

**University of Montana**  
**Department of Political Science**  
**American Political Thought**

*PSC U352*

*Spring 2020*

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*Dr. Grey*

*Office Hrs MWF 10-10:50 or by appt.*

*LA 353*

### **Course Description**

This course will explore American political thought from the period of the Puritans in Massachusetts to the late nineteenth-century, age of robber barons. Our focus will be on the ideas, social movements, parties, and individual thinkers that have contributed to the development of an "American tradition" of democratic political thought and practice. As we shall quickly discover, political thought in this country is not merely an offshoot of the well-worn European themes, but develops out the search for identity, common experiences, and historical political debate concerning the nature of democratic practices and institutions.

#### Assigned Texts:

1. ISAAC KRAMNICK & THEODORE LOWI (EDS) *AMERICAN POLITICAL THOUGHT*
  2. BELLAMY, *LOOKING BACKWARD*
  3. PAINE, *COMMON SENSE* (RECOMMEND)
  4. THOREAU, *CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE* (RECOMMEND)
- RECOMMEND: HAMILTON, MADISON, JAY, *THE FEDERALIST PAPERS* (RECOMMEND)**

#### Course Objectives:

Upon successfully completing the course work, the student should be able to:

1. Identify the major pre-Civil War political thinkers and assess their contributions to the philosophical ideas and values that underscore America political discourse.
2. Develop an analytical essay examining a particular American thinker's views on human nature, equality, individual and community rights, the good life, the purpose of government, the function of representation, the role of engaged citizens, and the principle of constitutionalism, etc. The goal of the essay assignment (including the midterm and the final) is to encourage students not only to learn about American political thought, but to learn how to think theoretically about politics.
3. Provide an interpretive final essay on Edward Bellamy's utopian novel, *Looking Backward*. What, if any, are the distinctively "American" values, principles and political themes found in Bellamy's vision of an American utopia. (Please see Bellamy Paper Guidelines.)

#### Course Grading:

The work of the course consists of reading all assignments, attending the class lectures and participating in class discussion (\***10%** of course grade.)

Each student will submit **one take-home analytical essay (25%** of course grade), not to exceed 4-5 double-spaced pages. Please see schedule below for topics.

In addition, each student will complete **two midterms (30%** of course grade) and a take-home **final (35%)** on Bellamy's **Looking Backward**, see pp. 5-7 of syllabus.

\* Cautionary note: if you are absent more than 3xs, three points will be deducted for every absence thereafter. Excused absences require an athletic or medical note.

### Extra Credit Assessment Essay Exam (3 pts each exam):

University of Montana & Political Science Department is asking you to take an essay exam as part of the University's require Assessment of Student Learning.

Students taking this course to **fulfill writing the 400 requirements** will be required to revise and *expand their essays into 10-12 pages*. Substantive and grammatical revisions will be expected. The writing grade will be based upon the following writing guidelines and expectations:

- The critical, interpretive essay must provide a **clear thesis** (preferably at the end of the introductory paragraph), indicating the author's main points with regard to the essay question.
- The essay must support the thesis statement with **specific references** to the primary texts, **providing footnotes** for all quoted material and a **bibliography** at the end. Please use Chicago style.
- Students should pay close attention to their **choice of words** in summarizing and clarifying the substance of a political theory (i.e. *the* good state and *a* good state are *not* the same). They must demonstrate awareness of how words can clarify and/or obscure a theorist's principles, illustrations, and, in general, the nature of their political inquiry.
- The first essay draft will be returned with editorial comments. Students are encouraged to talk with me about their essays before revising them.
- Student must include **original essay draft with revised, extended draft**.
- Revised essay will be **graded based upon:** grammar, spelling, appropriate choice of words, transitions between paragraphs, use of quoted material to support their interpretation, accuracy in paraphrasing, logical organization of ideas and points, and clarity.
- Only **one revision** is allowed. Please proof read the final drafts for any grammatical, spelling, or typos before turning it in.

