More Than a Historian

*The Political
and Economic
Thought of
Charles A. Beard*

Clyde W. Barrow

***More Than a
Historian***

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**Dedicated to the late Richard Ashcraft,
With respect and admiration**

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Abbreviations

AAA	Agricultural Adjustment Act
AHA	American Historical Association
APSA	American Political Science Association
BMR	Bureau of Municipal Research
BOSAP	Board of Strategy and Planning
CRA	Capital Reserve Account
EIS	Export-Import Syndicate
NEC	National Economic Council
NIRA	National Industrial Recovery Act
PSQ	<i>Political Science Quarterly</i>
SIA	Social Insurance Account

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There are several people whose good will and support advanced this project at critical points when it would have been easier to abandon the manuscript. I owe an enormous debt to the late Richard Ashcraft, my dissertation advisor and mentor for nineteen years. Richard Ashcraft's contributions to the new historicism in political theory have played an important role in my conceptualization and execution of the project. Ashcraft insisted that political theorists must not only read texts carefully, but must also be serious historians and competent sociologists, if they are to interpret textual meanings in a way that is relevant to a contemporary audience. Ashcraft's method of interpreting political theory had its epistemological origins in Marx's theory of ideology, while its methodological foundation was based in Karl Mannheim's sociology of knowledge. Anyone familiar with those works will recognize their influence on this book.

However, it was Professor Eldon Eisenach at the University of Tulsa who first took a serious interest in my work on Charles A. Beard. After delivering a paper on Beard (Chapter 4) at the Southwestern Political Science Association in 1985, Eldon encouraged me to continue my work at a time when most political theorists regarded *American* political thought as something less than "political theory," evidently on the assumption that political theory is a peculiarly European art. At each major juncture in the development of the book, I sought Eldon's advice and the book would not have been completed without his encouragement, although he is exonerated from its shortcomings, because I did not always take his advice.

I was also fortunate, at the earliest stages of this project, to receive assistance from Jerome Mileur, the former editor of *POLITY* and a political theorist at the University of Massachusetts Amherst. Professor Mileur patiently worked with me in responding to scholarly reviewers, and portions of this work appeared in that journal more than a decade

ago. Karen Orren, co-editor of *Studies in American Political Development*, also provided a forum for the publication of two exceptionally long articles on Beard (Chapter 4 and Chapter 6) that would never have been published in less historically oriented political science journals.

As always, the University of Massachusetts Dartmouth librarians spent several years tracking down obscure publications by Charles A. Beard and other authors associated with him. My thanks to Jo-Ann Cooley, Linda Zeiper, and Erika Pereira. Robert Mauro, my former research assistant, spent innumerable hours over a three-year period retrieving interlibrary loans and tracking down bibliographical references, while his own initiative brought several articles to my attention. Importantly, his own enthusiasm for the work forced me to return to it again and again, particularly at those points when I just wanted to be finished with it.

Finally, the author gratefully acknowledges the following publishers:

1. Chapter 2 was published originally as "From Marx to Madison: The Seligman Connection in Charles Beard's Constitutional Theory," *POLITY* 25 (Spring 1992): 379-97. Chapter 5 was published originally as "Building a Workers' Republic: Charles A. Beard's Critique of Liberalism in the 1930s," *POLITY* (Fall 1997). Both articles are reprinted (with revisions) with the permission of *POLITY*.
2. Chapter 4 was published originally as "Beyond Progressivism: Charles A. Beard's Social Democratic Theory of American Political Development," *Studies in American Political Development* 8 (Fall 1994): 231-81. Chapter 6 was published originally as "The Diversionary Thesis and the Dialectic of Imperialism: Charles A. Beard's Theory of Foreign Policy Revisited," *Studies in American Political Development* (Fall 1997): 248-91. Both articles are reprinted (with revisions) with the permission of Cambridge University Press.

Preface

My first encounter with Charles A. Beard was a casual one, but it sparked a curiosity about his work that has lasted more than twenty years. In 1976, while an undergraduate at Texas A&M University at Kingsville, I was sitting in a professor's office waiting for him to retrieve some print-outs from the university computer center. As students often do in these situations, I began perusing the professor's bookshelves and almost immediately my eyes fixed on Charles A. Beard's *An Economic Interpretation of the Constitution of the United States*. I opened the book and began reading what I now know was the introduction to the 1935 edition. I was already fascinated by Marx and Marxism so I found it puzzling that Beard denied being a Marxist. I quickly drew the same conclusion as many previous readers: of course, Beard was a Marxist, but he was writing about the United States for an American audience so he had to deny it. Although I read no more than ten pages of the introduction before the professor returned to his office, the book's author, title, and thesis were always returning to my thoughts. Having grown up in south Texas, where every aspect of life was determined by the price of cattle or the price of oil, Beard's economic interpretation of history seemed like a self-evident proposition to me.

In graduate school at UCLA, I finally purchased my first copy of Beard's classic work on the Constitution and I noticed that other graduate students were constantly drawn to the book on my shelf. Everyone had heard of Charles Beard, everyone knew the title of the book, but everyone was amazed that I had actually read it. Beard's book on the Constitution seemed to exert some magical power that was both compelling and repelling to everyone who approached it. I always intended to write a seminar paper on Beard, but it was not until after graduate school that I finally sat down and wrote a paper on *An Economic Interpretation of the Constitution of the United States*. The paper was subtitled: "Is the Debate Really Over?"

My survey of the literature on Beard's *Economic Interpretation* concluded that it was premature to consign Beard to the dustbin of history and that, indeed, many of the so-called refutations of Beard's best-known work were directed at a straw man constructed explicitly for ideological purposes during the 1950s and 1960s. When I submitted the article to a leading political science journal, I received the answer to the question posed in my subtitle. The first referee was enthusiastic about publishing the manuscript and asked the editor to solicit rejoinders from well-known Beard critics, with the expectation that I would reply to those critics. The second referee submitted a terse two-sentence review stating that Beard was irrelevant to contemporary political theory and that it was unfathomable that anyone in political science could still be interested in his work. A third reviewer admitted that he had never read Beard and would, therefore, defer to the evaluation of the other referees. Confronted with a split decision, the journal's editor chose to reject the manuscript. When I submitted the same manuscript to a second major journal in political science, it met with *exactly the same result!*

I have grown accustomed to split decisions on Beard since that time. No American scholar in the twentieth century has provoked sharper or more widespread academic and public disputes through his written work. For this reason, a few comments on my method of interpretation and style of presentation are necessary to clarify my approach to Beard's writings. First, anyone who attempts to reconstruct Beard's political and economic thought enters a wide-ranging and intense debate that is littered with secondary interpretations and even tertiary interpretations of interpretations. Beard was an unusually prolific writer who published dozens of books, hundreds of articles and book chapters, and scores of book reviews. In turn, this immense and controversial corpus, which extends over five decades (1898 to 1948), has generated a secondary literature that is certainly no less voluminous than one would find over a comparable period of time for any of the so-called "great" political theorists.

Moreover, Beard has entered the pantheon of thinkers that most scholars no longer read, but only *read about* through secondary and tertiary sources. Beard is one of those thinkers that everyone claims to know so well that it is no longer necessary to even read him. Thus, to actually read Beard is to cut through a dense thicket of secondary interpretation, preconception and misconception, disdain, and even eight decades of continuing ad hominem. The book has been structured as a polemic against the dominant strains of interpretation and critique, although I

must confess that trying to reach Beard through this thicket of unsupported assumptions has been the equivalent of hacking one's way through a rainforest with a pocket knife.

Notwithstanding the difficulty of reaching Beard through the heavy undergrowth of secondary interpretation, and unlike many of my colleagues in contemporary political theory, I am still convinced that one can discover and understand the real Charles Beard and that doing so is a worthwhile intellectual activity. By referring to the "real" Charles Beard, I am claiming that in a universe of finite available evidence, it is certainly possible to discard certain interpretations of Beard's work as incorrect, because they are incompatible with the preponderance of textual, biographical, and contextual evidence, not the least of which are the actions and statements of the author with regard to his own intentions and meaning. Similarly, it is possible to cast doubt on otherwise plausible interpretations to the extent that they are unable to account for significant actions and statements of the author with regard to his own intentions and meaning. Thus, I am claiming that it is possible, based on the weight of the available evidence, to construct an interpretation that is more plausible than competing alternatives, that is consistent with the actions and statements of the author with regard to his own intentions and meaning, notwithstanding the fact that no individual, including Beard, is perfectly rational, completely transparent, or unambiguous to subsequent observers. This interpretive principle is particularly important to my understanding of Beard's economic and political thought, because a large proportion of previous commentaries depend on assertions that Beard was dissembling, disingenuous, confused, or constantly prone to polemical exaggeration and posturing.¹ Hence, many of the most influential interpretations of Beard's work refuse to accept his own statements about his meaning and intentions seriously.

For this reason, the book is footnoted extensively, perhaps even excessively, and I have sometimes been criticized by reviewers and colleagues for this apparent peculiarity. However, there is first of all a sound methodological reason for my compulsion to footnote every quote, to document every biographical claim, to cite a source for every context, and to reference every statement of fact. It may seem presumptuous to elevate footnotes to the status of a methodological principle, but in the course of writing this book, I have been astounded by the number and range of unsubstantiated claims that scholars and politicians have made about the content of Beard's work, its ideological implications, and the author's

intentions in writing certain books. Many of the most important critical claims about Beard have remained unchallenged and unsubstantiated for several decades; each book or article building on a previous myth, assuming a fact not in evidence, or taking for granted someone else's imputed meaning for a text. My radical response to this intellectual practice is to specify my sources for reconstructing Beard's political and economic thought in as much detail as possible. Multiple citations from Beard are used as a check on my own interpretation, and they are also used to document the consistency of Beard's theoretical claims across time.

