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**History 212-01-04, Spring 2011**  
**The United States Since 1865:**  
**The Boundaries of Citizenship and the Meaning of Equal Rights**

**Lecture (combined 212-01-04):** Wed., Fri., 1:00 pm - 1:50 pm, McIver Building 028

Discussion Sections:

**212-01:** Mon., 12:00-12:50 Bryan Building 112 (Ms. Deil)

**212-02:** Mon., 12:00-12:50 Bryan Building 114 (Ms. Ward)

**212-03:** Mon, 1:00 pm - 1:50 pm, Bryan Building 117 (Ms. Deil)

**212-04:** Mon., 1:00 pm - 1:50 pm, Bryan Building 114 (Ms. Ward)

This course begins with the assumption that history is not simply a record of what happened in the past, but a means of discovery and a way of thinking. “History Teaches Us” usually precedes a highly debatable viewpoint, because there are only historians, historical actors, and ordinary people currently making sense of the past in different and common ways (historians actually disagree a lot with each other, but we often also reach rough consensus after debate and investigation). So think of history as an active means of discovering *why* the past happened the way it did, what *matters* about the past, and fundamentally how *we became who we are*. Historians often ask: did the past *have* to happen the way it did, or might alternative choices have led to different outcomes? In other words, history is a method of inquiry and evidence-based reasoning that is open to everyone but taken up as a professional challenge by historians. History aims for a rigor similar to social science, while also aiming for elegance and story-telling found in great literature. We explain change over time, as well as continuity.

We work with two major tools, and so will you in this course. *Primary sources* are records of the perspectives and intentions of people who made history, produced close to the time of historical action. These products of human expression are the building blocks that historians routinely use to construct *secondary sources*: scholarship found in books and articles, exhibits in museums, or in professionally constructed web-sites. Scholarship takes the form of published interpretations of as much evidence as we can humanly assemble. Sometimes historians put evidence together very differently to reach very different conclusions. But some conclusions are more complete and sound than others. They may not be completely “objective” or “true” in a scientific or mathematical sense. But historians aim to rise above “mere opinion” to form settled convictions that are based on broad exposure to reliable evidence. We differ within the rules of evidence-based reasoning, and often reach broad agreement after years of investigation. Nevertheless, our interpretations and even the questions we ask often reflect concerns and issues of the time in which we live. For example, the 1960s, with its many popular social movements, opened the field of social history, the study of ordinary people’s lives and fields of action. This course mixes a more traditional form of political and intellectual history with insights from the new social and cultural history.

So to reiterate, this course invites you to begin the practice of history by repeatedly asking 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 professional historians who explain, interpret and tell stories derived from their own research).

## Course objectives.

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

Demonstrate understanding of the events, decisions, ideologies, and larger trends of U.S. history since the Civil War in a way that rises above mere remembrance of facts and dates to the level of *interpretation*. You will be able to identify important events, decisions, and trends accurately, because they will *matter* in explaining patterns of human experience and change.

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 (primary source analysis). Capture, compare and contrast these viewpoints in historical context.

Through regular writing exercises, take some of the stress out of writing, and learn how to use writing to discover what you think.

Write coherently and clearly in a deep analytical way (one paper you sign up to write sometime in the semester) and broadly synthetic way (the final paper).

## Course Themes

These are the fundamental threads that pull the past together in a meaningful way. Within several weeks, we will ask you to choose one of these to guide you as you gather material for your final essay, which will compare several American experiences across time (there is no in-class final or midterm examination).

**Struggles for Equal Rights.** We will examine several episodes in the development of an American equal rights tradition. How did leaders and ordinary Americans define civil rights, political rights, and economic rights? How did they see these rights as interconnected or separate? We will think critically about how individuals' and groups' "rights-claims" sometimes directly conflicted (as with today's abortion-rights and right to life movements, or 19<sup>th</sup> century workers' assertion of their rights to bargain collectively with bosses through their own trade unions, which directly conflicted with employers' assertion that "liberty of contract" involved only individual workers, and that unions had no place in industrial relations).