### Our Social Contract: "Life is short, but there is always time for courtesy," Ralph Waldo Emerson

Emerson believed, as I do, that manners matter a great deal in life. Insofar as our course is concerned, I expect reciprocal courtesy to exist between us. This will be our 'social contract.' For my part, I will take all of my teaching responsibilities with the utmost seriousness. In return, you need to read all of the material with care, to actively listen, to raise questions, and to reflect on what you have learned. In addition, I expect you to come to class on time, to stay for the entire lecture, and to refrain from any behavior that might distract me or the students around you. Please do not talk with your neighbors or read newspapers

during the lecture. Please turn off your cell phones. It is imperative that we create an atmosphere conducive to learning. As J.S. Mill reminds us, “what we achieve depends less on the amount of time we possess, that on the use we make of our time.”

### Masc. Items:

- Plus/Minus Grades will be used based on the following: 100-93 = A; 92-90 = A-; 89-87= B+; 86-83 = B; 82-80 = B-; 79-77= C+; 76-73= C; 72-70=C-; 69-67=D+; 66-63=D; 62-60=D-; 59< =F
- If student elects to take course as a Pass or No Pass, they should be aware that a total of 69 pts. or lower will be a NP.
- Please see me and UM catalog for criteria on Incomplete Grades.
- *All students must practice academic honesty. Academic misconduct is subject to an academic penalty by the course instructor and/or a disciplinary sanction by the University. All students need to be familiar with the Student Conduct Code. The Code is available for review online at <http://www.umt.edu/SA/VPSA/index.cfm/page/1321>.*
- *Students with disabilities may request reasonable modifications by contacting me. The University of Montana assures equal access to instruction through collaboration between students with disabilities, instructors, and Disability Services for Students (DSS). “Reasonable” means the University permits no fundamental alterations of academic standards or retroactive modifications. For more information, please consult <http://www.umt.edu/disability>.*

### Tentative Class Schedule

- 1/13 Introduction to American Political Thought
- 1/14-22 "New World Man": the Study of American Political Thought  
Read: Kramnick & Lowi, **AMERICAN POLITICAL THOUGHT**, “Introduction,” pp. xxv-xxxviii; Robert McCloskey, “American Political Thought and the Study of Politics, posted on Moodle.  
Recommend Films: 'Paint Your Wagon' and 'Horse Whisperer'
- 1/17 Assessment Exam: Part I (extra credit)
- \*\*\*\*\*Monday January 21\*\*\*\*\*No Class—Martin Luther King Day\*\*\*\*\***
- 1/22- Puritanism in Massachusetts: the Calvinist Theocrats  
1/27 Read: Kramnick & Lowi, **AMERICAN POLITICAL THOUGHT**, pp. 2-19; pp 41-42;62.  
Recommend: Perry Miller & Thomas Johnson, The Puritans, vol 1, New York: Harper, 1963; Randolph S. Bourne, "The Puritan's Will to Power," from **WAR AND THE INTELLECTUALS**, 156-161.
- 1/29 *John Wise & congregationalism*  
Read: Kramnick & Lowi, **AMERICAN POLITICAL THOUGHT**, pp. 21-31.
- 1/31 *Roger William's and Religious Dissent*  
Read: Kramnick & Lowi, **AMERICAN POLITICAL THOUGH**, 19-21;32-41.

- 2/3            *Separation of Church & State: Three Traditions;*  
*Essays due 2/3: "Puritanism is un-American?"*
- 2/5            *War of Independence*  
 Read: Kramnick & Lowi, **AMERICAN POLITICAL THOUGHT**, 68-94;115-118.
- 2/7            *Slack Day: No Class. . .See one of the Recommended Readings below:*  
 Bailyn, **THE IDEOLOGICAL ORIGINS OF THE AMERICAN  
 REVOLUTION (1968)**; Jack Rakove, **REVOLUTIONARIES 2010**);  
 Gordon Wood, **THE RADICALISM OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION  
 (1991)**
- 2/10           *War of Independence continued*
- 2/12-         *Thomas Paine and Natural Rights*  
 2/14         Read: Paine, **COMMON SENSE**; Kramnick & Lowi, **AMERICAN  
 POLITICAL THOUGH**, pp. 95-115.  
 Recommend: Paine's **AGE OF REASON**

