

Dartmouth College
Religion 62
Fall 2012
Tuesday & Thursday 10A

Religion, Politics & the Presidency

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"Our form of government makes no sense unless it is founded in a deeply felt religious faith. And I don't care what it is."

— Attributed to Dwight D. Eisenhower, 1952

Course Description

This course examines the intricate relationship between church and state, religion and politics, throughout American history, beginning with the founders and how they have been interpreted — perhaps misinterpreted — throughout history. We'll look at the contentious election of 1800, examine the faith of several presidents, and then explore the rise and the influence of the Religious Right in recent years, concluding with a retrospective on religion and presidential politics over the past half century.

Textbooks

Balmer, Randall. *God in the White House: A History: How Faith Shaped the Presidency from John F. Kennedy to George W. Bush*. San Francisco: HarperOne, 2009. ISBN: 978-0-06-073405-3.

Carter, Jimmy. *Turning Point: A Candidate, a State, and a Nation Come of Age*. New York: Times Books, 1993. ISBN: 0-8129-2079-1.

Gaustad, Edwin S. *Faith of the Founders: Religion and the New Nation 1776-1826*. Waco, TX: Baylor University Press, 2011. ISBN: 978-193279209-6.

Magee, Malcolm D. *What the World Should Be: Woodrow Wilson and the Crafting of a Faith-Based Foreign Policy*. Waco, TX: Baylor University Press, 2008. ISBN: 978-1-60358-070-1.

McGovern, George. *Abraham Lincoln*. New York: Times Books, 2009. ISBN: 978-0-8050-8345-3.

Sheridan, Eugene R. *Jefferson and Religion*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1983. ISBN: 1-882886-08-9.

Books are on reserve at Baker Library and available at Wheelock Books.

Schedule of Topics & Readings

(Primary-source readings are indicated by bold italics)

September 11

Introduction

Church & State in Colonial America

Gaustad, 12-35, **159-174**

The Flushing Remonstrance of 1657

Kenneth D. Wald and Clyde Wilcox, "Getting Religion: Has Political Science Rediscovered the Faith Factor?" *American Political Science Review*, 100 (November 2006), 523-529.

September 13

Religion & the Founders

Gaustad, 36-109, **141-151**

Peter Charles Hoffer, *When Benjamin Franklin Met the Reverend Whitefield: Enlightenment, Revival, and the Power of the Printed Word* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2011), 1-22.

Vincent Philip Muñoz, "George Washington on Religious Liberty," *Review of Politics*, 65 (Winter 2003), 11-33.

September 25

Religion & the New Nation

Gaustad, 110-133, **151-157**

Gary D. Glenn, "Forgotten Purposes of the First Amendment Religion Clauses," *Review of Politics*, 49 (Summer 1987), 340-367.

Johann N. Neem, "Beyond the Wall: Reinterpreting Jefferson's Danbury Address," *Journal of the Early Republic*, 27 (Spring 2007), 139-154.

September 27

Religion & the Election of 1800

Sheridan, 3-85

Charles O. Lerche, Jr., "Jefferson and the Election of 1800: A Case Study of the Political Smear," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd ser., 5 (October 1948), 467-491.

October 2

Abraham Lincoln

McGovern, 1-78

Allen C. Guelzo, "Abraham Lincoln and the Doctrine of Necessity," *Journal of the Abraham Lincoln Association*, 18 (Winter 1997), 57-81.

October 4

Civil War as Just War?

McGovern, 78-156

Lincoln's Second Inaugural Address

"Lincoln's Second Inaugural: Press Reactions to the Most Eloquent Presidential Address in American History," *Journal of Blacks in Higher Education*, 42 (Spring 2004), 44-46.

"Just War Theory," in *Internet Encyclopedia of Philosophy*
<http://www.iep.utm.edu/justwar/>

October 9

Religion in the Progressive Era

Magee, 1-64, **119-121**

Doug Rossinow, "The Radicalization of the Social Gospel: Harry F. Ward and the Search for a New Social Order, 1898-1936," *Religion & American Culture: A Journal of Interpretation*, 15 (Winter 2005), 63-106.

October 11

Woodrow Wilson

Magee, 65-118, **123-127**

Laurence W. Martin, "Necessity and Principle: Woodrow Wilson's Views," *Review of Politics*, 22 (January 1960), 96-114.

October 16

Mid-term Examination

October 18

Civil Rights & the Social Gospel

Martin Luther King's "Letter from Birmingham Jail"

Douglas Sturm, "Martin Luther King, Jr., as Democratic Socialist," *Journal of Religious Ethics*, 18 (Fall 1990), 79-105.

