

POLITICAL SCIENCE 3054: AMERICAN POLITICAL THOUGHT
Spring 2011

Instructor: Jason Robles

Office Hours: Tuesday, 3:00 – 6:00 PM and by appointment (Ketchum 5B)

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COURSE DESCRIPTION:

This course explores some of the major themes and figures in American political thought from the Colonial Period to the present. As an introduction to a continually evolving set of complex and often conflicting political theories, the aim of this course is threefold: first, we shall inquire into the origins and foundations of the tradition of American political discourse; second, we will use this foundation to examine both the continuities and discontinuities in American political and constitutional thought over the past three centuries; finally, we will conclude with a critical evaluation of our nation's most important founding document, the Constitution.

We will survey the origins and evolution of American political and constitutional thought across five broad historical time periods: the Founding (1610 – 1791); the Early Republic (1789 – 1865); the Post-Bellum/Reconstruction Period (1866 – 1900); the Early Twentieth Century (1900 – 1945); and the Post-World War II Period (1945 – Present). Although we will examine a significant number of major thinkers, our study will by no means be comprehensive; as a matter of course, a fair number of voices (of varying degrees of significance) must be omitted. This unavoidable problem is simply a testament to the richness and complexity in the tradition of American political discourse. If nothing else, the need to focus on certain authors at the expense of other equally important figures only serves to reinforce the claim that American political thought is anything but monolithic and one-dimensional.

On one level, we seek to gain an understanding of the *history* of American political thought, that is, of the development of the unique ways in which people have theorized the individual's (and, in some cases, a particular group's) relation to politics and society in the United States. On another level, we will explore the ways in which each author transcends (or fails to transcend) time and place, or the ways in which each illuminates and helps us to approach problems of *contemporary* political significance. We will study the history of American political thought with an eye toward the debate over the Constitution—a debate that took shape long before the Convention of 1787 and continues to this day. Specifically, we are interested in engaging that debate in order to assess the strengths and weaknesses of the document and to determine whether the Constitution is in need of repair.

REQUIRED TEXTS:

Hammond, Hardwick, and Lubert, *Classics of American Political and Constitutional Thought, Volume 1: Origins through the Civil War* (Hackett)

Hammond, Hardwick, and Lubert, *Classics of American Political and Constitutional Thought, Volume 2: Reconstruction to the Present* (Hackett)

Levinson, *Our Undemocratic Constitution* (Oxford)

Locke, *Two Treatises of Government* (Yale) [† Optional]

A copy of each text has been placed on reserve at Norlin Library.

GRADING CRITERIA:

- **Class Participation and Quizzes (15%):** Each day lectures will be supplemented with discussion-based evaluations of the assigned texts. In order to participate effectively, it is imperative that you complete the assigned readings prior to lecture. A total of twenty-five multiple-choice quizzes will be given randomly throughout the semester. Clickers will be required for quizzes and class participation. Please register your clicker by Tuesday January 18 and bring it to every lecture. Make-up quizzes will not be given.
- **Midterm Exam (25%) and Final Exam (25%):** The midterm and final exam will consist in short answer and essay questions. The short answer portion of the exams will test your objective knowledge of the course material. The essay portion of the exams will require you to demonstrate an ability to engage and critically evaluate the texts we have read and discussed in class.
- **Final Paper (35%):** A 12-15 page research paper on an approved topic of your choosing is due on April 29 at 5:00 PM. Topics must be approved no later than March 29.

COMMUNICATION: The University of Colorado considers email an official form of communication. You are responsible for checking your *colorado.edu* account regularly to ensure receipt of important course information (e.g., schedule changes, review materials, etc.).

RELIGIOUS AND DISABILITY ACCOMMODATIONS: If you have conflicts with exams or attendance due to religious obligations and/or if you qualify for accommodations because of a disability, please notify me **NO LATER THAN FEBRUARY 1**. Disability Services determines accommodations based on documented disabilities. The University's policies on disability accommodations can be found at <http://www.colorado.edu/disabilityservices>.

CLASSROOM DECORUM: Students and faculty each have responsibility for maintaining an appropriate learning environment. Those who fail to adhere to such behavioral standards may be subject to discipline. The University's policies on classroom decorum can be found at <http://www.colorado.edu/policies/classbehavior.html>. **THE USE OF PERSONAL COMPUTERS AND/OR CELL PHONES DURING CLASS IS STRICTLY PROHIBITED.**

ACADEMIC INTEGRITY: All students of the University of Colorado at Boulder are responsible for knowing and adhering to the academic integrity policy of this institution. Violations of this policy may include cheating, plagiarism, aid of academic dishonesty, fabrication, lying, bribery, and threatening behavior. All incidents of academic misconduct shall be reported to the Honor Code Council. See <http://www.colorado.edu/academics/honorcode> for more information. **ANY AND ALL VIOLATIONS OF THE UNIVERSITY HONOR CODE WILL AUTOMATICALLY RESULT IN A FAILING GRADE FOR THE COURSE.**

DISCRIMINATION AND HARASSMENT: Anyone who believes they have been the subject of discrimination or harassment based upon race, color, national origin, sex, age, disability, religion, sexual orientation, or veteran status should contact the Office of Discrimination and Harassment (ODH) or the Office of Judicial Affairs. More information can be obtained at <http://www.colorado.edu/odh>. The University's policy on Discrimination and Harassment can be found at <http://www.colorado.edu/policies/discrimination.html>.

