

**History 212-05, Fall 2001**  
**The United States Since 1865:**  
**Human Rights and the American Equal Rights Tradition**

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**T, TH 11:00-12:15**

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**I. INTRODUCTION**

This is both a survey of U.S. history since 1865 and a closer look at several episodes when the American equal rights tradition underwent debate, conflict and change. In every period of U.S. history, Americans posed central questions about national citizenship and community. What rights – civil, political, cultural, economic and social – should American citizens enjoy? Who should be included in the circle of “We the People” and should all of their rights be the same? How should we defend, expand, restrict, or define these rights? What action should government take (or avoid) to make these rights real? When rights come in conflict, who wins? For example, the Civil War ended slaveholders’ rights to property in slave persons, and established, at least in theory, national and state citizenship rights for *all* persons born or “naturalized.”

There has always been great tension between the *ideals* of the equal rights tradition and the *behavior* of many Americans, though most Americans have rationalized their actions in terms of *their own rights*. We share a common language of equal rights, so often our conflicts are expressed in similar terms. Groups and individuals have come into conflict with other groups or with the government itself, stretching and molding the common language of equal rights. 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 caused Congress to abolish the racist system of immigration quotas inherited from the 1920s). 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 hopes and experiences of ordinary Americans. We will read the eloquent writings and speeches of educated elite Americans: reformers, rebels and defenders of the status quo. Equally, we will try to capture voices of ordinary working people, women, racial minorities and political dissenters. I believe that those who have had to fight for an expansion of citizenship and equal rights *within* this country have much to teach us about their meaning. We will therefore give less attention to topics that might interest you, such as foreign policy and warfare, economic and technological history, the arts or popular culture. We give somewhat more attention to the period 1865 to 1945 than to the post World War II era, simply because I teach another course covering this period in detail: **History 340: The U.S. Since World War II.**

**Goals of this course:**

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

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

To introduce you to the elements of **controversy, evidence and interpretation** that occupy working historians (that is, to get beyond limited “fact-and-date” notions of history).

To examine in depth **several episodes when the equal rights tradition took a decisive historical turn**, thereby, hopefully, helping us reflect about your own identities as citizens with rights and public obligations. 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). Examples: African American rights during Reconstruction; Native American cultural rights; property and labor rights in the “labor wars” of the 19<sup>th</sup> century; woman suffrage and women’s rights at the turn of the century; rights to free speech in World War I; rights to social security and labor organization in the 1930s and 1940s; health care and environmental protection since the 1960s.

**Teaching and Learning Methods:** This class may be different from your past history classes. I will not give formal, traditional lectures lasting the full period, or repeat what the textbook covers. Rather, I will mix up shorter lectures, guided small group discussions, and general Socratic question and answer periods. As a rule, Tuesday’s class will explore broader social and political changes as they affected different Americans, creating the context for the specific problems and interpretations that Thursday’s class will explore in depth. For example, we will move from a broad understanding of Reconstruction to a particular appreciation of how newly freed African Americans saw the relationship between land and labor. Later, we will move from a broad understanding of the purposes of Progressive era reform to thinking about how women’s rights assumed center stage in the decade before they finally won the right to vote.

## II. COURSE REQUIREMENTS

### A. Readings:

#### 1. Textbook available for purchase in the bookstore:

James A. Henretta, et. al. *America’s History*, Fourth Edition (New York: Bedford/St. Martins, 2000), Volume 2: Since 1865. (If the bookstore runs out I will place my extra textbook on reserve in the library, to the right as you walk in).

**Textbook Website:** <http://www.bedfordstmartins.com/history/henretta/> has chapter summaries and help with key concepts. Several assignments will explore the “research modules.” **There are on-line chapter quizzes you will need to take on this site as well.**

#### 2. Primary Documents, Scholarly Articles and Other Materials:

**Available through Jackson Library Electronic Reserves or the through the Internet:** many short excerpts from a range of published and Internet sources that speak to themes of equal rights in ways pre-packaged course readers or other books (such as novels) do not. I saved you money beyond the purchase of the textbook. Understand, however, that accessing and printing out these materials will require more effort and computer knowledge 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 bring all assigned material to class.

