its perpetuation. To reach their goal, they needed a philosophy that would help them establish a regime that would be different from the then prevailing monarchical system in that it should protect the individuals' natural rights. As a matter of fact, due to the transatlantic circulation of ideology, radical ideas about republicanism did not find difficulty

⁴ Video: *Jonathan Israel and Philipp Blom Discuss Radical Enlightenment*. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=6Y4M8w8B3FM>. Accessed June 5, 2013.

to creep to the new nation's founding elite mind who were looking for a change and innovation especially in a time, Puritanism as a philosophy of life, was waning ,and people ceased to take everything for granted in an age depending on reason for the interpretation of reality.

Broadly speaking, the Americans had to depend on different and various philosophical trends in order to be able to finally form their own philosophy of life which would be embodied in the principle of republicanism. It is therefore, important to search in the roots of republicanism as an integral part of the American philosophy of life and as one of the prevailing radical ideologies from which all the appeals of freedom, justice, equality, and democracy were inspired.

Assuredly ,the Americans, in a way or another, had to borrow radical ideas that were circulating in the Old World during the radical Enlightenment. Among the thinkers whose philosophy contributed to shaping the American radical ideology, one can mention Thomas Hobbes, James Harrington, John Locke, and Rousseau.

Indeed, , along with many other intellectuals such as the French Voltaire⁵, those philosophers and political thinkers wrote books dealing with social injustice, religious superstition, and ignorance by which they could challenge the unjust systems in the Old World that were all based on the myth of the king's divine right.⁶ The ideas of those thinkers and others had a major

⁵ Voltaire is a French radical who was persecuted by the French authorities because of his revolutionary ideas and his hostility to all that hindered the fulfillment of man's freedom in France .In fact ,it is widely agreed among scholars that Voltaire's ideas about the freedom of speech had a great impact on the American founding fathers who stressed this democratic principle .Voltaire's famous saying is "I disapprove of what you say, but I will defend to the death your right to say it" Burdette Kinne, *Voltaire Never Said it!* Modern Language Notes ,Vol. 58, No. 7 (Nov., 1943), pp. 534-535

⁶ 2012 Annual Meeting: Session 134: *Radical Enlightenment: A Session in Honor of Margaret Jacob*. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=PXh7fHfDL9U>. Accessed June 15,

impact on those who wrote the Declaration of Independence and later the American constitution. Confessing the impact of the Enlightenment philosophers on him and, therefore, on the founding fathers, Jefferson declares:

I will put off till my return from America all of them except Bacon, Locke, and Newton, whose pictures I will trouble you to have copied for me: and as I consider them as the three greatest men that have ever lived, without any exception, and as having laid the foundation of those superstructures which have been raised in the Physical and Moral sciences, I would wish to form them into a knot on the same canvas, that they may not be confounded at all with the herd of other great men. To do this I suppose we need only desire the copyist to draw the three busts in three ovals all contained in a larger oval in some such forms as this each bust to be the size of life. The large oval would I suppose be about between four and five feet. Perhaps you can suggest a better way.⁷

These words by Jefferson can be sufficient proof and concrete evidence that the American elite were aware of the intellectual change that was brought by the radical Enlightenment. This, therefore, can be an interesting starting point for the examination of the role played by the radical ideas of the enlightenment in the emergence of a sound conception of a republican government in the founding fathers' minds.

In this part of the research, focus will be on the impact exercised by the political theorists who agreed that the government was the result of a social

2013.

⁷ Jefferson to Trumbull, Paris, January 18, 1789, in PTJ, 14:467-468. Letterpress copy available online from the Library of Congress..

contract between the leaders and the led on the American founding fathers. In other words, one needs to demonstrate and examine how Hobbes, Locke, and Rousseau created the unprecedented revolutionary idea that the political system should put equality and freedom as the primary concerns. In essence, those three political theorists maintain that before men came to govern themselves, they all existed in a state of nature. The state of nature is "the condition men were in before political government came into existence"⁸. How society would be if there was no social contract that was the very root of the government. The theory of the social contract strengthened the belief that government should not be organized by church; therefore, the believers in this theory could lay the grounds for the radical principle of abandoning the idea of the divine right theory. This was absolutely the most radical theory of their time because it questioned the absolute authority of the monarch and shook the legitimacy of the social hierarchy that characterized the social structure of that era.

2- Thomas Hobbes: Secularism, Reason, and Good Government

Indeed, among the European philosophers who could challenge the political traditions of his time was the English philosopher Thomas Hobbes (1588-1679) who is best known for his new and radical political thought that really could mark a substantially considerable and unprecedented departure from the political norms of that age. In fact, his conception of the world is strikingly original and still applies to present-day politics. At an age of war and violence, his main concern is of social and political order and, in particular, of how human beings can live together in peace and avoid the danger and fear of civil wars.

⁸ "Theories of Thomas Hobbes and Jean-Jacques Rousseau"<http://www.echeat.com/free-essay/Theories-of-Thomas-Hobbes-and-Jean-Jacques-Rousseau>, Accessed July 4, 2013.

One can confirm Hobbes's theoretical creativity and, therefore, the originality of his political thinking, if we briefly compare him to the most famous political thinkers before and after him. A century before, Nicolo Machiavelli had emphasized the harsh realities of power he sought change through recalling the ancient Roman experiences of political freedom⁹. Machiavelli is actually viewed as the first modern political thinker because, like Hobbes, he was able to discuss politics far from religious faith and he could deal with politics as a secular discipline quite independent from theology. But what is interesting in Hobbes's political thought is that, unlike Machiavelli, he depended on the laws of nature to finally establish a secular political thought. It is this very idea that marked the departure from the traditional ideology of the Dark Ages and marked the beginning of the Enlightenment period. In fact, this unprecedented secular thought could end any use of power that might be theologically justified and allowed the emergence of the egalitarian ethic which would be the core of radical activism.

2.1- The Laws of Nature and the Social Contract

There is a need to emphasize that Hobbes with his new political thought could think the unthinkable and make the myth of divine right of kings appear as a great myth if not a lie often used to deceive people and oblige them to obey the king. The latter who, according to the same theory, is like ordinary people cannot be superior by nature. This radical conception of the monarch as a sovereign was, indeed, a radical departure from the traditions of the Dark Ages. Little wonder then that Hobbes's radical ideas can be considered as a turning point in the history of the political thought because he was the first to open the

⁹ Berlin, I. (1971). "The Originality of Machiavelli." In H. Hardy and R. Hausheer (Eds.), *Isaiah Berlin: The Proper Study of Mankind*. (pp. 269-326) (London: Chatto and Windus. 1999). pp. 269-326.

door for other thinkers to discuss politics far from theology . This, in fact, marked the beginning of the secular political thought that paved the way for the republican project and democracy.

Still, despite the newness of his ideas, it is, nonetheless, significant to note that in his expression of his political thought, Hobbes made no effort to invent new vocabulary or concepts. After all ,though not applied to the king , the idea of natural law, was not a new idea because many ancient and medieval philosophers had discussed it . Like them, Hobbes had a firm belief that human reason can discern some eternal principles to govern mankind's conduct. These principles are independent of whatever moral instruction we might get from God or religion. In other words, they are laws given by nature rather than endowed by God. From this Hobbesian idea sprung the ideas of the state of nature and the social contract that would change ad secularize the entire political discourse.

As a matter of fact , Hobbes' political theory is based on the conviction that we live in a world where all human beings are supposed to have been created equal that is the reason why no one can claim superiority or divine power to rule people. In this context Hobbes states:

Nature hath made men so equal in the faculties of body and mind, as that though there be found one man sometimes manifestly stronger in body, or of quicker mind than another, yet when all is reckoned together, the difference between man and man is not so considerable as that one man can thereupon claim to himself any benefit to which another may not pretend as well as he.¹⁰

¹⁰ Ibid.

Interesting is Hobbes' idea of how the transition from the state of nature to civil society took place. The way Hobbes describes this second law of nature makes it look as if all human beings should put down their weapons, give up their “right of nature,” and all agree to allow a sovereign who will tell them what is permitted and punish them if they do not obey. About the necessity of government, he wrote:

They that are discontented under monarchy, call it tyranny; and they that are displeased with aristocracy, call it oligarchy: so also, they which find themselves grieved under a democracy, call it anarchy, which signifies the want of government; and yet I think no man believes, that want of government, is any new kind of government.¹¹

One can understand, therefore, that Hobbes's mythic idea of the social contract is centered on the idea that everyone except the person or group opted to be a sovereign lays down their “right to all things.” They agree to limit their right of nature, keeping only a right to defend their lives in case of immediate danger or threat.

At this point, it must be noted that despite Hobbes's conviction that every individual should enjoy his natural right, Hobbes doesn't think that natural law gives the right to the led to disobey the laws made by a government. There is a need to stress that, for Hobbes, political life should be based on two alternatives: either to give obedience to a sovereign who can be a person or group entitled to decide every social and political issue on behalf of the rest, or live in a ‘state of nature’ and be responsible for a civil war, that is terrible

¹¹ Ibid. See http://www.notable-quotes.com/h/hobbes_thomas.html#9bLjP2bgYa3FCvr8.99. Accessed April 28, 2011.

situation of universal insecurity, where all have to fight in order to survive . Man ,indeed, has a natural inclination to power : "[I]n the first place, I put for a general inclination of all mankind, a perpetual and restless desire of power after power, that ceaseth only in death.”¹²

That is why, as Hobbes advances, if all people had made a social contract and ,therefore, a mutual promise, then they would accept to be subjects to the king as their absolute leader. Hobbes suggests also that the power of the king is tightly linked to his ability to protect the subjects under his rule :

The obligation of subjects to the sovereign is understood to last as long, and no longer, than the power lasteth by which he is able to protect them. The obligation of subjects to the sovereign is understood to last as long, and no longer, than the power lasteth by which he is able to protect them.¹³

In fact, Hobbes's belief in absolutism might be an appropriate explanation to his opposition to the British Protestants who thought that religious conscience might forbid and even sanction disobedience of “immoral” laws; he disagreed with the Catholics who often believed that the Pope must be superior to all national political authorities. In this context, Hobbes notes that “a man's conscience and his judgment is the same thing, and, as the judgment, so also the conscience may be erroneous”.¹⁴

This ,perhaps, can be considered as the major defect of Hobbes's theory simply because the belief in natural equality, which he himself defended, makes

¹² Thomas Hobbes, *Leviathan*. (Cambridge university Pres,1996), p .41.

¹³ Ibid.

¹⁴ Hobbes, *Leviathan*, xxix.

human authority something that needs justification. Whereas Hobbes seems to contradict himself and ,therefore, argues that social and political inequality are unacceptable, on the other hand, he supports absolutism in a time even religious authority faces significant dispute and controversies. This contradiction is solved by his belief that peace is prior to any political right .

2.2- Peace rather than Violence

Interesting is the idea that according to Hobbes, it is the duty of every man to contribute to the establishment and the perpetuation of peace in the civil society in which he lives." [In] case he fails to achieve this task or duty, he may seek and use all helps and advantages of war".¹⁵ One can observe that Hobbes 's theory aims at the consolidation of peace in society. That is why sacrifice is needed .Hobbes puts the idea this way: " a man be willing, when others are so too, for peace and defense of himself he shall find it necessary, to lay down his right to all things, and be contented with so much liberty against other men, as he would allow other men against himself".¹⁶

However, one cannot fail to notice that at the end of his book *Leviathan*, Hobbes sheds light on this point, saying that “there is scarce a commonwealth in the world whose beginnings can in conscience be justified”.¹⁷ That is governments have been imposed on people by force, not by collective agreement. In this, Hobbes sought to defend every government that is powerful enough to secure peace among its subjects – not just a mythical government that has been the result of a peaceful contract out of a state of nature. Hobbes's basic claim is that the individual should behave as if he had voluntarily entered into such a contract with everyone else in his society – everyone else, that is, except

¹⁵ Ibid., xiv.4.

¹⁶ Ibid, xiv.5.

¹⁷ Ibid, Review and Conclusion.

the sovereign authority .This, in fact ,might be the defect of his theory since it allows what we can call absolute rule that often leads to despotism.

According to him, man's state of nature is a permanent war of all against all and the government should aim at achieving the individual's happiness. In other words, the new idea that was brought by Hobbes was that the government must be a servant not a master because man in his state of nature is naturally free. This Hobbesian radical ideas can be considered as the very root of the American principle of unalienable rights . Liberty is one of these rights , as stated in the Declaration of Independence, as it can be the origin of the idea that the individual's being under the rule of a sovereign must always be according to his desire.

As said earlier, despite the radical nature of Hobbes' political theory, however; it was obvious that he could not oppose monarchy as a political system because it is obvious that his radicalism was not at the level to call for the abolition of monarchy .Supporting the perpetuation of monarchy, Hobbes stresses the importance of keeping to contracts we have entered into. This might be important in Hobbes's moral justifications of obedience to the sovereign. This idea might also explain Hobbes's support to the British king during the Civil War. But this should not ignore the role he played in paving the way to other thoughts that would be more radical than his.

The interesting point, then, is that it was agreed that Hobbes' major contribution to the modern political thought in general and to the American one in particular lies in the very fact that, unlike Machiavelli, he could offer a comprehensive philosophy about the importance and nature of equality within the secular political system .In fact, this was a real departure from the political

traditions of the era that would liberate the coming generations from the unjust pretensions of the kings of their divine right over those whom they led.

What the above analysis suggests is that the theory of Hobbes was the first challenge to the authority of all churches and it can be considered as a direct rejection of clerical privilege. While Hobbes's ideas were part of the intellectual and philosophical radical tradition that played a great role in enlightening the generations to come through the consolidation of the natural right philosophy as it enabled the Americans to get rid of the dominance of religion over political life, Harrington, another British thinker, has also inspired them. In addition to fighting further to get rid of the authority based on social estate, Harrington suggested a specific model of a republican government that should allow the full exercise of the natural rights.

3- James Harrington: Equality for all and the End of Aristocracy

As mentioned earlier, the radical attitude has long been linked to the equal right of possessing land: if land is equally distributed among the members of society, there will be no space for aristocracy. This, of course, often helps the fulfillment of egalitarianism in society. As was shown in the first chapter of the thesis, radicals in the United States dealt with the issue of land and advocated the principle of the equal distribution of land. This is why in the United States no class can monopolize the land at the expense of the rest.

In fact, the American specific agrarian system might be the result of the deep impact of James Harrington (1611-1677) who was often referred to as the English political theorist of classical republicanism,* was best known for his controversial work, *The Commonwealth of Oceana* (1656). In this book, Harrington could put the theoretical background for what would be later called "American agrarianism" by which the right of equal possession of land is guaranteed. It is also worth adding that Harrington's ideas are said to have been the very root of the establishment of certain political institutions in the United States, such as a written constitution, and the election of the president through a system of electorates.

3.1- *The Commonwealth of Oceana* : The Revival of the Ancient Prudence

In fact, *The Commonwealth of Oceana*** (1656) is divided into two main parts: "The Preliminaries," in which Harrington introduces his political theory, and "The Model of the Commonwealth," in which he shows how this theory was applied in the context of a fictional country, he named Oceana, which represents England. In the first section of "The Preliminaries," Harrington, however, preferred to give his reader enough idea about what he called "Ancient Prudence," the political structure of the ancient world which was based on a

* England's first civic humanist and Machiavellian. He was not the first to think about English politics in these terms..., but he was the first to achieve a paradigmatic restatement of English political understanding in the language and world-view inherited through Machiavelli." Pocock, "Intro", p.15.

** *The Commonwealth of Oceana*, published 1656, is Harrington's book of political philosophy. At first, Cromwell refused to allow its publication, but later it was published, with a dedication to Cromwell. In this controversial book, Harrington advances the theoretical argument that the determining element of power in a state is property in land. This is why he suggests an agrarian law that limits the holdings of land. In other words, he insists on the democratic principle of the just distribution of land among society members. Secondly, he defends the idea that the executive power ought not to be vested for a sole person, a group, or a class. For this reason, he suggests, the rule of rotation by ballot. In addition, he insists that the executive or senate should be elected by ballot every year, and may not be reelected.

government "of laws, and not of men." ¹⁸Because at that time land was equally distributed among people .This did not allow the development of a landed gentry class .

Interestingly, the second section of the book deals with "Modern Prudence," the political structure of Europe after the fall of the Roman Empire, which ,according to Harrington, of course, was "the government of men, and not of laws."¹⁹ Simply because at this age with the Norman conquest ,feudalism was introduced to the Anglo Saxon world .This led to the monopoly of land by one class ,the aristocratic class .because he believes in the idea that the economic circumstances can have a great impact on political power, Harrington argues that "it was time for a revival of Ancient Prudence"²⁰ in the modern world.

It is noticeable that the major aim of Harrington's book was to demonstrate that England was ready for republican government .In fact ,it seems that his primary aim for writing it was to provide a model for the type of a republic that ought to be adopted in the future. In this book, Harrington exposes a society in which political authority rests entirely with the landed gentry. Then, he advocates agrarian reforms, however, in order to achieve a greater equality of power:

For where the owner of the plough comes to have the sword, too, he will use it in defense of his own; whence it has happened that the people of Oceana, in proportion to their property, have always been free.²¹

¹⁸ John Greville Agard Pocock, *The Political Works of James Harrington: Part One, Part 2* (Cambridge University Press),p.401.

¹⁹ Ibid.

²⁰ Ibid.123.

²¹ Ibid.

Significantly, he was so radical that he sought to abolish the system of inheritance or monarchy, and to limit the amount of land an individual could possess. Interesting still is the fact that a simple comparison between Hobbes and Harrington might demonstrate that Harrington seems to come to reform the political thought of Hobbes because, being politically expert, he could conceive things which Hobbes could not. If Hobbes could not conceive a government without a king, Harrington could. His radical ideas prove that he was quite aware of the fundamental fact that government should be based on equal rights and opportunities. He affirmed that the form of government is determined by the way property is distributed:

Where there is inequality of estates there must be inequality of power; and where there is inequality of power there can be no commonwealth.” The commonwealth should exhibit equality both in its foundation and in the superstructure. The former is to be secured by an agrarian law limiting the amount of property which can be held by one man”, so that “no one man or number of men, within the compass of the few or aristocracy, can come to overpower the whole people by their possessions in land.²²

The interesting element here is that according to Harrington, the recent change in the government of the country can be the natural result of the gradual change in the balance of property from king and lords to the commons. Therefore, it is certain that Harrington was convinced that the political power should be shared by all men of property, and there should be laws that would limit the extent of individual wealth²³. For this reason, he advocated the division

²² Ibid.p.123.

²³ John Greville Agard Pocock,op.cit.153.

of the country into landholdings of a limited size, in order to prevent too much economic power from falling into the hands of one individual.

According to Harrington , men of property were to elect a Senate. In this he seems to recall the classical republican system of ancient Rome and Greece, which was to propose legislation²⁴. The laws were then to be ratified by the people, and implemented by an elected magistracy. Elected officials would serve for limited terms in order to assure the participation of the citizens of the Commonwealth in the government²⁵. According to Harrington, this was the only model of governmental system that would guarantee that society would be held together by common interests and not by personal interests. This, of course, would leave no space for corruption and power abuse.

Harrington went beyond discussing the issue of equal distribution of land to call for political reforms including: the division of the powers of government, a written constitution, and the principle of rotation in office. That is the reason why he suggested a system in which the senate, consisted of few members, debated the laws while the popular assembly, consisted of the many, voted on the laws, and the magistrate who must be one person²⁶.

Perhaps, what is important is that his system is based on the rotation of political offices and a number of assemblies from the local level to the national level, to ensure that the whole country would be governed effectively. In addition to this ,Harrington seems to believe that equality in the superstructure will be achieved through rotation or succession to the magistracy; the latter that

²⁴ Ibid.

²⁵ Ibid.154.

²⁶ Pocock, J.G.A. "Interregnum: the Oceana of James Harrington," chapter 6 in Pocock, *The Ancient Constitution and the Feudal Law: a Study of English Historical Thought in the Seventeenth Century, a Reissue with a Retrospect*. Cambridge: 1987. X.

should be secured by “the suffrage of the people given by the ballot.”²⁷ The result would be a government that functions as follows: “the senate debating and proposing, the people resolving, and the magistracy executing.”²⁸

Furthermore, and particularly at the national level and after a close reading of his book, one can understand that Harrington advocated a different kind of political system and that he supported a real departure from the conventional model of government. Still, one has to observe that Harrington was one of those who believed that the success of democracy calls for the existence of a strong middle class, and that "political revolution occurs when economic power becomes separated from political power"²⁹.

It needs to be emphasized that Harrington’s radicalism lies in that he, unlike Hobbes before him, could put the theoretical background for not only a non-monarchical political system but a system in which aristocracy cannot survive. Certainly, his theory marked a real departure from the known traditions that helped the perpetuation of despotism and injustice through allowing monarchy to be the sole political system and aristocracy the sole land possessor.

While Harrington's ideas have been put into practice through the tenets of the French Revolution, his new ideas played a significant role in shaping the American radical attitude too. His radical vision of how social and political life should be organized must have inspired the American founding generation to challenge the political and social norms that were imposed on them by the British monarchy.

²⁷ Bryan-Paul Frost, Jeffrey Sikkenga, *History of American Political Thought*, (Lexington Books, 2000).p126.

²⁸ Ibid.

²⁹ See Pamela Toler, *The Everything Guide to Understanding Socialism*, (2011), p.56.

In a more particular sense , one cannot fail to notice that Harrington's ideas had a strong impact on Thomas Jefferson. Harrington's principle of democratic agrarianism and his idea of restricting the vote to land owners were often advocated by Jefferson . Adopting Harrington's political philosophy, Jefferson worked to consolidate the equal right of possessing land in the American society . This specific and new treatment of the common land issue ,according to Crevecoeur, marked the remarkable difference between the Old World and the New World.

Pamela Toler, for instance , in her seminal book ,*The Everything Guide to Understanding Socialism* demonstrates that Thomas Jefferson studied Harrington's ideas and incorporated many of them in the American constitution³⁰.In this context, Jefferson wrote in 1785 in a letter to John Jay that

the cultivators of the earth are the most valuable citizens. They are the most vigorous, the most independent, the most virtuous, and they are tied to their country & wedded to its liberty & interests by the most lasting bonds.³¹

In fact, Jefferson tended to build a Jeffersonian Democracy around the notion that farmers are “the most valuable citizens and the truest republicans”.³² I may also observe that Harrington's theory has appeared in the reformist antitrust policies of Theodore Roosevelt and Woodrow Wilson . In fact, it proved to be the appropriate strategy to restrict the greedy materialism of capitalism as an economic system. Indeed ,history demonstrates that both Roosevelt and Wilson ,as progressive presidents ,sought to reform the unfairness in wealth distribution

³⁰ See Pamela Toler ,*The Everything Guide to Understanding Socialism*, 2011.

³¹ Thomas Jefferson: *Letter to John Jay August 23, 1785*.

³² Thomas P. Govan, "Agrarian and Agrarianism: A Study in the Use and Abuse of Words," *Journal of Southern History*, Vol. 30#1 (Feb., 1964), pp. 35-47 in *JSTOR*.

in the American society .This is the reason why their policies aimed at fighting the abuses of corrupt business barons and political leaders in order to promote social justice and democracy.

In this regard, it is quite interesting to observe that in *The Commonwealth of Oceana*, there are points that may have a key influence on the American founding fathers and appeared in the US Constitution³³. In fact, Harrington's book describes the government of the a mythic state to be consisted of a government separated into three bodies; each body had different roles: proposing, resolving and debating, and executing. There are several bodies that should be chosen by the people .These bodies included: Senate, a body of people to make the laws, and magistracy to execute the laws.

Still , it is interesting to note that in the Utopian community of Harrington, the rotation of the people Executive/Senate is voted by ballot every year. Voting in the American Constitution, is also through the use of a ballot .This makes difference in religion, race, gender, wealth, unimportant in the case of voting.

It is obvious that Harrington's theory suited the new nation's republican project too .Indeed , the founding fathers when writing the American constitution replaced monarchy as a traditional system of governing people in the new nation with a republic. In fact, one can easily observe that all the ideas of Harrington about governmental organization can be found In the US Constitution. For instance, there are different bodies of government represented. These bodies have similar roles to the ones in the Utopian Community of *Oceana*. The Constitution has judicial, legislative, and executive. The Judicial explains,

³³ Russell-Smith, Hugh Francis. *Harrington and his Oceana; A Story of a 17th Century Utopia and its Influence in America*. New York: Octagon Books, 1971. 374-96996-5

applies, and interprets the laws and the legislative makes the laws while the executive has the power to put into practice the laws that the legislature makes.

In light of all these facts ,one can confirm that Harrington's major contribution to American radicalism lies in that he could convince the American founding fathers that governing people without a king and landed gentry was possible . This might have been one of the major causes of their historical rebellion against the British monarch and their adoption of republicanism as a substitute for it .

But if Harrington taught the founding father how to establish a commonwealth without a king, John Locke another British philosopher must have inspired them with the more radical belief of how can people overthrow or alter a leader in a civil society .One needs ,now, to start the debate on John Locke's philosophical influence on the promotion of the radical attitude in the new nation 's founding generations.

4- John Locke's Theory of the Right of Revolution

As mentioned earlier in this chapter ,John Locke is one of those Enlightenment thinkers to whom Jefferson confessed he had debt to his political thought .Indeed, in addition to Hobbes and Harrington, a third significant stream of thought that had a great impact on American ideology and can be considered as one of the major roots of American radicalism , as Jefferson had admitted, was the political philosophy of John Locke³⁴.This includes his theory of the "social contract" with its implied right of revolution . In fact, Locke's theory of the social contract had a great influence on the Revolution as it implied the natural right of the people to overthrow their leaders

³⁴ See Margaret Jacob , James Randall Jacob *The Origins of the Anglo American Radicalism*, (1991).

in case those leaders betray the agreements implicit in the leader -led relationship.