SCHEDULE OF READINGS

- * Indicates handout
† Indicates optional/suggested reading

PART I: THE FOUNDING PERIOD (1610 – 1791)

A. Ideological Origins, Transplantation, and Self-Development (1610 – 1761)

- 1/18 James I, "Address before Parliament" (March 21, 1610)
The Third Charter of Virginia (1611)
The Mayflower Compact (1620)
Fundamental Orders of Connecticut (1639)
The Maryland Toleration Act (1649)
- Winthrop, "A Model of Christian Charity"
———, "Little Speech on Liberty"
Ward, "The Simple Cobbler of Aggawam"
Penn, "Preface to the First Frame of Government for Pennsylvania"
- English Bill of Rights* (1689)
Locke, *Second Treatise of Government* [†]
Wise, "A Vindication of the Government of New England Churches"
Trenchard and Gordon, "Cato's Letters"
Hume, *Essays Moral, Political and Literary* [†]
———, *Idea of a Perfect Commonwealth* [†]
Mayhew, "A Discourse Concerning Unlimited Submission and Non-Resistance"

B. Revolution and Union (1761 – 1788)

- 1/25 Otis, "Against Writs of Assistance" (Recorded by John Adams, February 1761)
———, "The Rights of the British Colonies Asserted and Proved" (1764)
Resolutions of the Stamp Act Congress (October 19, 1765)
Adams, J., "Clarendon, No. 3" (January 27, 1766)
Dickinson, "Letters from a Farmer in Pennsylvania" (1768)
Adams, S., "Letter to the *Boston Gazette*" (February 27, 1769)
———, "The Rights of the Colonists" (November 20, 1772)
- Declaration and Resolves of the First Continental Congress* (October 14, 1774)
Adams, J., "Novanglus" [*] (1774)
———, "Thoughts on Government" (1776)
Jefferson, "A Summary View of the Rights of British America" (1774)
Declaration of Independence (Jefferson's "original Rough draught") [*]
Declaration of Independence (Draft adopted by Congress, July 2, 1776)
- Paine, "Common Sense" (February 14, 1776)
Candidus, "Plain Truth" (March 16, 1776)
Paine, "The *Crisis*, No. 1" (December 23, 1776)

C. *The Defects of Confederation* (1777 – 1787) and *The Ratification Debate* (1787 – 1789)

- 2/1 *Articles of Confederation* (1777, 1781)
Madison, “Letter to Thomas Jefferson” (April 16, 1781)
———, “Memorial and Remonstrance” (June 20, 1785)
———, “Vices of the Political System of the United States” (April 1787)
———, “Letter to George Washington” (April 16, 1787)
- The Federalist Papers*, #1 [*], 9, 10, 14, 22, 23, 25, 39, 47, 48, 49, 51, 57, 70, 78
Madison, “Letter to Thomas Jefferson” (October 24, 1787)
Jefferson, “Letter to James Madison” (December 20, 1787) [*]
Madison, “Letter to Thomas Jefferson” (October 17, 1788)
———, “Letter to Thomas Jefferson” (October 17, 1788) [*]
Jefferson, “Letter to James Madison” (March 15, 1789)
- Clinton, “Cato, No. 4” (1787)
“An Old Whig, No. 5” (1787)
Yates, “Essays of Brutus” (1787-1788)
Lee (?), “Letters from a Federal Farmer” (1787-1788)
Adams, J., “Discourses on Davila” (1789) [†]

PART II: THE EARLY REPUBLIC, EXPANSION, AND CIVIL WAR (1789 – 1865)

