1. THE POLITICAL THEORY OF THE FOUNDING, 1774-1800 (9 classes)

9/1. Founding principles: state of nature, consent, natural rights, laws of nature, common good, happiness. (1) consensus documents, not individual founders; (2) both state and federal documents; (3) principles and practice; (4) can nature be a standard for politics?

- Massachusetts Const., 1780, Decl. of Rights, etc.................. Packet 1, p. 4
- New Jersey Const., 1776, Preamble..............................................................Packet 1, p. 179
- Georgia Const., 1776, Preamble .................................................................Packet 1, p. 218
- Pennsylvania Const., 1776, Preamble.............................................................Packet 1, p. 232
- Virginia Const., 1776, Decl. of Rights..........................................................Packet 1, p. 236
- Gordon Wood, “Fundamentalists and the Constitution”.................................53
- Thomas Jefferson, Opinion on the French Treaties, 1793 (on the moral sense) ........63

*Federalist* 10, ¶2-9 (pp. 72-75). Possible conflict between consent and securing rights.
*Federalist* 51, ¶10 only (starts on bottom of 320, “Second.”). Consent vs security of rights.
- Hillary Clinton, Human Rights Agenda, ¶1-8 only .........................................Packet 2, 118-19

9/6. Natural rights and the British constitution.

- Jefferson, *Notes on the State of Virginia*, 1787, Query 8 (principles, immigration) Packet 1, p. 8
- Parsons, *Essex Result*, 484-9 top .................................................................Packet 1, 10-13
- Jefferson, *Summary View of the Rights of British America* .............................54-61
- Russell Kirk, “A Revolution Not Made but Prevented” ......................................20-24


- U.S. Constitution, art. 1, §8-10, and §1 of the 14th Amendment. In *Federalist*, 546-9, 561.
- *Federalist* 39, ¶1-5 only (236-8). What is republicanism?
- *Federalist* 48, ¶1-6 only (305-307). Most powerful branch.
- *Federalist* 51, ¶1-7 only (317-320). Keeping the 3 branches in line.
- *Federalist* 57, ¶12-13 only (starts on center of 350). What is law?
- *Federalist* 62, ¶15 (center of 379). What is law?
- Jefferson, Preface to a Bill on Crimes, 1778, ¶1-3............................Packet 1, p. 7
- *Essex Result*, 489-94 only .................................................................Packet 1, 13-15
- Green, “The Original Sense of (Equal) Protection” ........................................Packet 1, 40-50
- Mac Donald, “Is the Criminal Justice System Racist?” ..................................Packet 2, p. 37
- Baskerville, *Taken into Custody*, 177-183 ............................................Packet 2, p. 146
- Codevilla, “America’s Ruling Class,” on modern law ..................................Packet 1, p. 19
- Starr, “Estimating Gender Disparities” .........................................................Packet 1, 127
- Patterson, “Civil Contempt” (only the yellow highlights) ..............................Blackboard

OPTIONAL:
- Dalrock, 5 articles on modern family law .........................................................Packet 2, pp. 150-62
Massachusetts Const., all selections. ..............................................................Packet 1, 4-6
Parsons, Essex Result, 488-503 only ...............................................................12-19
Federalist 41, ¶5 (252), ¶22 (258). Federal powers; bounties & tariffs.
Federalist 45, ¶9-10 (289). Role of federal and state govts.
Federalist 51, ¶8-9 only (320). Federalism: “civil rights” in ¶10 (321)
Federalist 84, ¶4 (510), ¶11 (513, last para). Against a bill of rights.
U.S. Constitution on civil rights: art. 1, §9-10; art. 4, §2; first 10 amnds. In Federalist Papers,
548, 554, 560.
Campbell v. Morris, Maryland General Court, 1797 ............................................. Packet 1, 126
Corfield v. Coryell, U.S. Circuit Court case, 1823 .................................................20
Dred Scott, paragraph on privileges of citizenship ................................................131
Hillary Clinton, Human Rights Agenda, ¶1-8 only ...........................................Packet 2, 118-19