In this respect, it is interesting to state that John Locke (1632-1704) was the leading philosopher of the day. In his book *The Treaties of Government* (1690), a book which Thomas Jefferson read three times, he really made a great historical contribution to the explanation of individual's natural rights. Locke insisted against Hobbes that "individuals in a stateless society would recognize a moral law based on their common humanity, and so would find Mutual Corporation easier to maintain than Hobbes supposed."³⁵

Still, what gave strength to Locke's beliefs was the tight link between his theories and the scientific empiricism of the Age of Reason. It was the era during which Isaac Newton propounded the notion of natural laws in the field of science in his 1687 work, *Mathematical Principles of Natural Philosophy*. For his part, Locke was one of the Enlightenment thinkers who raised the question: If natural laws governed the universe, why not the field of human relations, too? Humans were, therefore born in a state of nature and enjoyed certain natural rights. In fact, they were the same rights that Jefferson would call "inalienable", that no government could take away from the individuals. Here, it is important to refer to the important fact that Locke used to discuss natural rights in universal terms.

4.1-The State of Nature and The Social Contract

What is remarkable is that Locke's theory of government begins with a pre-social state of nature in which equal individuals have natural rights to life, to liberty, and to estates. In the absence of government, however, these rights are

³⁵ John Locke, *The Second Treaties of Government* (1690), ed. Peter Laslet, 3rd ed.(Cambridge: Cambridge University Press,1988), p.160

of little value .They are almost impossible to be protected by individual action, and disputes over rights are themselves a powerful cause of conflict and chaos .Therefore, people took the decision to establish governments to enable themselves to enjoy their natural rights. As John Locke suggests:

TO understand political power right, and derive it from its original, we must consider, what state all men are naturally in, and that is, a state of perfect freedom to order their actions, and dispose of their possessions and persons, as they think fit, within the bounds of the law of nature, without asking leave, or depending upon the will of any other man.³⁶

What can be deduced from this excerpt is that like Hobbes, Locke assumed that the sole right to defend oneself in the state of nature was not enough to survive, therefore, people established a civil society to resolve conflicts in a civil war. Locke also advocated governmental separation of powers and believed that revolution is not only a right but a duty in some circumstances. This idea was later adopted by Thomas Paine. These ideas would come to have profound influence on the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution of the United States too.

In this context, one notes that most scholars interested in the roots of the American political thought and radicalism agreed that the phrase "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness," in the American Declaration of Independence, had its origin in Locke's theory of rights, though other origins have been suggested.³⁷ Because Jefferson and, perhaps, all the founding fathers learnt from Locke that in a natural state ,all people are equal and independent while everyone has a

³⁶ Ibid.

³⁷ Wills, Garry *Inventing America: Jefferson's Declaration of Independence*. Houghton Mifflin Co., Boston, 2002), p.98.

natural right to defend his "Life, health, Liberty, or Possessions".³⁸ As he must have well understood "Men being, as has been said, by nature, all free, equal and independent, no one can be put out of this estate, and subjected to the political power of another, without his own consent."³⁹

These words are remarkably echoed by the first idea in the Declaration of Independence: "all men are created equal and that each man has the unalienable rights of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness".⁴⁰ This is in line with Locke's philosophy: "A state also of equality, wherein all the power and jurisdiction is reciprocal, no one having more than another . . . should also be equal one amongst another without subordination or subjection".⁴¹

Perhaps, what made Locke's ideas appropriate to the founding fathers radical project was his scientific arguments for the necessity of protecting the human rights. The latter entered the main stream of political theory and practice in seventeenth century Europe. John Locke's *Second Treaties of Government* published in the wake of Britain's Glorious Revolution, presented the first fully developed theory of natural rights.

4.2- The Lockean Concept of Revolution

As an observer of the impact of the philosophical legacy of the British Glorious Revolution outside the British Isles, John Locke wanted through his writing to show how the resulting Bill of Rights would be a one of the fundamental motifs of both the American and French Revolutions. That is the

³⁸ John, Locke. *Two Treatises on Government: A Translation into Modern English* (Industrial Systems Research, 2009), p. 81.

³⁹ Ibid.

⁴⁰ The Declaration of Independence.

⁴¹ John, Locke.op.cit.

reason why he tended to stress his support of the Glorious Revolution in his famous *Two Treatises on Government*.

In fact, in this work, Locke argues that the people, as represented by the Parliament are sovereign. He notes:

“The power of the legislative, being derived from the people by a positive voluntary grant and institution, can be no other than what that positive grant conveyed, which being only to make laws, and not to make legislators, the legislative can have no power to transfer their authority of making laws, and place it in other hands.”⁴²

In addition to this, one can consider that the most radical belief in Locke's political philosophy is his firm belief in the people's right of Revolution. He insists that “revolt is the right of the people”⁴³. Adding that

for no man, or society of men, [having] a power to deliver up their preservation, or consequently the means of it, to the absolute will and arbitrary dominion of another; whenever anyone shall go about to bring them into such a slavish condition, they will always have a right to preserve what they have not a power to part with; and to rid themselves of those who invade this fundamental, sacred, and unalterable law of self-preservation, for which they entered into society. And thus the community may be said in this respect to be always the supreme power...⁴⁴

⁴² Ibid.p.234.

⁴³ Ibid.p.145.

⁴⁴ Ibid.

Undoubtedly, it is this emphasis on the people's right that made Locke's influence in the centuries following his lifetime remarkable. In addition to this, one can understand that according to Locke's theory, if a government proves unable to protect the natural rights of the individuals in society—commonly defined as life, liberty, and property—then, the people have the right and power to rebel in order either to overthrow the government or replace it by one that would be able to secure the protection of those natural rights. This justifies his claim that the people were right to replace the tyrannical James II and to declare their rights, through the Declaration of Rights. In stressing the ability of people to transfer power from a ruler to another, Locke asserts that “the legislative cannot transfer the power of making laws to any other hands: for it being but a delegated power from the people, they who have it cannot pass it over to others.”⁴⁵ About the right of people to revolt against the government, he adds: “There is therefore . . . another way whereby governments are dissolved, and that is, when the legislative . . . act contrary to their trust.”⁴⁶

Indeed, in *The Two Treatises on Government*, one can easily understand that Locke presents the Glorious Revolution as his philosophy of government and as his conception of the relation between the leader and the led. In reality, the Declaration of Rights could not protect the men's natural rights as Locke had defined them, since Parliament at that time represented only the rich, not the people as a whole. Locke's idealistic interpretation of the Glorious Revolution, nevertheless, paved the way for more significant revolutions in America and France in the eighteenth century. It therefore, played a leading role in the consolidation of the more radical beliefs that would be adopted later not only in Europe but in the New World as well. A simple analysis should demonstrate that

⁴⁵ Ibid.p. 234.

⁴⁶ Ibid.p. 123.

the basic rights and foundations declared for American Citizens in the Declaration of Independence are heavily influenced by the ideas of John Locke.

Historically speaking ,the overthrow of James II that Locke defended in 1690 must have played a significant role in consolidating the people's right of revolution and ,therefore, in laying down a strong basis for the American Revolution .Locke went beyond the negation of the divine right of kings ,when he proposed his model of government in which citizens would have the right to oppose or resist the ruler in case the latter violated their right to life, liberty ,and property .

Significantly, the above development can lead us now to conclude that John Locke with his radical ideas contributed to the promotion of American radicalism. As has been pointed out so far, Jefferson admitted the Americans' indebtedness to this philosopher. For instance, the colonists objected the Stamp Act because, influenced by Locke's opinion, they believed that parliament had levied a tax without their consent as they were not represented in Westminster. Without representation, the parliament could not possess the right tax them. In this case a revolt is needed because as Locke's puts it " revolt as the right of the people".⁴⁷

4.3- Gender and Race in Locke's Thought

As a matter of fact, Locke's strong belief in the human's natural rights and his rejection of monarchical power made him one of the first intellectuals to reject patriarchal power and to defend women's property rights .He further thought that they should have the ability to divorce , stating that "there is no moral law that obliges women to such a subjection"⁴⁸. In other words, Locke 's

⁴⁷ Ibid.p123.

⁴⁸ Ibid.p.47.

belief in natural rights led him to reconsider the relation between man and women , insisting that there is no religious background for Adam's supremacy to Eve and that man's hierarchy is a matter of tradition and customs :

God in this text gives not that I see Authority to Adam over Eve or to Men over their Wives, but only foretells what women's lot should be how by his providence to order it so that she should be subject to her husband as we generally see the Laws of Mankind and customs of Nations have ordered so⁴⁹

This, in fact, can be considered as an anticipation of feminism .That is the reason why his defending of women’s rights in that made of him an early feminist who believed in the right of women to enjoy a better life .Undoubtedly many feminists of nineteenth and the twentieth century adopted this radical Lokean belief that women are not created to be a subject and therefore a passive social entity.

Dealing with slavery as a social institution, Locke was radical enough to condemn it because according to his belief it symbolizes " a" so vile and miserable an estate of man."⁵⁰ Here, there is a need to clarify that for Locke, perhaps, it was not strange to exclude slaves and other minorities from civil society because he was a product of his time. In fact, one can understand that it was difficult for him to rise above the racist stereotypes of the black people during his era and ,therefore, though convinced with the inhumanity of slavery ,he was unable to practically challenge the fixed discriminating idea shaped by the social consciousness of his white dominated environment. Ironically enough, he worked in the Royal African Company, which engaged in slave

⁴⁹ Ibid.p. 234.

⁵⁰ Ibid., p.45.

trading. He also helped draft the Fundamental Constitutions of Carolina in 1669, where “The proprietors instituted a rigorous legal code that promised slave owners "absolute power and authority" over their human property”.⁵¹

All in all, despite the contradiction between his idealized form of government and slavery as a social institution, it is undeniable that Locke’s expansive and vigorous language in regard to natural rights and human equality succeeded to a great extent in creating a strong foundation for disfranchised and excluded groups to call for more rights in the future and to use his arguments as weapon to defend their natural rights through radical movements like the abolitionist movement in the American society.

4.4- Locke and the American Radical Theory of Empire

In fact, Locke's philosophy highlighted the libertarian ethic that fitted the founding fathers' plan for the total separation from the British rule. Aware that the full application of the Hobbesian political theory would make their revolution seem an illegitimate action as it would perpetuate the monarchical system in the new nation , they added Locke’s ideas to secure the American peoples’ natural rights and to legitimize the struggle against the perpetuation of any kind of despotism .

Certainly, the founding fathers saw and appreciated the successful application of Locke’s ‘right of revolution in the British Glorious Revolution which was principally supported by Locke. According to Locke's theory, King James II behaved tyrannically in England. That is why the right of revolution was needed . He removed Protestant Parliamentary Officers and replaced them with Catholics. He was acting in the best interest for himself, and he was

⁵¹ Eric Foner, *Give me Liberty: An American History* (W.W. Norton, 2014), p.99.

ignoring the needs of his people. In short, the Glorious Revolution resulted in the overthrow of King James II and William of Orange ascending to the throne.

Undoubtedly, one of the earliest founding fathers influenced by Locke's ideas was James Otis whose *Rights of the British Colonies Asserted and Proved* (1764) really reflects his deep influence by the Anglo-American natural law tradition. Otis was "among the first colonists to question the universal British authority to govern its North American colonies".⁵² Otis opposed efforts to tax the colonies on the radical grounds of individual rights and the natural law limits on legislative power. In the footsteps of Locke, Otis insisted that without colonial representation in Parliament, that British institution had no right to tax the colonies, for "if a shilling in the pound may be taken from me against my will, why may not twenty shillings; and if so, why may not my liberty and my life?".⁵³

Moreover, in the imperial context, Otis amended Locke's traditional argument for natural limits on the legislature by adding an additional limit, which held "that a supreme legislature lacks the authority to alter or to abolish subordinate legislatures".⁵⁴ In other words, Otis could use ideas from Locke's philosophy as strong arguments to declare that the colonial assemblies have rights that the British parliament must take into consideration and respect.

Interestingly enough , at the eve of the tension between the new nation and the mother country, the great bulk of the American spokesmen simply could

⁵² Timothy Patrick McCarthy, John Campbell, op.cit., Chapter: " on American Revolution"., p.9

⁵³ James Otis, "Rights of the British Colonies Asserted and Proved" (1764) in *Pamphlets of the American Revolution, 1750-76*. Bernard Bailyn, ed. (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1965), pp. 419-70, esp. 461.

⁵⁴ Compare Otis, "Rights of the British Colonies," and John Locke, *The Two Treatises of Government*. Peter Laslett, ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), *Second Treatise*, section 134.

not conceive that natural law supported independence, nor thought they could dare shake their deep attachment to Britain and British constitutional principles. That is why they were reluctant in supporting the Revolution . As John Dickinson, one of the proponents of the moderate theory of empire admits:

If once we are separated from our mother country, what new form of government shall we adopt, or where shall we find another Britain to supply our loss? Torn from the body . . . we must bleed at every vein.⁵⁵

It is worth noting that the radical theory of empire was based mainly on the idea that American membership in the British Empire was purely a matter of choice rather than a moral obligation to a sovereign power. Interesting, however, is the idea that "the radical theory of empire" found its way to the colonists' minds in the eve of the American British crisis (1774–76). Believing in the radical theory of empire, thinkers such as Thomas Jefferson and James Wilson could persuasively confirm that it was time to think about separation. In fact, they could even question the imposed link by arguing that the only legal relationship between the American colonies and Britain was through the Crown, not Parliament. At this stage, the colonies saw the first appearance of arguments that asserted the natural right of revolution as a theoretical justification for the American War of Independence.

For instance, in the *Considerations on the Authority of Parliament* (1774) James Wilson went beyond Otis to claim that the lack of colonial

⁵⁵ John Dickinson, "The Letters from a Farmer in Pennsylvania," (1767-68) in *Empire and Nation*. William E. Leuchtenberg and Bernard Wishy, eds. (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1962), pp. 3-85, esp. 18.

representation in Westminster meant that any form of parliamentary legislation was incompatible with colonial self-government. As Wilson argues:

It is repugnant to the essential maxims of jurisprudence, to the ultimate end of all governments, to the genius of the British Constitution, and to the liberty and happiness of the colonies, that they should be bound by the legislative authority of the Parliament of Great Britain.⁵⁶

Obviously and in the light of this declaration, Wilson ,like all the founding fathers ,was putting into practice Locke’s theory of revolution since revolt becomes sometimes a legitimate right in the hands of the led, Wilson here is openly announcing that it was time for the American people to use this right in order to overthrow the unjust ruler, the then British king.

Due to the strong, undeniable historical relationship between the Americans and their mother country ,one might think that it was quite normal for the American founding fathers to be philosophically and intellectually inspired by the British philosophers, like Hobbes and Locke . But this never means that the American elite were interested only in all that comes from Britain.

In fact , the desire to learn from the experiences of other peoples led the founding generation to read even what was produced in France which saw the emergence of radicals who challenged monarchy there among whom, one can cite Voltaire and Rousseau. Having advanced the impact of the British philosophy on shaping the American radical attitude, there is need ,here , to

⁵⁶ James Wilson, “Considerations on the Authority of Parliament,” (1774) in *Colonies to Nation, 1763-1789*, Jack P. Greene, ed. (New York: Norton, 1975), pp. 220-27, esp. 222.

trace the French influence. In fact, it is widely agreed among scholars that Jean-Jacques Rousseau was the leading radical philosopher whose ideas left a great impact on the American radicals. At this point, it seems important to mention that his impact was not only on those who led the War of Independence but even on the most modern American radicals .So to what extent were the Americans influenced by this French radical philosopher?

5- Jean-Jacques Rousseau : Radical Democracy Anticipated

At the outset, one needs to recall that among the important historical facts that this thesis tries to approximate is the impact of the French radical philosophy on the shaping of the American radical attitude .In fact, important is the idea that the newly settled land was not settled only by people coming from Great Britain ,in fact the French also settled in the New World. In American history ,one can read a lot about French intellectuals who filled the American mind with French ideas among whom one can cite Crèvecoeur whose ideas ,as will be shown in the subsequent chapter, revolutionized the New World .In fact, his new and specific interpretation of the American character contributed to the building of the American identity in a time the Americans were searching for their national character .

Philip Freneau was another intellectual and a man of letters and politics from French origin⁵⁷ whose ideas contributed to a great extent to both the political and intellectual independence of the New World. In fact, Freneau's radical attitude and his support of the American Revolution made him deserve

⁵⁷ The biography of Philip Freneau tells that he was of a Huguenot French family. *The Huguenot* is a term used to refer to the member of a French Protestant denomination. The Freneau's sought refuge in the newly settled land. In fact Freneau, though born in the newly settled land , might have had enough idea about how monarchy made the Old World cruel and violent; since his family was among the persecuted protestant French families.

to be called "the poet of the American Revolution". I can add that the presence of the French radical ideas in the New World can be interpreted by the new nation's desire to build a different culture from the British one. In other words, the American quest for identity led them to embrace and welcome all that might make the American philosophy of life different from the one left in the mother country.

Philosophically speaking, it would be very interesting to know about the presence of the French philosophy in the American radical attitude. As noted earlier, in order to trace the French philosophical roots of American radicalism, one must analyse Jean Jacques Rousseau's intellectual presence in American radicalism. Indeed, Rousseau, who was a Geneva born son of a clockmaker, became one of the most influential thinkers of the eighteenth century Enlightenment, and is the very representative of the French radical influence on the shaping of the American radical philosophy and political reformist process.

5.1- Rousseau's Theory of Social Contract

To start with, one needs to note that in their book, *The Origins of the Anglo American Radicalism*, Margaret Jacob and James Randall Jacob stressed the influence of Rousseau on the founding generation of the new nation. Indeed, Rousseau was so radical that his controversial work, *The Social Contract* (1762) was immediately banned by the French authorities. This forced Rousseau to leave France. In fact, Rousseau's views on religion seemed too radical for French readers. He said that Christianity had been responsible for "the most violent of earthly despotisms"⁵⁸ and that "though it instills a respect for the law

⁵⁸ Jean Jaques Rousseau, *The Social Contract or Principles of Political Right*. (London, 1989). p.89.

and a public devotion to the state, religion is nonetheless based on "lies and error."⁵⁹

In this regard, it is ,therefore, quite important to note that through those ideas, Rousseau was one among those who had a firm belief that the concept of divine right was a great lie in the history of the Christian religion. That is why he defended the idea that government should be based on a social contract between the leader and the led . It was this idea that did not appeal to the French monarch who considered it as a direct threat to monarchy in France. In fact, this very idea was adopted by the founding fathers when challenged the British king's rule and considered the belief in the divine right as an acceptance of the perpetuation of the despotic rule in the newly settled land.

At this point, there is a need to clarify that Rousseau's political philosophy was far more influential than his ideas about religion. Politically speaking ,one can observe that ,Just like Hobbes and Locke before him, he described the process by which people agree to enter into a social contract. According to him, they worked in favor of the common good when they made sacrifices for the society in which they live. Only by doing so they would be able to realize their full potential as moral human beings; he states:

What, then, is the government? An intermediary body established between the subjects and the sovereign for their mutual communication, a body charged with the execution of the laws and the maintenance of freedom, both civil and political.⁶⁰

⁵⁹ Ibid., p.91.

⁶⁰ Ibid., p.67.

But this excerpt suggests that Rousseau's radical theory was different from that of Hobbes. Undoubtedly, Rousseau's strong belief in equality between the members of society led him to the idea that the social contract was not an agreement between the weak and the powerful. In other words, he describes the social contract, not as an act of submission on the part of society's weak members. It was, rather, a contract between equals, between people who all are able and entitled to exercise self-government. In fact, he went beyond that to insist that if anyone in a given contract was degraded or harmed, the contract was null and void, regardless of whether the oppressed people had entered into it voluntarily or not.

A simple comparison between the political theory of Rousseau as put in *the Social Contract* and the one of the Declaration of Independence may allow one to observe the similarities between Rousseau's political ideas and those of the founding fathers. For instance, in *The Social Contract* Rousseau notes :

For first of all, since each person gives himself whole and entire, the condition is equal for everyone; and since the condition is equal for everyone, no one has an interest in making it burdensome for the others.⁶¹

One can easily observe that this is similar to the first sentence of the Declaration of Independence: "We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal..."⁶²

In addition, the founding fathers adopted Rousseau's idea that the government should take its power from the people. As Rousseau puts it :

⁶¹ Ibid.

⁶² The Declaration of Independence

[S]ince men cannot engender [create] new forces, but merely unite and direct existing ones, they have no other means of maintaining themselves but to form by aggregation [joining together] a sum of forces that could gain the upper hand over the resistance, so that their forces are directed by means of a single moving power [a government] and made to act in concert. This sum of forces [the government] cannot come into being without the cooperation of many [the people] [...] Each of us places his person and all his power in common under the supreme direction of the general will; and as one we receive each member as an indivisible part of the whole.⁶³

This quote is similar to the following from the Declaration of Independence: "...to secure these rights, Governments are instituted among Men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed."⁶⁴,

It may be important to add here that what characterizes Rousseau's political thought is that he has a specific conception of freedom . In his *The Social Contract* ,Rousseau insists that individual freedom must be the core of all kinds of power in civil society . According to Rousseau, man might surrender his property, but he can never give up his freedom or his life simply because those are the basic elements of his humanity. This makes it necessary to shed light on his *specific and radical conception of freedom* .

5.2- Rousseau's Concept of Freedom

Undoubtedly, what made the ideas of Rousseau so attractive and ,therefore, worth adopting by the Americans was his unprecedented emphasis on

⁶³ Jean Jacques Rousseau, *The Social Contract or Principles of Political Right*. (London,1989).p.108.

⁶⁴ The Declaration of Independence.

the importance of freedom. Freedom was so important and priceless for Rousseau to the extent that he saw that "to deprive one of his liberty was to deprive him from being a man,"⁶⁵.According to him "Those who think themselves the masters of others are indeed greater slaves than they"⁶⁶ For him, "To renounce freedom is to renounce one's humanity, one's rights as a man and equally one's duties."⁶⁷

What is noticeable is that like Hobbes and Locke before him, Rousseau argued that humans were born free into a state of nature. Rousseau viewed this state of nature as a natural right of freedom:

Every man having been born free and master of himself, no one else may under any pretext whatever subject him without his consent. To assert that the son of a slave is born a slave is to assert that he is not born a man.⁶⁸

When addressing the issue of freedom , Rousseau emphasizes that liberty means the liberty to choose instead of being guided by mere impulse or manipulated by another human being. By "perfectibility", he means that mankind by nature is endowed with the capacity for psychological and moral growth. But freedom, instead of being just a condition for such growth, must be regarded rather as its fundamental object. In line with this, he states that "man is by nature good" – to the degree in which this nature is not absorbed in sensual

⁶⁵ Ibid.p.345.

⁶⁶ Ibid.

⁶⁷ Ibid.

⁶⁸ Ibid .p.45.

instincts but lifts itself spontaneously and without outside help to the idea of freedom”.⁶⁹

At this point, in fact ,one should note that this radical and unprecedented emphasis on freedom marked Rousseau ‘s historical departure from the classical belief that freedom is an end in itself, but only as a condition for the cultivation of reason. In addition to this ,one can add that this new conception of freedom marked the waning of the concept of original sin which has hitherto helpt the perpetuation of absolutism and despotism in the Western world in general and in colonial American in particular . The interesting point is that Rousseau’s belief in the innate goodness of man was the turning point in the history of humanity and marked a move from the Dark Ages to the Enlightenment.

5.3- Innate Goodness and Equality

In this connection, one will note that unlike the ancient classical thinkers; Rousseau does not conceive man as a political animal by nature. According to him, the mental capacity of man differs from other animals in that he is uniquely characterized by freedom and innate goodness.

What is also worth stressing in relation to this is that in his *Discourse on the Origin of Inequality among Men*, Rousseau portrays the state of nature as a harsh environment, in which the savage “breathes only peace and liberty,” living “within himself,”⁷⁰ in almost perfect equality with his fellows. Rousseau was the first to distinguish between natural inequality and the social one : natural inequality might be in mental or physical strength while social inequality might be caused by social injustices and private property .In line with this, Rousseau thinks that:

⁶⁹ Ibid.p.56.

⁷⁰ Jean Jacques Rousseau, *A Discourse on the Origin of Inequality and a Discourse on Political Economy* (Digireads.com Publishing, 2010), p.45.

The first man who, having enclosed a piece of ground, bethought himself of saying this is mine, and found people simple enough to believe him, was the real founder of civil society. From how many crimes, wars and murders, from how many horrors and misfortunes might not anyone have saved mankind, by pulling up the stakes, or filling up the ditch, and crying to his fellows, "Beware of listening to this impostor; you are undone if you once forget that the fruits of the earth belong to us all, and the earth itself to nobody."⁷¹

One, indeed, ought not to diminish the fact that this idea about equality in possessing land later became one of the fundamental principles of life in the New World and significantly marked the difference in dealing with the land issue between the Americans and the Europeans as was referred to by Crèvecoeur in his *Letters from the American Farmer*. As it would be the core of Jeffersonian agrarianism.

It is quite interesting in this regard to note that Rousseau often tried to advocate the opinion that society is the corrupting influence. This very idea, as will be shown in the next chapter, would be adopted later by Thomas Paine to be one of his fundamental themes in *Common Sense*. According to Rousseau, it is only in society that man's moral potentiality can develop. In other words, Rousseau was radical enough to successfully shift the "original sin" from the individual to society. By doing so, he undoubtedly felt that he was preserving individual freedom.

