

History 212-01
The United States Since 1865:
Human Rights and the American Equal Rights Tradition

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M,W 2:00-3:15

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I. INTRODUCTION

This is both a survey of U.S. history since 1865 and a closer look at episodes when the American equal rights tradition underwent debate, conflict and change. Throughout U.S. history, Americans posed central questions about national citizenship and community. What rights – civil, political, cultural, economic and social – should American citizens enjoy? Should all of their rights be the same? How should these rights be defended or expanded? *What action should government take (or avoid) to make these rights real for everyone?* Who should be included in the circle of “We the People?” In our pursuit of “a more perfect union,” do we need broader conceptions of “human rights” in order to supplement American constitutional rights? *When different people’s rights came in conflict, who won, and how were these rights defended with language and power?* For example, it took a Civil War to end slaveholders’ rights to property in slave persons, and to establish (in theory) national and state citizenship rights for *all* persons born in the United States. *How are these rights in practice related (the Constitution refers to them as “privileges and immunities”)?* For example, in the Reconstruction era many ex-slaves discovered that without the right to vote and sit on juries, they lacked essential means to protect their rights to life and property.

There has always been great tension between the *ideals* of the equal rights tradition and the *behavior* of many Americans. Americans share a common language of equal rights, so often their conflicts drew on this rhetorical “toolkit.” In some cases, one group’s struggle for full citizenship helped expand rights for others (such as when the civil rights movement of the 1960s led Congress to abolish the discriminatory system of immigration quotas inherited from the 1920s and extend job discrimination laws to women). Examining this tradition of thinking and speaking about equal rights can therefore be an excellent lens into the main currents of American social and political life.

Though concerned with politics and ideas, this is also a *social* history course concerned with the dreams and experiences of ordinary Americans. We will read the writings and speeches of educated elite Americans: reformers, politicians, Supreme Court justices, and conservative defenders of the status quo. Equally, we will capture the voices of ordinary working people, women, racial minorities and political dissenters. I begin from the assumption that those who have had to fight for an expansion of citizenship and equal rights *within* this country have much to teach all Americans about their meaning. We will therefore give less attention to topics that might interest you, such as foreign policy, warfare, economic and technological history, or the arts and popular culture.

Course Goals:

To improve your knowledge of the **main themes and events** in American history since 1865.

To help you appreciate **change and continuity** in the experiences of Americans, and in the nation’s social structure and politics.

To introduce you to key **controversies** in the nation’s past and in the interpretations of contemporary historians, and to explore the interplay of **interpretation and evidence** that occupies working historians.

To examine in depth **several episodes when the equal rights tradition took a decisive turn (the expansion of constitutional rights for African Americans after the Civil War, women’s right to vote in 1920, the statutory rights to social security and minimum wages in the 1930s, etc).** This component will rely upon your analysis of 1) primary documents from the past (testimonies, speeches, letters, songs, images) and 2) secondary historical scholarship (articles or sections from books written by historians who weave together stories and arguments from primary documents).

Teaching and Learning Methods: I will not give traditional lectures lasting the full period, or repeat what the textbook covers. Rather, I will mix up shorter lectures that add or expand on the text, break the class into guided small group discussions, show videos, assign short writing exercises and conduct general Socratic question and answer periods. I’ll give you several chances to let me know what fits best with your learning styles, **but do not hesitate to email me or come see me to talk about your learning.** As a rule, Monday’s class will explore broad social and political changes as they affected different Americans, creating the context for the specific problems and interpretations that Wednesday’s class period will explore.

I ask you each class to bring in a 5x8 index card with a question or comment or response about the reading, with your name (last name first) in the top left corner [printed] the topic in the center top and the date on the top right. I use this for class attendance and as part of your preparation/participation grade. **SO BRING IT EVERY DAY YOU ATTEND.** I’ll ask at the end of class (time permitting): what was well covered today? What questions remain? You’ll jot these on the reverse of the card for that day.

Schmoe, Joe	FREE SPEECH	10/10/02
So what’s the big deal about throwing a Socialist in jail in time of war for praising draft resisters in a speech? And why did Supreme Court Justice Holmes, who supported his conviction, dissent from the Court’s decision the very same year when anarchists did essentially the same thing?		

II. COURSE REQUIREMENTS

A. Readings [Remember to bring all assigned readings to each class]:

1. Textbook available for purchase in Addams University Bookstore, on Tate St.:

James A. Henretta, et. al. *America’s History*, Fourth Edition (New York: Bedford/St. Martins, 2000), Volume 2: Since 1865.

Textbook Website: <http://www.bedfordstmartins.com/history/henretta/> has chapter summaries and help with key concepts. See the “research modules” on evaluating primary sources and web sites, especially.

2. Primary Documents, Scholarly Articles and Other Materials:

Available through Jackson Library Electronic Reserves or the through the Internet. I assign many short excerpts that speak to themes of equal rights in ways that bound collections of documents or other books (such as novels) do not. I saved you money. But printing out these materials will require more effort than if I asked you just to buy 4 books. Each week you may have to find and print out three or more items, so follow instructions carefully and remember: **bring all assigned material to class.** Various weeks will draw upon a few sources you will need print out at the same time and bring to successive classes: Samuel T. McSeveny, *Selected Historical Documents to Accompany America’s*

History, 4th ed., Scott and Scott's *One Half the People* and McElvaine's *Down and Out in the Great Depression*.

A Note on Written Work as My Main Form of Evaluation: Some students have in the past commented this should be a “writing intensive” class. I have indeed over time cut down the volume of writing and reading. But notice that since there are no in-class examinations or quizzes, the largest chunk of your grade (60%) will come from my evaluation of the minimum of 18 pages you write for me outside of class over the semester. **If you don't like this format, please find another class that you do like by Friday, which is the last day to change courses without permission.** All papers must be typed and formatted as follows: 11 or 12 font size, (Times New Roman preferred), double spaced lines, margins no larger than 1” all around. PLEASE SUBMIT ALL WORK WITH “**WORD COUNT**” AT THE TOP. **Papers that are too short will be returned to you immediately for resubmission.** Citation styles: MLA, Turabian or Chicago Manual of Style 14th are all acceptable. Here is the Library's guide to MLA: <http://library.uncg.edu/depts/ref/handouts/mla.html> For the long paper and the final exam I personally favor footnotes, but use MLA if you want. Example of footnotes:¹

Rev. Jackson Preaches: I am completely convinced that the better you *read*, the better you *write*, and vice versa. I am also convinced that both of these skills will be central to your worldly success, your wisdom, and the quality of what you give back to the world.