9/15. Securing rights: Criminal and civil law, education, morality, & economic policy.
Massachusetts Const., all selections. ....................................................................Packet 1, 4-6
Northwest Ordinance, 1787, selections ...................................................................6
University of Georgia Charter, 1785 ......................................................................39
Resolution of Charleston, South Carolina, June 4, 1774 .........................................61
Congress, Causes of Taking Up Arms, 1775............................................................62
Jefferson, Report of Commissioners for U. Va., 1818 ..............................................73
James Madison, “Property,” 1792 .........................................................................73
Washington, First Inaugural and First Annual Message............................................75
West, “Economic Principles of America’s Founders” .............................................224
Robert Bork, Slouching towards Gomorrah, 56-58, 63 ...........................................Packet 1, p. 8

9/20. The founders on sex and marriage
Parsons, Essex Result, 496-7 only ..........................................................................Packet 1, 16
Thomas West, “Locke and the Founders on Sex and Marriage”..........................76
John Witherspoon, Queries and Answers on Marriage, 1788 ...............................84
James Wilson, Lectures on Law, 1791, on the family .............................................85
Rogers Smith, “Beyond Tocqueville,” American Political Science Review 87, No. 3 (Sept.
1993): 549-50, 552-53 ..................................................25

9/22. The founders on immigration and welfare
Federalist 2, ¶2 and ¶5-6 (31-33).
Jefferson, Notes on Virginia, 1787, Query 8 .........................................................Packet 1, p. 8
West, “The Founders on Natural Rights and Welfare” .......................................Packet 1, 233
Read pp. 25-30 only in West, Vindicating, ch. 1 (slavery)....................................Blackboard
Thomas West, Vindicating, ch. 7 (immigration) ....................................................Blackboard
9/27. Religion and the founding. (1) Free exercise of religion: freedom of association; no right to disobey valid laws; accommodations, but does not have to; (2) Government support of religion. (3) The modern liberal view.

Mass. Decl. of Rts., provisions on religion............................................................Packet 1, p. 4
Northwest Ordinance, Art. 1 and 3 .................................................................6
Churchill, and the conflict between Christianity and politics..............................64
Simeon Howard, Artillery Election Sermon, 1773...............................................64
Jefferson, Virginia Act for Religious Freedom, 1785..........................................66
“William Penn” (Antifederalist) on religious tests, 1788.................................67
Debate on religious tests, in Mass. Ratifying Convention, 1788.....................67
Washington: to the Hebrew Congregation, 1790; to Quakers, 1789; Thanksgiving Proclamation, 1789; Farewell Address, 1796, on religion and morality............67-69
Parsons, Barnes v. First Parish, 1810.................................................................70
William Brennan, opinion in Abington v. Schempp, 1963...............................71

9/29. Foreign policy: non-intervention? Or expansion and imperialism?

Review Mass. Const. Preamble & governor’s foreign policy role ......................4
Federalist 6, ¶1-3, ¶8-9, ¶18-20 (pp. 48-49, 50-51, 53-54). Federalist 11, last ¶ (pp. 85-86);
Federalist 43, last ¶ (pp. 276-77).
Lincoln and Douglas on manifest destiny, from their 1858 debates, and from Lincoln’s 2d lecture on discoveries and inventions....................................................89
Jaffa, Crisis, 65-69, 75-83, 99-103, 405-409......................................................92

OPTIONAL:
Walter Lippmann, “Isolation and Expansion,” 1952......................................Blackboard

10/2, Sunday, 5:00pm. TAKE-HOME MIDTERM EXAMINATION DUE. Topics and instructions to be announced.

2. THE FOUNDING REJECTED AND RECOVERED, 1800-1898

10/4. The growing rejection of the founding, and Lincoln’s response.

Rufus Choate, “Age of the Pilgrims: The Heroic Period,” 1843..................106
John C. Calhoun, Speech on Abolition Petitions, Feb. 6, 1837.......................119
John C. Calhoun, Speech on the Oregon Bill, June 27, 1848.......................119
Lincoln, Speeches at Cincinnati (on labor and capital), New Haven (right to strike), Chicago (elec cord + “you work, I eat”)........................................120-21
Lincoln, Speech on the Dred Scott decision, 1857........................................122
Alexander Stephens “Cornerstone Speech,” 1861.................................125
Jefferson, Notes on the State of Virginia, Query 18, on slavery.....................125
Lincoln on colonization in his Cooper Union speech, 1860.........................128
Lincoln, Address on Colonization, August 1862.........................................128

OPTIONAL:
West, Vindicating, ch. 1 (slavery).................................................................Blackboard
3. THE FOUNDING REJECTED AGAIN: PROGRESSIVISM, OR MODERATE LIBERALISM, 1898-1970 (6 classes)

