



School of History, Philosophy,
Political Science and International Relations

Trimesters 1 & 2, 2011
(28 February – 13 November)

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;
4. Early Victorians: the theory and practice of Pacific 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

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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

Bitterli, Urs, *Cultures in Conflict: Encounters Between European and Non-European Cultures, 1492-1800*, transl. Ritchie Robertson, (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1989)

Elliott, J. H. *Empires of the Atlantic World: Britain and Spain in America 1492-1830* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006)

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

Grafton, Anthony, *New Worlds, Ancient Texts* (Cambridge: Belknap Press, 1992)

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

Louis, William & Nicholas Canny, *The Oxford History of the British Empire* 5 Vols. (Oxford University Press, 1998-9)

Mann, Charles C., *1491 New Revelations of the Americas before Columbus* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2005)

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)

Trigger, Bruce & Wilcomb Washburn, *The Cambridge History of the Native Peoples of the Americas* Vol. 1 (Cambridge University Press, 1996)

*Tully, James, 'Lineages of Contemporary Imperialism', *Proceedings of the British Academy* 155 (2009), pp. 3-29.

The Salamanca School: Spain and the Americas

25 March, 1, 8, 15 April

Anghie, Anthony, 'Francisco de Vitoria and the Colonial Origins of International Law', *Laws of the Postcolonial*, (ed.) Eve Darian-Smith & Peter Fitzpatrick, (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1999), pp. 89-107.

-----, *Imperialism, Sovereignty and the Making of International Law*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), pp. 13-31.

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

*Boucher, David, *The Limits of Ethics in International Relations: Natural Law, Natural Rights, and Human Rights in Transition* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), pp. 101-140.

Brading, D. A., *The First America: The Spanish Monarchy, Creole patriots and the Liberal state 1492-1867*(Cambridge University Press, 1991), pp. 58-101.

Burke, Peter, 'America and the Rewriting of World History', In *America in European Consciousness 1492-1750*. Ed. by Karen Ordahl Kupperman. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1995), 33-51.

*Casas, Bartolomé de las, *In Defense of the Indians*, transl. Stafford Poole, (DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press, 1974)

Castro, Daniel. *Another Face of Empire: Bartolomé de Las Casas, Indigenous Rights, and Ecclesiastical Imperialism* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2007).

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

Davis, G. Scott, 'Conscience and Conquest: Francisco de Vitoria on Justice in the New World', *Modern Theology*, Vol. 13, No. 4 (1997), pp. 475-501.

Dickason, Olive Patricia, *The Myth of the Savage and the Beginnings of French Colonialism in the Americas* (Edmonton: University of Alberta Press, 1984)

-----, 'Concepts of Sovereignty at the Time of First Contacts', in Dickason O. P. & L. C. Green, *The Law of Nations and the New World* (The University of Alberta Press, 1989), 143-249.

Doyle, John P. 'Francisco Suárez: On Preaching the Gospel to People like the American Indians', *Fordham International Law Journal* 15 (1991), 879-951.

Dudley, Edward & Novak, Maximillian E. (ed.), *The Wild Man Within: An Image in Western Thought from the Renaissance to Romanticism* (University of Pittsburgh Press, 1972).