Reminder: the last day to drop a course without academic penalty is October 11; the last day to drop with tuition and fees refund is August 28. I will certainly inform you by early October if I consider you to be in trouble, so that we can work up a contract for improvement.

B. Attendance:

I take attendance every day, by collecting the 5x8 cards. *Email me in advance if you will miss class, or within 24 hours if an emergency detained you – otherwise your absence will be recorded as unexcused.* Excuses: personal or family illness or serious emergency only. You are on your honor to inform me of the general reason your absence falls within these criteria. Avoid long or personal explanations. More than 2 unexcused absences and your final grade will go down 2 points for every day missed. Three *consecutive* unexcused absences (along with other indications of possible failure before the “WF” deadline), and you risk being dropped from the course (sorry, “W” is much better than “WF” which is much better than “F”).

C. Class Preparation and Participation (20%):

I grade participation on the basis of how consistently and thoughtfully you express yourself verbally and in in-class writing exercises. **I require that you write down on your 5x8 card at least one question or comment of your own – large or small – to bring to each class period. Be ready to share it if asked.** I will collect these cards each period. (Bring spare cards to class for the occasional in-class writing exercise). In the card you bring to class, you may ask for specific points of clarification, but also bring the most important question you can think of to class. In the eyes of Rev. Jackson, there are no “dumb” questions (besides, as a wise professor once said, “**if you never risk saying something ‘dumb’ you will never learn to say anything ‘smart’**”).

D. Chapter Quizzes (20%) – The 9 best will count toward your grade. You may take as many as 12. DUE MONDAY IN CLASS UNLESS OTHERWISE NOTED.

These are “20 question” take-home quizzes that you must take as you read the textbook. I will hand out the following week's quiz every Wednesday (or find a way you can download them from the web). They

¹ If you need further guidance, consult Mary Lynn Rampolla, *A Pocket Guide to Writing in History* (New York: St. Martin's, 1995), on hard copy reserve in the Library for **HIS212**. If you plan on majoring in history, **BUY THIS BOOK IMMEDIATELY.**

are due by the next Monday's class and are not accepted after. You have to get beyond the textbook to grapple with the "case study" material for Wednesday. Any cooperation or collusion in these will be considered a violation of the honor code. NB: Some students have given this component more time and attention than is merited by its 20% of their grade. See my comments on reading at the end.

E. Homework Essays (20%):

Four (4) essays that respond to a question with evidence from the primary source readings (the "voices" of the past assigned for Wednesday – not the textbook) (at least 500 words, 2-3 pp.) due on the day assigned and not accepted afterward. You will have **12 options** over the course of the semester. You must submit at least two by **October 15**, preferably more since you may want to chalk one or two up as a "learning experience!" **You may write up to 6 essays. I will select the best 4 results for your grade.** Answer one of the "homework essay questions" provided in the syllabus or in class before the due date. State your own analytical viewpoint and support it with evidence from the primary documents listed for that day, **NOT THE TEXTBOOK.** Refer to actual people and their actions and ideas rather than to your own general feelings or ideas. **Paraphrase** the point of view of an individual or group in your own words, and then **quote** sparingly when a particular speaker's language illustrates your point. **For further guidelines see Homework Essay Option 1. I will later hand out a version of this essay I wrote last year for you to use as a model for subsequent essays.**

F. Analytic Paper (20%):

Primary source analysis paper (1500-1800 words, 5-6 pages). Due Thursday, November 14. In this paper you will develop your own thesis about the values expressed in letters from ordinary Americans to Franklin and Eleanor Roosevelt during the Great Depression. I'll give you opposing viewpoints from different historians, and ask you to come to your own conclusions with concrete evidence. I'll hand out the assignment and discuss guidelines soon.

G. Final Take Home Exam (20%): (1500-1800 words, 5-6 pages).

As I mentioned this will be a straight-forward essay that will pull together your thoughts about human rights and equal rights in the American context: how different groups used rights language when their interests conflicted, or how different rights – civil, political, economic, social – were thought to be related among certain groups in U.S. history. Basically, I just gave you the final exam questions.

III. CLASS MEETINGS, DUE DATES, REQUIRED AND RECOMMENDED READINGS

8/19: Introduction: Defining Freedom and Citizenship

Discussion of the syllabus and two narratives of slavery.

8/21: Rights Talk: The U.S. Constitution and the U.N. Declaration of Human Rights

1) Download and print for class discussion: "The Universal Declaration of Human Rights," adopted and proclaimed December 10, 1948 by the General Assembly of the United Nations:

<http://www.un.org/Overview/rights.html>

2) Read the Bill of Rights, Amendments 1-10 of the U.S. Constitution, reprinted in *America's History*, v. 4, pp. D-12 to D-15. Read also the unratified Corwin Amendment, p. D-16.

3) Visit Jackson Library's Electronic Reserves, <http://library.uncg.edu/> Search under "Jackson" and print out: "Controversies and Culture," *The Economist* (December 5, 1998). [See **ereserves instructions at the end of this syllabus**]. [Most of you should have this in your email already]. [If the library doesn't have it on the ereserves list and you did not get my email, go to Library, Electronic Databases, Academic search elite business, and use the title and publication and date to find the 3 page article – get help from a librarian, they are amazingly knowledgeable people].

