"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 2010

Instructor: James Stoner  
Stubbs 208B (tel: 578-2538; e-mail: poston@lsu.edu)

Office Hours: Mondays, 3:00-4:30 pm; Wednesdays & Fridays, 10:00-11:30 am; and by appointment

Course requirements:
Daily quizzes on the reading [25%]  
Midterm examination, Friday, 3/12 [20%]  
Weekly one-paragraph essays on journals of opinion [20%]  
Final examination, Friday, 5/14 [35%]

Honors Option: In addition to the assignments above, you must 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) [0671657151]
Dreisbach & Hall, *The Sacred Rights of Conscience* (Liberty Fund) [0865977150] [SRC]
Hamilton, Madison, Jay, *The Federalist* ed. Rossiter & Kesler (Signet) [0451528816]
Johannsen, ed. *The Lincoln-Douglas Debates* (Oxford) [0195339420]
[0393928860] [APT]
Lippmann, *Public Opinion* (Free Press) [0684833271]
Yarbrough, ed., *The Essential Jefferson* (Hackett) [0872207471]

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

Library Reserve:
Many of the readings for the course will be made available on reserve in Middleton Library. In addition there will be secondary works that I think you might find useful in helping you interpret our authors and in locating their place in the American political tradition. Secondary works are no substitute for the assigned reading; read without knowledge of the originals they are more apt to mislead than assist you.

SYLLABUS:

Wed., 1/20 Introduction

I. THE FOUNDING

Fri., 1/22 The Christian Founding
John Winthrop, “Model of Christian Charity” (1630);
Winthrop, Little Speech on Liberty (1639);
John Cotton, “A Discourse about Civil Government” (1637-39);

Mon., 1/25 Religious Toleration
Roger Williams, “Mr. Cotton’s Letter Lately Printed” (1644);
Williams, “The Bloudy Tenent of Persecution” (1644);
Williams, Letter to the Town of Providence (1654-55) in *SRC*, pp. 146-55
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. 31-60
Wed., 1/27  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., 1/29  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);
   Jonathan Boucher, "On Civil Liberty, Passive Obedience, and Non-
   Resistance" (1774) in APT, pp. 100-18
   Thomas Jefferson, "Summary View of the Rights of British America"
   (1774), in Yarbrough, The Essential Jefferson, pp. 3-17

Mon., 2/1 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., 2/3 From the Declaration to the Constitution
   Articles of Confederation (1777);
   Adams, Letter to James Duane (1780);
   Adams, "Defense of the Constitutions of the United States" (1787);
   Constitution (1787) in APT, pp. 155-91
   John Witherspoon, Sermon Delivered at a Public Thanksgiving after
   Peace (1782) in SRC, pp. 278-90

Fri., 2/5 The Case for the Constitution: Reflection, Choice, and Science
   Hamilton, Madison, Jay, The Federalist (1787-88), ## 1, 2, 6, 9, 10

Mon., 2/8 The Case for the Constitution: Federalism

Wed., 2/10 The Case for the Constitution: Separation of Powers
   The Federalist, ## 47-51, 55-56, 62, 70, 78, 84-85
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

[MARDI GRAS BREAK]

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

Wed., 2/17 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

Fri., 2/19 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

Mon., 2/22 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

Wed., 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

Fri., 2/26 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

Mon., 3/1 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

Wed., 3/3 The Case for Slaveholding
John C. Calhoun, Speeches on Slavery (1837, 18380;
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

Fri., 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

Mon., 3/8 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

Wed., 3/10 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]

Fri., 3/12 MIDTERM EXAMINATION

III. RETHINKING AMERICAN REPUBLICANISM AND DEMOCRACY

Mon., 3/15 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

Wed., 3/17 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);
Fri., 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” (1888);
   Jane Addams, “If Men Were Seeking the Franchise” (1913) in APT, pp.
   854-82

Mon., 3/22  Race and Compromise
   B. T. Washington, Up From Slavery (1901), ch. 1-5, 7, 9-10, 12-15

Wed., 3/24  Race as Principle
   W.E.B. DuBois, On the Souls of Black Folk (1903), ch. 1-3, 6, 9-10

Fri., 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

Mon., 3/29  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

Wed., 3/31  Science and Progress [visiting lecturer: James W. Ceaser, Univ of Virginia]
   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

[SPRING BREAK]

IV. LIBERALISM AND CONSERVATISM

Mon., 4/12 Liberalism and Democracy  
Walter Lippmann, Public Opinion (1922), ch. 16-20

Wed., 4/14 Liberalism and the Press  
Lippmann, Public Opinion, ch. 1, 21-24

Fri., 4/16 Liberalism and Scientific Expertise  
Lippmann, Public Opinion, ch. 25-28

Mon., 4/19 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., 4/21 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

Fri., 4/23 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);
Louis Hartz, "The Concept of a Liberal Society" (1955) in APT, pp. 1211-56

Mon., 4/26  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);

Wed., 4/28  Liberalism Come of Age
John Rawls, "A Theory of Justice" (1971);
Michael J. Sandel, "The Public Philosophy of Contemporary Liberalism" (1996);

Fri., 4/30  Stirrings of Conservatism and Resistance
Barry Goldwater, "The Conscience of a Conservative" (1960);
Irving Kristol, "Capitalism, Socialism, and Nihilism" (1973);
Robert Nozick, "Anarchy, State, and Utopia" (1974);
Phyllis Schlafly, "The Power of the Positive Woman" (1977);
Milton Friedman and Rose D. Friedman, "Free to Choose" (1980) in APT, pp. 1256-63, 1381-1426
Ronald Reagan, First Inaugural Address (1981) [on-line]

Mon., 5/3  Relativism

Wed., 5/5  The Social Consequences of Relativism
Bloom, The Closing of the American Mind, pp. 68-137

Fri., 5/7  The University and the Crisis of Modernity
Bloom, The Closing of the American Mind, pp. 336-382

Fri., 5/14  FINAL EXAMINATION (3:00-5:00 pm)