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History 212-01-04, Fall 2009
The United States Since 1865:
Visions of America: Freedom and Equal Rights

Lecture (combined 212-01-04): 1:00 pm - 1:50 pm, Nursing Building, Moore 130

Discussion Sections:

212-01: F, 12:00-12:50 Bryan Building 112 (Ms. Spruill)

212-02: F, 12:00-12:50 Bryan Building 114 (Ms. Williams)

212-03: F, 1:00 pm - 1:50 pm, Bryan Building 111 (Ms. Spruill)

212-04: F, 1:00 pm - 1:50 pm, Bryan Building 114 (Ms. Williams)

Since the Civil War, groups of Americans – in competition, conflict, and coalition – continually debated the meanings of freedom and equal citizenship. What did Americans mean by this elusive concept, Liberty? Why so often did one group's freedom come at the expense of another? Who was included in the circle of "We the People" and on what terms? Were there "social and economic conditions of freedom" (historian Eric Foner's term) that needed to be addressed before individual freedom could flourish for all citizens? Americans argued over this period about what rights – civil, political, cultural, economic and social – American citizens should enjoy as a free people. How should these rights be defended or expanded? *What actions should government take (or avoid) to make these rights real for everyone?* What role must popular movements play (such as labor unions or protest organizations? When different people's rights came in conflict, who won? How did each side use languages of American freedom and equal rights to protect their interests?

The freedoms and rights Americans claimed and defended became paramount in times of international conflict and war. But they also were hotly debated in times of internal conflict. Ex-slave holders and ex-slaves, Indian reformers and Indians, nineteenth-century capitalists and laborers, supporters and opponents of women's suffrage and mass immigration -- all of these people have fought for status and resources and legal recognition. And they did so evoking the language of freedom and equality, especially as articulated in the Declaration of Independence and the 14th and 15th amendments to the Constitution. One group's struggle for full citizenship often helped expand the boundaries of citizenship for others. For example, the civil rights movement of the 1960s led Congress to abolish a system of national immigration quotas inherited from the 1920s that was discriminatory in the extreme, having rendered most Asians ineligible for citizenship for decades. Another example: Women gained rights to employment under Title VII of the 1964 Civil Rights Act, a direct result of African-American protest.

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 people, laborers, women, minorities and political dissenters. People who have been compelled to fight for the full exercise or expansion of their rights *within* this country have much to teach U.S. Americans about their meaning, I believe.

Course objectives. At the end of this course, you should be able to:

Place the events, decisions, and trends of history in a context that transcends mere *recitation* and rises to the level of *interpretation*. You will be able to identify important events, decisions, and trends accurately, but they will become part of larger explanations about unfolding and contested interpretations

of freedom and equal rights.

Understand how different people acted upon "competing visions" of freedom and human rights. That is, understand past actors' historical experience on their own terms.

Discuss and debate the merits of differing interpretations offered by those who lived history *and* by historians who write about it. Write short essays that explain the points of view expressed by historical actors. Capture, compare and contrast these viewpoints in historical context.

Bring together critical tools of analysis and reliable evidence. The case studies especially will ask you to analyze 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 explain, interpret and tell stories derived from their own research into primary documents).

In a final essay exploring multiple perspectives, compare and contrast, synthesize and illustrate your insights regarding how Americans have expressed their aspirations and conflicts (at home and abroad) in terms of freedom and equal rights.

Please think of this syllabus as a contract. Most of your questions will be answered if you read it carefully. If you feel the need for any clarification, do not hesitate to ask any of us until you are satisfied that you have a clear idea of what we expect and what your rights are.

Required Reading:

Jennifer D. Keene, Saul Cornell, Edward T. O'Donnell, *Visions of America: A History of the United States*, v. 2, (Prentice Hall, 2010). ISBN: 0-321-05310-9. Available at the UNCG Bookstore, and downloadable at 50% off from www.coursesmart.com (in either an online version for multiple computers or downloadable version for one computer).

