POLS 402: Selected Topic in Political Theory:

Justifying Empire 1550-1850

Course Co-ordinator: Pat Moloney, Room 501 Murphy Building ext. 5126. (pat.moloney@vuw.ac.nz) Office Hours: by arrangement.

Class times: Friday 9.00 – 10.50 am, MY539 (see the specific meeting dates over trimester one and two in the seminar schedule below)

Content: Surveying three centuries of the engagement of European political thought with the New World, the course will investigate the representation of non-European peoples and the construction of European identities in various projects of empire.

The course is divided into four modules canvassing four traditions:

1. The Salamanca School: Spain and the Americas;
2. Hobbes and Locke: the New World and the state of nature;
3. The Scottish Enlightenment: the political economy of colonization;

Attention will be given to their understandings of empire, political society, property, sovereignty, civilization, culture, race, and sexuality. The authors dealt with in the course may include: Bartolomé de Las Casas, Francisco de Vitoria, Francisco Suárez, Thomas Hobbes, John Locke, Adam Ferguson, John Millar, Adam Smith, William Robertson, Lord Kames, Thomas Malthus, J. S. Mill and Edward Gibbon Wakefield.

Background Reading: Anthony Pagden, Peoples and Empires (London: Phoenix Press, 2001)

Learning Objectives:
By the end of the course students will be expected to have a good comprehension of the historical differences amongst various phases of imperialism and be able to analyse the different justifications for colonization made by various European theorists.

Assessment: Research Paper 60% (8,000 words), due Friday 14 October; Final (three hour) examination 40%. Both the essay and the final exam must demonstrate the student’s critical grasp of the key themes of the course. Material used in the essay must not be repeated in the examination.
**Mandatory Course Requirements**: Submission of research paper by due date, attendance at and participation in 90% of the seminars, gaining at least 40% in the final examination.

**Participation and Presentations**: Seminar participants will be expected to regularly attend seminars and be active discussants. Each person in turn will be responsible for presenting the readings for particular weeks. The frequency of these presentations will depend on the size of the seminar. These oral presentations will be assessed according to their clarity and comprehensiveness.

**Written Assignment**: Students will be required to formulate their own research topic pertaining to one of the four areas under study. This must be approved by the coordinator no later than 2 May. In addition to engaging closely with the primary texts of one of the major theorists dealt with in the paper, students will be expected to do a review of the literature relevant to their topic and to address this secondary material.

**Final Exam**: The final examination will cover the four areas looked at over the year. Students will not be permitted to answer a question on the topic on which they wrote their research essay. (The final exam will be scheduled in the examination period, 17 October – 13 November).

There is a uniform deadline for the final submission of all written in-term work (including research papers) for honours courses. Students are advised that this deadline will be firmly adhered to; extensions will only be granted in exceptional circumstances, under the conditions stipulated in Victoria University’s aegrotat regulations. Extensions must be approved by the Honours Coordinator (Dr Jon Johansson) in advance of the deadline. In 2011 the deadline will be 5 p.m. on Friday, 14 October. Work not submitted by this deadline will not be taken into consideration when determining final results.

**Additional Information**
Information about any changes to the timetable will be announced in seminars.

**Expected workload**
In accordance with Faculty Guidelines, this course has been constructed on the assumption that students will devote a total of 300 hours to the course, which is on average around 12 hours per week to reading, writing, and researching material for this course. This includes the 2 hours seminar per week.
Academic Integrity and Plagiarism

Academic integrity means that university staff and students, in their teaching and learning are expected to treat others honestly, fairly and with respect at all times. It is not acceptable to mistreat academic, intellectual or creative work that has been done by other people by representing it as your own original work.

Academic integrity is important because it is the core value on which the University’s learning, teaching and research activities are based. Victoria University’s reputation for academic integrity adds value to your qualification.