Questions for Discussion (Remember, bring your own 5x8 index card to class with a question or observation about these readings):

- 1) We need to start by clarifying the beliefs and assumptions we bring to learning. What rights of American citizenship do you value? What do you already know of their history? How does the U.S. Bill of Rights stack up against the human rights outlined in the UN Declaration? Which is the most controversial of the rights discussed in that document?
- 2) Bonus discussion credit for those of you who have or have never read the U.S. Constitution. Nowhere in the Constitution is the word “slave” written. Can we say, one way or the other, whether it gave protection and sanction to slavery? What was the Supreme Court case in which the justices ruled that “the Negro has no rights that the white man is bound to respect?”

8/26: All or None? Freedom, Reconstruction, and African American Rights

Henretta, et. al., *America's History 4th ed.*, chapter 15, 477-502. “The Civil War and Reconstruction Amendments,” pp. D-16 to D-18. [**Remember: First Take Home Quiz on Textbook Chapter is Due Today – you need to take nine to get by!**]

Black Voices from Reconstruction, 1865-1877 (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1997), by John David Smith, pp. 92-97 (last few pages on voting rights). (**ereserves**)

Discussion Question: Why did African Americans see voting as a cornerstone right in the Reconstruction era?

8/28: Land, Labor and the Social Conditions of Freedom

Examine “A Plea for Land,” *America's History*, p. 483.

1) “To My Old Master, Colonel P.H. Anderson,” August 7, 1865, from Leon F. Litwak, *Been in the Storm So Long: The Aftermath of Slavery* (New York: Vintage, 1979), pp. 333-334, by Jourdon Anderson. (**ereserves**)

2) *Black Voices from Reconstruction, 1865-1877* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1997), by John David Smith, pp. 62-65, 70-75, 82-84. (**ereserves**)

3) *Selected Historical Documents to Accompany America's History, 4th ed.*, (New York: Bedford/St. Martins, 2001). **Part A: Reconstruction Blacks and Native Americans.** Edited by Samuel T. McSeveny, At this point read only: # 15-7, “An Advocate of Federal Aid” and 15-8, “Statistics on Black Ownership.” (**ereserves – print out only pp. 1-5**)

Homework Essay Option 1:

Why was land so important to newly freed African-Americans? What was so abhorrent to (some) ex-slaves about working for wages?

Class Discussion Questions:

What role did the federal Freedmen’s Bureau play in creating the new plantation system that replaced slavery? In whose interests was it truly working? The two contracts in *Black Voices* typify what the Freedman’s Bureau helped arrange. What can they tell us about the relationship between landowning ex-slaveholders, landless ex-slaves, and federal officials?

Guideline: When writing your homework essay, do not extensively quote the textbook authors.

Rather, quote actual “voices” from the past as evidence to support a point of view about the question you are answering. Example: “According to ‘Kush,’ wage labor was no better than slavery, for it subjected freedmen to control by their ex-masters and condemned them to lives of ‘squalid, wretched poverty’” (Smith, 83). These essays allow for some freedom on your part to zero in on an aspect of the question. You may not, however, focus on only one voice or a few pages of the reading. Show me you can grapple with different perspectives and sources.

9/2: Labor Day – No class

9/4: Tribal Rights and Citizenship Rights: Indian Allotment and Indian Education

Henretta, et. al., *America's History 4th ed.*, 509-522 (skim material on settlers).

Carl Schurtz, Committee on Indian Affairs, Thomas Morgan, Luther Standing Bear, "Viewpoints 1-4 on Indian Assimilation," from William Dudley, ed., *Native Americans: Opposing Viewpoints* (Greenhaven, 1998). (Ereserves).

John Stands-in-Timber, Ella C. Deloria, "Recall the Early Days of Reservation Farming, 1877-1900" in Clyde Milner, ed., *Major Problems in the History of the American West* (New York: Heath, 1989), pp. 400-404. (Ereserves)

To get a sense of the impact of these policies on Indian land holdings, see the statistical table in *Selected Historical Documents to Accompany America's History, 4th ed.*, (New York: Bedford/St. Martins, 2001). **Part A: Reconstruction Blacks and Native Americans.** Edited by Samuel T. McSevery, p. 99.

Homework Essay Option 2:

In the eyes of the Supreme Court, Native Americans were members of "domestic dependent nations," not citizens. The white "Indian reformers" of the 1880s had a particular view of what it would take to save the Indians from extinction and make them citizens with "rights." Do the Native Americans and their advocates have notions of native rights that conflict with the white reformers' policies of Indian allotment and education? In this explicit attempt to undermine tribal culture, were human rights or American citizenship rights at stake?

Optional 1 point extra credit on your final grade (sign up soon – only two people per option):

David Wallace Adams, "Schooling the Hopi: Federal Indian Policy Writ Small, 1887-1917," in Leonard Dinnerstein and Kenneth T. Jackson, eds, *American Vistas: 1877 to the Present* (New York: Oxford, 1991), pp. 27-44. (ereserves) Read, provide a 1-2 page summary and report some of its conclusions and evidence to the class.

9/9: The City – Urban Masses and Moral Order

Henretta, et. al., *America's History 4th ed.*, chapter 19, 607-636.

9/11: The Great Chicago Fire and Scientific Charity – A Right to Relief?

Karen Sawislak, *Smoldering City: Chicagoans and the Great Fire, 1871-1874* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995) pp. 25-29, 42-44 , 69, 72-73, 80-85, 92-99, 110-113, 116-119. (ereserves)

This is a book length historical study (historians call them monographs) focusing on the fire and what it reveals about the social structure and social conflicts of 19th century Chicago.

Homework Essay Option 3:

How did the great Chicago fire and the organized relief effort affect different citizens differently? Who made up the Chicago Relief and Aid Society and why were these men empowered with administering disaster relief? On what principles did they do so? What was different about the independent women's and the Jewish relief societies (make sure you reference this last question, however briefly)?

Optional 1 Point Extra Credit (Sign up soon – only two people per option):

Check out Michael B. Katz, *In the Shadow of the Poorhouse* (NY: Basic, 1986) pp. 66-72, 80-85, 92-99, 110-112, 116-119. Read, write 1-2 pp. and explain to the class how Josephine Shaw Lowell tried to make systematic the principles that governed the Chicago Relief and Aid Society, and why you think she so thoroughly rejected this philosophy in her later life, after the 1890s.

