American Political Ideologies – Govt. 2392, Spring 2008

**Course Description:** Unlike traditional political philosophy courses that focus on the genius of individual thinkers, or courses on empirical politics that focus on institutions or political behavior, this course is organized around beliefs and values that recur throughout American history and coalesce into ideologies. A political ideology can be understood as a link between thought and action; it provides a worldview, a set of goals, a guide to behavior, and a framework for understanding and creating (or destroying) institutions and practices. It can also be understood more negatively, as the *Journal of Political Ideologies* does: “the notion of ideology … is concerned with attempts to control political language and discourse, with epistemological issues of truth, distortion, and dissimulation, and with… phenomena of power, dominance, and exploitation.”

We will examine both the persistence of core American ideologies, and how they change and are changed by people, events, and new contexts. The course also explores how disparate ideologies appear to Americans of different political convictions, genders, ethnicities, regions, religions, and classes. It will use an array of materials, primarily canonical texts such as the *Federalist Papers*, Tocqueville’s *Democracy in America*, legal decisions, and political speeches and documents; our tasks will include consideration of how these materials reveal ideologies as well as our own and others’ normative and political evaluations of those ideologies. The course follows rough chronological order from the early 1600s through the late 1900s, although some classes will be more topical and cover a wide range of years.

**Course Requirements:** Requirements include informed participation in seminar discussions and a final paper (15-20 pp). Each student will also be responsible, for 10 of the 13 weeks, for a one-page memo to be turned in by midnight on Tuesday (i.e. the day before the class). We will set up a drop box on the course website, so that students can read each others’ memos. Each memo will begin with a key question that you would use if you were to run that day’s discussion; it should also include observations about why the question is important, what points you would hope to elicit during the discussion, and how the question is connected with that week’s (and possibly previous weeks’) readings. At the end of each class session, be prepared to state orally what you would do if you were to develop a research project on the topic of that week’s readings and discussion.

The final paper can be an analysis of themes that cut across several topics or authors, a deeper analysis of one particular author or theme, an introductory lecture for a course on American Political Thought to be taught to undergraduate Government concentrators, or a syllabus for an alternative way of organizing a graduate seminar on this subject (along with a reading list and explanation of the alternative). The paper may, but need not, use materials outside the syllabus. Each student should consult with me before settling on a topic.

**Course Readings:** Books are available in the Coop, and both the books and short readings are on reserve at Fung Library (CGIS, Concourse level). Short readings that are not available online or in the course reserves at Fung Library will be made available on the course website. Many of the books will be available in used bookstores or at on-line used bookstores. Most of the readings are also available on line since they are no longer in copyright; we include a hyperlink.
for each, but other versions may be available. (I don’t care what publisher or url you use, so long as the book or reading is unaltered and unabridged.)

Required books are:

- Michael Johnson ed., *Abraham Lincoln, Slavery, and the Civil War* (Bedford/ St. Martin’s 2000) (or any edition that contains all the assigned material)
- Mary Rowlandson, *Narrative of the Captivity and Restoration of Mrs. Mary Rowlandson* (any complete edition)
- William Graham Sumner, *What Social Classes Owe To Each Other* (Caxton Printers, 1974)

- Alexis de Tocqueville, *Democracy in America* (any complete edition)
- Frederick Jackson Turner, *The Significance of the Frontier in American History* (any complete edition)
- David Walker, *Appeal to the Colored Citizens of the World...* (any complete edition)

*Optional History Textbook:* This course assumes a fair knowledge of American history. If your knowledge is shaky, plan on reading an American history textbook as we progress through the course. Here are several possibilities:

- Pauline Maier et al., *Inventing America* (Norton) – emphasis on technology, broadly defined
- John Murrin et al., *Liberty, Equality, Power* (Wadsworth) – fairly high-powered, as textbooks go, distinctly leftist slant; lots on Civil War battles [James MacPherson is co-author]
- Paul Boyer et al., *The Enduring Vision*, 2 vols. (Houghton Mifflin) – somewhat more rightward slant
- Gary Nash et al., *The American People* (Longman) – emphasis on social history
- Robert Divine et al., *America, Past and Present* (Longman) OR *The American Story* (I’m not sure what the relationship is between these two)

**Syllabus**

*January 30: Models for Studying American Political Ideologies*

Political Science Quarterly Vol. 92, No. 1 (Spring, 1977), pp. 1-20
http://links.jstor.org/sici?sici=0032-3195%28197721%2992%3A1%3AORCITD>2.0.CO%3B2-H

Samuel Huntington, American Politics: The Promise of Disharmony, chapters 2-4

Rogers Smith, Civic Ideals, Introduction, chapter 1

Jennifer Hochschild, Facing Up to the American Dream, chapter 1

February 6: Europeans and the “New World”

John Winthrop, "A Modell of Christian Charity"
http://history.hanover.edu/texts/winthmod.html

John Winthrop, "`Little Speech' on Liberty" http://www.constitution.org/bcp/winthlib.htm


