"For we must consider that we shall be as a city upon a hill: the eyes of all people are upon us, so that if we shall deal falsely with our God in this work we have undertaken and so cause Him to withdraw His present help from us, we shall be made a story and a by-word through the world; we shall open the mouths of enemies to speak evil of the ways of God and all professors for God’s sake..."

– John Winthrop

“It has been frequently remarked, that it seems to have been reserved to the people of this country, by their conduct and example, to decide the important question, whether societies of men are really capable or not, of establishing good government from reflection or choice, or whether they are forever destined to depend, for their political constitutions, on accident and force.”

– Federalist #1

Political Science 4080
American Political Thought
Spring 2012

Instructor:  James Stoner
            Stubbs 240 (tel: 578-2538; e-mail: poston@lsu.edu)

Office Hours: Mondays, Wednesdays, 2:00-3:30 pm, and by appointment

Course requirements:
Daily quizzes on the reading [20%]
Class participation/questions [noted, not graded]
Presentation (5 minutes) of an American Political Speech in class [10%]
Bi-weekly one-paragraph essays on journals of opinion [10%]
Paper (5 pages) on the writings of one author [15%]
Midterm examination, Friday, 3/12 [15%]
Final examination, Friday, 5/11 [30%]

Communication Intensive Course
This course is certified as a “Communication-Intensive Course” and meets all of the requirements explained on the CxC Web site: http://cxc.isu.edu, including the following: Emphases on formal and informal assignments in written and spoken communication, class time spent on communication, 40% of the final grade based on communication projects, revisions after faculty feedback on 2 formal projects (one for each emphasis), and a student/faculty ratio of 35:1 (including the graduate teaching assistant). Because it meets these requirements, students may count it toward “Distinguished Communicator” certification on LSU transcripts.
**Honors Option:** To receive Honors credit for this course, eligible students must, in addition to the assignments above, write a term paper of eight to ten pages on a topic developed in consultation with the instructor, worth the equivalent of the quizzes, with percentages adjusted.

**Graduate Students:** In addition to the reading below, please read the essay on each author we study in Bryan-Paul Frost and Jeffrey Sikkenga, editors, *History of American Political Thought* (Lexington Books, 2003) – or read Alexis de Tocqueville, *Democracy in America* (tr. Mansfield & Winthrop) – and write a ten-page paper on a topic chosen in consultation with the instructor. You must take the quizzes and the exams, but need not write the weekly paragraphs.

**Books available for purchase:**
- Bloom, *Closing of the American Mind* (Simon & Schuster) [978-0671657154]
- McDougall, *Promised Land, Crusader State* (Mariner Books) [0395901324]
- Yarbrough, ed., *The Essential Jefferson* (Hackett) [978-0872207479]

**Website:** A course website is available on Moodle. Materials listed below as “on-line” will be accessible on Moodle as links.

**SYLLABUS:**

**Wed., 1/18**  Introduction

**I. THE FOUNDING**

**Fri., 1/20**  Christian Commonwealth
- John Winthrop, “Model of Christian Charity” (1630);
- Winthrop, “Defence of an Order of Court” (1637);
- Winthrop, “Little Speech on Liberty” (1639);
- John Cotton, “An Exposition Upon Revelations 13” (1639);
- Michael Drayton, “To the Virginian Voyage” [on-line]

**Mon., 1/23**  Religious Toleration
- Roger Williams, “The Blody Tenent of Persecution” (1644);
- John Wise, “A Vindication of the Government of New England Churches” (1717);
Jonathan Mayhew, “A Discourse Concerning Unlimited Submission and Non-Resistance to the Higher Powers” (1750);
Benjamin Franklin, “The Way to Wealth” (1758) in APT, pp. 25-27, 31-60

Wed., 1/25 Early Constitutionalism
Mayflower Compact (1620);
An Ordinance and Constitution of the Virginia Company (1621);
Charter of the Massachusetts Bay Company (1629);
William Penn, “Preface to the First Frame of Government for Pennsylvania” (1682) in APT, pp. 73-83
Articles, Laws, &c...for the Colony in Virginia (1610-11) [on-line]
Massachusetts Body of Liberties (1641) [on-line]
Pennsylvania Charter of Liberties (1701) [on-line]