- Elliott, J. H. *The Old World and the New, 1492-1650* (Cambridge University Press, 1970)
- , 'The Discovery of America and the Discovery of Man', *Spain and its World, 1500- 1700* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989), pp. 42-64.
- Fernández-Santamaria, J. A., *The State, War and Peace: Spanish Political Thought in the Renaissance 1516-1559* (Cambridge University Press, 1977)
- Figgis, J. N. 'Political Thought in the Sixteenth-Century', in *The Cambridge Modern History Vol 3*, (Cambridge University Press, 1934), 736-769.
- , *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)
- Garcia y Garcia, Antonio, 'The Spanish School of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries: A Precursor of the Theory of Human Rights', *Ratio Juris*, Vol. 10, No. 1 (1997), pp. 25-36.
- Grisel, Etienne, 'The Beginnings of International Law and General Public Law Doctrine: Francisco de Vitorá's *De Indiis prior*', in *First Images of America: The Impact of the New World on the Old*, (ed.) Fredi Chiappelli, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1976), Vol. 1, pp. 305-325.
- Haliczer, Stephen (ed.), *Inquisition and Society in Early Modern Europe* (London: Croom Helm, 1987).
- Hamilton, Bernice, *Political Thought in Sixteenth-Century Spain* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1963).
- Hanke, Lewis, *The Spanish Struggle for Justice in the Conquest of America* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1949)
- , *Bartolomé de Las Casas: An Interpretation of his Life and Writings* (The Hague: Martinus Hijhoff, 1951)
- , *Aristotle and the American Indians: A Study in Race Prejudice in the Modern World* (London: Hollis & Carter, 1959)
- , *All Mankind Is One: A Study of the Disputation Between Bartolomé de Las Casas and Juan Ginés de Sepúlveda in 1550 on the Intellectual and Religious Capacity of the American Indians* (DeLalb: Northern Illinois University Press, 1974)
- Hernández, Ramón 'The Internationalization of Francisco de Vitoria and Domingo de Soto', *Fordham International Law Journal* Vol. 15 (1992), pp, 1031-59.

- Higgins, A. P., 'International Law and the Outer World, 1450-1648', in *The Cambridge History of the British Empire*, (ed.) J. H. Rose, A. P. Newton & E. A. Benians, Cambridge University Press, 1960), Vol. 1, pp. 183-206.
- Kamen, Henry, *The Spanish Inquisition* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1965).
- , *Spain 1469-1714: A Society in Conflict*, 2nd Ed., (London: Longman, 1993).
- , *Spain's Road to Empire: The making of a world power* (London: Penguin, 2002)
- Kedar, Benjamin, *Crusade and Mission: European Approaches toward the Muslims* (Princeton University Press, 1984).
- Keal, Paul. *European Conquest and the Rights of Indigenous Peoples: The Moral Backwardness of International Society* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003)
- Kretzmann, Norman, Anthony Kenny & Jan Pinborg (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Later Medieval Philosophy: From the Rediscovery of Aristotle to the Disintegration of Scholasticism 1100-1600* (Cambridge University Press, 1988)
- Lea, Henry Charles, *A History of the Inquisition of Spain* 4 Vols (New York: Ams Press, 1966).
- Liere, Katherine Elliot van, 'Vitoria, Cajetan and the Conciliarists', *Journal of the History of Ideas*, Vol. 58, No. 4 (1997), pp. 597-606.
- Lewy, G., *Constitutionalism and Statecraft during the Golden Age of Spain: A Study of the Political Philosophy of Juan de Mariana* (Geneva, 1963)
- Lynch, John, *Spain Under the Hapsburgs: Vol 1 Empire and Absolutism 1516-1598* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1964).
- Meron, Theodor, 'Common Rights of Mankind in Gentili, Grotius and Suárez', *American Journal of International Law* 85 (1991), 110-116.
- Midgley, E. B. F., *The Natural Law Tradition and the Theory of International Relations* (London: Paul Elek, 1975)
- Moffit, John & Santiago Sebastián, *O Brave New People: The European Invention of the American Indian* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1996)
- Muldoon, James, *The Americas in the Spanish World Order* (University of Pennsylvania Press, 1994)
- Muñoz, Honorio, *Vitoria and the Conquest of America: A study on the first reading on the Indians 'De Indis prior'* (Manila: University of Santo Tomas Press, 1938)