### **The Circle of "We the People" – Inclusion and Exclusion, Political and Economic Citizenship**

We will examine structures of inclusion and exclusion in politics and various ladders of economic opportunity. Who was segregated or subordinated, and why? Who achieved political citizenship and economic citizenship, and why? Did certain groups of people achieve inclusion *at the expense* of other subordinated or excluded groups? Or would you stress that the circle of We the People has been ever-widening? The United States was a nation built upon ideals of freedom, equality, openness to newcomers, and resistance to imperial tyranny. Paradoxically, it was also built upon the shoulders of millions of unfree, coerced, and exploited laborers. Men and women occupied separate (and unequal) spheres of power and freedom. The United States excluded and segregated its diverse peoples as much as it included and integrated them. Many scholars argue that these processes of exclusion and inclusion were bound up with each other. Others stress that the nation became increasingly inclusive and open in the century and a half since the Civil War. People have been welcomed into the circle of "We the People" even as others have been pushed out -- only to fight their way into the circle later.

### **National Identity, Unity, Diversity, and Multiculturalism.**

Is there a distinct, historically grounded American identity at any given time? Who sought to define what it means to be American, in what way, and why? Was there a predetermined standard or was it constantly being challenged and redefined? Obviously, there have been vigorous debates. This was especially acute when native born Americans sought to restrict immigrant newcomers seeking freedom and jobs. Others counter-argued that "America" has always been unfinished and open to plural cultures. We will examine several debates involving traditional American nationalists and advocates of a more multicultural America.

**Ordinary people and elites, individuals and “historical forces.”** (This framework has two “vectors.” Ask me to explain).

How did individuals and "the individual" matter in history? Or are group dynamics and historical forces what really need explaining? How does history look different when you decide that the experiences and actions of ordinary people are as important as the great decisions and thoughts of leaders and elites? We will explore the differences between bottom-up and top-down history. We will study individual world-shaping leaders (like Franklin Roosevelt and Harry Truman). But we will also understand ordinary people who did not keep as many written records, did not make laws, or preserve artifacts in museums and stately homes. Often we can only learn about the contours of their lives through census statistics, or through the organizations they joined, not directly as individuals. But they leave detailed narratives of their particular lives in ways that shed light on group experience. And keep in mind, every biographer knows that even the most powerful political leaders are caught up in large organizations and global movements that need to be talked about in broader, more abstract terms.

### **American Dreams and American Economic Realities.**

Generations have hoped that with effort, education, good habits of thrift and sobriety, that individuals could, in the words of Lincoln, "better their condition" (or that of their children). The promise that "all men are created equal" and that they are endowed with inalienable rights to "the pursuit of happiness" repeatedly came up against inequalities and hierarchies -- of class and wealth, of unequal educational and job opportunities, of restrictions based on race or gender. Some time periods and some regions prospered more than others. How have Americans celebrated the achievement of their dreams, and what have they done when these dreams were shattered or came up short. (Hint: At times Americans see the rich as people simply to *envy*, because they see the rules as fair, because their lives are improving, or because they see they or their children might *become* rich themselves. At other times, Americans *resented* the rich or thought inequalities of wealth to be *unjust*).

### **We will also touch, in lesser detail, upon:**

- How third parties and social movements influenced national politics.
- The political economy, how business and government, labor unions and interest groups, cooperated or came into conflict.
- Popular attitudes and expectations towards business and government. When “populism” takes anti-corporate shape and when it takes anti-government shape. Have expectations of government mushroomed beyond government’s capacity?
- The role of the United States as an empire and its participant in international conflicts. Those of you looking for military history and international relations will be better satisfied in other courses, one an upcoming course on the US in the World.

## **Course Requirements**

### **Required Reading:**

James Roark, et. al., *The American Promise: A History of the United States, Volume II: from 1865, 4<sup>th</sup> edition, VALUE edition* (Boston: Bedford/St. Martin's, 2008). (Any recent edition will do -- this is the least expensive -- but it is your responsibility if you get another version to sync up the pages for yourself).