Optional 1 Point Extra Credit (Sign up soon – only one person for this option): Find an in depth article (New York Times, Nation or Atlantic Monthly, etc.) on how compensation to victims of the 9/11 attacks of last year has been allocated. Are there any parallels to the Great Chicago Fire?

Optional: For a terrific historical Website with photographs, testimony, and original documents see “The Great Chicago Fire and the Web of Memory, a Virtual Exhibition” <http://www.chicagohs.org/fire/>

9/16: Labor and Capital in the Gilded Age

Henretta, et. al., *America's History 4th ed.*, chapter 17, 541-572.

Video segment: “Andrew Carnegie: The Richest Man in America,” PBS Video

9/18: Andrew Carnegie, The Homestead Strike of 1892, Property Rights and Labor Rights

1) Andrew Carnegie, “Professor Jackson’s Excerpts of Carnegie’s Views on Labor, Wealth and Democracy,” in Joseph Frazier Wall, ed., *The Andrew Carnegie Reader* (University of Pittsburgh Press, 1992), pp. 91-93, 96-99, 102-103, 110-113, 129-131, 138-140, 207-208, 217-219.

2) “Selected Documents on Carnegie and Homestead from the ‘History Matters – Many Pasts’ Website”: “A Workingman’s Prayer for the Masses” “Looking a Gift Horse in the Mouth: Workers Protest Carnegie Library” “The Musical Saga of Homestead” (ereserves) (Reformatted by Prof. Jackson to save paper and time – source is <http://historymatters.gmu.edu/>).

3) George E. McNeill, ed., *The Labor Movement: The Problem of Today* (New York: 1887), pp. 160-162, 454-456. (ereserves)

Homework Essay Option 4 (you may choose one or compare):

As a poor immigrant who made good -- the nation’s richest man, the emperor of steel -- Andrew Carnegie had complex ideas about democratic equality. How did his view of democratic rights extend into the economic arena? How did he see charity and “pauperism”? How did labor organizers like George McNeill or Carnegie’s workers at Homestead view Carnegie’s definitions of democratic equality, the obligations of the wealthy, and the rights of labor?

9/23: 19th Century Politics and the Crisis of the 1890s

Henretta, et. al., *America's History 4th ed.*, chapter 18, 575-605.

9/25: Politics and Gender in the Late 19th Century

1) Selected Documents from *One Half the People: The Fight for Woman Suffrage*, eds. Anne Firor Scott and Andrew MacKay Scott, (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1982), Read only for now: **Susan B. Anthony**, 90-95. **Zerelda Wallace**, 96-99. **Southerners**, 100-105. (ereserves). [Others in this collection to be read next week – do not write on the women that are listed under next week’s readings].

2) **Amelia Bloomer, "Woman's Right to the Ballot," 1895 Source:**
http://douglass.speech.nwu.edu/bloo_a63.htm [Reformatted for ereserves]

Homework Essay Option 5:

Some historians have alleged that the arguments woman suffragists used for demanding the vote shifted between 1869 and 1900: from arguments grounded on a woman’s *general rights as a person or citizen* to arguments grounded on her *specific capacities, concerns and duties as a woman*. Some have characterized it as a turn from “justice” to “expediency.” I call it a shift from “abstract citizens’ rights” to “specific women’s duties.” Do you see this shift in the primary sources? Is it as cut and dry, as this generalization would have you believe? Who do these women include in the circle of “We the People?”

Extra Credit Option: Read, write a 1-2 page summary, and report to the class: "Hull House in the 1890s: A Community of Women Reformers." [by] Kathryn Kish Sklar. In *Unequal Sisters* edited by Ellen Carol DuBois and Vicki L. Ruiz. New York: Routledge, 1990, 109-120. (ereserves). Historian Carl Degler once said that for women of the late 19th century, the true frontier – the place of individual opportunity and new possibility – was not the West but the City. How is this true of Florence Kelley’s biography as interpreted by historian Kathryn Sklar? How was Kelley able to earn her law degree, to become a professional reformer and factory inspector of sweatshops?

Optional: Website on Kelley's campaign against sweatshops, with lots of interesting material from Kelley and others: <http://womhist.binghamton.edu/projects.htm#factory>]

10/7: Progressive Men and Women

Henretta, et. al., *America's History 4th ed.*, chapter 20, 639-668.

Who were the Progressives? Was there a central set of beliefs or purposes that knit them together? What especially concerned the women, such as Frances Kellor?

10/9: Women's Rights, Woman's Duties, and Woman Suffrage

1) Jane Addams, "Why Women Should Vote," 1915, excerpted speech reformatted from http://douglass.speech.nwu.edu/adda_a03.htm (ereserves)

2) Selected Documents from *One Half the People: The Fight for Woman Suffrage*, eds. Anne Firor Scott and Andrew MacKay Scott. Finish the selected documents with: **Susan Fitzgerald, 114-115, Caroline Lowe and Leonora O'Reilly, 122-128.** (ereserves)

3) "A Woman's Place is in Politics," from *The South in the History of the Nation*, eds. Link and Wheeler, pp. 113-118. Articles by **Madeline McDowell Breckenridge** and **Adella Hunt Logan.** (ereserves).

Homework Essay Option 6 (choose):

1) What range of reforms did progressive women think woman suffrage would promote? What was the relationship between suffrage reform and progressivism? Are women talking about duties more than rights in the last two decades of woman suffrage agitation? [Remember to quote particular women as evidence – never work from the textbook]. Have these women expanded the circle of "We the People" or were they still trying to protect the "Republic" from immigrant and black voters?

2) Do you see a difference in how middle class reformers like Jane Addams, working class spokeswomen such as Leonora O'Reilly spoke of women's rights and duties in the public sphere? How do the two educated Southern women (black and white) in selection 3 compare with these others? Adela Hunt Logan was African American—how did this shape her view of women's rights? [Don't just summarize – focus and analyze, using several voices as evidence].