Fri., 1/27 The Crisis of the British Empire
James Otis, “The Rights of the British Colonies Asserted & Proved” (1764);
Samuel Adams, “The Rights of the Colonists” (1772);
Thomas Jefferson, “Summary View of the Rights of British America” (1774), in Yarbrough, The Essential Jefferson, pp. 3-17

Mon., 1/30 The Case for American Independence
John Adams, “Novanglus” (1775);
Adams, “Thoughts on Government” (1776);
Thomas Paine, “Common Sense” (1776);
Paine, “The American Crisis I” (1777);
Declaration of Independence (1776) in APT, pp. 119-54

Wed., 2/1 From the Declaration to the Constitution
Articles of Confederation (1777);
Alexander Hamilton, Letter to James Duane (1780);
Adams, “Defense of the Constitutions of the United States” (1787);
Constitution (1787) in APT, pp. 155-91

Fri., 2/3 The Case for the Constitution: Reflection, Choice, and Science
Hamilton, Madison, Jay, The Federalist (1787-88), ## 1, 2, 6, 9, 10

Mon., 2/6 The Case for the Constitution: Federalism

Wed., 2/8 The Case for the Constitution: Separation of Powers
The Federalist, ## 47-51, 55-56, 62, 70, 78, 84-85
Fri., 2/10  The Case Against the Constitution
          Jefferson, Letters on the Constitution (1787, 1789);
          Letters from the Federal Farmer (1787);
          Essays of Brutus (1787-88);
          Patrick Henry, Debate in the Virginia Ratifying Convention (1788)
          In APT, pp. 244-274

II. THE RISE OF DEMOCRACY AND THE CRISIS OF THE REPUBLIC

Mon., 2/13  Federalist Governance
          Alexander Hamilton, First Report on the Public Credit (1790);
          Hamilton, Opinion on the Constitutionality of the Bank (1791);
          Hamilton, Report on Manufactures (1791);
          George Washington, Farewell Address (1796) in APT, pp. 297-323

Wed., 2/15  Jeffersonian Theory
          Jefferson, Notes on the State of Virginia (1785), queries 13-14, 17-19;
          Letters to Peter Carr (8/10/87), to John Adams (10/28/13), to Henry Lee
          98-133, 161-65, 267-68, 277-78

Fri., 2/17  Jeffersonian Democracy
          Jefferson, Bill for Establishing Religious Liberty (1777);
          Report on the Government for Western Territory (1784);
          Opinion on the Constitutionality of a National Bank (1791);
          Opinion on the French Treaties (1793);
          First Inaugural Address (1801);
          Letter to the Danbury Baptists (1802);
          Second Inaugural Address (1805);
          Report of the Commissioners for the Univ. of Virginia (1818), in
          Essential Jefferson, pp. 27-47, 55-75
          Madison & Jefferson, Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions (1798);
          Madison, Report to the Virginia General Assembly (1800);
          in APT, pp. 375-88

[MARDI GRAS BREAK]

Fri., 2/24  Jacksonian Democracy
          John R. Cooke and Abel P. Upshur, Debate in the Virginia Constitutional
          Convention (1829-1830);
          Andrew Jackson, First Annual Message to Congress (1829);
          Jackson, Veto of Maysville Road Bill (1830);
          Jackson, Bank Veto Message (1832);
          Jackson, Farewell Address (1837);
          Daniel Webster, Speech on Jackson’s Veto of the United States Bank Bill
          (1832);
George Bancroft, “The Office of the People in Art, Government, and Religion” (1835);
Orestes Brownson, “The Laboring Classes” (1840);
in APT, pp. 395-407, 419-47, 451-64

Mon., 2/27  American Individualism
James Fenimore Cooper, “The American Democrat” (1838);
Ralph Waldo Emerson, “Self-Reliance” (1840);
Emerson, “Politics” (1849);
Henry David Thoreau, “Resistance to Civil Government” (1848);
Catherine E. Beecher, “A Treatise on Domestic Economy” (1841);
Elizabeth Cady Stanton, The Seneca Falls Declaration of Sentiments and Resolutions (1848);
Stanton, Address to the New York State Legislature (1860);
in APT, pp. 465-91, 522-35

