

“It is vain to say, that enlightened statesmen will be able to adjust these clashing interests, and render them all subservient to the public good. Enlightened statesmen will not always be at the helm: Nor, in many cases, can such an adjustment be made at all, without taking into view indirect and remote considerations, which will rarely prevail over the immediate interests which one party may find in disregarding the rights of another, or the good of the whole.”
—*The Federalist*, No. 10

“Viewed from the genuine abolition ground, Mr. Lincoln seemed tardy, cold, dull, and indifferent; but measuring him by the sentiment of his country, a sentiment he was bound as a statesman to consult, he was swift, zealous, radical, and determined.”

—Frederick Douglass, “Oration in Memory of Lincoln”

**POL 332: Topics in American Statesmanship:
Constitution and Democracy
Fall 2013 [“newlier” revised]**

Description: Statesmanship is the exercise of political virtue in high office. But, wrote James Madison anticipating life under the Constitution, “Enlightened statesmen will not always be at the helm.” How does our constitutionalism promote, structure, or limit opportunities for statesmanship? How does statesmanship emerge in the actions of citizens in political life, or in the offices they hold? Does modern democracy make statesmanship obsolete?

Instructor: James Stoner (Garwood Visiting Professor & Fellow 2013-14)
440 Robertson Hall [tel: (609) 258-2015]
e-mail: jstoner@princeton.edu

Office Hours: Tuesdays, 3:30-4:30
Wednesdays, 3:00-4:30, and by appointment

Course requirements:

- Attendance at every class and participation in class discussion [15%]
TTh 2:30-3:20 (Friend Center 109); **Precept** Th 7:30-8:20 (Frist 206)
- Five 500-word essays on the reading, due alternate weeks [35%]
Students will write biweekly essays about the readings on a topic of their choice, due at 4:00 pm on Fridays, September 27, October 11 and 25 [or Monday, November 4], November 15 and 29 [or Monday, December 3], and December 13 (skipping the fortnight that includes or precedes their class presentation)
- Class presentation on final paper (during November & December) [10%]
Having begun research for their term paper, students will present a sketch of the argument they are planning in precept and will field questions from their classmates; the aim is to help improve their papers through feedback, so the grade on the presentation will be replaced by the term paper grade if the latter is higher.
- 3500-word research paper on an American statesman in political context, due Tuesday, January 14, 2014 [40%]
Students will choose a statesman from American political history—someone who held state or federal office and who is no longer living—and write a paper that examines his/her speeches, writings, and deeds in the context of his/her office(s) and of the politics of the time. Is there a

consistent aim or focus to his/her life's work? What was his/her principal achievement? Topics are to be chosen in consultation with the instructor by Friday, November 8.

Books available for purchase:

- John Barry, *Roger Williams and the Creation of the American Soul* (Penguin) [9780143122883]
- James Madison, *Notes of Debates in the Federal Convention* (Ohio) [9780821407653]
- Pauline Maier, *Ratification: The People Debate the Constitution, 1787-1788* (Simon & Schuster) [9780684868554]
- Harry Jaffa, *Crisis of the House Divided* (Chicago) [9780226391182]
- Stephen Skowronek, *The Politics Presidents Make: Leadership from John Adams to Bill Clinton* (Harvard) [9780674689374]
- Eliot Cohen, *Supreme Command: Soldiers, Statesmen, and Leadership in Wartime* (Anchor) [9781400034048]
- Jeffrey Tulis, *The Rhetorical Presidency* (Princeton) [9780691022956]
- Randall Strahan, *Leading Representatives: The Agency of Leaders in the Politics of the U.S. House* (Johns Hopkins) [9780801886911]
- Alan Rosenthal, *The Best Job in Politics: Exploring How Governors Succeed as Policy Leaders* (CQ Press) [978-1452239996]

Website and Reserve:

A course website, including material not included in the books available for purchase, is available for registered students on Blackboard. Books may be found on reserve in Firestone Library.

SYLLABUS:

Thurs., 9/12 Introduction
 James Madison, *The Federalist*, no. 10
 Frederick Douglass, "Oration in Memory of Abraham Lincoln"

Week One: The Political Theory of Statesmanship, Classical and Modern

Tues., 9/17 Aristotle, *Politics*, Book I, ch. 1-2; Book III (entire)
 Aristotle, *Ethics*, Book IV, ch. 3-4; Book VI, ch. 5, 8-11
 Aquinas, *On Kingship*, Book II, ch. 1-4
 Plutarch, "Life of Pericles" [recommended]

Thurs., 9/19 Machiavelli, *The Prince*, ch. 15-24
 Locke, *Two Treatises of Government*, II.13-14
 Rousseau, *On the Social Contract*, Book II, ch. 1-7

Precept [not yet organized]