One can also understand from Rousseau that man is innately good and therefore perfectibility is possible in the human conduct. In fact, this conviction

⁷¹ Ibid., p.33.

that the innate goodness is a fundamental characteristic feature of mankind in addition to his unshakable belief in natural equality led Rousseau to believe that in any governmental system ,people must be the sole sovereign .

5.4- The Sovereignty of People in Rousseau's Political Theory

It is worth noting that in his theory of the social contract, Rousseau maintained that People give up some of their natural rights in exchange for the conventional rights and duties of the social contract. In spite of the negative effects of civilization upon the individual, Rousseau denied any intention to go back to the state of nature:

Human nature does not turn back. Once man has left it, he can never return to the time of innocence and equal Society, being necessary to man in his present stage, is in that sense “natural,” but it is natural only insofar as it preserves man’s primal potentiality for self-determination.⁷²

One may, thus, note that according to Rousseau, the transition from the state of nature to the civil state is of paramount importance because it “produces a very remarkable change in man, by substituting justice for instinct in his conduct, and giving his actions the morality they formerly lacked. Instead of a stupid and unimaginable animal, it made him an intelligent being and a man.”⁷³ Nevertheless, Rousseau, while accepting the unavoidable necessity of society, rejected the classical conception of man as an inherently social entity.

Rousseau's strong belief in the sovereignty of people led him to insist that public officials or magistrates’s sole role should be confined to the

⁷² Ibid.

⁷³ Ibid.

execution of the laws. Indeed, considering Rousseau's conception of the government, one is not likely to miss the important fact that he insists that the sovereignty of the people can be achieved only through a deliberation, free from manipulation or intrigue; According to him, the people will always pursue the common good.⁷⁴ Citizens should not be so rich as to be able to buy others, nor so poor as to sell themselves. Rousseau insisted that the people should exercise their sovereignty in a popular assembly. "*Le Souverain ne saurait agir que quand le peuple est assemblé*", Rousseau notes.⁷⁵ Moreover, only the citizens who are entitled to delegate legislative decisions to public officials, or as Rousseau puts it: '*Les députés du peuple ne sont donc ni ne peuvent être ses représentants, ils ne sont que ses commissaires; ils ne peuvent rien conclure définitivement*'.⁷⁶

At this point, it seems important to mention that, applying Rousseau's theory, larger states should be represented by an elective aristocracy by which he meant magistrates elected by the people. Hereditary aristocracies and monarchies are, according to him, usually governed by less competent people. Rousseau believes that the leaders, whether elective or hereditary are often dishonest in choosing their officials because they often tend to appoint those who try to please them and serve their interests rather than the common good. That is the reason why he insists that the best political system is the one that secures the sovereignty of people.

5.5- Rousseau and Present- Day American Radical Democracy

In this sense, one is likely to find out from Rousseau's conception of government that, by the standards of his days, this French philosopher was the most radical thinker in the West. His radical ideas that all emphasize man's

⁷⁴ Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *Du contrat social* (Paris: Hachette/Livre de Poche, 1982), pp. 202-203.

⁷⁵ Ibid., p. 294.

⁷⁶ Ibid., p. 303.

freedom, people's sovereignty, and the innate goodness of man, made of him the spiritual father of all radical democrats especially the American ones. Indeed, Rousseau appealed to the radical democrats because he was the first thinker to insist clearly on the sovereignty of the people, in a radical sense. He suggested that "every constitution needs the unanimous consent of the people to gain legitimacy."⁷⁷

Rousseau's specific and radical conception of democracy is the natural result of his very positive conception of man. This seems in line with what is happening in the USA nowadays. Indeed, recently we often hear in the American political life of calls for what the radicals call the necessity of renewing the American political system so that people can directly be more involved in the political affairs of their country.

Indeed, in present-day United States, members in the modern radical movement called Occupy Wall Street, as pointed out in the first chapter of the thesis, often display dissatisfaction with the prevailing economic and political system. In fact, they are active to reform it in order to make it more just through making the people the real and the only sovereign exactly as Jean-Jacques Rousseau has proclaimed three centuries before. Consequently, one can, here, assume that Rousseau's ideas might have exerted a considerable impact not only on those who fought the War of Independence but on the modern radicals of the United States who support the modern radical political thought known "radical democracy" that guarantees more involvement of people in the decision making.

⁷⁷ Jean-Jacques Rousseau, pp. 174-176.

The conclusion that can be drawn from the analysis of the foregoing philosophical roots of American radicalism is that all the Enlightenment philosophical theories discussed in this chapter of the research suited the American project of having a non monarchical political system which was at that time the most radical challenge that the British monarch had ever faced. Still, what one can understand from this chapter is that the Americans have shaped their ideology and philosophy of life through the impact of Hobbes, Harrington, Locke, and Rousseau on the new nation's elite: They took from Hobbes the idea of the state of nature and the government as a necessary evil in a civil society and therefore the radical belief of secularizing the political life .

It becomes obvious that they took from Harrington the necessity of the just distribution of power through the just distribution of land as well as the concept of rotation in office while they adopted Locke's political theory of the right of the led to overthrow the abusive leader without forgetting Rousseau 's rights of man and the sovereignty of people. All these paved the way to republicanism and then to what became known as democracy; the latter that allowed a large space for radical activism whenever a deviation occurs from the fixed principles of the real republican and democratic American government.

In this chapter, one can , thus, establish the fact that philosophically speaking, the American founding fathers were very selective because they took from each philosopher the political idea that was appropriate for their republican project. What is remarkable is that the ideas of the same thinkers continued to shape the American radical activism because of their emphasis on principles like freedom and egalitarianism. The result, of course, was a democratic political system that allowed an everlasting desire to change and reform. But the consolidation of radicalism in the United States needed architects who would be able to put fixed principles and an elaborate political and social thought. This, in

fact, leads one to discuss the major architects of American radicalism who could add the American touch to all the previously discussed roots of American radicalism.

Chapter Five: The Architects of American Radicalism

"I believe in the equality of man; and I believe that religious duties consist in doing justice, loving mercy, and endeavoring to make our fellow-creatures happy."

Thomas Paine, *Age of Reason*, 1, 1908

Without Thomas Jefferson and his Declaration of Independence, there would have been no American Revolution that announced universal principles of liberty. Without his participation by the side of the unforgettable Marquis de Lafayette, there would have been no French proclamation of The Rights of Man. Without his brilliant negotiation of the Louisiana treaty, there would be no United States of America. Without Thomas Jefferson and James Madison, there would have been no Virginia Statute on Religious Freedom, and no basis for the most precious clause of our most prized element of our imperishable Bill of Rights - the First Amendment to the United States Constitution.

Christopher Hitchens, an English author and literary critic.

Historically influenced by the British popular radicalism, religiously influenced by Puritanism, and philosophically influenced by Enlightenment philosophy, the Americans then could construct their own radicalism. It is

widely agreed among those interested in the history and origin of the American social and political thought that Thomas Paine, Thomas Jefferson, and the transcendentalists are the main architects of American radicalism who continued the process of reform in the American society in all the aspects of life.

In this chapter, one will further show how American radicalism justified the call for independence through Paine's radical principles, and how it gave birth to a different vision of society through Jefferson's radical philosophy. Finally, light will be shed on the role played by the transcendentalists in fostering all the previously radical gains of the American society. The chapter will also attempt to demonstrate how the Americans excelled in using previous radical experimentations in order to sow the seeds of their modern democracy.

1- Paine: Dissent Tradition and Radical Thought

It is agreed among the historians of the colonial period that no person of the American Revolution is more associated with the history of American radicalism, or "reflects more clearly its complex intellectual roots, than Thomas Paine¹". In fact, Paine won fame as the author of *Common Sense*, the famous pamphlet that implied the first call for American independence. About the tight link between Paine and the American radical thought John Karitansky notes:

The importance of Paine's writing for us today can be indicated with reasonable precision by describing him as the American radical. In other words it is as if Paine is attempting to demonstrate what sort of radicalism is consistent with American principles and even why what is really fundamental about America is radical.²

¹ Eric Foner, "Radical Individualism in America: Revolution to Civil War" *Literature of Liberty: A Review of Contemporary Liberal Thought*, vol. 1, no. 3 July/September 1978 <http://www.oll.libertyfund.org>. Accessed July 12, 2015.

² Bryan-Paul Frost, Jeffrey Sikkenga, *History of American Political Thought*, "Tomas Paine, The American Radical", chapter 3 (Lexington Books, 2003), p. 63.

Important is the idea that Paine's radicalism might be the result of his deist convictions. Indeed, Paine was known to be a deist. His deism, it needs to be stressed, probably sprung from his Quaker origins. Despite the fact that the Quakers were not deists, according to Paine, they were “the nearest religious group to true deism in the moral part”.³ In essence, Deism as an a religious ideology “stands for the rejection of the tyranny of the priest and his word over the ordinary man and it was the priesthood that for long had provided the strongest support to monarchical despotism”.⁴

It is quite interesting in this regard to observe that in his writings, Paine really succeeded in expressing every theme which would be tightly linked to the nineteenth-century radical tradition⁵. This enabled him to be one of the major sources from which the Americans were provided with strong ideas concerning utopian political and social reform or radicalism. The founding fathers might have adopted Paine's belief that the best republic is the one established on the basis of a constitution which obtains the consent of all the members of society.

In addition to this, Paine insisted that “it is the duty of the state to effectively uphold the rights of citizens including the right to a minimum standard of wealth and social security.”⁶ However, one cannot fail to notice that through Paine’s text, there is a clear “sense of urgency and millennialism that does indeed reflect utopianism”⁷ and even universalism. For instance, in justifying the call of independence ,he considers the geographical distance

³ Jason Edward op.cit., p.121.

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ See Cf .Bailyn,*The Ideological Origins of the American Revolution*.

⁶ Jason Edward op.cit., p.121.

⁷ Ibid.

between the New World and Britain as part of a divine plan⁸. In *Common Sense*, he notes:

Even the distance at which the Almighty hath placed England and America, is a strong and natural proof, that the authority of the one, over the other, was never the design of Heaven. The time likewise at which the continent was discovered, adds weight to the argument, and the manner in which it was peopled increases the force of it. The reformation was preceded by the discovery of America, as if the Almighty graciously meant to open a sanctuary to the persecuted in future years, when home should afford neither friendship nor safety⁹.

Obviously this millennial belief might explain his stiff opposition to monarchy and his advocacy of republicanism. By this, Paine could really initiate to the American mind the new revolutionary thought that the new nation should cut all ties with the mother country. At this point, it must be important to confirm that Paine was the radical who could build the American political identity.

1.1- Paine: the Father of the American Political Identity

Indeed, Thomas Paine's *Common Sense* (1776) really puts forward the logical arguments for the radical theory of empire and thus the fundamental principles of the American political identity. In this pamphlet, Paine could display the hostility to the British political tradition. Interestingly, he insists that "England is evil and America is good, but her goodness would not persist long if she remained united to the empire"¹⁰. This is the reason why he argues that to

⁸ Elise Marienstras, *Les mythes fondateurs de nation américaine*, (Paris, 1976).p.75.

⁹ *Common Sense*"Works,p.23-24.

¹⁰ Bryan-Paul Frost, Jeffrey Sikkenga,op.cit.p.65.

achieve detachment from the mother country , the colonies had to work together coherently in order to establish one unique society that should be different in nature from Britain. Then, according to him, the Americans could have the right to establish their own government or as he puts it: “A government of our own is our natural right.”¹¹

Furthermore, one should mention that in a very striking and remarkable way, Paine appealed to natural right philosophy and law as the basis of his critique of monarchy and balanced constitutionalism. Of monarchy, he claims, there is a distinction “for which no truly natural or religious reason can be assigned, and that is, the distinction of Man into Kings and Subjects.”¹² Not only does natural law contradict monarchy, but, as Paine insists, natural equality dictates that the best form of government is a simple democracy based on the republican principle of popular control over a legislative assembly.

What is certain is that Paine did not appreciate the British political organization because he observed that it was too complex. He described it this way: "The Constitution of England is so exceedingly complex, that the nation may suffer for years together without being able to discover in what part the fault lies.”¹³ In fact, Paine’s argument for popular sovereignty lies in his emphasis on the radical principle that by the law of nature, society is more important than government, and thus every society has the natural right to form a government that must be completely independent from any other society. What is remarkable about Paine is that he could reasonably convince the Americans that time was ripe for the thirteen colonies to reject the intellectual principle of parliamentary sovereignty and to cease being emotionally attached to Britain as

¹¹ Ibid.

¹² Thomas Paine ,*Common Sense*.

¹³ Thomas Paine, *The Rights of Man*, in Philip .S.FONER,ed.,*The Life and the Major Writings of Thomas Paine* (Secaucus,NJ:Citadel Press,1948), p. 357.

their mother country. It is this radicalism by Paine that led to the birth of the American radical theory of empire which was first put into practice when the American call for independence was first heard.

In reality, the radical theory of empire is at the basis of decolonization because it put forward the arguments of independence of the new nation. In this respect, it is worth noting that during the years leading to the American War of Independence, the new nation saw many controversies and political disputes within the natural law tradition. It is agreed among the historians that the great bulk of the political thinkers of the period were inspired by the inherited traditional theories of natural law. In reality, they tended to develop and supplement the traditional law with new attitudes either conservative or radical. The result was different views of the relation between the colonies and the British empire. This is the reason why one can say that during that period, there existed two kinds of theories of empire: one moderate while the other was radical.

In fact, Williams Blackstone can be considered as the representative of the conservative trend which advocated the moderate theory of empire. In fact, this theory "tried to combine the supremacy in the empire with a considerable measure of colonial self government"¹⁴. It is important to emphasize the idea that Blackstone was among those who insisted that parliament's power of legislation was unlimited¹⁵. This conservative strain in his political thought might be the result of his deep understanding of the principles of the British common law about which he wrote his *Commentaries on the Laws of England*. Unlike Blackstone and all the supporters of the moderate theory of empire, Paine could suggest a radical theory of empire.

¹⁴ Lee Ward, *The Politics of Liberty in England and Revolutionary America* (Cambridge University Press, 2004), p.344.

¹⁵ Ibid.

In this regard, one can, therefore, establish the fact that it was thanks to Paine's radical ideas that the Americans could speak for the first time as Americans and not as Englishmen. In this shift from the moderate to the radical theory of empire, the American political ambition was transformed gradually from the mere opposition to specific parliamentary efforts to tax the colonies to a strong revolt for full independence. One can observe that at each stage of the crisis, the Americans had to depend on the natural law philosophy as fundamental source to oppose their mother country claims about parliamentary sovereignty. Indeed, the British philosophical commitment to the traditional conservative view of sovereignty and rights did not change and remained throughout the imperial crisis.

As noted earlier, over time the Americans influenced by Paine's radical vision of government as expressed in *Common Sense*, would develop their own original and specific deep understanding of the application of the natural law philosophy making their own wise judgements and take right decisions. When drafting their constitution, the American founding fathers, who were intellectually influenced by Paine's political ideas, had to add an American touch to all that they learnt from their study of the history of radical struggle. They saw that it was necessary to make their own contribution to the natural law tradition with a distinctively and typically American view of constitutional government. This view was based on advanced and original political principles like written constitutions, separation of powers, bills of rights, and federalism.

In line with what has been noted earlier, I can therefore, add that Paine was the kind of man who could directly and eloquently express the important theme of the distinction between the Old and New Worlds and the implied American desire for the Americanization of American society in order to prevent all the European attempts for Europeanizing it. In other words, Paine could

articulate the American spirit of nationalism and ,therefore, he was the radical who could skillfully create the American political identity .

1.2- Natural Aristocracy in Paine's Thought

It is worth noting that Paine's radicalism was not confined to his call for detachment from the mother country. In fact, it went beyond that to deal with how could the Americans establish a good and just government that would protect the man's natural right of equality. It is noticeable that in *Common Sense*, Paine drew a sharp distinction between society and government. In fact ,he could persuasively argue that the one is natural, voluntary, and harmonious, while the other is coercive, artificial, and a source of evil. Human Society, as seen by Paine, should be based on harmony and order. It was, according to him, the interference of the state which corrupted human nature and paved the way to oppressive, taxation, and artificial aristocracy. In fact, these two negative practices created the artificial inequalities that corrupted the individual's life in the Old World . In this context, Paine observes:

Some writers have so confounded society with government ,as to leave little or no distinction between them ;whereas they are not only different ,but have different origins .Society is produced by our wants, and government by our wickedness ;the former promotes our happiness positively by uniting our affections ,the latter negatively by restraining our vices . The one encourages intercourse, the other creates distinctions The first is a patron, the last a punisher. Society in every state is a blessing, but government even in its state is but a necessary evil; in its worst state an intolerable one.¹⁶

¹⁶ Paine *Common Sense*. in Philip .S.FONER,ed.,*The Life and the Major Writings of Thomas Paine* (Secaucus,NJ: Citadel Press, 1948).

What can be understood from this excerpt in which Paine explains the origin and nature of civil society, a thing which seemed implicit in the American common sense, is that nature is innately good. Therefore, it can be considered as the standard by which one can distinguish between what is wrong and what is right.

Whereas, Paine does not refer to Locke and Hobbes, one can observe the influence of both thinkers on his ideas. It might be true that he is hesitant to accept the "assertion of the two continental thinkers that human being were originally in a pre social state of nature"¹⁷. Probably, he might have observed that Hobbes and Locke's conception of human nature is such that man cannot live a peaceful life in his state of nature. In other words, the state of nature for human beings is often linked to danger and violence this is why it can be considered as an inappropriate status. One can, therefore, that Paine backs and agrees with Hobbes and Locke in holding that society is human being's natural place.

It should be clear from the foregoing that because he was convinced that monarchy failed to secure the appropriate atmosphere for justice and democracy, Paine had to think of an alternative political system. This is why he had to justify the necessity of republicanism as an appropriate political system for the new nation. In fact, he tended to persuasively argue and even spread the radical idea that monarchical government was the primary cause of poverty and inequality in the Old World. Indeed, he spared no effort to make people understand that monarchy and succession have laid, not the British kingdom "only but the world in blood and ashes"¹⁸. He adds "It is a form of government

¹⁷ Paul Frost Bryan and Sikkenga, Jeffery ed, op.cit, p.122.

¹⁸ Thomas Paine, *CommonSense, The Rights of Man*, in Philip .S.FONER, ed., *The Life and the Major Writings of Thomas Paine* (Secaucus, NJ: Citadel Press, 1948), 23.

which the word of God bears testimony against, and blood will attend It.”¹⁹ He also considered it as a violation of the human right of equality. He argues that

MANKIND being originally equals in the order of creation, the equality could only be destroyed by some subsequent circumstance: the distinctions of rich and poor may in a great measure be accounted for, and that without having recourse to the harsh ill-sounding by names of oppression and avarice. Oppression is often the CONSEQUENCE, but seldom or never the MEANS of riches; and tho' avarice will preserve a man from being poor, it generally makes him too timorous to be wealthy.²⁰

It is clear that as a strong defender of natural equality, Paine seems to support the democratic ideal that aristocracy, instead of being artificial, should be natural. In addition, Paine firmly believes that social impulses are innate rather than acquired. In addition, he insists that the attitudes needed for corporation already exist among the members of society and therefore, there is no need to have them imposed by a tyrannical leader or an absolute governmental. He announced that nature “has not only forced man into society by a diversity of wants which the reciprocal aid of each other can supply, but she has provided him with a system of social affections, which, though not necessary to his existence, are essential to his happiness”.²¹ In this context, Paine writes:

GREAT part of that order which reigns among mankind is not the effect of government. It has its origin in the principles of society and the natural constitution of man. It existed prior to government, and would exist if the formality of government was

¹⁹ Ibid.

²⁰ Ibid.

²¹ Ibid.24.

abolished. The mutual dependence and reciprocal interest which man has upon man, and all the parts of a civilized community upon each other, create that great chain of connection which holds it together.²²

At this point, it must be noted that this belief does not mean that government is not needed. In fact, Paine believes that the government, as "a necessary evil",²³ should have as a primary concern the happiness of the citizen. In fact, it is worth adding, here, that, as has recently been argued by Paine's biographers, Paine in the 1770s and 1780s often acted as the representative of the artisan class, from which he himself had originated. Artisans, Paine being one of them, impatient with competition from British manufacturers, wanted a strong American government that would protect their rights. That is the reason why they, and Paine of course, supported the Constitution of 1787 in the hope that it would lay the grounds for a government that would be able to promote the economic development of the nation, and at the same time protect the natural rights of its citizens whatever was their social class.

1.3-America : the Mother of a Universal Radical Revolt

Indeed, Paine could skillfully articulate the strong argument of the American Revolution and the complete rejection of the Old World. In other words, he was the one who could convince the American people of the possibility of creating a better society in the New World, a society that would be happier and more just than the one left behind.

It is also noticeable that taken from another perspective, *Common Sense*, as a political document, not only called for the American independence, but

²² Ibid.

²³ Ibid.

bitterly criticized and denounced the inequality and corruption which characterized the Old World as well. One can observe that in it, there is a direct criticism and even rejection of all kinds of power such as monarchy, artificial aristocracy, and hereditary privilege. In other words, Paine, probably, wanted his text be a strong basis for an authentic departure from the then prevailing traditional social and political norms. "We have it in our power to begin the world over again," he wrote; "The birthday of a new world is at hand."²⁴ One can understand from this that he sought to institute a universal radical thought by which humanity would be emancipated from all kinds of power and subjection. It is obvious here that for Paine, the American War of Independence was just a step towards a universal revolt that would mark the beginning of a new history of humanity.²⁵ In this regard, he notes:

The cause of America is in a great measure the cause of all mankind. Many circumstances have, and will arise, which are not local, but universal, and through which the principles of all Lovers of Mankind are affected, and in the Event of which, their Affections are interested. The laying of a Country desolate with Fire and Sword, declaring War against the natural rights of all Mankind, and extirpating the Defenders thereof from the Face of the Earth, is the Concern of every Man to whom Nature hath given the Power of feeling; of which Class, regardless of Party Censure, is²⁶

Most significantly, one can observe that Paine succeeded to a great extent in giving a universal dimension to the Revolution as a radical action. One can observe too that his universal revolutionary ideas aimed at transforming the

²⁴ Steve Berges, *Charters of Liberty: The Declaration of Independence, the United States Constitution, and the Bill of Rights* (American Liberty Press, 2010), p. 102.

²⁵ Elise Mariastrass, op.cit.108.

²⁶ Thomas Paine, *Common Sense*

American struggle for liberty from a mere struggle over the rights of Englishmen, into a universal revolt to free all mankind in the entire world from all types of tyranny and unjust rule. In this context, Arieli observes that Paine's vision of America "could only be created by a man who knew Europe well enough to hate its society and who longed desperately enough for salvation to visualize the destiny of the New World as liberation from the Old."²⁷

It is also worth stressing that this strong belief in the necessity of altering or overthrowing the monarchical system was also the fundamental theme and the central issue discussed in his *The Rights of Man*. Written as a reaction to the British statesman ,Edmund Burke's *Reflections on the Revolution in France* (1790), this book argued that France should have reformed its existing government instead of undergoing a revolutionary upheaval. Paine who was a member in the French assembly saw the French Revolution as an opportunity to establish a new European government that should be democratic exactly as it happened in the United States.

Still, in his *The Rights of Man*, Paine affirms that the more perfect a society becomes, the less government is needed to protect the rights to which each individual is naturally entitled. In fact, he seems to consider government responsible for the plight of the citizens:

If we look back to the riots and tumults, which at various times have happened in England, we shall find, that they did not proceed from the want of a government, but that government was itself the generating cause; instead of consolidating society it divided it; it deprived it of its natural cohesion, and

²⁷ Philip .S.Foner,ed., *The Life and the Major Writings of Thomas Paine* (Secaucus,NJ:Citadel Press,1948), p. 46.

engendered discontents and disorders, which otherwise would not have existed.²⁸

Properly understood, these words by Paine implies his total rejection of the European political systems. They express a clear condemnation of all governments and all kinds of authority. Perhaps, this was the reason why the radical Paine has sometimes been claimed as the father of the nineteenth-century anarchism²⁹.

1.4- The American Charter of Laws :the Culmination of Democracy

Moreover, Paine's political commitment to the American cause as well as his political maturity allowed him even to speculate the future of American democracy. This obviously appears in the last lines of *Common Sense*, in which Paine insists that the crown should be replaced by the new nation's charter of laws or the written constitution :

Let a day be solemnly set apart for proclaiming the charter; let it be brought forth placed on the divine law, the word of God; let a crown be placed thereon, by which the world may know [that so far as we approve of monarchy], that in America, THE LAW IS KING. For as in absolute governments the king is law, so in free countries the law ought to be king; and there ought to be no other.³⁰

²⁸ Thomas Paine, *The Rights of Man*, in Philip S. Foner, ed., *The Life and the Major Writings of Thomas Paine* (Secaucus, NJ: Citadel Press, 1948), p. 358.

²⁹ Bryan-Paul Frost, Jeffrey Sikkenga, op.cit. p.63.

³⁰ Thomas Paine, *Common Sense*, in Philip S. Foner, ed., *The Life and the Major Writings of Thomas Paine* (Secaucus, NJ: Citadel Press, 1948), p.290.

