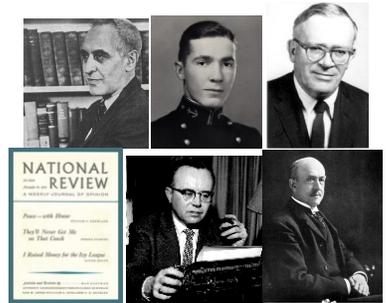




HIST 3106

# History of American Conservatism



Professor Paul Milazzo  
Spring 2018  
MWF 2:00-2:55 p.m.  
Course No. 12268



## Contact Information

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**office hours:** Mondays and Wednesdays, 9:30-10:30 a.m., or by appointment

## Overview

This course will introduce students to the intellectual, political, and cultural history of conservatism in the United States, with a major focus on the twentieth century. It will identify and examine the theorists, journalists, economists, politicians, literary figures, and activists who built a coherent body of conservative ideas and a political movement to challenge the prevailing liberal orthodoxy of the post-New Deal era. It will highlight the major philosophical themes and practical aims that animated this diverse set of historical actors and often set them at odds with one another: preserving the values, traditions, and institutions that sustained local communities and the nation's constitutional order; maximizing individual liberty in an economic and social context; opposing various forms of collectivism and the encroachment of state power; fighting communism at home and abroad. We will examine their ideas and accomplishments critically to understand how a viable conservative ideology evolved in a restless, democratic, industrial nation with revolutionary roots.

## Learning Objectives

- ❖ Distinguish among different traditions of American conservatism and trace their development over time
- ❖ Determine what conservatism means in the context of the American political and cultural tradition
- ❖ Identify key historical actors, ideas, institutions, and events associated with conservatism in the broader context of 18<sup>th</sup>, 19<sup>th</sup>, and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries
- ❖ Master representative works of conservative literature
- ❖ Learn how to use primary sources to interpret the past
- ❖ Enhance reading, writing, analytical, and verbal skills

## Reading and Technology

### Books

The following books are available for purchase online:

- 1) Whitaker Chambers, *Witness*
- 2) Robert Nisbet, *The Quest for Community*
- 3) Robert Heinlein, *The Moon Is a Harsh Mistress*

No text book is required for this class, but students wishing additional information or guidance can turn to any one of several histories of conservatism in the United States. Patrick Allit's *The Conservatives: Ideas and Personalities Throughout American History* is a good choice, as is George H. Nash's *The Conservative Intellectual Tradition in America*. Both are inexpensive, easily obtained, and cover a great deal of the material presented in this course.

### *Blackboard*

Additional materials for weekly assignments/class discussions can be found on the HIST 3106 Blackboard Website. Anyone who is officially registered for this course can log into the site using your OAK ID and password at: <https://blackboard.ohio.edu/>

You will find course materials organized by week in a folder labeled, not coincidentally, “Course Materials.” These include study guides for the lectures and discussion/essay questions for the readings each week. Additional readings for the class have been provided as Adobe Acrobat files for easy reading, downloading, or printing. They are denoted on the course schedule with an asterisk (\*), or a double asterisk (\*\*) if a link to a webpage is provided. Multimedia assignments, such as audio or video clips, are also available in this folder, and denoted on the course schedule with a pound sign (#). You will find that multimedia materials will stream most quickly using a high-speed internet connection or a campus computer.

Students must have their OAK login accounts activated, and must have access to Blackboard to complete this course successfully. It is *your* responsibility to attend to these technical details.

### *Top Hat*

In addition to Blackboard, I utilize the Top Hat digital survey tool to facilitate in-class discussion and gauge the depth of student comprehension. It will enable you to use a web browser (or app) from any brand of portable electronic device you already carry with you: laptop, tablet, smartphone, etc. The good news is that the university officially supports this platform now, so there is no cost to students. If you are registered for this course, you will receive an invitation directing you to <https://app.tophat.com/register/student/> where you can enroll. For your reference, the course code is 979011, and the direct URL for the course is <https://app.tophat.com/e/979011>. Use Google Chrome or Mozilla Firefox for optimal performance. Contact tech support by email (support@tophat.com), phone (1-888-663-5491), or the in-app support button.

