“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:
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 Bloudy Tenant of Persecution” (1644);
            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,

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
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);

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);
              (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);
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);  
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

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);  

Fri., 12/1  New Voices on the Right  
Publius Decius Mus, “The Flight 93 Election” (2016);  
Donald Trump, Inaugural Address (2017);  

Thurs., 12/7  FINAL EXAMINATION (7:30 am – 9:30 am)