

Seminar in American Political Thought: Meanings of Citizenship

POLS 4750/5750, WGST 4750/6700, ASTD 6020

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Office hours
T, W 2-3:30
& by appointment



The Verdict of the People (George Caleb Bingham, 1854), Saint Louis Art Museum

Bingham's painting depicts a frontier town as election results are read—during the decade before the Civil War. Bingham meant to provide “an art record” of his time. The painting maps in physical space the relation of the voters—white male citizens of all classes, some sober, some drunk—to people in the margins of the painting: in the lower left a black man mostly in shadow pushes a wheel barrow amidst the revelry; and in the upper right, a small group of women gather on a hotel balcony high above the raucous crowd in the street.

Similar to Bingham's painting, this course questions what citizenship means, and how it looks, to people in different social groups.

Course Description:

We study ideas, issues, and social and political institutions that have been central to the theory and practice of American constitutionalism from the founding era to the present. Readings are taken from primary sources; they include both well-known works by framers and presidents, such as Thomas Jefferson, Federalist and Antifederalist writers, and Abraham Lincoln, and works by those who testify when citizenship is not inclusive, such as Frederick Douglass, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, W.E.B. DuBois, Anna Julia Cooper, and Jane Addams. Primary sources are supplemented by contemporary theoretical analyses and court cases.

Goals:

1. To understand how citizenship looks through from the perspective of particular thinkers and different marginalized groups. For each perspective, we ask:
 - Who are citizens?
 - What entitles them to citizenship?
 - What persons are not considered citizens? Why not?
 - How do laws, policies, and social practices differentiate noncitizens from citizens?
2. To draw on primary sources in American political thought to construct coherent, well-supported oral and written arguments.
3. To produce research papers that persuasively investigate some aspect of how different meanings of U.S. citizenship work to the advantage and disadvantage of different groups of people.

Learning Outcomes

At the end of the semester, students demonstrate how well they have met these goals by designing their own research projects that investigate some aspect of American political thought and by offering helpful critiques of their classmates' projects. Thus, in addition to the substantive goals above, the course aims to enhance particular skills. Students are expected to:

1. develop their own research projects
2. present coherent, well-supported arguments—in oral and written form
3. assess the advantages and disadvantages of different scholarly arguments and evidence.

Requirements

Class participation: Discussion and writing are the primary means through which we understand, analyze, critique, and compare arguments in diverse primary sources. All students are expected to complete reading assignments prior to the class for which they are assigned, post weekly

reflections on assigned readings in their Canvas journal, participate regularly and vigorously in class discussions, and present 2-3 individual or group oral reports on extra readings. (Graduate students will have more responsibility than undergraduate students for these reports.) It is essential to have copies of assigned readings to refer to in class. At the end of the semester, everyone will present their final project to the class, and everyone will serve as a discussant/peer reviewer for another student's project. This follows the format of academic conferences.

Attendance: Because the success of this class depends heavily on students taking responsibility for discussion, and because the seminar meets only once a week, attendance is necessary at every class session. If you have to miss a class, it is your responsibility to let me know in advance and arrange to make up the work missed. In most cases, this will mean turning in written responses to the study questions assigned for the missed class. In some cases, depending on the material missed, other work or a meeting with me may be necessary.

Writing Assignments include weekly journal reflections, a midterm synthetic essay, other short writing assignments if they seem to be needed, and a final research project (which will be developed in stages).

Research Project. Graduate students complete a research paper. Undergraduate students may complete a research design as an alternative to a full research paper.

Canvas Journal. To develop your research project, it is important to keep track in your journal of insights gleaned from readings and discussion and to express these in writing early in the course. This will also help you to explore in writing a topic for your final paper. Elaborate on ideas and questions from the readings that interest you; develop your own insights. What interests you? Why? You can start early in the semester to investigate what others have written about your interests and to think about how you might enter the discussion. This process will also prepare you to write the midterm synthetic essay; it provides practices writing concretely about abstract ideas and using specific information from relevant readings to clarify and support your arguments. I am glad to discuss your ideas, questions, and interests with you at any point.