Second, footnotes allow one to reconstruct the meanings and intentions of a particular author through his own language. J. G. A. Pocock has demonstrated admirably that the meanings of concepts are deeply embedded in the linguistic conventions of intellectual paradigms.² Therefore, if a contemporary author is to capture the intellectual context of a period, to convey a flavor for the language, conventions, usages, and meanings of a period, it is necessary to reconstruct an author's meanings through his own words, and those of his contemporaries, so far as possible. Otherwise, there is a tendency to impute contemporary meanings to archaic concepts or to impute unintended meanings to a political idea. At critical junctures in the Beard debates, misguided presentist imputations have made a significant impact on how contemporary scholars understand Beard's work. By remaining as close to Beard's texts as possible, and then supplementing those texts with intellectual and political context, it is my intention to offer a reconstruction of Beard's political and economic thought that stays as close to his own meanings and intentions as possible.

Specifically, my reconstruction of Beard is aimed at dispelling the idea that he was either a dissembling Marxist who was unwilling to embrace socialism publicly or that he was merely a disenchanted New Deal liberal. In contrast to these widely held views, I argue that Beard's intellectual underpinnings were the Hegelian philosophical tradition (i.e., the German historical school), institutional economics, and non-Marxian revisionist socialism. These strands of thought were all widely diffused among American scholars prior to World War II and, in Beard, they were synthesized into a highly original metanarrative of American political development. This metanarrative provides critical insights into the crisis of the American welfare state that point to a post-Marxian socialist political theory.

A second methodological principle has guided my interpretation of Beard's political thought. It is important to note that I have no signifi-

cant quarrels with Beard's intellectual biographers, Ellen Nore and Thomas C. Kennedy, who in my estimate provide fairly definitive biographical treatments of Beard's life. I have relied heavily on these works for biographical insights that are pertinent to my treatment of Beard. Consequently, my interpretive quarrel on this front is more with the method of intellectual biography which is often bogged down in the minutiae of daily life and therefore it is a method profoundly preoccupied with the sequence of day-to-day responses to current events.

As a new historicist, I consider biographical and historical context to be important and relevant factors in the interpretation of any author's political thinking, but I am now convinced that the problem of how to use this biographical and historical evidence is terribly problematic for anyone attempting to interpret the political thought of someone who wrote after the nineteenth century. The texts and other evidence left behind by a Plato or Aristotle is relatively finite and manageable, but as one moves forward into the twentieth century authors no longer leave behind a few important books, articles, and original unpublished manuscripts. Contemporary authors leave behind all of these things as well as magazine articles and interviews, hastily written personal letters, conference proceedings, quotes in newspapers, transcripts of radio broadcasts, and speeches, and these outlets do not exhaust the many forms of communication in the contemporary world. Likewise, the development of modern bureaucracies, libraries, and archives mean that a much larger range and volume of biographical, historical, and other evidence is available for consideration.

Importantly, the practical difficulty of drawing on such evidence is likely to be even more problematic one hundred years from now given the plethora of new technologies and media available for preserving every minor action and idea of a particular individual. One wonders, for example, if any remarkable insights might have been gleaned from backup tapes of John Locke's electronic mail (instead of his letters) or from his monthly Visa Card statements (instead of his expense ledger); or would such records merely divert us into a litany of trivia where political theory is reduced to tabloid journalism? In other words, if it was necessary to include everything about Beard, it would not be possible to say anything significant about Beard without losing it in the minutiae of historical and biographical analysis.

In writing the book, I have chosen to deal with this problem in two ways. Given the amount of published primary and secondary sources

by and about Beard, in some ways it is fortunate that Beard did not leave many unpublished manuscripts or other fragments behind him for the quibbling of future scholars.³ Beard purposely destroyed many of these items shortly before his death, because he wanted to be judged only on the basis of his published works and “not on the basis of what he ate for breakfast.” Beard was deeply dissatisfied with the emergence of academic political theorists whom he dismissed as dust sifters sifting through the dust of other dust sifters. Beard swept his own floor clean by destroying most of his personal records, correspondence, and unpublished manuscripts shortly before his death. Hence, while some political theorists and intellectual historians may criticize my historicist interpretation for failing to delve deeper into archival records, I am consistent with Beard’s intentions by having concentrated almost exclusively on his published writings.

However, even this narrower focus, defended from a historical and intentionalist standpoint, does not fully resolve the problems of interpretative selection given the magnitude of Beard’s published *oeuvre*. After twenty years, I believe that I have read everything Beard ever published and almost everything written about him. Nevertheless, as the book developed over many years, I became convinced that it is not necessary to cite every minor article, book review, or letter to the editor simply to impress other scholars. A great deal of Beard’s writings have been accurately described as excursions into history unfolding. Unlike the majority of contemporary scholars, who are hesitant to make flash judgments, Beard was always ready to speculate for an admiring public. He took jabs at political leaders, corporate executives, and other academics and many times his commentary was unmercifully sarcastic.

These articles, editorials, radio addresses, and newspaper quotes were not necessarily put into the public arena with a concern for the logical consistency of a theoretical system, but were hasty interventions into the day-to-day tumult of politics. Sometimes Beard’s remarks are a conscious application and extension of his historiography to unfolding events. Sometimes Beard was just plain angry. Sometimes Beard was just plain wrong. In dealing with this embarrassment of sources, I became increasingly dissatisfied with the growing tendency among the new historicists to accord equal weight to every article, every letter, and every off-hand utterance as if it should be accorded the same interpretive weight as the statements in a 1,200 page book written over several years with great care and consideration.

This is exactly the problem Beard tried to eliminate by destroying his personal records, but it cannot be avoided entirely, since he left behind a large number of hastily written articles, flippant remarks to newspaper reporters, and angry retorts in various public media. As someone committed to the interpretive principles of the new historicism,⁴ I have continued using these minor sources, but I use them primarily where they document the overall continuity and consistency of Beard's thinking, clarify ambiguities in important concepts, or where they fill gaps in the conceptual structure of Beard's political and economic thought.⁵

Notes

1. Arthur MacMahon, "Charles Beard, the Teacher," in Howard K. Beale, ed., *Charles A. Beard: An Appraisal* (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1954), p. 224.
2. J. G. A. Pocock, *Politics, Language and Time* (New York: Atheneum Press, 1973), Chap. 1.
3. The main repository of the Charles and Mary Beard papers is the Archives and Special Collections, Roy O. West Library, DePauw University. There is also correspondence from Beard and other items of interest in the papers of various individuals scattered throughout the country. See, Ellen Nore, *Charles A. Beard: An Intellectual Biography* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1983), pp. 285-87.
4. The interpretive principles and concepts of the new historicism are identified primarily with Quentin Skinner. See, James Tully, ed., *Meaning and Context: Quentin Skinner and his Critics* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1988). However, my methodological approach is deeply influenced by Richard Ashcraft, "On the Problem of Methodology and the Nature of Political Theory," *Political Theory* (February 1975): 5-25; Richard Ashcraft, "Political Theory and the Problem of Ideology," *Journal of Politics* (August 1980): 687-705; John G. Gunnell, "American Political Science, Liberalism, and the Invention of Political Theory," in James Farr and Raymond Seidelman, eds., *Discipline and History: Political Science in the United States* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1993), pp. 179-97; John G. Gunnell, *The Descent of Political Theory: The Genealogy of an American Vocation* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993). The new historicism is identified more broadly in my application of it with Karl Mannheim, *Ideology and Utopia* (New York: Harcourt, Brace, Jovanovich, Inc., 1936).
5. For example, Merle Curti, "Beard as Historical Critic," in Beale, ed., *Charles A. Beard: An Appraisal*, p. 185, observes that Beard authored at least 150 book reviews during his career, beginning when he was a graduate student at Columbia University. Curti finds that "a careful reading in chronological sequence of Beard's reviews illuminates many controversial questions about his intellectual development" (p. 186). Based on such a reading, Curti concludes that "Beard's historical thinking did not undergo any abrupt or radical shifts. It is equally clear that it was anything but static" (p. 212).

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Charles A. Beard

The Historian as Public Intellectual

Contemporary scholars typically judge each other's success by the length of their curriculum vitae and, particularly, by the length of their publication list. By this standard, Charles A. Beard (1874-1948) was a prodigious scholar whose publications in history and political science consist of forty-two books, thirty-five co-authored books, thirty chapters in edited collections, twenty-five prefaces or introductions to books, 330 articles, 150 book reviews, and numerous letters to major newspapers and magazines.¹ By the end of his life, Beard's history books alone (i.e., not including political science) had sold more than 11.3 million volumes in the United States due primarily to his authorship of basic textbooks and to his large popular audience.² Following his death in 1948, scholars were virtually unanimous in their evaluation of Beard's intellectual impact on the historical disciplines.

Peter R. Levin suggests that "Beard was perhaps the most influential American historian of his time."³ Howard K. Beale ranked Beard "among the most significant historians of the first half of the twentieth century."⁴ According to Cushing Strout, no other scholar in his time has "written with more authority and influence" than Charles A. Beard.⁵ Alvin Johnson acclaimed Beard "the greatest historian of his time—and, indeed, of all American time."⁶ In one of the earliest efforts to evaluate Beard's legacy to American scholarship, an impressive group of historians and political scientists concluded that "in all of American history, only one other—Bancroft—has at the same time enjoyed an

outstanding reputation among scholars and been so 'popular' in his own day and so widely read by laymen."⁷ Beard's writings continue to receive critical attention from historians and his work is still a standard citation in introductory textbooks on American Government.⁸

Beard's legacy to American history and social science is strongly identified with his method of economic interpretation. In many ways, the development of his thought can be traced through the pathbreaking books he managed to write in this genre in each of five decades. As an undergraduate student at DePauw University (1894-1898) and as a graduate student at Oxford University (1898-1902), Beard received an extensive education in modern history, political economy, and socialist theory.⁹ Drawing on this background, Beard was convinced by the turn of the century that the classical age of laissez-faire capitalism was nearing its end. In his first book, *The Industrial Revolution* (1901), Beard predicted that laissez-faire capitalism was gradually self-destructing through the inner logic of its own development and was being replaced by a rationalized system of consolidated finance and industry based on the modern corporation. Beard surmised that the new corporations would establish the economic foundation for rational planning of production. As an effect of the new corporate economy, Beard hinted vaguely that "technological rationality" would be projected into every sphere of social, political, and cultural existence.