The University defines plagiarism as presenting someone else’s work as if it were your own, whether you mean to or not. ‘Someone else’s work’ means anything that is not your own idea. Even if it is presented in your own style, you must acknowledge your sources fully and appropriately. This includes:

- Material from books, journals or any other printed source
- The work of other students or staff
- Information from the internet
- Software programs and other electronic material
- Designs and ideas
- The organisation or structuring of any such material

Find out more about plagiarism, how to avoid it and penalties, on the University’s website: http://www.victoria.ac.nz/home/study/plagiarism.aspx

WHERE TO FIND MORE DETAILED INFORMATION

Find key dates, explanations of grades and other useful information at www.victoria.ac.nz/home/study. Find out how academic progress is monitored and how enrolment can be restricted at www.victoria.ac.nz/home/study/academic-progress. Most statutes and policies are available at www.victoria.ac.nz/home/about/policy, except qualification statutes, which are available via the Calendar webpage at www.victoria.ac.nz/home/study/calendar.aspx (See Section C).

Other useful information for students may be found at the website of the Assistant Vice-Chancellor (Academic), at www.victoria.ac.nz/home/about_victoria/avcacademic.
Seminar Schedule:

Each seminar will have assigned readings which will be distributed the week before. What follows is a bibliography for each module of the course. Students are not expected to read everything on this list. As a bare minimum though students must prepare the assigned readings which are highlighted with ‘*’. Depending on the interests of the group, the assigned readings may be modified.

Introduction: Empires and the New World
11, 18 March


Daunton, Martin and Rick Halpern (ed.), Empire and Others: British encounters with indigenous peoples 1600-1850 (London: University College London Press, 1999)


Honour, Hugh, The New Golden Land: European images of America from the discoveries to the present time (New York: Pantheon Books, 1975)


Muldoon, James, Empire and Order: The Concept of Empire, 800-1800 (Houndmills: Macmillan, 1999)

Pagden, Anthony, European Encounters with the New World (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993)

-----., Lords of All the World: Ideologies of Empire in Spain, Britain and France c. 1500-c. 1800 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995)


The Salamanca School: Spain and the Americas
25 March, 1, 8, 15 April


Berkhofer, Robert F. The white man’s Indian: images of the American Indian from Columbus to the Present (New York: Knopf, 1978)


Chiappelli, F. (ed.), First Images of America (Berkeley: University of Berkeley Press, 1976)


------. Studies of Political Thought from Gerson to Grotius 1414-1625 (Cambridge University Press, 1956).

Friede, Juan & Benjamin Keen (ed.), Bartolomé de las Casas: Towards an Understanding of the Man and His Work (DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press, 1971)


------., Bartolomé de Las Casas: An Interpretation of his Life and Writings (The Hague: Martinus Hijnhoff, 1951)


-----., *Spain’s Road to Empire: The making of a world power* (London: Penguin, 2002)


Lewy, G., *Constitutionalism and Statecraft during the Golden Age of Spain: A Study of the Political Philosophy of Juan de Mariana* (Geneva, 1963)


-----., (ed.), The Languages of Political Theory in Early-Modern Europe (Cambridge University Press, 1990)


Vitoria, Francisco de, *Comentarios a la Secunda secundae de santo Tomás* (Salamanca, 1932)


**Hobbes and Locke: the New World and the State of Nature**

6, 13, 20, 27 May, 3 June


Greenblatt, Stephen (ed.), New World Encounters (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993)


Hart, Jonathan, Representing the New World: the English and French Uses of the Example of Spain (New York: Palgrave, 2000)


Quinn, David B., European Approaches to North America, 1450-1640 (Aldershot: Ashgate Variorum, 1998)


Slattery, Brian, Ancestral lands, alien laws: judicial perspectives on aboriginal title (Saskatoon: University of Saskatchewan Native law centre, 1983)


The Scottish Enlightenment: the Political Economy of Colonisation

14, 21, 28 July, 5, 12 August


*-----., *Social Science and the Ignoble Savage* (Cambridge University Press, 1976)


*-----., *The Origin of the Distinction of Ranks: Or, An Inquiry into the Circumstances which give rise to Influence and Authority, in the Different Members of Society* [1806], ed. by Aaron Garrett, (Indianapolis: Liberty Fund, 2006).