## **Course Requirements and Assignments**

### *Attendance*

Students are expected to attend all class sessions. I will take attendance daily using Top Hat. The content provided during lectures and discussions represents the bulk of the material presented in this course. *It is extremely unlikely that you will earn a satisfactory grade if you don't bother to show up every day.* Let me work for you – come to class. Of course, unanticipated emergencies and legitimate conflicts are a part of life. If something comes up, email me ahead of time. If you are an athlete or participant in some other college-sanctioned event, please make sure I have the proper documentation in advance.

### *Reading*

This course is designed in the “great books” tradition. Its priority is to expose students directly to works of theory, literature, or polemic that informed and shaped the civilization they inhabit. In other words, it provides students an opportunity to familiarize themselves with important and influential books of the Western canon that educated people ought to know something about. Reading, then, will occupy much of your time. Assignments average between 40-150 pages per week, parceled out for our three class meetings. Most represent shorter essays or digestible samples of larger works, while others are longer pieces. Some are more challenging than you may be used to, others are fun, and many are both. Plan to set aside ample time in a quiet place to give them all their due.

Students are encouraged to ask questions during class and meet with me during my office hours (or another mutually convenient time) if there is anything you do not understand or would like to know more about.

### *Class Discussion*

On average, one class meeting per week will be dedicated to a discussion of the readings assigned for that day. Some sessions will offer a combination of lecture along with discussion of reading materials. They will give students an opportunity to engage the course materials in a direct way, and allow a grateful professor to listen to voices other than his own for change. Discussions are not regularly scheduled, so be sure to consult the syllabus for upcoming dates.

### *Top Hat Discussion Posts*

In addition, I will use Top Hat to solicit comments and questions you have about the readings/multimedia we will be discussing each week. One of the nice things about this technology is that students can use it outside of class. Posts will be due three hours prior to the start of class. These contributions are mandatory, and will constitute part of your discussion grade (see *Grades* below). Your questions/comments allow me to gauge what you found interesting or confusing about the assignment in question, and help me to structure class discussion accordingly. I also use Top Hat to pose questions on material I’ve covered in past classes, to insure students are comprehending it all.

### *Midterm & Final*

The midterm and final for this class are take-home exams. On the appointed day, students can access them as Adobe Acrobat files in the “Course Materials” folder on Blackboard from anywhere at any time after 8 a.m. (The midterm is in the folder for Week 7). The exam must be completed prior to midnight. You may reference any assigned readings, multi-media, in-class notes, or PowerPoint presentations during this time. You are not permitted to consult external internet sources (Wikipedia, etc.) or work collaboratively. You will upload your completed exams to Blackboard. We will not have class on exam days. The final exam for this class is officially scheduled for **Monday, April 30th**.

The two exams usually consist of short-answer questions, term identifications, and short essays. They will cover material from the first and second halves of the course, respectively. The final exam will also include a cumulative essay, choices for which students will receive in advance.

### *Papers*

All students will be required to write two 4-5-page papers in response to questions provided on the weekly readings. Essay options will be available each week, and students may choose which paper topic they would like to do, although they must complete one paper during the "first half" of the class (weeks 2 through 9) and one during the "second half" of the class (weeks 10 through 15). Slots for each week are limited, and will be filled on a first-come, first-served basis. Students must let me know as soon as possible what essays they plan to do, lest someone else beat them to the punch. Those who fail to choose in a timely manner will be assigned essays at the instructor's discretion. Papers should be submitted electronically as Word files (in .doc or .docx format) in the appropriate week's folder in "Course Materials." Note that on the course schedule below, readings eligible for written responses are **highlighted in blue**. See the "discussion questions" document provided each week for specific essay questions.

## **Evaluation**

### *Grades*

Grades in this class will be calculated based on the following:

(2) 4-to-5-page papers	35%
Midterm exam	20%
Final exam	20%
Top Hat posts	10%
Participation	10%
Attendance	5%

### *Standards & Metrics*

Standards for the class are high and good grades will not be doled out facilely. Exams and written work are evaluated with several criteria in mind: mastery of the material, lucidity of argument, effectiveness of organization, and clarity of prose.

Top Hat posts will be graded according to the following ten-point rubric:

1. Response submitted on time with minimum length of 150 words (2 points).
2. Makes substantive reference to reading/viewing materials; makes insightful analytical observations beyond recitation of basic facts; relates material under consideration to issues/themes previously discussed in class; asks intelligent, informed questions (5 points).
3. Features clear prose, complete sentences, and proper grammar & syntax (3 points).