Extra Credit Option: 1-2 pp. paper and class report on: "Jane Addams, Progressivism, and Woman Suffrage: An Introduction to 'Why Women Should Vote'" by Victoria Bissell Brown, In *One Woman, One Vote*, pp. 179-202. Comment on Victoria Brown's analysis of Addams' famous speech. Ereserve title: "Jane Addams, progressivism, and suffrage. Chapter ten from One woman, one vote:"

10/16: NO CLASS – Free Reading Day

10/21: World War One: Mobilization and the Repressive Aftermath

Henretta, et. al., *America's History 4th ed.*, chapter 22, 705-734.

10/23: The Right to Dissent – Eugene V. Debs and Oliver Wendell Holmes (With Emma Goldman Thrown in for Spice)

1) "Eugene Debs Lashes Out against World War I," Professor Jackson's excerpts from Debs' Canton Ohio speech, June 15, 1918. (ereserves)

2) Oliver Wendell Holmes, "Justice Holmes' Civil Liberties Opinions," compiled from various sources, including FindLaw and *Great American Court Cases, v. 1* (Gale, 1999) (ereserves)

3) "Anarchist" Emma Goldman asks, "What is Patriotism?", San Francisco, CA, 1908. <http://www.pbs.org/greatspeeches/timeline/index.html#1930> Reformatted for ereserves

Homework Essay Option 7 (choose one):

Compare Debs' speech with Holmes' summary of his crime. Did Debs' speech in fact violate the Espionage and Sedition Acts, as upheld by the Schenck decision (regardless of their merit)? In the eyes of the law, at what points did he pass over the line between free speech and the "clear and present danger" to the Republic's success in war? Holmes' dissent in the Abrams case laid the groundwork for modern civil liberties law – why didn't he see Debs' dissent in a similar light?

[**Note**: Jackson Library's Government Documents web page <http://library.uncg.edu/depts/docs/us/> contains a link to Judicial finding aids: "FindLaw U.S. Supreme Court Opinions 1893-present" contains the text for every Supreme Court opinion and dissent ever].

NB: Now is not too early to look ahead to the Analytic Paper assignment based on the Letters to Franklin and Eleanor Roosevelt during the Great Depression.

10/28: The Twenties: Diversity and Conformity

Henretta, et. al., *America's History 4th ed.*, chapter 23, 737-768

Make sure you understand the motivations and provisions of the 1921 and 1924 immigration laws. How did these enormously consequential pieces of legislation relate to the general political climate of the 1920s?

10/30: The Rights and "Character" of Newcomers: Nativism and Immigration Restriction

"Selected Arguments" from *Immigration: Opposing Viewpoints* (Greenhaven, 1992), by Edward A. Ross, A. Piatt Andrew, Henry Cabot Lodge, T.J. Brennan, Roy L. Garis and Edith Terry Bremer, pp. 128-135, 138-145, 210-213, 220-223, 243-257.

Robert S. McElvaine, ed., *Down and Out in the Great Depression: Letters from the Forgotten Man* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1983), ***Print out Parts A and B at the same time, since each week draws on both.*** Letters # [not page numbers]: 107, 109, 110, 145, 146 (5 pp.).

Homework Essay Option 8:

- 1) The arguments for, and against, immigration restriction up to and including the 1924 quota act, involved assumptions about the racial "character" of the "new" immigrants arriving since 1880, as well as ideas regarding the ability of American institutions to assimilate them. What fears and convictions lay at the core of arguments for restricting immigration, and how did defenders of immigrants try to address them? (Make sure your discussion ranges over time and includes the last two readings from the 1920s).
- 2) Do you see any continuities between the arguments of elite immigration restrictionists of the 1910s and 1920s (in *Immigration: Opposing Viewpoints*) and the popular voices from the 1930s (in *Down and Out*)?

11/4: The Great Depression: The Visible and Invisible Scars

Henretta, et. al., *America's History 4th ed.*, chapter 24, 771-798.

Did the economic collapse engender social and family conflict or cooperation? How did people cope? What principles characterized Hoover's response?

11/6: Self-Reliance, Relief, and Old Age Security in the Depression

Robert S. McElvaine, ed., *Down and Out in the Great Depression: Letters from the Forgotten Man* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1983), Letters # 1, 2, 5, 6, 8, 9, 11, 17, 18, 12, 25, 56, 57, 73, 75, 106, 140. (20 pp.) (**ereserves**).

No Homework Essay Options: Work on paper due next week.

Questions for Class Discussion: Different people had vastly different analyses of the causes and necessary solutions to the Great Depression. Who or what did they blame for the calamity? On what grounds did middle class homeowners and others claim to be "deserving" of help? Did the elderly and disabled base their demands for government pensions on any consistent themes? The last letter shows a curious mixture of age-consciousness and class-consciousness, a sense that benefiting the elderly would also benefit "the masses." What has happened to this consciousness since the New Deal? Historians

agree that class consciousness was especially high in the 1930s, but differ on the degree to which the working class wished for radical change (“the red decade”) or simply sought security and jobs. Which seems to fit best? Finally, why do you think the woman in letter # 18 does not mention her husband?

1 Point Extra Credit Option (two people): Read, write 1-2 pp. and report:

Studs Terkel, *Hard Times: An Oral History of the Great Depression*, [N.B.: These readings are broken into Parts A and B as well: print them both out at once].

Sheridan (pp. 13-16), Paulsen (pp. 29-31); Morrison (pp. 122-124), Baxter (pp. 124-128), Oscar Heline (pp. 217-221). Thompson (pp. 306-310), Alinsky (pp. 310-313), Durr (pp. 461-462).

In the oral histories, when people protest or resort to direct action, on what grounds did they justify their actions? What happens to them? Are they advocating radicalism, revolution, or something else?

11/11: New Deals – Expanding American Rights

Henretta, et. al., *America’s History 4th ed.*, chapter 25, 801-830.

