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## PSCI 352.01: American Political Thought

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**University of Montana**  
**Department of Political Science**

**American Political Thought:**  
**Autumn 2013**

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Office Hours: 11-12 pm M, 11-1 pm W; by appointment

M, W, F 10:10-11 am  
Classroom: LA 337

Since to “possess a concept,” the philosopher Alasdair MacIntyre has said, “involves behaving or being able to behave in certain ways in certain circumstances, to alter concepts, whether by modifying existing concepts or by making new concepts available or by destroying old ones, is to alter behavior.” Political Science 352 is a survey of American political thought. As the quotation from MacIntyre suggests, the course is a study of the modification, creation, and destruction of the concepts that shaped, disclosed, and foreclosed domains of political activity. Setting the stage for our consideration of the European debates about politics that Americans inherited, the course begins with the influential political ideas and arguments of classical antiquity. We end with the beginning of World War I and the attempt by intellectuals to “modernize” American government and society. Along the way, by investigating the genealogy of the concepts Americans have used to think about politics, we will see how and why Americans came to form the kind of government and society they did during the Revolution, and then how and why they re-conceptualized government and society in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Ultimately, through a study of this process of conceptual modification, creation, and destruction we will gain an understanding of the debate surrounding America’s emerging political self-definition – and more broadly still, an understanding of the nuances the domain of political activity we today call liberal democratic capitalism presents.

The course is also designed to help you develop the following skills:

- Learn to read primary and secondary sources for content and argument
- Learn to think holistically – i.e. strengthen the capacity to synthesize and interpret large amounts of information, so as to “see” various connections and thus implications of the material under consideration
- Develop the capacity to write effective “argumentative essays” through in class and out of class writing assignments – i.e. strengthen your capacity to put forth reasons for your claims, and through the process of “giving good reasons” figure out what you believe and think
- Strengthen the ability to engage in constructive critical public argument through class participation and discussion

**Readings**

The books listed below may be purchased at the University Bookstore. The first three books are required reading for all students. The fourth book is required reading for graduate students only. The fifth book, Anthony Weston’s *A Rulebook for Arguments*, is highly recommended as a reference for how to write college level argumentative essays.

1. Isaac Kramnick and Theodore J. Lowi, eds. *American Political Thought* (Norton: 2009)

2. John Locke, *Two Treatises on Government and a Letter Concerning Toleration*, ed. Ian Shapiro (Yale: 2003).
3. Alexis de Tocqueville, *Democracy in America*, ed., J. P. Mayer (HarperPerennial: 1988)
4. Terence Ball and Russell Hanson eds., *Political Innovation and Conceptual Change* (Cambridge: 1995)
5. Anthony Weston, *A Rule Book for Arguments* (Hackett: 2008)

### **Procedures and Requirements**

#### Grading and Assignments:

This course has seven requirements, which include the following:

1. Faithful attendance to class, exercises, and active participation during the discussions (20% of the final grade; see “Participation” below)
2. A rough draft of your first essay which we will workshop (**September 16:** 5%; see “workshop” below).
3. First Essay: 5-6 page paper (**September 20:** 15%; see “Essays” below)
4. Midterm: 50 minute in class examination (**October 18:** 15%; see “In Class Writing Assignments” below)
5. A rough draft of your second essay which we will workshop (**November 4:** 5%; see “workshop” below).
6. Second Essay: 5-6 page paper (**November 8:** 15%; see “Essays” below)
7. Final Exam: 2 hour in class examination (**December 13:** 25%; see “In Class Writing Assignments” below)

*In order to pass the class, you must complete all of the assignments.*

#### Participation:

This will be a discussion class. *Attendance and participation are thus required.*

Come to class with the reading assignments finished (completely read, and carefully thought about) and with questions to ask and ideas and thoughts to share. That is to say, in class it is your job to put your ideas forward for your classmates to endorse, challenge, and transform.

When you are reading the material, “actively” engage with it. That means interrogating the text by asking why the author might say such a thing - what the reasons are for the author asserting the claim he or she does – and what his or her presuppositions are. As you read, and as you ask questions of the text, try writing in the margins questions, thoughts or ideas. Once you are done actively reading the material, then jot down the questions, thoughts, and ideas you have written in the margin of the text. This will give you something to talk about, and also help prepare you for the course’s exams and writing assignments.

Your regular, thoughtful participation will be critical to determining the success of the course and the grade you receive in it.

Starting Discussion:

As part of your participation grade 4 times during the term you will be asked to respond to one of the prep questions for that day's assignment. Your response to these prep questions will be the starting point for our discussion. On the day you have signed up, I will ask you to choose ONE of our questions and, in a go-around at the start of class, you will sketch out a brief answer (5 minutes or so – you can read it from a written-out statement, or an outline, or extemporize). After this, go around we will switch to a discussion beginning with disagreements people might have with each other, and then proceeding to wherever the discussion might take us.

The excitement of college often has to do with the chance you have to learn from each other, to try out your own analyses and comparisons of authors, and to hear your own voices in intellectual conversation with each other. University of Montana students are wonderfully bright and interesting – this course is an opportunity for you all to be colleagues in an intellectual dialogue, to help modify, create, and deconstruct concepts so as to foreclose new forms of intellectual and political life.

Newspaper Research and Discussion:

During the semester you will be asked to locate a current *New York Times* or *Wall Street Journal* newspaper story (articles may go back 2 years) touching on an aspect of a theoretical topic we are considering that week. (Note: I will also entertain legitimate news articles from other sources, but you are responsible for making sure the article is a substantive one from a significant new source. If that condition is not met, your grade on the assignment will be substantially impacted. To avoid such a situation, stick with finding an article via the NYT or the WSJ.) Once you have located the article, you will come to class ready to briefly discuss (5 minutes) the article and how it relates to the topic we are addressing that week.

*The evening before the day of class you are to present, you are required to email a copy of the article to the class, so that everyone may read it before we meet.*

As mentioned at the top of the syllabus, one aim of this course is to help you develop the ability to engage in constructive critical public argument. This exercise, along with the course's requirement that participants kick-off our discussion, is designed to help strengthen that capacity.

Classroom Decorum:

Because this is a discussion class where we will be taking seriously theoretical and political arguments, we will observe several rules during this course:

- If you do not have your class materials, you will be asked to leave the class. Without your class materials, there is simply no way to thoughtfully discuss the text we are considering.
- Electronic devices – cell phones and computers – are not permitted in the course. The success of this course depends on the development of a constructive dialogue among its participants. There is simply no way that can happen if people are focused on their computer screens, rather than the human beings they are talking with.

- Late arrivals to class are not permitted; if you are going to be late, then do not attend class that day. Late arrivals to class frustrate our ability as a group to talk seriously about difficult theoretical and political issues.

In Class Writing Assignments:

The course requires two in class written examinations.

- The first examination will take place on October 18. It will last 50 minutes and cover the material from the course thus far. The test will be a bluebook exam, which requires you to write an essay on some given topic or theme from the course. The test will be open-book, and is designed to help you learn to master the bluebook test format. (For strategies on how to succeed when it comes to in class examinations, please see on my write up on Moodle) The test is worth 15% of your grade.
- The second examination also will be open-book, and will follow a similar format. It will take place on December 13 from 8 to 10 am. It is worth 25% of your grade.