Beard was already convinced by this time that the most important question facing modern democracies was not whether there would be industrial and economic planning, but only whether planning would be conducted by private corporations, a state technocracy, or some democratically accountable form of economic governance. In other words, the twentieth century would offer a limited range of macropolitical choices that consisted of a retrograde form of corporate feudalism, a statist command economy, or some type of industrial democracy. These were the major alternatives inherent, respectively, in classical liberalism, Marxian socialism, and social democracy. It is no exaggeration to suggest that Beard's entire written *oeuvre* is an effort to record the historical details of that process and to explore its theoretical implications for contemporary politics as they developed over the next forty-seven years.

Beard did not believe that any one of these alternatives was a foregone conclusion. Given his own commitment to industrial democracy, Beard never limited himself to writing books, but was an en-

gaged public intellectual throughout his adult life. The youthful Beard of *The Industrial Revolution* was a leader in the new workers' education movement in Great Britain. Along with the American socialist, Walter Vrooman, Beard founded Ruskin College (1898) at Oxford University as the first labor college in Great Britain.¹⁰ Ruskin College was a full-time resident institution described by its founders as a school of citizenship and public administration created for "workers endeavoring to elevate their class and not to rise out of it."¹¹ In fact, Beard wrote *The Industrial Revolution* for use as a text in economic history at Ruskin College and for use at other labor colleges being formed throughout Great Britain at this time.

As part of what became a life-long foray into the workers' education movement, Beard traveled throughout England's major industrial cities encouraging workers to contribute funds to the movement, to assist in the creation of new labor colleges, and to prepare themselves for a dominant role in the new industrial order. Beard sipped beer and argued with small groups of trade unionists in pubs and he lectured before large audiences of workers throughout the Midlands. Beard buttonholed Tory reformers for money, met with suffragettes and socialists, and hobnobbed at Labour Party councils.¹² By all accounts, Beard was a spellbinding speaker, whether delivering his message in a university classroom, a union hall, or a political assembly.¹³ Beard was so popular among English workers that officials in the new Labour Party asked him not to return to the United States, since Ramsay Macdonald wanted Beard to be a Cabinet minister in the future Labour government, which many anticipated was on the near horizon.¹⁴

Charles Beard returned to the United States in 1902, where he completed an innocuous dissertation at Columbia University describing the origins and development of the justice of the peace in England (1904).¹⁵ During his three years as a doctoral candidate, Beard so impressed senior members of the faculty that he was appointed to the history department after completing his dissertation. At Columbia University, Beard inhabited an academic world populated by past and future luminaries such as John W. Burgess, John Dewey, James Harvey Robinson, E. R. A. Seligman, Frank Goodnow, Harry Elmer Barnes, and many other scholars at the forefront of the new historical and social sciences. Beard's early years at Columbia University included an intense collaboration with James Harvey Robinson, who was then formulating the principles of a "new history" in the United States.¹⁶

The new history was “new” in four respects. First, the new history emphasized modern and contemporary history over ancient and medieval history. Second, the new history emphasized the underlying structural determinants of history—such as economic and social change—in contrast to the “surface events” described by most political and military historians. Third, the new history focused on the theoretical interpretation of history in contrast to the dull chronicling and archival fact-gathering of positivist or “scientific history.”¹⁷ Finally, the new historians insisted that history is always written from the standpoint of some interest in the present and is meaningful to the present only if it sheds some light on the underlying determinants and trajectory of contemporary events. These principles resulted in a historical approach that necessarily blurred into the emerging discipline of political science.¹⁸

Beard and Robinson introduced the new history to students and scholars with a series of introductory textbooks on European and American history published between 1906 and 1914.¹⁹ However, as Robinson drifted into intellectual history, Beard’s interests moved deeper into economics and its relationship to the development of political institutions. Thus, while Robinson became a founder of intellectual history and academic political theory as it is now practiced in the United States,²⁰ the culmination of Beard’s effort was his publication of *An Economic Interpretation of the Constitution of the United States* (1913). Robinson’s early book on intellectual history was received politely in academic circles. Beard’s book was politically charged, first, because it overtly adopted a method of economic interpretation and, second, because it identified the origins of the U.S. Constitution as a class struggle between capitalistic and agricultural interests.

According to Beard, capitalistic interests had dominated the constitutional convention and, consequently, they authored a founding document that appealed “directly and unerringly to identical interests in the country at large.”²¹ Beard’s new book became a powerful weapon in the hands of populists, progressives, liberals, socialists and, later, even communists, who would all cite his book as evidence that the Constitution was of the capitalists, by the capitalists, and for the capitalists.²² Against the recent backdrop of the Populist Revolt, the meteoric rise of the Socialist party in 1912, and the various progressive movements, Beard’s book set off a political firestorm inside and outside of academia. Beard’s *Economic Interpretation of the Constitution*

was unquestionably the most controversial historical work of his generation.²³

E. S. Corwin, a leading Constitutional historian, denounced the work immediately as "bent on demonstrating the truth of the socialistic theory of economic determinism and class struggle."²⁴ Albert Bushnell Hart, a Harvard political scientist and constitutional scholar, considered the book "little short of indecent."²⁵ However, as with all of Beard's significant writings, the controversy was never confined to scholarly journals and professional conventions. Beard's book challenged the certainties of constitutional formalism and in doing so it offended the American plutocracy and the judicial establishment, both of whom quickly realized that one of their best kept secrets had been exposed to the restless masses. Thus, as opposed to the many scholarly reviews that one might cite, it is Beard's reception outside academia that tells one most about his impact as a public intellectual.

In one instance, an outraged committee of the New York Bar Association summoned Beard to defend his book at a formal hearing, and when he rejected their demand, its officers issued a summons to Beard as if he was in contempt of court.²⁶ On another occasion, Beard accepted an invitation to speak at the New York Republican Club. After discussing his book with the hostile audience, a friend whispered: "Beard, you know why these fellows despise you?" A deflated Beard queried back: "But why should anyone despise a poor professor on his way from obscurity to oblivion?" The answer: "Because you have shown them that the Fathers of their country were just like themselves."²⁷

A newspaper reporter asked the recently retired ex-President William Howard Taft what he thought about Charles Beard's book on the Constitution. The future Chief Justice of the U.S. Supreme Court replied that he thought the facts in the book were true enough, "but why did the damn fool print it?" he asked. The *Marion Star*, a newspaper owned by Warren G. Harding, was not so kind in its assessment of Beard's scholarship. The newspaper attacked the book as "libelous, vicious, and damnable in its influence" and went on to urge "every patriotic citizen of the United States...to condemn him [Beard] and the purveyors of his filthy lies and rotten perversion." Senator William E. Borah of Idaho was equally harsh in calling Beard "a hyena" scavenging on the remains of the Founding Fathers. Amid the controversy, reporters queried Nicholas Murray Butler, the president of Columbia

University (and Taft's Vice-Presidential running mate in 1912), whether he "had read Professor Beard's last book." Butler's grim response was: "I hope so."²⁸

Charles' wife, Mary Ritter Beard, recalls that he "was fairly flooded with abuse" for having published *An Economic Interpretation*. Beard always relished the polemical controversy that accompanied his writings, but it meant that academia was never an ivory tower of peaceful reflection for him. The story was often circulated that a student had entered Beard's office amidst the public turmoil surrounding *An Economic Interpretation* and found him sitting silently with his head in his arms. The student asked if anything was wrong and Beard replied: "I'm trying to collect my ideas; and if I do, I'll be accused of unlawful assembly."²⁹ On the other hand, Eric F. Goldman (also a student of Beard's in 1941) recalls that Beard's *Economic Interpretation of the Constitution* would later become a Bible to thousands of young academics in the 1930's: "There were bread lines outside, and smug men, hurrying by them, said that something or another in the Constitution blocked making moves against poverty. *An Economic Interpretation* hammered the Constitution down into the arena of material interests and broke open a way to make sure that democratic constitutionalism included jobs and bread."³⁰

Despite the controversy, and against Nicholas Murray Butler's wishes, Beard planned to write a series of economic interpretations dealing with each major period in United States history. He never got past the second volume of the series, entitled *Economic Origins of Jeffersonian Democracy* (1915). Instead, Beard spent the following two decades collaborating with his wife on the *magnum opus* that was to solidify his reputation as an icon of the new history. In 1927, the Beards published the first two volumes of *The Rise of American Civilization*, a general history which extended his earlier thesis by interpreting the course of American political development in terms of its transition from an agricultural era (1620-1877) to an industrial era (1877-present). A dialectical clash between agricultural interests (Jeffersonianism) and capitalist interests (Hamiltonianism) had been the engine of American political development during this time. A decade later, the Beards published a third volume, *America in Mid-Passage* (1939), which developed a theme introduced in the last chapter of *The Rise* where Beard predicted that the United States was on the verge of transition to a new phase of social and industrial democracy.³¹

In contrast to the controversy surrounding his *Economic Interpretation of the Constitution*, the *Rise of American Civilization* became one of the most highly praised books of the century and it is probably the most successful large-scale synthesis in American historical writing.³² The book captured the front pages of book sections in magazines and newspapers and, accordingly, the Beards' pictures were displayed widely in popular publications. The book's regular edition sold 71,000 copies and another 62,000 copies were distributed as Book-of-the-Month-Club selections.³³ Horace M. Kallen, a psychology professor at the New School for Social Research, suggested that as the author of one of the last great monuments to general history: "Charles Beard has a claim to be counted as an outstanding figure in the line of great philosopher-historians writing great history."³⁴ Max Lerner remembers "that Beard's *Rise* permeated downward and outward; it affected professional historians, students, and laymen; it left its imprint on a whole generation" to the extent that many of his former heresies "were close to establishing new orthodoxies" by the early 1930s.³⁵ John Patrick Diggins notes that "in the years between the two world wars, Beard's reputation was so firmly established that the adjective 'Beardian' was not only considered a compliment but denoted a respected school of thought."³⁶

The *aufheben* of Beard's dialectic was the idea of social and industrial democracy, which Beard presented as a grand historical synthesis of Hamiltonian and Jeffersonian principles. Beard published another significant work, *The Open Door at Home* (1934), where he outlined this synthesis in his most systematic tract on political economy. In *The Open Door at Home*, Beard challenged the conventional economic assumption that the Great Depression had been caused by overproduction. Instead, Beard drew heavily on the institutional economists, who were at the apogee of their influence during the first New Deal, to argue that the business cycle was the effect of income inequalities produced by "maladjustments" in the distribution of wealth and property rights. Beard's solution to the business cycle was to pursue an "open door at home" policy, in contrast to developing export markets and pursuing military adventures to create an open door in China. Beard's policy of institutional restructuring called for extensive public and worker ownership of industry as well as the strong hand of "federalist" state planning. However, Beard observed that every thrust toward fundamental economic reform in the United States

had run up against a solid wall of capitalistic interests. By the late 1930's, Beard concluded that New Deal liberals did not have the stomach for hand-to-hand combat with the capitalist class.