11/13: Entitlements, Resentments, and New Deal Relief Policy

McElvaine, ed., *Down and Out in the Great Depression*, Letters # 37, 38, 43-6, 49, 54, 55, 81, 82, 83, 88, 89, 92, 97, 98, 100, 102, 104, 105, 108, 141-143, 166, 169, 170, 171 (27 pp.).

Questions for Class Discussion: Most people seemed to prefer work relief to “the dole.” So why was work relief so controversial in practice? Many people were grateful for relief. Yet it seems that many harbored either resentments or a deep sense of unfairness against the local relief “racket.” Whom did people blame for this state of affairs? Who is getting what at whose expense? When does criticism of the RELIEF SYSTEM spill over into criticism of the CLASS SYSTEM and POLITICAL SYSTEM? When African Americans protest about the local (white) relief officials, are there any themes they voice that are unique to their situation, as distinct from white workers or middle class homeowners? How do blacks see themselves in relation to poor whites? How do whites who write in feel about the administration of relief for Negroes (contrast, for example, # 49, #54, and # 81)?

1 Point Extra Credit Option (two people): Read, write 1-2 pp. and report:

Studs Terkel, *Hard Times: An Oral History of the Great Depression*, Banks (pp. 40-43); Tiller (pp. 44-45); Terry and mother (pp. 45-49); Barkham (pp. 202-206); Beecher (pp. 277-281), Van Dusen (pp. 105-108), Oettinger (pp. 114-117), Tiller (pp. 232-234).

What difference did federal government involvement make in comparison to locally administered relief? When did blacks and whites overcome inherited racial divisions and achieve some cooperation or solidarity? How did federal involvement in relief change local racial practices?

Thursday, November 14: 5-6 PAGE ANALYTIC PAPER DUE (Full Assignment at the end of this syllabus).

11/18: From The New Deal to Cold War: Liberalism in the 1940s

Henretta, et. al., *America’s History 4th ed.*, Skim sections on WWII military history and Cold War foreign policy, pp. 837-853, 879-887; Ellen Schrecker, *Many Are the Crimes: McCarthyism in America* (Princeton, 1998), short selection..

11/20: The Rise and Fall of Labor Liberalism – Collective Bargaining and the Minimum Wage

1) “Selected Documents” from Major Problems in the History of American Workers, eds. Eileen Boris and Nelson Lichtenstein (Heath, 1991) **ereserves**.

2) “Labor & Labor Movements,” Selected documents from the American Social History Project, “History Matters” website. **Ereserves**

If you need help with basic terms: Through the Library's Electronic Databases Online portal, go to Encyclopedia Britannica Online, or directly from a networked computer at <http://www.eb.com:180/> Look up the following terms to make sure you know them: Wagner Act, Fair Labor Standards Act, Taft-Hartley Act, Closed Shop, Union Shop.

Homework Essay Option 9:

- 1) In the 1930s and 1940s, the federal government gave legal protection to labor's right to collective bargaining and it regulated wages and hours and child labor. What did these measures mean to ordinary working people?
- 2) What happened to these legal protections in the Cold War, when the Taft-Hartley Act and the climate of Anticommunism set a new stage for labor-management relations?

Discussion Extra Credit: Not all primary source websites (or printed sources for that matter) are completely reliable, so you need to corroborate evidence to be on firm factual ground. Be prepared to discuss how this assignment sheds light on this first principle of research.

11/25: American Society and Politics in the 1950s – Affluence and the Other Americas

Henretta, et. al., *America's History 4th ed.*, pp. 887-891, 895-900, 903-921; Thomas J. Sugrue, "Crabgrass-Roots Politics: Race, Rights, and the Reaction against Liberalism in the Urban North, 1940-1964," *Journal of American History* (September, 1995): 551-2; 564-78.

Homework essay Option 10: As masses of Southern black migrants poured into Northern cities in the 1940s and 1950s, African Americans sought open housing opportunities in hitherto racially restricted whites-only neighborhoods. How did white homeowners groups in Detroit (with what language and rationales) seek to defend their "homeowners rights" against black "civil rights?"

12/2: The Rights Revolution of the 1960s

Henretta, et. al., *America's History 4th ed.*, chapter 28, 927-938, chapter 29, 947-964.

12/4: Case: From Civil Rights to Equality

Martin Luther King, Jr., et. al., "MIA Mass Meeting at Holt Street Baptist Church," in Clayborne Carson, ed., *Papers of King*, v. 3, pp. 71-5, 78-9. **Ereserves**

Martin Luther King, Jr., "If the Negro Wins, Labor Wins," December 11, 1961, in Washington, ed., *A Testament of Hope*, Harper, 1986, pp. 201-207. **Ereserves**

Martin Luther King, Jr. "Testimony," December 15, 1966, in U.S. Senate, Subcommittee on Executive Reorganization, Committee on Government Operations, *Federal Role in Urban Affairs* (Washington, GPO, 1967), selections. **Ereserves**

Homework Essay Option 11 (choose):

- 1) At each stage of the black freedom movement (1955, 1961, 1966) Martin Luther King spoke in terms of winning fundamental rights necessary to achieve African American equality. How did his sense of the priorities, and relationship, among these rights change?
- 2) African Americans have long felt a "double consciousness," in DuBois's words, "a Negro, an American, two souls in one dark body." In his first speech (1955) and his congressional testimony (1966), how did King seek to reconcile the needs and collective destiny of black Americans with the broader "American Dream" of freedom and equality?

12/9: Since the Sixties – Faltering Growth and Resurgent Conservatism in Multiracial America

Henretta, et. al., *America's History 4th ed.*, very specific excerpts: Legacy of Vietnam, 968-9; Economy, environment and domestic movements of the 1970s, pp. 981-97; Reagan, pp. 1000-1002, 1006-1011; Uncertain Times in the 1990s, pp. 1015-1025 (skip Biotech Revolution); Clinton health care, pp. 1032-33; Welfare reform and the domestic agenda, pp. 1035-37; Contemporary issues, pp. 1044-47.