**[You will need a web browser that supports frames (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, you are advised to use the networked computers and printers]. There may be a few of you who do not live on or near campus and will not have access to networked computers or high-speed Internet connections. Those people may borrow the full set of electronic reserve readings from me, to go copy on their own. Come to my office hours for this.**

**Getting around Jackson Library's electronic reserves system** (hereafter referred to as "ereserves"): At the home page <http://library.uncg.edu/> click on "Reserves," then "Search Reserve items by  $\neq$  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** ("fall2001"). 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.**

Various weeks will draw upon a few sources you will need print out at the same time and bring to several classes: Samuel T. McSeveny, *Selected Historical Documents to Accompany America's History, 4<sup>th</sup> ed.*, (New York: Bedford/St. Martins, 2001), Scott and Scott's *One Half the People* and McElvaine's *Down and Out in the Great Depression*. I will fill in the details of the syllabus post-1919 (October 25 to December 6) within a couple of weeks.

### **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/frameset.htm>

### **NOTE ON THE READING AND READING IN GENERAL:**

I assign about 50-60 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 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. **WRITE DOWN AT LEAST ONE QUESTION FOR EACH CLASS PERIOD – YOU MAY BE CALLED UPON TO SHARE IT**. If you feel you need to develop college-level study skills, **COME SEE ME**.

## **B. Attendance:**

I take attendance every day. *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 three unexcused absences and your final grade will go down 2.5 points for every day missed. Three *consecutive* unexcused absences and you may be asked to withdraw from the course.

**Reminder:** the last day to drop a course without academic penalty is October 12; the last day to drop with tuition and fees refund is August 27. I will certainly inform you by early October if I consider you to be failing or doing poorly, so that we can work up a contract for improvement.

## **C. Class Participation (20%):**

I grade participation on the basis of how consistently and thoughtfully you speak in various contexts. **I require that you write down at least one question of your own – large or small – to bring to each class period. Be ready to share it if asked**. As for specific points of clarification, but also bring the most important question you can think of to class. There are no “dumb” questions – others have likely thought of it too (besides, if you never risk saying something “dumb” you will never say anything smart). I give grades of A, B, C, F or NC (.00) here. [In rare instances of documented social phobia, see me to work up a contract for substitute contributions]. There is a question of balance here. Sometimes students will dominate discussion, edging out others with more reserved speaking styles. So be aware that “teamwork” involves sharing the ball.

**A note of group dynamics and politics:** This history is controversial and close to the bone. There will be some informal “debate” exercises. 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 points on our own journeys. “The past is a foreign country to us all,” and in this there is a certain freedom to discover who we are and to decide who we want to be. Yet that “foreign” country is where our ancestors lived, and they left 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 limits of the past is also a culture with a history of racism, sexism, class prejudice and other forms of intolerance or inequality that continue to shape our social lives and identities. We are truly, in Michael Kammen's words, “a people of paradox.” So in the context of free speech, we must challenge intolerant speech. 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. What I do expect is that you deepen your abilities to reason and write and communicate and **support what you say with historical evidence**.

## **D. Chapter Quizzes (20%) – You must take at least 9; and 8 will count. You may take as many as 14.**

Each Tuesday there will be a “fill-in” quiz on major names, events and concepts covered for that week. I will hand out preparation sheets in advance. I do not expect perfection, just consistency in your textbook reading. **If you do not take at least 9 quizzes, you will receive no credit, that is, no points at all on this, that is “0.00” rather than the “.059” failing grade or the “.10” you will get if you ace them.**

## Written Work:

All papers must be typed and formatted as follows: 11 or 12 font size, double spaced lines, margins no larger than 1" all around. Papers that are too short or whose font or margins are too large will be returned to you immediately for resubmission. Citation styles: MLA, Turabian or Chicago Manual of Style 14<sup>th</sup> 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:<sup>1</sup>