David L. Chappell, *A Stone of Hope: Prophetic Religion and the Death of Jim Crow* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2004), 87-130.

Mark Stern, "Lyndon Johnson and Richard Russell: Institutions, Ambitions, and Civil Rights," *Presidential Studies Quarterly*, 21 (Fall 1991), 687-704.

October 23

1960 Presidential Campaign

Thomas J. Shelley, "'What the Hell is an Encyclical?': Governor Alfred E. Smith, Charles C. Marshall, Esq., and Father Francis P. Duffy," *U.S. Catholic Historian*, 2 (Spring 1997), 87-107.

Paul A. Carter, "The Campaign of 1928 Re-Examined: A Study in Political Folklore," *Wisconsin Magazine of History*, 46 (Summer 1963), 263-272.

J. Philipp Rosenberg, "Presidential Beliefs and Foreign Policy Decision-Making: Continuity During the Cold War," *Political Psychology*, 7 (December 1986), 733-751.

Balmer, 1-48, **175-180**

October 25

Vietnam as Moral Crisis

Monroe Billington, "Lyndon B. Johnson: The Religion of a Politician," *Presidential Studies Quarterly*, 17 (Summer 1987), 519-530.

Harold E. Quinley, "The Protestant Clergy and the War in Vietnam," *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 34 (Spring 1970), 43-52.

Kendrick Olive, "Towards a New Moral History of the Vietnam War?" *Historical Journal*, 47 (September 2004), 757-774.

Balmer, 49-78, **181-187**

Martin Luther King's "Beyond Vietnam – A Time to Break Silence," April 4, 1967

October 30

Billy Graham & the Presidency

Jonathan Aitken, "The Nixon Character," *Presidential Studies Quarterly*, 26 (Winter 1996), 239-247.

Bernard F. Donahue, "The Political Use of Religious Symbols: A Case Study of the 1972 Presidential Campaign," *Review of Politics*, 37 (January 1975), 48-65.

Carter, **3-73**

Chicago Declaration of Evangelical Social Concern, November 1973

November 1

Jimmy Carter

Randy Sanders, "'The Sad Duty of Politics': Jimmy Carter and the Issue of Race in the 1970 Gubernatorial

Campaign," *Georgia Historical Quarterly*, 76 (Fall 1992), 612-638.
Phinizy Spalding, "Georgia and the Election of Jimmy Carter," *Georgia Historical Quarterly*, 61 (Spring 1977), 13-22.
Carter, **74-204**

November 6

Religion in the 1976 & 1980 Campaigns

Dan F. Hahn, "The Rhetoric of Jimmy Carter, 1976-1980," *Presidential Studies Quarterly*, 14 (Spring 1984), 265-288.
Andrew R. Flint and Joy Porter, "Jimmy Carter: The Re-emergence of Faith-Based Politics and the Abortion Rights Issue," *Presidential Studies Quarterly*, 35 (March 2005), 28-51.
Robert Freedman, "The Religious Right and the Carter Administration," *Historical Journal*, 48 (March 2005), 231-260.
Balmer, 79-108
DVD: *Man from Plains*

November 8

Ronald Reagan & Religion

David S. Adams, "Ronald Reagan's 'Revival': Voluntarism as a Theme in Reagan's Civil Religion," *Sociological Analysis*, 48 (Spring 1987), 17-29.
Richard V. Pierard, "Religion and the 1984 Election Campaign," *Review of Religious Research*, 27 (December 1985), 98-114.
Balmer, 109-132, **209-214**

November 13

Rise & Influence of the Religious Right

Balmer, 133-174, **221-223**
John H. Evans, "Polarization in Abortion Attitudes in U.S. Religious Traditions, 1972-1998," *Sociological Forum*, 17 (September 2002), 397-422.

Final Examination

TBA

Course Requirements & Grading

1. Attendance in class and informed participation in class discussions. 10 points.
2. Mid-term and (non-cumulative) final examinations. 60 points each.
3. Oral report on some topic related to religion and politics in America. You can provide a summary of a particular political campaign, for example, or review the religious affiliation of a particular politician or perhaps the voting patterns of a particular religious demographic. You should allow your interests and your curiosity to guide your choice (in consultation with the instructor and/or the teaching assistants). Other examples might include a look at the role of religion in political movements, such as women's rights, civil rights, labor reforms, gay rights, or health-care reform. This assignment includes an in-class presentation (about 5 minutes) together with a two-page summary of your presentation and a third page of annotated bibliography. You will be graded both on the content of your presentation (30 points) and the presentation itself (20 points). *See BlackBoard for further information.

4. A response paper of 4-6 pages, due November 6. You will be given the question a week before the due date. 40 points.