*-----., *The Discovery of Islands: Essays in British History* (Cambridge University Press, 2005)


The Early Nineteenth Century: the Theory and Practice of Pacific Colonization

19 August, 9, 16, 23 September

A Corrected report of the Debate in the House of Commons on the 17th, 18th & 19th June on the State of New Zealand and the Case of the New Zealand Company (London: John Murray, 1845)

Adams, Peter, Fatal Necessity: British Intervention in New Zealand 1830-1847 (Auckland University Press, 1977)

Bannister, Saxe, British Colonization and Coloured Tribes (London, 1838)


Bell, Duncan, ‘John Stuart Mill on Colonies’, Political Theory 38.1 (2009), 34-64.


Coates, Dandeson, *The Principles, Objects, and Plan of the New Zealand Association Examined, ...* (London, 1837)


Committee of the Aborigines Protection Society, *On the British Colonisation of New Zealand* (London, 1846)

Craik, George Lillie, *The New Zealanders* (London: Charles Knight, 1830)


-----., *Further Information respecting the Aborigines* (London, 1842)

-----., *Travels in New Zealand* (London: John Murray, 1843)

-----., *On the Study of Ethnology* (London, 1843)


FitzRoy, Robert, *Narrative of the Surveying Voyages of his Majesty’s Ships Adventure and Beagle, Between the Years 1826 and 1836* 3 Vols. (London: Henry Colburn, 1839)


Fox, William, *Colonization and New Zealand* (London: 1842)


-----, *Convicts and Empire: A Naval Question 1776-1811* (Melbourne: 1980)


Hawtrey, Montague, *An Earnest Address to New Zealand Colonists with Reference to their Intercourse with the Native Inhabitants* (London, 1840)
------, Justice to New Zealand. Honour to England (London, 1861)


Hyam, Ronald, Britain’s Imperial Century, 1815-1914: A Study of Empire and Expansion 2nd Ed (Lanham: Barnes & Noble, 1993)


Kent, James, Commentaries on American Law, 4 Vols. 12th Ed (Boston: Little Brown & Co, 1873)


Lang, John Dunmore, *New Zealand in 1839 or Four Letters to the Right Hon. Earl Durham* (London, 1839)

-----., *Freedom and Independence for the Golden Lands of Australia; The Right of Colonies, and the Interest of Britain and of the World* (London, 1852)


Mehta, Uday Singh, *Liberalism and Empire: India in British Liberal Thought* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1999)

Merivale, Herman, *Lectures on Colonization and Colonies* [1861], (repr. Oxford University Press, 1928)


-----., A Great View of Things: Edward Gibbon Wakefield (Sydney: Thomas Nelson, 1971)


-----., Paradise of Dissent: South Australia 1829-1857 (Melbourne University Press, 1967)

Pitts, Jennifer, A Turn to Empire (Princeton University Press, 2005)


Scholefield, Guy H., Captain William Hobson: First Governor of New Zealand (Oxford University Press, 1934)

Schultz, Bart & George Varouxakis (ed.) Utilitarianism and Empire (Lanham, 2005)


-----., *Imagining the Pacific. In the Wake of Cook’s Voyages* (Carlton: University of Melbourne Press, 1992)


Ward, John, *Information Relative to New Zealand for the Use of Colonists* 3rd Ed (London: John Parker, 1840)


-----., *American Indian Sovereignty and the U.S. Supreme Court* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1997)


Williams, Glyndwr, ‘Seamen and Philosophers in the South Seas in the Age of Captain Cook’, *The Mariner’s Mirror* Vol. 65 (1979), pp. 3-22.

-----., ‘“Far more happier then we Europeans”: Reactions to the Australian Aborigines on Cook’s Voyage’, in *Through White Eyes*, (ed.) Susan Janson and Stuart Macintyre (Sydney: Allen & Unwin, 1990), 51-64.


-----., *Classical Political Economy and the Colonies* (London: Bell & Sons, 1965)


Zastoupil, Lynn, *John Stuart Mill and India* (Stanford University Press, 1994)

**Review Session**

30 September