I chose this textbook for several reasons pertinent to the overarching themes of this course: 1) It examines people's contingent "**choices and consequences**" capturing history as a constantly shifting field of possibilities. As Martin Luther King Jr. once wrote, "history does not run on the train tracks of inevitability." 2) Its presentation of "**competing visions**" of what America could and should be closely parallels my own interests in Americans' competing understandings of freedom and equal rights. 3) Its crisp text is surrounded by succinct **chapter summaries, review questions, chronologies, and key terms** (don't get lost in the details folks). 4) Its fresh approach places "**Images as History**" at the center of its explanations (political cartoons, paintings, maps, charts, and photographs). So it offers a nice balance of visual and written texts. On a deeper level it asks: How have images seen through the evolving news and advertising media affected American culture and politics? 5) It captures well how **domestic and foreign affairs** affected each other -- keeping the focus reasonably tight on (U.S.) "America." 6) It comes packaged with access to **MyHistoryLab.com**, which contains many impressive primary source documents and images to enhance your appreciation of the "competing visions" theme.

Course Pack available only at Copy King, 611 W. Lee St., Greensboro, ph. 333-9900 (CALL THEM FIRST). Guaranteed ready by Tuesday. This is *only* available at Copy King, and is an excellent low cost alternative to published collections. I assign several short excerpts each week that speak to themes of equal rights and freedom. Purchasing this convenient reader ensures you will always bring pertinent texts to class.

Attendance and Class Preparation:

To make fullest sense of the texts, you will need to come to class prepared, engage in discussion, and understand the main questions and themes. Please consider your responsibilities to the class as a whole (think of any work environment that will ever depend on your contribution). Lectures, discussions, and readings are all legs of a stool. Each class broadens and deepens your individual *and* group understanding of American freedom and equal rights. The class as a whole gets better at understanding and thinking if everyone brings their clear voice to the chorus. If you all make an effort to interact with the professor,

TAs, and each other, the learning process becomes more than the sum of its parts. (Think of the class as a ship at sea or a cooperative farm. Too many freeloaders or slackers and productivity, fairness, and fun all suffer!) We expect universal attendance. We will not try to sort out excused and unexcused absences. *We'll let you miss five classes for any reason.* But after that we will deduct up to one third of a letter grade on your final grade for every day you miss. We don't want to be enforcers or cops. But this one rule, more than anything, ensures an attentive and active learning environment. (In cases of protracted illness or exceptional emergency, this rule may be relaxed. But students will have to submit a paragraph of explanation and supportive documentation in a conference with the professor during his office hours).

You have the right to our prompt and honest feedback and timely evaluation of your work, and you have the right to honest answers to questions involving class content and methods. If your status becomes problematic, we will inform you prior to the deadline to drop courses without penalty, October 16.

Rev. Jackson Preaches: *"If you are never willing to risk saying something dumb, you'll never learn to say anything smart."* -- Rev. Jackson

Assignments and Evaluation:

Participation (Discussions and Presentations): 25%. Bring all of your readings to lectures and Friday sections and come prepared to participate. On each lecture day one of the four sections will sit in the first rows of the class and serve as my "interlocutors." You will be graded on your preparation and on the quality and frequency of your contributions. To reinforce the idea that you learn from each other in a situation of corporate responsibility, 5% of this grade will be a grade assigned to each section as a whole.

How to do well: Offer an interpretation with reference to relevant evidence. Or pose good and pertinent questions. Try to stay on topic and respond to questions we have before us. Engage each other -- not just the TAs or professor -- critically but respectfully. Balance listening and talking (these are obviously equally important to good discussion). We will hold you to the highest standards of respect for everyone's opinions and settled convictions. But we will not shy away from critical inquiry into the validity of these opinions and convictions.

Quizzes and Short In-class Essays: 25%.

Expect to spend 15 minutes each week at various times demonstrating your understanding of key events and concepts. **Look on blackboard for guidelines each week.** **Identifications** will ask for short paragraphs explaining the historical significance of something, such as the "14th amendment".

Relationships questions will put items in pairs or clusters asking for definitions and connections, i.e. "women's liberation," "Miss America Pageant," "bra-burners" (see p. 834 of your text). **Multiple-choice** questions will measure your ability to make accurate distinctions and understand consequences. **Short essays** will ask focused questions, i.e. "explain to ways in which the Indian reformers of the 1880s aimed to make American citizens out of defeated tribes"?