Optional Reading and Homework Essay (to erase an earlier grade or to earn 1 extra credit point – everyone invited):

The Quality of American Life: Rights to Health Care and Environmental Protection

George Lipsitz, *A Life in the Struggle*, ch. 7, “Lead Poisoning: Peace and Pain in the Struggle,” pp. 174-185. **Ereserves**

Eddie Batista, “Garbage Wars: The Struggle for Waterfront Justice,” May 1998, *New York Lawyers for the Public Interest*. (pps. 4-11 the most informative). **Ereserves**

Read also the biography of Lois Marie Gibbs in Henretta, *America’s History*, pp. 988-989.

Homework Essay Option 12:

Ivory Perry was a Korean War veteran, a longtime civil rights activist for CORE in St. Louis and Louisiana, and housing coordinator for a local St. Louis War on Poverty Community Action Agency (Human Development Corporation). He organized protests to get jobs for African Americans in banks and federally funded construction sites in the mid-1960s, marched with Martin Luther King in Selma and Chicago, and organized rent strikes in public and private housing in the late 1960s. (The assigned excerpt picks up his activism in 1970 as he turned his attention to lead paint poisoning). Eddie Batista is currently a Puerto Rican lawyer from Brooklyn leading a campaign to stop the concentration of garbage transfer stations in poor communities in Brooklyn and the Bronx. He is a leader of the newly emerging National Environmental Justice Network. How did these two activists and Lois Marie Gibbs think and talk about the rights of their communities facing environmental hazards?

FINAL TAKE HOME EXAM IS DUE THE HOUR OF THE REGULARLY SCHEDULED IN-CLASS FINAL. This will be an essay you will write about various contexts in which rights came into conflict, or movement which tried to stretch the definition of American rights from civil and political to social and economic rights (5-6 pp.). **I will hand out the final exam soon.**

IV. GRADING, EXTENSIONS AND THE HONOR CODE

A “.59” on anything is a failing grade (above .90 is A range, above .80 B range, and so on). If you do not hand in work or if you submit unacceptable work you risk earning a “.00” for that assignment. There is a “progress” component of each final grade I give: evidence of improvement from beginning to end will weigh in your favor if your grade falls near a margin. The paper and the final will build on skills learned earlier. Notice the opportunities in this syllabus to earn extra credit, which could make the difference between a C+ and a B!

“Stonewall Jackson’s” Policy on Extensions: I grant none except in cases of personal illness, family loss or serious emergency. Late papers will suffer a quarter of a grade reduction for every day late. No quizzes will be accepted after Monday (to make sure you take time for the case study material), and no homework essays will be accepted after the class in which they are assigned.

Honor Code: Find UNCG’s policy at <http://saf.dept.uncg.edu/studiscp/Honor.html> **Know the definition of plagiarism and the rules of quoting, citing, and paraphrasing other sources.** Rampola’s *Student’s Guide to Writing in History* is a good guide (hard copy reserve), as are several Websites: <http://www.dartmouth.edu/~sources/about/what.html>

All of your written work must be your own and you must not plagiarize other sources. This includes failure to put in quotes phrases or sentences taken from another author, even if you footnote them. Catching and punishing plagiarists is the part of my job I hate the most, but I am a plagiarism bloodhound. Remember, the minimum penalty for blatant plagiarism is an “F” in the course, a permanent record on file in the Office of Student Affairs, and the maximum penalty is expulsion from the university.

A note regarding Internet sources: All my assignments refer to and draw upon common assigned readings. I do not prohibit your finding supplementary evidence on the internet, but quoting sources such as Encarta Encyclopedia instead of what I assigned I will regard as intellectually lazy. “Block quoting” of Internet (or any) resources without interpretation (even if you provide references) will also be regarded as intellectually lazy. UNDER NO CIRCUMSTANCES will I permit you to “cut and paste” from Internet sources into your written work. If you quote anything, you must go to the trouble of physically re-typing the source. This will force you to paraphrase it and directly quote only the most important language (an essential skill). Writing that “stitches together” a bunch of block quotes is boring and unoriginal (I have already read all this stuff, remember). It will be graded much more severely than writing that is in your own words, even if you make mistakes in spelling, grammar or paragraph construction. Use the **Writing Center** and the various study skills workshops available to you.

Conferences: I am here to help with questions, to guide you in developing your ideas and writing strategies, and to give you careful honest evaluation on your work. Do not hesitate to visit my office hours or schedule an appointment if that is not convenient. We will also soon have a graduate course assistant, who will help with discussion groups and will be available to help with studying as well. I have been very clear and firm with the rules, but students have also found me very approachable and helpful.

The Syllabus as Contract: I have tried to spell out course requirements, goals and means of evaluation as meticulously as possible. By choosing to remain in the course beyond the drop deadline you agree to abide by its provisions. It is your responsibility to read the “fine print” and if questions remain, to clarify them.

Getting around Jackson Library’s electronic reserves system (referred to as “ereserves”):

[You will need a web browser (Internet Explorer 4.0 and above or Netscape 4.0 and above), and the Adobe Acrobat reader, all of which are standard on UNCG’s networked computers. If you do not have these on your home computer or if you have a slow Internet connection, I advise you to use the networked computers and printers].

At the home page <http://library.uncg.edu/> click on “Reserves,” then “Search Reserve items by Instructor.” Type “**Jackson**” (rather than HIS212 since there are many sections of 212). Find the citation; click “Full text online.” You will be asked for a **username** (type “ereserves”) and **password** (“fall2002”). You may then print out the reading from a University terminal or your home computer, provided you have Adobe Acrobat Reader (free download option at electronic reserves web page). *Get help at the reserve desk to your right as you enter the library if you do not know how to use this system.* **HINT:** In this area of the library they print double-sided to save paper. Trees have rights too! Print out a few weeks’ readings at a time. **FINDING THE ERESERVE READINGS: On the ereserves system, the title of the reading comes first, with the author at the end. My syllabus will imitate this system’s quirky, free-form style of citation, to make it easier for you to find the readings. Do not use this citation style in your papers.**