**Course Reader available on or before January 18 only at Copy King, 611 W. Lee St., Greensboro, ph. 333-9900 (CALL THEM FIRST).** This is an excellent low cost alternative to published collections, which often cost three times as much. I assign several short excerpts each week that speak to the themes, a compendium of readings from a variety of sources. Always bring this reader to class.

**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 you!" -- Rev. Jackson

**Blackboard Web Site:**

Materials and rubrics and assignments will circulate through Blackboard. There are two sites. 1) the one for your section, i.e. 212-01, 212-02, etc. which your TAs maintain; and 2) 212-COMBINED, which I maintain.

**Attendance and Class Preparation:**

To make fullest sense of the historical experiences and interpretations under our examination, you will need to come to class prepared. We take attendance every day. *Email your TAs 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 us whether your absence falls within that definition. Avoid long or overly personal explanations. **Rationale:** Lectures, discussions, and readings are all legs of a stool. Each class broadens and deepens your individual *and* group understanding of American freedom, identity, and equal rights. It is a group process where each individual benefits or loses from the level of group understanding and discussion. Individuals can enrich or cheapen the class's trove of learning. Miss more than four classes for any reason and your grade will go down 3 points for each day missed. Three *consecutive* unexcused absences (along with other indications of possible failure before the "WF" deadline) constitute grounds for being dropped from the course (sorry, "W" is much better than "WF" which is much better than "F").

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

**Feedback:** *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.

**Conferences:** We 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 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.

**Main Assignments and Evaluation Instruments:**

**Preparation and Class Participation: 20 %.** Bring all of your readings to each class. **How to do well:** Offer an interpretation with reference to relevant evidence, mentioning the source, the person, and the page you are referencing. Pose good and pertinent questions. Try to stay on topic. Engage each other -- not just the professor or TAs -- critically but respectfully. Balance listening and talking. Respect everyone's opinions and their settled convictions, but don't shrink from challenging them. "Settled convictions" are opinions or inherited ideas that stand the test of reason and evidence, and these are always the result of dialogue. We are all works in progress.

**Quizzes and Short In-class Essays: 20 %.** (Your **TEN best will count**). Expect to spend 10-15 minutes each Wednesday or Friday demonstrating your understanding of key events and concepts in American social and economic development, politics, identity, and equal rights. **Identification questions** will ask for short paragraphs explaining the historical significance of something such as the "Black Codes" under Presidential Reconstruction (1865-1867). **Multiple-choice** questions will measure your ability to make distinctions and

understand chronology (key to understanding causes and consequences and change over time). **Short essays** will ask focused questions that readings and lectures will prepare you to answer (, i.e. “compare the views of Merrill Gates and Luther Standing Bear on the wisdom of compelling Indian children to attend off-reservation boarding schools).

**“Blogs” or Discussion Board Posts on Blackboard: 20%. (Your EIGHT best will count). These are due Sunday night before Monday’s class. Give your TA a paper copy as well.**

**250-400 words. You will receive A, B, C, or N/C, no credit.** This is the place for your informal but sustained and focused reflections on how different Americans understood American identity, freedom, and equal rights. Satisfactory entries (B grade) will offer observations supported by the *voices of past actors* and a clear grasp of the conclusions of scholars. Excellent essays (A grade) will analyze and compare groups or individuals, directly answering questions posed and relating to the themes of the course. Use the course reader intensively.

**One Longer Essay on a Case Study in Advance of Monday Discussion Groups – 5 Pages -- 20% (Sign ups are coming; not everyone will get his or her first pick, so have a couple in mind – these papers are due the day of the discussion).** Answer the same questions posed in advance, but in a more systematic way. Bring into the dialogue several *extra sources* available on approved websites, discovered in the Library, or posted on Blackboard. In no way should you quote another textbook, an anonymous website author, or God forbid, Wikipedia. Get it from the "horse’s mouth" -- through websites with documentary sources or any number of documentary collections available in Jackson Library.