Consequently, Charles Beard's last significant book, *President Roosevelt and the Coming of the War, 1941: A Study in Appearances and Reality* (1948) was a bitter assault on the liberal President whom he accused of betraying the New Deal to pursue foreign adventurism and global empire-building. Beard's *President Roosevelt* relied on extensive quotations from the published statements of leading political figures, congressional debates and hearings, and press releases to contrast what he called the appearance of Roosevelt's commitment to peace and neutrality with the realities of secret deeds and utterances intended to provoke war with Japan. Beard argued that Roosevelt had conducted a systematic disinformation campaign aimed at dragging the United States into a Pacific and European war after major provisions of the first New Deal imploded or were declared unconstitutional. Beard charged that when a series of un-neutral acts (e.g., the Lend-Lease Act and repeal of the Neutrality Act) failed to incite Hitler into declaring war against the United States, the Administration provoked Japan into attacking the Pacific Fleet at Pearl Harbor.³⁷

Beard was no stranger to criticism, but he was not prepared for the bitter controversy provoked by his last important book. Conservatives had waged war on *An Economic Interpretation of the Constitution*, but it was friends and allies who were the most vicious critics of this book. Liberals had been admiring fans when Beard directed his trenchant wit against the conservative icons of American politics and history, but in the afterglow of the New Deal and global military dominance, liberals found his attacks on Roosevelt outrageous. Despite a torrent of nasty and condescending reviews, Beard's *President Roosevelt* went through five printings in its first year and it stayed on the best-seller lists for several weeks.³⁸

The Political Scientist as Public Intellectual

Despite a return to history by political scientists, and a return to the state by historians, contemporary scholars still think of Beard more as a historian than as a political scientist or a political theorist.³⁹ Yet, in welcoming the return to history by contemporary political scientists, William E. Leuchtenberg observes that as a freshman at Columbia

University in 1939 "it altogether seemed natural for political science to have a historical dimension."⁴⁰ Beard authored or co-authored twenty-eight books in political science ranging across every sub-field of the discipline: American government, municipal government, public administration, public policy, political theory, political economy, comparative politics, and foreign policy. In fact, Beard's reputation as a political scientist was sufficient to secure his election as president of the American Political Science Association (1926), well before he was elected president of the American Historical Association (1934).

Beard's approach to political science was historical, but he also had deep disciplinary roots in constitutional law and political economy. Prior to his association with James Harvey Robinson, Beard was a student of John W. Burgess, a professor of comparative constitutional law, who played a major role in founding the political science discipline.⁴¹ It was the historical economist E. R. A. Seligman, and the political scientist Frank Goodnow, who first turned the young Beard away from narrative descriptions of institutional development and toward a theoretical consideration of economic factors and class struggle in history.⁴²

Beard first became involved in the infant discipline by serving as editorial assistant to Seligman while he was editor of the *Political Science Quarterly* (PSQ).⁴³ At the time, PSQ was the nation's most prestigious scholarly journal in political science and political economy.⁴⁴ Although Beard was initially appointed to Columbia University's Department of History, he transferred to the Department of Public Law in 1907, with Burgess' and Seligman's support, to become an Adjunct Professor of Politics. In 1910, Beard was promoted to the newly created rank of Associate Professor and, in 1915, he became a full Professor of Politics.

Beard's new appointment to the Department of Public Law brought considerable changes to the department at Columbia University, and over the next twenty years Beard would play a pioneering role in creating the political science discipline.⁴⁵ In his course on politics, for example, Beard moved the emerging discipline away from its foundations in constitutional formalism and moral philosophy toward a dynamic understanding of political development anchored in the new history.⁴⁶ Beard's explicit emphasis on party conflict and its relation to underlying economic interests was to become a hallmark of his numerous books on government and politics.⁴⁷

At Columbia University, Beard single-handedly developed the introductory course on American Government and Politics that is now commonplace on college campuses. The discipline embraced Beard's model for the introductory course on American government in 1913, when a committee of the American Political Science Association (APSA) recommended it as the "basic course" for departments of political science. His introductory course was also the basis for a trailblazing textbook, *American Government and Politics* (1910), which went through ten editions, the last in 1948, to become the standard text in this course for the next forty years.⁴⁸ Beard's text on American Government standardized the introductory course in American colleges and universities by dominating the field it helped to create.⁴⁹

Beard's pedagogical influence was not confined to university-level classrooms. Beard authored and co-authored more than a dozen textbooks on American history, civics, and social studies for high school and junior high school students that sold approximately six million copies between 1914 and 1948.⁵⁰ Beard was also a member of several educational commissions during the 1930s, and these provided significant opportunities to influence the core curriculum of American junior high and high schools. The most notable effort was his participation on the Commission on the Social Studies of the American Historical Association (1929-1934) where Beard authored key volumes such as *A Charter for the Social Sciences* and *The Nature of the Social Sciences*. In the 1940s, Beard contributed to a report on Theory and Practice in Historical Study for the Social Science Research Council in conjunction with Merle Curti, Thomas C. Cochran, and Alfred G. Vagts (Beard's son-in-law), among others.⁵¹ Consequently, it is hardly surprising that a textbook content analysis conducted during this period found that Beard's economic interpretation of the U.S. Constitution had achieved "orthodox status" in history and civics textbooks throughout American colleges, high schools, and junior high schools.⁵²

Beard also continued his efforts to extend higher education beyond the walls of the traditional schoolhouse. In collaboration with Walter Vrooman, Beard established a branch campus of Ruskin College at Trenton, Missouri in 1902. He also attended meetings of The X Club (1903-1917), which consisted of New York literary figures, university professors, social reformers, and numerous people Morris Hillquit described as "just socialists."⁵³ The group included Socialist Party notables such as W. J. Ghent, Morris Hillquit, William English Walling,

and Lincoln Steffens, as well as progressives like Walter Weyl and John Dewey. The group met every two or three weeks to discuss current topics ranging from politics to religion, to literature and art, until it split over the war issue in 1917. Beard's association with New York City Socialists in The X Club took him off the Columbia University campus on many occasions.

The idea of workers' education that Beard initiated at Ruskin Hall continued to inspire him. He joined with members of the American Socialist Society to establish the Rand School of Social Science in 1906. The original purpose of the school was to train Socialist Party officials, union and party organizers, labor journalists, and civil servants in socialist theory and applied social science. Beard served on the School's original board of directors and he donated his services on and off until 1921.⁵⁴ Beard never had a formal affiliation with any political party during his life, but early in his career Beard campaigned door-to-door for the Socialist Morris Hillquit during his unsuccessful congressional campaigns on New York's Lower East Side (1906 and 1908). Beard attempted to interest others in the American labor movement and, for a while, he and his wife Mary went from house to house collecting funds to support strike campaigns and legal defense funds.⁵⁵

However, in contrast to the majority of American Socialists, Beard allied himself with an opposition group of moderate social democrats, who supported Woodrow Wilson's decision to enter World War I. As early as the autumn of 1914, Beard delivered a speech at the City College of New York so critical of the Central Powers that the college president banned Beard from speaking at the campus on the war issue. When America entered the Great War, Beard joined the Division of Civic and Educational Publications, a branch of George Creel's Committee on Public Information.⁵⁶ The World War was a disaster for the American Socialist Party. Afterwards, Beard spent the 1920s attempting to promote the workers' education movement, while tending his dairy farms in Connecticut or touring Europe and Asia as a consultant on modernization and urban reconstruction.

Beard made another foray into adult and workers' education when he joined with Robinson, Barnes, Dewey, and Thorstein Veblen to found the New School for Social Research in 1921. Many of the School's founders had taught at the Socialist Party's Rand School during the previous decade. Beard's brief tenure at the New School for Social Research brought him into direct contact with Herbert Croly,

Harold Laski, Thorstein Veblen, Wesley C. Mitchell, and other progressive luminaries. Beard was in charge of the New School's early planning committee, while James Harvey Robinson was elected chairman of the faculty. Herbert Croly headed the New School's Labor Research Center, which provided research support to labor unions, government, and other organizations. The original faculty soon disagreed over the direction of the School and Beard was approached to replace Robinson as chairman of the faculty. Persistent acrimony among faculty members, especially with Herbert Croly, caused Beard to leave the New School, but not before his next venture in workers' education was already underway.⁵⁷

In 1921, Beard attended the first meetings of the Workers' Education Bureau (WEB). The Workers' Education Bureau was initially a coalition of predominantly socialist trade unionists, political activists, and academic intellectuals organized "to cooperate and assist in every possible manner the educational work now carried on by the organized workers; and to stimulate the creation of additional enterprises in labor education throughout the United States."⁵⁸ Beard donated \$2,000 to the fledgling organization, served as a member of the WEB Executive Board, and chaired a citizens' group that raised funds for the Bureau. Spencer Miller, Jr., a former student and protégé of Beard's, became Director of the WEB. During the 1920s, Charles Beard also served as chairman of the Editorial Board of the Workers' Bookshelf Series, which the WEB published as a series of short, inexpensive textbooks for use in labor colleges and workers' education classes. However, after the WEB was absorbed by the more conservative American Federation of Labor, Beard began teaching his course on the "Economic Basis of Politics" at the Workers' (Communist) School (1926 to 1929) in New York City.⁵⁹

