

Research Article

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Capitalism and the Creation of the U.S. Constitution

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Abstract

This article engages with scholars working on the history of capitalism and with scholars of American political development to form a historical materialist perspective on the creation of the American federal government. First, it returns to the debate about the state in capitalist society to develop an approach for theorizing the relations between class, capitalism, and states. Next, it addresses the position of American capitalism in the 1780s, arguing that it was still in a long transition phase. After this, it reinterprets the Constitutional Convention of 1787 in the context of the long and uneven history of American capitalist development. I argue that the U.S. Constitution created the foundations of a state that would serve capitalist interests, including capitalist slave owners, but, at the same time, provided some space for social relations of production not yet fully subordinated to the power of capitalism to coexist.

This article addresses the question, what role did the Constitutional Convention of 1787 and the creation of the U.S. federal government play in the making of American capitalism? It argues that although I am not the first to pose this question, the answer has slipped between the cracks.

The topic has been approached in different ways throughout the last several decades. First, historians of the era, including Terry Boston, Woody Holton, and Michael J. Klarman, have convincingly shown that the Convention was the result of a fear of “excess democracy” by an elite group who built a new state partly to protect elite power, quell rebellion, and limit too much democratic participation in governance by the lower and middle classes.¹ While these discussions have highlighted the question of class, they have, with some exceptions mentioned later, generally not placed their analysis in the context of the role that state formation played in solidifying or supporting American capitalism overall.

Second, historians who have worked on the transition to capitalism in U.S. history have demonstrated that the country that became the United States after the American Revolution was not born entirely capitalist.² A snapshot of the United States in 1787 would show a society with a variety of intersecting or “articulating” modes of production. In the North, artisans still often owned their own tools and controlled their own workshops. Yeoman farms families owned their own land and engaged in “safety first” production, partly to satisfy their domestic needs and partly to trade for goods with neighbors or local country stores linked to broader chains of merchants. Coastal merchants can be classified as capitalist, as can those who engaged in land speculation. So can speculators who purchased government securities and owned private debt. In the South, capitalist plantation owners ruled over their personal empires of Black slaves, but in less fertile lands and pine barrens, small yeoman farmers produced primarily for their own households. In the context of a country on its way toward

¹Terry Boston, *Testing Democracy: “The People,” the Founders, and the Troubled Ending of the American Revolution* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007); Woody Holton, *Uncle Americans and the Origins of the Constitution* (New York: Hill and Wang, 2007); Michael J. Klarman, *The Framers’ Coup: The Making of the United States Constitution* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2016).

²Some key contributions to this debate include Christopher Clark, *The Roots of Rural Capitalism: Western Massachusetts, 1780–1860* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1996); James A. Henretta, “Families and Farms: Moralities in Pre-Industrial America,” *Reply*, *William and Mary Quarterly* 57, no. 4 (1998): 696–706; Stephen Hahn and Jonathan Prude, eds., *The Countryside in the Age of Capitalist Transformation: Essays on the Social History of Rural America* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1986); Sue Hadden, *The Political Economy of the Family Farm: The Agrarian Roots of American Capitalism* (New York: Praeger, 1991); Allen Kulshoff, *The Agrarian Origins of American Capitalism* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1992); Michael Merrill, “Cash Is Good to Eat: Self-Sufficiency and Exchange in the Rural Economy of the United States,” *Rural History Review* 13 (1977): 42–71; Michael Merrill, “The Anticapitalist Origins of the United States,” *Review: Fernand Braudel Center* 13 (1990): 465–97; Robert Murch, “Colonial America and the Debate about Transition to Capitalism,” *Theory and Society* 9, no. 4 (1980): 847–83; Elizabeth A. Perkins, “The Consumer Frontier: Household Consumption in Early Kentucky,” *Journal of American History* 78, no. 2 (1991): 486–516; Charles Post, *The American Road to Capitalism: Studies in Class Structure, Economic Development, and Political Conflict, 1620–1877* (Chicago: Haymarket, 2012); Michael Zakim and Gary John Klintworth, eds., *Capitalism Takes Command: The Social Transformation of Nineteenth-Century America* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2013). For a more extensive bibliography of this literature, see James Parisot, *How America Became Capitalist: Imperial Expansion and the Conquest of the West* (London: Pluto, 2019), 263–4.

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