

“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
Fall 2017

Instructor: James Stoner
Stubbs 214 (tel: 225-578-2538; email: poston@lsu.edu)

Office Hours: Tuesdays, 3:00-4:30 pm; Thursdays, 10:00-11:30 am; and by appointment

Course Assistant: Thomas Cloud, Stubbs 232 (email: thomascloud1@gmail.com)

Course requirements:

Daily quizzes on the reading [20%]

Class attendance/participation/questions [noted, not graded]

Presentation (5 minutes) of an American Political Speech in class [10%] (speech to be presented on the day it is assigned for class; taped practice session due one-to-three school days ahead)

Paper (5 pages) on the writings of one author [20%] (outline and draft due one week after the author was assigned for class; final draft due one week after meeting with the instructor)

Midterm examination, Tuesday, 10/17 [20%]

Final examination, Monday, 12/4, [30%]

Communication Intensive Course

This is a certified Communication-Intensive (C-I) course which meets all of the requirements set forth by LSU’s Communication across the Curriculum program, including

- instruction and assignments emphasizing informal and formal writing and speech;
- teaching of discipline-specific communication techniques;
- use of feedback loops for learning;
- 40% of the course grade rooted in communication-based work; and
- practice of ethical and professional work standards.

Students interested in pursuing the LSU Distinguished Communicators certification may use this C-I course for credit. For more information about this student recognition program, visit www.cxc.lsu.edu.

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 fifteen-page paper on a topic chosen in consultation with the instructor. You must also take the quizzes and exams, but need not write a short essay or proclaim a speech.

Grading scale:

A+ (98%-100%), A (93%-97%), A- (90%-92%)
 B+ (88%-90%), B (83%-87%), B- (80%-82%)
 C+ (78%-80%), C (73%-77%), C- (70%-72%)
 D+ (68%-70%), D (63%-67%), D- (60%-62%)
 F (below 60%)

Books available for purchase:

Hamilton, Madison, Jay, *The Federalist* ed. Rossiter & Kesler (Signet)
 [9780451528810]
 Johannsen, ed. *The Lincoln-Douglas Debates* (Oxford) [9780195339420]
 Johnson, Washington, DuBois, *Three Negro Classics*, ed. Franklin (Avon)
 [9780380015818]
 Kramnick & Lowi, eds., *American Political Thought: A Norton Anthology* (Norton)
 [9780393928860]

Recommended:

Yarbrough, ed., *The Essential Jefferson* (Hackett) [9780872207479]
 Dionne & Reid, eds, *We Are the Change We Seek: The Speeches of Barack Obama*
 (Bloomsbury) [9781635570915]
 Skinner et al., eds., *Reagan in His Own Hand* (Free Press) [9780743201230]

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

SYLLABUS:

Tues., 8/22 Introduction

I. THE FOUNDING

Thurs., 8/24 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);
 Nathaniel Ward, "The Simple Cobbler of Aggawam in America" (1646);
 Mayflower Compact (1620);
 An Ordinance and Constitution of the Virginia Company (1621);
 Charter of the Massachusetts Bay Company (1629),
 in *American Political Thought [APT]*, pp. 11-25, 27-31, 73-80
 Michael Drayton, "To the Virginian Voyage" [on-line]

Tues., 8/29 Religious Toleration

Roger Williams, "The Bloody 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);
 William Penn, "Preface to the First Frame of Government for
 Pennsylvania" (1682), in *APT*, pp. 25-27, 31-60, 80-83

Thurs., 8/31 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);
 John Adams, "Novanglus" (1775);
 Adams, "Thoughts on Government" (1776), in *APT*, pp. 100-130
 Thomas Jefferson, "Summary View of the Rights of British America"
 (1774), in Yarbrough, *The Essential Jefferson*, pp. 3-17

Tues., 9/5 American Independence and the United States

Thomas Paine, "Common Sense" (1776);
 Paine, "The American Crisis I" (1777);
 Declaration of Independence (1776);
 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. 131-91

- Thurs., 9/7 The Case for the Constitution: Reflection, Choice, and Science
Hamilton, Madison, Jay, *The Federalist* (1787-88), ## 1, 2, 6, 9, 10, 14-15, 23, 27, 31, 33, 35
- Tues., 9/12 The Case for the Constitution: Federalism & Separation of Power
The Federalist, ##37-39, 45, 47-51, 55-56, 62, 70, 78, 84-85
- Thurs., 9/14 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