Make-up examinations will be administered and paper extensions granted only in response to dire circumstances for which you can provide written documentation from a dean, a doctor, or an athletic coach. Please note that no extra credit assignments will be administered in this class to atone for poor performance.

### **Etiquette and Miscellaneous**

Students who have a documented disability and require special accommodations in this course should inform the instructor within the first two weeks of the semester.

Please note that the class schedule and assignments are subject to revision. Regular class attendance and vigilant monitoring of Blackboard and your *Ohio University email account* (ohio.edu suffix) will ensure that you learn of any changes in a timely manner.

Because this course utilizes Top Hat, laptops, tablets, and cell phones are considered course tools. During class time, be sure to use them only for their intended purposes, i.e., note taking and responding to questions. Otherwise, it is all-too-easy to get seduced by the lure of internet diversions, which will only distract your peers and draw your attention away from critical class content. Web surfing is also rude to the instructor.

As a matter of courtesy to peers and instructor, do not leave class early and do not show up late. Avoid talking during lectures or when other students are participating in class conversations. Conduct discussions and debates with civility. Students who choose not to abide by these rules will be asked to leave.

### **Academic Dishonesty**

Students in this class will be held to the standards outlined in the *Ohio University Student Code of Conduct* concerning academic dishonesty. Do not take material for papers or exams from external sources (online or otherwise) without proper attribution. Do not give or receive aid on papers and exams. Academic dishonesty can result in the grade of "F" for a particular assignment or the entire course, and/or referral to Judiciaries. If there are any questions about these standards or what constitutes academic dishonesty, please do not hesitate to ask.

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## Course Schedule

Date		Lectures/Discussions	Reading/Assignments
Week One Origins of American Conservatism	Monday (1/15)	<b>MLK Holiday</b> <i>No Class Session</i>	
	Wednesday (1/17)	<b>Introduction to the Course</b> Hello!	<u>Reading for Friday:</u> *James Madison, <i>The Federalist</i> #10 and <i>The Federalist</i> #51 (1787), pp. 42-49, 267-272
	Friday (1/19)	<b>Lecture/Discussion:</b> The Founders: Conservative Revolutionaries!	
Week Two Tradition and Prescription	Monday (1/22)	<b>Lecture/Discussion:</b> The Founders, continued	<u>Reading for Monday</u> *John Adams, <i>Discourses on Davila</i> (1790), pp. 126-30, 132-35
	Wednesday (1/24)	<b>Lecture/Discussion:</b> De Revolutionibus: Burke, America, and France	<u>Reading for Wednesday/Friday:</u> *Edmund Burke, "Letter to the Sheriffs of Bristol," (1777), pp. 198- 208
	Friday (1/26)	<b>Lecture/Discussion:</b> Burke, continued	* <i>Reflections on the Revolution in France</i> (1790), pp. 83-110
Week Three Democracy, Society, and the State	Monday (1/29)	<b>Lecture/Discussion:</b> Democracy and Its (Dis)Contents	
	Wednesday (1/31)	<b>Lecture:</b> Progress, Tradition, and the Fin de Siècle	<u>Reading for Monday:</u> *Alexis de Tocqueville, <i>Democracy in America</i> (1835), pp. 37-42, 53-58, 73- 91, 96-97, 109-119, 126-137, 161-167
	Friday (2/2)	<b>Lecture:</b> The New Humanists	

<p>Week Four Remembrance of Things Past</p>	<p>Monday (2/5)</p> <p>Wednesday (2/7)</p> <p>Friday (2/9)</p>	<p><b>Lecture/Discussion:</b> The Southern Agrarians</p> <p><b>Discussion:</b> The Agrarians' Legacy in and Beyond the South</p> <p><b>Discussion:</b> Agrarians' Legacy, continued</p>	<p><u>Reading/Viewing for Monday</u> *Andrew Lytle, "The Hind Tit," I'll Take My Stand (1930), pp. 201-45</p> <p><u>Reading/Viewing for Wednesday</u> *Richard M. Weaver, <i>Ideas Have Consequences</i> (1948), pp. 1-17, 35-51, 129-147</p> <p><u>Reading for Friday</u> *Flannery O'Connor, "The Catholic Novelist in the Protestant South" (1963), pp. 326-337</p> <p>*Flannery O'Connor, "Greenleaf" (1965), pp. 676-695</p>
<p>Week Five Values and the Value of Things</p>	<p>Monday (2/12)</p> <p>Wednesday (2/14)</p> <p>Friday (2/16)</p>	<p><b>Lecture/Discussion:</b> Order, Tradition, and the Conservative Mind</p> <p><b>Lecture/Discussion</b> The Market and Modernity</p> <p><b>Lecture/Discussion</b> The Austrians, Part I: From the Marginal Revolution to Mises</p>	<p><u>Reading for Monday</u> *Russell Kirk, "What is Conservatism?" (1953/82), pp. 4-16</p> <p><u>Reading for Wednesday</u> *Frédéric Bastiat, "A Petition" (1845)</p> <p>*"That Which is Seen, and That Which is not Seen" (1850)</p> <p><u>Reading for Friday</u> *Ludwig von Mises, <i>Socialism</i> (1922), pp. 111-122</p>