**Final Essay: 20%.**

Take one of the themes of the course and compare several historical episodes when the questions came into sharpest focus. Trace the development of a process (like inclusion) or tradition (like equal rights) over time. What changes and continuities do you see? History can be paradoxical, no?

**Extra Credit Option (Up to 3 extra points on the final grade).** Survey the Library’s documentary films. [http://library.uncg.edu/info/distance\\_education/online\\_films.aspx](http://library.uncg.edu/info/distance_education/online_films.aspx) **Advance work:** Come to the professor’s or TA’s office hours in advance if you have found a 5-8 minute clip especially relevant to a lecture or discussion coming up (do this at least a week ahead of time). In a presentation for the class, verbally frame the clip by providing context and guidelines of what to look for. Make it relevant to a thematic or analytical problem under discussion that day.

**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 oh yes, in cases of plagiarism).

**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> We will be using SafeAssign on Blackboard for paper submissions. We report plagiarism through university channels.

**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 your 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 century! 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/rcy/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. The class deserves your full attention. Laptops should be used for activities exclusively related to class. We reserve the right to ban laptops if this policy isn't observed. This is not meant to curtail "freedom," rather to protect the energy of the class, which visibly declines when people are distracted by those attention-grabbing screens that increasingly dominate our lives! What do surfing Facebook during class and plagiarism have in common? Both cheapen the value of *other people's* education, and your own.

## **Schedule of Classes and Requirements**

### **1/10: Introductions**

Syllabus, quoting and citing sources, possibly an exercise in note taking, paraphrase, and the social context of historical evidence.

### **Assignment for Wednesday:**

Listen to 20 minutes or so of the Back Story History Guys on the history of the holidays, Christmas and Hanukah (at minimum listen from 16:00 to 31:00). Options: start at 7:43 with the history of pre-1800 Christmas as revelry and rituals of inversion, in which roving gangs extorted food and drink from the wealthy (no trees, no gifts for kids)! Around 12:30 is an explanation of why in the 1600s the Puritans banned Christmas celebrations of any kind. They really get going at 16:00 with an explanation of how Christmas was domesticated in the 1820s, then commercialized in the 1830s. At 27:00 you can learn about Hanukah for a few minutes.

**Note taking practice:** Take notes as you listen, write down direct quotations as necessary, then do the informal writing assignment below. This should not take you more than an hour and a half, including proofreading your paragraphs for grammar and spelling. (Note at the bottom your word count and the length of time it takes you to complete this assignment). NB: For every hour you spend in class, the University requires you spend roughly 2 hours preparing and doing homework.

**Citation:** "Happy Holidays: a History of the Season," *Back Story* (Virginia Foundation for the Humanities, 2010), <http://backstoryradio.org/happy-holidays-a-history-of-the-season/> (a full transcript is also available for you to follow along or read). (An mp3 version is also available for download in Blackboard under Documents).

**Writing Assignment:** In a 200 words individual blog on Blackboard (under Assignments), answer three questions: 1) What was the most surprising concrete historical fact or development in the entire discussion, and why is it significant? 2) What *concept* helps explain the historical *context* that gives meaning to this fact or development? 3) Why do we care now?

### **1/12: Understanding the Present in Light of the Past— History and Lived Experience**

Discussion of the history of the holidays, and an audio clip from author Margaret MacMillan on why history is "dangerous".

**Assignment for Friday:** read Roark, et. al., *The American Promise*, ch. 31, pp. 1025-1038 only. This covers the United States since 2000.

**Writing assignment:** Write another Blackboard thread, with 250 words. Answer: How have the events and developments that textbook-writing historians consider "history" shaped your world as you have come to

understand it while these events transpired? *Paraphrase* the words of our authors. Use *concepts* (like globalization or technological innovation) and give us concrete *illustrations* from the news, books you've read, or personal experiences (NB: personal anecdotes are relevant for this exercise when they tie into shared experiences the class will agree reflect important national developments).