"Competing Visions" Blackboard Discussion Board Postings: 25%.

8 posts are required of every student, and you must receive a grade of "S" for full credit. 250-300 words. Teams of six students will engage in direct dialogue with each other online and in class at least 8 times over the course of the semester. Teams will decide in advance which weeks they will write. Here's how it works: On a rotating basis, two students initiate a discussion on **Monday** in response to questions posted on Blackboard for that week (see syllabus for examples -- check Blackboard as well for clarifications of questions). The first two will each present points of view and cite relevant evidence for one or two interpretations, trying your best to capture the "voices" of past actors. The next two students will respond by **Wednesday** with either complementary or counter arguments, deepening and elaborating upon the discussion. These posts will add nuance or complexity where necessary (always remember to quote and cite evidence from the voices of past actors). By **Friday**, the next two students will reconcile

viewpoints, synthesize contradictory arguments, and draw connections to other time periods or today. This requirement is loosely conceived in terms of the Hegelian dialectic: thesis, antithesis, synthesis. But you do not need to worry about conforming to this logical schema as long as there is strong evidence you are engaging each other's claims and ideas.

You must write at least 8 of these or you will lose substantial credit. We will comment on these when appropriate and grade each post S/U, for satisfactory or unsatisfactory. Unsatisfactory answers will not count toward the 8 required of each student. Individuals who miss posts will have some limited opportunities to make up, though they will not receive full credit. We will comment either by contributing to the thread or e-mailing individuals directly. If you do not hear directly from us assume that you received an "S". "S-" and "S+" will be assigned when appropriate, to give you an idea of how you are doing. Satisfactory essays will offer generalizations or observations and support them with evidence gleaned from the voices of past actors and other forms of evidence. We expect you to draw upon the textbook, lectures, and especially upon the rich course pack readings. These readings capture in weekly case studies the language and direct experiences of historical actors. Optional but impressive: if a document from MyHistoryLab.com proves especially pertinent, including it in the discussion will be evidence of an enterprising and inquiring mind.

Final Essay: 25%.

Write a synthetic essay of 6-8 pages that captures how at least 8 important groups conceived of freedom, often in conflicting ways, often in ways that demonstrate the relationship between freedom and the social conditions favorable to its flourishing. [Further guidelines available on Blackboard upon request].

This essay will be due the final hour of the regularly scheduled final exam: 6 PM Wednesday, December 9. No exceptions or extensions please! Early papers will receive a bonus.

Bonus. Unhappy with your performance in some respect? Earn to 4 points on the final grade by writing a 4-5 page essay that explains the power of images and media of communication to shape events and political culture since Teddy Roosevelt's "charge" up San Juan Hill.

Grading Scale: A+: 98-100; A: 93-97; A-: 90-92; B+: 87-89; B: 83-86; B-: 80-82; C+: 77-79; C: 73-76; C-: 70-72; D+: 67-69; D: 63-66; D-: 60-62; F: 59 and lower; N/C: 0 (as in No Credit in cases of failure to hand in any work or take the quizzes and final).

Conferences: I and your TAs are here to help with questions, to guide you in developing your ideas and writing strategies, and to give you careful honest evaluation of your work. Do not hesitate to visit our office hours or schedule an appointment if that is not convenient. When appropriate, we will refer you to the Writing Center, an invaluable resource for sharpening your language tools.

UNCG's Academic Integrity Policy (<http://saf.dept.uncg.edu/studiscp/Honor.html>).

Violations of this policy include, but are not limited to 1) Cheating on exams; 2) Plagiarism on written work. Violations of the Academic Integrity Policy will be handled in accordance with University procedures (see link above). **Know the definition of plagiarism and the rules of quoting, citing, and paraphrasing sources.** Memorize the library's definition and then take the research tour:

<http://library.uncg.edu/depts/ref/tutorial/integrate/plagdef.asp>

Rev. Jackson Preaches: "I firmly believe that the better you *read*, the better you *write*, and vice versa. Both these skills will be central to your worldly success, your wisdom, and the quality of what you give back to the world -- which sorely needs your quality!"

