

Dissent

The History of an American Idea

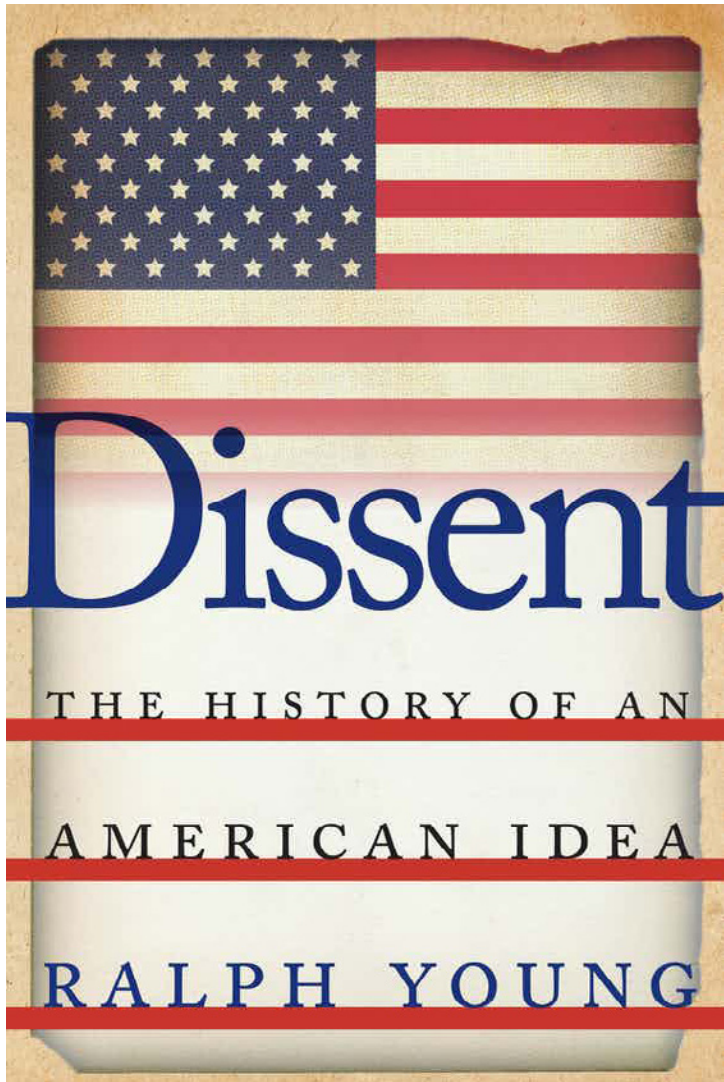
BY RALPH YOUNG

Instructor's Guide

This book examines the key role dissent has played in shaping the United States. It focuses on those who, from colonial days to the present, dissented against the ruling paradigm of their time: from the Puritan Anne Hutchinson and Native American chief Powhatan in the seventeenth century, to the Occupy and Tea Party movements in the twenty-first century. The emphasis is on the way Americans, celebrated figures and anonymous ordinary citizens, responded to what they saw as the injustices that prevented them from fully experiencing their vision of America.

At its founding the United States committed itself to lofty ideals. When the promise of those ideals was not fully realized by all Americans, many protested and demanded that the United States live up to its promise. Women fought for equal rights; abolitionists sought to destroy slavery; workers organized unions; Indians resisted white encroachment on their land; radicals angrily demanded an end to the dominance of the moneyed interests; civil rights protestors marched to end segregation; antiwar activists took to the streets to protest the nation's wars; and reactionaries, conservatives, and traditionalists in each decade struggled to turn back the clock to a simpler, more secure time. Some dissenters are celebrated heroes of American history, while others are ordinary people: frequently overlooked, but whose stories show that change is often accomplished through grassroots activism.

The United States is a nation founded on the promise and power of dissent. In this stunningly comprehensive volume, Ralph Young shows us its history.



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TABLE OF CONTENTS

<i>Author's Note</i>	— 2
<i>Chapter 1</i>	— 3
<i>Chapter 2</i>	— 4
<i>Chapter 3</i>	— 5
<i>Chapter 4</i>	— 7
<i>Chapter 5</i>	— 9
<i>Chapter 6</i>	— 11
<i>Chapter 7</i>	— 13
<i>Chapter 8</i>	— 15
<i>Chapter 9</i>	— 17
<i>Chapter 10</i>	— 19
<i>Chapter 11</i>	— 22
<i>Chapter 12</i>	— 24
<i>Chapter 13</i>	— 26
<i>Chapter 14</i>	— 28
<i>Chapter 15</i>	— 31
<i>Chapter 16</i>	— 33
<i>Chapter 17</i>	— 35
<i>Chapter 18</i>	— 37
<i>Chapter 19</i>	— 39
<i>Chapter 20</i>	— 42
<i>Chapter 21</i>	— 44
<i>Chapter 22</i>	— 47
<i>Chapter 23</i>	— 49
<i>Sample Syllabus</i>	— 53

AUTHOR'S NOTE

How to use this book and guide for your course

This “Instructor’s Guide for *Dissent: The History of an American Idea*” is my recommendation of how to use the book for a course on Dissenters and Protest Movements in American History. Each instructor, of course, will emphasize the people and events that they consider are central to the overall story of retelling American history through the lens of dissent. What I highlight in the following pages are some of the individuals and issues that I focus on when I teach my course “Dissent in America.”

The thesis of *Dissent: The History of an American Idea* is that the United States is a product of dissent. Even before the United States was formed the first English colonies were founded by dissenters. After 150 years of planting English colonies in the new world political dissent culminated in the revolution that created a new nation. Dissent was so central to the American character that the right to dissent was put into the First Amendment to the Constitution and Americans have dissented ever since. Abolitionists. Women suffragists. Workers fighting for the rights of labor. Civil Rights protestors. Antiwar objectors. LGBTQ activists. Militant feminists. Environmentalists.

It is clear that dissent is one of the defining characteristics of what it is to be an American. It is central to our beliefs. It is in our DNA.