*\*\*\*\*\*Monday February 17th\*\*\*\*\*No Class-- President's Day\*\*\*\*\**

- 2/19           *Problems of Paine/Problem of Union*  
 Read: Kramnick & Lowi, **AMERICAN POLITICAL THOUGHT**, 119-145.  
*Essays due 2/19: Why might historians and scholars  
 disqualify Paine as "a full-fledged founding father?"*
- 2/21           *US Constitutional Thought: Hamilton, Madison, and the Problem of Union*  
 Read: Kramnick & Lowi, **AMERICAN POLITICAL THOUGHT**, 145-210.

*\*\*\*\*\* Midterm #1 Monday, February 24th \*\*\*\*\**

- 2/26-         *Madison & the Constitutional Republic*  
 2/28         Read: Madison, **THE FEDERALIST**, Nos. 15, 31, & 33 (can be found at:  
<http://www.let.rug.nl/usa/documents/1786-1800/the-federalist-papers/>)
- 3/2-         *The Constitutional Debate: Federalists v. Anti-Federalists*  
 3/4         Read: Kramnick & Lowi, **AMERICAN POLITICAL THOUGHT**, 210-242.  
*Essays due 3/2: "The public voice, pronounced by the representatives of  
 the people, will be more consonant to the public good than if pronounced by  
 the people themselves, convened for the purpose." First, what did Madison  
 mean by this? Second, what difficulties can be found in  
 Madison's theory of representation?*
- Or
- Essays: due 3/4: "While founding the Constitution on popular sovereignty,  
 at the same time, the framers constituted a new government so that the  
 people would speak, if at all, in a muted and incoherent voice." (Currin  
 Shields) In light of your reading of the *Federalist* papers, please discuss how  
 Madison perhaps tried to create just such a government, and *why*. Next, is  
 this statement still relevant today? Are there political movements that*

Madison didn't foresee that would make the public voice "less muted and incoherent?" Or if not, why not?

3/6 *John Adams and Mixed Government*  
Recommend: Joseph Dorfman, "The Regal Republic of John Adams," *Political Science Quarterly*, vol. 59, June 1947: 227-247: on Moodle.

3/9-  
3/11 *Hamilton, Marshall, and National Supremacy*  
Read: Kramnick & Lowi, **AMERICAN POLITICAL THOUGHT**, 245-295.

3/13 Assessment Exam II (extra credit)

\*\*\*\*\* *Spring Break* \*\*\*\*\*  
*March 16th -22nd* \*\*\*\*\*

3/23-  
3/25 *Jeffersonian Democracy*  
Read: Kramnick & Lowi, **AMERICAN POLITICAL THOUGHT**, 295-340.  
**Essays due 3/25:** "Farmers, whose interests are entirely agricultural . . . are the true representatives of the great American interest, and are alone to be relied upon for expressing proper American sentiments." What are these 'proper American sentiments' that Jefferson is referring to? Why does Jefferson associate political virtue with farmers? Is he faith in them justified, especially when considering rural farmers today?

**Essays due 3/25:** "Jefferson may have more faithfully mirrored the 'American political mind,' Adams was by far the better theorist." Discuss with reference to their major contributions to American political thought.

\*\*\*\*\* *Midterm #2 Monday March 27th* \*\*\*\*\*

3/30-  
4/1 *The Jacksonian Movement*  
Read: Kramnick & Lowi, **AMERICAN POLITICAL THOUGHT**, 341-344; 356-386.

4/3-  
4/6 *Ralph Waldo Emerson and Transcendentalism*  
Read: Kramnick & Lowi, **AMERICAN POLITICAL THOUGHT**, 386-409; 422-452; 749-755  
**Essays due 4/6:** Is Emerson's philosophy essentially radical or conservative? Are there any distinctly liberal ideas found in his writings? Explain—see also text: pp. 1092-1101;1330-1337;.