Course policy on sustainability:

Campus-wide policies are being adopted that require students, staff and faculty to act in ecologically conscious ways while at UNCG. While in the classroom and while performing required course activities, students should strive to: recycle plastic bottles or bring filtered or tap water in reusable bottles; turn off lights and projectors; recycle office paper, newspapers, and cardboard; try to print papers on two-sided paper; use scratch paper for quizzes. Of course there is no grade, no points for this, just the grade the biosphere gives us at the end of the third millennium! Here are a few links to sustainability information at UNCG, including a recycling guide.

<http://sustain.uncg.edu/> ; <http://www.uncg.edu/student.groups/uncgreen/index.htm>

<http://www.uncg.edu/recy/index.htm>

Course policy on use of electronic devices in class:

All cell phones must be turned off unless you are a caretaker or emergency responder. No text messaging will be permitted. Laptops should be used for activities exclusively related to class. This is not meant to curtail "freedom," rather to protect the energy of the class, which visibly declines when people are distracted. We expect you to give this course your full attention at all times.

Schedule of Assignments and Requirements

(Lecture titles, assigned readings, and initial questions are provided here. Terms and questions for possible quizzes and more detailed guidelines for "competing visions" Blackboard discussion board posts can be found on Blackboard COMBINED course website. Please read all assignments before Monday's class. Lecture Topics Are Subject to Revision.)

(A note on the questions: we do not reasonably expect you will want to answer every question. They are posed to be provocative, and to give you some freedom in speaking to those issues that you find compelling and interesting in what is after all a very broad canvas).

I. Introductions -- The Presence of the Past

8/24: Introduction to the Course, Themes, and Requirements

8/26: What Is History?

Assignment:

1) Listen to Susan Page's interview with Margaret MacMillan discussing her new book *Dangerous Games*, on the Diane Rehm Show: Tuesday July 28, 2009, PODCAST: <http://wamu.org/programs/dr/09/07/28.php> -- Fast forward to 5:00 minutes into the program and then listen for at least 10 minutes. Be prepared to discuss: Why is history "dangerous"? Why is history interpretive? What "lessons" of history have gotten us into trouble? Does history repeat itself? How have you learned about history before this class? It is helpful at this point for you to take a mental inventory of what you already "know" about this nation's history since the Civil War.

2) Read also Thomas J. Sugrue's op-ed, "The New American Dream: Renting," *Wall Street Journal*, August 15, 2009,

<http://online.wsj.com/article/SB10001424052970204409904574350432677038184.html>

How does history help us understand our current economic crisis of homeownership and how might it change your understanding of the relationship between government and private "free markets"?

8/28: Discussions: Intersections of Personal History and National History

Assignment: Read Keene, et. al., *Visions of America*, ch. 29: Building a New World Order, 874-905.

Assignment: write a 300-word essay on Blackboard's Discussion Board for your section answering at

least one of the following questions: 1) How has the history recorded in this textbook affected my life and the communities in which I grew up? 2) What are my first or most important memories of "history in the making," and how do they accord with these accounts? The chapter focuses on so many things touching on the life of the nation, but we have to remember that history is lived in smaller places and across many boundaries, including national boundaries. Some developments that may have affected you: end of the Cold War; computers; changing family structures; globalization and the new immigration; war and terrorism; privacy issues. We will use these essays to compose the membership of teams, so tell us as much as you like about yourself.

II. White Supremacy and Democracy in the American South, 1865-1900

Keene, et. al., *Visions of America*, v. 2, ch. 14.

Selections from John David Smith, *Black Voices from Reconstruction, 1865-1877* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1997), 76-85, 70-71, 88-103.