### E. Homework Essays (20%):

**Six (6) Short essays that respond to a question with evidence from the readings (300-500 words, 1.5 to 2 pp. each) due on the day assigned and not accepted afterward.** You will have **12 options** over the course of the semester. **You may write up to 9 essays. I will select the best 6 results for your grade. If all your essays are at B- or above, each essay over the limit of 6 will count as an extra point on your final grade.** Answer one of the "homework essay questions" provided in the syllabus or in class before the due date. State your own viewpoint and support it with evidence from the texts. Refer to actual people and their actions and ideas rather than to your general feelings or ideas. **Paraphrase** the point of view of an individual or group in your own words, and then **quote** sparingly when of a particular speaker's language illustrates your point. **For further guidelines see Homework Essay Option 1.**

### F. Analytic Paper (20%):

**Primary source analysis** paper (1250-1500 words, 5-6 pages). **Due November 9 in class.** 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. Guidelines to follow.

### G. Final Take Home Exam (20%):

I will give you a set of possible identifications and questions on the last day of class, December 6. I will make the final exam available at 8:00 AM December 12. You may take it at any time before it is due on 5:00 PM, December 14. Do not look at the final until you are ready to begin, and finish writing within four hours and do not exceed 5-6 pages.

## III. GRADING, EXTENSIONS AND THE HONOR CODE

A ".59" on anything (except the quizzes, which are graded on a curve) 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 both be written in the last 6 weeks of the class, and they will build on skills learned earlier. Notice the opportunities in this syllabus to earn extra credit that can change your final grade point by at least .05, which could make the difference between a C+ and a B.

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<sup>1</sup> If you need further guidance, consult Mary Lynn Rampola, *A Pocket Guide to Writing in History* (New York: St. Martin's, 1995), on hard copy reserve in the Library for **HIS212**. Or on **ereserves**, "Appendix: Footnotes or Endnotes (An MLA Alternative)" from Diana Hacker, *The Bedford Handbook for Writers* (New York: Bedford, 1994).

**“Stonewall Jackson’s” Extensions Policy:** No extensions except in cases of personal illness, family loss or nuclear holocaust. Late papers will suffer a quarter of a grade reduction for every day late. No on-line quiz results will be accepted after the class period when the chapter is assigned, 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.georgetown.edu/honor/plagiarism.html> <http://www.dartmouth.edu/~sources/about/what.html> You must neither observe others nor cooperate in taking on-line quizzes, nor may you collude in gathering evidence and writing the paper. You may talk about the homework essay questions with classmates (I encourage this), and study together for the final exam until it is available December 12, but not thereafter. All of your written work must be your own and you must not plagiarize other sources.

**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 other) 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 filled with 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.

#### IV. CLASS MEETINGS, DUE DATES, REQUIRED AND RECOMMENDED READINGS

##### 8/21: Introduction

##### 8/23: Human Rights in History, And the Challenges of Primary Source Interpretation

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) Visit the Textbook Website: <http://www.bedfordstmartins.com/history/henretta/> Familiarize yourself with how it operates. Go To Chapter 15, Click “Research Module 1” – then click Source and read “**2. Guidelines for Evaluating Primary Documents**” (one page).

3) Visit Jackson Library’s Electronic Reserves, <http://library.uncg.edu/> Search under “Jackson” and print out (remember you need Acrobat reader – the username is “ereserves” and the password is “fall2001”): “**Two Ex-Slave Narratives from the 1930s,**” from James Davidson and Mark Lytle, *After the Fact*, (1999) excerpts, pp. 159-166.

##### Questions for Discussion:

1) Only by examining what we think at any given moment can we challenge, confirm or deepen 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 do they stack up against the human rights in the UN Declaration? Which is the most controversial of the rights discussed there? Why do you think it was written as it was?

2) How do the two ex-slave narratives differ in their views of: 1) how slaves were treated and how they responded; 2) treatment of families and children; 3) assumptions about history – the African past and the New World of slavery – especially compared to perceptions of Native Americans.

### **8/28: Reconstruction – African Americans and Birthright Citizenship**

Henretta, et. al., *America's History 4<sup>th</sup> ed.*, chapter 15, 477-502.

Examine “A Plea for Land,” *America's History*, p. 483. Would wider land ownership among African Americans have alleviated poverty and prevented much of the oppression of the post Reconstruction period?