Beard's impact on the political science discipline also went beyond introductory American Government and political theory to the more applied sub-fields of public administration and public policy. Beard always believed that the struggle for social democracy would be won or lost in the details of public policy and in the minutiae of public administration. Thus, Beard became a leader and a founder of the rising field of public administration, beginning with one of the first graduate courses and textbooks on municipal government.⁶⁰ Beard joined the New York Bureau of Municipal Research (BMR), a privately funded agency that was founded in 1907 by Frederick A. Cleve-

land, a specialist in municipal accounting; William Allen, a social worker; Henry Bruere, a Socialist attorney; E. R. A. Seligman, a tax economist; and Frank Goodnow, a political scientist. The BMR was the first agency of its kind in the United States and was created to help improve the performance of municipal government. The BMR sought to make municipal government more accountable by promoting its simplification and by providing the public with accurate information about the activities and budgets of city departments.⁶¹

In 1914, Beard was appointed director of the BMR's new Training School for Public Service and, in 1918, he accepted the BMR directorship after resigning from Columbia University in his now infamous dispute with the Columbia University Board of Trustees.⁶² During his affiliation with the Training School, Beard helped institute and popularize the idea of public administration internship; and he pushed the political science discipline to grant academic credit for field or observation work in government and administration, because he considered this work "fundamental to any real advance in training for public service."⁶³ In addition to general competencies in public budgeting, accounting, municipal politics, and public law, Beard insisted that graduates of the Training School specialize in functional areas of public administration, such as fire and police management, highway administration, or engineering.

Beard was also a staunch critic of "bureaucratese" at the BMR. Beard always preferred plain language to obfuscation and he persistently emphasized to students that administrative reports and management surveys would not have any impact unless they could be understood by elected officials and the general public. During his association with the BMR, Beard directed a number of major state and municipal surveys, including a 1915 report on the New York State Constitutional Convention, a 1918 study that led to the reorganization of Delaware state government, and a 1919 report on municipal reorganization for Newark, New Jersey.

Luther Gulick, a student who succeeded Beard as BMR director in 1920, observes that "Beard's views on the economic foundations of national politics found further confirmation in the realm of urban politics where landowners, possessors of franchises, recipients of tax favors, bondholders, municipal bankers, private utilities, favored contractors, and liquor, gambling, and vice rings, as well as the politics-for-profit city machines, were struggling to keep and expand their

political power because without it their economic enterprises would disappear.” Many of the municipal surveys prepared under Beard’s direction challenged one or more these entrenched special interests, but the best example is his report on the New York City “traction crisis” (i.e., mass transit/rails). Beard recommended that “the way must be cleared for applying municipal ownership to the surface and elevated lines on definite terms and conditions as to acquisition and financing when and if such a step is desired by the people of the city.”⁶⁴ Beard devised a detailed plan for municipalizing the rail transit system (modeled after the Prussian railway nationalization), and the plan played an important part in the eventual unification and municipalization of the system in 1940.

Beard’s reputation as an urban modernizer eventually carried him across two oceans during the 1920s. Following the catastrophic Tokyo earthquake of 1922, Viscount Shimpei Goto, the Mayor of Tokyo, invited Beard to Japan to conduct an educational campaign among university faculty and city officials and to assist in the reconstruction of Tokyo. The purpose of the educational campaign was to promote the modernization of city government and to physically rebuild Tokyo as a model progressive city.⁶⁵ Beard accepted the invitation, and while in Tokyo he advised municipal officials on reorganizing the city and assisted in establishing Tokyo’s Institute of Municipal Research. Beard spent the winter of 1922-1923 preparing a massive report for Goto on all aspects of municipal government, which was published as the *Administration and Politics of Tokyo* (1923). It is considered the culmination of Beard’s thinking about municipal administration in modern cities.

Beard proposed that the entire metropolitan area be consolidated under the control of one city government with jurisdiction over fire, police, taxation, borrowing, public utilities, and building regulations. In making these recommendations, Beard pointed to London, Berlin, Paris, and New York to exemplify his claim that if a city does not control its suburbs, it will not be able to generate revenue from the individuals who use its streets, conduct business in its offices, and enjoy the other benefits of a major city. Yet, Beard left Japan discouraged because his modernization plan was rejected by entrenched local officials and it was actively opposed by Tokyo real estate interests.⁶⁶

In 1927, Beard’s reputation as a modernizer resulted in an invitation from the American-Yugoslav Society to assess the postwar

Yugoslav regime created by the Treaty of Versailles. Over a four-month period, Beard examined government documents, interviewed officials, attended sessions of the Yugoslav Parliament, met with interest group representatives (including rebel leaders), and toured the countryside.⁶⁷ Beard's report was published in 1929 as *The Balkan Pivot*. Beard applied his characteristic economic analysis by arguing that the main hope for Yugoslavia was to become a more urban industrial country, since "a normal politics" could not exist in the nation until an urban party, based on industry and commerce, was strong enough to do battle with the dominant agrarian party. Beard suggested that Yugoslavia's primitive economic base of handicrafts and agriculture supported a reactionary attachment to pre-modern ethnic and religious rivalries, while the little national cement in Yugoslavia was created by economic interactions in the cities. Beard concluded that commercial economic development was necessary to support modernization and prevent its regression into pre-modern conflicts.

After his adventurous travels in the 1920s, Beard retreated to his dairy farm in New Milford, Connecticut, where he adopted a semi-settled way of life.⁶⁸ No longer directly connected to university life, and increasingly peripheral to the New York intellectual scene after leaving the New School, Beard was partly insulated from the drift toward behavioralism that began as early as the 1920s.⁶⁹ Nevertheless, Beard remained in close touch with political events. He was not only an avaricious reader of newspapers and current events magazines, but during the 1930s, he spent most winter seasons in Washington, D.C., acting as an informal adviser to Cabinet Secretaries and delivering testimony to Congressional committees.

The Political and Economic Thought of Charles A. Beard

Beard's work has been the object of extensive criticism over the last half century, so one is justified in asking if there is more than a purely antiquarian reason for reconsidering Beard's political and economic thought. I suggest that many of the same reasons that are leading political scientists to reconsider historical methods generally warrant a new look at key elements of Beard's thinking. In particular, Beard's political and economic thought makes an original and still relevant contribution to our understanding of: (1) the methodological problems of historical institutionalism, (2) the epistemological prob-

lems of historical relativism, and (3) the dialectic of American political development and the crisis of the welfare state.

The New Institutionalism

The new institutionalism in political science was first advanced in the mid-1980s with an explicit (though vague) theoretical objective to “specify more closely the complex patterns of state-society relations.”⁷⁰ The new institutionalists proposed a research agenda designed to employ historical studies of institutional and policy development as the basis for constructing dynamic middle-range hypotheses considered inaccessible to more abstract theories of the state. More than a decade later, questions about its meager *theoretical* contribution to the discipline are typically met with cavalier rejoinders that the new institutionalism is not a theory, but a frame of reference.⁷¹ I suggest that when compared to Beard the new institutionalism in political science has made very little theoretical headway.⁷² The new institutionalism has produced a plethora of interesting historical case studies, but as March and Olson observe, “the relevant theoretical work remains to be done.”⁷³ Similarly, in a widely cited application of the new approach, Evans, Rueschemeyer, and Skocpol conclude that the new institutionalists “have not ended up with a new overall theory of the state—not even with a complete set of hypotheses.”⁷⁴ Regardless of whether one accepts Beard’s method of economic interpretation, he does at least articulate an actual *theory* of state-society relations and he uses it to construct a systematic and coherent interpretation of American political development.⁷⁵

Beard’s method of economic interpretation has often been identified incorrectly as Marxist. Chapter 2 reconstructs Beard’s method of economic interpretation to distinguish it conceptually from Marx’s historical materialism. I argue that Beard’s method of economic interpretation relied on the American school of institutional economics (which originated in the German historical school) and that his concept of state-society relations (i.e., a theory of the state) was in fact derived from his reading of Madison’s *Tenth Federalist*.

Marx claimed that class struggle was a structural effect of the exploitation of the propertyless by the propertied (i.e., the extraction of surplus value) and, therefore, Marx identifies the end of class struggle with the abolition of private property. In contrast, Beard theorizes the

fundamental economic basis of political development as the struggle between classes for recognition and protection of asymmetrical rights in different forms and degrees of property. Therefore, Beard concludes that there is no permanent solution to class struggle; but as an alternative to Marx's abolition of private property, Beard suggests that "labor" be recognized as a form of property with the same constitutional protections as land and capital. In a manner similar to the institutional economists who explain historical development as the effect of a dichotomy between institutions and technology, Beard located the economic basis of political development in the struggle between classes for rights in property.⁷⁶ In this respect, Beard's new history establishes the foundation for a post-Marxist theory of the state, although it relies on a method firmly attached to the analysis of economic relations of production and to a historical conception of American capitalist development.