8/31: Emancipation and the Meanings of Freedom

9/2: The Achievements and Undoing of Biracial Democracy During Reconstruction

9/4: Discussions: Land, Labor, Voting and the "Social Conditions of Freedom"

Blackboard Postings and Discussions: In your own words and short essays of 300 words posted on the Blackboard discussion board for your team, comment upon how past actors understood and acted upon ideas of freedom and equal rights: How did the freed people define freedom for themselves? 1) Monday pairs: "freed men and women after the Civil War above all saw land ownership as the essence of freedom." 2) Wednesday pairs: "freed men and women after the Civil War above all saw voting as the essence of freedom." 3) Friday pairs: is there a more synthetic or comprehensive understanding that ties these freedoms and others together in the "visions" of freedom held by freed people? You could also speculate about why southern white Democrats and "redeemers" conceived of their own freedom in ways antagonistic to the full citizenship of blacks. (Also consider for discussion: pp. 70-71 contain a typical contract overseen by the Freedman's Bureau between planters and freed people. How free was "liberty of contract" in this context?)

III. Conquest, Freedom, and Cultural Change on the Western Frontier

Keene, et. al., *Visions of America*, v. 2, ch. 15.

David Wallace Adams, "Schooling the Hopi: Federal Indian Policy Writ Small, 1887-1917," *Pacific Historical Review* 48 (1979), 335-356.

Thomas Morgan, Luther Standing Bear, Selections from "Viewpoints 3-4 on Indian Assimilation," from William Dudley, ed., *Native Americans: Opposing Viewpoints* (Greenhaven, 1998), 183-184, 186-187, 191-201.

9/7: Labor Day, no class

9/9: Indians on the Great Plains: Forced "Citizenship," and Cultural Freedom

9/11: Discussions: "With Friends Like These": The Indian Reformers and the Indians

Blackboard Posts and Discussion: 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 help them become citizens with equal "rights." (Indians had very different though not entirely opposite ideas of freedom). What kind of skills

and values and habits did the Indian reformers hope to inculcate? Did the Indians and their advocates have notions of native rights that conflicted with the white reformers' policies of land distribution and education? (Hint: read Luther Standing Bear carefully *at the end of his piece*, and consider the case of Don Talayesva.) What was it like to be "in-between peoples"?

IV. Capitalists and Laborers in the New Industrial Republic

Keene, et. al., *Visions of America*, v. 2, ch. 16, AND pp. 522-525 from ch. 17 on Carnegie, Homestead and Pullman.

"Andrew Carnegie on the Triumph of America, 1885" (from *Triumphant Democracy*), "Henry George and the Paradox of Capitalist Growth, 1879" (from *Progress and Poverty*), "Russell H. Conwell Sanctifies Wealth, 1915," all in Leon Fink, ed., *Major Problems in the Gilded Age and Progressive Era* (1993), 1-7, 10-11.

Andrew Carnegie, "An Employer's View of the Labor Question," in Joseph Frazier Wall, ed., *The Andrew Carnegie Reader* (University of Pittsburgh Press, 1992), pp. 91-93, 96-99.

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

9/14: The New World of Business: "Liberty of Contract" and Monopoly Capitalism

9/16: The Republic of Labor

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

Discussion and Blackboard Posts: According to Carnegie and George, does capitalist growth inherently produce poverty or progress? How did Carnegie's view of democratic rights extend into the economic arena? What were the rights of workingmen, and did he honor them? (In his time most "captains of industry" like his own deputy Henry Clay Frick thought that property rights and "liberty of contract" between individual employers and workers – without interference from unions -- were absolute principles governing employer-employee relations). How did Andrew Carnegie understand the changing relationship between employee and employer in the age of "liberty of contract"? When Carnegie instructed Henry Clay Frick in 1892 to negotiate only with individual men at Homestead, and to fire all the union members of the Amalgamated Iron and Tin Workers, what was the outcome, and what arguments did workers advance in their own defense?

V. Urban Masses and the Crisis of the 1890s

Keene, et. al., *Visions of America*, v. 2, ch. 17, especially "Competing Visions, How Best to Help the Poor?" 505

Michael Katz, *In the Shadow of the Poor House* (Basic, 1986), 66-72, 80-84 (on Josephine Shaw Lowell's creation and ultimate rejection of "scientific charity").

Jacob Riis, *How the Other Half Lives* (Norton, 2010, 1880), 134-145.

George Washington Plunkitt, *Plunkitt of Tammany Hall: a Series of Very Plain Talks on Very Practical Politics* (Bedford, 1994), 49, 64.