When I teach “Dissent in America” I also have students read, as a companion to *Dissent: The History of an American Idea*, dissenters’ primary documents. Many of these documents can be found online for free (some of which I have linked to). I have also compiled them in a reader, [*Dissent in America: Voices That Shaped a Nation*](#) (published by Pearson Longman in 2009). Assigning the documents is optional, and I’ve included many excerpts from various primary sources in *Dissent*. It’s important to note that not every dissenter in American history is highlighted in this book, each instructor is encouraged to highlight other dissenters and movements and have students look towards other primary documents.

Be sure, also, to discuss the various ways in which dissenters present their message. Many of the most effective vehicles for raising public awareness for a cause is through various creative forms of art: protest songs, poetry, posters, theatre, comedy, satire. Also discuss the effectiveness of demonstrations, petitions, civil disobedience, boycotts, and even violence.

An ongoing discussion that is always effective throughout the course is should dissent ever become violent? Is it ever effective? Or is it counterproductive?

CHAPTER 1

The “Free Aire of a New World”

In the first chapter we examine how religious dissenters left the British Isles seeking the freedom to worship according to their consciences. Puritans in New England, Quakers in Pennsylvania. They were not seeking “religious freedom” per se, especially the Puritans, only the freedom to worship their way, which they believed to be the correct way. Thus, this “free aire of a new world,” far from the oversight of London gave them ample opportunity to do so. But it is no surprise that no sooner had these religious dissenters arrive that dissent against their restrictions arose.

Roger Williams and Anne Hutchinson quickly ran afoul of the authorities, both civil and ecclesiastical, in Massachusetts Bay Colony. Take special note of Roger Williams’s arguments in his pamphlet “The Bloudy Tenent of Persecution” in which he lays down two of the most important principles on which the United States 150 years later is founded: Religious Toleration and Separation of Church and State.

Later in the century religious dissenter William Penn founds the colony of Pennsylvania as a refuge for Quakers (members of the Society of Friends) at a time when they were persecuted in England as well as Massachusetts Bay where Quakers like Mary Dyer were hanged. By the end of the seventeenth century significant political dissent was also brewing, most notably with Bacon’s Rebellion in Virginia. And, of course, throughout the century, Native Americans continued to rise up and resist the encroachment of the European invaders.

SUGGESTED DOCUMENTS:

- Roger Williams [“Bloudy Tenent of Persecution”](#)
- Excerpts from the [trial transcript of Anne Hutchinson](#)
- Nathaniel Bacon, [“Declaration in the Name of the People”](#)

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION:

1. What is Williams’s reasoning for the separation of church and state? For religious toleration?
2. What was the chief reason for Hutchinson’s banishment from Massachusetts Bay Colony? How significant is the fact that she was a woman?
3. What does Bacon’s Rebellion reveal about racial attitudes in seventeenth-century Virginia?

CHAPTER 2

Dissent in an Age of Reason

In the eighteenth century Native Americans continued to resist whites, but by this time they were beginning to use the natural rights arguments that were being imported into the new world and that they knew would resonate with the English. However, even though some, like Loron Sauguaarum, eloquently expressed natural rights philosophy, the English settlers pushed them off their lands.

Slaves also rebelled against their masters, most notably in Stono, South Carolina, and in New York City. As more and more Quakers and Mennonites arrived in the colonies a nascent abolition movement slowly grew throughout the century, reaching a high point shortly before the American Revolution with such vociferous antislavery activists as John Woolman, Anthony Benezet, and Benjamin Lay.

Another significant eighteenth-century dissenter was newspaper publisher John Peter Zenger. Zenger had begun writing a series of exposé articles attacking the corruption of the colony's governor. His printing press was destroyed, he was arrested and put on trial for libel. But he was acquitted when his lawyer successfully argued that "libelous" attacks on a political official were not libel if they were true. Zenger's case is important for the creation of the United States because it established the principle of Freedom of Press. So we see how three of the most important founding principles of the United States, enshrined in the First Amendment of the Constitution, were principles that were developed in the American colonies before the concept of a United States even arose.

SUGGESTED DOCUMENTS:

- John Peter Zenger, excerpts from *The New York Weekly Journal*, November 19, 1733
- [John Woolman, "On Keeping Negroes," 1762](#)

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION:

1. Why was the trial of John Peter Zenger so essential in the pre-history of the United States?
2. What is John Woolman's chief argument against slavery?
3. Why were there so few slave rebellions in the colonies?

CHAPTER 3

Revolution

By the 1760s, after the Crown instituted taxes in the colonies in order to replenish the costs incurred by the French and Indian War, political dissent arose at an exponential rate. Influenced by such Enlightenment philosophers as John Locke, dissenters increasingly became more militant. Samuel Adams, John Hancock, Paul Revere, John Adams, Thomas Jefferson, Benjamin Franklin, as well as many other less well-known figures, protested against the king and Parliament. For ten years after the levying of the Stamp Tax the protests, the tarring-and-feathering, the boycotts, the destruction of property escalated to the point that what started out as peaceful, nonviolent dissent, turned violent, culminating in outright revolution.

The United States was born; a product of dissent.

Dissent, itself, continued. Throughout the American Revolution, as the patriot cause became more powerful Loyalists dissented against the new era. Loyalists like Thomas Hutchinson vehemently, and eloquently, opposed the taking up of arms against the Crown. The colonists were divided whether or not to support the cause. And, as John Adams noted, the principles of liberty and equality upon which the colonists based their fight against London seeped out into the atmosphere and were absorbed by people who had not been included in the quarrel against the king. The principle of liberty resonated deeply amongst the enslaved and women. Slaves submitted petitions to colonial legislatures demanding freedom using the same arguments men like Jefferson and Franklin were using. Women, too, argued, that the fledgling United States must recognize the rights of women as well as men. Abigail Adams, famously, urged her husband John “in the new Code of Laws . . . I desire you would Remember the Ladies.”