10/6. Progressive political theory: basic principles and race.
   Loewenberg, “Burgess, the Scientific Method, and Hegel.” Read the parts that are highlighted, not the whole article.......................................................Blackboard

OPTIONAL:
   Miller, “Progressivism, Race, and the Training Wheels of Freedom,” 2011 ............Blackboard

10/11. Progressive political theory and morality.
   Dewey and Tufts, *Ethics*, §2-3 of chap. 20..........................................................Packet 1, p. 152
   Dewey and Tufts, *Ethics*, 571, 594-597, 599-606 (on the family) ................................159
   T. Roosevelt, Address to National Congress of Mothers, 1905........................................219
   Lawrence Friedman, *Crime and Punishment*..........................................................Packet 2, p. 86

OPTIONAL:
   Miller, “Dewey and the Philosophical Refounding”.................................................Blackboard

10/13. FALL BREAK.

10/18. TR’s Progressivism: imperialism, uplift, the administrative state.
   Roosevelt, “The New Nationalism”.................................................................Packet 1, p. 166
   Theodore Roosevelt, “Expansion and Peace,” 1899 ...................................................173

   Woodrow Wilson, *The New Freedom*, 1912 ..........................................................Packet 1, p. 29
   Woodrow Wilson, War Message to Congress, 1917 ..................................................175
   Smith-Lever Act of 1914 ..............................................................176
   Calvin Coolidge, Fourth Annual Message, December 7, 1926 .................................177
   Calvin Coolidge, “The Inspiration of the Declaration” ..................................................179

OPTIONAL:
   Grant, “William Howard Taft . . . and Imperialism”................................................Blackboard

10/25. FDR’s New Deal: Progressivism entrenched.
   Franklin Roosevelt, Commonwealth Club Address, 1932 .........................................180
   Franklin Roosevelt, First Inaugural Address, 1933 ..................................................186
   Lawrence Reed, “Great Myths of the Great Depression” ..............................................187
   FDR, Annual Message to Congress, 1944 (“2d bill of rts” speech) ..............................190

10/27. LBJ’s Great Society: completion and end of pre-70 progressivism
   Lyndon Johnson, “To Fulfill These Rights,” June 4, 1965 ...........................................201
   Johnson, “Viet-Nam: The Third Face of the War,” May 13, 1965 ...............................204
   Lyndon B. Johnson, State of the Union Address, Jan. 12, 1966 ....................................205
   Miller, “Transforming Formal Freedom,” (FDR and LBJ) .........................................207
4. POST-1970 LIBERALISM AND CONSERVATISM (11 classes)

   Ronald Dworkin, *Taking Rights Seriously*, 272-8 ..........................................................21

   Review Ellis, Strauss, Levine, and Wood........................................................................packet 1, pp. 51-4
   Rorty, *Contingency, Irony*, xiii-xvi, 6-9, 44-5, 56-61, 177, 196-98 .................Packet 2, p. 25
   Trump, Acceptance speech at RNC, 7-21-16 .................................................................Blackboard
   Clinton, Acceptance speech at DNC, 7-29-16 .................................................................Blackboard
   Clinton, NAACP speech on race, 7-18-16.................................................................Blackboard
   Trump, America’s inner cities, 8-16-16.................................................................Blackboard
   Clinton, immigration speech, 6-24-16 .................................................................Blackboard
   Trump, immigration speech, Phoenix, 8-31-16 .........................................................Blackboard
   OPTIONAL:
   More Clinton and Trump speeches in “other speeches” folders on sugarsync........ Blackboard

11/6, SUNDAY, 5:00pm. PAPER DUE. Details to be announced.

   Nietzsche, *Beyond Good and Evil*, §222, 225 (white self-contempt and the loathing of healthy life).................................................................Packet 2, p. 77
   Nietzsche, *The Antichrist*, sec. 7 .......................................................................................77
   Americans with Disabilities Act, 1990, excerpts................................................................78
   M. L. King, “I Have a Dream,” 1963 ....................................................................................185
   Mary Frances Berry, “Vindicating Martin Luther King” ....................................................188
   Ruth Ginsburg, dissent in *Gratz v. Bollinger*, Supreme Court ........................................40
   Barack Obama, “Remarks on Trayvon Martin,” 2013 ......................................................192
   Ali Michael, “I Sometimes Don’t Want to Be White” .......................................................176
   McIntosh, “White Privilege: Unpacking the Invisible Knapsack” ..................................199
   Allan Johnson, *Privilege, Power, and Difference*, 54-67 .................................................202
   OPTIONAL:
   Charlotte Allen, “Beyond the Pale” (on “white privilege”).............................................81
11/10. Post-1960 conservatives on race. (1) Welfare and affirmative action (Gilder, Wax, Nieli); (2) Concealment of black crime (Sowell, MacDonald, Derbyshire, Williams); (3) racial differences (Murray, Wax, Derbyshire); (4) black “culture” (Roach, Williams, Mac Donald).