### **8/30: Land, Labor and the Vote: The Views of the Freedmen**

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, 92-97. **(ereserves)**

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

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, 1.a.).

### **Homework Essay Option 1, (choose one question):**

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

2) 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?

**Guideline: When writing your homework essay, do not extensively quote the textbook. Rather, quote actual “voices” from the past 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 questions that seems especially important, an idea that can be developed with evidence. 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.

### **9/4: The West: “Frontiers” of Opportunity, Capital and Conquest**

Henretta, et. al., *America's History 4<sup>th</sup> ed.*, chapter 16, 507-538.

In 1890, historian Fredrick Jackson Turner wrote that the West was a moving frontier, an expanse of “free land” where men rediscovered opportunity and self-reliance and renewed the national values of democracy. Turner held that the West had acted as a safety valve against population pressures and class conflict in the East, but that by 1890 the frontier had “closed.” In what ways might this be true and in what other ways might it miss the boat?

### **9/6: “Friends” Like These: Indian Education, the Dawes Act and Indian Cultural Rights**

1) “Recall the early days of reservation farming, 1877-1900,” pp. 400-404 from Major problems in the history of the American west, Clyde Milner, ed. [by] **John Stands-in-Timber and Ella C. Deloria.** (ereserves)

2) “Schooling the Hopi: federal Indian policy writ small, 1887-1917.” Chapter 2 [pp. 27-44] from American vistas: 1877 to the present, Leonard Dinnerstien and Kenneth T. Jackson, eds. [by] **David Wallace Adams.** (ereserves) This is our first example of the scholarly historical essay written in an interpretive, not merely factual, way, based on primary source research.

3) “*Selected Historical Documents to Accompany America’s History*,” ed., McSeveny, Part A: Reconstruction Blacks and Native Americans. #16-3, “**The Dawes Severalty Act,**” pp. 36-37 and attached statistical table on Indian landholding. (ereserves).

### **Homework Essay Option 2 (choose one question):**

1) Humanitarian “reformers” were at the center of the new policies of trying to educate, civilize and make “citizens” of Indians through abolition of reservations and through adoption of individual family farming. What was the outcome of these “reforms?”

2) Is there an underlying logic to both the forced assimilation of Native Americans through the Dawes Act of 1887 and also to the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882, which simply barred further Chinese immigration?

### **9/11: Labor and Capital in the Gilded Age**

Henretta, et. al., *America’s History 4<sup>th</sup> ed.*, chapter 17, 541-572.

### **9/13: The Homestead Strike of 1892, Property Rights vs. Labor Rights**

1) “Opposing Viewpoints on Concentrations of Wealth,” in *Opposing Viewpoints in American History* (1996) [by] **Henry George and Andrew Carnegie.** (ereserves)

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 and placed on ereserves by Prof. Jackson to save paper and time).

3) Print directly from Ohio State University’s Website on the Homestead strike <http://www.history.ohio-state.edu/projects/HomesteadStrike1892/> the following three news articles:  
A Description of the “Incident” of July 6, from the July 16 issue of *Illustrated American*.  
The Situation at Homestead, from the July 23 issue of *Illustrated American*  
The struggle of The Military v. Labor, from the July 30 issue of *Illustrated American*

If you have not yet done so, 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/frameset.htm>

### **Homework Essay Option 3 (choose):**

1) How did Henry George and Andrew Carnegie differ on the question of how rich men were made and what employers owed to workers and their communities? How did the workers captured on the “History Matters” Website view Carnegie’s methods and philanthropy?

2) *Illustrated American* catered to a native born middle-class audience, neither class-conscious workers nor wealthy captains of industry. Where do the magazine’s sympathies ultimately lie in the Homestead Strike? Can you tell by its use of language?

### **9/18: The City – Urban Masses and Moral Order**

Henretta, et. al., *America’s History 4<sup>th</sup> ed.*, chapter 19, 607-636.