In light of this, one can observe that the most important thing in Paine's radical thought is that he considered the constitution as the best and sole substitute for the monarchical power. This is in line with what he considers:

A crown on top of a charter on top of a Bible, but as lest any ill use should afterwards arise, let the crown at the conclusion of the ceremony be demolished, and scattered among the people whose right it is.³¹

It is probably important to note in relation to this that the idea of the Constitution as a monarchic substitute is due to Paine's exaggerated radicalism and secularism. What is interesting is that the same words would be used later by the Secretary of State John Quincy Adams in 1831. "The Declaration of Independence", proclaimed Adams, "was the crown with which the people of United America, rose in gigantic stature as one man."³²

1.5- Revolution in Language

Literary speaking, it is readily apparent that *Common Sense* is a piece of writing that reflected to a great extent Paine's complete rejection of any kind of submission as greatly as its political content did. It was evident that Paine deliberately used a plain style so that his ideas can be understood by the American common people. Perhaps, this was the reason why many historians consider that this radical thinker contributed to a great extent to the precipitation of raising the political awareness of the American people during the era of the Revolution.

In this regard too, it is worth noting that Paine's literary style, as Harry Stout observes," was similar to the radical Patrick Henry's manner of public

³¹ Ibid.

³² John Quincy Adams, *An Oration Addressed to the Citizens of the Town of Quincy*, (California, 2007), p.20.

speaking because “both broke the previous rules of political discourse, and both evoked and awakened the feeling of anxiety and dismay among traditionalists”³³. In other words, Paine aimed at laying the ground for a real American departure from all that was traditional and confining to freedom and innovation in all the aspects of life even in language .

Indeed, the reader of *Common Sense* can easily observe that Paine preferred to use a language that can be described as "revolutionary" .In fact ,it is a kind of language that is meant to stir the reader's emotion in order to make him feel the plight of the colonized America. At the same time ,it motivates the Americans to support the Revolution . For instance, in the middle of *Common Sense* ,he States:

"Why is it that we hesitate? From Britain we can expect nothing but ruin. If she is admitted to the government of America again, this continent will not be worth living in."³⁴

Taken from another perspective ,the language of Common Sense addresses the reader's mind .It is ,in fact, an argumentative language that revolutionizes all the traditional political discourses. He addresses his reader's mind when he questioned the legitimacy of the British rule over the new nation when he sarcastically notes:

“Small islands, not capable of protecting themselves, are the proper objects for kingdoms to take under their care; but there is something absurd, in supposing a continent to be perpetually governed by an island.”³⁵

³³ Harry S. Stout, "Religion, Communications, and the Ideological Origins." *The William and Mary Quarterly*, Vol. 34, No. 4 (Oct., 1977), pp. 519-541.

³⁴ *Common Sense*.

³⁵ Ibid.

In essence this kind of language used by Paine fitted the American national project of nationalism and contributed to a great extent to the igniting of the American Revolution.

But if Paine has often been associated with the radical attitude that led to the American Revolution, Thomas Jefferson has usually been linked to the radical attitude that gave birth to the political philosophy that produced the first modern system of representative democracy.

2- Thomas Jefferson's Radicalism

In the previous chapters, one had to refer to Thomas Jefferson as a milestone of the modern American radical thought. Indeed, this man is the greatest political philosopher among the founding fathers: no one did more than he did to create the republic of the United States of America. In fact it is agreed among the Americans that Jefferson was many things to many people. To some, he was the "Apostle of Liberty"³⁶ and the author of the Declaration of Independence. To others, he was the architect of a democratic and agrarian vision of American society who could make the westward expansion of farmers possible in the United States. But there is no doubt that all agree that Jefferson was the man who could articulate the basics of the American political philosophy in the eloquent, political text of the Declaration of Independence. In stressing the originality of the Declaration of Independence against those who accused him of having stolen the text from other sources, Jefferson maintained that "such criticism was entirely off point"³⁷.

2.1- The Declaration of Independence :An Expression of the American Man

³⁶ Francis D. Cogliano, *Thomas Jefferson: Reputation and Legacy*, (University of Virginia Press, 2008), p.7.

³⁷ Frost Bryan Paul, and Jeffery Sikkenga, ed, op.cit., (USA 2003).

When drafting the Declaration of Independence ,the founding fathers, Jefferson being one of them , wanted it to be expressive of the new nation's nature and ambitions .That is why Jefferson had to justify the originality of the document .In other words ,as a paper of a state ,the Declaration of Independence ought to be original. About the primary purpose of the document, Jefferson notes:

[T]he object of “the Declaration” was [not] to find out new principles or new argument, never before thought of, not merely to say things that had never been said before; but to place to mankind the common sense of subject...Neither aiming at originality of principle or sentiment, nor yet copied it from any particular and previous document or writing, it was intended to be an expression of the American man by his own admission.³⁸

One can understand ,thus, that Jefferson considers the Declaration as an expression of the American man .The founding fathers then sought to give the American individual a particular status in the future political system of the new nation. Without doubt, influenced by the radical Enlightenment, the founding elite were aware of the important fact that man cannot live correctly in his society without having his natural rights protected .This is the reason why Jefferson and his colleagues wanted the Declaration of Independence to be the classic statement of the American radical natural right philosophy. At this point ,it must be stressed that The Declaration of Independence is sufficient proof of the success of the perpetuation and consolidation of this legacy in America. In the Declaration, one can read:

³⁸ Ibid., p. 103.

We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness³⁹.

Obviously, the new nation's founding elite knew well that the natural rights theory was not a new theory. Probably, this was the reason why they had to use the expression "self evident truths". In fact, a self evident truth is more than a natural right. In other words, the writers of the documents wanted to give the natural right philosophy an American touch. In addition to this, it is certain that The Declaration's claim that "whenever government injures these rights the people can alter or abolish it and institute a new Government" clearly addresses the goal of independence.

As said before, the American philosophy, as Jefferson wanted it to be, gives a great importance to the individual and his natural rights that is the reason why it teaches that since man is endowed at birth with rights which are unalienable because they are given by his Creator, the government must have as a primary concern the protection of these rights. In other words, the government, in Jefferson's belief, is a server and not a master. In line with this, Jefferson adds:

The prime purpose of government is to protect the rights of the individual. For the first time, it is the society that is paramount, and the success of government is to be measured not by how well society is regulated, but by how free the individual is free from the government.⁴⁰

³⁹ The Declaration of Independence.

⁴⁰ Ibid.

One can consider this Jeffersonian governmental philosophy as uniquely American. It is worth mentioning that the concept of Man's rights being unalienable is based solely upon the belief in their Divine origin since ,to use Jefferson's words, "they are endowed by their Creator"⁴¹. Because those God-given rights are the gift of God, man has no right to alienate or surrender them. This is the real meaning of *unalienable* as used by Jefferson in the Declaration of Independence.

In fact, there is a need ,here, to refer to the important fact that Jefferson's strong radical belief in man's natural rights, birthright freedom being one of them, made him show contempt for slavery as a social institution in the new nation . Because it is a kind of violation of the individual's natural right of self owning , Jefferson viewed it as a “moral depravity”⁴².He also repeatedly insisted that maintaining slavery inside the American society was like holding “a wolf by the ear, and we can neither hold him, nor safely let him go.”⁴³ But despite Jefferson's firm conviction that slavery ought to be ended ,one can observe that in the Declaration of Independence ,Jefferson did not make it clear whether "man" includes the balks or not .

As regards the link between Jefferson and Locke, one might easily observe that Jefferson’s remarkable achievement was adding to Locke’s theory of human rights the principle that the progress of an elite or a group of people in society should be based on natural ability and talent rather than on class privilege or wealth. In other words ,Jefferson was, like Paine, a believer in natural aristocracy . It is this very principle that later became one of the ideals of American democracy. What is interesting is that

⁴¹ The Declaration of Independence.

⁴² Bear, James A., Jr. *Jefferson at Monticello*. Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1967.

⁴³ Jefferson to John Holmes, April 22, 1820, *The Thomas Jefferson Papers*, Special Collections,(University of Virginia Library) Transcription available at Founders Online

from this ideal spring the two fundamental themes of the American War of Independence. The first was the primacy of individual freedom as a natural right: 'The God, who gave us life, gave us liberty at the same time.'⁴⁴ Secondly, and more importantly, popular sovereignty a principle that Jefferson always defended: "From the nature of things, every society must at all times possess within itself the sovereign powers of legislation."⁴⁵.

More adequately, as concerns Jefferson's ideology, it is widely held among scholars that there is a quite clear and intelligent linking between popular sovereignty and liberty. But what is interesting is that both are deeply rooted in the American divine plan, and further legitimized by ancient practice and the Anglo-Saxon tradition⁴⁶. At this point ,it must be stressed that Jefferson's celebration of the American pastoral and his desire to establish a society different from the British one led him to show contempt to "the city ,industrialisation ,and commerce"⁴⁷ which characterized the mercantile Old World. All that gave the American colonists a remarkably solid, clear, and unique, conceptual basis for their radical attitude of fighting the War of Independence. This leads me to open the discussion of Jefferson's reasonable and persuasive arguments for the American radical theory of empire that ignited the tension between the nation and the mother country.

2.2- The Radical Theory of Empire in Jefferson's Thought

⁴⁴ Ronald J. Pestritto, Thomas G. West , *The American Founding and the Social Compact* (Lexington Books, 2003), p .110.

⁴⁵ Thomas Jefferson,*Memoirs, Correspondence and Private Papers of Thomas Jefferson, Late President of the United States*, Volume 1, p.116.

Colburn and Bentley, 1829 [https://www.books.google.fr/books?id,\(1858\)](https://www.books.google.fr/books?id,(1858)), p.96.

⁴⁶ See Elise Marienstras, *Les mythes fondateurs de nation américaine*,(Paris:1976).p.81-85.

⁴⁷ *Ibid*, p.85.

Jefferson was one of those who adopted a radical attitude in conceiving the theory of empire. Here, there is a need to draw attention to the important fact that the classic statement of the natural law principles of the radical theory of empire is Thomas Jefferson's *Summary View of the Rights of British America* (1774). In it, Jefferson urged the American people to reject all kinds of parliamentary authority over the colonies, and insisted that the colonists only accepted the British monarch as their chief executive by virtue of the "right which nature has given to all men to organize their government as they see fit".⁴⁸ Moreover, Jefferson maintains that the British monarch is not an absolute leader, but rather is "no more than the chief officer of the People, appointed by the Laws, and circumscribed with definitive Powers."⁴⁹

At this point, it seems important to mention that for Jefferson, the empire must include all the self-governing societies, including the thirteen American colonies, which are united only because they all have the same chief executive, the British monarch. Accepting this conception of the empire, one can understand that the legislative power is exclusively limited and cannot be applied uniformly across the self-governing societies of the empire because, as stated earlier, natural law requires that each society must have full control over its own legislative matters: "From the nature of things, every society must at all times possess within itself the sovereign powers of legislation."⁵⁰

It is quite interesting in this regard to observe that the radical theory of empire put forward by Jefferson anticipated and paved the way to the modern British Commonwealth⁵¹. In addition to this, one should not diminish the fact that the American radical theory of empire that was eloquently expressed in the

⁴⁸ Thomas Jefferson's *Summary View of the Rights of British America* (1774), p. 54.

⁴⁹ Ibid.

⁵⁰ Ibid.

⁵¹ See Elise Marienstras, *Les mythes fondateurs de nation américaine*, (Paris, 1976).p.13.

preamble of the Declaration of Independence had a great impact on Latin American Revolutions and even on the French Revolution. In fact, this might be explained by the universal ideology of the American radical thought.

But there is a need to emphasize that, within the British empire, while it was difficult for the British to accept this radical attitude at that time, the Americans could easily understand from Jefferson that the American membership in the British Empire was more a matter of choice rather than a moral obligation to a sovereign power. For instance, in the *Considerations on the Authority of Parliament* (1774) James Wilson could claim that the lack of colonial representation in Westminster directly made any form of parliamentary legislation a violation of the principle of self-government and a direct, unacceptable usurpation of human's natural rights. This is how Wilson puts the idea:

It is repugnant to the essential maxims of jurisprudence, to the ultimate end of all governments, to the genius of the British Constitution, and to the liberty and happiness of the colonies, that they should be bound by the legislative authority of the Parliament of Great Britain.⁵²

It is widely agreed among scholars that, no statement of national principle has been more brief and eloquent than "the self evident truths" set forth in the Declaration of Independence. In fact, Jefferson's insistence on "consent of the governed" was absolutely due to his conviction that societies should not be governed by the traditional laws of their ancestors and the dead

⁵² James Wilson, Bird Wilson, *The Works of the Honourable James Wilson, L.L.D.* (The Lawbook Exchange, Ltd., 2004), p.226.

generation⁵³. He stated that "no society can make a perpetual constitution or even a perpetual law. The Earth belongs always to the living generation."⁵⁴ This means that Jefferson is for a political system that secures political innovation and equal opportunities for political participation.

2.3- Science, Reason, and Jefferson's Radical Thought

As mentioned earlier Jefferson is the product of the Enlightenment era. At this point, it is important to note that though Locke was Jefferson's preferred philosopher, the concept of "self-evident truths"⁵⁵ in the Declaration of Independence is derived more from the theory of the Scottish philosopher David Hume, a friend of Adam Smith and Benjamin Franklin who had distinguished "between synthetic and analytic truths; the former describes a matter of fact while the latter refers to what comes to be known as the self-evident truths existed by virtue of reason"⁵⁶. It is said that it was Franklin who suggested the modification of Jefferson's language from "we hold these truths to be sacred and unalienable" to "we hold these truths to be self-evident". It is clear that this change in language really reflected an American ideology based on reason and deeply rooted in the principles of the Scientific Revolution.

What is certain is that the self-evidence of the unalienable rights to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness affirmed in the Declaration of Independence would be clear only to those who enjoyed scientific reasoning and thinking or more specifically to the ones whose political principles are deeply rooted in political philosophy. Commenting on the Declaration of

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⁵⁴ Thomas Jefferson, Joyce Appleby, Terence Ball, *Jefferson: Political Writings* (Cambridge University Press 1999), p.596.

⁵⁵ Thomas Jefferson, "The Declaration of Independence".

⁵⁶ See Kenneth N. Addison, *We Hold These Truths to Be Self-Evident...: An Interdisciplinary Analysis of the Roots of Racism and Slavery in America*, (University Press of America, 2009).

Independence, at the end of his life, Jefferson claimed that “the general spread of science is responsible for the growing recognition of the rights of man”⁵⁷. But this never means that the Declaration of Independence is void of religious principles. For instance, the word "equal" in the document means, first, spiritual equality which means equality in the sight of God as well as equality in the sight of Law which basically refers to the people's fundamental law or the Constitution.

This leads to the opening of the discussion about religion in the Declaration of Independence. In his essay “What I Saw in America”, the English author and broadcaster G.K. Chesterton notes that “America is the only nation in the world that is founded on the creed”. “That creed”, he adds, “is set forth with the lucidity of the Declaration of Independence”.⁵⁸ Since the complementary relation between religion and secularism in the American radical attitude was one of the concerns of this thesis, there is a need to emphasize and sustain the important idea that when the founding fathers asserted in The Declaration of Independence that all men have “certain unalienable rights”, they were certainly aware that there should be some higher lawgiver so that rights can be “unalienable”, and therefore the led can be safe from becoming subject to the King, President, and Congress. Asserting this idea Thomas Nelson affirms that:

it is important to know that the allegiance of the founding fathers was not to king or congress or courts of law but to the one eternal God who judges men and nations and sets at liberty the captives .the reasons they were emboldened to cut their ties to great Britain

⁵⁷ Jefferson’s letter To Roger Weighman ,June 24 ,1826, *The Letters of Thomas Jefferson 1743-1826 Electronic Textcenter of University of Virginia*. <http://guides.lib.virginia.edu/TJ>. Accessed ,September 8, 2013.

⁵⁸ G. K. Chesterton, “What I Saw In America” *What I Saw In America*, (Aeterna Press) <https://books.google.fr/books?id>. Accessed May 4, 2013.

was that by a train of usurpations the Crown had violated the Laws of Nature and the Laws of God.⁵⁹

It is actually worth stressing that the American nation was founded on this very principle of Higher Law, which can be considered as the core of the Declaration of Independence. In fact, it is commonly held that the origins of Higher Law can be traced back to Moses and the Ten Commandments.⁶⁰ According to the Bible, these Ten Commandments were given by God through Moses, to the Israelites. But historically speaking, this principle goes back to the Common Law of England.⁶¹ In fact, the Common Law dates back to the Magna Carta⁶², which states in one part: "The King himself ought not to be under a man but under God and under the law, because the law makes the king . . . for there is no king where will governs and not law."⁶³

What is important is that the whole American system of democratic government is built on this very principle. John Adams put it very clearly: "Our constitution was designed only for a moral and religious people; it is wholly inadequate for the government of any other."⁶⁴ .In other words ,one can confirm that the Americans succeeded in intermingling religion with republican values .

2.4- Jefferson, Women, and Race

Jefferson's conception of equality as one of the unalienable rights, as has been just discussed, continued to be interpreted successfully by the American

⁵⁹ Pat Robertson, *Courting Disaster*, (Thomas Nelson Inc ,2004), p.38.

⁶⁰ Paul A. BoyžA ,*More Conservative Place: Intellectual Culture in the Bush Era* , (UPNE, 2013), p.40.

⁶¹ Marshall L. DeRosa, *The Ninth Amendment and the Politics of Creative Jurisprudence: Disparaging the Fundamental Right of Popular Control*, (Transaction Publishers), p.17

⁶² Pat Robertson, op.cit., p.40.

⁶³ Ibid.

⁶⁴ George Stover Jr, *Integrity*, (Xulon Press, 2012), p.237.

generations of radical activists who sought and struggled to secure a better life for all Americans whatever is their sex and race. Modern radicals questioned whether "all men" includes males and females as well as persons of all races. It seems that the Americans were and are still aware that the equality meant in the Declaration of Independence is basically and originally a moral equality that is tightly linked to the natural sociability of human beings. In this regard Jefferson asserts that:

Nature hath implemented in our breasts a love of others ,a sense of duty to them , a moral instinct , in short which prompts us irresistibly to feel and to succor their distress ...the creator would indeed have been a bungling artist ,had he intended to man for social animal without planting in him social disposition.⁶⁵

In fact, in the footsteps of Jefferson, the majority of the nineteenth century American radical movements insisted on freedom , equality as well as on the right of all human kind to resist the unjust authority. Abolitionists and civil right activists ,for instance, had to depend on the egalitarian principles as set in the Declaration of Independence to argue for the rights of blacks in the American society .They had to interpret" all men are equal " of the Declaration as men of all races .

In Martin Luther King's famous speech "I Have a Dream" ,for example, one may observe that, as a an American black man ,King feels himself unjustly discriminated against and alienated in a white dominated society .This ,according to him, is an unacceptable violation of the American basic principles. In other words, the society of which King dreamt was the kind of

⁶⁵ Jefferson's letter to Thomas law June 13th 1814 *The Letters of Thomas Jefferson 1743-1826* Electronic Textcenter of University of Virginia.

society which respects the individual's freedom and treats all its members equally exactly as is set forth in the Declaration of independence .Reminding the Americans of the document ,King notes:

In a sense we've come to our nation's capital to cash a check. When the architects of our republic wrote the magnificent words of the Constitution and the Declaration of Independence, they were signing a promissory note to which every American was to fall heir. This note was a promise that all men, yes, black men as well as white men, would be guaranteed the "unalienable Rights" of "Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness." It is obvious today that America has defaulted on this promissory note, insofar as her citizens of color are concerned. Instead of honoring this sacred obligation, America has given the Negro people a bad check, a check which has come back marked "insufficient funds."⁶⁶

One can understand from this quote that king 's ideas of freedom and justice were directly taken from the Declaration of Independence. Indeed, one can also observe that in "I have a Dream ",there is a call to justice beyond the focus on the civil rights of the blacks as a persecuted minority in the American society . About his dream of justice ,King adds:

I have a dream that one day on the red hills of Georgia, the sons of former slaves and the sons of former slave owners will be able to sit together at the table of brotherhood.⁶⁷

⁶⁶ Martin Luther King Jr., "I Have a Dream" .

⁶⁷ Ibid.

In reality ,this call for a more just society is a call for going back to the democratic principles upon which the American government was first established .In this line ,King confirms:

“Now is the time to make real the promises of democracy.

Now is the time to rise from the dark and desolate valley of segregation to the sunlit path of racial justice.

Now is the time to open the doors of opportunity to all of God's children. Now is the time to lift our nation from the quicksands of racial injustice to the solid rock of brotherhood.”⁶⁸

For its part, American feminism, as a radical movement, also had its roots in the fundamental American principles as set in the Declaration of Independence. The Declaration of Sentiments, also known as the Declaration of Rights and Sentiments, is a document signed in 1848 a group of women and even some men feminists in Seneca Falls is an echoing of Jefferson’s words. Those attendees at the first Women's Rights Convention had to take their radical ideas from the original document, The Declaration of Independence, though they had to make slight revisions so that the text could suit their feminist cause.

Indeed, the Declaration of Sentiments was a mere rewriting of the Preamble of the U.S. Declaration of Independence as can be a sufficient proof that Jefferson’s ideas are one of the major sources of the American radical attitude .In their historical document, the American feminists declare men and women equal and criticize the specific "injuries and usurpations on the part of man toward woman."⁶⁹

⁶⁸ Ibid.

⁶⁹ The Declaration of Sentiments,

http://www.womensrightsfriends.org/history_convention.php. Accessed May 5, 2011.

Indeed ,one can easily observe that Stanton carefully drafted the speech to closely resemble the Declaration of Independence .It seems that she deliberately linked women’s call for liberty from men’s power directly to the Declaration of Independence as America’s symbol of liberty .Upon the first observation of the speech, one can observe that preferring to keep the original words, Stanton did not use new vocabulary. She starts the text as follows:

When in the course of human events, it becomes necessary for one portion of the family of man to assume among the people of the earth a position different from that which they have hitherto occupied, but one to which the laws of nature and nature's God entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes that impel them to such a course⁷⁰

This quote resembles the following quote from the Declaration of Independence:

When in the Course of human events it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another and to assume among the powers of the earth, the separate and equal station to which the Laws of Nature and of Nature's God entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation⁷¹

In addition to this ,one can observe that in the Declaration of Sentiments , the feminists declare :

We hold these truths to be self - evident: that all men and women are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that

⁷⁰ The Declaration of Sentiments.

⁷¹ The Declaration of Independence.

among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness⁷²

This is , in fact, a mere rewriting of the following famous statement from the Declaration of Independence:

We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness.⁷³

In addition to this, Stanton also lists eighteenth of women's grievances exactly as the Declaration of Independence had listed eighteen of the colonists' grievances. Some of the listed grievances of man as listed in the Declaration of Sentiments are the following :

He has made her, if married, in the eye of the law, civilly dead.

He has taken from her all right in property, even to wages she earns.

He has made her, morally, an irresponsible being, as she can commit many crimes with impunity, provided they can be done in the presence of her husband. In the covenant of marriage, she is compelled to promise obedience to her husband, he becoming, to all intents and purposes, her master - the law giving him power to deprive her of her liberty, and to administer chastisement.

He has so framed the laws of divorce, as to what shall be the proper causes, and in case of separation, to who, the guardianship of the children shall be given, as to be wholly regardless of the happiness of women⁷⁴

⁷² The Declaration of Sentiments.

⁷³ The Declaration of Independence.

⁷⁴ The Declaration of Sentiments.

It is obvious, then, that the American feminists wanted to point out that American women were fighting for the same rights that their forefathers were fighting for when they wrote the Declaration of Independence.

Finally, it is worth stressing that Jefferson's greatest contribution to the American radical thought lies in his belief that authority must be limited and decentralized so that liberty and all the unalienable rights could be secured for the individual. In short, the truly Jeffersonian principle which he worked hard to put into operation throughout his political career, in accordance with the traditional philosophy, was the self-government by means of constitutionally limited government that would protect the individual liberty. This principle would become a central issue for the American radical group generally known as the transcendentalists. This leads me to discuss in the subsequent section of this chapter the transcendentalist radical thought as another root for the American radical attitude.

3- The Transcendentalists: American Radicalism Continued

In the nineteenth century, the American radicals continued to foster social change through what can be described as "transcendentalist radicalism". The latter is an American philosophical movement that emphasized the importance of the individual and was a break from the formalized religion. It flourished from roughly the mid-1830s to the 1860s, and was often viewed as a move toward the spiritual, and thus a real departure from the increasing materialism of American society at the time. As a philosophy, it emphasizes idealism rather than materialism.

At this point, it seems important to mention that transcendentalism was and still is difficult to define since it can be viewed as a spiritual, philosophical,

and cultural movement. Emerson himself provided a general definition in his 1842 essay “The Transcendentalist”:

The Transcendentalist adopts the whole connection of spiritual doctrine. He believes in miracle, in the perpetual openness of the human mind to new influx of light and power; he believes in inspiration, and in ecstasy. He wishes that the spiritual principle should be suffered to demonstrate itself to the end, in all possible applications to the state of man.⁷⁵

As has already been pointed out in the thesis, the movement cannot be considered radical unless it works to free the generations from the past traditions that might hinder the freedom of the individual. Transcendentalism, as a radical movement, cannot be properly understood outside the context of Unitarianism, the dominant religion in Boston during the early nineteenth century.

3.1-Innate Goodness: the Rejection of the Original Sin

As a movement, Transcendentalism is deeply rooted in the American religious history. The transcendentalists' insistence on intuition reminds us of the Puritan and the Quaker "doctrine of divine light." However, this concept assumes acts of God, whereas intuition is an act of an individual. In fact, it owes much to Unitarianism that had developed during the late eighteenth century as a liberal branch of Christianity which had been separated from Orthodox Christianity during the First Great Awakening of the 1740s. That Awakening age centered on the questions of divine election and original sin, and saw a kind of a short revivalism. Unitarians focused mainly on stability, rational thought,

⁷⁵ Ralf Emerson «The Transcendentalist». See RWE.org - *The Complete Guide to the Life and Works of Ralph Waldo Emerson*. See also *The Collected Works of Ralph Waldo Emerson: English traits* (Harvard 1994).

progressive morality, classical learning, and other distinctive features of Enlightenment Christianity instead of the basic principles of Calvinism.