SUGGESTED DOCUMENTS:

- Samuel Adams, “The Rights of the Colonists—The Report of the Committee of Correspondence to the Boston Town Meeting, November 20, 1772”
- [Abigail Adams, Letter to her husband March 31, 1776](#)
- Thomas Hutchinson, “Strictures on the Declaration,” 1776

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION:

1. In what ways were the arguments of such men as Samuel Adams and Thomas Jefferson paraphrases of John Locke's *Second Treatise of Government*?
2. In what ways does Abigail Adams reveal that she is thoroughly conversant with the political ideology of the day, especially John Locke's Natural Rights philosophy? On what grounds does John Adams reject her argument?
3. How valid is Loyalist Thomas Hutchinson's proof that the Declaration of Independence is full of fallacies?

CHAPTER 4

Discord in the New Republic

Throughout the first decades of the fledgling United States dissent did not abate. The deliberations over the ratification of the Constitution became a heated debate between Federalists and Antifederalists. One of the ironies of the debate was that Antifederalists opposed the ratification because the Constitution did not include a Bill of Rights. Their protests bore fruit when, Federalists acquiesced in their demands and, in order to secure the ratification they agreed to include a Bill of Rights. Thus this cornerstone of the American canon was itself a result of dissent.

It did not take long for Americans to exercise their right to dissent. During Washington's presidency backcountry farmers protested so vehemently against the excise tax that it led to the so-called Whiskey Rebellion and Indian nations north of the Ohio River began to form a confederacy to resist white encroachment on their lands. Women also, most notably Judith Sargent Murray who was a leading advocate for women's education, continued lobbying for equal rights. When Federalists passed the Alien and Sedition Acts Jeffersonian Republicans protested passionately that it threatened to undermine the First Amendment and therefore jeopardize the basic freedoms guaranteed in the Constitution.

When the United States joined with France in war against Great Britain, many Americans, especially in New England, protested. In fact, antiwar sentiment was so powerful that New England even threatened to secede from the Union.

Other examples of dissent that should be highlighted during this period is the beginnings of antislavery protests with the formation of the American Colonization Society; Tecumseh's Confederacy; Senator Theodore Frelinghuysen's protests against the Indian Removal Act and the eloquent appeals of Cherokee Chief John Ross. Another Native American who was an articulate protestor against the United States' treatment of the Indians was the Pequot William Apess.

Finally, this period saw the beginnings of labor unrest and the efforts by many working-class Americans to form Unions. In 1827 the National Trades Union was formed, and in 1834 the "Lowell Mill Girls" went on strike.

SUGGESTED DOCUMENTS:

- [Judith Sargent Murray, *On the Equality of the Sexes*, 1790](#)
- [The Virginia & Kentucky Resolutions, 1798/1799](#)
- [Tecumseh's Letter to William Henry Harrison, 1810](#)
- Proposals of the Hartford Convention, 1815

- [Theodore Frelinghuysen, Speech to the Senate April 9, 1830](#)
- [Chief John Ross, "Letter to Congress," September 28, 1836](#)
- William Apess, "An Indian's Looking-Glass for the White Man," 1833
- "Preamble and Constitution of the Lowell Female Labor Reform

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION:

1. Were Antifederalists more concerned that natural rights be included in the Constitution or were they more concerned that the slave states would lose power in the new government?
2. What is Judith Sargent Murray's proof that women and men are equal?
3. Discuss the racist principles underlying the American Colonization Society.
4. Why was Tecumseh unsuccessful in fighting against white encroachment?
5. What was the main antiwar argument against the War of 1812?
6. Is Senator Frelinghuysen correct when he compares the Cherokee's grievances with those of the colonists against George III?
7. Is William Apess's use of scripture to condemn whites' attitude about race effective?
8. What do the "Lowell Mill Girls" reveal about the political consciousness of nineteenth-century working-class women?

CHAPTER 5

Slavery and its Discontents

One of the most important dissent movements that emerged in the early years of the United States was the Antislavery movement. Americans were extremely proud that they had fought a war against Britain, gained independence and established a democratic/republican form of government. Americans cherished the principles of liberty and equality. But slavery was the most significant institution that flew in the face of these values. Racism meant that many Americans did not see, or did not care, about the blatant hypocrisy of claiming to be a democracy while one-fifth of the population was enslaved. But increasingly over the first decades of the nineteenth century, as the South's Peculiar Institution rapidly expanded more and more Americans grew alarmed about this discrepancy that challenged America's most fundamental creed.

Chapter Five examines slavery, the culture the enslaved were able to establish, and, most importantly, their resistance. Sabotage, running away, refusal to work, and, several outright rebellions. Gabriel Prosser, Denmark Vesey, Nat Turner. As enslaved people resisted, increasing numbers of whites began to protest against slavery. Notable abolitionist voices raised up in eloquent condemnation of the institution. David Walker, William Lloyd Garrison, Wendell Phillips, Frederick Douglass, Sojourner Truth, Harriet Tubman, Ralph Waldo Emerson, Henry David Thoreau, the Grimké Sisters were just a few of the noted abolitionists who had an impact.

Of course, as resistance to slavery increased, and as abolitionists' arguments spread the antislavery message throughout the land, defenders of slavery passionately raised their voices against the abolitionists. Some argued that the slave system was more humane than the North's wage-slave system. Some used scripture to defend slavery as a system sanctioned by God.

SUGGESTED DOCUMENTS:

- [David Walker, *Appeal to the Coloured Citizens of the World*](#)
- [Wendell Phillips, "On the Murder of Lovejoy"](#)
- [Angelina Grimké, *Appeal to the Christian Women of the South*](#)
- Sarah Grimké, "The Original Equality of Woman"
- Sojourner Truth, "Ain't I a Woman?"
- [William Lloyd Garrison, excerpt from the first issue of *The Liberator*, Jan 1, 1831](#)
- Frederick Douglass, "What to the Slave is the Fourth of July?"