<p style="text-align: center;">Week Six Liberty, Society, and (Spontaneous) Order</p>	<p>Monday (2/19)</p>	<p><b>Lecture/Discussion:</b> The Austrians, Part II: Hayek and the Limits of Knowledge</p>	<p style="text-align: center;"><u>Reading for Monday</u> *Friedrich Hayek, "The Use of Knowledge in Society" (1945), pp. 211-225</p>
	<p>Wednesday (2/21)</p>	<p><b>Lecture/Discussion:</b> Hayek, cont.</p>	<p style="text-align: center;"><u>Reading for Wednesday</u> *Friedrich Hayek, <i>The Constitution of Liberty</i> (1960), 107-32, 519-33</p>
	<p>Friday (2/23)</p>	<p><b>Lecture/Discussion:</b> The Remnant Confronts the New Deal Order</p>	<p style="text-align: center;"><u>Reading for Friday</u> *Leonard Read, "I, Pencil" (1958), pp. 1-3</p>
<p style="text-align: center;">Week Seven: Confronting Communism</p>	<p>Monday (2/26)</p>	<p style="text-align: center;"><b>MIDTERM</b></p>	
	<p>Wednesday (2/28)</p>	<p><b>Lecture:</b> Isolation, Liberation, Subversion: Conservatives and the Cold War</p>	<p style="text-align: center;"><u>Reading for Friday:</u> Whitaker Chambers, <i>Witness</i> (1952), pp. 1-88, 191-271, 441-450, 787-799</p>
	<p>Friday (3/2)</p>	<p><b>Discussion:</b> Anticommunism and the Fate of the West</p>	

<p style="text-align: center;">Week Eight Standing Ahwath History</p>	<p>Monday (3/5)</p> <p>Wednesday (3/7)</p> <p>Friday (3/9)</p>	<p><b>Lecture:</b> The Education of William F. Buckley</p> <p><b>Lecture:</b> Fusing a Conservative Movement</p> <p>Lecture/Discussion: The Making of a Conservative Celebrity</p>	<p style="text-align: center;"><u>Reading for Wednesday</u></p> <p>*Frank Meyer, "Freedom, Tradition, Conservatism" (1964), pp. 14-29</p> <p>**"A Rebel in Search of Tradition" (1955), pp. 122-129</p> <p style="text-align: center;"><u>Reading for Friday</u></p> <p>*William F. Buckley, <i>God and Man at Yale</i> (1951), pp. ix-xv, 136-198</p> <p>*<i>The Unmaking of a Mayor</i> (1965), pp. 104-111</p>
<p style="text-align: center;">Week Nine: Hitting the Beach</p>	<p>Monday (3/12) - Friday (3/16)</p>	<p><b>*SPRING BREAK*</b></p>	
<p style="text-align: center;">Week Ten The Other Side of the Sixties</p>	<p>Monday (3/19)</p> <p>Wednesday (3/21)</p> <p>Friday (3/23)</p>	<p><b>Lecture/Discussion:</b> Conscience of the Conservatives: Barry Goldwater and the Grass Roots Right</p> <p><b>Lecture:</b> Race and the Right</p> <p><b>Discussion:</b> Community, Individualism, and the State</p>	<p style="text-align: center;"><u>Reading/Viewing for Monday</u></p> <p>#"Thunder on the Right," <i>CBS Reports</i> (1962)</p> <p>*Phyllis Schlafly, <i>A Choice, Not an Echo</i> (1964), pp. 231-37</p> <p style="text-align: center;"><u>Viewing for Wednesday</u></p> <p># Cambridge University Debate, William F. Buckley vs. James Baldwin on the question: "Is the American Dream at the Expense of the American Negro?" (1965)</p> <p style="text-align: center;"><u>Reading for Friday</u></p> <p>Robert Nisbet, <i>The Quest for Community</i> (1953), pp. 1-47, 61-65, 86-111, 173-262</p>