### **9/20: The Great Chicago Fire and Scientific Charity – A Right to Relief?**

1) Karen Sawislak, *Smoldering City: Chicagoans and the Great Fire, 1871-1874* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995) pp. 25-29, 42-44, 72-73, 80-81. (ereserves)

2) Michael B. Katz, *In the Shadow of the Poorhouse* (NY: Basic, 1986) pp. 66-72, 80-84. (ereserves). These two assignments represent historians at work on their “monographs” (book-length studies of a historical problem). Katz wrote a broad history of social welfare in America since Colonial times, using Josephine Shaw Lowell to illustrate the rise and fall of the “scientific charity” movement; Sawislak used the flames of the Chicago fire to reveal class and ethnic tensions in the 19<sup>th</sup> century city.

### **Homework Essay Option 4 (choose):**

1) How did the great Chicago fire 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?

2) Josephine Shaw Lowell was a major proponent of the “charity organization” movement whose singular focus was to weed out the deserving from the undeserving poor, to prevent “pauperism” (dependency) by withholding charity. Why did she so thoroughly reject this philosophy in her later life?

**Optional 1 Point Extra Credit:** 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/> Write a 1.5-2 pp. review of the Website and earn 1 more credit point toward your final grade.

### **9/25: 19<sup>th</sup> Century Politics and the Crisis of the 1890s**

Henretta, et. al., *America’s History 4<sup>th</sup> ed.*, chapter 18, 575-605.

### **9/27: Politics and Gender in the Late 19<sup>th</sup> 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].

2) "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).

[For further interest, optional: Kathryn Sklar’s graduate students have put together a Website on Kelley’s campaign against sweatshops, with lots of interesting material from Kelley and others: <http://womhist.binghamton.edu/projects.htm#factory>]

### **Homework Essay Option 5 (choose):**

1) 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 and citizen* to arguments grounded on her *specific capacities, concerns and duties as a woman*. Do you see this shift in the primary sources? Is it as cut and dry, as this generalization would have you believe?

2) Historian Carl Degler once said that for women of the late 19<sup>th</sup> 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?

### **10/2: Progressive Men and Women**

Henretta, et. al., *America’s History 4<sup>th</sup> ed.*, chapter 20, 639-668.

Who were the Progressives? Was there a central set of beliefs or purposes that knit them together?

#### **10/4: Women's Rights, Woman's Duties, and Woman Suffrage**

1) "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 (**read Addams' essay 'Why Women Should Vote' on pp. 195-202** and then skim or read historian Victoria Brown's interpretive introduction *if you have time after reading the rest of the assignment that follows*). **Ereserve title**: "Jane Addams, progressivism, and suffrage. Chapter ten from One woman, one vote:"

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

3) "The Case for Birth Control." By **Margaret Sanger**, # 20-6, from *Selected Historical Documents to Accompany America's History, 4<sup>th</sup> ed.*, (New York: Bedford/St. Martins, 2001). Edited by Samuel T. McSeveny, pp. 139-142. **(ereserves)**

4) "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 is the range of reforms that progressive women thought woman suffrage would promote? What was the relationship between suffrage reform and progressivism?

2) Do you see a difference in how middle class reformers like Jane Addams, working class spokeswomen such as Leonora O'Reilly, and socialists such as Margaret Sanger spoke of women's rights and duties in the public sphere? How do the two Southern women in selection 4 compare?

#### **Optional, but Very Interesting – Extra Credit Option:**

1) The suffrage movement succeeded because it reached out to traditional middle class women *and* to working class women concerned with their own safety and security. Sometimes both groups came together, as in New York City between 1909 and 1915, when finally New York State passed woman suffrage and a host of state laws were passed protecting workers in factories. One of the best history web sites that explores the 1909 "uprising of the twenty thousand" garment workers and their middle class supporters is "The Triangle Factory Fire, March 25, 1911" <http://www.ilr.cornell.edu/trianglefire/> Centered on the deadly fire that killed 146 immigrant teenage girls making "ladies garments," the Website explores sweatshops, factory legislation, women's trade unionism, and the cross-class alliance that fueled progressive reform in New York. See especially "We Have Found You Wanting" by Rose Schneiderman, under the "Mourning and Protest" section.