Wed., 2/29  The Case for Abolition
William Lloyd Garrison, “The Liberator” (1831);
Garrison, “Declaration of Sentiments of the American Anti-Slavery Society” (1833);
William Ellery Channing, “Slavery” (1835);
Angelina Grimké, “Appeal to the Christian Women of the South” (1836);
Theodore Dwight Weld, “Slavery As It Is: Testimony of a Thousand Witnesses” (1839);
David Walker, “Appeal . . . to the Colored Citizens of the World . . . “ (1829);
Frederick Douglass, “What Are the Colored People Doing for Themselves?” (1848);
Douglass, Lectures on Slavery (1850);
Douglass, “What to the Slave Is the Fourth of July?” (1852);
in APT, pp. 554-598

Fri., 3/2  The Case for Slaveholding
John C. Calhoun, Speeches on Slavery (1837, 1838);
Calhoun, “A Disquisition on Government” (1848);
George Fitzhugh, “Sociology for the South” (1854);
Fitzhugh, “Cannibals All!” (1857);
James Henry Hammond, “‘Mud Sill’ Speech” (1858);
in APT, pp. 601-43, 647-49

Mon., 3/5  Clarifying Principle: Popular Sovereignty or Equal Rights?
Abraham Lincoln, “Speech at Peoria, Illinois” (1854);
Lincoln, “Speech on the Dred Scott Decision” (1857);
in APT, pp. 649-660
Lincoln, Speech at Springfield, 6/16/58 (“House Divided”);
Douglas, Speech at Chicago, 7/9/58;
Debate at Ottawa, 8/21/58, in *Lincoln-Douglas Debates*, pp. 14-74

**Wed., 3/7**
Seeking Compromise: Popular Sovereignty or Free Territory?
Debate at Freeport, 8/27/58;
Debate at Jonesboro, 9/15/58 (excerpt);
Debate at Charleston, 9/18/58 (excerpt), in *Lincoln-Douglas Debates*, pp. 75-115, 144-63

**Fri., 3/9**
Principle and Compromise, War and Peace
Debate at Galesburg, 10/7/58, in *Lincoln-Douglas Debates*, pp. 206-44
Lincoln, Letter to Boston Republicans (1859);
Address Before the Wisconsin State Agricultural Society (1859);
Cooper Union Address (1860);
New Haven Address (1860);
First Inaugural Address (1861);
Second Annual Message to Congress (1862);
Gettysburg Address (1863);
Second Inaugural Address (1865) in *APT*, pp. 660-685
Frederick Douglass, “Oration in Memory of Abraham Lincoln” (1876) [on-line]

**Mon., 3/12**
**MIDTERM EXAMINATION**

**III. RETHINKING AMERICAN REPUBLICANISM AND DEMOCRACY**

**Wed., 3/14**
The Case for Entrepreneurial Capitalism
William Graham Sumner, “What the Social Classes Owe to Each Other” (1884);
Sumner, “The Absurd Effort to Make the World Over” (1894);
Sumner, “The Challenge of Facts” (1895);
Sumner, “Consolidation of Wealth: Economic Aspects” (1902);
Andrew Carnegie, “The Gospel of Wealth” (1889);
Russell H. Conwell, “Acres of Diamonds” (1891) in *APT*, pp. 703-740

**Fri., 3/16**
The Socialist Critique
Henry George, “Progress and Poverty”;
Edward Bellamy, “Looking Backwards: 2000-1887” (1889);
Henry Demarest Lloyd, “Wealth Against Commonwealth” (1894);
Lester Ward, “Sociocracy” (1893);
Ward, “Plutocracy and Paternalism” (1895);
National People’s Party Platform (1892);
William Jennings Bryan, The “Cross of Gold” Speech (1896) in *APT*, pp. 740-85, 801-15
Mon., 3/19  Women’s Equality
   Orestes Brownson, "The Woman Question" (1869);
   Victoria Woodhull, "On Constitutional Equality" (1871);
   Woodhull, "Principles of Social Freedom" (1871);
   Susan B. Anthony, Speech about her Indictment (1873);
   Charlotte Perkins Gilman, "Women and Economics" (1898);
   Jane Addams, "If Men Were Seeking the Franchise" (1913) in APT, pp. 854-82