- Murray, John Courtney, 'St Robert Bellarmine and the Indirect Power', *Theological Studies* 9 (1948), 491-535.
- O'Meara, Thomas, 'The Dominican School of Salamanca and the Spanish Conquest of America: Some Bibliographical Notes', *Thomist*, 56 (1992), 555 ff.
- O'Meara, Thomas, 'The School of Thomism at Salamanca and the Presence of Grace in the Americas', *Angelicum*, 75 (1995), 321-70.
- *Pagden, Anthony, *The fall of natural man: The American Indian and the origins of comparative ethnology* (Cambridge University Press, 1982)
- , *Spanish Imperialism and the Political Imagination: Studies in European and Spanish-American Social and Political theory 1513-1830* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1990)
- (ed.), *The Languages of Political Theory in Early-Modern Europe* (Cambridge University Press, 1990)
- . 'Human Rights, Natural Rights, and Europe's Imperial Legacy', *Political Theory* 31 (2003), pp. 171-199.
- Parry, J. H. *The Spanish Theory of Empire in the Sixteenth Century*. Cambridge University Press, 1940.
- Passavant, Paul A., 'Francisco de Vitoria and the colonial origins of international law', in *Laws of the Postcolonial*, (ed.) Eve Darian-Smith & Peter Fitzpatrick, (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1999), pp.
- Quirck, R. E., 'Some Notes on a Controversial Controversy: Juan Ginés de Sepúlveda and Natural Servitude', *Hispanic American Historical Review* Vol. 34 (1954), 357-64.
- Rabasa, José, *Inventing America: Spanish Historiography and the Formation of Eurocentrism* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1993)
- Root, Deborah, 'Speaking Christian: Orthodoxy and Difference in Sixteenth-Century Spain', *Representations* Vol. 23 (1988), pp. 118-34.
- Scott, James Brown, *The Spanish Conception of International Law and Sanctions* (Washington: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 1929)
- , *The Spanish Origin of International Law: Francisco de Vitoria and his Law of Nations* (Oxford: Clarendon: 1934)
- Southern, R. W., *Western Views of Islam in the Middle Ages* (Boston: Harvard University Press, 1962).

Todorov, Tzvetan, *The Conquest of America: The Question of the Other*, transl. Richard Howard, (New York: Harper & Row, 1982)

Tuck, Richard, *Natural Rights Theories: Their Origin and Development* (Cambridge University Press, 1979)

---., *Philosophy and Government 1572-1651* (Cambridge University Press, 1993).

Watner, Carl, "All Mankind Is One": The Libertarian Tradition in Sixteenth Century Spain', *The Journal of Libertarian Studies* 8.2 (1987), 293-309.

White, Kevin, *Hispanic Philosophy in the Age of Discovery* (Washington, D.C. : Catholic University of America Press, 1997)

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

*-----., *Political Writings* (ed.) by Anthony Pagden and Jeremy Lawrance, (Cambridge University Press, 1991)

Wagner, Henry Raup with Helen Parish, *The Life and Writings of Bartolomé de las Casas* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1967)

Weber, David J., *Bárbaros: Spaniards and Their Savages in the Age of Enlightenment* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005)

Wright, A. D., *Catholicism and Spanish Society under the Reign of Philip II, 1555-1589, and Philip III, 1598-1621* (Lewiston, N.Y.: The Edwin Mellen Press, 1991).

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

6, 13, 20, 27 May, 3 June

Anghie, Antony *Imperialism, Sovereignty and the Making of International Law* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004).

Armitage, David, 'John Locke, Carolina, and the *Two Treatises of Government*', *Political Theory* 32.5 (2004), pp. 602-27.

Armitage, David, 'Hobbes and the foundations of modern international thought', in *Rethinking the Foundations of Modern Political Thought*, ed. by Annabel Brett and James Tully (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), pp. 219-235.

Aravamudan, Srinivas, 'Hobbes and America', in *The Postcolonial Enlightenment: Eighteenth-century Colonialism and Postcolonial Theory*, ed. by David Carey and Lynn Festa (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), pp. 37-70.