2) SUNY Binghamton has assembled a huge collection of primary documents online "Women and Social Movements in the United States, 1830-1930." See especially the project on the New York Shirtwaist strike and the cross-class alliance at <http://womhist.binghamton.edu/projectmap.htm>

**Extra Credit: Write a 1.5-2 pp. summary of what you learned about women's activism from either one or the other Website, and earn 1 more grade point on top of your final grade.**

#### **10/9: FALL BREAK: NO CLASS**

#### **10/11: Rise to Globalism**

Henretta, et. al., *America's History 4<sup>th</sup> ed.*, chapter 21, 671-700

**Optional:** Visit the truly superb web site of essays, images and primary documents "Anti-Imperialism in the United States, 1898-1935" <http://www.boondocksnet.com/ai198-35.html>

#### **10/16: World War One and the Mobilization of the Home Front**

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

#### **10/18: The Right to Dissent – Eugene V. Debs and Oliver Wendell Holmes**

1) *Eugene V. Debs: Citizen and Socialist* (1982), pp. 290-296, by Nick Salvatore **(ereserves)**

2) “Eugene Debs Lashes Out against World War I,” Professor Jackson’s excerpts from Debs’ Canton Ohio speech, June 15, 1918. (**ereserves**) [My excerpts are from the full speech which is available online at <http://www.pbs.org/greatspeeches> ]

3) **Web exercise for legal and constitutional context:** Debs was only the most famous of dozens of war opponents jailed for their views during the Red Scare. Go to this web page and print it out: <http://lawbooksusa.com/cconlaw/debsvus.htm> It contains the Supreme Court decision “Debs v. United States 249 U. S. 211 (1919)” upholding his conviction and ten year prison sentence under the Espionage and Sedition Acts of 1917 and 1918. First read Section 3 of both the Espionage and Sedition acts contained at the end of the long web page. Then read Justice Oliver Wendel Holmes’ opinion upholding the conviction of Debs for encouraging resistance to the draft. Briefly, for context, click on the link Schenck v. United States, and skim the 1919 opinion where Holmes established the “clear and present danger” test for limiting free speech: “The most stringent protection of free speech would not protect a man in falsely shouting fire in a theater,” Holmes wrote. Then click on the link to Abrams v. United States 250 U. S. 616 (1919), where Holmes dissented from the Court’s majority opinion upholding the conviction of six Russian Americans who criticized the American invasion of Russia. Skim most of it but read Holmes’ dissent (2/3 of the way down the page). Here he lays the groundwork for later civil liberties law by defending “free trade in ideas . . . the best test of truth is the power of the thought to get itself accepted in the competition of the market.”

### **Homework Essay Option 7 (choose one):**

- 1) 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?
- 2) Compare what biographer Nick Salvatore wrote about the speech versus Justice Holmes’ summary. What do they choose to focus on and with what tone and purpose?

[**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].

### **10/23: The Twenties: Diversity and Conformity**

Henretta, et. al., *America’s History 4<sup>th</sup> ed.*, chapter 23, 737-768

### **10/25: 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 the restrictionists arguments, and how did opponents try to address them?
- 2) Do you see any continuities between the arguments of elite restrictionists of the 1910s and 1920s (in *Immigration: Opposing Viewpoints*) and the shriller popular voices from the 1930s (in *Down and Out*)?

### **10/30: The Great Depression: The Visible and Invisible Scars**

Henretta, et. al., *America’s History 4<sup>th</sup> ed.*, chapter 24, 771-798.

### **11/1: 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 Option – 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?

### **11/6: New Deals – Expanding American Rights**

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

### **11/8: 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.).

**No Homework Essay Option -- 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)?

### **Friday, November 9: 5-6 PAGE ANALYTIC PAPER DUE ON THESE LETTERS**

Interpret the voices of past actors in light of questions that have an element of controversy. “These voices from the past reveal . . .” is how these papers approach history. In this paper you will base your own historical interpretation on letters from ordinary Americans to Franklin and Eleanor Roosevelt contained in *Down and Out in the Great Depression*.

