

“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 2023

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

Office Hours: Mondays, 2:00-3:00 pm; Wednesdays, 4:30-5:30 pm; Fridays, 3:00-4:00 pm; and by appointment

Course Assistant: William Palomares, Stubbs 330 (email: wpalom1@lsu.edu); office hours: Wednesdays and Fridays, 11:00 am - noon

Course requirements:

Class attendance/participation/questions [5%]

Daily quizzes on the reading [20%]

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 two school days ahead)

Paper (1500 words) 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, Monday, October 16, in class [15%]

Final examination, Thursday, December 7, 7:30-9:30 am [30%]

NOTE: The use of generative artificial intelligence for the composition of any paper will be considered plagiarism and is strictly forbidden. Think for yourself, and write on your own.

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 paper of 1500 words on a topic developed in consultation with the instructor, due December 1, worth the equivalent of the quizzes, with percentages adjusted.

Graduate Students: In addition to the reading below, please read the essays on ten authors we study in Bryan-Paul Frost and Jeffrey Sikkenga, editors, *History of American Political Thought* (Lexington Books, 2d ed. 2019)—or read Alexis de Tocqueville, *Democracy in America* (tr. Mansfield & Winthrop)—and write a 3000-word paper on a topic chosen in consultation with the instructor. You must also take the quizzes and exams, but you need not write the short essay or proclaim a speech [the paper will count for 30% of your grade].

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:

Required:

Hamilton, Madison, Jay, *The Federalist* ed. Carey & McClellan (Liberty Fund) [ISBN 9780865972896]
 Davis & Wilson, eds., *The Lincoln-Douglas Debates* (Illinois) [ISBN 9780252079924]
 Washington, DuBois, Johnson, *Three Negro Classics*, ed. Franklin (Avon) [ISBN 9780380015818]
 Kramnick & Lowi, eds., *American Political Thought: A Norton Anthology*, 2d ed. (Norton) [ISBN 9780393655902]

Recommended:

Dionne & Reid, eds, *We Are the Change We Seek: The Speeches of Barack Obama* (Bloomsbury) [9781635570915]

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

SYLLABUS:

Mon., 8/21 Introduction

I. THE FOUNDING

Wed., 8/23 Christian Commonwealth

Mayflower Compact (1620);
 John Winthrop, "Model of Christian Charity" (1630);
 Winthrop, "Little Speech on Liberty" (1639);
 Cotton Mather, "A Christian at His Calling" (1701), in *American Political Thought* [APT], pp. 11-19, 41-42, 62
 Nathaniel Ward, "The Simple Cobbler of Aggawam" (1646) [online]
 Michael Drayton, "To the Virginian Voyage" [online]
 Hampden History Museum, Principal Primary Sources (on slavery) [online]

Fri., 8/25 Religious Toleration

Roger Williams, "The Bloody Tenant 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. 19-49, 63-65

Mon., 8/28 The Crisis of the British Empire

Samuel Adams, "The Rights of the Colonists" (1772);
 Jonathan Boucher, "On Civil Liberty, Passive Obedience, and Non-Resistance" (1774), in *APT*, pp. 77-87
 Thomas Jefferson, "Summary View of the Rights of British America" (1774) [online]

Wed., 8/30 The Making of the Revolution

John Adams, "Thoughts on Government" (1776);
 Thomas Paine, "Common Sense" (1776);
 Declaration of Independence (1776);
 Paine, "The American Crisis I" (1777);
 Articles of Confederation (1777), in *APT*, pp. 88-126

Fri., 9/1 American Independence and the United States

Alexander Hamilton, Letter to James Duane (1780);
 The Constitution of the United States;
 Adams, "Defense of the Constitutions of the United States" (1787), in *APT*, pp. 127-155

[LABOR DAY BREAK]

- Wed., 9/6 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. 210-240
- Fri., 9/8 The Case for the Constitution: Reflection, Choice, and Science
 Hamilton, Madison, Jay, *The Federalist* (1787-88), ## 1, 2, 6, 9, 10, 14
- Mon., 9/11 The Case for the Constitution: A New Federalism
 The Federalist, ##15, 23, 27, 31, 33, 35, 37-39, 45,
- Wed., 9/13 The Case for the Constitution: Separation of Power & Representation
 The Federalist, ##47-51, 54-57
- Fri., 9/15 The Case for the Constitution: Republican Checks
 The Federalist, ##62-63, 70, 78, 84-85;
 The Bill of Rights, in *APT*, pp. 240-242