Broadly speaking, the Transcendentalist movement took a more radical approach to the issue of the divinity of the natural world than the Unitarian church held. In addition to this, it totally rejected the tenets of empiricism, as put forth by Enlightenment thinkers, such as John Locke and David Hume . In explaining the nature of the Transcendentalist humanitarian thought , Francis E Skipp observes that:

The Transcendentalists rejected materialism with its emphasis on facts, history, the force of circumstance and the animal wants of man”... they adopted a utopian vision of humans as able to transcend all that by means of the God-given spiritual powers of the human mind.⁷⁶

At this point, it seems important to mention that their radical philosophy can be considered as a reaction to the materialism and rationalism of the 18th. In fact, it can be considered as a model of the general Humanitarian thought of 19th century thought. This opposition to materialism and the confining religious doctrines one of which being the traditional concept of the original sin might explain the special importance attributed by the Transcendentalists to intuition, spirit, and the individual. By holding that “finding God depended neither on orthodox Puritanism nor on the Unitarians' sensible exercise of virtue, but on the individual's inner striving toward spiritual communion with the divine spirit”⁷⁷,

⁷⁶ Francis E Skipp, *American Literature*, Barron's Educational Series, Inc., New York, the USA., 1992), p. 92-93.

⁷⁷ Mahbub Murad “About American Transcendentalism “
<http://mahbubmurad.blog.com/2011/10/07/about-american-transcendentalism/>. Accessed July 08, 2015.

the transcendentalists not only wanted to reform religion but to revolutionize all the aspects of life, one of which was the political one.

Perhaps, one of the major transcendentalists' political productions was "Civil Disobedience", an essay written by Henry David Thoreau in which he analyzes the individual's relationship to the state and focuses more on why should men obey governmental law when they believe it to be unjust? In fact, the importance of this document lies in that it could summarize the transcendentalists' radical attitude and clarify their conception of the state.

3.2- Thoreau's Civil Disobedience: an Extreme Meaning to Human Rights

Indeed, "Civil Disobedience" is Thoreau's extremely personal and radical response to being imprisoned for his non conformist beliefs that were considered as a breaking of the law. Opposing slavery ,and because tax revenues contributed to the support of it, Thoreau refused to pay them, an action that was described as a radical challenge to the authorities that nobody had dared to do before him. The basic radical idea of Thoreau that might have been original and then typically American was that the government should respect the very democratic principle that each person in society has his own independent power from which the government in turn receives its power. Thoreau notes "Let every man make known what kind of government would command his respect, and that will be one step toward obtaining it"⁷⁸,he adds ,"The only obligation which I have a right to assume is to do at any time what I think right"⁷⁹.

⁷⁸ Henry David Thoreau,"Civil Disobedience", *Walden and Other Writings by Henry David Thoreau*, ed. Joseph Wood Krutch (New York: Bantam Books, 1986), p. 342

⁷⁹ Ibid.

It should be readily be apparent that Thoreau believes that paying taxes to support slavery which he condemns is not only a violation of his power as a man, but it is an indirect contribution to injustice on his part. He says:

For my own part, I should not like to think that I ever rely on the protection of the State. But, if I deny the authority of the State when it presents its tax-bill, it will soon take and waste all my property, and so harass me and my children without end. This is hard. This makes it impossible for a man to live honestly,⁸⁰

Although he spent only one night in jail, this experience led him to discuss the government in a thorough and honest manner and then write an essay that would be extremely influential not only to future civil rights leaders but to all the radicals all over the world among whom we can cite Mahatma Gandhi, the famous Indian radical, just like Thoreau, believed that

[a]n unjust law is itself a species of violence. Arrest for its breach is more so. Now the law of nonviolence says that violence should be resisted not by counter-violence but by nonviolence. This I do by breaking the law and by peacefully submitting to arrest and imprisonment.⁸¹

One can also easily observe that Thoreau has a firm belief that the duty of every citizen is to act against the state whenever he feels that the state is morally wrong. He even claims that "under a government which imprisons any man unjustly, the true place for a just man is also a prison"⁸². Thoreau does not reject politics in general, but he demands of the state to act better than the way it was acting. He claims: "I ask for, not at once no government, but at once a

⁸⁰ Ibid.

⁸¹ Mahatma Gandhi, *Non-violence in Peace and War* (1942),p. 49.

⁸² Henry David Thoreau,.p.345.

better government."⁸³ It is obvious ,then, that the issue of the good government and the personal independence of the governed became Thoreau's major practical concern.

Interestingly , like Paine and Jefferson before him, Thoreau in his "Civil Disobedience" insisted on the idea of the individual's right to resist the state. It goes without saying that Thoreau in his essay, like John Locke, denies the right of any government to automatic and unthinking obedience. He insists that the only political duty of a man is to correct any injustice he directly causes and to deny his cooperation to other injustice. By the end of "Civil Disobedience" Thoreau concludes:

If I have unjustly wrestled a plank from a drowning man, I must restore it to him though I drown myself...
If I devote myself to other pursuits and contemplations, I must first see, at least, that I do not pursue them sitting upon another man's shoulders. I must get off him first, that he may pursue his contemplations too.⁸⁴

It is, then, quite obvious that Thoreau was convinced that the real democratic society was to be established in a way that the state should never have the right to violate the individual freedom. In case the state asks the subject to violate his conscience and participate in an injustice, the person should disobey or resist the system by removing his cooperation. It is important here to stress that Thoreau has never encouraged people to be violent in their reactions against their leaders; but rather, he insisted that resistance must be peaceful. One can understand from this that according to Thoreau, the radical attitude is not

⁸³ Ibid.p.346.

⁸⁴ Ibid.

always revolutionary and violent. Social and political change can be achieved in a very peaceful way. Thoreau notes :

If a thousand men were not to pay their tax-bills this year, that would not be a violent and bloody measure, as it would be to pay them, and enable the State to commit violence and shed innocent blood. This is, in fact, the definition of a peaceable revolution... If the tax-gatherer, or any other public officer, asks me, as one has done, "But what shall I do?" my answer is, "If you really wish to do anything, resign your office." When the subject has refused allegiance, and the officer has resigned his office, then the revolution is accomplished.⁸⁵

A simple comparison between his radical thought and that of Thomas Paine may demonstrate how both exhibit a kind of what can be described as an exaggerated sense of Americanism because both seek to find a fundamental principle for the right human life and the best social order and both called for the primacy of the individual's freedom over the government not only as a requirement for the legitimacy of political authority but also as a basic condition for a good government and good society. As mentioned earlier, for Paine, to be successful and therefore powerful, the government must first aim at achieving the individual's happiness. In this direction, Thoreau believed that the citizen must be involved in the political life of his society, and this happens only when the government takes into consideration the individual's will especially in all that concerns legal issues.

But one can easily observe that Thoreau goes further in this direction than Paine when asserting that the real meaning and the full implication of the

⁸⁵ Ibid.

American freedom would be fully achieved when the government ceases to have the authority to govern society and control the individual's conscience. In other words, as said earlier he supported the belief "that government is best which governs the least, because its people discipline themselves"⁸⁶In fact, this very idea is the result of his belief in the innate goodness of man as well as his freedom. Seen from another perspective, it seems here that Thoreau's radical thought is a call for anarchy, which Thoreau believes would be a civilized anarchy once the real meaning of the American conception of freedom is achieved.

It is quite interesting in this regard to stress then that the transcendentalists and all the civil disobedience activists have much in common with Jefferson and Paine's tradition and radical legacy. It is not surprising, then, that "they invoke the Declaration and the spirit of 76"⁸⁷. In fact, the transcendentalists' call for rebelling against the American system of politics as well as their transformative and radical ideas in religion, philosophy, and politics was, in part, a real and a clear reaffirmation of Jefferson's individualism. Consequently, one can say that if the Declaration of Independence had articulated the colonists' grievances against the British monarch in order to legitimate their right to overthrow the government that violated the social contract, the transcendentalists, just like Paine and Jefferson before them, saw the continuation of tyranny and injustice in centralized government and strict control.

Unsurprisingly, the radical beliefs and ideas of Thoreau had a great impact on many modern American radicals especially on those concerned with peace as a radical issue. It is undeniable that the great bulk of the leading

⁸⁶ Ibid.

⁸⁷ Luther S. Luedtke, *Making America: The Society & Culture of the United States* (UNC Press Books, 1992), p. 457.

members of the Civil Rights Movement in the 1960's and Vietnam War protestors were indebted to his essay on "Resistance to Civil Government", as it is not surprising to read that Martin Luther King Jr., for instance, must have learnt from Thoreau the strategy of the non-violent protest as well as the radical principle that "one has a moral responsibility to disobey unjust laws."⁸⁸ Striking also is the idea that Protestors of the Vietnam War and recently the Iraq War must have read and well understood such passages in *Walden* as: "Only the defeated and deserters go to the wars, cowards that run away and enlist." Or: "Patriotism is a maggot in their heads."⁸⁹ In another important sense, one can confirm that Thoreau, just like Paine before him, deserves to be associated with universal radical politics because his ideas are universally applicable over time. In other words, he could anticipate many radical projects that would be at stake during the twentieth century one of which was environmentalism. This leads me to discuss the transcendentalists' radical dealing with nature

3.3-Transcendentalist Environmentalism: Man and Nature

Indeed, securing the rights of nature was another major transcendentalist radical idea and one of the fundamental themes of Thoreau's autobiographical account, *Walden*. In his text, Thoreau repeatedly insisted that the individual should focus less on what he has and what he can buy, and therefore he should return to his roots which lie in nature. Environmentalism, as was demonstrated in the first chapter of this thesis, is nowadays a pretty popular theme in the United States in which environment has become a more frequent topic of discussion and education. Long years before, Thoreau in *Walden* raised the issue of

⁸⁸ <http://www.goodreads.com/quotes/tag/civil-disobedience>. Accessed November 12, 2015.

⁸⁹ Henry David Thoreau, *Walden and Other Writings by Henry David Thoreau*, ed. Joseph Wood Krutch, Arthur M. Schlesinger ed, *The American as Reformer* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1950) 33.: Bantam Books, 1986), p. 342.

environment and reminded his readers of the important fact that nature is the right and original place for human life. In this context ,he writes:

“I went to the woods because I wished to live deliberately, to front only the essential facts of life, and see if I could not learn what it had to teach, and not, when I came to die, discover that I had not lived. I did not wish to live what was not life, living is so dear; nor did I wish to practice resignation, unless it was quite necessary. I wanted to live deep and suck out all the marrow of life, to live so sturdily and Spartan-like as to put to rout all that was not life, to cut a broad swath and shave close, to drive life into a corner, and reduce it to its lowest terms..⁹⁰

As a matter of fact, this transcendentalist and particular vision to nature as described in Thoreau's text well explains why today, Thoreau; like the Diggers before him, is regularly associated with environmentalism as a modern radical movement. Certainly it was easy for the Americans to understand Thoreau's message in *Walden* through which he directly called for the rejection of all that might hurt nature.

Reading *Walden* ,the reader can easily realize that in Walden Pond, animals became Thoreau’s sole companions and best intimate friends. In this regard, it is worth noting that his life among animals really symbolizes his retreat from human society and closer intimacy with the environment and its fauna and flora. In the woods, Thoreau had the golden opportunity to devote much attention to the behavior of the animals around him like partridges, loons, and mice, and the like. The reader of *Walden* cannot fail to notice that Thoreau tends to personalize environment too much through stressing the animals'

⁹⁰ Henry David Thoreau. *Walden; or, Life in the Woods*. (Boston: Ticknor & Fields, 1854). P. 72.

human characteristics. For example, Thoreau's description of the partridge and its young walking along his windowsill can be considered as an assertion of the animals' motherhood and their natural maternal desire and readiness to protect their offspring. He writes :

In June the partridge, (*Tetrao umbellus*,) which is so shy a bird, led her brood past my windows, from the woods in the rear to the front of my house, clucking and calling to them like a hen, and in all her behavior proving herself the hen of the woods. The young suddenly disperse on your approach, at a signal from the mother, as if a whirlwind had swept them away and they so exactly resemble the dried leaves and twigs that many a traveler has placed his foot in the midst of a brood, and heard the whir of the old bird as she flew off, and her anxious calls and mewing, or seen her trail her wings to attract his attention, without suspecting their neighborhood ⁹¹

As an early environmentalist, Thoreau went further in stressing the resemblance between animals and humans even in the way of organizing life inside their communities. For instance, Thoreau describes two armies of ants of different races in a battle and he shows how they fight with ferocity exactly as human beings do in wars. Thoreau writes:

One day, when I went out to my wood-pile, or rather my pile of stumps, I observed two large ants, the one red, the other much larger, nearly half an inch long, and black, fiercely contending with one another. Having once got hold they never let go, but struggled and wrestled and rolled on the chips incessantly. Looking farther, I was surprised to find that the chips

⁹¹ Ibid. 169.

were covered with such combatants, that it was not a duellum, but a bellum, a war between two races of ants, the red always pitted against the black, and frequently two red ones to one black ⁹²

What is really striking here is the idea that Thoreau's experience of living among animals led him to conclude that nature is a living entity that is why it should be protected and respected. In other words, Thoreau argues persuasively that environment should enjoy its natural rights when he demonstrates that the fauna and the flora are, just like mankind, endowed by nature with certain natural rights among which the right of life. In addition to this, it was possible for him to observe that the animals around him had their own way of life. More than that, he discovered that they were living in organized communities. It is not surprising, in light of this that Thoreau went further to consider both fishing and hunting as criminal actions and eating animal meat a form of cannibalism. That is the reason why he called human beings to leave off eating animal meat. "Whatever my own practice may be," he says, "I have no doubt that it is a part of the destiny of the human race, in its gradual improvement, to leave off eating animals"⁹³. In this context, he adds:

I believe that every man who has ever been earnest to preserve his higher or poetic faculties in the best condition has been particularly inclined to abstain from animal food, and from much food of any kind . . . The fruits eaten temperately need not make us ashamed of our appetites, nor interrupt the worthiest pursuits. ⁹⁴

⁹² Ibid. 166.

⁹³ Ibid. 263.

⁹⁴ Ibid. 262.

Little wonder then that while living in Walden pond, Thoreau became convinced that he ought to criminalize all that might hurt nature .That is why he decided to stop hunting and fishing since these two activities threaten animals' lives. In line with this, he says, "At present, I am no fisherman at all." ⁹⁵ And adds:

No humane being [he writes], past the thoughtless age of boyhood, will wantonly murder any creature, which holds its life by the same tenure that he does. The hare in its extremity cries like a child. I warn you, mothers, that my sympathies do not always make the usual philanthropic distinctions. ⁹⁶

Indeed ,these words of Thoreau can be understood as a direct call for the necessity of protecting the environment through ceasing to kill animals simply because, according to him , they have the natural right to live. In this respect, one can ,therefore, sustain that the modern radical tendency of personalizing nature through considering it as a living entity is a concrete proof of the strong presence of Thoreau's legacy in the modern radical thought that calls for the protection of nature.

As a matter of fact, American radicals not only struggled to have an ideal environment in which both animals and plants can live peacefully , but also worked hard to secure an international and ideal status for their nation so that other nations view it as the land of dreams and opportunities . Let us, therefore move to another debate still linked to American radicalism and its utopian vision to the American life ; it is the American exceptionalist self-image that made every American feel the exceptionalism of his nation .

⁹⁵ Ibid. 261.

⁹⁶ Ibid. 260.

4- Radicalism and American Exceptionalism ,Peace ,Universality, and Democracy

As said earlier, America has long been the land of radicalism .In fact, the radical attitude has characterised the American man since the Puritan period. When they felt oppressed by the British monarch, the Americans needed to be radical in order to detach themselves from their mother country .To justify their desire for political and intellectual independence ,the Americans as a new people in a new nation needed to prove that they were different from the British .This in fact led them to search for new values for their newly born society .

Significantly , one can note that radicalism in the USA and despite the fact that it was the result of a mixture of ideologies and thought; it managed to a great extent to create an exceptional America. This certainly strengthened the American utopian vision of their society as well as their common belief in their millennial duty as the chosen people in the world.

4.1- Radicalism and the American Providential Self Image

Indeed, it is widely believed that, "American exceptionalism" originated from the radical religious belief that the American people are God's Elect. In reality, the concept of "the chosen people" originated from the Old Testament of Christianity usually means that God had chosen the Israelites as his chosen people to save them from the slavery of Egyptian Pharaoh. Later, "the chosen people" became the Protestants who wanted to carry on the Protestant Reformation in 16th century. Protestants soon became convinced that since the chosen people are the chosen ones of God, the rest are abandoned people.

As a matter of fact, Bercovitch has argumentatively demonstrated how the Puritan saints who saw America as an asylum were quite convinced that building a New Jerusalem in New England or to use Winthrop's words "a city

upon a hill” would be a real model of progressive development for the entire humanity. At this point , it must be added that John Winthrop must have been aware of the opportunities offered by the New World as a virgin and vast land for spiritual regeneration that is why he wanted the new nation to become "a City upon a hill."⁹⁷

In addition to this ,Bercovitch tried to show how New England’s first generation were firmly convinced that their successful experience in reforming religion would pave the way to a new age of human liberty and ,therefore would secure a better life for people all over the world. This might be an appropriate explanation of what Americans proudly considered as their international mission of building an ideal civilization that would promote justice and liberty to never before known or experienced level. “This faith in New England’s providential and historical destiny”, Bercovitch argues, “made the wedding of the sacred and temporal within the Godly community possible and that can be considered as a major root of American culture’s exceptionalist self-image”.⁹⁸

The idea of America as the Land of opportunities for all , was also interpreted in secular terms . For his part ,John Locke considered America as the best example of to the state of nature. That is the reason why he notes that "in the beginning, the entire World was America."⁹⁹ Properly understood, even Locke stressed the virginity of America as a newly settled world when he explained the idea of the state of nature.

In this regard, it is ,therefore, quite important to add that the idea that "New Jerusalem" was to be realized in the New World continued to be a

⁹⁷ John Winthrop, "A Modell of Christian Charity", in *An American Primer*, ed. by Daniel Boorstin, (New York: New American Library, 1966), p. 40.

⁹⁸ Sacvan Bercovitch, *The American Jeremiad* (New York: Routledge, 1993), p. 55.

⁹⁹ John Locke, "Second Treatise of Government", in *John Locke: Two Treatises of Government*, ed. by Peter Laslett (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), p. 343.

widespread belief among Americans".¹⁰⁰ in reality, this belief in the providential destiny of the new nation was strengthened by the virginity and vastness of the newly settled land. That is why the Americans continued to claim that their new Jerusalem should be different from Europe. They, for instance, strongly believed that unlike Europe, their nation was founded on peace. Being aware of the fact that the Old World was rotten because of violence and corruption, both Crèvecoeur and Philip Freneau¹⁰¹ considered American freedom as the antithesis of European oppression¹⁰². For example, Freneau believes that Britain symbolizes cruelty and arrogance. He writes:

This be my talk ungenerous Britons, you .
Conspire to murder those toy cannot subdue¹⁰³

Moreover, he mocked at the British who felt superior to other nations. Sarcastically, he adds:

All nations they abhor, test, decry
But their dear race emblazon to the sky
As if the sun for Britain only shone,
And all mankind were made for her alone¹⁰⁴

In his *Letters from an American Farmer*, Crèvecoeur also treats the theme of the difference between life in Europe and the one in the new nation

¹⁰⁰ James H. Moorhead, "Between Progress and Apocalypse: A Reassessment of Millennialism in American Religious Thought, 1800-1880", *Journal of American History*, 71, (1984), pp. 524-542.

¹⁰¹ About Freneau, see his poem *The British prison ship* in which he portrays the British empire as a source of harshness and cruelty. As captive, Freneau could portray to his readers the negative image of the British who were torturing the Americans whom they imprisoned.

¹⁰² Elise Marienstras, *Les mythes fondateurs de nation américaine*, (Paris, 1976).p.102.

¹⁰³ Philip Freneau, *British Prison ship*, americainclass.org/sources/.../war/text6/freneaubritishprisonship.pdf

¹⁰⁴ Ibid.

stressing the agrarian nature of the American life and the American specific dealing with land issue .more exactly he aimed at drawing attention to the important fact that in America, every farmer is working in his own land while in the Old World land is monopolized by one class .He notes :

He is arrived on a new continent; a modern society offers itself to its contemplation ,different from what he had hitherto seen. It is not composed as in Europe , of great lords who posses everything and of a herd of people who have nothing ¹⁰⁵

In addition to this ,Crevecoeur insisted that the American man is a new man and different from the European man left behind .In this context, he adds:

The American is a new man, who acts upon new principles; he must therefore entertain new ideas, and form new opinions. . . . Here individuals of all nations are melted into a new race of men, whose labours and posterity will one day cause great changes in the world. . . . he now feels himself a man . . . Judge what an alteration there must arise in the mind and thoughts of this man; . . . his heart involuntarily swells and glows; this first swell inspires him with those new thoughts which constitute an American.¹⁰⁶

One can notice that Crevecoeur could positively interpret the variety of races in the new nation using the idea of America being a melting pot as a myth that would strengthen the distinctiveness of the new nation. What is striking in the excerpt above is that Crevecoeur could even anticipate the power of America and its leading role in the world believing that this new

¹⁰⁵ J. Crevecoeur,*Letters from an American Farmer* , (Applewood Books, 200),p.49.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*56.

nation would change life all around the world . Here it is significant to add that not only Crèvecoeur mythic view of America that anticipated its blossoming future, the providential history of the nation also told that it would be the leading nation in the globe.

4.2- Radicalism and the Mission of Universality

After independence and despite their secular radical thought, the founding fathers had to continue using the Puritan legacy to stress the role of the United States in the world .In reality , they continued holding that their nation was of a divine origin considering even the success of the American Revolution as a divine blessing to both the Americans as the chosen people and to America as the promised land . They considered the vastness of America as well as the abundance of its sources as a reward from God to the people whom He had elected and who would fulfil God's will on Earth. Asserting this idea , George Washington declares :

No people can be bound to acknowledge and adore the invisible hand, which conducts the Affairs of men more than the People of the United States. Every step, by which they have advanced to the character of an independent nation, seems to have been distinguished by some token of providential agency.¹⁰⁷

¹⁰⁷ Inaugural Peabody , in *American Patriotism* ,p.182

In addition to this , there is a need to note that the success of the Americans to get their independence made America an asylum for great numbers of refugees who sought freedom from the tyrannical Old World .This ,in fact ,strengthened the founding fathers' belief that the divine qualities often associated with their new nation were part of the great project that should concern the entire humanity. In line with this, John Adams proudly states:

I always consider the settlement of America with reverence and wonder, as the opening of a grand scene and design in providence, for the illumination of the ignorant and the emancipation of the slavish part of mankind all over the earth.¹⁰⁸

This ,however, led the people of the new nation to struggle to prove that they were different from the other nations since they were guided by God to fulfil man's happiness and glory on Earth . Stressing the idea that the American land became a land of happiness and glory for all humanity . Samuel Williams proclaims that:

On such firm and solid foundation, Freedom has been established in North-America. And this is one of those reasons that may well lead us to value and love this country. For while the greatest part of the nations of the earth, are held together under the yoke of universal slavery, the North-American provinces yet remain the country of free men: The asylum, and the last, to which such may flee from the common deluge.¹⁰⁹

One may also observe that few years after independence when the U.S. was not yet a world power, Adams referred to the new American nation

¹⁰⁸ John Adams ,*Life and Works* ,I,p 66

¹⁰⁹ Samuel Williams, *A Discourse on the Love of our Country*,p18.

as "the beacon on the mountain so that people around the world can see its warm light of salvation."¹¹⁰ But when the United States became more powerful, the Americans had to adopt another mythic idea that would reflect the American providential destiny. That is why the idea of the beacon was replaced by the Manifest Destiny, which was based on the very mythic belief that the U.S. must "expand on this continent assigned by the God"¹¹¹.

In other words, the American westward expansion was considered as part of a divine duty towards humanity as well as a fulfilment of God's will. It was the mythic belief that would keep the American new nation safe from all the attempts of Europeanization. It is worth noting that the manifest destiny played a great role in promoting greater economic prosperity in the democratic new nation. When the Westward expansion was fully completed, the Americans focused more on "the dissemination of republicanism and the output of American-style liberty, democracy and human rights values."¹¹²

It is quite interesting, in this regard, to observe that in recent years, the Americans started to insist that their role should be the promotion and even the protection of liberty, democracy, and human rights values and principles in all around the globe. These values, though seem to be the major secular values of the American social system, originate, as pointed out earlier, from the values of the Protestant Reformation. In fact, those values have embodied the faith of the Protestant. In other words, the Americans believe that in this world, liberty, democracy and human rights are the best social values that serve God's will. Therefore, to help other people to achieve liberty and democracy is not only the

¹¹⁰ LUO Yanhua, 'On the Religious Roots of the United States to Export its Liberty, Democracy and Human Rights Values', http://www.chinahumanrights.org/html/2014/PAPERS_1030/985_2.html. Accessed October 30, 2014.

¹¹¹ Ibid.