I. STATESMANSHIP IN POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT

Week Two: The First Founding

- Tues., 9/24 John Barry, *Roger Williams and the Creation of the American Soul*, prologue, ch. 8, 10, 14, 17
- Thurs., 9/26 *Roger Williams and the Creation of the American Soul*, ch. 18-19, 27, 29, 31, 34, afterword
- Precept John Winthrop, "A Model of Christian Charity"
Winthrop, "Little Speech on Liberty"
John Cotton, "A Discourse about Civil Government"
Roger Williams, "Mr. Cottons Letter ... Examined and Answered"
Williams, "The Bloody Tenent, of Persecution for Cause of Conscience"
in Dreisbach & Hall, eds., *The Sacred Rights of Conscience*, pp. 123-155

Weeks Three & Four: The Constitutional Founding

- Tues., 10/1 Pauline Maier, *Ratification: The People Debate the Constitution, 1787-1788*, prologue (recommended)
James Madison, *Notes of Debates in the Federal Convention*, preface, May 14-June 14
- Thurs., 10/3 *Notes of Debates*, June 15-July 16
- Precept *Notes of Debates*, July 17-21, August 7-14, 21-22, September 15-17
- Tues., 10/8 Pauline Maier, *Ratification: The People Debate the Constitution, 1787-1788*, ch. 3, & one of the following: ch. 4, 5, 6, or 7
- Thurs., 10/10 *Ratification*, epilogue, & one of the following: ch. 9, 10, 12, or 13
- Precept Jonathan Elliot, *Debates on the Adoption of the Federal Constitution*
Massachusetts (excerpt), January 19-23, 1788 [vol. II, pp. 54-94]
Virginia (excerpt), June 10, 1788 [vol. III, pp. 207-236]

Week Five: The Statesman as Political Thinker

- Tues., 10/15 Harry Jaffa, *Crisis of the House Divided*, ch. 2, 3, 7
- Thurs., 10/17 *Crisis of the House Divided*, ch. 9, 14
- Precept Lincoln, "The Perpetuation of Our Political Institutions: Address before the Young Men's Lyceum of Springfield, Illinois" (1/27/38)
Lincoln-Douglas Debate at Ottawa, Illinois (8/21/58)

Week Six: The Statesman as Party Leader

Tues., 10/22 Stephen Skowronek, *The Politics Presidents Make*, ch. 1-4.1

Thurs., 10/24 *The Politics Presidents Make*, ch. 8, & one of the following: ch. 5, 6, or 7

Precept Pericles, Speeches, from Thucydides, *History of the Peloponnesian War*
 Lincoln, First Inaugural Address (3/4/61); Message to Congress
 (7/4/61); Message to Congress (12/1/62); Gettysburg Address
 (11/19/63); Second Inaugural Address (3/4/65)

[FALL BREAK]

II. STATESMANSHIP IN POLITICAL OFFICE

Weeks Seven & Eight: The Two Presidencies

Tues., 11/5 Eliot Cohen, *Supreme Command*, ch. 1-2

Thurs., 11/7 *Supreme Command*, ch. 6-7

Precept workshop on research papers

Tues., 11/12 Jeff Tulis, *The Rhetorical Presidency*, ch. 1-4

Thurs., 11/14 *The Rhetorical Presidency*, ch. 5-7

Guest lecture Jean Yarbrough, Bowdoin College, "Theodore Roosevelt and the
 Progressive Challenge to the Constitution," 4:30, Lewis Library 138

Week Nine: Congressional Leadership

Tues., 11/19 Randall Strahan, *Leading Representatives: The Agency of Leaders in
 the Politics of the U.S. House*, ch. 1-3

Thurs., 11/21 *Leading Representatives*, ch. 5-6

Precept class presentations

Weeks Ten & Eleven: Statesmanship by Appointment

Tues., 11/26 Henry Kissinger, *Diplomacy*, ch. 2, 27-29

[THANKSGIVING BREAK]

Tues., 12/3 Robert Faulkner, "John Marshall," in Frisch & Stevens, eds., *American Political Thought: The Philosophical Dimensions of American Statesmanship*
 Faulkner, "Justice Holmes and Chief Justice Marshall," in *The Jurisprudence of John Marshall*, Appendix I

Thurs., 12/5 Gary J. Jacobsohn, *Pragmatism, Statesmanship, and the Supreme Court*, ch. 7-8

Precept class presentations

Week Twelve: Statesmanship in the States

Tues., 12/10 Alan Rosenthal, *The Best Job in Politics: Exploring How Governors Succeed as Policy Leaders*, ch. 1-2, 4

Thurs., 12/14 *The Best Job in Politics*, ch. 7-8

Precept class presentations

Tues., 1/14 **FINAL PAPER DUE**