*One of the aims of this course is to help you learn to write effective “argumentative essays.” The purpose of both these assignments is to help develop that skill.*

Essays:

The course requires the completion of two essays.

- Your first paper is due September 20 and is to be between 5 to 6 pages long. That essay should be “an argumentative essay.”

You may choose between one of two paper topics:

1. What is Hobbes’s critique of republicanism? Is he right or wrong? Why or why not?
2. What is the nature of freedom for republicans? Are they right or wrong? Why or why not? If you wish, also discuss the consequences of freedom for republicans.

As an argumentative essay, your essay should be an explication of the terms necessary to answer one of the above questions, along with an argument in support of the paper’s claim. The paper is thus not to be a book report, but an opportunity for you to put forth some novel point of view about the material and your reasons for thinking you are right about the material. After all, everyone in the class has supposedly read the material, so just repeating back that material does not move the conversation forward much... (For strategies on how to think and write an “argumentative essay,” see my write-up on Moodle entitled, “How to Write an Introductory Paragraph.”). Two books that are particularly helpful for learning how to write college level argumentative essays are: Anthony Weston, *A Rule Book for Arguments* and William Strunk Jr. and E.B. White, *The Elements of Style*. Consulting these books should give you a sense of what constitutes strong college level writing.

- Like your first paper, your second paper is to be “an argumentative essay.” It also should be between 5 to 6 double spaced pages and should conform to standard academic conventions.

For your second short paper, develop an argumentative essay out of some theme found in one of the following topics or authors:

1. Alexis de Tocqueville on Democracy
2. Emerson, Whitman, or Thoreau on Individualism and Self-Reliance
3. Religion in American Political Thought, as explicated by the authors we have considered
4. Capitalism in American Political Thought, as explicated by the authors we have considered
5. Reform, Radicalism, or Conservatism in American Political Thought, as explicated by the authors we have considered

Late paper policy:

You will note from the syllabus that we do not have class scheduled on the weeks essays are due. Further, you will note that we will workshop (see “Workshop” below) rough drafts of essays on the Monday prior to the due date of the paper. For these reasons, late papers will be marked down a grade every day they are late.

Fulfilling the Writing 400 Requirements:

Students taking this course to fulfill writing the 400 requirements will be required to revise and expand one of their essays into 10-12 pages. Substantive and grammatical revisions will be expected. Students wishing to complete this requirement must include their original essay with the revised essay.

Graduate Students:

Rather than taking the Final In Class Exam, graduate students will be required to complete a 12 to 15 page research paper that incorporates the secondary literature on a particular thinker and/or theoretical issue in consultation with the professor. This paper is to be of graduate quality.

In addition, on weeks where chapters from Terence Ball and Russell Hanson eds., *Political Innovation and Conceptual Change* are listed as recommended readings, graduate students are required to write a 1 page précis regarding the relevant chapter. If more than one chapter is cited, then students may select the chapter they wish to write on.

Workshop:

On the Monday of the week essays are due, we will “workshop” rough drafts of your essay with other members of the course. During these classes, you will share your work with other students to get feedback on your thesis, argument, and writing.

Please bring two copies of your essay with you for these class sessions, one to work with during class and one for my records. *To complete this assignment sufficiently you must have at least 3 pages of your paper completed, including a working thesis within the paper.* As noted above, during these classes you will share your work; unless you have at least 3 pages of work to share, it is not possible to complete this assignment satisfactorily.

*One of the aims of this course is to help you learn to engage in constructive critical public argument and to help you improve your writing. These assignments are designed to help you practice both skills - and hopefully secure you a strong grade in the course!*

Sources for Papers:

Essays should be written using the sources from the course. *That means the Internet, unless used to access databases of scholarly articles, or legitimate academic sources, is off-limits as a source of essays.*

Needless to say, there is a great deal of information and material on the Internet that touches on American political thought. Unfortunately, much of that information is of a poor quality. Furthermore, it is not always easy to distinguish high from low quality sources of information.

So, if you decide you need to do additional research for your paper, use library sources. In particular, work with a reference librarian to make sure you are accessing high quality sources of information.

Writing Help:

The Writing Center is located in LA 144. To make an appointment with a writing advisor, call 243-2266, email [growl@mso.umt.edu](mailto:growl@mso.umt.edu), or stop by LA 144.

Disability Services:

If you are a student with a disability who will require reasonable program modifications in this course, please meet with Disability Services for Students in Lommasson 154 for assistance in developing a plan to address program modifications. If you are already working with Disability Services arrange to meet with me during my office hours to discuss reasonable modifications that may be necessary. For more information, visit the Disability Services website at <http://www.umt.edu/disability>.

Academic Dishonesty:

Students in this course are expected to follow the University's standards of academic integrity and honesty. If you are caught cheating or plagiarizing, you may receive a failing grade for the assignment and/or class and may be reported to the University. Students are responsible for understanding what constitutes plagiarism. The Code is available for review online at <http://www.umt.edu/SA/VPSA/index.cfm/page/1321>

**Course Topics and Readings:**

*Reading assignments are to be completed before the class meeting for which they are listed. Bring to class the assigned books, print-outs of online assignments, your reading notes, and this syllabus.*

**Week 1: The Languages of American Political Thought**

**1. Mon., Aug. 26: Introduction**

*\*Please read through the course syllabus and come prepared to discuss it*

**Prep:** What are the different words we associate with American politics? What do we mean by those words? Why might we want to have a “theory” of American political thought? What do we mean by a “language of politics?”

**Recommended:**

\*Quentin Skinner, “Language and Political Change,” in *Political Innovation and Conceptual Change*

**2. Wed., Aug. 28: Exercise: Constituting American Political Thought**

We will be working with the *Documentary History of the Ratification of the Constitution*

**3. Fri., Aug. 30: Exercise: Constituting American Political Thought**

We will be working with the *Documentary History of the Ratification of the Constitution*

**Week 2: The Classical World**

**1. Mon., Sept. 2: No Class Labor Day**

**2. Wed., Sept. 4: Aristotle**

\*Aristotle, *Politics and the Constitution of Athens*, ed. Stephen Everson (Cambridge: 1996), pp. 11-30, 61-69, 153-66 (optional), 166-71 [M]

**Prep:** What is the purpose of political society for Aristotle? Would Aristotle think religious toleration and diversity was possible in a political society? What is the fundamental distinction Aristotle draws between persons? Does he think all people are capable of governing themselves? Why or why not? How does Aristotle view the nature of labor and work? What is his view of money? Does he view it positively or negatively? What are his reasons for doing so?

**3. Fri., Sept. 6: Cato**

\**Cato the Younger* [M]

\*Lewis Theobald, *The Life and Character of M. Cato* (1713) [M]

**Prep:** Who is Cato? What sort of person is he? Recall Bk. 7 of Aristotle’s *Politics*; how might have Aristotle categorized Cato? Does he embody the political and moral virtues necessary for citizens in a self-governing society? If so, what might these be? Finally, why might George Washington had his troop perform Joseph Addison’s 18<sup>th</sup> century play, “Cato: A Tragedy” at Valley Forge?