As explained in the *Guidelines for Journal Entries* (posted on Canvas), journal reflections should address specific issues raised in the readings. Sometimes these will be entirely up to you. Other times I may ask you to address particular questions. Regardless, your entry should deal with relevant readings in sufficient detail and specificity to show that you understand the author's purpose and the context of the issue you address, even as you integrate this material with your own reflections. *Raising questions and explaining why they matter is a good way to reflect*. You should not make claims or express opinions about the readings without supporting references to the relevant text(s). Specific citations are required for paraphrased or quoted material, which will be essential for demonstrating your in-depth grasp of the reading. So try to focus on a specific point. Typically 200-250 words will suffice. **Weekly journal posts are due on Monday by 2 pm.**

As you develop your semester project, you may find it useful to consult Pius librarian [Rebecca Hyde](#). Professor Hyde is the library liaison for the Political Science Department. She

provides research assistance with library and other information resources, developing search strategies, finding the right sources for your research project and more. You can contact her via email (rebecca.hyde@slu.edu) and/or [set up an appointment online](#). We'll get started by having the full class meet with Professor Hyde early in the semester.

Instructor feedback and evaluation. Normally, I will respond to individual journal entries during the week they are submitted, *if* they are submitted on time. **Rubrics/Guidelines for evaluating all written and oral assignments are posted on Canvas; these rubrics are for your own self-evaluation of the quality of your work, as well as for grading.**

Grading

Grades are determined as follows:

- Class participation (including attendance, discussion, occasional written responses to study questions, presentation of assigned readings or extra articles, reflections on Canvas, and assigned peer review of a classmate's final project) - 30%
- Midterm synthetic essay – 20%;
- Final research project – 50%. Projects are developed in stages so that folks do not get behind. Developmental stages (including abstract, first 5 pages, rough draft, oral powerpoint presentation) count 10%. If your work at a particular stage or on a particular component does not meet posted criteria, you probably will not need me to tell you; but I will 😊. The final version of the project counts 40%.

Grades will be reported in terms of the College of Arts and Sciences grading scale: A (4.0), A- (3.7), B+ (3.3), B (3.0), B- (2.7), C+ (2.3), C (2.0), C- (1.7), D (1.0), F (0.0). However, grades given on assignments and the manner of calculating grades are up to individual professors. Students are expected to fill out a course evaluation at the end of the semester.

Communication. The easiest way to reach me is by email, wynne.moskop@slu.edu. Please email me with questions and concerns. I will answer within 24 to 48 hours. I'm glad to meet with you in person or via zoom.

Office hours. Normally I will hold office hours in my office, McGannon 136, Tuesday and Wednesday 2-3:30 pm. However, I'm also glad to meet with you at other times. Please do not hesitate to ask for an appointment.

Library Assistance. As noted, above, I encourage you to take advantage of the expertise of Professor Rebecca Hyde, who is the reference librarian at Pius Library who helps political science students and faculty. She invites your questions and requests for assistance at any time. You can reach her at rebecca.hyde1@slu.edu or [314-977-3106](tel:314-977-3106). Ms Hyde's research guide for political science can be found at <http://libguides.slu.edu/polisci>.

Writing assistance and the Student Success Center

I hope you will take advantage of the Student Success Center's resources and services.

In recognition that people learn in a variety of ways and that learning is influenced by multiple factors (e.g., prior experience, study skills, learning disability), resources to support student success are available. Students can visit the Student Success Center website to learn more about Tutoring Services, University Writing Services, Disability Services, and Academic Coaching.

Link: <https://www.slu.edu/life-at-slu/student-success-center/index.php>

University Writing Services

I particularly encourage you to take advantage of University Writing Services in the Student Success Center; getting feedback benefits writers at all skill levels. Trained writing consultants can help with writing projects, multimedia projects, and oral presentations. University Writing Services offers one-on-one consultations that address everything from brainstorming and developing ideas to crafting strong sentences and documenting sources. Students have the option to complete an online submission (for asynchronous feedback) or to schedule a live video conference. Both can be scheduled through EAB Navigate. For more information, visit the Student Success Center or email writing@slu.edu. For all: <https://www.slu.edu/life-at-slu/student-success-center/academic-support/university-writing-services/>. For graduate students: <https://www.slu.edu/life-at-slu/student-success-center/academic-support/university-writing-services/graduate-writing-resources.php>

University policy statements are provided at the end of this syllabus.