\*Bellamy's **LOOKING BACKWARD**

4/8 *The Slavery Controversy: Pro-Slavery Arguments*  
Kramnick & Lowi, **AMERICAN POLITICAL THOUGHT**, 453-510.

4/10-  
4/13 *John C. Calhoun and Concurrent Majorities*  
Reading: Kramnick & Lowi, **AMERICAN POLITICAL THOUGHT**, 513-559.

4/15-  
4/17 *Anti-Slavery Arguments: H.D. Thoreau and Civil Disobedience*  
Read: Kramnick & Lowi, **AMERICAN POLITICAL THOUGHT**, 409-422; H.D. Thoreau, **CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE**, read all at:  
<http://xroads.virginia.edu/%7EHYPER2/thoreau/civil.html>

**Essays: due 4/17:** "Thoreau's doctrine of civil disobedience raises but does not resolve a crucial problem in democratic thought." What is that problem?

- 4/20- Webster, *Lincoln and the Cause of Union*  
4/22 Read: Kramnick & Lowi, **AMERICAN POLITICAL THOUGHT**, 561-596.
- 4/22- *Sumner and Laissez-Faire*  
4/24 Read: Kramnick & Lowi, **AMERICAN POLITICAL THOUGHT**, 598-646; 708-749.  
\*Bellamy's **LOOKING BACKWARD** (finish)
- 4/27- *Bellamy and Socialism*  
4/29 Kramnick & Lowi, **AMERICAN POLITICAL THOUGHT**, 766-771; 915-919.  
Recommend: Michael Harrington, **SOCIALISM**, Chap. VI, "The American Exception"
- 5/1 *Parables of American Discourse*  
Read: **AMERICAN POLITICAL THOUGHT**, 925-971.

**\*\*\*Final Due Monday May 4th at 12 pm \*\*\*\* Please see guidelines below.**

Political Science 352

Spring 2020

**Final**

(35% of total grade)

Bellamy's *LOOKING BACKWARD*

Format: essay should comprise 6-7 typed, double-spaced pages. Please use 12-11 pt. Font.

I. Purpose

- A. Objective: Provide an analytical essay comparing and contrasting the ideas/themes of Bellamy's *LOOKING BACKWARD* with the thinkers and ideas we have covered in the course. An interpretive essay is not a book review or an editorial. A good essay supports its analysis with direct references to the novel, showing to what extent Bellamy embraces, satirizes, and/or negates the ideas and ideals of other American political thinkers (probably no more than two of them) or particular social movements covered in class.

II. Content

A. Description & Thesis (15% of essay value)

Provide only a summary description of Bellamy's *LOOKING BACKWARD*. Assume that the reader is familiar with the plot of the novel. (One short paragraph should be sufficient.) At the end of your first paragraph, please provide a clear thesis statement of your approach and the topics/thinkers covered in the paper.

B. Analysis (65% of paper grade)

This part of the paper should constitute the major portion of your work. Among the *political thinkers & theories* we have studied and read this semester, *who* is Bellamy addressing? In other word, what political values/ideas of his predecessors does Bellamy embrace and what ideas does he reject. Why?

For instance, what are the underlying assumptions about human nature? What is the system of the government in Bellamy's utopia? What is the *value* system of Dr. Leete's "new" American society? (Look at, for instance, what the citizens in twenty-first century are taught, if anything, regarding politics, the role of law, and socio-economic conditions of the nineteenth-century.) What is Bellamy telling us about the relations of employer and employee, men and women, parents and children in capitalist society versus a socialist one? (\* *These questions are only a suggested list to help you get started, but do not feel confined to only them.*)

C. Conclusion (20% of paper value)

Does Bellamy convince the reader that this ideal *America* is possible **or** desirable? Why, or why not? Do you see things in the present American society that duplicate some features of his utopia?