#### **1/14: Boundaries of Freedom in the Early Republic**

NB: Here is the full Margaret MacMillan webcast if you are interested: Susan Page's interview with Margaret MacMillan discussing her new book *Dangerous Games*, on the Diane Rehm Show: Tuesday July 28, 2009, <http://wamu.org/programs/dr/09/07/28.php> -- Begin at 5:35 minutes into the program and listen for at least 10 minutes. Be prepared to discuss: Why is history "dangerous"? Why is history interpretive? Have decision-makers acted on the wrong "lessons" of history? Does history repeat itself? Does it rhyme?

#### **1/17: No Class-- MLK, Jr. Day**

#### **1/19: Reconstruction -- The Promise of Biracial Democracy**

Roark, et. al., *The American Promise*, ch. 16, pp. 473-506. (33) Contrast with earlier textbook interpretations: future President Thomas Woodrow Wilson (1906) 12-13, Stanford Historian Thomas A Bailey, 16-17, from *Thinking Through the Past, 2e*, John Hollitz, ed. (New York: Houghton Mifflin, 2001), 53-80.

#### **1/21: The End of Reconstruction and the Making of a Jim Crow Nation**

#### **1/24: Monday Discussion -- Interpreting Black Political Consciousness During Reconstruction**

"To My Old Master, Colonel P.H. Anderson," August 7, 1865, from Leon F. Litwak, *Been in the Storm So Long*, 333-334, by Jourdon Anderson.

Selections from John David Smith, *Black Voices from Reconstruction, 1865-1877* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1997).

**Questions:** How did the freedmen define freedom for themselves? Jordan Anderson was an exceptional man who escaped to the North and worked for wages. How did his experience and dreams of freedom compare with the majority of African American ex-slaves who remained behind to work in Southern fields? **Why was land ownership so important** to newly freed African Americans? Why did ex-slaves resist working for wages on plantations? Several of the voices in Smith *Black Voices from Reconstruction* give us clues as to why many African Americans saw **voting as a cornerstone freedom** upon which many other rights depended. What rights and benefits were thought to flow from voting? How did they counter the argument that only the most educated and literate should vote? Finally, what freedoms did whites feel they were losing while blacks gained rights and power under the authority of the Federal Government? **Labor contracts:** The two labor contracts in *Black Voices* (pp. 70-73) typify what the Freedman's Bureau helped arrange *early* in Reconstruction. What can these detailed documents tell us about the relationship between landowning ex-slaveholders, landless former slaves, and the federal officials who supervised the contracts?

#### **1/26: Conquest, Freedom, and Cultural Change on the Western Frontier**

Roark, et. al., *The American Promise*, ch. 17, "the Contested West, 1870-1900", 507-539 (507-521 on Indians, then feel free to *skim* the pages 521-539 to get a sense of the diverse peoples and economic enterprises of the West: miners, territories, Mexicans, Mormons, Chinese, homesteaders and speculators, ranchers and cowboys, tenants, sharecroppers, and migrants, industrial cowboys!

#### **1/28: Mexican Americans – Incorporation, not Inclusion**

#### **1/31: Monday Discussion -- "With Friends Like These": The Indian Reformers' Forced "Citizenship"**

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

On **land**: Merrill Gates, "Land and Law As Agents in Educating Indians" (1885), 58-59; Wooden Leg, "A Cheyenne Tells His Son about the Land" (ca. 1876) 62-63; John Stands in Timber, "Cheyennes try Farming" (ca. 1877): 63-64; Ella C. Deloria, "A Sioux Recalls Severalty" (1900), 64-65, from *Thinking Through the Past, 2e*, John Hollitz, ed. (New York: Houghton Mifflin, 2001).

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

Mary Crow Dog, *Lakota Woman* pp.

**Questions:** 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." What kind of skills and values and habits did they hope to inculcate? What understanding's of "civilization" did they hold and what was the Indian's place in it? How did "allotment in severalty" work in practice? Did the Native Americans and their advocates have notions of native rights that conflicted with the white reformers' policies of land allotment and education? (Make sure you finish this reading: Luther Standing Bear's concluding observations are crucial to understanding the whole project). What kinds of inner conflicts and interpersonal conflicts did Indians returning to reservations from boarding schools experience? Can you think of ways in which Indians resisted or creatively adapted to the new legal requirements and the narrowed options that followed conquest and loss of land and ways of life based on earlier means of survival?