**Newspaper Research and Discussion:** *Political Morality and/or Leadership.*

**Week 3: Political Stability and the Ravages of Time**

**1. Mon., Sept. 9: Machiavelli’s *Discourses on Livy***

\*Niccolò Machiavelli, *Discourses on Livy*, eds. Harvey C. Mansfield & Nathan Tarcov (Chicago: 1998), pp. 5-6, 10-14, 16-17, 20-23, 34-39, 269-272, 281-284, 308-310 (Selections: Preface, Sec. 2, 4, 6, 11, 12, 24, 25, 31, 49) [M]

**Prep:** What is the aim of Machiavelli’s *Discourses on Livy*? (See Preface) Political societies can be formed in one of two ways according to Machiavelli. How would you characterize the type of

people that form these societies? (see Sec. 2) What are the different types of political societies Machiavelli distinguishes? What are the problems with these forms of political society? What sort of solutions might there be? (see Sec. 2) What is the role of religion for Machiavelli? Are there similarities with Aristotle?

**Recommended:**

\*Richard Hofstadter, "The Paranoid Style of American Politics," *Harper's Magazine*, Nov. 1964 [M]

\*J. Peter Euben, "Corruption," *Political Innovation and Conceptual Change*

**2. Wed., Sept. 11: Harrington's Utopia**

James Harrington, *The Commonwealth of Oceana*, ed. J.G.A. Pocock (Cambridge: 1992), pp. 8-15, 18-25. [M]

**Prep:** What similarities and differences can you find between Machiavelli and Harrington? Are the problems Harrington sees for political society the same for Machiavelli? If so, what are they and do they see similar solutions? (Harrington uses the image of two girls cutting a cake to illustrate a principle of justice; what is he saying here?) What significance does property have for Harrington? Is Harrington critical of Machiavelli? If so, how? Finally, what is Harrington's critique of Thomas Hobbes?

**Recommended:**

\*J.G.A Pocock, "Civic Humanism and Its Role in Anglo-American Thought," *Politics, Language, & Time* (Chicago: 1989).

**3. Fri., Sept. 13: The Course of Empire: Summing-Up Aristotle, Machiavelli, and Harrington**

\* Please Print out Course of Empire Packet from Moodle

\* Ruminates/think about what Byron's quotation implies about Thomas Cole's painting. Would Machiavelli and Harrington be in sympathy with the sentiments expressed by Cole's painting? Why or why not? What might they see as the crucial variables in the civilizational process? What variables do you see? What is and what is not necessary for the stability and survival of human society overtime? Order, freedom, citizenship, virtue, wealth, power, law, or what and why?

**Newspaper Research and Discussion:** *Empire*

**Week 4: Monarchy vs. Republicanism**

**1. Mon., Sept. 16: Monarchy and the Unified Sovereign**

\*Thomas Hobbes, *Leviathan*, ed. Richard Tuck (Cambridge: 1996), pp. 9-11, 86-90 (Important), 117-29, 129- 38 (Important), 145- 54 (Important), 221-44. [M]

Additional Recommended but Non-Required Selections:

\*Thomas Hobbes, *Leviathan*, pp. 13-37 (These pages contain Hobbes epistemological and metaphysical views) [M]

**Prep:** What is the nature of law and power for Hobbes? What problem is his definition of law and power intended to solve? How does Hobbes view human nature? What is liberty for Hobbes? Can you live in an authoritarian dictatorship and be free, according to Hobbes? Finally,

recall Harrington's criticism of Hobbes. Who here do you think is right? Has Hobbes indeed mistaken power for authority? How might Hobbes respond?

**Recommended:**

- \*Johann Sommerville, "Thomas Hobbes" (A very brief statement of who Hobbes was) [M]
- \*Quentin Skinner, "The State," in *Political Innovation and Conceptual Change*
- \*Richard Tuck, *Hobbes* (Oxford: 2002)
- \*Johann Sommerville, *Thomas Hobbes: Political Ideas in Historical Context* (Macmillan: 1992)

**2. Wed., Sept. 18: Republicanism and Freedom**

- \*Algernon Sidney, *Discourses Concerning Government*, pp. 3-4, 12-14. [M]
- \*John Trenchard and Thomas Gordon, *Cato's Letters*, ed. Ronald Hamowy (Indianapolis: 1995), II, No. 61-68. [M]

**Prep:** What is freedom for Sidney, Trenchard and Gordon? Would Sidney, Trenchard and Gordon think contemporary Americans are free? Why or why not? What do Trenchard and Gordon think are the consequences of freedom? Do you think these republican writers are too optimistic? Would Hobbes think they are too optimistic? Do you think Sidney, Trenchard and Gordon would be religiously tolerant? Do you think, for instance, they would like Catholics and followers of Islam? Why or why not?

**Recommended:**

- \*Blair Worden, "English Republicanism," in *The Cambridge History of Political Thought, 1450-1770*, eds. J.H. Burns and Mark Goldie (Cambridge: 1991) [M]
- Quentin Skinner, "A Third Concept of Liberty," *The London Review of Books*, Vol. 24 No. 7 (April 2002) [M]
- \*Mario Viroli, *Republicanism* (Hill and Wang: 2002)
- \*Quentin Skinner, *Liberty Before Liberalism* (Cambridge: 1998)

**3. Fri., Sept. 20: Conflicting Visions of Power: Hobbesians vs. Republicans**

- \*Sir William Blackstone, The Omnipotence of Parliament, *Commentaries on the Laws of England* (1765) [M]
- \*The Declaratory Act, 1766 [M]
- \*Kramnick and Lowi, *American Political Thought*, pp. 100-07, 113-19, 131-49:
  - \*James Otis, *The Rights of the British Colonies Asserted and Proved* (1764)
  - \*Joanathan Boucher, *On Civil Liberty, Passive Obedience, and Non-Resistance* (1774)
  - \*Thomas Paine, *Common Sense* (1776)
- \*See Chart: 18<sup>th</sup> Century Republicanism [M]

**Prep:** What is Blackstone's vision of power? Further, what is his argument for the omnipotence of the King-and-Parliament? What is Blackstone's argument against Locke? What, if any, similarities can you see between Blackstone's ideas and the Declaratory Act? Where does James Otis think government originates? What rights does Otis think the colonies may claim against their imperial rulers and what reasons does he give for thinking they have those rights? Would Joanathan Boucher agree or disagree with Otis? Why or why not? What's Paine's critique of the British Constitution? Why is the government of England not "republican?" How, generally speaking, does he view government? Is it a positive good or? Why does he call his essay "Common Sense?"