¹¹² Ibid.

mission but the obligation of God's believers. In line with this, the American scholar Ralph Gabriel said, "American democracy will liberate the world from the oppression of dictators, which is a secular expression of a religious mission, i.e. Christian is bound to liberate the world from the rule of Satan."¹¹³

In light of this important fact, one can understand that this firm belief in the distinctiveness of the American experiment in the newly settled land as the Promised Land, as the following words by Melville show, has haunted the Americans and continued to maintain its hold on their minds even in the nineteenth century. Melville proudly notes:

We Americans, are the peculiar, chosen people—the Israel of our time; we bear the ark of the liberties of the world. God has predestined, mankind expects, great things from our race; and great things we feel in our souls. The rest of the nations must soon be in our rear. Long enough have we been skeptics with regard to ourselves, and doubted whether, indeed, the political Messiah had come. But he has come in us.¹¹⁴

One is likely to find out from Melville's words that the utopian vision of America and the strong belief in its exceptionalism is religiously justified simply because, the Americans have often enjoyed a peculiar self-awareness that they were the chosen people of God. In addition to this, as a new nation, the American people had to find new values for their newly established society.

The success of the radical struggle in their land, that promoted both the freedom of the individual and equality among all the Americans, was another

¹¹³ LUO Yanhua, 'op.cit.

¹¹⁴ Herman Melville, *The Works of Herman Melville: White Jacket*. VI (Russel & Russel, 1963), p.504.

argument for the exceptional nature of the new nation .In fact , The consolidation of freedom and equality as fundamental social values in the American democratic society made the Americans self confident enough to be nationally proud and ,therefore, believe that they bear a historical mission, which is to bring greater light and a better future to the entire world. Thus, the Americans not only have a utopian vision of how life should be in their country , but they feel American exceptionalism in their souls as well.

Like Melville, Walt Whitman, widely known as "the poet of American democracy",¹¹⁵ was another believer in the providential destiny of the United States .This is the reason why he considered that technological development ,science ,and engineering ,which made geographical distance no longer an obstacle for relations among the human race and civilisations, were part of a divine destiny that would bring all the human race together .In his famous poem *The Passage to India*, he writes:

Passage to India!
Lo, soul! seest thou not God's purpose from the first?
The earth to be spann'd, connected by net-work,
The people to become brothers and sisters,
The races, neighbors, to marry and be given in
marriage,
The oceans to be cross'd, the distant brought near,
The lands to be welded together. ¹¹⁶

Still as a believer in the American exceptional nature as well as in the divine mission attributed to it by God ,Whitman seems to consider those achievements as a way by which America ,the representative of modernism ,will

¹¹⁵ Khalid Y. Belkhashe , "Walt Whitman's Democracy: Between Transcendentalism and Realism" Vol. 3 *Alandalus For Social and Applied Sciences* Issue(6) 2011. P.239..

¹¹⁶ Walt Whitman ,*The Passage to India,Leaves of Grass* (Рипол Классик),p.2,3

spiritually guide the entire world to God's path. Imagining a peaceful new era led by the American nation, Whitman proclaims:

A worship new, I sing;
You captains, voyagers, explorers, yours!
You engineers! You architects, machinists, yours!
You, not for trade or transportation only,
But in God's name, and for thy sake, O soul¹¹⁷

In fact, one can observe that the Americans' belief in their universal mission was strengthened by the successful, gradual intergradation of religion in the republic. Little wonder then that in its turn, the Americans' belief in their nation's exceptionalism as well as their conviction of its supremacy has played a significant role in shaping the widely accepted interventionist policy of the U.S. in the world. The Americans often see their country as a unique nation that should play a leading role in international politics. According to them, it is supposed to be more moral, independent, powerful, and democratic than any other country in the world. In other words, they held that their country enjoys a higher degree of perfectibility in all the aspects of life. That is the reason why they viewed it as the land of great opportunities and human rights in which all man's dreams of the pursuit of happiness can be realised.

More exactly, even today the Americans seem to be convinced that their nation enjoys the best spiritual values and laws in the world. This made it, according to their belief of course, fully entitled to lead the special mission of spreading the American values and radical reformist ideology in the whole world. This, in turn, made the ambitions of American radicalism universal so that the whole world should be reformed according to the American self-evident truths as set forth in the American Declaration of Independence. For his part,

¹¹⁷ Ibid.p.6.

President Nixon, in 1960 and in a public announcement of this typically American international reformist mission, announced that " the U.S. was not created just for its own liberty in 180 years ago, but also for the liberty of the whole world"¹¹⁸.Justifying American interventionism, the former President of the United States, George W. Bush also repeatedly said, "As the most powerful nation on earth, it's our duty to spread liberty. For me, we are assigned to do so."¹¹⁹

In light of this ,it is not surprising that in this age of globalization, the U.S. President Barak Obama has also clearly proclaimed:

The United States will always speak for those who are voiceless, defend those who are oppressed, and bear witness to those who want nothing more than to exercise their universal human rights. Our Bill of Rights protects these fundamental values at home, and guides our actions as we stand with those who seek to exercise their universal rights, wherever they live.....Part of the price of our own blessings of liberty is standing up for the liberty of others. As we observe Human Rights Day, Bill of Rights Day, and Human Rights Week, let us recommit to advancing human rights as our common cause and moral imperative.¹²⁰

It is obvious that these words by Obama publicly express and straightforwardly demonstrate the Americans recent firm belief and conviction that the American endless search for a more democratic society turned to be a

¹¹⁸ *China Society for Human Rights Studies, On the Religious Roots of the United States to Export its Liberty, Democracy and Human Rights Values*, October 30,2014, <http://www.chinahumanrights.org/html>. Accessed July12, 2015.

¹¹⁹ Ibid.

¹²⁰ Barak Obama's Speech, 2008, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=CnvUUauFJ98>. Accessed June 8, 2014.

continuous struggle for a more democratic world. This, in fact, made American radicalism become a universal issue. Consequently, one can finally say that by enabling the American nation to become an international hegemonic leader, American radical activism contributed to a great extent to the birth of a new empire in the modern globalized world, the American empire of mind.

Conclusion

The present study has principally focused on the roots of American radicalism as a central issue in the recent history of the United States of America. Throughout the five chapters of the thesis, the radical attitude has been considered as the endeavour to change society for the better. In an American context, radicalism is any inclination towards social and political reform according to democratic principles. In fact, radical activism in the United States appears in the different radical movements including abolitionism, populism, feminism, and the like. Most evidently, these American radical movements accept society's "prevailing emphasis on the ideal of "free individual" and seek to eliminate obstacles from its fulfilment"¹. Their ultimate goal is ,then, the triumph and the consolidation of the American democratic ideals such as freedom, equality, opportunity, and prosperity. The thesis also demonstrates that the roots of American radical attitude lie at the very origin of this new nation's republic and democracy.

In the present study , one has attempted to establish the fact that the radical attitude in the USA is deeply rooted in the history of this new nation. It is no secret that America and since its first days has been a fertile land for radical experimentation. The Puritans, who were the first to settle in America, were radicals and nonconformists who went to America in order to achieve religious reforms, the thing that they could not do in England. In turn, America as a newly settled land revealed new truths for those who sought radical reforms by

¹ Timothy Patrick McCarthy, John Campbell,op.cit., p. xi.

which they aimed at consolidating liberty, justice, and equality in the newly established community.

These concepts and principles that directed American radicalism, as they were thoroughly exposed in the first chapter of the study, were not the result of a specific political program, but the ideas of some individuals and communities whose discontent with social injustice made them active as social critics and then social reformists. American radicals, throughout American history, saw that the American society was in need to a fundamental change.

The present study has been, then, an attempt to examine and even analyze the major roots of American radicalism because only through uncovering the roots of the radical attitude that still shapes the American political and social life that one can interpret the way the Americans behave in the present and even speculate the way they will behave in the future . It is undeniable that the Americans borrowed from the Old World ideas about freedom and equality; that is the reason why, the second chapter of the thesis has been an attempt to examine the impact of the British radical legacy on shaping the American radical spirit .The chapter has demonstrated that the Americans were not aloof from the radical ideas of those called the British popular radicals of the seventeenth century and more precisely during the post Civil War period. The Levellers and the Diggers were the first to outline a constitution to Britain and to plan for the preparation for a democratic system in Britain that would be based on the consent of people. As a result, they drafted *The Agreement of People* as the basis for the British constitution.

As radical groups who believed in freedom and equality as man's fundamental natural rights, the Levellers as well as the Diggers wanted a less authoritarian political system which would guarantee the just distribution of the

land among the British people instead of having it monopolized by the landed gentry .By this, they aimed at limiting the authority and the absolute rule of the monarch as well as that of the landed gentry and therefore, creating a more harmonious society based on freedom and justice.

Despite the fact that this radical group existed in the Old World, the putting into practice of their ideals was not as successful as in the New World. To this day, the ideas of the levellers have hardly been accepted by the British monarchy .Here, one can say that the levellers' radical project that was directed in order to change the political life in Britain was continued in the newly founded American society which proved to be a fertile land for that kind of radical activism.

The impact of this radicalism continued to noticeably shape the political life in Britain during the Industrial Revolution through the Whigs and their Country Party, yet the radical impulse in the British society had long always remained subterranean and limited. That is the reason why it could not survive . Nevertheless; it found a way to the American elite due to the then strong ties between the British people and the American one. The echo of the British popular radicalism is quite obvious in the American constitution.

The thesis has also been intended to explore the role played by religion in the promotion of the radical ideology in the USA .This, has been the task of the third chapter of the thesis in which focus was on antinomianism as a form of religious radicalism that circulated in the seventeenth century colonial America .This part of the thesis has examined the many reforms that were seen by the Christian religion since the Puritan Revolution in Britain. Those who opted for reforms were often called "Puritans" but the degree of Puritanism differed according to the kind of reforms the Puritans wanted to carry out .Some were

godly , others separatists. America received both factions; the first in the Massachusetts Bay Colony while the other in Plymouth Plantation .The godly community in the Bay Colony founded the Holy Commonwealth but radicalism started when a group of individuals within this society realized that the authorities of the community betrayed the basic rules on which the society was first founded and a new call for reform was announced.

Like the radical controversies that were popular during the Puritan Revolution in Britain and which were often ignited in Coleman Street Ward, "the nest of sedition" which put the relation between religion and politics into question, controversies in America also discussed the necessity of promoting religious radical reform in the American society since the major goal of leaving the Old World had been to escape the authority of the king. The king now being far and left away ,why not go to the extremes of the radical reforms and put into practice the Christ's doctrine of total equality as well as total liberty? Roger Williams and Anne Hutchinson were the first who dared to challenge the Bay authorities and called for radical reforms within the godly community, the hitherto reformed from the catholic and protestant orthodoxy.

In this regard, the present study has highlighted the important fact that Williams was the representative of the American freeman who fought for liberty of conscience and universal equality not only among the people of the community but as well as among the Americans and the Indians. His radical call for a better treatment for the natives was a real challenge to the Bay colonists' racist practices against all non-Christians. Williams also advocated the radical principle of sovereign authority by linking the legitimacy of the government to the consent of the governed , was the first democratic principle debated in the godly community.

No less interesting was the radical issues raised by Hutchinson as a radical woman who struggled for the promotion of the feminine religious practice .She used prophecy as a justification for her challenge to the Bay authorities; she was a strong believer ,just like Williams, that religion should be a personal issue that should not be intermingled with the political matters. Therefore just like Coleman Street radicals, she called for the separation between the state and religion.

The result of both controversies was sedition that paved the way for the promotion of religious liberty in the American society .Both radicals anticipated issues that would trouble the Americans in the future like ethnic issues and the right of minorities as feminism and the role that should be played by women in the public life.

In addition to the historical heritage and the religious radical movements, I have also pointed out in this study that ,as concerns their construction of their radical ideology, the Americans were inspired by the ideas as well as the theories of the European philosophers because they felt the need for a philosophical context for their radicalism .This argument was advanced in the fourth chapter of the thesis .Thomas Hobbes's theory of the social contract provided a good inspiration for an appropriate political system that would be non monarchical since it would be the result of the consent of the led.

Hobbes's major contribution to political philosophy in general and to radicalism in a more particular sense lies in his emphasis on natural equality as well as on the possibility of founding a political system through a social contract between the leader and the led . According to Hobbes , the leader should be the strongest in society so as to secure peace for the rest . In fact ,this very idea would pave the way to the more radical idea of a civil government in

which the leader is not a king. Without doubt, through his insistence on natural equality, Hobbes could successfully confirm that the divine right of the king was null and void. That is the reason why it is widely held among scholars that his idea of the social contract is one of the basic roots of the American radical attitude of challenging the British monarch.

Besides, the founding fathers, especially, Thomas Jefferson were influenced by Harrington's agrarian theory that called for the just distribution of land among people in order to enable them enjoy the natural right of the pursuit of happiness and be strong social entities in their society. Those very ideas paved the way and justified radical movements like Jeffersonian agrarianism and populism.

Moreover, in the study of the philosophical roots of American radicalism, one has stressed how John Locke was another crucial contributor to American radicalism. While basing his political theory on the social contract, he added the more radical principle of the right and the capacity of the led to overthrow the leader in case the latter violated the contract and therefore acted against the common will. Bearing in mind this extremely radical theory of revolution, by the standard of their time of course, the Americans saw that it was time to use their right of revolt through a revolution in order to end the British tyranny. Later, this principle became one of the fundamental principles of American democracy.

Furthermore, Jean Jacques Rousseau's theory of human rights was appreciated and, then, adopted not only by the Americans but by all the nations all over the world because of his insisting emphasis on freedom and the sovereignty of people. It should be readily apparent, then, that the Americans did not look only to their mother country for ideological inspiration, but they

were aware about the French radical wave that would later pave the way for the French Revolution. In fact, the presence of Rousseau's ideas in the radical American social and political thought marks the French influence, though not often acknowledged, on the founding fathers and on the birth of radicalism on the New World.

In essence, there has been an attempt to show that the previously cited philosophical radical theories together with the popular and the religious radical legacy really allowed the emergence of American republicanism as a political ideology. In an American context, it is republicanism that led to democracy in the new nation. In the thesis, it has been demonstrated that American radicalism is any reformist action that tends to enhance democracy in the American society. As a radical thought, republicanism was first propagated by the radical Thomas Paine. After that, it was consecrated in The Declaration of Independence, the historical document and the political paper of state that set forth the principles of American republicanism and which would become a background for all the radical movements that would appear in the USA. Indeed, the radical movements that emerged in the American society such as abolitionism, feminism, and populism all took their legitimacy as well as their strength from the natural rights that were listed in this historical document drafted by the founding fathers.

For this reason, the fifth chapter of the thesis was dedicated to the examination of the American touch in the radical thought. This last chapter of the thesis demonstrates how the Americans could be creative in shaping the radical ideology that would guarantee an endless search for a better life for all the Americans. Starting with Thomas Paine's revolutionary ideas, the American radical attitude was consolidated by Thomas Jefferson's specific vision of the representative government. In the footsteps of Paine and Jefferson, the

transcendentalists continued to foster change inside the American society through putting the grounds to a typically American philosophy of life based on both egalitarian and libertarian ethics.

In reality, the strong radical wave of the transcendentalists not only consolidated Paine and Jefferson's radical theories but also reminded the Americans of the spirit of 1776 as well as of the American sacred right of saying "I disagree", the statement that had been used centuries before by Williams and Hutchinson in colonial America . Indeed, transcendentalism became a fundamental root for many American radical attitudes in the twentieth century in the United States. It is certain that the Civil Rights Movement, environmentalism, and opposing the Vietnam War were all inspired by Thoreau, the transcendentalist.

After a deep study of the roots of American radicalism, one can draw the conclusion that in order to shape their radical ideology and to establish an appropriate political and social system that suited their democratic aspirations, the Americans had to depend on different sources: historical, religious, and philosophical ending by a successful integration of religion into the republic . These various sources intermingled and completed each other and the result was a quite modern, unique thought in a modern nation. It is thanks to historical persons like Roger Williams, Anne Hutchinson, John Locke, Jean Jacques Rousseau and many other thinkers and radicals that the Americans are taking nowadays many democratic ideals for granted.

It is true that the success achieved by the American radicals can mainly be explained by the newness of the American society, a society that gave the individual the opportunity to reform the social and the political life around him and ,thus, to make the American radical idea of establishing a utopian society a

concrete fact . Undoubtedly, it is this tendency that paved the way for the American feeling of being exceptional.

In this study, one has, thus, established the fact that American radicalism was partly the result of the Americans' desire to make their utopian vision of society a concrete reality. In fact, American radicalism has always been linked to this utopian vision. The Americans' feeling that their country is a land that gives them the opportunity for an endless radical struggle for a better society for all, has made them believe in the exceptionalism of their nation. Some of them uphold that to a certain time, other countries around the world would "turn to the U.S. to seek for the moral forces that laid foundations for all liberty."² During the Cold War, for example, this sense of mission had been further strengthened. Truman declared that "the U.S. has born the task of leading this generation, which was previously arranged by God." He also said "the U.S. should always bear in mind the mission of guiding the world toward peace."³

It is obvious that this millennial belief made the Americans quite convinced that an ideal world is that in which all countries can have free economic and political system that allows them to enjoy social justice and human rights. Indeed, that is the reason why after the Cold War, the United States clearly considered the dominance of capitalism and the leadership of the U.S. as its sacred mission. It is the same reason that led the American leaders to start thinking of exporting liberty, democracy, and human rights values all over the world through adopting interventionism.

In fact , it was, probably, the same reason that made President Wilson go beyond that to proudly declare that "the flag of the United States was not only

² LUO Yanhua, op. cit.

³ Ibid.

the flag of the U.S., but also the flag of all mankind”⁴. This discourse, perhaps, aims at convincing the Americans that the United States is an extremely exceptional country which would lead the international struggle for democraticizing or, in other words, Americanizing the entire world in the current globalized age. That is why it might be interesting to note in the end of this thesis that the present research about the roots of American radicalism might inspire and why not be a starting point for another study about globalizing American radicalism.

⁴ Ibid.

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Appendices

Extract from the debates at the General Council of the Army, Putney.

29 October 1647

At the General Council of the Army, Putney, 29 October 1647

(The paper called the *Agreement* read. Afterwards the first article read by itself: 'That the people of England being at this day very unequally distributed by counties, cities and boroughs for the election of their deputies in parliament, ought to be more indifferently proportioned according to the number of inhabitants ...')

Commissary-General Henry Ireton: The exception that lies in it is this. It is said they ('the people of England etc.') are to be distributed according to the number of the inhabitants. This does make me think that the meaning is that every man that is an inhabitant is to be equally considered, and to have an equal voice in the election of the representers — those persons that are for the General Representative. And if that be the meaning then I have something to say against it. But if it be only that those people that by the civil constitution of this kingdom, which is original and fundamental, and beyond which I am sure no memory of record does go ...

Commissary Nicholas Cowling (interrupting): Not before the Conquest.

Ireton: But before the Conquest it was so. If it be intended that those that by that constitution that was before the Conquest that has been beyond memory, such persons that have been before by that constitution the electors should be still the electors, I have no more to say against it... *Ireton* then asked whether those men whose hands are to *the Agreement*, or those that brought it, 'do know so much of the matter as to know whether they mean that all that had a former right of election are to be electors, or that those that had *no right before* are to come in?'

Cowling: In the time before the Conquest. Since the Conquest the greatest part of the kingdom was in vassalage.

Maximilian Petty: We judge that all inhabitants that have not lost their birthright should have an equal voice in elections.

Colonel Thomas Rainborough: I desired that those that had engaged in it might be included. For really I think that the poorest he that is in England has a life to live as the greatest he; and therefore truly, sir, I think it's clear that every man that is to live under a government ought first by his own consent to put himself under that government; and I do think that the poorest man in England is not at all bound in a strict sense to that government that he has not had a voice to put himself under. And I am confident that when I have heard the reasons against it, something will be said to answer those reasons — insomuch that I should doubt whether he was an Englishman or no that should doubt of these things.

Ireton: That's the meaning of this 'according to the number of the inhabitants'? Give me leave to tell you that if you make this the rule, I think you must fly for refuge to an absolute natural right and you must deny all civil right; and I am sure it will come to that in the consequence. This, I perceive, is pressed as that which is so essential and due: the right of the people of this

kingdom, and as they *are* the people of this kingdom, distinct and divided from other people; and that we must for this right lay aside all other considerations; this is so just, this is so due, this is so right to them. And that those that they do thus choose must have such a power of binding all, and loosing all, according to those limitations. This is pressed as so due and so just as it is argued that it is an engagement paramount to all others, and you must for it lay aside all others. If you have engaged any otherwise you must break it. We must so look upon these as thus held out to us; so it was held out by the gentleman that brought it yesterday.

For my part, I think it is no right at all. I think that no person has a right to an interest or share in the disposing or determining of the affairs of the kingdom, and in choosing those that shall determine what laws we shall be ruled by here — no person has a right to this that has not a permanent fixed interest in this kingdom; and *those* persons together are properly the represented of this kingdom and consequently are also to make up the representers of this kingdom, who, taken together, do comprehend whatsoever is of real or permanent interest in the kingdom. And I am sure otherwise I cannot tell what any man can say why a foreigner coming in amongst us — or as many as will coming in amongst us, or by force or otherwise settling themselves here, or at least by our permission having a being here — why they should not as well lay claim to it as any other. We talk of 'birthright'. Truly by birthright there is *thus* much claim. Men may justly have by birthright (by their very being born in England) that we should not seclude them out of England, that we should not refuse to give them air and place and ground and the freedom of the highways and other things to live amongst us — not to any man that is born here, though by his birth there come nothing at all that is part of the permanent interest of this kingdom to him. *That* I think is due to a man by birth. But that by a man's being born here he shall have a share in that power that shall dispose of the lands here, and of all things here, I do not think it a sufficient ground.

I am sure, if we look upon that which is the utmost within *any* man's view of what was originally the constitution of this kingdom, upon that which is most radical and fundamental, and which if you take away there is no man has any land, any goods, or any civil interest, that is this: that those that choose the representers for the making of laws by which this state and kingdom are to be governed are the persons who, taken together, *do* comprehend the local interest of this kingdom, that is the persons in whom all land lies and those in corporations in whom all trading lies. This is the most fundamental constitution of this kingdom and that which if you do not allow, you allow none at all. This constitution has limited and determined it that only those shall have voices in elections. It is true — as was said by a gentleman near me — the meanest man in England ought to have a voice in the election of the government he lives under. But *only if* he has some local interest. I say this: that those that have the meanest local interest — that man that has but forty shillings a year — he has as great voice in the election of a knight for the shire as he that has ten thousand a year or more, if he had never so much; and therefore there is that regard had to it. But this local interest, still the constitution of this government has had an eye to. And what other government has not an eye to this? It does not relate to the interest of the kingdom if it do not lay the foundation of the power that's given to the representers in those who have a permanent and a local interest in the kingdom, and who taken all together do comprehend the whole interest of the kingdom. There is all the reason and justice that can be in this. If I will come to live in a kingdom being a foreigner to it, or live in a kingdom having no permanent interest in it, and if I will desire as a stranger or claim as one freeborn here, the air, the free passage of highways, the protection of laws, and all such things — if I will either desire them or claim them, then I (if I have no permanent interest in that kingdom) must submit to those laws and those rules which they shall choose, who, taken together, do comprehend the whole interest of the kingdom. And if we shall go to

take away this we shall plainly go to take away all property and interest that any man has, either in land by inheritance or in estate by possession, or anything else — I say, if you take away this fundamental part of the civil constitution.

Rainborough: Truly sir, I am of the same opinion I was, and am resolved to keep it till I know reason why I should not. I confess my memory is bad, and therefore I am fain to make use of my pen. I remember that — in a former speech which this gentleman brought before this meeting — he was saying that in some cases he should not value whether there were a king or no king, whether lords or no lords, whether a property or no property. For my part I differ in that. I do very much care whether there be a king or no king, lords or no lords, property or no property; and I think, if we do not all take care, we shall all have none of these very shortly.

But as to this present business. I do hear nothing at all that can convince me why any man that is born in England ought not to have his voice in election of burgesses. It is said that if a man have not a 'permanent interest' he can have no claim; and that we must be no freer than the laws will let us be; and that there is no law in any chronicle will let us be freer than that we now enjoy. Something was said to this yesterday. I do think that the main cause why Almighty God gave men reason, it was that they should make use of that reason, and that they should improve it for that end and purpose that God gave it them. And truly, I think that half a loaf is better than none if a man be an-hungry. This gift of reason without other property may seem a small thing, yet I think there is nothing that God has given a man that anyone else can take from him. And therefore I say that either it must be the Law of God or the law of man that must prohibit the meanest man in the kingdom to have this benefit as well as the greatest. I do not find anything in the Law of God that a lord shall choose twenty burgesses, and a gentleman but two, or a poor man shall choose none. I find no such thing in the law of nature, nor in the law of nations. But I *do* find that all Englishmen must be subject to English laws; and I do verily believe that there is no man but will say that the foundation of all law lies in the people; and if it lie in the people, I am to seek for this exemption.

And truly I have thought something else: in what a miserable distressed condition would many a man that has fought for the parliament in this quarrel be! I will be bound to say that many a man whose zeal and affection to God and this kingdom has carried him forth in this cause, has so spent his estate that, in the way the state and the Army are going, he shall not hold up his head, if, when his estate is lost and not worth forty shillings a year, a man shall not have any 'interest'. And there are many other ways by which the estates men have — if that be the rule which God in his providence does use — do fall to decay. A man, when he has an estate, has an interest in making laws; but when he has none, he has no power in it; so that a man cannot lose that which he has for the maintenance of his family but he must also lose that which God and nature has given him! And therefore I do think, and am still of the same opinion, that every man born in England cannot, ought not, neither by the Law of God nor the law of nature, to be exempted from the choice of those who are to make laws for him to live under — and for him, for aught I know, to lose his life under. And therefore I think there can be no great stick in this.