- Arneil, Barbara, *John Locke and America: the Defence of English Colonialism* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996).
- Ashcraft, Richard, 'Locke's state of nature: historical fact or moral fiction?', *American Political Science Review*, Vol. 62 (1968), pp. 898-915.
- , 'Political theory and political reform: John Locke's essay on Virginia', *Western Political Quarterly* Vol. 22 (1969), pp. 742-58.
- , 'Hobbes's Natural Man: A Study in Ideology Formation', *Journal of Politics* Vol. 33 (1971), 1076-1117.
- *-----, 'Leviathan Triumphant: Thomas Hobbes and the Politics of Wild Men', in *The Wild Man Within: An Image in Western Thought from the Renaissance to Romanticism*, ed. by Edward Dudley and Maximillian E. Novak, (University of Pittsburgh Press, 1972), 141-181.
- Banner, Stuart, *How the Indians Lost Their Land: Law and Power on the Frontier* (Cambridge MA.: Belknap Press, 2005).
- Batz, William G., 'The historical anthropology of John Locke', *Journal of the History of Ideas* Vol. 35 (1974), pp. 663-70.
- Berman, Howard R., 'The Concept of Aboriginal Rights in the Early History of the United States', *Buffalo Law Review* Vol. 27 (1978), 637-667.
- Boucher, David, 'Property and propriety in international relations: the case of John Locke', in *Classical Theory in International Relations*, ed. by Beate Jahn, (Cambridge University Press, 2006), pp. 156-177.
- Buckle, Stephen, *Natural Law and the Theory of Property: Grotius to Hume* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990).
- *-----, 'Tully, Locke and America', *British Journal for the History of Philosophy* 9.2 (2001), pp 245-81.
- Canny, Nicholas, 'The Ideology of English Colonization: From Ireland to America', *The William and Mary Quarterly* 30. 4 (1973): 575-698.
- Davidson, Anne Elizabeth, *Innocence Regained: Seventeenth-Century Reinterpretations of the Fall of Man* (New York: Columbia University PhD Thesis, 1956)
- Dietz, Mary G. (ed.) *Thomas Hobbes & Political Theory* (Kansas University Press, 1990)
- Doyle, Phyllis, 'The Contemporary Background of Hobbes' 'State of Nature'' *Economica* 7 (1927), 336-355.

- Farr, James, 'Locke, Natural Law, and New World Slavery', in *Political Theory* 36.4 (2008), 495-522.
- Ferguson, Arthur B., *Clio Unbound: Perception of the social and cultural past in Renaissance England* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1979)
- Flanagan, Thomas, 'The Agricultural Argument and Original Appropriation: Indian Lands and Political Philosophy', *Canadian Journal of Political Science* 22.3 (1989), 589-602.
- Greenblatt, Stephen (ed.), *New World Encounters* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993)
- Greenleaf, W. H., 'Filmer's Patriarchal History', *The Historical Journal* 9 (1966), 157-71.
- Hall, Barbara, 'Race in Hobbes', in *Race and Racism in Modern Philosophy*, ed. by Andrew Valls (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2005), 43-56.
- Hart, Jonathan, *Representing the New World: the English and French Uses of the Example of Spain* (New York: Palgrave, 2000)
- Hobbes, Thomas, *A Dialogue between a Philosopher and a Student of the Common Laws of England*, (ed.) Joseph Cropsey, (Chicago University Press, 1971)
- , *De Cive: The English Version*, (ed.) Howard Warrender, (Oxford: Clarendon, 1983)
- *-----, *Leviathan*, (ed.) Edwin Curley, (Indianapolis: Hackett, 1994)
- Hoeskstra, Kinch, 'Hobbes on the Natural Condition of Mankind', in *The Cambridge Companion to Hobbes's Leviathan*, ed. Patricia Springborg, (Cambridge University Press, 2007), pp. 109-127.
- Hogden, Margaret, T., *Early Anthropology in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (University of Philadelphia Press, 1964).
- Holly, Marilyn, 'The Persons of Nature versus the Power Pyramid: Locke, Land and American Indians', *International Studies in Philosophy* 26.1 (1994), pp. 13-31.
- Hulme, Peter, 'The Spontaneous hand of nature: savagery, colonialism and the Enlightenment', in *The Enlightenment and Its Shadows*, (ed.) Peter Hulme and Ludmilla Jordanova, (London: Routledge, 1990), pp. 16-34.
- Iverson, Duncan, 'Locke, Liberalism and Empire', in *the Philosophy of John Locke: New Perspectives*, ed. by Peter R. Anstey, (London: Routledge, 2003), pp. 86- 105.
- Jahn, Beate, 'IR and the state of nature: the cultural origins of a ruling ideology', *Review of International Studies* 25 (1999), 411-434.