Mary Rowlandson, Narrative of the Captivity and Restoration of Mrs. Mary Rowlandson

http://digital.library.upenn.edu/webbin/gutbook/lookup?num=851 or NetLibrary - eBook Details

Peter Nabokov, Native American Testimony:

“We Never Quarrel about Religion”

“Remove the Cause of Our Uneasiness”

“Mary Jemison Becomes an Iroquois”

“We Must Be United”

“Let Us Examine the Facts’

February 13: The Self-made Man in the Self-Made Nation
Benjamin Franklin, *Autobiography*


NetLibrary - eBook Details

**February 20: Creating a Constitutional Order, and/or Destroying a Nascent Democracy?**

*The Federalist Papers*, numbers 1, 9, 10, 14, 23, 35, 39, 45, 51, 54, 55, 63, 70, 78, 84, 85

[http://lcweb2.loc.gov/const/fed/fedpapers.html](http://lcweb2.loc.gov/const/fed/fedpapers.html) or


Ketcham, *The Anti-Federalist Papers*:

“John DeWitt”

Speeches of Patrick Henry

“Centinel” Number 1

Letters from the Federal Farmer

Speeches of Melancton Smith

[www.constitution.org/afp/afp.htm](http://www.constitution.org/afp/afp.htm)

**February 27: Democracy in America**

Alexis de Tocqueville, *Democracy in America*, vol. I:

Author's Introduction

Part I, chapter 3

Part II, chapters 1, 6, 7, 9

*Democracy in America*, vol. II

Author's Preface, or Notice
March 5: Transcendentalism: An Alternative (?) Vision for the United States

Henry David Thoreau, *Walden*, chapters 1, 2, 5, 7, 8, 11, 17, and 18

http://xroads.virginia.edu/~HYPER/WALDEN/walden.html

Ralph Waldo Emerson, “Self-Reliance” www.emersoncentral.com/selfreliance.htm

Ralph Waldo Emerson, “Politics” www.emersoncentral.com/politics.htm

March 12: Slavery, For and Against

David Walker, *Appeal to the Coloured Citizens*...

http://afroamhistory.about.com/library/blwalkerpreamble.htm


William Lloyd Garrison, Prospectus and Inaugural Editorial for *The Liberator*,

http://history.hanover.edu/courses/excerpts/111garrison.html

U.S. Supreme Court, *Dred Scott v. Sandford*, 1857, and dissent of Mr. Justice MacLean

http://www.tourolaw.edu/patch/Scott/

M. Johnson ed., *Abraham Lincoln, Slavery, and the Civil War*: 
“A House Divided” Speech
http://showcase.netins.net/web/creative/lincoln/speeches/house.htm

The Lincoln-Douglas Debates (as abridged here)

Address at Cooper Institute
http://showcase.netins.net/web/creative/lincoln/speeches/cooper.htm

First Inaugural Address
http://showcase.netins.net/web/creative/lincoln/speeches/1inaug.htm

Annual Message to Congress, Dec. 1, 1862

Emancipation Proclamation
http://showcase.netins.net/web/creative/lincoln/speeches/emancipate.htm

Gettysburg Address
http://showcase.netins.net/web/creative/lincoln/speeches/gettysburg.htm

Second Inaugural Address
http://showcase.netins.net/web/creative/lincoln/speeches/inaug2.htm

Last Public Address http://showcase.netins.net/web/creative/lincoln/speeches/last.htm

March 19: The Emergence and Consolidation of Corporate Capitalism

William Graham Sumner, What Social Classes Owe to Each Other

Available on books.google.com (you can enter through Hollis)
http://lms01.harvard.edu/F/DDVHMH66P5CQ8JG8F69TGAV22UTKDRSJ68LVQDEVDU16K2H8UI-04035?func=find-acc&acc_sequence=025504558

Nabokov, Native American Testimony:

“Our Stock of Food and Clothes”

“My Son, Stop Your Ears”

General Allotment (Dawes) Act, 1887

http://www.pbs.org/weta/thewest/resources/archives/eight/dawes.htm

Werner Sombart, Why Is There No Socialism in the United States?
April 2: Gender Hierarchy and Equality

*The Feminist Papers*, ed. Alice Rossi:

“Remember the Ladies” and Selected Letters from Adams Family

See Rossi UnderAdditional ReadingsTab

Elizabeth Cady Stanton: Seneca Falls Declaration


Introduction to *The Woman's Bible,*

[http://www.undelete.org/library/library0041a.html#top](http://www.undelete.org/library/library0041a.html#top)

Pastoral Letter, The General Association of Massachusetts…


Sarah Grimke, Letters on the Equality of the Sexes

See Additional ReadingsTab

Charlotte Perkins Gilman, *Women and Economics,* selection

See Rossi UnderAdditional ReadingsTab

Jane Addams, Utilization of Women in City Government

See Rossi UnderAdditional ReadingsTab

Elizabeth Cady Stanton, “Solitude of Self”

