McWilliams Fall 2004

AMERICAN POLITICAL THOUGHT TO THE CIVIL WAR Political Science 266A

1. REQUIRED TEXTS:

Emerson, Ralph Waldo, SELF-RELIANCE AND OTHER ESSAYS Hamilton, Alexander, et al., THE FEDERALIST PAPERS Hawthorne, Nathaniel, THE CELESTIAL RAILROAD AND OTHER STORIES

Lincoln, Abraham, GREAT SPEECHES Paine, Thomas, COMMON SENSE

Thoreau, Henry David, CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE AND OTHER ESSAYS Young, James P., RECONSIDERING AMERICAN LIBERALISM

Note: Young has recently gone out of print; only a Limited number of copies are available. Assignments will be available on electronic reserve in the Blackboard for the course.

Recommended: Alexis de Tocqueville, DEMOCRACY IN AMERICA, is an indispensable analysis of American political culture. Students who are not familiar with the history of political theory may find it valuable to have a general text in the field, such as Leo Strauss and Joseph Cropsey, HISTORY OF POLITICAL PHILOSOPHY.

2. CLASS REQUIREMENTS:

b. One paper, (maximum, five double-spaced typewritten pages or the equivalent,) due Wednesday, October 6.

Does the Constitution, as drafted in Philadelphia in 1787, reflect or depart from the principles of the Declaration of Independence? In what respects? Is the Constitution, as originally adopted, more or less democratic than the Declaration?

c. One paper, (maximum, six double-spaced typewritten pages or the equivalent,) due Wednesday, November 17.

Discuss Hawthorne's short stories "Young



Goodman Brown" and "Ethan Brand" (THE CELESTIAL RAILROAD AND OTHER STORIES, pp.87-100 and 271-287). What is Hawthorne trying to teach his readers about the ways in which they should understand themselves and their relationship to society? Compare Hawthorne's view with the ideas of either Emerson or Thoreau, as reflected in the assigned readings.

3. COURSE OUTLINE AND READINGS:

Required readings are starred (*). Unless indicated, any required readings outside the texts will be available on the electronic Blackboard for the course. All unstarred readings are recommended. Class dates are tentative.

I. Introduction: Political Theory and the American Tradition (August 30, September 1)

*Mark Twain, "A Fable." (Will be distributed)

Chesterton, G.K., WHAT I SAW IN AMERICA
Hartz, Louis, THE LIBERAL TRADITION IN AMERICA
Lasch, Christopher, THE TRUE AND ONLY HEAVEN
McWilliams, Wilson C., THE IDEA OF FRATERNITY IN
AMERICA

Parrington, Vernon L., MAIN CURRENTS IN AMERICAN THOUGHT Smith, Rogers, CIVIC IDEALS

- II. Puritanism (September 6,8)
 - *John Winthrop, "A Model of Christian Charity"
 *Young, chapter 1 (pp.13-22)

Hoffer, P.C., LAW AND PEOPLE IN COLONIAL AMERICA McWilliams, IDEA OF FRATERNITY, 112-169
Miller, Joshua, THE RISE AND FALL OF DEMOCRACY IN EARLY AMERICA, 21-50

Miller, Perry, THE NEW ENGLAND MIND Morgan, Edmund, THE PURITAN DILEMMA Schneider, Herbert, THE PURITAN MIND Walzer, Michael, THE REVOLUTION OF THE SAINTS

- III. John Locke and Natural Rights (September 13,15)
 - *Young, chapter 2 (23-41)

Grant, Ruth, JOHN LOCKE'S LIBERALISM Hartz, THE LIBERAL TRADITION IN AMERICA

Huyler, Jerome, THE MORAL PHILOSOPHY OF THE FOUNDING ERA

Pangle, Thomas, THE SPIRIT OF MODERN REPUBLICANISM Schochet, Gordon, PATRIARCHALISM AND POLITICS Strauss, Leo, NATURAL RIGHT AND HISTORY Zuckert, Michael, NATURAL RIGHTS AND THE NEW REPUBLICANISM

- IV. The American Revolution (September 20, 22, 27, 29)
 - *The Declaration of Independence
 - *Nathaniel Niles, "Two Discourses on Liberty"
 - *Paine, COMMON SENSE
 - *Young, chapter 3 (41-54)

Arendt, Hannah, ON REVOLUTION
Bailyn, Bernard, THE IDEOLOGICAL ORIGINS OF THE
AMERICAN REVOLUTION

Dworetz, Steven, THE UNVARNISHED DOCTRINE Franklin, Benjamin, THE AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF BENJAMIN FRANKLIN

Heimert, Alan, RELIGION AND THE AMERICAN MIND Kammen, Michael, PEOPLE OF PARADOX Pocock, J.G.A., MACHIAVELLIAN MOMENT Wills, Garry, INVENTING AMERICA Zuckert, Michael, THE NATURAL RIGHTS REPUBLIC

- V. The Founding of American Institutions (October 4,6, 18,20,25)
 - *The Articles of Confederation
 - *The Constitution of the United States
 - *The Federalist Papers, numbers 1,6,9,10,11,14,15,16, 17,27,28,31,35,37,48,49,51,55,58,70,71,72,78,84
 - *Young, chapter 4 (55-72)

Banning, Lance, THE SACRED FIRE OF LIBERTY
Epstein, David, THE POLITICAL THEORY OF THE FEDERALIST
Gillespie, M. and Lienesch, M., eds., RATIFYING THE
CONSTITUTION

Goldwin, R. and Schambra, W., eds., HOW DEMOCRATIC IS THE CONSTITUTION?