## **2/2: Industrial Capitalism -- Corporate Titans and Immigrant Masses**

Roark, et. al., *The American Promise*, ch. 18, pp. 540-557 (skim 557-567); ch. 19, 576-612 (you may skim 579-585 on immigration and immigration restriction, because this will also be assigned later).

## **2/4: Industrial Capitalism – The Proletarianization of Work and the “Republic of Labor”**

### **2/7: Monday Discussion – Andrew Carnegie and the American Working Class**

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

Andrew Carnegie, "The Road to Business Success: a Talk to Young Men" (June 23, 1885), in *America First-Hand: Volume II, from Reconstruction to the Present 2e* (New York Saint Martins, 1992,) 61-66.

"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"

"More Slavery at the South: by a Negro Nurse," (January 25, 1912), in *America Firsthand: Volume II, from Reconstruction to the Present 2e* (New York Saint Martins, 1992,) 115-121.

**Questions:** 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? 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 the rights of property and "liberty of contract" constituted absolute principles governing employer-employee relations). How did Carnegie see the acquisition of wealth, the obligations of charity and the spread of "pauperism"? What really made America a democracy? How did Carnegie's workers at Homestead view Carnegie's definitions of democratic equality, the obligations of the wealthy, and the rights of labor? What can we glean about black working class life and political consciousness from the anonymous "Negro nurse"?



**2/9: Shocks to the System--The Watershed 1890s**

Roark, et. al., *The American Promise*, 567-574 (on the main parties and Greenback and Labor parties), and ch. 20, pp. 613-635 (skim the rest of the chapter on imperialism and the Spanish-American-Cuban-Filipino War).

**2/11: From Depression to Empire**

**2/14: Monday Discussion – Populists: Prophets or Cranks?**

John Hollitz, ed., “Evaluating a Historical Argument: the Populist Appeal in 1890s,” from *Thinking Through the Past*, 2e, John Hollitz, ed. (New York: Houghton Mifflin, 2001), 81-113.

**Questions:** See page 84 of the Assigned Readings. Were the Populists single-issue firebrands or did they manifest a coherent analysis of the economy and vision of the nation? Why were the Republicans so threatened by the Populists?

**2/16: The Paradox of Progressivism**

Roark, et. al., *The American Promise*, ch. 21, pp. 647-682.

**2/18: Women's Rights and Sexual Freedom**

**2/21: Monday Discussion -- Women's Duties and Women's Rights -- The Crusade for the Vote**

Sherry J. Katz, "A Politics of Coalition: Socialist Women and the California Suffrage Movement, 1900-1911." In *One Woman, One Vote: Rediscovering the Woman Suffrage Movement*, edited by Marjorie Spruill Wheeler, 245-62. Troutdale, OR: New Sage Press, 1995.

“Why Women Should Vote' (and Text by Jane Addams)." in Victoria Bissell Brown, "Jane Addams, Progressivism, and Woman Suffrage," *One Woman, One Vote*, pp. 194—201.

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.

Adela Hunt Logan, “Colored Women As Voters,” 1912 in *The South in the History of the Nation*, eds. Link and Wheeler, 117-118.

**Questions:** As middle class women invented new roles and sought new freedoms for themselves in the public sphere, working-class women sought protection in the workplace through joining unions, forming alliances with middle-class women, and agitating for suffrage. How did women see their new rights and duties in, especially as they relate to other women in other classes or ethnic groups? Make sure you mention at least three of the following: Jane Addams, the factory women, Leonora O'Reilly and Caroline Lowe, African American Adela Hunt Logan. Why does Jane Addams argue that women *should* vote instead of arguing they have the *right* to vote? In her view, what would be furthered by enfranchising immigrant women?

**2/23: World War I and the Repression of Dissent and Cultural Pluralism**

Roark, et. al., *The American Promise*, 697-715, 718-740 (skim the rest on the international dimensions of the War and the Peace).