Murray, “The Inequality Taboo” (part III only, on race) ................................................................. Pkt 2, 49-53
Christopher Roach, “Out Come the Vultures,” 2012 ......................................................................... 54
Amy Wax, “Disparate Impact Realism,” 2011 ................................................................................... 56
Thomas Sowell, “A Censored Race War,” 2012 .................................................................................. 57
Heather Mac Donald, “Distorting Truth about Crime and Race” .................................................... 58
Walter Williams, “Cultural Deviancy, Not Guns,” 2013 ............................................................... 60
George Gilder, Men and Marriage, 78-95 .................................................................................. 62-70
Russell Nieli, “How Diversity Punishes Asians and Poor Whites” .................................................. 94
Mac Donald, “Obama Strikes Out,” 2013 ...................................................................................... 194
Mac Donald, “The Post-Zimmerman Poison Pill,” 2013 (criminal law not anti-black) ............... 197

OPTIONAL:


Supreme Court, Memoirs v. Mass., 1966, Clark and Douglas .................................................. 2:115
Supreme Court, Harris v. McRae, 1980, dissent by Marshall .................................................. 116
Supreme Court, Lawrence v. Texas, 2003, mystery passage .................................................. 117
Sandra Fluke, Statement to Congress on contraceptives ......................................................... 118
Norman O. Brown, Life against Death, 21-27, 307-308 ...................................................... 122
Firestone, “Dialectic of Sex,” in Feminism in Our Time, 246-56 ............................................. 128
Coontz, Marriage: A History, Conclusion .............................................................................. 140
Baskerville, Taken into Custody, 177-183 ................................................................................. 146
Dalrock, “Child Support Catastrophe,” “Case for Anger,” “Debtors’ Prisons,”
“Disrespecting,” “How the Destruction” .................................................................................. 150-162
Steve Sailer, “Happy White Married People Vote Republican” .............................................. 172
Patterson, “Civil Contempt” (only the yellow highlights) ......................................................... Blackboard


Murray, “Inequality Taboo” (pt. II only, male-female) ................................................................. Pkt 2, 46-9
National Organization for Women, 1966 Statement of Purpose ................................................ 137
Minow, “Should Religious Groups be Exempt?” 1-6 ............................................................... 134
Puts, “Beauty and the Beast” (male-female strength difference) .............................................. 187
Stephanie Gutmann, “Sex and the Soldier” .............................................................................. 163
Stephanie Gutmann, Kinder, Gentler Military .......................................................................... Blackboard
Bendery, “Joe Biden: Transgender Discrimination” .................................................................. Packet 2, p. 198
Schlogol, “Marine training as women join combat units” ......................................................... Blackboard
Mackenzie, “Let Women Fight” ................................................................................................. Blackboard
“Soldiers Blow Up 5 Myths about Women in Combat” .......................................................... Blackboard

11/22. Environmentalism: human-centered or life-centered?

Theodore Roosevelt, “New Nationalism,” two paragraphs on conservation.......................... Packet 1, 170-71
LBJ on conservation in Great Society speech .............................................................................. Packet 1, p. 202
Miller on LBJ on conservation in “Transforming” ..................................................................... 1:213-14
Taylor, “Human-Centered & Life-Centered” .............................................................................. Packet 2, p. 97
Shannon Petersen, Acting for Endangered Species, ix-xi .......................................................... 100
Ike Sugg, “California Fires: Losing Homes, Saving Rats” .......................................................... 104
Kim Gregory, “Mountain Lion Killed,” with reader comments............................................105
“Deer-Vehicle Collisions”....................................................................................................Blackboard