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION:

1. Why does Walker refer to Jefferson in his critique of slavery?
2. Why should women be at the forefront of the abolition movement according to Angelina Grimké?
3. How effective is the Grimké sisters use of the Bible to denounce slavery?
4. If Frederick Douglass could confront Thomas Jefferson would he agree with him or would he challenge him to re-write the Declaration of Independence?
5. Why does Garrison oppose moderation in ending slavery?

CHAPTER 6

Reformers and Dissidents

This is one of the most important chapters in the book because it introduces several dissenters whose philosophies and tactics have had considerable influence on subsequent dissent movements. Also, this period brings together several philosophical and somewhat disparate points of view that together brought about significant reform movements. Religiously there was the Second Great Awakening led by Charles Finney, Joseph Smith, William Miller and other evangelical itinerant preachers who insisted that individuals had agency in saving their own souls. This combined with the faith Americans had in democracy was a levelling influence that convinced Americans that not only could they work towards salvation, but that they could also work to make America more democratic.

There was also the influence coming in to the United States from the French Utopian Socialists (Joseph Proudhon and Charles Fourier) that inspired workers to fight for their rights and to organize and it inspired other visionaries to establish utopian communes: Brook Farm, New Harmony, Neshoba, Oneida.

And just as important as the Second Great Awakening and the French Utopian Socialists was the impact in America of the Romantic Movement that emphasized the potential for each individual to live full and authentic lives and achieve a higher consciousness in the material world. In the United States Romantic writers and poets championed the individual and democracy. And in Concord, Massachusetts the Romantic Movement took on an American flavor with the emergence of Transcendentalism and the metaphysical musings of Ralph Waldo Emerson, Henry David Thoreau, and Margaret Fuller. The Transcendentalists urged all individuals to live up to their full potential and their philosophy underpinned the antislavery movement and the nascent women's movement. All people, regardless of race or gender, were absolutely equal. Everyone should have equal opportunity to become the best their potential allows them.

"Very early I knew," Margaret Fuller wrote, "that the only object in life is to grow." Slavery prevented individuals from growing. Sexism prevented women from living their lives fully.

Out of these ideas a number of reform movements drew sustenance. Antislavery, feminism, temperance, unionism, asylum and prison reform, educational reform. And, of course, Henry David Thoreau's essay "On Resistance to Civil Government" becomes the Bible for future dissenters and protest movements. An essay that is still influential to this day.

SUGGESTED DOCUMENTS:

- [Henry David Thoreau, "On Resistance to Civil Government"](#)
- [Ralph Waldo Emerson, "Self-Reliance"](#)
- Margaret Fuller, excerpts from [Woman in the Nineteenth Century](#)
- Elizabeth Cady Stanton, "Speech at Seneca Falls" (July 19, 1848), *The Declaration of Sentiments*

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION:

1. What, according to Thoreau, is the duty of every just man in the face of injustice?
2. What is the difference between a just law and an unjust law?
3. How does self-reliance lead to a deeper engagement with the world at large?
4. What does Emerson mean when he writes that "A foolish consistency is the hobgoblin of little minds"?
5. What does Fuller mean when she argues that "[t]here is no wholly masculine man, no purely feminine woman"? Are men and women androgynous?
6. Why does Stanton claim, in her speech, that there has never been a truly virtuous nation in the history of the world?
7. How effective is the device of modeling *The Declaration of Sentiments* on the Declaration of Independence?
8. What do you suppose was public reaction to the declaration?
9. What counter arguments would men use to oppose Stanton's position?

CHAPTER 7

Expansion and Conflict

As the United States, caught up in the heady belief in Manifest Destiny, expanded into the West the process ran headlong into Native American resistance and set the United States on a course for war with Mexico. Increasing numbers of Americans, mostly from the South, poured over the southern border into the Mexican province of Tejas. By 1836 the American settlers launched a war for Texas independence from Mexico. One of the ironies of this rebellion was that those men who died for freedom and independence at the Alamo were also fighting for the freedom to own slaves. (Mexico had abolished slavery in 1829.) With independence in 1836 Texas became the Lone Star Republic. In 1845 it was admitted to the United States as the 28th state. A year later, a dispute over the southern border of Texas led the United States to declare war on Mexico.

Although many Americans were enthusiastic about the war a significant antiwar movement emerged. Those Americans who opposed slavery saw the Mexican War as a blatant attempt by slave interests to expand the Peculiar Institution into territories seized from Mexico. Henry David Thoreau, of course, was the most famous and outspoken of these antiwar dissenters; and it was this war that would expand slavery that led to his arrest and his subsequent penning of “On Resistance to Civil Government.” But he was not the only one. There were many antiwar protests in Boston and other cities. Horace Greeley and Theodore Parker were noted antiwar critics. Many Whig congressman also opposed the war, notably Abraham Lincoln of Illinois and David Wilmot of Pennsylvania. Even soldiers protested. In fact one battalion of Irish immigrants, angered at the anti-Catholic bigotry displayed toward them by Protestant officers, deserted, formed the *Batallón San Patricio*, and fought against their previous compatriots.

The outcome of the war was for American expansionists their fondest dream come true. Mexico ceded to the United States the territories that would later become the American states of California, Nevada, Arizona, New Mexico, Utah and parts of Colorado. But as Americans set up settlements in these areas they encountered resistance, not only of the Native Americans, but of the hundreds of thousands of Mexicans who lived there. Some Indian tribes sent petitions to Washington complaining of the white takeover of their lands, others resisted with the force of arms. *Tejanos* and *Californios* (Mexicans living in Texas and California) protested against the discrimination they experienced, although the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo that ended the war guaranteed them American citizenship. Sometimes their protests turned violent. Juan Cortina led a violent rebellion against the Americans and became an inspiring symbol of Mexican defiance of American bigotry.

Although the war with Mexico led to an enormous expansion of the United States, it also threatened to tear the United States apart.

SUGGESTED DOCUMENTS:

- [Henry David Thoreau, "On Resistance to Civil Government"](#)
- Abraham Lincoln's "Spot Resolution," 1847

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION:

1. Was Lincoln correct when he argued that the United States was actually committing a war of aggression against Mexico?
2. Consider the present-day debates about immigrants and the DACA program and examine the way in which the United States took the southwest from Mexico, should the United States close the border with Mexico, or welcome those immigrants whether or not they are documented?