Wed., 3/21  Race and Compromise

Fri., 3/23  Race as Principle

Mon., 3/26  Nationalism and Empire
   James H. Slater & James Z. George, Speeches on Chinese Immigration (1882);
   Josiah Strong, "Our Country" (1885);
   Theodore Roosevelt, "The Winning of the West" (1889-96);
   Henry Cabot Lodge, Speech on a Literacy Test for Immigrants (1896);
   Albert J. Beveridge, "The March of the Flag" (1898);
   Platform of the American Anti-Imperialist League (1899);
   William Graham Sumner, "The Conquest of the U.S. by Spain" (1899);
   Chief Joseph, "An Indian’s View of Indian Affairs" in APT, pp. 893-926, 928-40

Wed., 3/28  The Bases of Progressivism
   Condorcet, "The Future Progress of the Human Mind" [on-line];
   Lincoln Steffens, "The Shame of the Cities" (1904);
   Upton Sinclair, "The Jungle" (1906);
   Monsignor John Ryan, "A Living Wage" (1906);
   Jane Addams, "The Spirit of Youth and the City Streets" (1909);
   Walter Rauschenbusch, "Christianity and the Social Crisis" (1909);
   Thorstein Veblen, "The Theory of the Leisure Class" (1899);
   Charles A. Beard, "The Economic Basis of Politics" (1922);
   William James, "Pragmatism: A New Name for Old Ways of Thinking" (1907) in APT, pp. 988-1030

Fri., 3/30  Science and Progress
   John Dewey, "The Influence of Darwin on Philosophy" (1910);
   Dewey, "The Public and Its Problems" (1927);
   Oliver Wendell Holmes, Jr., Dissent in Lochner v. New York (1905);
   Holmes, "Natural Law" (1918);
   Herbert Croly, "The Promise of American Life" (1909);
   Theodore Roosevelt, "New Nationalism" (1910);
Louis D. Brandeis, “The Living Law” (1915);
Brandeis, “Industrial Absolutism and Democracy” (1915);
Woodrow Wilson, “The New Freedom” (1913) in APT, pp. 1065-1115

Mon., 4/2 New Deal: The Politicians
   Herbert Hoover, “American Individualism” (1922);
   Hoover, “Rugged Individualism” (1928);
   Hoover, “The Challenge to Liberty” (1936);
   Hoover, “The Fifth Freedom” (1941);
   Franklin Delano Roosevelt, Speech at Oglethorpe University (1932);
   FDR, Commonwealth Club Speech (1932);
   FDR, First Inaugural Address (1933);
   FDR, Annual Message to Congress (1936);
   FDR, “The Four Freedoms” (1941);
   FDR, “A Second Bill of Rights” (1944) in APT, pp. 1133-47, 1164-91

Wed., 4/4 New Deal: The Intellectuals
   Charles A. Beard, “The Myth of Rugged American Individualism” (1931);
   John Dewey, “Liberalism and Social Action” (1935);
   R. G. Tugwell, “The Principle of Planning and the Institution of Laissez Faire” (1932);
   Henry A. Wallace, “New Frontiers” (1934);
   Walter Lippmann, “Planning in an Economy of Abundance” (1937) in APT, pp. 1147-64, 1191-1210

[SPRING BREAK]

IV. LIBERALISM AND CONSERVATISM

Mon., 4/16 The Cold War
   Reinhold Niebuhr, “The Children of Light and the Children of Darkness: A Vindication of Democracy and a Critique of Its Traditional Defense” (1944);
   George Kennan, “The Sources of Soviet Conduct” (1947);
   Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., “What Is Loyalty? A Difficult Question” (1947);
   William F. Buckley, Jr., “God and Man at Yale” (1951);
   Whittaker Chambers, “Witness” (1952);
   Learned Hand, “A Plea for the Freedom of Dissent” (1955);
   Walter Lippmann, “The Public Philosophy” (1955);
Wed., 4/18  The Sixties
  C. Wright Mills, "The Power Elite" (1956);
  Students for a Democratic Society, The Port Huron Statement (1962);
  Martin Luther King, Jr., "The Power of Nonviolence" (1957);
  King, Letter from Birmingham Jail (1963);
  King, "I Have a Dream" Speech (1963);
  Malcolm X, "The Ballot or the Bullet" (1964);
  Bayard Rustin, "From Protest to Politics" (1965);
  Stokely Carmichael, "Toward Black Liberation" (1966);
  Betty Friedan, "The Feminine Mystique" (1963);