**Newspaper Research and Discussion: Freedom and/or Power**

**Recommended:**

- \*J.A.W. Gunn, "Public Interest," in *Political Innovation and Conceptual Change*
- \*John M. Murrin, "The Great Inversion, or Court versus County: A Comparison of the Revolutionary Settlements in England (1688-1721) and America (1776-1816)," *The Three British Revolutions, 1641, 1688, 1776*, ed. J.G.A. Pocock (Princeton: 1980) [M]
- \*Bernard Bailyn, *The Origins of American Politics* (Random House: 1968)
- \*Ibid., *The Ideological Origins of the American Revolution* (Harvard: 1992)

**Week 5: FIRST SHORT PAPER DUE (5-6 PAGES)**

1. Mon., Sept. 23: Workshop; Draft of Essay Due in Class
2. Wed., Sept. 25: Optional Meetings
3. Fri., Sept. 27: Paper Due

**Week 6: The Social Contract and We the People**

**1. Mon., Sept. 30: Locke *Two Treatise of Government***

\*John Locke, *Two Treatises of Government and a Letter Concerning Toleration*, ed. Ian Shapiro (New Haven: 2003), pp. 101-54

**Prep:** Why is government formed, according to Locke? Is the social contract the same for Locke and Hobbes? What, in other words, is the foundation of political legitimacy for Locke? How does Locke view human beings? Does he see them as Hobbes does or is there a different view at work? How many branches of government does Locke see and why? What is Locke's view of property?

**Recommended:**

- \*Johann Sommerville, "John Locke" (A very brief statement of who Locke was) [M]
- \*Mark Goldie, "The English Spirit of Liberty," *Cambridge History of Eighteenth-Century Political Thought* [M]
- \*Ian Shapiro, "Introduction: Reading Locke Today," in *Two Treatises of Government and a Letter Concerning Toleration*, pp. ix-xv.
- \*John Dunn, *Locke* (Oxford: 2003)
- \*Ibid., *The Political Thought of John Locke* (Cambridge: 1983)

**2. Wed., Oct 2: Locke *Two Treatise of Government***

\*John Locke, *Two Treatises of Government and a Letter Concerning Toleration*, ed. Ian Shapiro (New Haven: 2003), pp. 154-75, 188-209

**Prep:** What is the role of the people in politics? Where are their interests represented? Do they have a right to revolution? After the people establish a government what happens to them? Are they, metaphorically speaking, politically alive or dead? How many branches of government does Locke see and why? And what is missing here?

**Recommended:**

- \*Kramnick and Lowi, *American Political Thought*, pp. 1247-56:
  - \*Louis Hartz, *The Concept of a Liberal Society* (1955)

### 3. Fri., Oct 4: Revolution and a New Birth of Constitutionalism

#### Revolution:

\*Kramnick and Lowi, *American Political Thought*, pp. 151-54:

\*Thomas Jefferson, *The Declaration of Independence* (1776)

\*Richard Price, "Observations on the Importance of the American Revolution" (1784) [M]

#### Anti-Federalists:

\*Kramnick and Lowi, *American Political Thought*, pp. 248-256, 256-274:

\*Richard Henry Lee, *Letters from the Federal Farmer* (1787)

\*Robert Yates, *Essays of Brutus* (1787-1788)

\*Patrick Henry, *Debate in the Virginia Ratifying Convention* (1788)

\*James Winthrop, *The Agrippa Letters* (1787-1788) [M]

\*Melancton Smith, *Speech Before the New York Ratifying Convention* (1788) [M]

#### Federalists:

\*James Wilson, *Remarks in the Pennsylvania Convention to Ratify the Constitution of the United States*, (1787) [M]

\*Kramnick and Lowi, *American Political Thought*, pp. 191-244:

\**Federalist No. 1, 9, 10, 23, 39, 48, 51, 70, 78, 84* (1787-1788)

**Prep:** In what way is the Declaration of Independence a Lockean document? (Can you find specific passages from Locke?) In what ways does it perhaps owe more to Harrington, Sidney, Trenchard and Gordon? (Can you find specific passages that sound like Harrington, Sidney, Trenchard or Gordon?) What views of human nature are presupposed in the Declaration? Is it optimistic or pessimistic about human nature and self-government? What Does Richard Price think the consequences of the American Revolution will be? Price seems to think the Revolution is religiously and rationally ordained. If we are skeptical, as some people are today, about human reason and revelation, does that undermine the argument for the Declaration? What is the worry of the Anti-Federalists? Were their worries legitimate? What is the nature of representation the Federalists are advocating for against the Anti-Federalists? Where are the people to be represented? How is this different from Locke's embrace of "the people?"

**Newspaper Research and Discussion:** *Revolution, Political Legitimacy, Constitutionalism and/or Rights*

#### Highly Recommended (Graduate Students Please Write on Arendt)

\*Hannah Arendt, *On Revolution* (Penguin Books: 1963), pp. 28-35. [M]

**Question:** According to the famous twentieth-century political theorists Hannah Arendt, "liberation" and "freedom" are distinct things. What does she mean by these terms, and how does she think the American Revolution expressed the latter thus marking a new departure in Western political thought?

#### Recommended:

\* John Dunn, "Revolution," in *Political Innovation and Conceptual Change*

\*Mary G. Dietz, "Patriotism," in *Political Innovation and Conceptual Change*

\*Richard Dagger, "Rights," in *Political Innovation and Conceptual Change*

\*Gordon Wood, "The American Revolution," *The Cambridge History of Eighteenth-Century Political Thought* [M]

- \*Bernard Bailyn, "The Central Themes of the American Revolution," *Essays on the American Revolution*, ed. Stephen G. Kurtz (North Carolina: 1973). [M]
- \*Ibid., "Transformations," *Ideological Origins of the American Revolution* (Harvard: 1992) [M]
- \*R. R. Palmer, *The Age of the Democratic Revolution Vol. I: The Challenge* (Princeton: 1969), pp. 239-284
- \*Gary B. Nash, "Sparks from the Altar of '76: International Repercussions and Reconsiderations of the American Revolution," *The Age of Revolutions in Global Context, c. 1760-1840* eds., David Armitage and Sanjay Subrahmanyam (Macmillan: 2009) [M]
- \*Gordon S. Wood, "The Great American Argument" *The New Republic*, Dec. 2010 [M]
- \*Pauline Maier, *Ratification: The People Debate the Constitution, 1787-1788* (Simon & Schuster, 2010).

## **Week 7: The American Enlightenment Amidst Conflicting Paradigms of Government**

### **1. Mon., Oct. 7: Constitutionalism, Toleration, and the Idea of a Political Party**

- \*John Locke, *Two Treatises of Government and a Letter Concerning Toleration*, ed. Ian Shapiro (New Haven: 2003), pp. 215-232:
  - \**Letter on Toleration* (1689), selection
- \*Kramnick and Lowi, *American Political Thought*, pp., 337-339, 344-347:
  - \*Thomas Jefferson, *A Bill for Establishing Religious Liberty* (1777)
  - \*Ibid., "Religion," *Notes on the State of Virginia* (1784)
- \*David Hume, "Of Parties in General" (1741) [M]

**Prep:** What is a political party? Is it necessary for democratic constitutional politics? Or is it simply a source of corruption, sedition, and rebellion? (What, ask yourself, does the famous 18<sup>th</sup> Century English philosopher David Hume say about political parties?) Arguably, Thomas Jefferson invented the idea of the modern political party. What, if any, connection is there between the modern idea of a political party and the idea of religious toleration, which was an idea that Thomas Jefferson also championed?