CHAPTER 8

Dissent Imperils the Union

The discovery of gold meant that California was ready for statehood by 1850. This pried open again the nagging debate over free states versus slave states. And this led to the Compromise of 1850, which satisfied no one. Probably the most important part of this act was the strengthening of the Fugitive Slave Act, which further enflamed the abolitionist movement. So too did the Kansas-Nebraska Act of 1854, which allowed for the possibility of slavery in Kansas thus countermanding the Missouri Compromise. It seemed that no matter what the federal government tried to do to settle nerves, it only exacerbated a sense that the nation was heading for an “irrepressible conflict.”

Pro- and anti-slavery forces collided in Kansas. “Bleeding Kansas” became a life-and-death struggle for the soul of the nation. John Brown led a bloody raid against pro-slavery settlers in Kansas. South Carolina congressman Preston Brooks attacked Massachusetts senator Charles Sumner in the Senate chamber nearly killing him. The Whig Party began to disintegrate and out of its ashes grew the Free-Soil Party and later the Republican Party. Harriet Beecher Stowe fueled the sectional rift when she published *Uncle Tom’s Cabin*. The Dred Scott decision was a thunderbolt that further threatened to tear the country apart.

Slavery wasn’t the only divisive issue. Anti-immigration feeling was also rising rapidly, especially in the face of all the Catholic immigrants coming into the country from Ireland. This led to the rise of the Supreme Order of the Star Spangled Banner and the American Party (aka the “Know-Nothings”). In fact the “Know Nothing” Party even won eight electoral votes in the 1856 election. But ultimately it was slavery and the antislavery protestors that led to the Civil War. The breaking point came with John Brown’s raid in Harpers Ferry, Virginia in October 1859 and the election of Abraham Lincoln in November 1860. By the time Lincoln took the oath to preserve and protect the union on March 4, 1861 seven states had already left and declared their independence.

SUGGESTED DOCUMENTS:

- Ralph Waldo Emerson, “Address to the Citizens of Concord on the Fugitive Slave Law, 1851”
- *Dred Scott v Sandford*
- Excerpts from *Uncle Tom’s Cabin*
- [Charles Sumner’s speech to the Senate, “The Crime Against Kansas”](#)
- The American Party Platform, 1856

- Excerpts from the Lincoln/Douglas debates
- ["Address of John Brown to the Virginia Court at Charles Town, Virginia, November 2, 1859"](#)

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION:

1. In what way does Emerson's speech on the Fugitive Slave Law echo Thoreau's "Civil Disobedience"?
2. What was so incendiary about Sumner's speech?
3. How did the "Know-Nothings" (the American Party) propose to solve the problems they perceived were caused by immigration?
4. Why does John Brown claim that if he had "interfered in behalf of the rich" he would not have been brought to trial?
5. Does his speech suggest that he was insane, as many historians have long claimed, or are they the words of a fully rational person?

CHAPTER 9

A Nation Divides

The Civil War, in essence, was the culmination of the dissent against slavery and the protests against these dissenters by those Americans who sought to maintain slavery. And, like all wars in American history, the Civil War had its antiwar dissenters. On both sides.

In the North one wing of the Democratic Party was against the war because these “Peace Democrats” believed that the South had the right to secede from the Union and that it was not worth all the bloodshed war would entail to preserve the Union. There were people, like Clement L. Vallandigham, who opposed Abraham Lincoln’s policies because the president suspended habeas corpus and was threatening to become a tyrant. There were also pacifists, like the Quaker Cyrus Pringle, who refused to fight on religious/moral grounds. There were African American soldiers who protested against unequal pay. There were draft riots in New York City when the federal government began conscription. Protestors took to the streets proclaiming, “it’s a rich man’s war and a poor man’s fight!”

In the South (echoing the North) people protested against Jefferson Davis’s suspension of habeas corpus. There were southerners who had nothing against slavery, but who protested against secession. In Arkansas Unionists founded the Arkansas Peace Society. In Richmond women took to the streets protesting against food shortages. In the western counties of Virginia anti-secessionists formed a new state government and though they were against secession seceded from the state of Virginia to form the new state of West Virginia. And, as in the North, there were pacifists who refused to fight.

SUGGESTED DOCUMENTS:

- Clement L. Vallandigham, “Response to Lincoln’s Address to Congress, July 10, 1861”
- [Cyrus Pringle, “The Record of a Quaker Conscience”](#)
- Joseph E. Brown, Letter to Alexander H. Stephens, 1862
- Arkansas Peace Society Documents, 1861
- Letters from the soldiers of the Massachusetts 54th Regiment, 1863-1864

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION:

1. How correct is Vallandigham’s criticism of Lincoln’s acts?
2. Was Lincoln justified in suspending habeas corpus?

3. Why didn't Cyrus Pringle pay for a substitute to take his place in the army?
4. Why would he refuse even to clean his gun?
5. What rights are jeopardized by the "dangerous usurpations of power" that Governor Joseph E. Brown fears?
6. Why is conscription, according to Brown, unconstitutional?
7. What similarities do Brown's views have with those of Lincoln's critics?
8. What is the Arkansas Peace Society's chief objection to secession?
9. Does the issue of slavery enter into their arguments?
10. What do the letters of the African American soldiers of the Massachusetts 54th Regiment say about their patriotism?

CHAPTER 10

Liberation and Suppression

The Civil War ended slavery, but for most former slaves (now called Freedmen) life did not change that much. True, they were free. But most were tied to the land as sharecroppers with little economic opportunity or chances for advance. At first, during Reconstruction, and after the ratification of the Fifteenth Amendment Freedmen and Freedwomen did have some political power, but with the ending of Reconstruction with the Compromise of 1877 the federal government removed troops from the South, which was the only branch of government that protected Blacks and enforced their right to vote. With political power once more in the hands of former Confederates white supremacy once again became the order of the day. State legislatures got around the Fifteenth Amendment by establishing poll taxes and literacy tests, which along with outright intimidation, prevented Blacks from registering to vote.