- Jones, Dorothy V., *License for Empire: Colonialism by Treaty in Early America* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1982).
- Kendrick, T. D., *British Antiquities* (London: Methuen, 1950)
- Kraynak, Robert P., *History and Modernity in the Thought of Thomas Hobbes* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1990)
- , 'Hobbes on Barbarism and Civilization', in *Thomas Hobbes: Critical Assessments Vol. 3*, (ed.) Preston King, (London: Routledge, 1993), pp. 686-708.
- , 'The Fragility of Civilization in Hobbes's Historical Writings' *Filozofski Vestnik*, Vol. 24 (2003), 37- 58.
- Kuhlemann, Ute, 'Between Reproduction, Invention and Propaganda: Theodor de Bry's Engravings after John White's Watercolours', in *A New World: England's first view of America*. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2007), 79-92.
- Kupperman, Karen Ordahl, *Indians and English: Facing Off in Early America* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2000)
- Laslett, Peter, 'Introduction', *Patriarcha and other Political Writings* by Sir Robert Filmer (Oxford: Blackwell, 1949).
- Le Corbeiller, Clare, 'Miss America and her Sisters: Personifications of the Four Parts of the World', *The Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art*, Vols 19/20 (1960), pp. 209-223.
- *Locke, John *Two Treatises of Government*, (ed.) Peter Laslett, (Cambridge University Press, 1960)
- Lebovics, Herman, 'The uses of America in Locke's *Second Treatise of Government*', *Journal of the History of Ideas* Vol. 47 (1986), pp. 567-81.
- Lott, Tommy L., 'Patriarchy and Slavery in Hobbes's Political Philosophy', in *Philosophers on Race: Critical Essays*, ed. Julie Ward and Tommy Lott (Oxford: Blackwell, 2002), pp. 63-80.
- Magasich-Airola, Jorge and Jean-Marc de Beer, *America Magica: When Renaissance Europe Thought it had Conquered Paradise*, transl. by Monica Sandor, (London: Anthem Press, 2006)
- Malcolm, Noel, 'Hobbes, Sandys, and the Virginia Company', *The Historical Journal*, Vol. 24 (1981), pp. 297-321.
- Malcolm, Noel, *Aspects of Hobbes* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2002), pp.