Historical Relativism

The new historicism in American political theory can trace its institutional origins directly to Beard's and Robinson's new history. The new historicism in political theory proposes a research agenda that evaluates the meaning and development of political ideas in terms of their relationship to authorial intentions and, especially, in relation to their specific historical contexts (i.e., economic, political, and intellectual).⁷⁷ By historicizing "great books," the new historicists have advanced a movement to decentralize and democratize political theory by documenting its ideological effects and origins in "minor" works, newspaper and magazine articles, personal letters, art and literature, government documents, popular pamphlets, etc. Thus, the new historicists are attempting to reconstruct political theory on a historical terrain that defies the nomological ambitions of behavioral social science and the universalistic moral claims of analytic political philosophies.⁷⁸

Beard's economic interpretation of history insisted that political theories are a combination of ideas and interests embedded in everyday social relations, collective actions, and institutionalized patterns of behavior.⁷⁹ Consequently, the method of economic interpretation and the new historicism are both intertwined with epistemological debates about the nature of objectivity and science. Beard was hardly an epistemologist or philosopher, but during the 1930s he was both

esteemed and reviled as a leading proponent of “historical relativism” in the social sciences. Beard’s presidential address to the American Historical Association (1934), “Written History as an Act of Faith,” was an epistemological jihad, which explored the implications of historical relativism for historians with respect to the political and ideological controversies of the day. Merle Curti concludes that by articulating the crude rudiments of a historical sociology of knowledge Beard dealt “a severe blow to the older assumption that the writing of history is merely an objective matter.”⁸⁰ Beard’s historical relativism continues to draw fire from neo-conservatives, who implicate him in the nation’s cultural retreat from transcendent moral values.⁸¹

Beard’s rudimentary forays into the theory of historical knowledge are examined in Chapter 3. Beard struggled to articulate a theory of historical knowledge that would bridge the intellectual terrain between Hegel’s dialectical idealism and Marx’s dialectical materialism with a concept of “realistic dialectics.” In striving to formulate his concept of dialectical realism, Beard’s thought wandered from G. W. F. Hegel (1900s) to Karl Marx (1910s), from Marx to Benedetto Croce (1920s), and from Croce to Max Scheler and Karl Mannheim (1930s). Beard settled on a highly selective appropriation of Scheler’s and Mannheim’s sociologies of knowledge, because each of them constructed a historical sociology that drew heavily on Hegel’s phenomenology, but which avoided the radically subjectivistic strains of idealism (e.g., Croce) and the naive objectivism of most social scientists (e.g., positivists and Marxists).

Beard’s contribution to historical theory is often criticized by contemporary historians and philosophers as a derivative contribution to epistemology and the philosophy of history. Nevertheless, I suggest that Beard was engaged in a highly original intellectual undertaking and that his work at least opens a window on the vibrant neo-Hegelian school that flourished in American political theory until after World War II and the behavioral revolution. Likewise, despite its philosophical limitations, Beard’s conception of dialectical realism still poses a critical challenge to both the dominant strains of post-modern philosophy (subjectivistic relativism) and to the absolutist epistemologies assumed by most contemporary social scientists and political philosophers.

Beard claimed that our understanding of social and historical reality is never absolutely certain or complete, but that common sense

could still establish numerous facts which were more than merely individual opinions or beliefs. Thus, even though it is possible to construct competing interpretations of an incomplete historical reality (i.e., metanarratives), not all interpretations are equally plausible given the known and accepted facts, nor are they equally consistent with the dominant developmental tendencies in history at any given time. Consequently, in emphasizing the relation between historically defined interests and written history (i.e., ideas), Beard poses a direct challenge to the subjectivist and individualistic claims of postmodern theory, particularly its debunking of historical metanarratives. Beard challenges the post-modernist rejection of historical metanarratives, first, by having constructed a dialectical metanarrative of American political development and, second, by adopting a phenomenological conception of meaning. In particular, Beard insists that it is impossible to conceive of history or human existence without a meaningful teleological referent (i.e., some conception of the purpose and meaning of history) even if that referent is a negative metaphysics of chaos. Indeed, Beard documents historically that philosophies of history resting on notions of decay, disorder, and chaos are nothing new or exceptional, but are themselves an ideological effect of institutional and social decay (or merely social change depending upon one's location in the economic and social structure).

American Political Development and the Crisis of the Welfare State

Beard considered the process of political development a bridge between social science and political theory, because he accepted the Hegelian proposition that the collective values of a society—the spirit of a people—are expressed through the social conflicts and political organizations crystallized in its institutions and constitution. Chapter 4 reconstructs Beard's theory of American political development (i.e., his metanarrative) on the philosophical and methodological foundations established in the two previous chapters. My objective is to emphasize Beard's role as a political theorist, rather than as a historian. Thus, unlike a chronologically structured intellectual biography, I have sought to capture the underlying *conceptual structure* of Beard's political thought, rather than his passing thoughts on this or that particular event. Yet, if one accepts the Crocean proposition, as Beard does, that such a history *is* philosophy, then one will not find an

analytically constructed Beardian political philosophy of the sort that scholars now associate with the alienation of political theory.

American political theory, in particular, and social science generally, have become solipsistic activities isolated within the walls of academia. Indeed, the on-going concern with reexamining the historical and institutional foundations of modern social science is an explicit attempt to assess how social science and political theory reached this state of affairs.⁸² In contrast to alienated political theory, Beard's political theory emerges "from within" real historical events and, therefore, its immanence in history directly implicates and engages this political theory in political action.

Beard's general history of American political development is structured around the dialectical clash of agricultural interests (Jeffersonianism) and capitalist interests (Hamiltonianism), which supply the engine of American political development until the twentieth century. Beard eventually extended his conception of realistic dialectics by proposing that the United States was on the verge of a transition to social and industrial democracy. In terms of his own political commitments, Beard was an early critic of the New Deal and the liberal welfare state. His intellectual biographers have described him as an adherent of Eduard Bernstein's evolutionary socialism. Beard is actually very difficult to pigeonhole ideologically, but I follow the biographers' lead and argue that Beard was a socialist whose political and economic thought was derived from a dialectical (but exceptionalist) conception of *American* historical development.

Most of the previous commentators on Beard's political thought have accepted Richard Hofstadter's assertion that Beard's reputation as a radical "is not sustained by his writings."⁸³ I have accepted Hofstadter's challenge to actually read Beard's writings. It is clear that the dominant interpretation of Beard stands in sharp contrast to Beard's promise to British workers in 1900 that he would never stop agitating "till the workers who bear upon their shoulders the burden of the world should realize the identity of their own interests and rise to take possession of the means of life."⁸⁴ Hofstadter suggests that the force and persistence of this "early 'socialism' has sometimes been exaggerated" by sympathizers and critics alike, but when Beard was asked to describe his vision for America more than thirty years later, he still answered: "It is a workers' republic."⁸⁵

In Chapter 5 and Chapter 6, Beard's conception of American economic and political development is clarified as the basis for his critique of New Deal liberalism and American imperialism. Chapter 5 focuses on Beard's writings on political economy and economic planning to elicit his conception of the workers' republic. The chapter documents that Beard's concept of a workers' republic emerges out of his dialectical conception of American political development. The most widely accepted interpretations of Beard's political thought identify him as a progenitor of interest group liberalism whose political writings provide the basis for a liberal theory of the state. However, this chapter documents that Beard was well to the left of New Deal liberalism, particularly on the issue of wealth redistribution and economic restructuring. Beard was a sharp critic of the New Deal and by 1939 he was dismissing the welfare state as a minor gain for the American working class.

Ultimately, Beard's main critical concern, in both domestic and foreign policy, was the New Deal's failure to attack the underlying institutional structures that generate inequalities in income, status, and power: namely, wealth distribution and the legal construction of property rights. Interestingly, as a socialist, Beard anticipated many of the neo-conservative criticisms of the liberal welfare state with his speculations that the dole would turn the American Republic into a new Rome. He openly suggested that liberal welfare entitlements would damage the moral fiber of its recipients and, ideologically speaking, prove incompatible with the republican ideals of the American working class. Beard proposes full-employment socialism as the left alternative to entitlement liberalism. Moreover, in contrast to the model of a direct command economy, Beard proposed an early version of indicative economic planning along with a redistribution of wealth through a redefinition of the concept of property and property rights. He proposes an institutionalist solution to the contradictions of the welfare state and to the failures of Marxian state socialism. In other words, Beard proposed a genuine workers' republic that involves a deep restructuring of economic and political institutions, but one that is compatible with the American traditions of republican constitutionalism.

However, in Chapter 6, Beard's theoretical conception of American history plays itself out in a tragic cycle of imperialism and diversion that left him a disenchanted realist. In Beard's political thought, a

dialectic of economic class interests propelled American political development forward, but at each crucial juncture concerted efforts at domestic reform are always diverted into international conflicts as popular leaders back down from the enormous political struggle entailed by a head-to-head confrontation with the capitalist class. Against a solid wall of capitalist opposition, a President must work within a federal constitutional system where power over domestic policy is diffused among several states and where competing special and local interests make it difficult for any President to press forward on economic reconstruction. The Supreme Court has often been an additional obstacle in promoting domestic economic reform.

Beard concludes that each time a reform-minded President fails to achieve decisive breakthroughs in domestic economic and social policy, the constitutional structure itself deflects them into foreign policy adventures. Foreign policy becomes the avenue for rebuilding public confidence, after domestic policy failures, because a President's constitutional powers in foreign policy are much greater than in domestic policy. Beard argued that American foreign policy is always an extension of *domestic* economic policy and, in particular, a result of the *failures* of domestic economic policy. As business assaults on the New Deal escalated in the mid- to late-1930s, Beard was increasingly concerned that Franklin D. Roosevelt would abandon the New Deal and divert national energies into a war with Japan just as Woodrow Wilson had diverted the New Freedom into the Great War. To avoid a repetition of this scenario, Beard proposed a continentalist foreign policy that relied heavily on managed trade and the creation of a hemispheric trading bloc to remove the United States from European and Asian conflicts.

In addition, Beard had begun to see a cycle in which modern warfare and imperial expansion drains the domestic economy of the military victors, while freeing defeated nations from imperial obligations. Consequently, even though a single nation might establish temporary global dominance (e.g., Spain, France, Britain, United States), the tangible costs of empire gradually erode the economic basis of their imperial dominance. Thus, regardless of the immediate outcomes of a second world war, Beard predicted that a discernible drift toward three regional trading blocs would continue over the long-term: a European bloc anchored by Germany's economic and political muscle, a Pacific bloc centered in Japan's emerging power, and a Western

Hemispheric bloc led by the United States. Importantly, the overarching goal of Beard's continentalism was to reduce America's involvement in international trade rivalries and warfare through domestic economic restructuring, rather than a realignment of global trade relations, international diplomacy, or military confrontation.