The Ku Klux Klan, and other white supremacist organizations, no longer needed to terrorize the freedmen, at least not to the extent they were doing in the immediate aftermath of the war, because politicians were able to set the rules to keep Blacks in their place. They passed vagrancy laws. An African American could be arrested for not having a job. Since they could not pay the fine they were “hired out” to businesses that paid the fine and kept the vagrant in virtual bondage until the person had paid back the fine through work. It was at this time that the Jim Crow Laws went into effect and, in 1896 the *Plessy v. Ferguson* Supreme Court decision, validated the doctrine of “separate but equal” thus endorsing segregation.

One of the ironies of dissent is that when people who are dissenting against an injustice start to gain traction, start to generate change, they almost always create their own dissenters. People who resist that change and set about protesting against the protestors. Before the Civil War, slavery was the norm and abolitionists and the enslaved protested and fought against it. Once it was destroyed a new norm had been established. Slavery was outlawed. Freedom was the natural right of all men and women. Now people who wished to turn back the clock, who wished to resurrect a society in which white supremacy reigned started their own dissent movement. In a sense the terrorist organization, the Ku Klux Klan, were dissenters. Extremely violent dissenters. They intimidated, frightened, and murdered Freeman and any whites who supported the former slaves. A great deal of violence was perpetrated against African Americans, not only individual lynchings, but also massacres against black villages and communities. For example, the worst of these massacres took place in Colfax, Louisiana in 1873 when whites murdered 150 Blacks.

Throughout the period African Americans as well as many sympathetic whites protested against these methods that were used to force second-class citizenship on the black population. Booker T. Washington and W.E.B. DuBois offered advice on how Blacks could advance in society. Ida B. Wells-Barnett campaigned against lynching by trying to convince the federal government to make lynching a federal crime. Still, by the end of the century, African Americans in the South were second-class citizens, living in fear and without recourse to the voting booth or economic opportunity.

Also, during this period the women's suffrage movement suffered a setback when it split over supporting the Fifteenth Amendment. The Amendment gave African American men the right to vote, but because it did not include the word sex, all women were still denied the franchise. Some suffragists, like Susan B. Anthony, refused to support the Amendment until it would include women, others did support it. It wasn't until the early twentieth century, when the division within the women's movement was healed and women eventually, after much protest and demonstrations, gained the right to vote in 1920.

SUGGESTED DOCUMENTS:

- [Frederick Douglass, "What the Black Man Wants, 1865"](#)
- Booker T. Washington, "Atlanta Speech, 1895"
- [W.E.B. DuBois, "On Mr. Booker T. Washington and Others"](#)
- Ida B. Wells-Barnett, *Lynch Law in Georgia*, 1899
- [Susan B. Anthony, "Is it a Crime for a US Citizen to Vote"](#)

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION:

1. Why should Blacks, according to Douglass, have the right to vote immediately? What does he say about Women's suffrage?
2. Was Booker T. Washington's stance more likely to create racial harmony or racial discord? How realistic are his recommendations?
3. As Blacks improved themselves economically do you suppose whites would accept them as equals?
4. Is Washington an "Uncle Tom" accommodationist or is his a subtle, shrewd way to achieve equality? Why, according to DuBois, is Washington's philosophy detrimental to African Americans?

5. Is DuBois's view that Blacks should opt for a higher academic education more realistic than Washington's belief that they should seek only to develop practical occupational skills?
6. Whose recipe for advancing African American interests and rights was more effective—Washington's or DuBois's?
7. According to Wells-Barnett, what is the cause of lynching? What impact would this document have on whites reading it?
8. How did Blacks resist racial violence?
9. Is Susan B. Anthony's argument that women have the right to vote based on moral, political, or legal grounds?
10. How effective is her tactic of citing passages of the federal and state constitutions? Does the evidence she uses support her case? What is the basis for her contention that there is no difference between being a woman in the United States and being an enslaved person?

CHAPTER 11

Protest and Conflict in the West

Between 1865 and 1899 tens of thousands of Americans moved west. Republicans had, in 1862, passed the Homestead Act, which offered plots of land to homesteaders who would settle on the land and improve it. The completion of the Transcontinental Railroad in 1869 opened up the West to buffalo hunters, homesteaders, ranchers, industrialists, and speculators. This mass movement of people had the effect of fueling protest and conflict. The West was not an empty wilderness beckoning to whites for settlement. It was home to millions of people. The Lakota, Oglala, Cheyenne, Arapaho, Apache, Comanche, Pueblo, Navaho, Nez Perce, and so many other original nations. And the Southwest and California was home to hundreds of thousand Hispanics, people who had formerly been citizens of Mexico and now, because of the expansion of the United States, American citizens. This reality inevitably led to conflict.

On the Great Plains the Lakota and Oglala, led by Sitting Bull and Crazy Horse, formed an alliance with the Cheyenne in an effort to keep whites out of their territory, especially the Black Hills of Dakota. By 1875 open warfare had broken out between the Indians and whites. The US Army was sent in to quell the uprising, most famously at Little Big Horn. Within a year of Custer's defeat most Indians had been forced onto reservations, or killed, or fled to Canada. In 1877 the Nez Perce were forced off their lands in Oregon despite Chief Joseph's eloquent appeals to remain in their land. Throughout this time it seemed that every Indian nation was confronted by whites who invariably destroyed their culture and took their land. One Indian commented, "the whites made so many promises and they broke them all. Except one. They promised to take our land, and they took it." Congress attempted to assimilate the Indians by passing the Dawes Severalty Act, but this only exacerbated their agony. Children were sent to the Indian School in Carlisle Pennsylvania where they were compelled to adopt white man's ways and culture in such a way that they no longer fit in with their own peoples and certainly were not accepted by whites.

Wounded Knee, in 1890 marked the last resistance of Native Americans and the end of the Indian wars.