A. *The Federalist and Jeffersonian Visions*

- 2/8 Washington, “Inaugural Address” (April 30, 1789)
Hamilton, “Report on Public Credit” (1790)
———, “Report on a National Bank” (1790)
———, “Opinion on the Constitutionality of a National Bank” (1791)
———, “Report on the Subject of Manufactures” (1791)
———, “Letter to George Washington” (August 18, 1792)
Washington, “Farewell Address” (September 19, 1796)
- Jefferson, “Draft of the Kentucky Resolutions” (1798)
Madison, “Virginia Resolutions against the Alien and Sedition Act” (1798)
Marshall, “Report of the Minority on the Virginia Resolutions” (1799)
———, “Report on the Virginia Resolutions” (1800)
Marshall, *Marbury v. Madison* (1803)
———, *McCullough v. Maryland* (1819)
- Jefferson, *Notes on the State of Virginia* (1782)
———, “A Bill for Establishing Religious Freedom” (1786) [*]
———, “On the Constitutionality of a National Bank” (1791)
———, “Letter to Elbridge Gerry” (January 26, 1799)
———, “First Inaugural Address” (March 4, 1801)
———, “Letter to the Danbury Baptist Association” (January 1, 1802)
———, “Second Inaugural Address” (March 4, 1805) [*]
———, “Letter to John Adams” (October 28, 1813)
———, “Letter to Samuel Kercheval” (July 12, 1816)

B. The Jacksonian Vision and American Individualism

- 2/15 Jackson, "First Annual Message to Congress" (December 8, 1829) [*]
———, "Second Annual Message to Congress" (December 6, 1830) [*]
———, "Veto of Maysville Road Bill" (May 27, 1830)
———, "Bank Veto Message" (July 10, 1832) [*]
———, "Message on Removal of Southern Indians" (1835)
- Clay, "Speeches on the American System" (February 1832)
Webster, "Speech on the Presidential Veto of the Bank Bill" (July 11, 1832)
- Marshall, *Cherokee Nation v. State of Georgia* (1831)
———, *Worcester v. Georgia* (1832)
Taney, *Charles River Bridge Co. v. Warren Bridge Co.* (1837)
Story, *Charles River Bridge Co. v. Warren Bridge Co.*, Dissent (1837)
- Emerson, "Divinity School Address" (1838)
Thoreau, "Civil Disobedience" (1849)

C. Slavery, Lincoln, and the Second Founding

- 2/22 Calhoun, "A Disquisition on Government" (1851) [*]
Douglass, "What to the Slave is the Fourth of July?" (1854)
- Lincoln, "Address before the Young Men's Lyceum" (January 27, 1838)
———, "Speech in U.S. House on the War with Mexico" (January 12, 1848) [*]
———, "Speech on the Kansas-Nebraska Act" (October 16, 1854) [*]
- Taney, *Dred Scott v. Sandford* (1857)
Curtis, *Dred Scott v. Sandford*, Dissent (1857)
Lincoln, "Speech on the Dred Scott Decision" (June 26, 1857) [*]
———, "House Divided Speech" (June 16, 1858)
Lincoln and Douglas, "Selected Debates" (1858)
- Lincoln, "First Inaugural Address" (March 4, 1861)
———, "Message to Special Session of Congress" (July 4, 1861) [*]
———, "Message to Congress [on] Emancipation" (March 6, 1862)
———, "Letter to Horace Greeley" (August 22, 1862)
———, "Reply to Committee from Churches of Chicago" (September 13, 1862)
———, "Proclamation Suspending Habeas Corpus" (September 24, 1862)
———, "Meditation on Divine Will" (1862)
———, "Emancipation Proclamation" (January 1, 1863)
———, "Letter to Erastus Corning et al." (June 12, 1863)
———, "Proclamation Suspending Habeas Corpus" (September 15, 1863)
———, "Gettysburg Address" (November 19, 1863)
———, "Second Inaugural Address" (March 4, 1865)

PART III: RECONSTRUCTION AND AMERICAN INDUSTRIALISM (1866 – 1927)

A. Gender and Race in the Ante-Bellum and Post-Bellum Periods

- 3/8 Grimké, A., "Letter to Theodore Weld and John Whittier" (August 20, 1837)
Grimké, S., "Letters on the Equality of the Sexes" (1837)
Beecher, "Treatise on Domestic Economy" (1841)
The Declaration of Sentiments, Seneca Falls (1848)
Stanton, "Address to the New York Legislature" (1854)
Anthony, "Speech in Defense of Equal Suffrage" (1873)
———, "Statement at the Close of Her Trial" (1873)
Jacobi, "'Common Sense' Applied to Woman Suffrage" (1894)
- Civil Rights Act of 1866*
Civil Rights Act of 1871
Civil Rights Act of 1875
Waite, *United States v. Cruikshank* (1875)
Bradley, *The Civil Rights Cases* (1883)
Harlan, *The Civil Rights Cases*, Dissent (1883)
Brown, *Plessy v. Ferguson* (1896)
Harlan, *Plessy v. Ferguson*, Dissent (1896)