- Mancke, Elizabeth, 'Empire and State', in *The British Atlantic World, 1500-1800*. Ed. by David Armitage and Michael J. Braddick (Houndmills: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002), 175-195.
- Moloney, Pat, 'Hobbes, Savagery and International Anarchy', *American Political Science Review* Vol. 105 (2011), pp. ??
- Montrose, Louis, 'The Work of Gender in the Discourse of Discovery', in *New World Encounters*, (ed.) by Stephen Greenblatt, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993), 177-217.
- Navari, Cornelia, 'Hobbes, the State of Nature and the Laws of Nature', in *Classical Theories of International Relations*. Ed. by Ian Clark and Iver Neumann (New York: St Martin's Press, 1996), 20-41.
- Nyland, Chris, 'John Locke and the Social Position of Women', *History of Political Economy* Vol. 25 (1993), pp. 40-63.
- Pateman, Carole and Charles W. Mills, *Contract and Domination* (Cambridge: Polity, 2007), pp. 35-78.
- Pearce, Roy Harvey, 'The "Ruines of Mankind": The Indian and the Puritan Mind', *Journal of the History of Ideas* Vol. 13, No.2 (1952), 200-17.
- Piggott, Stuart, *Ancient Britons and the Antiquarian Imagination. Ideas from the Renaissance to the Regency* (New York: Thames and Hudson, 1989)
- Quinn, David B., *European Approaches to North America, 1450-1640* (Aldershot: Ashgate Variorum, 1998)
- Schochet, Gordon J. *The Authoritarian Family and Political Attitudes in 17th-Century England: Patriarchalism in Political Thought* (New Brunswick: Transaction Books, 1988).
- Sheehan, Bernard, *Savagism & Civility: Indians and Englishmen in Colonial Virginia* (Cambridge University Press, 1980)
- Slattery, Brian, *Ancestral lands, alien laws: judicial perspectives on aboriginal title* (Saskatoon: University of Saskatchewan Native law centre, 1983)
- Slavin, Arthur J., 'The America principle from More to Locke', in *First Images of America: The Impact of the New World on the Old*, (ed.) Fredi Chiappelli, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1976), Vol. 1, pp. 139-64.
- Sommerville, J. P., *Thomas Hobbes: Political Ideas in Historical Context* (London: Macmillan, 1992).

- Sreenivasan, Gopal, *The Limits of Lockean Rights in Property* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994)
- Springborg, Patricia, 'Thomas Hobbes and Cardinal Bellarmine: Leviathan and the 'Ghost of the Roman Empire'', *History of Political Thought* Vol. 16 (1995), pp. 502-31.
- Squadrito, Kathy, 'Locke and the Dispossession of the American Indians', in *Philosophers on Race: Critical Essays*, ed. Julie Ward and Tommy Lott (Oxford: Blackwell, 2002), pp. 101-124.
- Tricaud, François, 'Hobbes' Conception of the State of Nature from 1640 to 1651: Evolution and Ambiguities', in *Perspectives on Thomas Hobbes*, (ed.) by G. A. J. Rogers and Alan Ryan, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1988), 107-123.
- Tuck, Richard, *Philosophy and Government 1572-1651* (Cambridge University Press, 1993).
- *Tully, James, 'Rediscovering America: The *Two Treatises* and Aboriginal Rights', in his *An Approach to Political Philosophy: Locke in Contexts* (Cambridge University Press, 1993), pp. 137-78.
- , 'Placing the *Two Treatises*', in *Political Discourse in Early Modern Britain*, (ed.) Nicholas Phillipson and Quentin Skinner, (Cambridge University Press, 1993), pp. 253-82.
- , 'Aboriginal Property and Western Theory: Recovering a Middle Ground', in *Property Rights*, (ed.) Ellen Frankel Paul *et al.*, (Cambridge University Press, 1994), pp. 153-80.
- Uzgalis, William, "'An Inconsistency Not to Be Excused': On Locke and Racism", in *Philosophers on Race: Critical Essays*, ed. Julie Ward and Tommy Lott (Oxford: Blackwell, 2002), pp. 81-100.
- Warren, Christopher, N., 'Hobbes's Thucydides and the Colonial Law of Nations', *The Seventeenth Century* 24 .2 (2009), 260-286.
- Williams, Michael C., 'The Hobbesian theory of international relations: three traditions', in *Classical Theory in International Relations*, ed. by Beate Jahn. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 253-76.
- Zuckerman, Michael, 'Identity in British America: Unease in Eden', in *Colonial Identity in the Atlantic World, 1500-1800*, (ed.) by Nicholas Canny and Anthony Pagden (Princeton University Press, 1987), pp. 115-57.

The Scottish Enlightenment: the Political Economy of Colonisation

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