Native Americans were not the only group that protested against their treatment at the hands of whites. Chinese immigrants, working on the railroads, were objects of virulent racism. San Francisco passed laws discriminating against the Chinese and eventually convinced the federal government to pass the Chinese Exclusion Act that prevented any further immigration from China and denied citizenship to the Chinese already living and working in America.

Mexican Americans were also outcasts in their own lands. Whites routinely harassed

them and drove them off their own property. Some fought back, forming a secret militant organization Las Gorras Blancas that attacked whites by destroying barns, fences, and houses as well as vandalizing railroad yards and white businesses.

White homesteaders and small farmers also found much to protest. Living out their Jeffersonian Dream as small self-sufficient farmers turned out to be a nightmare in the face of blizzards, droughts, crop failures, and US monetary policy. Many were forced to mortgage their farms and when they could not pay off the loans (and the exorbitant interest), they lost their homes and livelihood. By the 1880s they formed Grangers and Farmers' Alliances to put pressure on Congress to do something about regulating lenders and increasing the currency supply by adopting bimetallism. Political activists like Mary Elizabeth Lease went on speaking tours encouraging farmers to unite against the bankers and railroads. In 1892 they gave up on the Republicans and the Democrats and formed the People's Party (dubbed by the press the Populist Party) calling for political reforms, like the direct election of senators, and such socialist ideas as nationalization of the railroads. In the 1892 election the Populists got over a million votes and they won four states netting twenty electoral votes.

SUGGESTED DOCUMENTS:

- [Chief Joseph's Appeal to the Hayes Administration, 1879](#)
- Mary Elizabeth Lease, Speech to the WCTU, 1890. The Omaha Platform, 1892

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION:

1. Why, according to Chief Joseph, have whites not been able to have peaceful relations with the Native Americans? What does he want from the federal government?
2. Why is it necessary, according to Mary Elizabeth Lease, for women to commit themselves to political activism?
3. Why were western women more active in the 1890s than women from other parts of the country?
4. How radical are the planks in the Omaha Platform?
5. Are the Populist demands reasonable or unreasonable? Which ones have been attained? Which ones have not?
6. Were the Populists advocating socialism?

CHAPTER 12

Workers of the World Unite!

During the Gilded Age workers too rose up protesting against the injustices that prevented them from advancing economically. Many joined the Knights of Labor, established by Terence Powderly, many others joined the American Federation of Labor formed by Samuel Gompers, and some joined Eugene V. Debs's American Railway Union. From the 1870s through the 1890s there were hundreds of strikes as labor fought for higher wages, safer working conditions, and the right to unionize. Many of the strikes descended into violence, most notably the Great Railway Strike of 1877, but rarely did labor score any victories as the combined forces of industry and government were wielded against them. Militant organizations, like the Molly Maguires, fought pitched battles against the Pinkertons in the anthracite coal mining regions of northeastern Pennsylvania. Anarchists, too, many recently arrived from Germany, were an important factor in raising working-class consciousness and solidarity. In Chicago, in 1886, anarchists were a driving factor in the protests that led to the Haymarket Affair when police and workers clashed in a pitched battle that left seven policemen and scores of workers dead. Anarchist activists were rounded up, tried, convicted, and hanged even though none of them had thrown the bomb that ignited the Haymarket violence. The effect of Haymarket was detrimental to the labor movement and afterwards most Americans equated unionism with anarchism and therefore as un-American. The Homestead Strike at the Carnegie Steel Works in 1892 was another setback for workers trying to organize a union. And so too was the Pullman Strike of 1894. The irony of the latter was that Eugene V. Debs, the leader of the American Railway Union, was tried and convicted for his part in organizing the Pullman Strike. At his trial he was accused of being a socialist and when he served his six-month prison sentence he read socialist literature in order to understand why prosecutors accused him of being a socialist. The result was that he eventually converted to socialism and later founded the Socialist Party of America.

All through this period of labor unrest workers were up against the philosophy of Social Darwinism, which was being promulgated throughout the nation by Herbert Spencer and William Graham Sumner. Social Darwinism became the justification for the ruthlessness of the Robber Barons. They got to be millionaires because they were more fit than the poor who worked for them. Therefore anything that aided them in getting to the top of the heap was simply Darwinism at work. "Millionaires," Sumner wrote, "are the product of natural selection." Therefore the government should not do anything to hold them back, or to aid the poor, because that would be going against the natural order. It would be going against science. The rich survive, the poor perish. Society, like nature, is governed by the "survival of the fittest." This philosophy was also used to justify the subjugation of the Native Americans, segregation of African

Americans, and imperialism.

Also, during the Gilded Age, immigration became another flashpoint. Industrialists encouraged the flow of immigrants coming into the country because it increased the ranks of cheap labor. Americans who were already here increasingly despised the immigrants because they threatened the job market, and also because so many of them were from eastern and southern Europe, were Catholic or Jewish, and spoke other languages. This led to a sharp rise in nativism and anti-immigration protests.

SUGGESTED DOCUMENTS:

- William Graham Sumner, “What the Social Classes Owe Each Other”
- Lester Frank Ward, “Mind as a Social Factor”
- [Henry George, *Progress and Poverty*](#)
- Transcript of Eugene V. Debs’ trial in 1894

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION:

1. Are Spencer and Sumner correct in their analysis of survival of the fittest?
2. Should the government intervene to help the lower classes so that more people would become fit enough to survive?
3. What is the basis for wealth? What do the rich owe the poor?
4. What is Lester Frank Ward’s response to Sumner’s view?
5. Which stance is closer to Darwin’s theory of evolution?
6. What would Darwin think about the application of the theory of evolution to society?
7. Have these two philosophies influenced contemporary American politics?
8. Why, according to Henry George, does so much poverty exist in the midst of so much wealth? Why does he argue that political economy is a science?
9. How valid is his nineteenth-century perspective of capitalism in the post-industrial period?
10. Would it resonate today with anti-globalization groups and the Green Party?
11. Were workers justified in their methods to try to attain more economic equality in a *laissez faire* society?