Read the following quotes carefully. The first two historians make the argument that working class Americans (and many middle class Americans) in the 1930s turned away from individualism and came to believe that the economic system was unfair and that they had a right to economic security guaranteed by the federal government. The last quote directly challenges this interpretation, arguing that neither the Great Depression nor the New Deal dramatically altered Americans’ commitment to individualism, self-reliance and limited government.

Analyze the letters from McElvaine, *Down and Out in the Great Depression* with these contrasting viewpoints in mind. Write an essay that agrees with one or the other perspective; if you feel that you need to blend perspectives, be concrete about *for whom* each statement might be true, or how *different people* mixed the themes of entitlement, self-reliance, resentment, and the ethics of economic fairness. As always, support your analytical points with evidence drawn directly from the men and women themselves. Do not, repeat do not, use or quote secondary sources in this paper (secondary sources are

writings of scholars or other writers you might find in books on the internet). This essay calls for your own generalizations about those who endured, understood and tried to change things in the Depression. Finally, try to avoid *presentism*, the tendency to interpret the past in light of present day politics or ideologies (this is what Kennedy accuses McElvaine of doing, but he may be as guilty of it himself).

“[A]s Roosevelt’s landslide reelection indicated, most Americans by 1936 had come to accept the view that freedom must encompass economic security, guaranteed by the government.”

-- Eric Foner, *Story of American Freedom*, p. 205

“Working-class Americans had never quite accepted the values of acquisitive individualism and marketplace economics so often associated with the middle and upper class in this country. [In the 1920s] advertising and installment buying [had led them briefly toward] amoral, egotistical individualism. But the Depression appears to have reversed the shift of workers toward the values of self-centered individualism. Throughout the letters run the themes of equity, justice, compassion, and humanitarianism. Appeals are often based upon the argument that the policy or treatment complained of is unfair. Many of the writers, in short, imply that economics should have some connection with morality.”

-- Robert McElvaine, *Down and Out*, “Introduction,” p. 15-16

“McElvaine’s argument that workers’ letters to FDR abounded in ‘ethical themes’ is weak: many of the passages he quotes express more resentment than reasoned morality . . . The New Deal may have nicked those ancient American attitudes briefly [of individualism and limited government], but it made no lasting dent in them. . . We are still a people in thrall to the small government, radically individualistic philosophy of Thomas Jefferson.”

--David M. Kennedy, “The Changing Image of the New Deal” a book review of *The Great Depression*, by Robert McElvaine, *Atlantic Monthly*, January 1985 (on reserve).

### **11/13: World War Two: V was for Victory**

Henretta, et. al., *America’s History 4<sup>th</sup> ed.*, chapter 26, 833-863.

### **11/15: Cold War America: Race, Rights and the Free World**

Henretta, et. al., *America’s History 4<sup>th</sup> ed.*, chapter 27, excerpts.

Ellen Schrecker, *A Good Deal of Trauma*, excerpts.

### **Homework Essay Option 9: TBA**

### **11/20: Rights to Organize – Labor Law and the Rise and Decline of Labor**

Reading: TBA

### **Homework Essay Option 10: TBA**

### **11/22: THANKSGIVING BREAK—NO CLASS**

### **11/27: The Rights Revolution of the 1960s**

Henretta, et. al., *America’s History 4<sup>th</sup> ed.*, chapter 28, 903-938.

### **11/29: From Civil Rights to Equality**

Henretta, et. al., *America’s History 4<sup>th</sup> ed.*, chapter 29, excerpt only, 950-964.

Primary Readings TBA

### **Homework Essay Option 11: TBA**

**12/4: Since the Sixties – Faltering Growth and Resurgent Conservatism in Multiracial America**

Henretta, et. al., *America's History 4<sup>th</sup> ed.*, chapter 30, 975-1002.

**12/6: The Quality of American Life: Rights to Health Care and Environmental Protection**

Primary Readings TBA

**Homework Essay Option 12: TBA**

**Final exam possible questions and identifications available.**

**12/12: 8:00 AM FINAL TAKE HOME EXAM IS AVAILABLE**

**12/14: 5:00 PM FINAL TAKE HOME EXAM IS DUE (5-6 pp.)**