B. Social Darwinism, Populism, and the Progressive Era

- 3/15 Conwell, "Acres of Diamonds" (c. 1870)
Sumner, "What Social Classes Owe to Each Other" (1883)
———, "The Absurd Effort to Make the World Over" (1894) [*]
- Carnegie, "The Gospel of Wealth" (1889)
The Populist Party Platform (1892)
Veblen, *Theory of the Leisure Class* (1899)
Sinclair, *The Jungle* (1906)
- Holmes, "The Path of Law" (1897)
Peckham, *Lochner v. New York* (1905)
Holmes, *Lochner v. New York*, Dissent (1905)
Brandeis, "The Living Law" (1916) [*]
Holmes, "Natural Law" (1918)
———, *Buck v. Bell* (1927)
- 3/21 – 3/25 SPRING BREAK
- 3/29 Roosevelt, T. "The New Nationalism" (August 31, 1910) [*]
Wilson, "Fourth of July Address on the Declaration of Independence" (1907)
———, "Address to the Jefferson Club of Los Angeles" (1911)
———, *The New Freedom* (1912)
Croly, *The Promise of American Life* (1909)
Dewey, "The Influence of Darwin on Philosophy" (1910)
Lippmann, *The Phantom Public* (1925)
Dewey, "The Public and its Problems" (1927) [*]

PART IV: MASS SOCIETY AND THE RISE OF MODERN LIBERALISM (1918 – 1945)

A. *Freedom as Power and Opportunity*

- 4/5 Debs, "Speech to the Court" (1918)
 Holmes, *Schenk v. United States* (1919)
 Clarke, *Abrams v. United States* (1919)
 Holmes, *Abrams v. United States*, Dissent (1919)
 ———, *Buck v. Bell* (1927)

B. *The New Deal and its Critics*

- 4/5 Hoover, H., *American Individualism* (1922) [*]
 ———, "Speech on Rugged Individualism" (October 22, 1928)
 ———, *The Challenge to Liberty* (1934) [*]
 ———, "The Crisis" (September 16, 1941) [*]

 Roosevelt, F.D., "Commonwealth Club Speech" (September 23, 1932)
 ———, "First Inaugural Address" (March 4, 1933)
 ———, "State of the Union Address" (January 6, 1941)
 ———, "State of the Union Address" (January 11, 1944) [*]
 Wallace, *New Frontiers* (1934) [*]
 Dewey, *Liberalism and Social Action* (1935)
 Lippmann, "Planning in an Economy of Abundance" (1937) [*]

PART V: LEVIATHAN AND LIBERALISM (1945 – Present)

A. *Civil Rights, Civil Liberties, and the Great Society*

- 4/12 Frankfurter, *Adamson v. California*, Concurrence (1947)
 Black, *Adamson v. California*, Dissent (1947)
 Vinson, *Dennis v. United States* (1951)
 Frankfurter, *Dennis v. United States*, Concurrence (1951)
 Douglas, *Dennis v. United States*, Dissent (1951)
 Black, *Youngstown Co. v. Sawyer* (1952)
 Jackson, *Youngstown Co. v. Sawyer*, Concurrence (1952)
 Vinson, *Youngstown Co. v. Sawyer*, Dissent (1952)

 Warren, *Brown et al. v. Board of Education of Topeka, Kansas* (1954)
 Arendt, "Reflections on Little Rock" (1959)
 Black, *Engel et al. v. Vitale et al.* (1962)
 Stewart, *Engel et al. v. Vitale et al.*, Dissent (1962)
 Clark, *School District of Abington Township, Pennsylvania v. Schempp* (1963)

 King, Jr., *Stride toward Freedom* (1958)
 ———, "Letter from a Birmingham Jail" (April 16, 1963)
 ———, "Lincoln Memorial Address" (August 28, 1963)
 Malcolm X, "The Ballot or the Bullet" (1964)
 Reagan, "A Time for Choosing" (1964)

- 4/19 Douglas, *Griswold v. Connecticut* (1965)
 Goldberg, *Griswold v. Connecticut*, Concurrence (1965)
 Harlan II, *Griswold v. Connecticut*, Concurrence (1965)
 Black, *Griswold v. Connecticut*, Dissent (1965)
 Warren, *Miranda v. Arizona* (1966)
 Douglas, *Brandenburg v. Ohio*, Concurrence (1969)
 Blackmun, *Roe v. Wade* (1973)
 Rehnquist, *Roe v. Wade*, Dissent (1973)
 White, *Roe v. Wade*, Dissent (1973)

PART VI: DEBATING THE UNITED STATES CONSTITUTION

- 4/19 Marshall, "Remarks on the Bicentennial of the Constitution" (1987)
 Levinson, "Introduction" and Ch. 1
- 4/26 Levinson, Ch. 2-7
- 4/26 **FINAL EXAM (7:30 – 9:30 PM)**
- 4/29 **PAPER DUE BY 5:00 PM**