Tentative Schedule

Detailed assignments—including readings, study questions, and reports assigned to individual students--will be posted on Canvas . Some longer primary source readings may be divided into individual or group reports. In addition to primary source readings, for most class sessions, contemporary articles will be assigned either to the whole class or for individual reports. Articles assigned as individual reports are recommended reading for the rest of the class. The schedule below is tentative and may be revised according to needs of the class.

These books are available in Barnes and Noble campus bookstore:

Alexander Hamilton, John Jay, James Madison, *The Federalist Papers*

Thomas Jefferson, *The Life and Selected Writings of Thomas Jefferson*, eds Koch and Peden

Three African-American Classics: Up from Slavery, The Souls of Black Folk and Narrative of the Life of Frederick Douglass

John C. Calhoun, *Disquisition on Government*

You will need to purchase *The Life and Selected Writings of Thomas Jefferson*. Other books above are also available online. However, you may find it more convenient to purchase inexpensive paperbacks, since you will need to refer to these texts in class.

Additional assigned readings and articles for reports are available in Pius Library electronic journals, online, ERes, or from the instructor, as indicated in the Canvas weekly assignments section. Always check the Canvas weekly assignment for the latest detailed version of any week's assignment. **The password for ERes is *Citizen*.**

Preliminary Class Schedule (This may change according to the needs and interests of the class. See Canvas for detailed reading assignments, study questions, and reports assigned for each class.)

1/23 **Introduction: Multiple meanings of citizenship**

Readings below are to be completed *before* our first class meeting. See study questions on Canvas.

- Linda Kerber, "The Meanings of Citizenship," *The Journal of American History*; (December 1997): 833-854. Pius Library electronic journals
- U.S. Declaration of Independence (1776), <https://www.archives.gov/founding-docs/declaration-transcript>
- Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Seneca Falls Declaration of Sentiments and Resolutions (1848), https://www.bowdoin.edu/~smcmahon/courses/hist246/readingguide/files/stanton_declaration_resolutions.pdf
- James Earl Jones reads part of Frederick Douglass's 1852 speech, "What to the Slave is the 4th of July," 5-minute video, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=00baE_CtU08
- W.E.B. DuBois, *Black Reconstruction in America* (1935), first two chapters, "The Black Worker" and "The White Worker," <https://cominsitu.files.wordpress.com/2019/02/w-e-b-du-bois-black-reconstruction-an-essay-toward-a-history-of-the-part-which-black-folk-played-in-the-attempt-to-reconstruct-democracy-2.pdf>
- "Why don't immigrants apply for citizenship?" American Immigration Council, October 7, 2021, <https://www.americanimmigrationcouncil.org/research/why-don%E2%80%99t-they-just-get-line>
- Dana Hedgpeth, "Jim Crow, Indian Style," *Washington Post*, Nov 1, 2020, <https://www.washingtonpost.com/history/2020/11/01/native-americans-right-to-vote-history/>. The Washington Post is available in Pius Library Electronic Resources.

1/30 **The Social Contract in the U.S.**

- John Winthrop, "A Modell of Christian Charity" (1630), <https://history.hanover.edu/texts/winthmod.html>
- Locke, *Second Treatise of Civil Government* (1690), selections, <https://constitution.org/2-Authors/jl/2ndtreat.htm>
- Thomas Jefferson, *Notes on the State of Virginia*, in *Selected Writings*, selections
- Walter Johnson, "The Revolution at the Gate," *Boston Review*, July 7, 2020, <https://www.bostonreview.net/articles/walter-johnson-gate-portland-place/>
OR
Colin Gordon, Walter Johnson, Jason Purnell, Jamala Rogers, "COVID-10 and the Color Line," *Boston Review*, May 1, 2020, <http://bostonreview.net/race/colin-gordon-walter-johnson-jason-g-purnell-jamala-rogers-covid-19-and-color-line>