Truly I think that there is not this day reigning in England a greater fruit or effect of tyranny than this very thing would produce. Truly I know nothing free but only the knight of the shire; nor do I know anything in a parliamentary way that is clear from the height and fullness of tyranny, but only that. As for this of corporations which you also mentioned, it is as contrary to freedom as may be. For, sir, what is it? The king he grants a patent under the Broad Seal of England to such a corporation to send burgesses. He grants to such a city to send burgesses.

When a poor base corporation from the king's grant shall send two burgesses; when five hundred men of estate shall not send one; when those that are to make their laws are called by the king, or cannot act but by such a call: truly I think that the people of England have little freedom.

http://www.constitution.org/lev/eng_lev_07.htm.17 June 2015

*An agreement of the people
for a firm and present peace upon grounds of common right
and freedom.*

28 October 1647

An agreement of the people for a firm and present peace upon grounds of common right and freedom, as it was proposed by the agents of the five regiments of horse, and since by the general approbation of the army offered to the joint concurrence of all the free commons of England

The names of the regiments which have already appeared for the case of the *Case of the army truly stated*, and for this present Agreement, viz.

(Of Horse)

1. The General's Regiment.
2. The Life Guard.
3. The Lieutenant-General's Regiment.
4. The Commissary-General's Regiment.
5. Colonel Whalley's Regiment.
6. Colonel Rich's Regiment.
7. Colonel Fleetwood's Regiment.
8. Colonel Harrison's Regiment.
9. Colonel Twistleton's Regiment.

(Of Foot)

1. The General's Regiment.
2. Colonel Sir Hardress Waller's Regiment.
3. Colonel Lambert's Regiment.
4. Colonel Rainsborough's Regiment.
5. Colonel Overton's Regiment.
6. Colonel Lilburne's Regiment.
7. Colonel Baxter's Regiment.

Anno Domini 1647

*An Agreement of the people for a firm and present peace upon grounds of common
right*

Having by our late labours and hazards made it appear to the world at how high a rate we value our just freedom, and God having so far owned our cause as to deliver the enemies thereof into our hands, we do now hold ourselves bound in mutual duty to each other to take the best care we can for the future to avoid both the danger of returning into a slavish condition and the chargeable remedy of another war. For as it cannot be imagined that so many of our countrymen would have opposed us in this quarrel if they had understood their own good, so may we safely promise to ourselves that when our common rights and liberties shall be cleared, their endeavours will be disappointed that seek to make themselves our

masters. Since therefore our former oppressions and scarce-yet-ended troubles have been occasioned either by want of frequent national meetings in council or by rendering those meetings ineffectual, we are fully agreed and resolved to provide that hereafter our representatives be neither left to an uncertainty for the time, nor made useless to the ends for which they are intended. In order whereunto we declare:

1. That the people of England being at this day very unequally distributed by counties, cities and boroughs for the election of their deputies in parliament, ought to be more indifferently proportioned according to the number of the inhabitants: the circumstances whereof, for number, place, and manner, are to be set down before the end of this present parliament.
2. That to prevent the many inconveniences apparently arising from the long continuance of the same persons in authority, this present parliament be dissolved upon the last day of September, which shall be in the year of our Lord, 1648.
3. That the people do of course choose themselves a parliament once in two years, viz. upon the first Thursday in every second March, after the manner as shall be prescribed before the end of this parliament, to begin to sit upon the first Thursday in April following at Westminster or such other place as shall be appointed from time to time by the preceding representatives, and to continue till the last day of September then next ensuing, and no longer.
4. That the power of this and all future representatives of this nation is inferior only to theirs who choose them, and doth extend, without the consent or concurrence of any other person or persons, to the enacting, altering, and repealing of laws; to the erecting and abolishing of offices and courts; to the appointing, removing, and calling to account magistrates and officers of all degrees; to the making war and peace; to the treating with foreign states; and generally, to whatsoever is not expressly or impliedly reserved by the represented to themselves.

Which are as follows:

1. That matters of religion and the ways of God's worship are not at all entrusted by us to any human power, because therein we cannot remit or exceed a tittle of what our consciences dictate to be the mind of God, without wilful sin. Nevertheless the public way of instructing the nation — so it be not compulsive — is referred to their discretion.
2. That the matter of impressing and constraining any of us to serve in the wars is against our freedom; and therefore we do not allow it in our representatives; the rather, because money (the sinews of war) being always at their disposal, they can never want numbers of men apt enough to engage in any just cause.
3. That after the dissolution of this present parliament, no person be at any time questioned for anything said or done in reference to the late public differences, otherwise than in execution of the judgements of the present representatives (or House of Commons).
4. That in all laws made or to be made, every person may be bound alike; and that no tenure, estate, charter, degree, birth, or place do confer any exemption from the ordinary course of legal proceedings whereunto others are subjected.

5. That as the laws ought to be equal, so they must be good and not evidently destructive to the safety and well-being of the people.

These things we declare to be our native rights; and therefore are agreed and resolved to maintain them with our utmost possibilities against all opposition whatsoever: being compelled thereunto, not only by the examples of our ancestors — whose blood was often spent in vain for the recovery of their freedoms, suffering themselves through fraudulent accommodations to be still deluded of the fruit of their victories — but also by our own woeful experience, who having long expected and dearly earned the establishment of these certain rules of government, are yet made to depend for the settlement of our peace and freedom upon him that intended our bondage and brought a cruel war upon us.

For the noble and highly honoured the freeborn people of England, in their respective counties and divisions, these:

Dear countrymen and fellow-commoners,

For your sakes, our friends, estates and lives have not been dear to us. For your safety and freedom we have cheerfully endured hard labours and run most desperate hazards. And in comparison to your peace and freedom we neither do nor ever shall value our dearest blood; and we profess our bowels are and have been troubled and our hearts pained within us in seeing and considering that you have been so long bereaved of these fruits and ends of all our labours and hazards. We cannot but sympathise with you in your miseries and oppressions. It's grief and vexation of heart to us to receive your meat or monies whilst you have no advantage, nor yet the foundations of your peace and freedom surely laid. And therefore, upon most serious considerations that your principal right most essential to your well-being is the clearness, certainty, sufficiency and freedom of your power in your representatives in parliament; and considering that the original of most of your oppressions and miseries have been either from the obscurity and doubtfulness of the power you have committed to your representatives in your elections, or from the want of courage in those whom you have entrusted to claim and exercise their power (which might probably proceed from their uncertainty of your assistance and maintenance of their power); and minding that for this right of yours and ours we engaged our lives (for the king raised the war against you and your parliament upon this ground: that he would not suffer your representatives to provide for your peace, safety and freedom that were then in danger, by disposing of the militia and otherwise, according to their trust); and for the maintenance and defence of that power and right of yours, we hazarded all that was dear to us. And God has borne witness to the justice of our cause.

And further minding that the only effectual means to settle a just and lasting peace, to obtain remedy for all your grievances, and to prevent future oppressions is the making clear and secure the power that you betrust to your representatives in parliament — that they may know their trust, in the faithful execution whereof you will assist them.

Upon all these grounds we propound your joining with us in the agreement herewith sent unto you, that by virtue thereof we may have parliaments certainly called and have the time of their sitting and ending certain and their power or trust clear and unquestionable; that hereafter they may remove your burdens and secure your rights without oppositions or obstructions and that the foundations of your peace may be so free from uncertainty that there may be no grounds for future quarrels or contentions to occasion war and bloodshed. And we desire you would

consider that as these things wherein we offer to agree with you are the fruits and ends of the victories which God has given us, so the settlement of these are the most absolute means to preserve you and your posterity from slavery, oppression, distraction, and trouble. By this, *those whom yourselves shall choose* shall have power to restore you to, and secure you in, all your rights; and they shall be in a capacity to taste of subjection as well as rule, and so shall be equally concerned with yourselves in all they do. For they must equally suffer with you under any common burdens and partake with you in any freedoms. And by this they shall be disabled to defraud or wrong you — when the laws shall bind all alike, without privilege or exemption. And by this your consciences shall be free from tyranny and oppression, and those occasions of endless strifes and bloody wars shall be perfectly removed. Without controversy, by your joining with us in this agreement all your particular and common grievances will be redressed forthwith without delay. The parliament must then make your relief and common good their only study.

Now because we are earnestly desirous of the peace and good of all our countrymen — even of those that have opposed us — and would to our utmost possibility provide for perfect peace and freedom and prevent all suits, debates, and contentions that may happen amongst you in relation to the late war, we have therefore inserted it into this agreement that no person shall be questionable for anything done in relation to the late public differences after the dissolution of this present parliament, further than in execution of their judgement: that thereby all may be secure from all sufferings for what they have done, and not liable hereafter to be troubled or punished by the judgement of another parliament — which may be to their ruin unless this agreement be joined in, whereby any acts of indemnity or oblivion shall be made unalterable and you and your posterities be secure.

But if any shall inquire why we should desire to join in an agreement with the people to declare these to be our native rights — and not rather petition to the parliament for them — the reason is evident. No Act of parliament is or can be unalterable, and so cannot be sufficient security to save you or us harmless from what another parliament may determine if it should be corrupted. And besides, parliaments are to receive the extent of their power and trust from those that betrust them; and therefore the people are to declare what their power and trust is — which is the intent of this agreement. And it's to be observed that though there has formerly been many Acts of parliament for the calling of parliaments every year, yet you have been deprived of them and enslaved through want of them. And therefore, both necessity for your security in these freedoms that are essential to your well-being, and woeful experience of the manifold miseries and distractions that have been lengthened out since the war ended through want of such a settlement, require this agreement. And *when* you and we shall be joined together therein we shall readily join with you to petition the parliament — as they are our fellow-commoners equally concerned — to join with us.

And if any shall inquire why we undertake to offer this agreement, we must profess we are sensible that you have been so often deceived with declarations and remonstrances and fed with vain hopes that you have sufficient reason to abandon all confidence in any persons whatsoever from whom you have no other security of their intending your freedom than bare declaration. And therefore, as our consciences witness that in simplicity and integrity of heart we have proposed lately in the *Case of the army stated* your freedom and deliverance from slavery, oppression and all burdens, so we desire to give you satisfying assurance thereof by this agreement — whereby the foundations of your freedoms provided in the *Case of the army* shall be settled unalterably. And we shall as faithfully proceed to — and all other most vigorous actings for your good that God shall direct and enable us unto. And though the

malice of our enemies and such as they delude would blast us by scandals, aspersing us with designs of 'anarchy' and 'community', yet we hope the righteous God will, not only by this our present desire of setting an equal just government but also by directing us unto all righteous undertakings simply for public good, make our uprightness and faithfulness to the interest of all our countrymen shine forth so clearly that malice itself shall be silenced and confounded. We question not but the longing expectation of a firm peace will incite you to the most speedy joining in this agreement — in the prosecution whereof, or of anything that you shall desire for public good, you may be confident you shall never want the assistance of,

Your most faithful fellow-commoners now in arms for your service.

Edmund Bear
Robert Everard (Lieutenant-General's Regiment).
George Garret
Thomas Beverley (Commissary-General's Regiment).
William Pryor
William Bryan (Colonel Fleetwood's Regiment).
Matthew Weale
William Russell (Colonel Whalley's Regiment).
John Dover
William Hudson (Colonel Rich's Regiment).

Agents coming from other regiments unto us have subscribed the agreement to be proposed to their respective regiments and you.

For our much honoured and truly worthy fellow-commoners and soldiers, the officers and soldiers under command of his excellency Sir Thomas Fairfax

Gentlemen and fellow soldiers,

The deep sense of many dangers and mischiefs that may befall you in relation to the late war whensoever this parliament shall end — unless sufficient prevention be now provided — has constrained us to study the most absolute and certain means for your security. And upon most serious considerations we judge that no Act of Indemnity can sufficiently provide for your quiet, ease, and safety, because — as it has formerly been — a corrupt party, chosen into the next parliament by your enemies' means may possibly surprise the House and make any Act of Indemnity null, seeing they cannot fail of the king's assistance and concurrence in any such actings against you that conquered him.

And by the same means, your freedom from impressing also may in a short time be taken from you though for the present it should be granted. We apprehend no other security by which you shall be saved harmless for what you have done in the late war than a mutual agreement between the people and you that no person shall be questioned by any authority whatsoever for anything done in relation to the late public differences after the dissolution of the present House of Commons, further than in execution of their judgement; and that your native freedom from constraint to serve in war, whether domestic or foreign, shall never be subject to the power of parliaments — or any other. And for this end we propound the agreement that we herewith send to you to be forthwith subscribed.

And because we are confident that 'in judgement and conscience' ye hazarded your lives for the settlement of such a just and equal government that you and your posterities and all the freeborn people of this nation might enjoy justice and freedom; and that you are really sensible that the distractions, oppressions and miseries of the nation, and your want of your arrears, do proceed from the want of the establishment both of such certain rules of just government and foundations of peace as are the price of blood and the expected fruits of all the people's cost; therefore in this agreement we have inserted the certain rules of equal government under which the nation may enjoy all its rights and freedoms securely. And as we doubt not but your love to the freedom and lasting peace of the yet-distracted country will cause you to join together in this agreement.

So we question not but every true Englishman that loves the peace and freedom of England will concur with us. And then your arrears and constant pay (while you continue in arms) will certainly be brought in, out of the abundant love of the people to you; and then shall the mouths of those be stopped that scandalise you and us as endeavouring anarchy or to rule by the sword; and then will so firm an union be made between the people and you that neither any homebred or foreign enemies will dare to disturb our happy peace.

We shall add no more but this; that the knowledge of your union in laying this foundation of peace, this agreement, is much longed for by,

Yours, and the people's most faithful servants.

Postscript

Gentlemen,

We desire you may understand the reason of our extracting some principles of common freedom out of those many things proposed to you in the *Case of the army truly stated* and drawing them up into the form of an agreement. It's chiefly because for these things we first engaged against the king. He would not permit the people's representatives to provide for the nation's safety — by disposing of the militia, and other ways, according to their trust — but raised a war against them; and we engaged for the defence of that power and right of the people in their representatives. Therefore these things in the agreement, the people are to claim as their native right and price of their blood, which you are obliged absolutely to procure for them.

And these being the foundations of freedom, it's necessary that they should be settled unalterably, which can be by no means but this agreement with the people.

And we cannot but mind you that the ease of the people in all their grievances depends upon the setting those principles or rules of equal government for a free people; and, were but this agreement established, doubtless all the grievances of the Army and people would be redressed immediately and all things propounded in your *Case of the army* stated to be insisted on, would be forthwith granted.

Then should the House of Commons have power to help the oppressed people, which they are now bereaved of by the chief oppressors; and then they shall be equally concerned with you and all the people in the settlement of the most perfect freedom — for they shall equally suffer with you under any burdens or partake in any freedom.

We shall only add that the sum of all the agreement which we herewith offer to you is but in order to the fulfilling of our Declaration of 14 June wherein we promised to the people that we would with our lives vindicate and clear their right and power in their parliaments.

Edmond Bear
Robert Everard (Lieutenant-General's Regiment).
George Garret
Thomas Beverley (Commissary-General's Regiment).
William Pryor
William Bryan (Colonel Fleetwood's Regiment).
Matthew Wealey
William Russell (Colonel Whalley's Regiment).
John Dober
William Hudson (Colonel Rich's Regiment).

Agents coming from other regiments unto us have subscribed the agreement to be proposed to their respective regiments and you.

http://www.constitution.org/lev/eng_lev_07.htm, 17 June, 2015.

The Declaration of Independence

IN CONGRESS, JULY 4, 1776

The unanimous Declaration of the thirteen united States of America

When in the Course of human events it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another and to assume among the powers of the earth, the separate and equal station to which the Laws of Nature and of Nature's God entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation.

We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness. — That to secure these rights, Governments are instituted among Men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed, — That whenever any Form of Government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the Right of the People to alter or to abolish it, and to institute new Government, laying its foundation on such principles and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their Safety and Happiness. Prudence, indeed, will dictate that Governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes; and accordingly all experience hath shewn that mankind are more disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. But when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same Object evinces a design to reduce them under absolute Despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such Government, and to provide new Guards for their future security. — Such has been the patient sufferance of these Colonies; and such is now the necessity which constrains them to alter their former Systems of Government. The history of the present King of Great Britain is a history of repeated injuries and usurpations, all having in direct object the establishment of an absolute Tyranny over these States. To prove this, let Facts be submitted to a candid world.

He has refused his Assent to Laws, the most wholesome and necessary for the public good.

He has forbidden his Governors to pass Laws of immediate and pressing importance, unless suspended in their operation till his Assent should be obtained; and when so suspended, he has utterly neglected to attend to them.

He has refused to pass other Laws for the accommodation of large districts of people, unless those people would relinquish the right of Representation in the Legislature, a right inestimable to them and formidable to tyrants only.

He has called together legislative bodies at places unusual, uncomfortable, and distant from the depository of their Public Records, for the sole purpose of fatiguing them into compliance with his measures.

He has dissolved Representative Houses repeatedly, for opposing with manly firmness his invasions on the rights of the people.

He has refused for a long time, after such dissolutions, to cause others to be elected, whereby the Legislative Powers, incapable of Annihilation, have returned to the People at large for

their exercise; the State remaining in the mean time exposed to all the dangers of invasion from without, and convulsions within.

He has endeavoured to prevent the population of these States; for that purpose obstructing the Laws for Naturalization of Foreigners; refusing to pass others to encourage their migrations hither, and raising the conditions of new Appropriations of Lands.

He has obstructed the Administration of Justice by refusing his Assent to Laws for establishing Judiciary Powers.

He has made Judges dependent on his Will alone for the tenure of their offices, and the amount and payment of their salaries.

He has erected a multitude of New Offices, and sent hither swarms of Officers to harass our people and eat out their substance.

He has kept among us, in times of peace, Standing Armies without the Consent of our legislatures.

He has affected to render the Military independent of and superior to the Civil Power.

He has combined with others to subject us to a jurisdiction foreign to our constitution, and unacknowledged by our laws; giving his Assent to their Acts of pretended Legislation:

For quartering large bodies of armed troops among us:

For protecting them, by a mock Trial from punishment for any Murders which they should commit on the Inhabitants of these States:

For cutting off our Trade with all parts of the world:

For imposing Taxes on us without our Consent:

For depriving us in many cases, of the benefit of Trial by Jury:

For transporting us beyond Seas to be tried for pretended offences:

For abolishing the free System of English Laws in a neighbouring Province, establishing therein an Arbitrary government, and enlarging its Boundaries so as to render it at once an example and fit instrument for introducing the same absolute rule into these Colonies

For taking away our Charters, abolishing our most valuable Laws and altering fundamentally the Forms of our Governments:

For suspending our own Legislatures, and declaring themselves invested with power to legislate for us in all cases whatsoever.

He has abdicated Government here, by declaring us out of his Protection and waging War against us.

He has plundered our seas, ravaged our coasts, burnt our towns, and destroyed the lives of our people.

He is at this time transporting large Armies of foreign Mercenaries to compleat the works of death, desolation, and tyranny, already begun with circumstances of Cruelty & Perfidy scarcely paralleled in the most barbarous ages, and totally unworthy the Head of a civilized nation.

He has constrained our fellow Citizens taken Captive on the high Seas to bear Arms against their Country, to become the executioners of their friends and Brethren, or to fall themselves by their Hands.

He has excited domestic insurrections amongst us, and has endeavoured to bring on the inhabitants of our frontiers, the merciless Indian Savages whose known rule of warfare, is an undistinguished destruction of all ages, sexes and conditions.

In every stage of these Oppressions We have Petitioned for Redress in the most humble terms: Our repeated Petitions have been answered only by repeated injury. A Prince, whose character is thus marked by every act which may define a Tyrant, is unfit to be the ruler of a free people.

Nor have We been wanting in attentions to our British brethren. We have warned them from time to time of attempts by their legislature to extend an unwarrantable jurisdiction over us. We have reminded them of the circumstances of our emigration and settlement here. We have appealed to their native justice and magnanimity, and we have conjured them by the ties of our common kindred to disavow these usurpations, which would inevitably interrupt our connections and correspondence. They too have been deaf to the voice of justice and of consanguinity. We must, therefore, acquiesce in the necessity, which denounces our Separation, and hold them, as we hold the rest of mankind, Enemies in War, in Peace Friends.

We, therefore, the Representatives of the united States of America, in General Congress, Assembled, appealing to the Supreme Judge of the world for the rectitude of our intentions, do, in the Name, and by Authority of the good People of these Colonies, solemnly publish and declare, That these united Colonies are, and of Right ought to be Free and Independent States, that they are Absolved from all Allegiance to the British Crown, and that all political connection between them and the State of Great Britain, is and ought to be totally dissolved; and that as Free and Independent States, they have full Power to levy War, conclude Peace, contract Alliances, establish Commerce, and to do all other Acts and Things which Independent States may of right do. — And for the support of this Declaration, with a firm reliance on the protection of Divine Providence, we mutually pledge to each other our Lives, our Fortunes, and our sacred Honor.

New Hampshire:

Josiah Bartlett, William Whipple, Matthew Thornton

Massachusetts:

John Hancock, Samuel Adams, John Adams, Robert Treat Paine, Elbridge Gerry

Rhode Island:

Stephen Hopkins, William Ellery

Connecticut:

Roger Sherman, Samuel Huntington, William Williams, Oliver Wolcott

New York:

William Floyd, Philip Livingston, Francis Lewis, Lewis Morris

New Jersey:

Richard Stockton, John Witherspoon, Francis Hopkinson, John Hart, Abraham Clark

Pennsylvania:

Robert Morris, Benjamin Rush, Benjamin Franklin, John Morton, George Clymer, James Smith, George Taylor, James Wilson, George Ross

Delaware:

Caesar Rodney, George Read, Thomas McKean

Maryland:

Samuel Chase, William Paca, Thomas Stone, Charles Carroll of Carrollton

Virginia:

George Wythe, Richard Henry Lee, Thomas Jefferson, Benjamin Harrison, Thomas Nelson, Jr., Francis Lightfoot Lee, Carter Braxton

North Carolina:

William Hooper, Joseph Hewes, John Penn

South Carolina:

Edward Rutledge, Thomas Heyward, Jr., Thomas Lynch, Jr., Arthur Middleton

Georgia:

Button Gwinnett, Lyman Hall, George Walton

<http://www.ushistory.org/Declaration/document/index.htm>, 17 June ,2015.

**THE DECLARATION OF
SENTIMENTS AND RESOLUTIONS
SENECA FALLS CONFERENCE
(1848)**

When in the course of human events, it becomes necessary for one portion of the family of man to assume among the people of the earth a position different from that which they have hitherto occupied, but one to which the laws of nature and nature's God entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes that impel them to such a course.

We hold these truths to be self-evident: that all men and women are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness; that to secure these rights governments are instituted, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed. Whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of those who suffer from it to refuse allegiance to it, and to insist upon the institution of a new government, laying its foundation on such principles, and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness. Prudence, indeed, will dictate that governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes; and accordingly all experience hath shown that mankind are more disposed to suffer while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they accustomed. But when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same object, evinces a design to reduce them under absolute despotism, it is their duty to throw off such government, and to provide new guards for their future security. Such has been the patient sufferance of women under this government, and such is now the necessity which constrains them to demand the equal station to which they are entitled.

The history of mankind is a history of repeated injuries and usurpations on the part of man toward woman, having in direct object the establishment of an absolute tyranny over her. To prove this, let facts be submitted to a candid world.

He has never permitted her to exercise her inalienable right to the elective franchise.

He has compelled her to submit to laws, in the formation of which she had no voice.

He has withheld from her rights which are given to the most ignorant and degraded men - both native and foreigner.

Having deprived her of this first right of a citizen, the elective franchise, thereby leaving her without representation in the halls of legislation, he has oppressed her on all sides.

He has made her, if married, in the eye of the law, civilly dead.

He has taken from her all right in property, even to wages she earns.

He has made her, morally, an irresponsible being, as she can commit many crimes with impunity, provided they can be done in the presence of her husband. In the covenant of marriage, she is compelled to promise obedience to her husband, he becoming, to all intents and purposes, her master - the law giving him power to deprive her of her liberty, and to administer chastisement.

He has so framed the laws of divorce, as to what shall be the proper causes, and in case of separation, to who, the guardianship of the children shall be given, as to be wholly regardless of the happiness of women - the law, in all cases, going upon a false supposition of the supremacy of man, giving all power into his hands.

After depriving her of all rights as a married woman, if single, and the owner of property, he has taxed her to support a government which recognizes her only when her

property can be made profitable to it.

He has monopolized nearly all the profitable employments, and from those she is permitted to follow, she receives but a scanty remuneration. He closes against her all the avenues to wealth and distinction which he considers most honorable to himself. As a teacher of theology, medicine, or law, she is not known.

He has denied her the facilities for obtaining a thorough education, all colleges being closed against her.

He allows her in Church, as well as State, but a subordinate position, claiming Apostolic authority for her exclusion from the ministry, and, with some exceptions, from any public participation in the affairs of the Church.

He has created a false public sentiment by giving to the world a different code of morals for men and women, by which moral delinquencies which exclude women from society, are not only tolerated, but deemed of little account in man.

He has usurped the prerogative of Jehovah himself, claiming it as his right to assign for her a sphere of action, when that belongs to her conscience and to her God.

He has endeavored, in every way that he could, to destroy her confidence in her own powers, to lessen her self-respect and to make her willing to lead a dependent and abject life.

Now, in view of this entire disfranchisement of one-half the people of this country, their social and religious degradation - in view of the unjust laws above mentioned, and because women do feel themselves aggrieved, oppressed and fraudulently deprived of their most sacred rights, we insist that they have immediate admission to all the rights and privileges which belong to them as citizens of the United States.