#### **Recommended:**

- \*Terence Ball, "Party," in *Political Innovation and Conceptual Change*
- \*Richard Hofstadter, *The Idea of a Political Party*, ch. 1-5
- \*Jeffrey L. Pasley et al., eds., *Beyond the Founders: New Approaches to the Political History of the Early Republic*

### **2. Wed., Oct 9: The Jeffersonian Revolution**

- \*Kramnick and Lowi, *American Political Thought*, pp. 358-365, 352-358, 366-375:
  - \*Thomas Jefferson, *To Reverend James Madison* (1785)
  - \*Ibid., *To Colonel Edward Carrington* (1787)
  - \*Ibid., *To William S. Smith* (1787)
  - \*Ibid., *To James Madison* (1789)
  - \*Ibid., *To Elbridge Gerry* (1799)
  - \*Ibid., *First Inaugural Address* (1801)
  - \*Ibid., *Second Inaugural Address* (1805)
  - \*Ibid., *To John Adams* (1813)
  - \*Ibid., *To Pierre Samuel Dupont de Nemours* (1816)
  - \*Ibid., *To Samuel Kercheval* (1816)

\*Ibid., *To Judge Spencer Roane* (1819)

\*A Jeffersonian Sailmaker's Fourth of July Address: Peter Wendover, *Oration*, 1806 [M]

**Prep:** What is Jefferson's vision of the role of government in the United States? Is the main goal of Jeffersonian Republicanism *equality or liberty*? What sort of aspirations do you hear in Peter Wendover's *Oration*? Similarly, how would you characterize Jeffersonian Republicanism: Is it politically radical or conservative and why? Finally, ask yourself how it is that Jefferson is establishing a cultural and intellectual precondition for liberal democracy by legitimating the notion of party competition.

**Recommended:**

\*J.A.W. Gunn, "Public Opinion," in *Political Innovation and Conceptual Change*

\*Roger Sharp, *American Politics in the Early Republic* (Yale: 1993)

\*Drew McCoy, *The Elusive Republic: Political Economy in Jeffersonian America* (Chapel Hill: 1996)

\*Marshall Smelser, *The Democratic Republic, 1801-1815* (Waveland: 1992)

\*George Dangerfield, *The Awakening of American Nationalism, 1815-1828* (Waveland: 1994)

**3. Fri., Oct. 11: Hamiltonian Federalists**

\*Kramnick and Lowi, *American Political Thought*, pp. 297-327:

\*Alexander Hamilton, *First Report on the Public Credit* (1790)

\*Ibid., *Opinion on the Constitutionality of the Bank* (1791)

\*Ibid., *Report on Manufactures* (1791)

\*George Washington, *Farewell Address* (1796)

\*John Marshall, *Marbury v. Madison* (1803)

**Prep:** How does Hamilton's vision of the United States differ from that of Jefferson's vision? The Federalist Party was defeated and disappeared from the stage of history. Still, though, how might the influence of the Federalist Party have continued to shape American thought, institutions, and attitudes? What parts of American government have or do express Hamiltonian tendencies? Finally, what is the fundamental hidden premise of John Marshall's argument in *Marbury*? Is that premise democratic or anti-democratic?

**Newspaper Research and Discussion:** *The Nature and Aims of Government in American Society and/or Political Parties*

**Recommended:**

\*Joanne Freeman, "Duelling as Politics: Reinterpreting the Burr-Hamilton Duel," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 53 (1996), 289-318 [M]

\*Stanley Elkins and Eric McKittrick, *The Age of Federalism: The Early American Republic, 1788-1800* (Oxford: 1995)

\*John C. Miller, *The Federalist Era, 1789-1801* (Waveland: 1998)

**Week 8: MIDTERM**

**1. Mon., Oct. 14: Optional Review**

**2. Wed., Oct. 16: No Class**

**3. Fri., Oct 18: 50 Minute In Class Midterm**

## **Week 10: An Empire of Liberty?**

### **1. Mon., Oct. 21: A Godly Commonwealth**

- \*John Locke, *Two Treatises of Government and a Letter Concerning Toleration*, pp. 232-246:
  - \**Letter on Toleration* (1689), selection
- \*Kramnick and Lowi, *American Political Thought*, pp. 11-17:
  - \*John Winthrop, *A Model of Christian Charity* (1630)
  - \*Roger Williams, *A Bloody Tenent of Persecution* (1644)

**Prep:** What are Winthrop's and Williams' ideals? Are they similar or different? Do the principles of Locke's *Letter Concerning Toleration* seem compatible with the views of Winthrop and Rogers? How do you think Winthrop and Rogers viewed the separation of church and state?

#### **Recommended:**

- \*Ron Rosenbaum, "The Shocking Savagery of America's Early History," *Smithsonian Magazine* (March 2013) (An interview with Bernard Bailyn about his new book, *The Barbarous Years*) [M]
- \* Bernard Bailyn, "The British Americans," in *The Barbarous Years: The Peopling of British North America: The Conflict of Civilizations, 1600-1675* (Knopf: 2012) [M]
- \*Ibid., *The Barbarous Years*, pp. 332-492
- \*Edmund S. Morgan, *The Puritan Dilemma: The Story of John Winthrop* (Pearson Longman: 2007)
- \*Edmund S. Morgan, *Visible Saints: The History of a Puritan Idea* (New York University Press: 1963)
- \*Perry Miller, "The Marrow of Puritan Divinity," in *Errand into the Wilderness* (Harvard: 1956)
- \*Perry Miller, *The New England Mind: The Seventeenth Century* (Harvard: 1954)

### **2. Wed., Oct. 23: The Origins of American Capitalism**

- \*William Manning, *The Key of Liberty* (1798) [M]
- \*Kramnick and Lowi, *American Political Thought*, pp. 53-66:
  - \*Benjamin Franklin, *The Way to Wealth* (1758)
  - \*Benjamin Franklin, *The Art of Virtue* (1784)

**Prep:** Did the growth of American capitalism help promote the republican notion of an economically independent citizenry or frustrate it? What might be some of the moral consequences of the growth of American capitalism? What would Benjamin Franklin say? What would Manning say? Finally, how does Manning view labor? Does he view it the same way Aristotle viewed it or are there different ideas going on, and if so what are those ideas?

#### **Recommended:**

- \*Alan Ryan, "Property," *Political Innovation and Conceptual Change*
- \*Gordon Wood, "The Enemy is Us: Democratic Capitalism in the Early Republic," in Paul A. Gilje, ed., *Wages of Independence*, pp. 137-53. [M on jstor]
- \*Ibid., *The Americanization of Benjamin Franklin* (Penguin: 2005)

### **3. Fri., Oct 25: Protestant Awakenings**

- \*Kramnick and Lowi, *American Political Thought*, pp. 365-366:
  - \*Thomas Jefferson, *To a Committee of the Danbury Baptist Association* (1802)
- \* Samuel Hopkins, *A Treatise on the Millennium* (1793) [M]
- \*Isaac Backus, *A Door Opened for Equal Christian Liberty* (1783) [M]

- \* Richard McNemar, *The Kentucky Revival* (1808) [M]
- \* Charles Grandison Finney, *Lectures on Revivals of Religion* (1835) [M]

**Prep:** Why do you think America is the only modern industrialized nation where religion continues to play a significant role politically? Looking backward, why were there periodic religious awakenings in America? Does this phenomenon provide evidence of the separation of religion and politics in America or of its mutual re-enforcement? Is American capitalism related to the rise of American religion?