9/21: Immigration and Mobility in 19th Century Cities

9/23: Producers Unite: Economic Citizenship and the Crisis of the 1890s

9/25: The Rise and Decline of Scientific Charity

Discussion and Post Questions: Josephine Shaw Lowell, George Washington Plunkitt, and Jacob Riis all

cared deeply for the welfare of urban poor people. But they differed in their analysis of the causes of poverty and their remedies for poverty and "pauperism." How did they distinguish between paupers and honest poor people, between undeserving and deserving poor? Was this a real distinction? After the crisis of the 1890s, was it possible for them to distinguish with any clarity? Why? Scientific Charity was a new idea in that it tried to abolish the informal networks of government "outdoor relief" and private charity. In what ways was it also very traditional? Why did Josephine Shaw Lowell ultimately reject scientific charity? Was Boss Plunkitt's philosophy of relief any more humane? In the view of Riis, who was behind the basic ills of the urban poor? Who was more deserving of compassion and aid? Who was "the tenement" that threatened to immerse honest and dishonest poor in a flood of concentrated poverty?

VI. Progressivism and the New Woman

Keene, et. al., *Visions of America*, v. 2, ch. 18.

1) Victoria Bissell Brown, "Jane Addams, Progressivism, and Woman Suffrage: An Introduction to 'Why Women Should Vote' (and Text by Jane Addams)." In *One Woman, One Vote*, pp. 179-202 (read Addams *first starting on page 195* then try to fully understand how historian Victoria Bissell Brown situates Addams).

2) "Why We Do Not Approve of Woman Suffrage," Nebraska Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage, in *One Woman, One Vote*, 214.

3) Speeches of Caroline Lowe and Leonora O'Reilly, 1912 in "On Behalf of 7,000,000 Wage Earning Women," from *One Half the People: The Fight for Woman Suffrage*, eds. Anne Firor Scott and Andrew MacKay Scott. 122-128.

4) Adella Hunt Logan, "Colored Women As Voters," 1912 in *The South in the History of the Nation*, eds. Link and Wheeler, 117-118.

9/28: The Progressive Persuasion

9/30: "Mother America": Woman Suffrage and "Social Housekeeping"

10/2: Woman Suffrage and Women's Rights

Discussion: Do you see a difference in how middle class reformers like Jane Addams, working class spokeswomen such as Leonora O'Reilly and Carolyn Lowe spoke of women's rights and duties in the public sphere? Adella Hunt Logan was African American—how did this shape her view of women's and human rights? Are these women speaking mainly as mothers of the Republic or as equal citizens with the same rights as men?

VII. Worlds Made Safe for Whom? Empires and Democratic Idealism

Keene, et. al., *Visions of America*, v. 2, ch. 19-20 (read strategically, see questions and guidelines on Blackboard).

10/5: The Spanish-American-Cuban-Filipino War and the Dilemmas of an Imperial Republic

10/7: World War I: Freedom's Freedom in the War for Democracy

10/9, 10/12: No class, fall break

VIII. Democratic Freedom and Cultural Conflict in the 1920s

Keene, et. al., *Visions of America*, v. 2, ch. 21

John Hollitz, "Science, Religion, and Culture Wars in the 1920s: William Jennings Bryan and

Clarence Darrow,” in *Contending Voices*, v. 2, 2nd ed. (NY: Houghton Mifflin, 2007), 106-127.

10/14: Slamming the Golden Door: Immigration Restriction and Americanism

10/16: Discussions: Science and Religion, Local Democracy and the Birth of Civil Liberties -- The "Monkey Trial" in Historical Perspective

Take different positions on the Bryan-Darrow divide. What was more important to Bryan and the Scopes prosecutors, religion or local democracy, the sovereignty of the people over the schools? What was most important to Scopes, Darrow, and the defenders of evolution education?

October 16 is the Last Day to Drop without Penalty

IX. The Great Depression and the New Deal -- Security and Liberty

Keene, et. al., *Visions of America*, v. 2, ch. 22.