In entering upon the great work before us, we anticipate no small amount of misconception, misrepresentation, and ridicule; but we shall use every instrumentality within our power to effect our object. We shall employ agents, circulate tracts, petition the State and National legislatures, and endeavor to enlist the pulpit and the press in our behalf. We hope this Convention will be followed by a series of Conventions embracing every part of the country.

Resolutions

Whereas, The great precept of nature is conceded to be, that "man shall pursue his own true and substantial happiness". Blackstone in his Commentaries remarks, that this law of Nature being coeval with mankind, and dictated by God himself, is of course superior in obligation to any other. It is binding over all the globe, in all countries and at all times; no human laws are of any validity if contrary to this, and such of them as are valid, derive their force, and all their validity, and all their authority mediately and immediately from this original; therefore,

Resolved, That all laws which prevent woman from occupying such a station in society as her conscience shall dictate, or which place her in a position inferior to that of man, are contrary to the great precept of nature, and therefore of no force or authority.

Resolved, That woman is man's equal - was intended to be so by the Creator, and the highest good of the race demands that she should be recognized as such.

Resolved, That the women of this country ought to be enlightened in regard to the laws under which they live, that they may no longer publish their degradation by declaring themselves satisfied with their present position, nor their ignorance, by asserting that they have all the rights they want.

Resolved, That inasmuch as man, while claiming for himself intellectual superiority, does accord to woman moral superiority, it is pre-eminently his duty to encourage her to speak and teach, as she has an opportunity, in all religious assemblies.

Resolved, That the same amount of virtue, delicacy, and refinement of behavior that

is required of woman in the social state, should also be required of man, and the same transgressions should be visited with equal severity on both man and woman.

Resolved, That the objection of indelicacy and impropriety, which is so often brought against woman when she addresses a public audience, comes with a very ill-grace from those who encourage, by their attendance, her appearance on the stage, in the concert, or in feats of circus.

Resolved, That woman has too long rested satisfied in the circumscribed limits which corrupt customs and a perverted application of the Scriptures have marked out for her, and that it is time she should move in the enlarged sphere which her great Creator has assigned her.

Resolved, That it is the duty of women of this country to secure to themselves their sacred right to the elective franchise.

Resolved, That the equality of human rights results necessarily from the fact of the identity of the race in capabilities and responsibilities.

Resolved, That the speedy success of our cause depends upon the zealous and untiring efforts of both men and women, for the overthrow of the monopoly of the pulpit, and for the securing to women an equal participation with men in the various trades, professions, and commerce.

Resolved, therefore, That, being invested by the creator with the same capabilities, and the same consciousness of responsibility for their exercise, it is demonstrably the right and duty of woman, equally with man, to promote every righteous cause by every righteous means; and especially in regard to the great subjects of morals and religion, it is self-evidently her right to participate with her brother in teaching them, both in private and in public, by writing and by speaking, by any instrumentalities proper to be used, and in any assemblies proper to be held; and this being a self-evident truth growing out of the divinely implanted principles of human nature, any custom or authority adverse to it, whether modern or wearing the hoary sanction of antiquity, is to be regarded as a self-evident falsehood, and at war with mankind.

From Stanton, Elizabeth Cady, Susan B. Anthony, and M.J. Cage. *A History of Woman Suffrage*, vol. 1 (Rochester, N.Y.: Fowler and Wells, 1889).

Martin Luther King, Jr.

I Have a Dream

delivered 28 August 1963, at the Lincoln Memorial, Washington D.C

I am happy to join with you today in what will go down in history as the greatest demonstration for freedom in the history of our nation.

Five score years ago, a great American, in whose symbolic shadow we stand today, signed the Emancipation Proclamation. This momentous decree came as a great beacon light of hope to millions of Negro slaves who had been seared in the flames of withering injustice. It came as a joyous daybreak to end the long night of their captivity.

But one hundred years later, the Negro still is not free. One hundred years later, the life of the Negro is still sadly crippled by the manacles of segregation and the chains of discrimination. One hundred years later, the Negro lives on a lonely island of poverty in the midst of a vast ocean of material prosperity. One hundred years later, the Negro is still languished in the corners of American society and finds himself an exile in his own land. And so we've come here today to dramatize a shameful condition.

In a sense we've come to our nation's capital to cash a check. When the architects of our republic wrote the magnificent words of the Constitution and the Declaration of Independence, they were signing a promissory note to which every American was to fall heir.

This note was a promise that all men, yes, black men as well as white men, would be guaranteed the "unalienable Rights" of "Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness." It is obvious today that America has defaulted on this promissory note, insofar as her citizens of color are concerned. Instead of honoring this sacred obligation, America has given the Negro people a bad check, a check which has come back marked "insufficient funds."

But we refuse to believe that the bank of justice is bankrupt. We refuse to believe that there are insufficient funds in the great vaults of opportunity of this nation. And so, we've come to

cash this check, a check that will give us upon demand the riches of freedom and the security of justice.

We have also come to this hallowed spot to remind America of the fierce urgency of Now.

This is no time to engage in the luxury of cooling off or to take the tranquilizing drug of gradualism. Now is the time to make real the promises of democracy. Now is the time to rise from the dark and desolate valley of segregation to the sunlit path of racial justice. Now is the time to lift our nation from the quicksands of racial injustice to the solid rock of brotherhood.

Now is the time to make justice a reality for all of God's children.

It would be fatal for the nation to overlook the urgency of the moment. This sweltering summer of the Negro's legitimate discontent will not pass until there is an invigorating autumn of freedom and equality. Nineteen sixty-three is not an end, but a beginning. And those who hope that the Negro needed to blow off steam and will now be content will have a rude awakening if the nation returns to business as usual. And there will be neither rest nor tranquility in America until the Negro is granted his citizenship rights. The whirlwinds of revolt will continue to shake the foundations of our nation until the bright day of justice emerges.

But there is something that I must say to my people, who stand on the warm threshold which leads into the palace of justice: In the process of gaining our rightful place, we must not be guilty of wrongful deeds. Let us not seek to satisfy our thirst for freedom by drinking from the cup of bitterness and hatred. We must forever conduct our struggle on the high plane of dignity and discipline. We must not allow our creative protest to degenerate into physical violence. Again and again, we must rise to the majestic heights of meeting physical force with soul force.

The marvelous new militancy which has engulfed the Negro community must not lead us to a distrust of all white people, for many of our white brothers, as evidenced by their presence here today, have come to realize that their destiny is tied up with our destiny. And they have come to realize that their freedom is inextricably bound to our freedom.

We cannot walk alone.

And as we walk, we must make the pledge that we shall always march ahead.

We cannot turn back.

There are those who are asking the devotees of civil rights, "When will you be satisfied?" We can never be satisfied as long as the Negro is the victim of the unspeakable horrors of police brutality. We can never be satisfied as long as our bodies, heavy with the fatigue of travel, cannot gain lodging in the motels of the highways and the hotels of the cities. We cannot be satisfied as long as the negro's basic mobility is from a smaller ghetto to a larger one. We can never be satisfied as long as our children are stripped of their self-hood and robbed of their dignity by signs stating: "For Whites Only." We cannot be satisfied as long as a Negro in Mississippi cannot vote and a Negro in New York believes he has nothing for which to vote. No, no, we are not satisfied, and we will not be satisfied until "justice rolls down like waters, and righteousness like a mighty stream."

I am not unmindful that some of you have come here out of great trials and tribulations. Some of you have come fresh from narrow jail cells. And some of you have come from areas where your quest -- quest for freedom left you battered by the storms of persecution and staggered by the winds of police brutality. You have been the veterans of creative suffering. Continue to work with the faith that unearned suffering is redemptive. Go back to Mississippi, go back to Alabama, go back to South Carolina, go back to Georgia, go back to Louisiana, go back to the slums and ghettos of our northern cities, knowing that somehow this situation can and will be changed.

Let us not wallow in the valley of despair, I say to you today, my friends.

And so even though we face the difficulties of today and tomorrow, I still have a dream. It is a dream deeply rooted in the American dream.

I have a dream that one day this nation will rise up and live out the true meaning of its creed:
"We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal."

I have a dream that one day on the red hills of Georgia, the sons of former slaves and the sons of former slave owners will be able to sit down together at the table of brotherhood.

I have a dream that one day even the state of Mississippi, a state sweltering with the heat of injustice, sweltering with the heat of oppression, will be transformed into an oasis of freedom and justice.

I have a dream that my four little children will one day live in a nation where they will not be judged by the color of their skin but by the content of their character.

I have a dream today!

I have a dream that one day, down in Alabama, with its vicious racists, with its governor having his lips dripping with the words of "interposition" and "nullification" -- one day right there in Alabama little black boys and black girls will be able to join hands with little white boys and white girls as sisters and brothers.

I have a dream today!

I have a dream that one day every valley shall be exalted, and every hill and mountain shall be made low, the rough places will be made plain, and the crooked places will be made straight; "and the glory of the Lord shall be revealed and all flesh shall see it together."

This is our hope, and this is the faith that I go back to the South with.

With this faith, we will be able to hew out of the mountain of despair a stone of hope. With this faith, we will be able to transform the jangling discords of our nation into a beautiful symphony of brotherhood. With this faith, we will be able to work together, to pray together, to struggle together, to go to jail together, to stand up for freedom together, knowing that we will be free one day.

And this will be the day -- this will be the day when all of God's children will be able to sing with new meaning:

My country 'tis of thee, sweet land of liberty, of thee I sing.

Land where my fathers died, land of the Pilgrim's pride,

From every mountainside, let freedom ring!

And if America is to be a great nation, this must become true.

And so let freedom ring from the prodigious hilltops of New Hampshire.

Let freedom ring from the mighty mountains of New York.

Let freedom ring from the heightening Alleghenies of Pennsylvania.

Let freedom ring from the snow-capped Rockies of Colorado.

Let freedom ring from the curvaceous slopes of California.

But not only that:

Let freedom ring from Stone Mountain of Georgia.

Let freedom ring from Lookout Mountain of Tennessee.

Let freedom ring from every hill and molehill of Mississippi.

From every mountainside, let freedom ring.

And when this happens, and when we allow freedom ring, when we let it ring from every village and every hamlet, from every state and every city, we will be able to speed up that day when all of God's children, black men and white men, Jews and Gentiles, Protestants and Catholics, will be able to join hands and sing in the words of the old Negro spiritual:

Free at last! Free at last!

Thank God Almighty, we are free at last!

<http://www.americanrhetoric.com/speeches/mlkihaveadream.htm>

The levellers

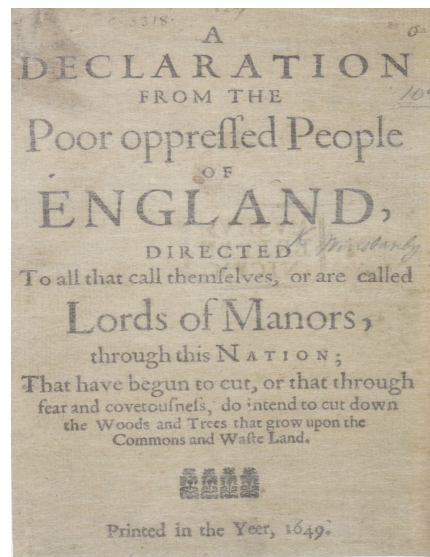
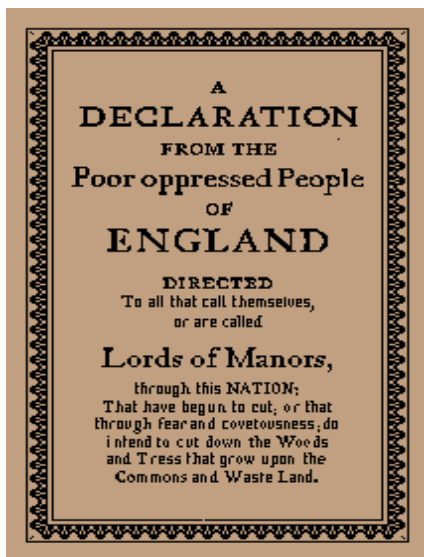
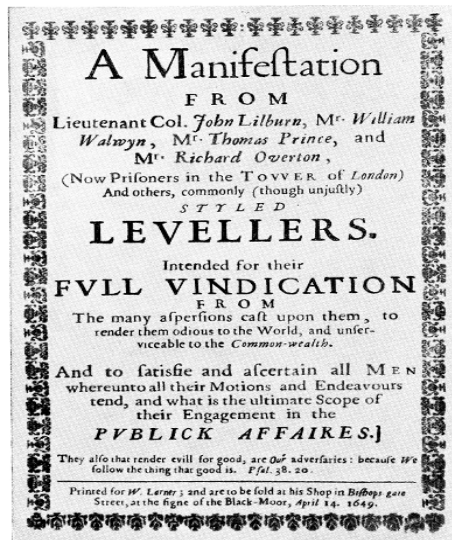


<http://www.historytoday.com/philip-baker/levellers-people-power>



*Gaze not upon this shadow that is vaine .
 But rather raise thy thoughts a higher straine .
 To GOD (I meane) who set this young-man free .
 And in like straits can eke deliuer thee .
 Yea though the lords have him in bonds againe .
 LORD of lords will his just cause maintaine .*

http://lf-oll.s3.amazonaws.com/images/lf1542-01_figure_001.jpg



From <http://www.rogerlovejoy.co.uk/philosophy/diggers/digdec1.gif> The levellers

The Diggers

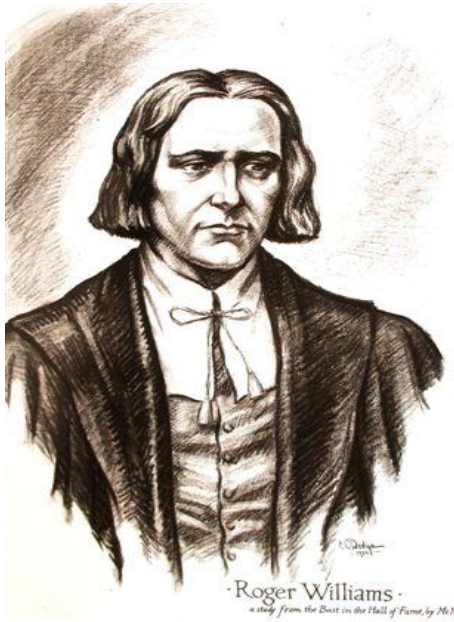


<http://www.bilderberg.org/land/offland.jpg>



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Antinomians

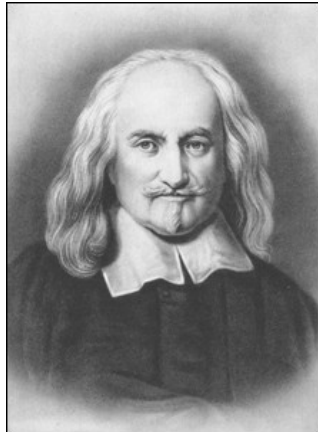


Anne Hutchinson

<https://www.providenceri.com/archives/roger-williams-champion-of-religious> 17 June 2015

<http://www.u-s-history.com/pages/h577.html> 17 June 2015

Enlightenment Radicals



Thomas Hobbes

<http://www.iep.utm.edu/hobmoral/>



John Locke

https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/John_Locke



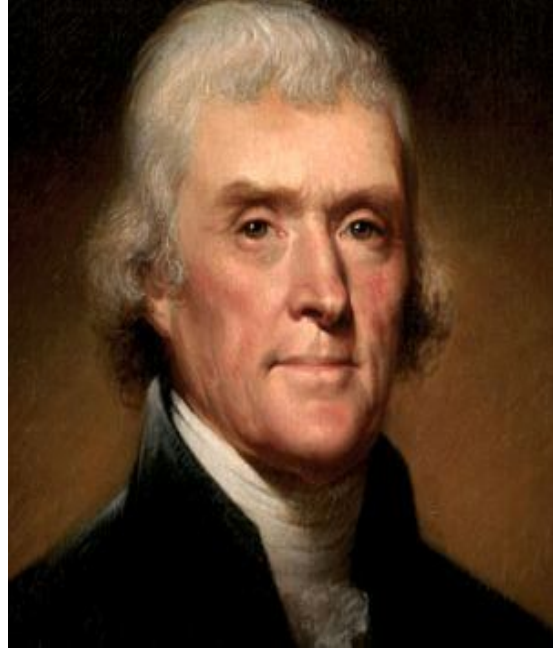
Jean Jack Rousseau

http://www.members.tripod.com/mr_sedivy/quotes7.html

The Architects of American Radicalism



Thomas Paine



Thomas Jefferson

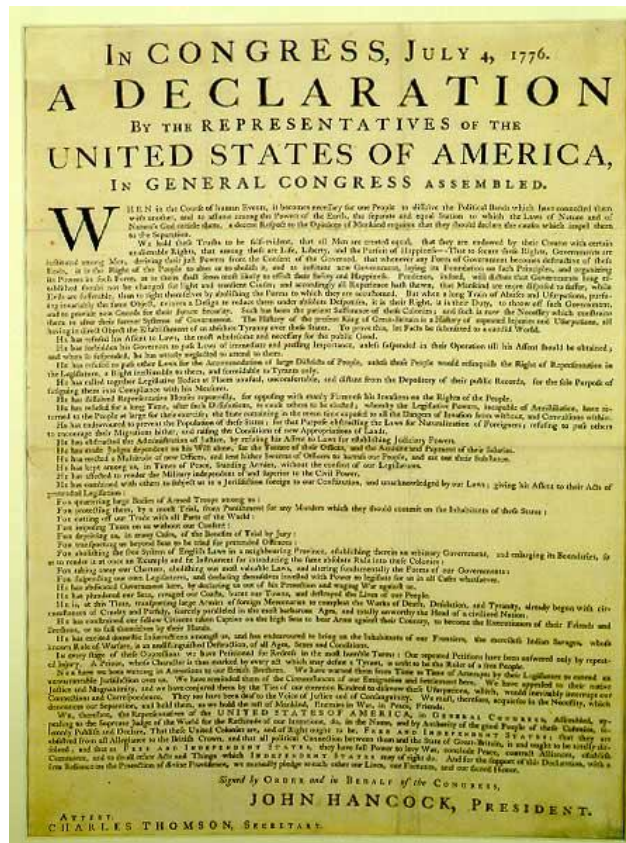
https://wikipedia.org/?title=Thomas_Paine17://en. June 2015

<http://www.google.fr/imgres?imgurl=http://a1.files.biography.com/image/17> June 2015



The Founding Fathers

https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Signing_of_the_United_States_Declaration_of_Independence 17 June 2015



https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Signing_of_the_United_States_Declaration_of_Independence, 17 June, 2015



"If a man does not keep pace with his companions, perhaps it is because he hears a different drummer. Let him step to the music he hears, however measured or far away."

Henry David Thoreau

<https://www.google.fr/search?q> 12 July, 2015.

The Civil Rights Movement



[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/African-American_Civil_Rights_Movement_\(1954%E2%80%9368\)](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/African-American_Civil_Rights_Movement_(1954%E2%80%9368)),
September 23, 2015.

The American Feminist Movement



<https://www.google.dz/search?q=feminism&biw=1280&bih=672&source=lnms&tbm=isch>,
September 23, 2015.

The Hippies



https://www.google.dz/search?q=hippies&biw=1280&bih=672&source=lnms&tbm=isch&sa=X&ved=0CAYQ_AUoAWoVChMI1cHNx-2uyAIVxjIaCh0gXAMe#imgrc=Iw54SDVvbL4DIM%3A,
September 23, 2015.

Environmentalism



https://www.google.dz/search?q=environmentalism&biw=1280&bih=672&source=lnms&tbm=isch&sa=X&ved=0CAYQ_AUoAWoVChMI1cHNx-2uyAIVxjIaCh0gXAMe#imgrc=Iw54SDVvbL4DIM%3A,
September 23, 2015.

Occupy Wall Street Movement



https://www.google.dz/search?q=wall+street+radicals&biw=1280&bih=672&source=lnms&tbm=isch&sa=X&ved=0CAYQ_AUoAWoVChMI84WBruyuyAIVC1kaCh2uJQrk#imgrc=Ljm6ADL7vqAZYM, September 23, 2015.

تعالج الأطروحة جذور الراديكالية الأمريكية، و الراديكالية هي أي فكر يهدف إلى إحداث تغيير في المجتمع بهدف إرساء قيم العدالة و المساواة و الحرية.

فالراديكالية هي أي إيديولوجية إصلاحية قد تكون معتدلة تهدف إلى الإصلاح أو متطرفة تهدف إلى التغيير الجذري. و الحقيقة أن مفهوم الراديكالية متغير فما هو راديكالي اليوم قد لا يكون كذلك غدا. لقد عرف المجتمع الأمريكي حركات راديكالية مختلفة كحركة تحرير السود و الحركة النسوية و غيرها من الحركات التي طالبت بتعميم مبادئ الثورة الأمريكية و التي تعتبر من أهم نتائج الراديكالية الأمريكية على جميع فئات المجتمع، و نقصد بذلك مبادئ الحرية و المساواة و كذا العدالة.

إن هذه الدراسة تسلط الضوء على ثلاث جذور قارة للفكر الراديكالي الأمريكي، و هي جذور تاريخية، دينية و فلسفية. تاريخية تمتد إلى ما قبل تأسيس ما يسمى بالولايات المتحدة الأمريكية و نقصد بذلك الفكر الراديكالي البريطاني الذي ساد في حقبة ما بعد الحرب الأهلية البريطانية، حيث ظهرت حركات راديكالية تدعو إلى تغيير سياسي و اجتماعي شامل يمكن من تأسيس نظام حكم عادل مبني على مبادئ حقوق الإنسان، و لعل من أهم الأفكار الراديكالية في هذه الحقبة هو المطالبة بدستور مكتوب للبلاد. و لقد اطلع جيل الثورة المؤسس للولايات المتحدة الأمريكية على فكر هذه الحركات الراديكالية البريطانية و تبني الكثير من أفكارها و جعلها مبادئ في الدستور الأمريكي كحرية التعبير و حرية الصحافة و حرية العقيدة.

و قد خلص بحثنا بأن للراديكالية الأمريكية جذور دينية أيضا، فقد لعب الدين دورا هاما في تغذية الفكر الراديكالي الأمريكي، حيث قامت الحياة الاجتماعية في العالم الجديد على أساس ديني محض، فالمجتمع الأمريكي و خاصة في مستعمرة ماساشوسات باي (Massachusets Bay) كان دينيا ضم فئات مضطهدة من طرف النظام البريطاني و ذلك لسعيها لإصلاح الدين الكاثوليكي الذي رأوا أنه حرف فأرادوا تطهير الكنيسة من كل الطقوس التي رأوها دخيلة.

و قد وصلوا الكفاح التطهيري في العالم الجديد ضد السلطات في ماساشوسات عندما أراد أعضاء الكنيسة تقييد الحرية الدينية، و رأوا في ذلك انحرافا عن ما أرادوا إنجازه في المجتمع التقى و استمرارا لخرق مبدأ حرية العقيدة. و لعل من بين أهم الراديكاليين الذين نادوا بفصل الكنيسة عن الدولة و دعوا إلى جعل الدين مسألة شخصية بين الفرد و الرب و غير مرتبطة لا بزمان و لا بمكان و لا بوسيط نذكر روجي وليامز (Roger Williams) و آن هاتشنسون (Ann Hutchinson)، الذين كانا من أهم الراديكاليين في المجتمع الأمريكي الفتى.

حيث كانت أفكارها قاعدة لحركات راديكالية داعية للإصلاح كالحركة النسوية و حركات الحقوق المدنية، و قد قدموا دلائل دينية تغذي الفكر الراديكالي الداعي إلى المساواة بين الرجل و المرأة و كذا بين جميع فئات المجتمع و أجناسه.

كما توصلنا في بحثنا إلى أن الراديكالية الأمريكية تأثرت بالفكر الفلسفي الأوروبي الذي ازدهر في عصر التنوير و الذي دعا إلى إلغاء مبدأ التفويض الإلهي للملوك و مبدأ السلطة الملكية المطلقة، ووضع أساسا للفكر السياسي الحديث و هو نظرية العقد الاجتماعي و التي بدورها تقوم على أن أصل الدولة هو عقد بين الحاكم و المحكوم و هذا ما ذهب إليه كل من توماس هوبز (Thomas Hobbes)، جون لوك (John Locke) و جين جاك روسو (Jean Jack Rosseau)، فقد دعم لوك الفكر الراديكالي التحرري بنظرية الثورة، بالإضافة إلى إيمانه أن أصل الدول هو العقد الاجتماعي، و ذهب إلى القول بأن من حق المحكوم الثورة على الحاكم في حال أخل هذا الأخير بأحد شروط العقد.

و لم يكتف جيل الثورة الأمريكية بالاطلاع على الفكر الراديكالي لبريطانيا البلد الأم لهم، بل كان مطلعا كذلك على الفكر الراديكالي الفلسفي الفرنسي المتمثل في فكر جين جاك روسو الداعي إلى بناء مجتمع قائم على حقوق الإنسان، و التي اعتبرها توماس جيفرسون (Thomas Jefferson) حقائق بديهية كما كتب في بيان الاستقلال الأمريكي، الوثيقة التي تعتبر قاعدة لمبادئ الدولة الأمريكية و التي جاءت نتيجة لجميع المؤثرات الفكرية الراديكالية السابقة الذكر، و التي بدورها أصبحت أساس جميع الحركات التحررية الأمريكية.

في الأخير بإمكاننا القول أن للراديكالية الأمريكية جذور مختلفة سمحت للأمريكيين من تطوير و استحداث فكر راديكالي مميز و مختلف عن ذلك الذي عرفته القارة العجوز، و هذا هو السبب الأساس في استثنائية المجتمع الأمريكي لتحقيق حلم الأرض الموعودة التي لطالما تعنى بها الحاكم جون وين ثروب (John Winthrop).