[http://lcweb2.loc.gov/cgi-bin/query/r?ammem/naw:@field(DOCID+@lit(rbnawsan8358div2))](http://lcweb2.loc.gov/cgi-bin/query/r?ammem/naw:@field(DOCID+@lit(rbnawsan8358div2)))

Francis Parkman, “The Woman Question”


April 9: Making Americans
Theodore Roosevelt, “Americanism,” in *Fear God and Take Your Own Part*, pp. 357-376

http://www.vdare.com/fulford/melting_pot_play.htm

Randolph Bourne, “Trans-National America”


Booker T. Washington, *Up From Slavery*, at least chapters 13-14
http://xroads.virginia.edu/~HYPER/WASHINGTON/cover.html

W. E. B. DuBois, *The Souls of Black Folk*, at least chapters 1, 3, 9
http://www.ibiblio.org/gutenberg/etext96/soulb10.txt or
http://xroads.virginia.edu/~HYPER/DUBOIS/cover.html

**April 16: “Progress” and Its Costs**

http://xroads.virginia.edu/~HYPER/HADAMS/ha_home.html

Frederick Jackson Turner, “*The Significance of the Frontier in American History*, Chapter 1” from *The Frontier In American History*
http://xroads.virginia.edu/~Hyper/TURNER/

People’s Party Platform
http://projects.vassar.edu/1896/peoplesplatform.html

William Jennings Bryan, "Cross of Gold"
http://historymatters.gmu.edu/d/5354/

Eugene Debs, “The Socialist Party,” and “Industrial Unionism”
Both at http://www.marxists.org/archive/debs/

Emma Goldman, “Anarchism: What It Really Stands For”
http://sunsite3.berkeley.edu/Goldman/Writings/Anarchism/anarchism.html
Nabokov, *Native American Testimony*

Debate over IRA

Indian Arts and Crafts Act of 1990

http://www.doi.gov/iacb/iaca90.html

Frederick Hayek, “Liberalism: Systematic” (sections 7-16)

http://www.angelfire.com/rebellion/oldwhig4ever/systematic.html

Tom Hayden et al., The Port Huron Statement

http://lists.village.virginia.edu/sixties/HTML_docs/Resources/Primary/Manifestos/SDS_Port_Huron.html

**April 23: Religion in the Public Sphere**

Michael Wigglesworth, God’s Controversy with New England, excerpted in


Jonathan Mayhew, A Discourse Concerning Unlimited Submission and Non-Resistance to the Higher Powers,

http://www.founding.com/founders_library/pageID.2299/default.asp

James Madison, “Memorial and Remonstrance against Religious Assessments”

http://press-pubs.uchicago.edu/founders/documents/amendI_religions43.html


http://www.religioustolerance.org/virg_bil.htm

Abraham Lincoln, Second Inaugural Address

http://showcase.netins.net/web/creative/lincoln/speeches/inaug2.htm

*Atlantic Monthly*, Letter from Charles Marshall, April 1927

http://historymatters.gmu.edu/d/5074/
Atlantic Monthly, Al Smith Replies: “Catholic and Patriot” May 1927

http://www.arts.mcgill.ca/programs/history/faculty/TROYWEB/Courseweb/CatholicandPatriot1.htm

NOTE: this is the first of 4 separate web pages you will need to look at to get the whole response. Substitute 2, 3, and 4 for 1 in the url above (just before htm) to get the rest of the article

Martin Luther King, speech on April 3, 1968

http://www.afscme.org/about/kingspch.htm

Rev. Pat Robertson, Address to the Republican National Convention

   http://www.forerunner.com/forerunner/X0166_Robertson_speech_198.html

Kitzmiller v. Dover Area School District

April 30: American Expansion and Defense

John L. O'Sullivan, "The Great Nation of Futurity,” 1839

http://cdl.library.cornell.edu/cgi-bin/moa/moa-cgi?notisid=AGD1642-0006-46

   NOTE; 5 pages as separate pdf’s

Standing Bear, “The Land Was Owned by Our Tribe”


Mark Twain, To the Person Sitting in Darkness, 1901

   http://etext.lib.virginia.edu/railton/enam482e/totheperson.html

Woodrow Wilson, Address to Congress, 1918

   http://historicaldocuments.com/WoodrowWilsons14Points.htm

Charles Lindbergh, “An Independent Destiny for America”
John F. Kennedy, Inaugural Address, 1961


General Douglas MacArthur, Thayer Award Acceptance Address, 1962


George W. Bush, Address to a Joint Session of Congress and the American People, 2001


George W. Bush, President Bush Addresses the Nation, 2003

http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2003/03/20030319-17.html

ADD???:

Salih Booker, “When Intervention is Necessary, Who Can You Call?”


ADD???:

Washington Farewell Address

http://gowpapers.virginia.edu/documents/farewell/intro.html

Monroe’s Monroe Doctrine

http://usinfo.state.gov/infousa/government/forpolicy/montroe.html