The eighty-five *Federalist* essays written by Alexander Hamilton, John Jay, and James Madison as ‘Publius’ to support the ratification of the Constitution in 1787–88 are regarded as the preeminent American contribution to Western political theory. Recently, there have been major developments in scholarship on the Revolutionary and Founding era as well as increased public interest in constitutional matters that make this a propitious moment to reflect on the contributions and complexity of *The Federalist*. This volume of specially commissioned essays covers the broad scope of Publius’ work, including historical, political, philosophical, juridical, and moral dimensions. In so doing, they bring the design and arguments of the text into focus for twenty-first century scholars, students, and citizens and show how these diverse treatments of *The Federalist* are associated with an array of substantive political and constitutional perspectives in our own time.

**Jack N. Rakove** is William Robertson Coe Professor of History and American Studies and Professor of Political Science, Emeritus, at Stanford University. He is the author of seven books, including the Pulitzer Prize-winning *Original Meanings: Politics and Ideas in the Making of the Constitution* (1996).

**Colleen A. Sheehan** is Professor of Politics and Director of the Matthew J. Ryan Center at Villanova University. Her publications include *James Madison and the Spirit of Republican Self-Government* (2009) and *The Mind of James Madison: The Legacy of Classical Republicanism* (Cambridge, 2015).
The Cambridge Companion to
THE FEDERALIST

Edited by
Jack N. Rakove
Stanford University
Colleen A. Sheehan
Villanova University
Contents

List of Contributors page vii
Acknowledgments xi
List of Abbreviations xii

Introduction 1
JACK N. RAKOVE AND COLLEEN A. SHEEHAN

1 Publius and the Anti-Federalists: “A Satisfactory Answer to all the Objections”? 18
DAVID J. SIEMERS

2 John Jay, The Federalist, and the Constitution 52
QUENTIN P. TAYLOR

3 “A Vigorous National Government”: Hamilton on Security, War, and Revenue 82
MAX M. EDLING

DAVID M. GOLOVE AND DANIEL J. HULSEBOSCH

5 The Federalist’s New Federalism 164
MICHAEL ZUCKERT

6 The Political Psychology of Publius: Reason, Passion, and Interest in The Federalist 194
JON ELSTER
# TABLE OF CONTENTS

7 Montesquieu, Hume, Adam Smith, and the Philosophical Perspective of *The Federalist* 228  
Paul A. Rahe

8 Madison’s Republican Remedy: The Tenth *Federalist* and the Creation of an Impartial Republic 263  
Alan Gibson

9 The Republicanism of Publius: The American Way of Life 302  
Colleen A. Sheehan

10 “The Interest of the Man”: James Madison’s Constitutional Politics 330  
Larry D. Kramer

11 Politics Indoors and Out-of-Doors: A Fault Line in Madison’s Thinking 370  
Jack N. Rakove

12 “The Cool and Deliberate Sense of the Community”: *The Federalist* on Congress 400  
Greg Weiner

13 Publius on Monarchy 426  
Eric Nelson

14 The Genius of Hamilton and the Birth of the Modern Theory of the Judiciary 464  
William M. Treanor

15 Publius’s Political Science 515  
John Ferejohn and Roderick Hills

16 The Republican Form of Government in *The Federalist* 557  
Harvey C. Mansfield

Index 587
Contributors

Jack N. Rakove is William Robertson Coe Professor of History and American Studies and Professor of Political Science, Emeritus, at Stanford University. His many books include Original Meanings: Politics and Ideas in the Making of the Constitution (1997), which won the Pulitzer Prize in History.

Colleen A. Sheehan is Professor of Political Science and Director of the Matthew J. Ryan Center at Villanova University. She is the author of James Madison and the Spirit of Republican Self-Government (2009) and The Mind of James Madison: The Legacy of Classical Republicanism (2015).


John Ferejohn is Samuel Tilden Professor of Law at New York University and Carolyn S. G. Munro Professor of Political Science, Emeritus, at Stanford University. His writings include Pork Barrel Politics: Rivers and Harbor Legislation, 1947–1968 (1974) and
contributors


Alan Gibson is Professor of Political Science at California State University, Chico. His works include Interpreting the Founding: Guide to the Enduring Debates over the Origins and Foundation of the American Republic (2009) and Understanding the Founding: The Crucial Questions (2010).


Roderick Hills is William T. Comfort, III Professor of Law at New York University. He is the author of numerous articles on the current state of American constitutionalism and federalism.


Larry D. Kramer is President, William and Flora Hewlett Foundation, and formerly Richard E. Lang Professor of Law and Dean at Stanford Law School. He is the author of The People Themselves: Popular Constitutionalism and Judicial Review (2004) and “Madison’s Audience.”

Harvey C. Mansfield is William R. Kenan, Jr. Professor of Government at Harvard University, where he has spent most of the past seven

**Eric Nelson** is Robert M. Beren Professor of Government at Harvard University. He is the author of four books, including *The Greek Tradition in Republican Thought* (2004) and *The Royalist Revolution: Monarchy and the American Founding* (2014).


**David J. Siemers** is Professor of Political Science at University of Wisconsin-Oshkosh. He is the author of *Ratifying the Republic: Antifederalists and Federalists in Constitutional Time* (2002) and *The Myth of Coequal Branches: Restoring the Constitution’s Separation of Functions* (2018).

**Quentin Taylor** is Professor of History and Political Science at Rogers State University and a former Resident Scholar at Liberty Fund. His publications include a number of articles and chapters on *The Federalist*.

**William M. Treanor** holds the newly established Paul Regis Dean Leadership Chair at Georgetown Law Center, where he has served since 2010. He is the author of numerous essays on the origins of judicial review and problems of constitutional interpretation.
x CONTRIBUTORS


Michael Zuckert is Nancy R. Dreux Professor of Political Science Emeritus at the University of Notre Dame and Professor at Arizona State University. He is the past editor of American Political Thought and the author of Natural Rights and the New Republicanism (1994).
Acknowledgments

The editors wish to extend their thanks, first, to all the contributors, for responding to our suggestions and for tolerating the various delays that accompanied the preparation of this volume; and second, to Brenda Hafera, John Guerra, and Ann Riddle, for their valuable assistance.
Abbreviations