Because we now live in a political environment dominated by free-market neo-conservatives and pro-market neo-liberals, many scholars will question the value of re-examining Beard's socialism. However, it is that context which makes this re-examination meaningful and useful to contemporary political theory. In many respects, American politics has returned to the doctrinaire faith in free markets and the same naive anti-statism that Beard confronted in the early twentieth century. It was exactly this same historical context that led Beard and other social democrats to advance a relentless critique of capitalism. Following in the footsteps of the institutional economists, Beard admonished scholars, statesmen, and citizens that free markets do not always work effectively or efficiently, nor do they automatically guarantee a distribution of wealth and income compatible with a republican form of government. Beard advanced a forceful and confident critique of capitalism that is often missing in a democratic left paralyzed with self-doubts about "the end of history." Beard articulates an engaged social democratic political theory, which is post-Marxist in its philosophical and economic foundations, but that poses a fundamental challenge to neo-conservatism and neo-liberalism.

Notes

1. Ernest A. Breisach, *American Progressive History: An Experiment in Modernization* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993), p. 24. For bibliographies, see Jack Froeman and Edmund David Cronon, "Bibliography of Beard's Writings," in Beale, ed., *Charles A. Beard*, pp. 265-286; Thomas C. Kennedy, *Charles A. Beard and American Foreign Policy* (Gainesville, FL: University Presses of Florida, 1975), pp. 169-91; Nore, *Charles A. Beard*, pp. 285-313.
2. Howard K. Beale, "Beard's Historical Writings," in Beale, ed., *Charles A. Beard*, pp. 255-312. Many of these books were translated into German, Spanish, Portuguese, Japanese, and Braille.
3. Peter R. Levin, "Charles A. Beard: Wayward Liberal," *Tomorrow* 8 (March 1949): 36-40.
4. Howard K. Beale, "Charles Beard: Historian," in Beale, ed., *Charles A. Beard*, p. 115.
5. Cushing Strout, "In Retrospect: Charles Beard's Liberalism," *New Republic* 133 (October 17, 1955): 17.

6. Alvin Johnson, "A Born Politician," *New Republic* 130 (May 3, 1954): 20.
7. Beale, "Charles Beard: Historian," in Beale, ed., *Charles A. Beard*, p. 116.
8. Morton White, *Social Thought in America: The Revolt Against Formalism* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1957. Reprint edition. Published originally by The Viking Press in 1949), pp. 107-27, 220-35; Henry Steele Commager, *The American Mind: An Interpretation of American Thought and Character Since the 1880s* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1950), pp. 293-309; Eric F. Goldman, *Rendezvous With Destiny: A History of Modern American Reform* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1952), pp. 108-19; Cushing Strout, *The Pragmatic Revolt in America: Carl Becker and Charles Beard* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1966. Reprint edition. Published originally by Yale University Press, 1958); Harvey Wish, *The American Historian: A Social-Intellectual History of the Writing of the American Past* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1960), pp. 265-92; Marcus Cunliffe and Robin W. Winks, eds., *Pastmasters: Some Essays on American Historians* (New York: Harper and Row Publishers, 1960), Chapter 4; John Higham, ed., *The Reconstruction of American History* (London: Hutchinson & Co., Ltd., 1962), pp. 157-79, passim; John Higham, Leonard Krieger, and Felix Gilbert, *History: The Development of Historical Studies in the United States* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1965), passim; Robert Allen Skotheim, *American Intellectual Histories and Historians* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1966); Richard Hofstadter, *The Progressive Historians: Turner, Beard, Parrington* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1968); John Higham, *Writing American History: Essays on Modern Scholarship* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1970), pp. 130-37; David Marcell, *Progress and Pragmatism: James, Dewey, Beard, and the American Idea of Progress* (Westport, CT.: Greenwood Press, 1974), pp. 258-319; Morton G. White, *Philosophy, The Federalist, and the Constitution* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1987), Chapter 5; Breisach, *American Progressive History*, Chapters 9 and 17.
9. Nore, *Charles A. Beard*, Chap. 1; Merle Curti, "A Great Teacher's Teacher," *Social Education* 31 (October 1949): 263-66; Clifton J. Phillips, "The Indiana Education of Charles A. Beard," *Indiana Magazine of History* 55 (March 1959): 1-15.
10. Harlan B. Phillips, "Charles Beard, Walter Vrooman, and the Founding of Ruskin Hall," *South Atlantic Quarterly* 50, 2 (April 1951): 186-91; Burleigh J. Wilkins, "Charles A. Beard on the Founding of Ruskin College," *Indiana Magazine of History* 52 (September 1956): 277-84. For background, see Marius Hansome, *World Workers' Educational Movements: Their Social Significance* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1931).
11. Arthur Gleason, *Workers' Education: American and Foreign Experiments* (New York: Bureau of Industrial Research, 1921), p. 47; Clyde W. Barrow, "Pedagogy, Politics, and Social Reform: The Philosophy of the Workers' Education Movement," *Strategies: A Journal of Theory, Culture, and Politics* 2 (Fall 1989): 45-66.
12. Goldman, *Rendezvous With Destiny*, p. 116.
13. Matthew Josephson, "Charles A. Beard: A Memoir," *Virginia Quarterly Review* 25 (1949): 586.
14. Goldman, *Rendezvous With Destiny*, p. 116.
15. Charles A. Beard, "The Office of the Justice of the Peace in England in Its Origins and Development" (Ph.D. Dissertation, Columbia University, 1904).
16. For background, see Luther V. Hendricks, *James Harvey Robinson: Teacher of History* (New York: King's Crown Press, 1946); Higham, Krieger, and Gilbert,

- History*, Chap. 2. Most scholars emphasize Robinson's influence on the young Beard, but Alvin Johnson, *Pioneer's Progress: An Autobiography* (New York: Viking Press, 1957), p. 156, recalls that "Beard was making it his mission to compel his chief, James Harvey Robinson, to read [Jean] Jaures' vast *Histoire Socialiste*, a work that awakened Robinson out of his academic slumber and gave us the Robinson all liberals love." For Beard's highly favorable review of Jaures' work, see, Charles A. Beard, "A Socialist History of France," *Political Science Quarterly* 21, 1 (March 1906): 111-20.
17. Breisach, *American Progressive History*, Chapters 1-2; Gertrude Himmelfarb, *The New History and the Old: Critical Essays and Reappraisals* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1987), esp. pp. 1-12, Chap. 1.
 18. For a comprehensive overview of the new history, see Harry Elmer Barnes, *The New History and the Social Studies* (New York: The Revisionist Press, 1972).
 19. Charles A. Beard, *An Introduction to the English Historians* (New York: Macmillan Co., 1906); James Harvey Robinson and Charles A. Beard, *The Development of Modern Europe: An Introduction to the Study of Current History*, 2 Vols. (New York: Ginn and Co., 1908); James Harvey Robinson, *The New History* (New York: Macmillan Co., 1912); Charles A. Beard, *Contemporary American History, 1877-1913* (New York: Macmillan Co., 1914).
 20. James Harvey Robinson, *An Outline of the History of the Intellectual Class in Western Europe*, 2 vols. (New York: Marion Press, 1914).
 21. Charles A. Beard, *An Economic Interpretation of the Constitution of the United States* (New York: Free Press, 1913), p. 188.
 22. Eric F. Goldman, "A Historian at Seventy," *New Republic* 111 (November 27, 1944): 696.
 23. Hofstadter, *The Progressive Historians*, p. 181.
 24. E. S. Corwin, "Review of Economic Interpretation of the Constitution of the United States, by Charles A. Beard," *History Teachers' Magazine* 5 (February 1914): 65-66.
 25. Beard, "Introduction to the 1935 Edition," *Economic Interpretation of the Constitution*, p. viii.
 26. *Ibid.*, p. viii.
 27. Hubert Herring, "Charles A. Beard: Freelance Among the Historians," *Harper's Magazine* (May 1939): 644.
 28. Goldman, *Rendezvous With Destiny*, pp. 118-19; Josephson, "Charles A. Beard: A Memoir," p. 595.
 29. Mary Ritter Beard, *The Making of Charles A. Beard* (New York: Exposition Press, 1955), p. 22.
 30. Eric F. Goldman, "Charles A. Beard: An Impression," in Beale, ed., *Charles A. Beard*, p. 5.
 31. It is well established that the Beards maintained a strict division of labor in writing *The Rise of American Civilization*. Charles authored the sections and chapters dealing with economic and political history. Mary authored the sections and chapters dealing with cultural and intellectual history, see Nore, *Charles A. Beard*, p. 112; Nancy F. Cott, "Two Beards: Coauthorship and the Concept of Civilization," *American Quarterly* 42, 2 (June 1990): 274-300.
 32. Beale, "Charles Beard: Historian," in Beale, ed., *Charles A. Beard*, p. 263. Likewise, Max Lerner, "Charles Beard: Civilization and the Devils," *New Republic* (November 1, 1948): 21, characterizes *The Rise* as "the most creative general history written in the American field." Bernard Borning, *The Political and Social Thought of Charles A. Beard* (Seattle: University of Washington