**2/25: Racial and Ethnic Conflict in the 1920s**

**2/28: Monday Discussion -- Racial Politics of Immigration Restriction**

“Ideology and History: Closing the ‘Golden Door’” from *Thinking Through the Past, 2e*, John Hollitz, ed. (New York: Houghton Mifflin, 2001), 141-163.

John Higham, “Racism and Immigration Restriction” (1984); 2. Madison Grant, *The Passing of the Great Race* 1960; 3. Calvin Coolidge, *Whose Country Is This?* 1921; 4. Hiram W. Evans, “The Klan’s Fight for Americanism” 1926; 5. *Because You’re a Jew* 1908, 155-156; 6. Gene Stratton-Porter, *Her Father’s Daughter*, 1921 -- the yellow peril of competition from Japanese; 7. Representative Lucian W. Parrish, *Democrat Texas*, “A Congressman Calls for Restriction,” 1921, 158-159.

Randolph Bourne, “Transnational America,” from *Voices of Freedom*, Eric Foner, ed. (NY:2005), 121-125. Edith Terry Bremer, “Quota Acts are Inhumane,” from *Immigration: Opposing Viewpoints* (Greenhaven, 1992), 252-260.

**Questions for Discussion and Writing:** The arguments for and against immigration restriction up to and including the 1924 quota act involved assumptions about the racial “character” of the immigrants arriving since 1880, and 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?

### **3/2: The Coming of the Great Depression and the First New Deal**

Roark, et. al., *The American Promise*, ch. 24, pp. 753-788.

### **3/4: New Deal and the Search for Security**

## **SPRING BREAK**

### **3/14: Monday Discussion –Popular Political Culture and Expectations of Government in the 1930s**

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).

“The Republic Is Imperiled”: John L. Lewis Warns of Ignoring Laboring People

“We Are Americans!”: The Homestead Workers Issue a Declaration of Independence in 1936 by United Steelworkers of America

**Questions:** Some historians have argued that the American people during the Great Depression came to feel that they were entitled to a modicum of government-guaranteed security. Other historians see just a swirl of resentments and the perseverance of time tested Jeffersonian values of self-reliance and individualism. What do you think? **Specific questions to guide you in the letters:** 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.” How did they express their sense of entitlement to economic justice? **On race:** How did 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)? In the debate between conservatives and radicals, what were the most important citizenship rights that each side referred to in their arguments? When did criticism of the relief system spill over into criticism of the class system and the political system? That is, when did people attack the bureaucrats and when the politicians and powerful businessmen?

### **3/16: World War II: Patriotic Assimilation at Home**

Roark, et. al., *The American Promise*, ch. 25, pp. 790-825 (skim the battles unless you are interested).

### **3/18: WWII and the Dawn of the Nuclear Era**

### **3/21: Monday Discussion—Truman's "Decision" to Drop the Bomb**

Davidson and Lytle, *After the Fact*, ch. 12, "The Decision to Drop the Bomb: The Uses of Models in History." 284-309.

#### **Hiroshima, Harry Truman's diary and papers, excerpts**

"Charles Kikuchi on Life in a Japanese Internment Camp 1942," in Belmonte, *Speaking of America*, 716-721.

**Questions: TBA**

### **3/23: Truman and the Fair Deal**

Roark, et. al., *The American Promise*, 827-830 (on Helen Douglas), 834-849 (ending with civil rights and McCarthyism), (then skim or skip Korea and Ike's foreign policy), read conclusion 855-856.

### **3/25: Anti-Communism and the Boundaries of Freedom**

Roark, et. al., *The American Promise*, ch. 27, pp. 858-889, (skim 865-870 on containment and the arms race).

### **3/28: Monday Discussion-- Freedom along the Color Line: Cold War and Consumer Society**

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.