Fri., 4/20  Liberalism and Conservatism: The Academic Dispute
  John Rawls, "A Theory of Justice" (1971);
  Irving Kristol, "Capitalism, Socialism, and Nihilism" (1973);
  Milton Friedman and Rose D. Friedman, "Free to Choose" (1980);
  Michael J. Sandel, "The Public Philosophy of Contemporary Liberalism" (1996); in APT, pp. 1370-1391, 1411-26, 1477-1494

Mon., 4/23  Relativism Critiqued

Wed., 4/25  The University and the Crisis of Modernity
  Bloom, *The Closing of the American Mind*, pp. 336-382

V. AMERICAN POLITICAL THOUGHT IN GLOBAL PERSPECTIVE

Fri., 4/27  The Founding Principles Abroad

Mon., 4/30  Democratic Expansionism
  McDougall, *Promised Land, Crusader State*, ch. 3-4

Wed., 5/2  Rethinking America's Place in the World
  McDougall, *Promised Land, Crusader State*, ch. 5-6

Fri., 5/4  A Liberal and Conservative Global Power
  McDougall, *Promised Land, Crusader State*, ch. 7-8, concl.

Fri., 5/11  FINAL EXAMINATION (10:00 am—Noon)
Communication across the Curriculum (CxC) helps LSU undergraduates improve their written, oral, visual and technological communication skills. Through this unique program, LSU students are gaining the skills needed to be successful in their course work and in today’s demanding, highly competitive marketplace.

**LSU Communication-Intensive Courses**

At LSU, we believe it is the responsibility of the entire faculty to help students improve their communication skills. This is why C-I courses are embedded across the curriculum, within the disciplines.

C-I courses promote deeper learning of course content and provide advanced instruction on effective, discipline-specific writing, speaking, visual, or technological communication. A comprehensive listing of approved C-I courses can be found at [cxc.lsu.edu/CourseListings](http://cxc.lsu.edu/CourseListings). More than 100 C-I courses are offered to LSU students each semester at LSU.

**CxC Studio Resources for Students**

To assist students working on academic and recreational communication-based projects, the CxC Studios are equipped with unique technology and highly-skilled support staff. Each Studio provides a host of services including:

- assistance with writing, speaking, visual, and technological communication skills
- practice presentation rooms equipped with SMART Boards and video recording technology
- instructional support and guidance in creating digital portfolios
- special workshops on a variety of communication modes
- individual and group workspaces
- support and guidance for the LSU Distinguished Communicator certification

Each Studio also offers specialized services essential to the disciplines. CxC Studios are open to all LSU students and faculty, regardless of whether or not they are studying in the respective college.

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**Art + Design CxC Studio, 104 Design Building**

**Engineering CxC Studio, 2302 Patrick Taylor Hall**

**Music & Dramatic Arts CxC Studio, 251 MDA Building**

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Students who are interested in refining their communication skills and excelling in their chosen profession have the opportunity to become certified as LSU Distinguished Communicators. DComm candidates will receive advanced training in effective communication, one-on-one mentoring, and access to an active support network of peers. Students who successfully complete the DComm program are recognized at graduation and receive permanent certification recognition on their LSU transcripts.

Students interested in earning the DComm certification must:

- apply to the program via PAWS prior to completing 80 hours of course work
- earn a B or higher in at least 4 C-I courses (specific mode counts required)
- choose a Faculty Advisor, complete an advisor contract and meet on a regular basis
- participate in an internship, service-learning, research or study-abroad experience to practice/apply effective communication skills
- serve in a leadership role to practice/apply effective communication skills
- attend at least 3 workshops designed to improve communication skills
- reflect on personal communication skills and experiences
- compile a private portfolio of required communication samples
- complete an approved digital portfolio showcasing disciplinary knowledge and communication skills

**Communication Peer Mentors**

Students who exhibit advanced communication skills have the opportunity to help other students by serving as CxC Studio Peer Mentors. CxC offers competitive pay, flexible work hours, professional work experience and access to state-of-the-art technology and training. If you are interested in a CxC Studio, email [cxc@lsu.edu](mailto:cxc@lsu.edu).

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