- Press, 1962), p. xxii, concludes that "this work perhaps more than any other securely established his reputation as one of America's foremost historians." Likewise, Nore, *Charles A. Beard*, p. 112, identifies *The Rise* as Beard's masterpiece.
33. Nore, *Charles A. Beard*, p. 124; Beale, "Beard's Historical Writings," in Beale, ed., *Charles A. Beard*, p. 311.
 34. Horace M. Kallen, "In Remembrance of Charles Beard, Philosopher-Historian," *Social Research* 18 (June 1951): 243.
 35. Max Lerner, "Charles Beard's Stormy Voyage," *New Republic* (October 25, 1948): 20.
 36. John Patrick Diggins, "Power and Authority in American History: The Case of Charles A. Beard and His Critics," *American Historical Review* 86 (October 1981): 701-02.
 37. Kennedy, *Charles A. Beard and American Foreign Policy*, p. 144.
 38. *Ibid.*, pp. ix-x., 152; Beale, "Beard's Historical Writings," in Beale, ed., *Charles A. Beard*, p. 311.
 39. Ira Katznelson, "The State to the Rescue?: Political Science and History Reconnect," *Social Research* 59 (Winter 1992): 719-37; William E. Leuchtenberg, "The Pertinence of Political History: Reflections on the Significance of the State in American," *Journal of American History* 73 (December 1986): 585-600; Donald T. Critchlow, "Is Political History Dead?," *Clio: Newsletter of Politics and History* 5 (Spring/Summer 1995): 2-3; Martin Shefter, "History and Political Science," *Clio: Newsletter of Politics and History* 7 (Fall/Winter 1996-97): 1, 14.
 40. William E. Leuchtenberg, "The Uses and Abuses of History," *History and Politics Newsletter* 2 (Fall 1991): 6-7.
 41. R. Gordon Hoxie, *A History of the Faculty of Political Science, Columbia University* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1955); Gunnell, *The Descent of Political Theory*, pp. 36, 54-56.
 42. Nore, *Charles A. Beard*, p. 30.
 43. Johnson, *Pioneer's Progress*, p. 155.
 44. Hoxie, *A History of the Faculty of Political Science*, p. 87.
 45. *Ibid.*, p. 264.
 46. Irwin Edman, *Philosopher's Holiday* (New York: Viking Press, 1937), p. 130; Goldman, *Rendezvous With Destiny*, p. 116.
 47. Charles A. Beard, *Politics: A Lecture Delivered at Columbia University in the Series Science, Philosophy, and Art*, February 12, 1908 (New York: Columbia University Press, 1912).
 48. Hoxie, *A History of the Faculty of Political Science*, p. 265; Borning, *The Political and Social Thought of Charles A. Beard*, p. xix; Arthur W. MacMahon, "Charles A. Beard," *American Political Science Review* (December 1948): 1209.
 49. APSA report quoted in Arthur MacMahon, "Charles Beard, the Teacher," in Beale, ed., *Charles A. Beard*, p. 226.
 50. Beale, "Beard's Historical Writings," pp. 311-312.
 51. Lawrence J. Dennis, *George S. Counts and Charles A. Beard: Collaborators for Change* (Albany, NY: SUNY Press, 1989) observes that "this facet of his [Beard's] work has been virtually omitted" from the intellectual biographies. Dennis' short book rectifies this omission by documenting Beard's role in the Commission on the Social Studies and, in the process, Dennis provides "a behind-the-scenes look at some of the activities and interests of the so-called left-wing group of the educational progressives" (p. 9). Also see, Raymond A. Ducharme, Jr., *Charles A. Beard and the Social Studies* (New York: Teachers College Press, 1969).
 52. Maurice Blinkoff, *The Influence of Charles A. Beard Upon American Historiography*

- raphy, University of Buffalo Monographs in History, Vol. 12, 1936; Richard Hofstadter, "Charles Beard and the Constitution," in Beale, ed., *Charles A. Beard*, pp. 75-80; Robert E. Brown, *Charles Beard and the Constitution* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1957), pp. 5-23.
53. Nore, Charles A. Beard, p. 39.
 54. John L. Recchiuti, "The Rand School of Social Science During the Progressive Era: Will To Power of a Stratum of the American Intellectual Class," *Journal of the History of the Behavioral Sciences* 31 (April 1995): 149-61.
 55. Nore, *Charles A. Beard*, p. 39. George S. Counts, "Charles Beard, the Public Man," in Beale, ed., *Charles A. Beard*, pp. 236-37.
 56. Kennedy, *Charles A. Beard and American Foreign Policy*, p. 29; Carol Gruber, *Mars and Minerva: World War I and the Uses of the Higher Learning in America* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1975).
 57. Nore, *Charles A. Beard*, p. 90; Johnson, *Pioneer's Progress*, pp. 276-81. See William B. Scott and Peter M. Rutkoff, *New School: A History of the New School for Social Research* (New York: Macmillan, 1986).
 58. Spencer Miller, Jr., "Workers' Education—Its Achievements and Its Failures," *American Federationist* (December 1922): 885-86.
 59. Clyde W. Barrow, "Counter-Movement Within the Labor Movement: Workers' Education and the American Federation of Labor, 1900-1937," *Social Science Journal* 27 (October 1990): 395-417.
 60. MacMahon, "Charles Beard, the Teacher," p. 228; Charles A. Beard, *American City Government* (New York: The Century Co., 1912).
 61. Jane S. Dahlberg, *The New York Bureau of Municipal Research: Pioneer in Government Administration* (New York: New York University Press, 1966); Martin J. Schiesl, *The Politics of Efficiency: Municipal Administration and Reform in America, 1800-1920* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1977), p. 129.
 62. Nore, *Charles A. Beard*, pp. 53-92, passim; Kennedy, *Charles A. Beard and American Foreign Policy*, pp. 29-38; Hoxie, *A History of the Faculty of Political Science*, pp. 106-08.
 63. Charles A. Beard, "Methods of Training for Public Service," *School and Society* 2, 52 (December 25, 1915): 905-06.
 64. Beard quoted in Luther Gulick, "Beard and Municipal Reform" in Beale, ed., *Charles A. Beard*, p. 52; Nore, *Charles A. Beard*, p. 92.
 65. In 1918, Viscount Goto had visited the United States to observe the management of American cities and to see how public administration and urban planning were being taught in the United States. As part of the tour, he visited the New York Bureau of Municipal Research where he first met Beard. See Nore, Charles A. Beard, pp. 104-06. Some documents and speeches pertaining to this trip are in Beard, *The Making of Charles A. Beard*, Part II.
 66. Kennedy, *Charles A. Beard and American Foreign Policy*, p. 50 fn31.
 67. Nore, *Charles A. Beard*, p. 130. Some documents and speeches pertaining to this trip are in Beard, *The Making of Charles A. Beard*, Part III.
 68. Hofstadter, *The Progressive Historians*, p. 289.
 69. Charles E. Merriam, "Recent Advances in Political Methods," in James Farr and Raymond Seidelman, eds., *Discipline and History: Political Science in the United States* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1993), p. 131, observed as early as 1923 that the influence of history on political science was steadily being "supplanted by processes of actual observation and of psychological and statistical analysis."
 70. Karen Orren and Stephen Skowronek, "Editors' Preface," *Studies in American*

- Political Development*, Vol. 1 (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1986), p. vii, describe the new institutionalism as "a research agenda which seeks to use the work of the recent past as a new point of departure from which to specify more closely the complex patterns of state-society relations." Its major theoretical claim is "that institutions have an independent and formative influence on politics," while methodologically it emphasizes history "as the dimension necessary for understanding institutions as they operate under varying conditions." Similarly, Katznelson, "The State to the Rescue?" pp. 719-37; Philip Ethington and Eileen McDonagh, "The Eclectic Center of the New Institutionalism: Axes of Analysis in Comparative Perspective," *Social Science History* 19 (Winter 1995): 467-77.
71. Theda Skocpol, "Bringing the State Back In: Strategies of Analysis in Current Research," in Peter Evans, Dietrich Rueschemeyer, and Theda Skocpol, eds., *Bringing the State Back In* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), p. 8.
 72. Clyde W. Barrow, *Critical Theories of the State: Marxist, Neo-Marxist, Post-Marxist* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1993), Chapter 5.
 73. James G. March and Johan P. Olsen, "The New Institutionalism: Organizational Factors in Political Life," *American Political Science Review* 78 (1984): 747; James G. March and Johan P. Olsen, *Rediscovering Institutions: The Organizational Basis of Politics* (New York: Free Press, 1989).
 74. Peter B. Evans, Dietrich Rueschemeyer, and Theda Skocpol, "On the Road toward a More Adequate Understanding of the State," in Evans, Rueschemeyer, and Skocpol, eds., *Bringing the State Back In*, p. 355.
 75. Charles A. Beard, *The Economic Basis of Politics and Related Writings* (New York: Vintage Books, 1958).
 76. Cf. L. De Alessi, "Development of the Property Rights Approach," in Eirik G. Furubotn and Rudolf Richter, eds., *The New Institutional Economics* (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 1991), pp. 45-53; John L. Campbell and Leon N. Lindberg, "Property Rights and the Organization of Economic Activity by the State," *American Sociological Review* 55 (October 1990): 634-47; Marc R. Tool and Warren J. Samuels, ed., *State, Society, and Corporate Power*, 2nd Edition, Completely Revised (New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Publishers, 1989), Part I.
 77. Quentin Skinner, "Meaning and Understanding in the History of Ideas," *History and Theory* 1 (1969): 3-53; Quentin Skinner, "Motives, Intentions, and the Interpretation of Texts," *New Literary History* (Winter 1972): 393-408.
 78. Richard Ashcraft, "The Changing Foundations of Political Theory," *Political Power and Social Theory*, Vol. 6 (Greenwich, CT: JAI Press, Inc., 1987), pp. 27-56.
 79. Gunnell, *The Descent of Political Theory*; Raymond Seidelman, *Disenchanted Realists: Political Science and the American Crisis 1884-1984* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1985); Richard Ashcraft, "German Historicism and the History of Political Theory," *History of Political Thought* 8 (Summer 1987): 289-324.
 80. Merle Curti, *The Growth of American Thought*, 3rd Edition (New York: Harper and Row Publishers, Inc., 1964), p. 554.
 81. Allan Bloom, *The Closing of the American Mind* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1987), pp. 147-48. Similarly, as early as 1954, Beard was criticized on the grounds that "his philosophy of history has taken an historical starting point outside of Christianity," Thomas O'Brien Hanley, "Christian History for America,"

Catholic World 178 (February 1954): 326-31.

82. On history and the social sciences, Mary O. Furner, *Advocacy and Objectivity: A Crisis in the Professionalization of American Social Science, 1865-1905* (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1975); Thomas Haskell, *The Emergence of Professional Social Science: The American Social Science Association and the Nineteenth-Century Crisis of Authority* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1977); Dorothy Ross, *The Origins of American Social Science* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991). On the political science discipline, see Seidelman, *Disenchanted Realists*; David Ricci, *The Tragedy of Political Science* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1984). On political theory specifically, see Gunnell, *Descent of Political Theory*.
83. Hofstadter, *The Progressive Historians*, p. 181.
84. Quoted in Phillips, "Charles Beard: The English Lectures, 1899-1901," p. 456; Also, Beard, *The Industrial Revolution*, p. xvi-xvii.
85. Charles A. Beard, "The World As I Want It," *Forum and Century* 91 (June 1934): 333-34.

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