- Tues., 9/19 Federalist Governance & Jeffersonian Dissent
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
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), in *Essential Jefferson*, pp. 27-47
Madison & Jefferson, Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions (1798);
Madison, Report to the Virginia General Assembly (1800);
in *APT*, pp. 375-88
- Thurs., 9/21 Jeffersonian Democracy
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
(5/8/25), to Roger Weightman (6/24/25), in *Essential Jefferson*, pp.
98-133, 161-65, 214-219, 267-68, 277-78
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. 55-75
- Tues., 9/26 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

- Thurs., 9/28 American Individualism
 James Fennimore 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
- Tues., 10/3 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
- Thurs., 10/5 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

- Tues., 10/10 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
- Thurs., 10/12 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);
 Address and Message to Congress (1861 & 1862);
 Gettysburg Address (1863);
 Second Inaugural Address (1865) in *APT*, pp. 660-685
 Frederick Douglass, "Oration in Memory of Abraham Lincoln" (1876) [on-line]

Tues., 10/17 **MIDTERM EXAMINATION**

[FALL BREAK]

III. RETHINKING AMERICAN REPUBLICANISM AND DEMOCRACY

- Tues., 10/24 Capitalism versus Socialism
 William Graham Sumner, "What the Social Classes Owe to Each Other" (1884);
 Sumner, "The Absurd Effort to Make the World Over" (1894);
 Andrew Carnegie, "The Gospel of Wealth" (1889);
 Russell H. Conwell, "Acres of Diamonds" (1891);
 Henry George, "Progress and Poverty" (1879);
 Henry Demarest Lloyd, "Wealth Against Commonwealth" (1894);
 Lester Ward, "Sociocracy" (1893) and "Plutocracy and Paternalism" (1895);
 William Jennings Bryan, The "Cross of Gold" Speech (1896) in *APT*,
 pp. 703-724, 730-747, 764-785, 809-815
- Thurs., 10/26 Women's Equality: Liberal and Radical
 Emma Goldman, "Anarchism: What It Really Stands For" (1907);
 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.
 818-828, 854-82

- Tues., 10/31 Race and Compromise
B. T. Washington, *Up from Slavery* (1901), ch. 1-5, 7, 9-10, 12-15
- Thurs., 11/2 Race as Principle
W.E.B. DuBois, *On the Souls of Black Folk* (1903), ch. 1-3, 6, 9-10
- Tues., 11/7 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
- Thurs., 11/9 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);
John Dewey, "The Influence of Darwin on Philosophy" (1910);
Woodrow Wilson, "The New Freedom" (1913), in *APT*, pp. 988-1035, 1102-1113
- Tues., 11/14 New Deal: Politicians and Intellectuals
Herbert Hoover, "American Individualism" (1922);
Hoover, "Rugged Individualism" (1928);
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);
R. G. Tugwell, "The Principle of Planning and the Institution of Laissez Faire" (1932);
Walter Lippmann, "Planning in an Economy of Abundance" (1937) in *APT*, pp. 1133-41, 1164-1201, 1206-1210

IV. LIBERALISM AND CONSERVATISM

Thurs., 11/16 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);
 Louis Hartz, "The Concept of a Liberal Society" (1955) in *APT*, pp. 1211-1256

Tues., 11/21 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);
 National Organization for Women, "Bill of Rights" (1967) in *APT*, pp. 1264-72, 1290-1301, 1305-51

[THANKSGIVING BREAK]

Tues., 11/28 Modern Conservatism

Irving Kristol, "Capitalism, Socialism, and Nihilism" (1973);
 Milton Friedman and Rose D. Friedman, "Free to Choose" (1980), in
APT, pp. 1381-1391, 1411-1426
Reagan in His Own Hand (radio addresses), pp. 3-15, 48-63, 254-272,
 291-297, 351-360, 375-385, 390-393

Thurs., 11/30 Modern Liberalism

Kate Millett, "Sexual Politics" (1970);
 John Rawls, "A Theory of Justice" (1971), in *APT*, pp. 1362-1381
Speeches of Barack Obama, Democratic Convention (7/24/04), National
 Constitution Center (3/18/08), First Inaugural Address (1/20/09),
 Cairo University (6/4/09), Nobel Peace Prize Lecture (12/10/09),
 Osawatomie (12/6/11), Charleston Eulogy (6/26/15), Farewell
 Address (1/10/17), pp. 5-13, 51-69, 96-105, 120-141, 150-165, 172-
 193, 267-277, 323-340

Mon., 12/4 **FINAL EXAMINATION (3:00-5:00 pm)**