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

- Mon., 9/18 Federalist Governance
 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. 255-282
- Wed., 9/20 Jeffersonian Dissent
 Jefferson, Bill for Establishing Religious Liberty (1777);
 Opinion on the Constitutionality of a National Bank (1791);
 Madison & Jefferson, Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions (1798), in
 APT, pp. 295-297, 307-310, 334-340
 Madison, Report to the Virginia General Assembly (1800) [online]
- Fri., 9/22 Jeffersonian Democracy
 Jefferson, *Notes on the State of Virginia* (1785);
 First Inaugural Address (1801);
 Letter to the Danbury Baptists (1802);
 Second Inaugural Address (1805);
 Letters to various;
 J.Q. Adams, First Annual Message to Congress, in *APT*, pp. 298-306,
 310-333, 341-344, 463-471
 Report of the Commissioners for the Univ. of Virginia (1818) [online]
- Mon., 9/25 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, Bank Veto Message (1832);
 Jackson, Farewell Address (1837);
 George Bancroft, “The Office of the People in Art, Government, and Religion” (1835);
 Orestes Brownson, “The Laboring Classes” (1840), in *APT*, pp. 344-378, 382-395
 Henry Clay, Speech on Jackson’s Veto of the United States Bank Bill (1832) [online]

- Wed., 9/27 American Individualism
 Ralph Waldo Emerson, “Self-Reliance” (1840);
 Emerson, “Politics” (1849);
 Henry David Thoreau, “Resistance to Civil Government” (1848);
 Thoreau, “Life without Principle” (1863), in *APT*, pp. 396-422
- Fri., 9/29 Women’s Equality
 Abigail Adams, Letter to John Adams (1776);
 Judith Sargent Stevens Murray, “On the Equality of the Sexes (1790);
 Angelina Grimké, Letter to Catharine E. Beecher (1837);
 Catharine 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. 431-452
- Mon., 10/2 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);
 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. 471-510
- Wed., 10/4 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);

[over]

Fitzhugh, “Cannibals All!” (1857);
 James Henry Hammond, “‘Mud Sill’ Speech” (1858);
 in *APT*, pp. 513-561

[FALL BREAK]

- Mon., 10/9 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. 561-573
 Lincoln, Speech at Springfield, 6/16/58 (“House Divided”) [online];
 Debate at Ottawa, 8/21/58, in *Lincoln-Douglas Debates*, pp. 1-41
- Wed., 10/11 Principle and Compromise
 Debate at Freeport, 8/27/58 (excerpt), Debate at Charleston, 9/18/58
 (excerpt), in *Lincoln-Douglas Debates*, pp. 46-76, 131-132
 Lincoln, Address Before the Wisconsin State Agricultural Society (1859);
 Cooper Union Address (1860);
 New Haven Address (1860), in *APT*, pp. 573-579
- Fri., 10/13 War and Peace
 First Inaugural Address (1861);
 Address and Message to Congress (1861 & 1862);
 Gettysburg Address (1863);
 Second Inaugural Address (1865) in *APT*, pp. 579-596
 Frederick Douglass, “Oration in Memory of Abraham Lincoln” (1876) [online]

Mon., 10/16 **MIDTERM EXAMINATION**

III. RETHINKING AMERICAN REPUBLICANISM AND DEMOCRACY

- Wed., 10/18 Capitalism ...
 Walt Whitman, “Democratic Vistas” (1871);
 William Graham Sumner, “What the Social Classes Owe to Each Other” (1884);
 Sumner, “The Challenge of Facts” (1895);
 Andrew Carnegie, “The Gospel of Wealth” (1889), in *APT*, pp. 422-430,
 613-639
 Russell H. Conwell, “Acres of Diamonds” (1891) [online]
- Fri., 10/20 ... versus Socialism
 Henry George, “Progress and Poverty” (1879);
 Henry Demarest Lloyd, “Wealth Against Commonwealth” (1894);
 Lester Ward, “Sociocracy” (1893) and “Plutocracy and Paternalism” (1895);
 National People’s Party Platform (1892);
 William Jennings Bryan, The “Cross of Gold” Speech (1896) in *APT*,
 pp. 639-646, 663-683, 700-705, 708-714

- Mon., 10/23 Race and Redemption
B. T. Washington, *Up from Slavery* (1901), ch. 1-5, 7, 9-10
- Wed., 10/25 Race and Compromise
Up from Slavery (1901), ch. 12-15
W.E.B. DuBois, *On the Souls of Black Folk* (1903), ch. 1-3
- Fri., 10/27 Race as Principle
On the Souls of Black Folk (1903), ch. 6, 9-10
- Mon., 10/30 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.
724-734, 749-776
- Wed., 11/1 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" (1879), in *APT*, pp.
781-814, 833-846
- Fri., 11/3 Progressivism
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);
Theodore Roosevelt, "The New Nationalism" (1910);
Woodrow Wilson, "The New Freedom" (1913), in *APT*, pp. 890-919,
971-979, 984-995