Robert S. McElvaine, ed., *Down and Out in the Great Depression: Letters from the Forgotten Man* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1983), selected letters: 1, 2, 11 (Hoover years debate), 38, 43, 54 (racial politics of relief), 56, 73-5 (elderly and children), 81, 82, 83 (“idleness,” alcoholism, pride), 104-108 (varieties of conservatives), 140-143 (radicals), 170-171 (the grateful and hopeful).

10/19: The Great Depression and the Challenge to American Individualism

10/21: What the New Deal Did

10/23: Discussion: Self-Reliance, Relief, and Security in the Depression – Letters from Forgotten Men and Women

Posts and Questions (Make sure you consult Blackboard for a larger framework of interpretation on the “Letters from the Down and Out”: In the “Hoover years,” who or what did people blame for the Great Depression? On what grounds did people claim to be “deserving” of help? As the New Deal extended relief programs to the unemployed and dispossessed, how much did they hold to self-reliance as a value, shunning the “welfare chiseler” stereotype? Alternatively, how much did they make the moral case that all citizens were “intitled” to assistance and security? Do you think the Depression changed popular values? Did the elderly base their demands for government pensions on any consistent themes? Most people seemed to prefer work relief to “the dole.” So why was work relief so controversial in practice? Many harbored either resentments or a deep sense of unfairness against the local relief “racket.” Who did people blame for this state of affairs? When did criticism of the relief system spill over into criticism of the class system and the political system? In the debate between conservatives and radicals, what were the most important citizenship rights that each side referred to in their arguments? Is it possible to separate resentments from ideals of justice in this context?

X. Freedom Wars: World War II and International Human Rights

Keene, et. al., *Visions of America*, v. 2, ch. 23.

1) "FDR's 1944 State of the Union Address," 11 January 1944 (excerpt), in *Bringing Human Rights Home*, eds. Soohoo, et. al., 164-167, 171-173.

2) Elizabeth Borgwardt, "FDR's Four Freedoms and Wartime Transformations in America's Discourse of Rights," in *Bringing Human Rights Home, Volume 1: A History of Human Rights in the United States*, eds. Cynthia Soohoo, Catherine Albisa, and Martha F. Davis (Westport Connecticut: Praeger, 2008), pp. 32-39.

3) Hope Lewis, "New Human Rights: US Ambivalence toward the International Economic and

Social Rights Framework," in *Bringing Human Rights Home*, eds. Soohoo, et. al., 103, 108-121.

4) The United Nations "The Universal Declaration of Human Rights," in Foner, ed. *Voices of Freedom*, 186-191.

10/26: World War II: Social Democracy, International Human Rights and Civil Liberties at Home

10/28: World War II: American Pluralism and the Boundaries of Race

10/30: Discussion: Roosevelt, the Four Freedoms, and the Internationalization of Human Rights,

Questions: Why did FDR advance such an ambitious political and economic rights agenda when he did? Why did he believe these rights were indivisible? They were enormously idealistic; why did he feel it politically necessary to articulate them during the war? How did "freedom from want" mean different things to different people? Why did human rights get split in the post-war years, the West claiming political rights as "freedom," the Eastern Bloc stressing equal economic rights? How did African Americans conceive of the relationship between political and economic rights?

XI. What Price Liberty? Cold War and Consumer Society

Keene, et. al., *Visions of America*, v. 2, ch. 24, and 25, pp. 752-764.

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), 551-552, 564-578.

11/2: Cold War Abroad and at Home – The Fifth Freedom: Private Enterprise

11/4: Anti-Communism: Blunting and Bifurcating Human Rights

11/6: Discussions: Conflicting Rights – New Deal Homeownership vs. Civil Rights

Questions: 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"? Had they seized upon the New Deal language of "social and economic" rights? Is this an instance of the "tyranny of the majority" or people just trying to protect the value of their their largest investments, their homes?

XII. Freedom Now! The Black Freedom Struggle and the Spirit of the 1960s

Keene, et. al., *Visions of America*, v. 2, ch. 25, 750, 765-777; ch. 27.

Thomas F. Jackson, "Bread of Freedom: Martin Luther King Junior and Human Rights," *OAH Magazine of History* (April 2008), 14-16.