<b>Week Eleven</b> <b>Anarchy, State, and the Novel</b>	Monday (3/26)  Wednesday (3/28)  Friday (3/30)	<b>Lecture:</b> Who is John Galt?: Ayn Rand and Objectivism  <b>Lecture:</b> Libertarians Gone Wild: The Lure of Anarchism  Discussion: TANSTAAFL!	<u>Viewing/Listening for Monday</u> #Mike Wallace interview with Ayn Rand (1959)  #Rush, 2112 (1976)  <u>Reading for Friday</u> Robert Heinlein, <i>The Moon is a Harsh Mistress</i> (1966)
<b>Week Twelve</b> <b>Make It New</b>	Monday (4/2)  Wednesday (4/4)  Friday (4/6)	<b>Lecture/Discussion:</b> Neoconservatives and Domestic Policy  <b>Lecture/Discussion:</b> Neoconservatives and Foreign Policy  <b>Lecture:</b> The New Right	<u>Reading for Monday</u> *Daniel Patrick Moynihan, “The Politics of Stability” (1967), pp. 185-194  *Midge Decter, “A Letter to the Young” (1975), pp. 64-75  *Irving Kristol, “On Conservatism and Capitalism” (1975), pp. 230-34  <u>Reading for Wednesday</u> *Jeane Kirkpatrick, “Dictatorships and Double Standards” (1979), pp. 163-190

<b>Week Thirteen</b> <b>Up from Malaise</b>	<p>Monday (4/9)</p> <p>Wednesday (4/11)</p> <p>Friday (4/13)</p>	<p><b>Lecture:</b> The Trouble with Keynes</p> <p><b>Lecture/Discussion:</b> Trouble with Keynes, continued</p> <p><b>Lecture:</b> The Voodoo They Do: Supply Side Alternatives</p>	<p style="text-align: center;"><u>Viewing for Wednesday</u> #Milton Friedman, "How to Cure Inflation," <i>Free to Choose</i> (1980)</p> <p style="text-align: center;"><u>Reading for Friday</u> *Jude Wanniski, <i>The Way the World Works</i> (1978), pp. 97-113</p>
<b>Week Fourteen</b> <b>The Conservative Establishment</b>	<p>Monday (4/16)</p> <p>Wednesday (4/18)</p> <p>Friday (4/20)</p>	<p><b>Lecture/Discussion:</b> The Rise of Ronald Reagan</p> <p><b>Lecture:</b> The Republican Revolution and Its Limits</p> <p><b>Discussion:</b> Culture Wars</p>	<p style="text-align: center;"><u>Reading/Viewing for Monday</u> # "A Time for Choosing" (1964)</p> <p>#<i>Firing Line</i>: "Panama Canal Treaties" (1978)</p> <p>*<i>Reagan in His Own Hand</i>, pp. 228-30, 258-62, 274-78, 471-79</p> <p style="text-align: center;"><u>Reading for Friday</u> Allan Bloom, <i>The Closing of the American Mind</i> (1987), pp. 19-97, 313-359, 380-382</p>

<b>Week Fifteen</b> <b>Law, Culture, and Trump</b>	Monday (4/23)	<b>Lecture/Discussion</b> Conservatives and the Court	<u>Reading for Monday</u> *Antonin Scalia, dissent in <i>Obergefell v. Hodges</i> (2015) and concurrence in <i>McDonald v. Chicago</i> (2010)
	Wednesday (4/25)	<b>Lecture/Discussion</b> Whither Conservatism?: The Dawn of Trump	<u>Reading for Wednesday</u> "Against Trump" ( <i>National Review</i> 2016), selections  **Publius Decius Mus, "The Flight 93 Election" ( <i>Claremont Review</i> , 2016)
	Friday (4/27)	<b>Review</b>	Phyllis Schlafly, <i>The Conservative Case for Trump</i> (2016), selections