- Mon., 11/6 New Deal: Politicians
 Calvin Coolidge, Fourth of July Address (1926) [online];
 Herbert Hoover, “Rugged Individualism” (1928);
 Hoover, “The Fifth Freedom” (1941);
 Franklin Delano Roosevelt, Speech at Oglethorpe University (1932);
 FDR, Commonwealth Club Speech (1932);
 FDR, “The Four Freedoms” (1941);
 FDR, “A Second Bill of Rights” (1944), in *APT*, pp. 1015-1022, 1040-1059
- Wed., 11/8 New Deal: Intellectuals
 William James, “Pragmatism: A New Name for Old Ways of Thinking”
 (1907);
 John Dewey, “The Influence of Darwin on Philosophy” (1910);
 Dewey, “The Public and its Problems” (1927),
 Charles A. Beard, “The Myth of Rugged American Individualism” (1931);
 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. 919-947, 1022-1031, 1059-1073
- IV. LIBERALISM AND CONSERVATISM**
- Fri., 11/10 Americanism and 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);
 William F. Buckley, Jr., “God and Man at Yale” (1951);
 Whittaker Chambers, “Witness” (1952)
 Learned Hand, “A Plea for the Freedom of Dissent” (1955);
 Louis Hartz, “The Concept of a Liberal Society” (1955), in *APT*, pp. 1074-1101
- Mon., 11/13 The Cold War
 Walter Lippmann, “The Public Philosophy” (1955) [online]
 Barry Goldwater, “The Conscience of a Conservative” (1960);
 Dwight D. Eisenhower, “Farewell Address” (1961), in *APT*, pp. 1101-1114
 Leo Strauss, “Liberal Education and Responsibility” (1962) [online]
- Wed., 11/15 The Sixties: The Liberal Moment (and an occasional dissent)
 Langston Hughes, “Let America Be America Again” (1938);
 C. Wright Mills, “Letter to the New Left” (1960);
 Young Americans for Freedom, The Sharon Statement (1960);
 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);
 SNCC, Statement of Purpose, in *APT*, pp. 1115-1146
 King, “I Have a Dream” Speech (1963) [online]

- Fri., 11/17 The Sixties: The Radical Moment
 Malcolm X, “The Ballot or the Bullet” (1964);
 Stokely Carmichael, “Toward Black Liberation” (1966);
 Betty Friedan, “The Feminine Mystique” (1963);
 National Organization for Women, “Bill of Rights” (1967);
 Redstocking Manifesto (1969);
 Jerry Rubin, A Yippie Manifesto (1969), in *APT*, pp. 1147-1176
- Mon., 11/20 Modern Liberalism and Conservatism
 John Rawls, “A Theory of Justice” (1971);
 Robert Nozick, “Anarchy, State, and Utopia” (1974);
 Milton Friedman and Rose D. Friedman, “Free to Choose” (1980);
 bell hooks, “Feminist Theory from Margin to Center” (1984), in *APT*,
 pp. 1181-1206, 1219-1234, 1264-1271
- Wed., 11/22 Modern Conservatism: Reagan
 Ronald Reagan, First Inaugural Address (1/20/81), Address to Parliament
 (6/8/82), Speech at Normandy (6/6/84), Address after Meeting in
 Iceland with Gorbachev (10/13/86), Speech in Berlin (6/12/87),
 Farewell Address to Republican Convention (8/15/88) [online]
- Mon., 11/27 Modern Liberalism: Obama
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 [or online]
- Wed., 11/29 New Voices on the Left
 Wendy Brown, “Neoliberalism, Neoconservatism, and De-Democratization”
 (2006);
 Ta-Nehisi Coates, “The Case for Reparations” (2014);
 Bill McKibben, “A World at War” (2016), in *APT*, pp. 1366-1386, 1424-
 1458, 1495-1507
- Fri., 12/1 New Voices on the Right
 Publius Decius Mus, “The Flight 93 Election” (2016);
 Donald Trump, Inaugural Address (2017);
 Gladden Pappin, “The Anxieties of Conservatism” (2017), in *APT*, pp.
 1485-1495, 1514-1535
- Thurs., 12/7 **FINAL EXAMINATION (7:30 am – 9:30 am)**