D. Planning

Part B should comprise the largest part of your paper. In other words, roughly 4 pages should be on analysis and 1-2 pages on part C as your conclusion.

II Style:

Be sure you edit your paper carefully. Points will be deducted for spelling and grammatical errors.

A. Additional Reading

You should review lecture notes and assigned reading to substantiate your positions for parts IB and IC. You may also draw upon unassigned readings in the Kramnick & Lowi, **AMERICAN POLITICAL THOUGHT** text and American writers not covered in class.

B. Quotations

All quotations or paraphrasing in your work from any material must be enclosed in quotation marks and properly cited as to their origin.

C. Bibliography (if secondary sources are cited.)

Please include a complete bibliography of all books used for this paper.

Essay Writing & Grading Guidelines:  
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*1st: Please: put the essay question/statement on the top of your paper. . .*

Thesis & Transitions – 20%

- Clear, thoughtful, and coherent thesis statement that addresses essay question/statement
- Thesis place at end of 1<sup>st</sup> paragraph
- Stays focused on essay topic

## Analysis – 65%

- Strong supporting evidence, drawn from reading material for the **thesis**
- Provides relevant information, clearly presented
- Fully developed, *interesting* arguments and points
- Analysis and conclusions are logical and precise
- Shows that the writer understands the author's argument, logic, and moral reasoning before critiquing or defending his/her argument
- Credit is given to outside sources, where appropriate

## Format, Word Choice, Mechanics & Quotations 15%

- Format: 3 typed, double-spaced pages, 10-12 point font
- Grammar: Neatness, spelling, grammar, punctuation, good transition sentences between paragraphs and tight topic organization
- Quotations: Inserted in body with page number, relevant to point, not taken out of context, best summary of thinker's view

**Don't editorialize!** Give us nothing but your opinion w/no reference to our reading.

**Don't give us a book review!** No rehashing of lecture notes or quote for the sake of quoting. # (Too much narration/description.)

**Don't quote Wikipedia or Dictionary for definitions!** Instead provide your own ideas and criteria for the meaning of key political terms.

### *Some General Tips for Good Writing:*

1. Good writing stems from good thinking. Clarify your intent & major ideas before you start. Don't expect that your design will materialize during writing. A good outline can help organize your ideas. Sketch out your major points and their logical relationship.
2. Be a master builder. Your building blocks are sentences and paragraphs. Each essay should have a specific theme; each paragraph should have a specific purpose regarding that theme; and each sentence should have a specific purpose in its paragraph.
3. Good writing results from revision. First drafts are almost always lousy writing. Samuel Johnson said, "What is written in haste is read without pleasure." Please note!
4. Become your own best editor. If you are committed to your ideas, you will be willing to revise and revise until they are expressed clearly.
5. "Simplicity, simplicity, simplicity," Henry David Thoreau admonished. His advice applies to composition as well as to life. Use clear-cut syntax and active voice (passive voice tends to distract & obscure.) Avoid unnecessary verbiage, such as "first and foremost" instead of "first." A good writer, said Thomas Jefferson, can use one word instead of three.

6. Be precise in your diction. Avoid a \$100 word when a \$5 word will do. “Never,” said George Orwell, “use a foreign phrase, a scientific word, or a jargon word if you can think of an everyday English equivalent.”

7. And “if it is possible to cut a word out,” Orwell added, “cut it out.” Carefully selected nouns and verbs rarely require adjectives and adverbs.

8. Don’t be a hedger. If you believe in your purpose and conclusions, be positive and bold. Tentativeness undercuts your credibility. Avoid, for example, “it seems,” “perhaps,” “somewhat,” “it appears,” etc. I call these ‘chicken words.’

9. Keep your reader in mind. Guide the reader through your train of thought. Keep the reader awake by varying the length and beginning of sentences. Keep the reader involved by providing interesting examples, transitions, and conclusions. Use short and apt quotations and paraphrase the rest.

10. Be technically correct. Grammar and spelling errors tell the reader that you are careless. Read your writing aloud to catch your mistakes.