   George W. Bush, Second Inaugural Address, 2005......................................................Packet 2, p. 168
   Barack Obama, “A New Beginning,” Cairo, 2009..............................................................173
   Barack Obama, Address to the Nation on Libya, 2011....................................................39
   Clinton, Human Rights Agenda, Dec. 14, 2009...............................................................118
   Clinton, International Human Rights Day speech, Dec. 6, 2011...................................120
   Onishi, U.S. Support of Gay Rights in Africa May Have Done More Harm than Good......102
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   Russell Kirk, “The Idea of Conservatism” ..................................................................183
   Samuel Francis, “Populism and the Future of Am. Pol.,” Shots Fired, 263-76. ...............Blackboard
   Samuel Francis, “Beautiful Losers,” in Beautiful Losers, 222-31.................................Blackboard
   Codevilla, “America’s Ruling Class,” 2010.................................................................Blackboard
   Mark Steyn, “Tragedy or Scandal?” 2009 (Fort Hood & diversity)...............................79
   Mark Thompson, “The Fort Hood Report,” 2010........................................................80
   Decius, “Toward a Sensible, Coherent Trumpism”...................................................Blackboard

12/6. Conservatism.
   Peggy Noonan, “Trump and the Rise of the Unprotected”...................................Blackboard
   Noonan, “What Comes after the Uprising” (on Trump’s election) ...............................Blackboard
   Ann Althouse, On Noonan’s WSJ article on Trump’s election......................................Blackboard
   Continetti, “The ‘Condition of America’ Question”.......................................................Blackboard
   Decius, “The Flight 93 Election”....................................................................................Blackboard
   Continetti, “The Trump Revolution”........................................................................Blackboard
   Trump, Florida speech on Clinton campaign of destruction.........................................Blackboard

   Wendell Berry, “It All Turns on Affection,” 2012..................................................Packet 2, p. 179
   John Miller, “A Jeremiah for Everyone,” 2012 (Berry interview).................................181
   Dalrock, “Disrespecting Respectability”.........................................................................158
   Other readings may be announced...............................................................Blackboard

COURSE REQUIREMENTS

Papers and exams are graded according to the following criteria, in this order: (1) thoroughness
(must contain the most important points appropriate for essays of the assigned length); (2) key
points supported by evidence from the readings; (3) clearly written; (4) well organized; (5) correct
in regard to English grammar, word use, and spelling.

1. A midterm (25%) and a final examination (25%).
2. One long paper (25%), 2,200 to 2,500 words. Paper topics and instructions to be
   announced. I will accept late papers, but the grade will be penalized unless you have permission in
   advance to hand it in late. Instructions and topics will be provided.
3. **25% of the grade will be based on attendance, participation, preparation, and weekly comments.**

Topics for each class period are on the course plan. Be prepared to discuss these topics as well as factual questions about the content of the readings. Students who rarely volunteer to answer questions about the readings, or are consistently unable to answer when called on, will be graded down. On any class day, students should be ready to discuss the listed topics for that day as well as the topics for the immediately preceding class day.

**Weekly comments** (200 words max) explaining the most important theme in the assigned readings. For students with last names from A to L, comments are due on Tuesday of every week. They are due on Thursday for the rest of the class. A one-page printed copy, 1.5 spaced, with your name, date, and brief title is due at the beginning of class on the due date. No email copy needed.

Weekly comments will not receive a formal grade, but their quality will be taken into account for this portion of the overall course grade. I may hand back some early comments with my assessment.

No comments are due in the first and last week of classes, or in Fall Break or Thanksgiving week. *Late comments will not be accepted,* but you may skip 3 comments without penalty.

**BOOKS REQUIRED**


Two course packets (handouts). Packets are also on Blackboard, and at this url: [http://tinyurl.com/american-tgw](http://tinyurl.com/american-tgw).

**TO CONTACT THE INSTRUCTOR:**

Email: twest@hillsdale.edu. Cell phone 972-849-8515, 8:00am to 10:00pm. Leave a message or text me and I will respond. Office hours (Kendall 313): TuTh 11:00-11:15, 1:00-2:15, 3:45-4:00. I am often in the office at other times. Come by and knock. Email, text, or phone for an appointment, or to find out whether I am in the office.

**OTHER MATTERS**

Students are bound by all relevant College rules and regulations, including the Policy on Academic Honor.

Computers and other electronic devices must be silenced and put away. This article explains: [http://pss.sagepub.com/content/25/6/1159 (“Advantages of Longhand Over Laptop Note Taking”)](http://pss.sagepub.com/content/25/6/1159)

Food and drinks are permitted if consumed silently and cleaned up.

Reasonable disability accommodations will be granted with appropriate documentation.