Hendrickson, David, PEACE PACT

Jensen, Merrill, THE ARTICLES OF CONFEDERATION

Matthews, Richard K., IF MEN WERE ANGELS

McDonald, Forrest, NOVUS ORDO SECOLORUM

Miller, Joshua, RISE AND FALL OF DEMOCRACY, 81-103

Rosen, Gary, REPUBLICAN COMPACT

Storing, Herbert J., WHAT THE ANTI-FEDERALISTS WERE

FOR

Walling, Karl, REPUBLICAN EMPIRE Wood, Gordon, THE CREATION OF THE AMERICAN REPUBLIC

- VI. Democracy, Locality and the Crisis of Politics (October 27, November 1,3,8)
 - *Thomas Jefferson, Letter to James Madison, Sept.6, 1789 and Letter to Samuel Kercheval, July 12, 1816
 - *George Bancroft, ORATION TO THE DEMOCRACY OF SPRINGFIELD, 1836
 - *Bancroft, "William Penn and John Locke Compared"
 - *Lewis Henry Morgan, selections from THE LEAGUE OF THE IROQUOIS
 - *Tocqueville, Alexis de, selections from DEMOCRACY IN AMERICA
 - *Young, chapters 5,6 (77-91,93-106)

Banning, Lance, THE JEFFERSONIAN PERSUASION
Benson, Lee, THE CONCEPT OF JACKSONIAN DEMOCRACY
Cooper, James Fenimore, THE AMERICAN DEMOCRAT
Feller, Daniel, THE JACKSONIAN PROMISE
McCoy, Drew, THE ELUSIVE REPUBLIC
Meyers, Marvin, THE JACKSONIAN PERSUASION
Schlesinger, Arthur, THE AGE OF JACKSON
Sellers, Charles, THE MARKET REVOLUTION
Shankman, Andrew, CRUCIBLE OF AMERICAN DEMOCRACY
Sheldon, Garrett W., THE POLITICAL PHILOSOPHY OF
THOMAS JEFFERSON

Smith, Kimberly, THE DOMINION OF VOICE Tocqueville, Alexis de, DEMOCRACY IN AMERICA, especially vol.I, ch.14,15, vol.II, part 2, ch.1-7

Yarbrough, Jean, AMERICAN VIRTUES

- VI. Individualism, Commercialism and the Crisis of Society (November 10,15,17,22)
 - *Emerson, 1-38
 - *Hawthorne, 87-100, 185-202, 271-287
 - *Thoreau, 1-18,75-90

Anderson, Quentin, THE IMPERIAL SELF Brooks, VanWyck, THE FLOWERING OF NEW ENGLAND Kateb, George, THE INNER OCEAN McWilliams, IDEA OF FRATERNITY, 280-371 Melville, Herman, BARTLEBY Miller, Perry, THE LIFE OF THE MIND IN AMERICA Newfield, Christopher, THE EMERSON EFFECT Rose, Anne C., TRANSCENDENTALISM AS A SOCIAL MOVEMENT Shklar, Judith, REDEEMING AMERICAN POLITICAL THOUGHT 28-79

Taylor, Bob Pepperman, AMERICA'S BACHELOR UNCLE: THOREAU AND AMERICAN POLITICS

Zuckert, Catherine, NATURAL RIGHT AND THE AMERICAN IMAGINATION

NOTE: No class Wednesday, November 24.

- VII. Nationalism, Race and Equality: Slavery and the Crisis of the Union (November 29, December 1,6,8)
 - *John C. Calhoun, selection from DISQUISITION ON GOVERNMENT
 - *Lincoln, GREAT SPEECHES, 1-8, 24-32, 53-61, 103-104, 106-108
 - *Lincoln, "Speech on Discoveries and Inventions" and "Speech at Sanitary Fair,"
 - *Margaret Fuller, "Woman in the 19th Century"
 - *Young, chapter 7 (107-126)

Duberman, Martin, THE ANTI-SLAVERY VANGUARD
Genovese, Eugene, THE WORLD THE SLAVEHOLDERS MADE
Greenstone, J. David, THE LINCOLN PERSUASION
Jaffa, Harry V., CRISIS OF THE HOUSE DIVIDED
McDonald, Forrest, STATES' RIGHTS AND THE UNION
McPherson, James, ABRAHAM LINCOLN AND THE SECOND
AMERICAN REVOLUTION

Melville, Herman, BENITO CERENO Nichols, R., THE DISRUPTION OF THE UNION Stanton, William, THE LEOPARD'S SPOTS Wills, Garry, LINCOLN AT GETTYSBURG

4. OFFICE HOURS AND CONTACT INFORMATION:

My office hours will be from Mondays and Wednesdays,1:30-2:30 p.m. in Founders 25, or by arrangement.

I can be reached by phone during my office hours at 896-2962, and at other times at my home (908-788-5527) or (erratically) via email, at wmcwilli@haverford.edu.