A Note on the Reading and General Reading Method: I assign about 50 pp. per week, combining the textbook and short excerpts from a variety of sources. To do well at all in this course you must consistently read and come to class prepared to discuss the material. **Remember to read *actively and strategically*.** Don’t just start at page one and plow through. **Preview** the material, look at the topic divisions and the flow of main ideas, and then dive in with **questions**. Ask yourself: what do I know already about this period, theme, social trend? *Who wrote this, and for whom?* Am I reading **an historian’s interpretation** of the past (a “secondary source”) or **an historical actor’s statement** (a “primary source”)? How does the historical context and the language of this reading compare with other debates about human rights? **Remember, the course is about human rights and American equal rights, so be keenly aware of when history speaks to these issues.** As you read, you should **UNDERLINE** quotes and passages especially relevant to your questions (do this after you have read one or two paragraphs, so the process doesn’t bog you down; remember, *if you underline everything, you*

emphasize nothing). If you don't know the meaning of a word or concept, **look it up**. Along the way and at the end, **WRITE** in the margins of your texts, in your notebooks (or computers) what you have learned, and what still puzzles you. If you feel you need to develop college-level study skills, **COME SEE ME or visit the Student Success Center or the Writing Center**. You paid for them; you might as well use them!

A note of group dynamics and politics: Group discussion is a question of balance. Sometimes students will dominate discussion, edging out others with more reserved speaking styles. Sometimes, absolute geniuses will absorb everything and write brilliant papers but will sit there like Sphinxes all semester. So be aware that "teamwork" involves both sharing the ball and having the courage to aim for the hoop! If you are excessively shy or overly loquacious, I aim to help you move toward the center of the introvert/extrovert scale.

NB: This history is controversial and close to the bone for many people. Embrace controversy (this can be stressful for some students in this culture). But do so with respect, humility and an appreciation that we all start from different places and backgrounds and degrees of exposure to this history. "The past is a foreign country to us all." In this there is a certain freedom to discover who we are and to decide who we want to be, to see how far we have and have not come in a century and a half. Yet notice that I have used the word "we." That "foreign" country is where many of our ancestors lived (unless we are newcomers), and they left everyone who lives in the U.S. us a powerful, if sometimes unconscious, inheritance. We find much to honor in that inheritance, and much to criticize. A culture that celebrated individual achievement, equality and overcoming the past is also a culture with a history of racism, sexism, class inequality, nativism and other abuses of political and economic power that continue to shape our social lives and identities. We are truly, in Michael Kammen's words, "a people of paradox." I have an excellent ability to discerning where students come from and how far they travel intellectually in my courses. I have no investment in the *political* direction the study of history takes them. I admit to having Left/Liberal political leanings that have shaped the questions I have asked of history, but I have striven to understand past actors *on their own terms*. What expect of you is that you deepen your abilities to reason and write and communicate and support what you say with *historical* evidence.

Useful information regarding Websites that might get you hooked on history:

Many of the notes on Websites in this syllabus are **RECOMMENDED** not **REQUIRED** exercises. I make crystal clear when they are one or the other. Most careful written history and historical sources are still in print or manuscript form in libraries, so if you have a deep interest there really is no substitute for library research. But more and more scholarly articles, primary documents, oral histories, images and sound recordings are becoming available on the web every day, and they are a good way of introducing you to the historical craft.

The American Social History Project's "History Matters" Website is superb, containing hundreds of speeches, oral histories, images and songs from ordinary Americans. Browse:

<http://historymatters.gmu.edu/>

The Library of Congress's "American Memory" Website offers millions of photographs, maps, songs, films and other materials. <http://lcweb2.loc.gov/>

For many kinds of questions regarding the study of history, see "A STUDENT'S ONLINE GUIDE TO HISTORY" by Jules Benjamin, Adapted for the Bedford/St. Martin's research site by Jules R. Benjamin. Based on A Student's Guide to History, 8th edition (Bedford/St. Martin's, 2000):

<http://www.bedfordstmartins.com/history/benjamin/>

You must develop critical standards for evaluating Websites, as you do any source, however. **ANYONE CAN POST ANYTHING THEY WANT ON THE WEB.** This ranges from holocaust deniers to apologists for Stalin. Early in the course you should read the textbook Website's "Guidelines for Evaluating Internet Resources," at chapter 24, "Great Depression" "Research module 1," or <http://www.bedfordstmartins.com/history/modules/mod29/frame.htm>

For more sophisticated guidelines for reading various kinds of primary sources, spend 10 or 15 minutes at the Library of Congress American Memory Project's "Historian's Sources Learning Page," <http://lcweb2.loc.gov/ammem/ndlpedu/lessons/psources/pshome.html> and click on Student lesson: (skip the Mindwalk activity, I.a.).

[Constitution of the United States of America](#)

A project of the United States Senate and the United States Government Printing Office and prepared by the Congressional Research Service of the Library of Congress with the 1992 edition and a 1996 supplement. This site is an analysis and interpretation of the US constitution with annotations of cases decided by the Supreme Court of the United States.

<http://www.access.gpo.gov/congress/senate/constitution/toc.html>

[Douglass: Archives of American Public Address](#)

Based at Northwestern University, this site archives American speeches and related documents. The documents vary from John Winthrop's *On Liberty*, 1645 to Hillary Rodham Clinton's *Words to Break the Silence and Then to Act*, 6 September 1995. Douglass can be searched chronologically, by speaker, by movement or title.

<http://douglassarchives.org/>

[Basic Readings in U.S. Democracy](#)

U.S. Department of State, Office of International Information Programs

<http://usinfo.state.gov/usa/infousa/facts/democrac/demo.htm>

Links to famous speeches, esp. of presidents.

[Great American Speeches: 80 Years of Political Oratory](#)

<http://www.pbs.org/greatspeeches/timeline/index.html>

University of Minnesota Human Rights Library

<http://www1.umn.edu/humanrts/>

More on contemporary human rights in an international context. Small U.S. Historical section.

Women and Social Movements in the United States, 1775-2000

<http://womhist.binghamton.edu/browsesubject.htm>

Documents on every facet of women's lives and political activism.