- Nancy Fraser & Linda Gordon, “Contract versus Charity: Why Is There No Social Citizenship in the U.S.?” *Socialist Review* 22 (1992): 45-68.
https://www.researchgate.net/publication/288520382_Contract_versus_Charity_Why_Is_There_No_Social_Citizenship_in_the_United_States
- Short videos on race and the social contract

2/6, 13 **Founding and the U.S. Constitution**

- Thomas Jefferson (1743-1824), *Selected Writings*, selections
- Hamilton, Jay, Madison, *Federalist Papers* (1787-1788), selections
- *Antifederalist Papers* (1787-1788), selections, <https://thefederalistpapers.org/anti-federalist-papers>
- U.S. Constitution (1787), <http://constitutionus.com/>
- Judith Sargent Murray, “On the Equality of the Sexes” (1790),
<http://nationalhumanitiescenter.org/pds/livingrev/equality/text5/sargent.pdf>

2/20, 27 **19th Century Politics and Society**

- Harriet Martineau, *Society in America* (1837), selections,
<https://www.gutenberg.org/files/52621/52621-h/52621-h.htm>
- Alexis de Tocqueville, *Democracy in America* (1835), selections,
<https://www.gutenberg.org/files/815/815-h/815-h.htm>
- Andrew Jackson’s Second Annual Message (1830)
<https://web.archive.org/web/20111006050959/http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/aia/part4/4h3437t.html>
- Cherokee Letter protesting Treat of New Echota (1836),
<https://web.archive.org/web/20110906013754/http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/aia/part4/4h3083t.html>
- Thoreau, “On Civil Disobedience” (1849),
<https://xroads.virginia.edu/~Hyper2/thoreau/civil.html>
- Frederick Douglass, What to the Slave is the Fourth of July? (1852),
<https://teachingamericanhistory.org/document/what-to-the-slave-is-the-fourth-of-july/>
- Elizabeth Cady Stanton, *Solitude of Self* (1892),
<https://www.nps.gov/wori/learn/historyculture/solitude-of-self.htm>

2/27 **The Civil War, Race, and Absolute versus Concurrent Majority**

- Abraham Lincoln (1809-1865), selections,
<http://www.abrahamlincolnonline.org/lincoln/speeches/speechintro.htm>
- John C. Calhoun, *A Disquisition on Government* (1851), selections
<http://www.portagepub.com/dl/causouth/calhoun-disquisition.pdf>
- *Dred Scott v Sandford* (1857),
<https://supreme.justia.com/cases/federal/us/60/393/#tab-opinion-1964281>

3/6 Progressive Era Pragmatism: Immigration, Race, Ethnicity, Gender, & Class

- Anna Julia Cooper, "Woman versus the Indian" (1891-1892), <http://class.guilford.edu/psci/mrosales/gender/Woman%20versus%20the%20Indian.pdf>
- Ida B. Wells, "A Red Record" (1895), ERes. Password is *Citizen*.
- Booker T. Washington, *Up from Slavery* (1901), selections
- W.E.B. DuBois, *The Souls of Black Folk* (1903), selections, <https://www.gutenberg.org/files/408/408-h/408-h.htm>

Midterm synthetic essay due Thursday, 3/9, by 6 pm.