Michael Honey, "Forty Years since King: Labor Rights Are Human Rights," *OAH Magazine of History* (April 2008), 18-20.

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.

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), pp. 2967-2977, 2980-82, 2996.

11/9: Civil Rights and Human Rights

11/11: From Community Action in the War on Poverty to Battles in the Streets

11/13: Martin Luther King Jr. And the Equal Rights Tradition

Questions: 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? What social and economic rights did he see as essential to the full realization of black civil rights and human rights? What did he mean by the "right to participation"? How specifically did he envision civil rights organizations, unions, and government as actors in the "revolution of values"?

XIII. Whose "Free World"? Vietnam and the American Tragedy

Keene, et. al., *Visions of America*, v. 2, ch. 26.

John Hollitz, "The Battles of Vietnam: Robert McNamara and Jan Barry," in *Contending Voices*, v. 2, 2nd ed. (NY: Houghton Mifflin, 2007), 231-252.

11/16: Cold War Gambles -- Interventionism and Vietnam

11/18: The War and the Antiwar Movement

11/20: Discussion -- The Technocratic Warrior and the Antiwar Warrior

Questions: Jan Barry and Robert McNamara differed profoundly in their understanding of whether it was possible to bring freedom to the people of Vietnam through military means. How was McNamara able to persuade himself an American war for the freedom of South Vietnamese could be successful? What kind of Vietnamese freedom did Jan Barry encounter in Vietnam, and how did Vietnam Veterans against the War challenge the boundaries of freedom at home?

XIV. Black Power and White Backlash

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

This Short Reading Provides a Makeup Opportunity [For Those Needing More Discussion Board Credit]

Questions: 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 agency. He organized protests to get jobs for African Americans in banks and federally funded construction sites in the mid-1960s. He 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 and environmental justice). Discuss the nature of the environmental justice coalition he formed. How did his knowledge derived from Democratic organizing at the street level clash with the "experts" in charge of public health in St. Louis?

11/23: Violence and Nonviolence in the Ongoing Urban Crisis

11/25, 11/27: No Class Thanksgiving Break

XV: Reverberations of the Rights Revolution -- Right and Left

Keene, et. al., *Visions of America*, v. 2, ch. 27.

John Hollitz and A. James Fuller, "From Mystique to Militance: Betty Friedan and Gloria Steinem," in *Contending Voices*, volume 2 (NY: Houghton Mifflin, 2003), 247-65.

"The Politics of Housework" privately published by Pat Mainardi of Redstockings

Phyllis Schlafly, *The Power of the Positive Woman* (New York: Arlington House, 1977), 21-25, 162-165.

11/30: Women's Rights, Gay Rights

12/2: Rights in the New Right

12/4: Women's Rights and Women's Liberation? 34 pp.

Questions: What kinds of "rights" were Betty Friedan, Gloria Steinem, and Phyllis Schlafly principally interested in? What was the difference between women's rights and women's liberation? How can anything so trivial as housework be considered "political"? Were there people in the women's movement who were out of touch with women who might find appeal in conservative "pro-family" movements that were hostile to abortion, government, the Equal Rights Amendment, or gay-rights?

12/7: Freedom's Price: War, Consumerism, and the Future of Us All

12/9: Final Essay is Due at 6:00 PM

Rubric for Evaluation of "Competing Visions of Freedom" Blackboard Posts

	Poor	Needs Work	Good	Great
Sentence composition: Are the sentences complete and grammatical, the words well-chosen?				
Paragraph Composition: Does each paragraph have a controlling idea and does it move our understanding forward in a clear direction? Are there transitions between paragraphs that make for a cohesive essay that develops in a clear way?				
Argumentation and evidence: Do you paraphrase well the viewpoints of various historical actors, and integrate the best direct quotes into your prose? Does the evidence support what you are saying?				
Relevance: Are the points you make directly pertinent to important questions raised by that week by the instructor or your peers in the other posts?				
Imagination: Are you able to combine intellectual comprehension with emotional empathy for the experiences and actions of past actors? Can you draw connections or parallels across time with other periods or with today?				