**Newspaper Research and Discussion:** *Religion and Politics in America*

**Recommended:**

- \* Nathan O. Hatch, *The Democratization of American Christianity* (Yale: 1989)
- \* Mark A. Noll, *America's God* (Oxford: 2002)

**Week 10: American Democracy**

**1. Mon., Oct. 28: American Democracy**

\* Alexis de Tocqueville, *Democracy in America* (1835-1840), pp. 50-60, 196-201, 503-506, 530-538, 550-558: [pages 34]

- \* *The Striking Feature in the Social Condition of the Anglo-Americans is that it is Essentially Democratic*
- \* *Political Consequences of the Social state of the Anglo-Americans*
- \* *The Principle of the Sovereignty of the People in America*
- \* *Government By Democracy in America*
- \* *Universal Suffrage*
- \* *The People's Choice and the Instincts of American Democracy in Such Choices*
- \* *Elements which May Provide a Partial Corrective to These Instincts of Democracy*
- \* *Why Democratic Nations Show A More Ardent and Enduring Love for Equality than for Liberty*
- \* *The Taste for Physical Comfort in America*
- \* *Particular Effects of the Love of Physical Pleasures in Democratic Times*
- \* *Why Some Americans Display Enthusiastic Forms of Spirituality*
- \* *Why the Americans Are Often so Restless in the Midst of Their Prosperity*
- \* *Why Americans Consider All Honest Callings Honorable*
- \* *What Gives Almost All Americans a Preference for Industrial Callings*
- \* *How an Aristocracy May be Created by Industry*

**Prep:** Why does Tocqueville say the social condition of Americans is “essentially democratic?” What contrast does he have in mind? Further, why does he say democratic nations are more found of equality than of liberty? What do you think he means by “equality?” And do you think democratic societies really prefer equality *over* liberty? Or is the calculation much more complex – are equality and liberty, perhaps, entangled in ways that make for their easy separation difficult?

**Recommended:**

- \* Russell Hanson, “Democracy,” *Political Innovation and Conceptual Change*
- \* Kramnick and Lowi, *American Political Thought*, pp. 451-
- \* George Bancroft, *The Office of the People in Art, Government, and Religion* (1835)

\*Bernard Crick, "Comme Disait M. de Tocqueville," *Democracy: Very Short Introduction* (Oxford: 2003) [M]

\*Johns Stuart Mill, *Considerations on Representative Government* (1861) [M]

\*Harry Watson, *Liberty and Power: The Politics of Jacksonian America* [M]

## **2. Wed., Oct. 30: The Romance of Democracy and Self-Reliance**

Kramnick and Lowi, *American Political Thought*, pp. 471-76, 484-91, 497-506:

\*Ralph Waldo Emerson, *Self-Reliance* (1840)

\*Henry David Thoreau, *Resistance to Civil Government* (1849)

\*Walt Whitman, *Democratic Vistas* (1871)

**Prep:** The great 19<sup>th</sup> Century German liberal thinker, Wilhelm von Humbolt famously said of his work, "The grand, leading principle, towards which every argument unfolded in these pages directly converges, is the absolute and essential importance of human development in its richest diversity." How do the writings of Emerson, Thoreau, and Whitman embody this sentiment?

### **Recommended:**

\*Stanly Cavell, *Senses of Walden* (Chicago: 1981)

\*George Kateb, *Emerson and Self-Reliance* (Rowman and Littlefield: 2002); *The Inner Ocean* (Cornell: 1992)

\*F. O. Matthiessen, *American Renaissance: Art and Expression in the Age of Emerson and Whitman* (Oxford: 1941)

\*M. H. Abrams, *Natural Supernaturalism: Tradition and Revolution in Romantic Literature* (Norton: 1973)

## **3. Fri., Nov. 1: Democratic Pathologies**

\*Alexis de Tocqueville, *Democracy in America* (1835-1840), pp. 246-261, 506-508, 509-517, 525-528, 614-616, 627-632, 702-705: [pages 38]

\**The Omnipotence of the Majority in the United States and its Effects*

\**How in America the Omnipotence of the Majority Increases the Legislative and Administrative Instability Natural to Democracies*

\**Tyranny of the Majority*

\**Effect of the Omnipotence of the Majority on the Arbitrary Power of American Public Officials*

\**The Power Exercised by the Majority in America over Thought*

\**Effects of the Majority's Tyranny on American National Character; the Courtier Spirit in the United States*

\**The Greatest Danger to the American Republics Comes from the Omnipotence of the Majority*

\**Of Individualism in Democracies*

\**How Americans Combat the Effects of Individualism by Free Institutions*

\**On the Use which the Americans Make of Associations in Civil Life*

\**How the Americans Combat Individualism by the Doctrine of Self-Interest Properly Understood*

\**How the Aspect of Society in the United States is at Once Agitated and Monotonous*

\**Why There are so Many Men of Ambition in the United States but so Few Lofty Ambitions*

\**General Survey of the Subject*

**Prep:** Republicanism and democracy represent a break with monarchialism and the social life reflective of it, and thus are major turning points in human development. What are some of the pathologies, difficulties, and worries that Tocqueville sees emerging as a consequence of democratic forms of social life and what might be some of the potential solutions to these pathologies? Finally, can one separate the “romance of democracy” so evident in Emerson, Thoreau, and Whitman from the “pathologies of democracy?”

### **Newspaper Research and Discussion: *Democracy***

#### **Recommended:**

- \*Kramnick and Lowi, *American Political Thought*, pp. 465-471, 882-892, 1511-1522:
  - \*James Fenimore Cooper, *The American Democrat* (1838)
  - \*Brooks Adams, *The American Democratic Ideal* (1916)
  - \*Twelve Southerners, *I'll Take My Stand* (1930)
  - \*Amitai Etzioni, *Communitarianism and the Moral Dimension* (2000)
- \* Robert Putnam, *Bowling Alone: The Collapse and Revival of American Community* (Simon & Schuster: 2001)
- \*Robert Bellah, *Habits of the Heart: Individualism and Commitment in American Life* (University of California Press: 2007)

### **Week 11: SECOND SHORT PAPER (5-6 PAGES)**

1. Mon., Nov. 4: Workshop; Draft of Essay Due in Class
2. Wed., Nov. 6: Optional Meetings
3. Fri., Nov. 8: Paper Due

### **Week 12: Reformation and Radicalism**

1. Mon., Nov. 11: No Class: Veterans Day
2. Wed., Nov. 13: Slavery, Abolitionism, and Holy War

- \*Kramnick and Lowi, *American Political Thought*, pp. 536-542, 559-563, 572-577, 581-594-598:
  - \*Benjamin Rush, *An Address... Upon Slave Keeping* (1773)
  - \*William Lloyd Garrison, *Declaration of Sentiments of the American Anti-Slavery Society* (1833)
  - \*Angelina Grimké, *Appeal to the Christian Women of the South* (1836)
  - \*David Walker, *Appeal... to the Colored Citizens of the World...* (1829)
  - \*Frederick Douglas, *What to the Slave Is the Fourth of July?* (1852)
- \**An Interview with John Brown* [M]
- \**John Brown, Statement at His Trial* [M]

**Prep:** Does the history of American slavery demonstrate that American ideals and values (those, for instance, embodied in the Declaration of Independence) are a sham? Put another way, what, indeed, is the Fourth of July to a slave? What is Douglas’ answer? What would the answer of Walker, or that of Garrison and Brown be? Moreover, does the history of American slavery show the impossibility of American constitutionalism to deal with fundamental problems of moral evil?