3/20 Progressive Era Pragmatism: Immigration, Race, Ethnicity, Gender, & Class

Paper topic and abstract due

- Jane Addams, selections from
Democracy and Social Ethics (1902), https://www.gutenberg.org/files/15487/15487-h/15487-h.htm#page_013
Newer Ideals of Peace (1907), <https://archive.org/details/neweridealspeac04addagoog/page/n9>
Peace and Bread in Time of War (1922), <https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=uiuo.ark:/13960/t7gg6tg6p&view=1up&seq=7>
- Horace Kallen, "Democracy Versus the Melting Pot" (1915), <http://www.expo98.msu.edu/people/kallen.htm>

3/27 20th-21st Century Civil Rights

Draft of first five pages of research paper due; this should include a preliminary review of literature relevant to your project

- Martin Luther King, "Letter from a Birmingham Jail" (1963), https://www.africa.upenn.edu/Articles_Gen/Letter_Birmingham.html
- Malcolm X, "The Ballot or the Bullet" (1964) http://www.edchange.org/multicultural/speeches/malcolm_x_ballot.html
- Audrey Lorde, *Sister Outsider* (1984), selections, https://rhinehartibenglish.weebly.com/uploads/2/2/1/0/22108252/sister_outsider_audrey_lorde_ib_pdf_packet.pdf
- Patricia Hill Collins, "Rethinking Black Women's Activism, ch. 9 in *Black Feminist Thought* (2000), <https://negrasoulblog.files.wordpress.com/2016/04/patricia-hill-collins-black-feminist-thought.pdf>
- Kimberle Crenshaw, "Say Her Name: Resisting Policy Brutality Against Women" (1915), https://scholarship.law.columbia.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=4235&context=faculty_scholarship

4/3 Tentative topic: White Nationalism

- Roxanne Dunbar-Ortiz, "What White Supremacists Know," *Boston Review*, <http://bostonreview.net/race/roxanne-dunbar-ortiz-what-white-supremacists-know>
- W.E.B. DuBois, DuBois, Ch. 2 "The Souls of White Folk," in *Dark Water*, 1920 http://www.gutenberg.org/files/15210/15210-h/15210-h.htm#Chapter_II
- *Trump v Hawaii*, especially Sotomayor dissent, https://www.supremecourt.gov/opinions/17pdf/17-965_h315.pdf
- Jayashri Srikantiah and Shirin Sinnar, "White Nationalism as Immigration Policy," *Stanford Law Review*, March 2019. <https://www.stanfordlawreview.org/online/white-nationalism-as-immigration-policy/>

4/10 Easter Monday. University holiday. April 11-15: You will meet with me in groups of 3 to discuss your research projects.

First draft of research project is due to instructor and all students on the Friday before your oral presentation is scheduled. (Regardless of when you are scheduled to present, there are both advantages and disadvantages. Presenting earlier gives you less time to develop the project before presenting it but more time to revise before the final version is due. Presenting later gives you more time to develop the project before presenting it but less time to revise before the final project is due.)

4/17 Oral presentations and critiques; readings on American institutions, policies and citizenship today, TBA

4/24 Oral presentations and critiques; readings on American institutions, policies, and citizenship today, TBA

5/1 Oral presentations and critiques

5/8 Oral presentations and critiques

5/15 Final research project due

Mandatory University Policy Statements for all syllabi

Basic Needs Security

Students in personal or academic distress and/or who may be specifically experiencing challenges such as securing food or difficulty navigating campus resources, and who believe this may affect their performance in the course, are encouraged to contact the Dean of Students Office (deanofstudents@slu.edu or 314-977-9378) for support. Furthermore, please notify the instructor if you are comfortable in doing so, as this will enable them to assist you with finding the resources you may need.

Academic Integrity policy can be found [here](#).

Title IX policy can be found [here](#).

Disability Accommodations policy can be found [here](#).

Mandatory Syllabus Statement on Face Masks (until further notice), [here](#)

ADA Accommodations for Face Mask Requirements

Saint Louis University is committed to maintaining an inclusive and accessible environment. Individuals who are unable to wear a face mask due to medical reasons should contact the Office of Disability Services (students) or Human Resources (instructors) to initiate the accommodation process identified in the University's [ADA Policy](#). Inquiries or concerns may also be directed to the [Office of Institutional Equity and Diversity](#). Notification to instructors of SLU-approved ADA accommodations should be made in writing prior to the first class session in any term (or as soon thereafter as possible).

Mandatory [temporary syllabus statement](#) on In-Person Class Attendance and Participation (until further notice)