Thomas J. Sugrue's op-ed, "The New American Dream: Renting," *Wall Street Journal*, August 15, 2009, <http://online.wsj.com/article/SB10001424052970204409904574350432677038184.html>

**Questions:** As masses of Southern black migrants poured into Northern cities in the 1940s and 1950s, African Americans sought "open housing" opportunities in restricted whites-only neighborhoods. How did white homeowner groups in Detroit (with what language and rationales) seek to defend their "homeowners' rights" against black "civil rights?" How did they reinterpret the New Deal language of "social and economic" rights? Why did these blue collar union workers and homeowners turn against the Democrats and vote Republican? In what ways did this foreshadow what was to come? **On the editorial—bonus points here:** 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"?

### **3/30: Liberalism and Liberation in the 1960s**

Roark, et. al., *The American Promise*, ch. 28, pp. 891-929, 937-937 (on the Cuban missile crisis and Kennedy's commitment to Vietnam) 947-953 (on domestic upheavals and antiwar politics)

### **4/1: The Great Society and the Vietnam Quagmire**

### **4/4: Monday Discussion-- Freedom Now! The Black Freedom Struggle and Working Class America**

Thomas F. Jackson, "Bread of Freedom: Martin Luther King, Jr. 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, 2980-85, 2990-96.

"Chicago Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee Leaflet, 1967" in Johnson, ed., *Reading the American Past*, 230-234

**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? How specifically did he envision civil rights organizations, unions, and government as actors in the "revolution of values"? How did black power advocates see the problem of poverty and the Great Society differently?

#### **4/6: More Movements than Movement**

#### **4/8: From Women's Rights to Women's Liberation to the New Right**

#### **4/11: Monday Discussion -- the Women's Movement**

Kathleen M. Barry, "Too Glamorous to Be Considered Workers: Flight Attendants and Pink-Collar Activism in Mid-Twentieth-Century America," *Labor: Studies in Working-Class History of the Americas* vol. 3. no. 3 (2006), 119-138.

The National Organization for Women 1966 Statement of Purpose

The Politics of Housework by Pat Mainardi of Redstockings

**Questions: TBA**

#### **4/13: Rise of the New Right**

Roark, et. al., *The American Promise*, ch. 30, pp. 965-1000

#### **4/15: Reagan's America**

#### **4/18: Monday Discussion—"Two Cheers for Capitalism"?**

John Hollitz, "Conservatism and the Limits of Consumer Capitalism: Irving Kristol and Ralph Nader," in *Contending Voices* v. 2 (New York, 2007), 292-314.

Milton Friedman, "Capitalism and Freedom," (1962), in Story and Laurie, eds., *The Rise of Conservatism in America* (Boston, 2008) 66-68.

Nathan Glazer, "Affirmative Discrimination," (1975), in Story and Laurie, eds., *The Rise of Conservatism in America* (Boston, 2008), 97-100.

George Gilder, "Wealth and Poverty," (1981), in Story and Laurie, eds., *The Rise of Conservatism in America* (Boston, 2008), 122-125.

Ronald Reagan, "Speech to the National Association of Evangelicals," (March 1983), in Story and Laurie, eds., *The Rise of Conservatism in America* (Boston, 2008), 126-129.

**Questions: TBA**

#### **4/20: Globalization and Immigration in the 1990s**

Roark, et. al., *The American Promise*, ch. 31, pp. 1012-1025. A typology of freedom -- Useful terms -- An

#### **4/22 NO CLASS**

#### **4/25: Monday Discussion – Who Are Americans? Again.**

Reed Ueda, from "The Permanently Unfinished Country," (1992), and Richard D. Lamm, from "Truth, Like Roses, Often Comes with Thorns," (1994), in Madaras and SoRell, *Taking Sides, 10e* (NY, 2003), 306-320.

Al Santoli interviews with Rosa Maria Urbina and Jose Luis, in "Crossing the Rio Grande," from Marcus and Burner, *America Firsthand 2e*, (1992), 304-312.

Eric Schlosser, *Fast Food Nation: The Dark Side of the American Meal* (NY, 2001) excerpts from chs. 8, 10.

Mike Davis, "In L.A., Burning All Illusions," *Nation* (June 1, 1992), 743-746.

**Questions: TBA**

#### **4/26: Conclusions**