Most fundamentally, does the history of American slavery demonstrate the failure of liberal democratic capitalism?

**Recommended:**

- \*Pauli Murray, *Proud Shoes: The Story of an American Family* (Beacon: 1956)
- \*Gunnar Myrdal, *An American Dilemma* (1944)
- \*Ralph Ellison, *An American Dilemma: A Review* (1944) [M]
- \*Kramnick and Lowi, *American Political Thought*, pp. 1322-1328:
  - \*Malcom X, *The Ballot or the Bullet* (1964)

**3. Fri., Nov. 15: Feminism**

- \*Kramnick and Lowi, *American Political Thought*, pp. 506-528, 854-860:
  - \*Abigail Adams, *Letter to John Adams* (1776)
  - \*Judith Sargent Stevens Murry, *On the Equality of the Sexes* (1790)
  - \*Angelina Grimké, *Letter to Catharine E. Beecher* (1837)
  - \* Sarah Grimké, *Letters on the Equality of the Sexes and the Condition of Women* (1837)
  - \*Catharine E. Beecher, *A Treatise on Domestic Economy* (1841)
  - \*Orestes Brownson, *The Woman Question* (1869)

**Prep:** As we have seen, republicanism was a major challenge to monarchical society, its manners, structure of power, and economic organization. Based on the readings, do you think republicanism helped or hindered the cause of women in America? What about the institutions of a market economy? Did these new institutions empower or dis-empower women? As you answer these questions, pay particular attention to Beecher and Brownson’s understanding of the role of women in American society.

**Newspaper Research and Discussion:** *Reform and Social Movements*

**Recommended:**

- \*Kramnick and Lowi, *American Political Thought*, pp. 1344-1349, 1351-1353, 1362-1369, 1406-1411, 1426-1433:
  - \*Betty Friedan, *The Feminine Mystique* (1963)
  - \**The Redstockings Manifesto* (1969)
  - \*Kate Millett, *Sexual Politics* (1970)
  - \*Phyllis Schlafly, *The Power of the Positive Woman* (1977)
  - \*bell hooks, *Feminist Theory from Margin to Center* (1987)
- \*Rosemarie Zagari, “Women’s Citizenship in the Early Republic” [M]
- \*Linda Kerber, *No Constitutional Right to be Ladies* (Hill & Wang: 1999)

**Week 13: American Civil Religion and Citizenship**

**1. Mon., Nov. 18: Lincoln: Emancipation and National Unity**

- \*Kramnick and Lowi, *American Political Thought*, pp. 666-667, 668-76, 683-84
  - \*Lincoln, *Cooper Union Address* (1860)
  - \*Lincoln, *First Inaugural Address* (1861)
  - \*Lincoln, *Gettysburg Address* (1863)
- \*Lincoln, *The Emancipation Proclamation* [M]

**Prep:** As the historian Gary Wills has argued, Lincoln’s words “remade America.” How might this be true? (Ask yourself when Lincoln dates the founding of American – why might he do

that? What is he trying to say?) What is the vision of America one finds in the *Cooper Union Address* and the *First Inaugural Address*? What about the Gettysburg Address? What, according to that speech, is the Civil War about? Do you think Lincoln is consecrating America, unifying it by endowing it with sacred authority? What might be the implications of doing so, both positive and negative?

**Recommended:**

- \*Gary Wills, "The Words that Remade America: The Significance of the Gettysburg Address," *The Atlantic Monthly*, June 1992 [M]
- \*Gary Wills, *Lincoln at Gettysburg* (Simon & Schuster: 2006)
- \*Robert Bellah, "Civil Religion in America," *Journal of American Academy of Arts and Sciences* (1967)

**2. Wed., Nov. 20: White Supremacy**

\*Kramnick and Lowi, *American Political Thought*, pp. 546-554, 624-636, 644-647, 926-928, 942-946, 980-985:

- \*Thomas Jefferson, *Notes on the State of Virginia* (1784)
- \*George Fitzhugh, *Sociology for the South: or, the Failure of Free Society* (1854)
- \*Roger B. Taney, *Dred Scott v. Sandford* (1857)
- \*13<sup>th</sup>, 14<sup>th</sup>, 15<sup>th</sup> Amendments
- \*Henry Brown and John Marshall Harlan, *Plessy v. Ferguson* (1896)
- \*Hiram W. Evans, *The Klan's Fight for Americanism* (1926)

**Prep:** What are the various definitions of citizenship at work in these pieces? What are the assumptions that underpin them? How do you read the 14<sup>th</sup> Amendment? Is it a narrow or a broad thing? Do the Civil War Amendments contradict Taney, and how do Brown and Harlan interpret them in *Plessy*? Finally, what elements, if any, in the history of American political thought might lead to a nativist view of citizenship, rather than a broader more inclusive definition of the concept?

**Recommended:**

- \*Kramnick and Lowi, *American Political Thought*, pp. 893-907, 910-914, 928-940
- \*James Zachariah George, *Speeches on Chinese Immigration* (1882)
- \*Henry Cabot Lodge, *Speech on Literacy Test for Immigrants* (1896)
- \*Chief Joseph, *An Indian's View of Indiana Affairs* (1879)
- \*Desmond King and Rogers Smith, "Racial Orders in American Political Development," *American Political Science Review* 99 (2005): 75-92.
- \*Ibid., *A House Still Divided: Race and Politics in Obama's America* (Princeton: 2013)
- \*Ibid., "'That They May All be One': America as a House Divided," *A House Still Divided* [M]
- \*Ibid., "On Race, the Silence Is Bipartisan," *New York Times*, Sept. 2, 2011. [M]

**3. Fri., Nov. 22: Citizenship**

- \*Kramnick and Lowi, *American Political Thought*, pp. PAGES
- \*Elizabeth Cady Stanton, *The Seneca Falls Declaration of Sentiments and Resolutions* (1848)
- \*Susan B. Anthony, *Speech About Her Indictment* (1873)
- \*Jane Adams, *If Men Were Seeking the Franchise* (1913)
- \*W. E. B. Du Bois, *The Soul of Black Folks* (1903)
- \*Ibid., *The Talented Tenth* (1903)
- \*Ibid., *The Immediate Program of the American Negro* (1915)
- \*Randolph Bourne, *Trans-National America* (1916) [M]

\**The Nineteenth Amendment* (1920) [M]

**Prep:** What intellectual resources are the authors using to define the concept of citizenship? Are they similar or different from the resources used by Wednesday's authors? Would these intellectual resources have been possible without the 14<sup>th</sup> Amendment? Would they be possible without Lincoln's "remaking of America?"

**Newspaper Research and Discussion:** *Citizenship*

**Recommended:**

\*Michael Walzer, "Citizenship," *Political Innovation and Conceptual Change*

\*Rogers M. Smith, *The Meaning of American Citizenship* [M]

\*Ibid., "Beyond Tocqueville, Myrdal, and Hartz: Multiple Traditions in America," *American Political Science Review*, vol. 87, no. 3 (Sept., 1993)

\*Ibid., *Civic Ideals: Conflicting Visions of Citizenship in U.S. History* (Yale: 1997)

**Week 14: Free-Market Capitalism**

**1. Mon., Nov. 25: Laissez Faire**

\*Kramnick and Lowi, *American Political Thought*, pp. 688-702, 816-17, 703-737

\*Benjamin Tucker, *Liberty* (1881)

\*William Graham Sumner, *What Social Classes Owe to Each Other* (1884)

\*Ibid., *The Absurd Effort to Make the World Over* (1894)

\*Ibid., *The Challenge of Facts* (1895)

\*Ibid., *Consolidation of Wealth: Economic Aspects* (1902)

\*Andrew Carnegie, *The Gospel of Wealth* (1889)

**Prep:** Who, according to Tucker, are the false friends of liberty? Would a dedicated capitalist always be a friend of liberty, according to Tucker? Put otherwise, would Tucker think anarchism and capitalism are compatible? What is Sumner's objection to focusing on equality as a social value? Should we tolerate inequality if we can be assured of greater overall wealth even for the least advantaged? What is the "gospel of wealth?"

**Newspaper Research and Discussion:** *Capitalism*

**Recommended:**

\*Richard Hofstadter, *Social Darwinism in American Thought* (Beacon Press: 1992)

\*Friedrich Hayek, *The Road to Serfdom* (The Condensed Version as it appeared in the April 1945 Reader's Digest, along with Cartoons...) [M]

\*Kramnick and Lowi, *American Political Thought*, pp. 1391-1405, 1411-1426:

\*Robert Nozick, *Anarchy, State, and Utopia* (1974)

\*Milton Friedman and Rose D. Friedman, *Free to Choose* (1980)

**THANKSGIVING BREAK: 27<sup>TH</sup> THROUGH 29<sup>TH</sup>**

**Week 15: The Power of Intellect and Social Progress**

**1. Mon., Dec. 2: Pragmatism PAGES**

\*Charles Peirce, *The Fixation of Belief* (1877) [M]

- \*Kramnick and Lowi, *American Political Thought*, pp. 1024-52:
  - \*William James, *Pragmatism: A New Name for Old Ways of Thinking* (1907)
  - \*John Dewey, *The Influence of Darwin on Philosophy* (1910)
  - \*Ibid., *The Public and Its Problems* (1927)

**Prep:** American pragmatism has been called America's philosophy, the country's one true contribution to the rarefied domain of philosophical thought (who's focus is on metaphysics (the nature of reality and what there is), epistemology (the theory of knowledge), ethics and values (the theory of what ought to be done or what we should judge good and beautiful). How do the themes and ideas advanced by James, Dewey, and Peirce draw on themes we have thus far developed in class? Are there ideas and arguments distinctly "democratic?" How might pragmatic philosophical assumptions (in the domains of metaphysics, epistemology, and ethics and value theory) be necessary for the survival of democracy? Or, alternatively, might such pragmatic philosophical ideas undermine and destroy a free society?

**Recommended:**

- \*Alan Ryan, *John Dewey and the High Tide of American Liberalism* (Norton: 1997)
- \*Louis Menand, *The Metaphysical Club: A Story of Ideas in America* (Farrar, Straus and Giroux: 2002)
- \*Kramnick and Lowi, *American Political Thought*, pp. 1494-1503:
  - \*Richard Rorty *A Cultural Left* (1998)

**2. Wed., Dec. 4: Progressivism**

- \*Kramnick and Lowi, *American Political Thought*, pp. 747-764, 1007-1017, 1065-1095, 1102-1113:
  - \*Edward Bellamy, *Looking Backward* (1889)
  - \*Walter Rauschenbusch, *Christianity and the Social Crises* (1909)
  - \*Thorstein Veblen, *The Theory of the Leisure Class* (1899)
  - \*Herbert Croly, *The Promise of American Life* (1909)
  - \*Theodore Roosevelt, *The New Nationalism* (1910)
  - \*Woodrow Wilson, *The New Freedom* (1913)
- \*Randolph Bourne, *Twilight of Idols* (1917) [M]
- \*Kramnick and Lowi, *American Political Thought*, pp. 1058-1064:
  - \*Walter Lipman, *Public Opinion* (1922)

**Prep:** What is the Progressive critique of the Gilded Age? What is the Progressive solution to the ills of the Gilded Age? More philosophically, do you think economic inequality undermines democracy? If so, what solutions do you see? Further, do you think such solutions rest on an optimistic or pessimistic view of human beings and democracy? Is this optimism or pessimism justified? Similarly, given the demands of modern society – intense specialization, global capitalism, and issues of national security, for instance - is democracy possible? What would the Progressives we have read (including Bourne and Lipman) say? What would Alexander Hamilton say?

**Recommended:**

- \*Mark Goldie, "Ideology," in *Political Innovation and Conceptual Change*
- \*Morton Keller, "The Progressive Interlude," in *America's Three Regimes: A New Political History* (Oxford: 2007)
- \*Daniel T. Rogers, "In Search of Progressivism," *Reviews in American History* (December 1982)
- \*James T. Kloppenberg, *Uncertain Victory: Social Democracy and Progressivism in American and European Social Thought* (Oxford: 1988)

\*Jacob Hacker and Paul Pierson, *Winner-Take-All-Politics: How Washington Made the Richer Richer-and Turned Its Back on the Middle Class* (Simon & Schuster: 2011)

**3. Fri., Dec. 6: America in Search of a Public Philosophy**

\*Kramnick and Lowi, *American Political Thought*, pp. 1477-94, 985-988:

\*Michael Sandel, "The Public Philosophy of Contemporary Liberalism" (1996)

\*Langston Hughes, *Let America Be America Again* (1938)

**Prep:** What is the "picture" of contemporary American political thought that Sandel paints? What does he mean by "liberalism?" What does he mean by "republicanism?" Is Sandel critical of liberalism? If so, why? Do you think this picture is correct? How would you add or subtract from it, given what you now know about American political thought? Finally, what is the attitude Hughes adopts toward America? Is he critical or hopeful regarding its values and history?

**Newspaper Research and Discussion:** *America's Public Philosophies*

**FINAL EXAM: December 13, 8 to 10 am**