CHAPTER 13

The New Manifest Destiny

With the closing of the frontier and the popularity of Alfred Thayer Mahan's book *The Influence of Sea Power on World History* the United States began to look abroad to expand markets and influence. This was a break from America's traditional foreign policy, which had followed the advice of Washington and Jefferson not to get involved in European alliances and conflicts. By the end of the 1890s the US had acquired fueling stations in Hawaii and Samoa for its vast new modern fleet and entered a war against Spain. The war was fought ostensibly to support Cuban independence, but the result of the war was that the US acquired the colonies of Puerto Rico, Guam, and the Philippines.

As might be expected, these imperial ventures were controversial and created dissent. Many Americans were enthusiastic about going to war with Spain, but there were also significant numbers that protested against the war. One group that was critical of the war were African American soldiers. Many were northerners and were stunned by the racism they encountered in the Jim Crow South as they waited to be shipped to Cuba. And then after arriving in Cuba they were further stunned to realize that Cuban rebels were fighting in an integrated army. Later, after the acquisition of the Philippines, the African Americans sent there to put down the Filipino Insurrection keenly felt the hypocrisy of fighting against people of color for whites when they themselves were also treated with disdain. Socialists also opposed the war, primarily from the perspective that it was a prime example of a war to expand capitalist interests. Some well-known progressives, such as Harvard professor Charles Eliot Norton, were also outspoken critics of the war. But when the war ended with America's acquisition of colonies, dissent really spiked.

Many Americans, from all political persuasions, were vehemently anti-imperialist. They believed that by acquiring colonies the United States was violating one of its core principles: the belief in the consent of the governed. Didn't the US come into being by fighting a war for self-rule and defeating the British Empire? Mark Twain, Carl Schurz, William James, Samuel Gompers, William Jennings Bryan, and even Andrew Carnegie were outspoken in their denunciation of the taking of the Philippines. They formed the Anti-Imperialist League and campaigned strenuously against American imperialism.

SUGGESTED DOCUMENTS:

- William Jennings Bryan, "Cross of Gold Speech," 1896
- [William Jennings Bryan, "The Paralyzing Influence of Imperialism," 1900](#)
- [Mark Twain, "War Prayer"](#)

- Carl Schurz, “Address at the University of Chicago,” January 4, 1899

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION:

1. Why was the Gold Standard so detrimental to small midwestern farmers?
2. What was the role of Joseph Pulitzer and William Randolph Hearst in starting the Spanish-American War?
3. According to Bryan how did the United States justify the acquisition of the Philippines?
4. Many historians have compared the American military presence in the Philippines to our course of action sixty years later in Vietnam. In what ways is this comparison accurate, and in what ways is it not?
5. Would Bryan’s argument be applicable to other American military ventures?
6. What, according to Carl Schurz, are America’s motives in acquiring colonies? Is his assumption correct that we would no longer be a democracy if we became an imperial power? How have his views played out in the twentieth century and how do they relate to recent American diplomacy?

CHAPTER 14

Progressives and Radicals

The vast inequalities and corruption of the Gilded Age spawned the Progressive Movement, which took on the ambitious task of trying to right a host of wrongs. Many Progressives were essentially conservative and moderate, but some were radical and even bordered on revolutionary. This chapter delves into these individuals and the movements they created. Reformers, like Lincoln Steffens, sought to eliminate corruption in politics, especially on the local level. Others, like the Populist Party, sought national political reform, for example, they called for the direct election of senators so that the people would have a more direct say in electing officials to that body; and they called for a graduated income tax so that the wealthy would pay a higher share to federal coffers. Others fought for workers' rights, the elimination of child labor, safer work places, equal rights and voting rights for women, temperance and prohibition, civil rights for African Americans, while others, like John Muir and John Burroughs, fought to protect the environment. For much of the first decade of the twentieth century President Theodore Roosevelt was somewhat supportive of many of the reforms called for. Roosevelt, however, was not a radical. He approved of reform because it was the best way to stave off more radical change that could lead to revolution.

There were also a couple of major trends that strengthened progressive ideas. First, the Social Gospel. Baptist pastor Walter Rauschenbusch argued that it was not enough to save souls, but that Christians should also work to make life better in the here and now for those who are victims of industrialization and poverty. He set up some of the first soup kitchens in the lower east side. Jane Addams initiated the Settlement House Movement and Charles Sheldon urged politicians, businessmen, and landlords to ask themselves "what would Jesus do?" when they were deciding how much rent to charge tenants or wages to pay workers. The idea was to bring Christian morality and ethics into the reform movements. Another powerful force at this time was the Muckrakers that were writing exposé articles for the press. Ida M. Tarbell, Jacob Riis, Frank Norris, William Allen White, Upton Sinclair, and others. Their goal was to stir up public opinion about terrible abuses and injustices so that citizens would be outraged enough to push the government to create legislation to make the United States a more just society. Sometimes the articles and books these Muckrakers published had the desired effect. Often they did not.

There was also a significant amount of radical protest going on during this period. The Socialist Party and its candidate for president Eugene V. Debs loomed large and alarmed the business and political class. Socialists and radicals established the Industrial Workers of the World (the Wobblies) in an effort to create a worldwide socialist union that would challenge all aspects of capitalism and eventually turn the

United States into a socialist nation. Dissenters who had an important impact, and are still discussed to this day, were Mother Jones, Emma Goldman, Margaret Sanger, Helen Keller, Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, Big Bill Haywood, Joe Hill, and Tom Mooney. All of these people were so feared by the powers-that-be that the fear led to the First Red Scare in the aftermath of the Great War.

Important groups and events to emphasize in this chapter are the Niagara Movement and the founding of the NAACP, Carrie Nation and the Anti-Saloon League, the Triangle Fire, the Ludlow Massacre, and suffragists picketing the White House.

SUGGESTED DOCUMENTS:

- Walter Rauschenbusch, *Christianizing the Social Order*
- [John Muir, "The Hetch Hetchy Valley"](#)
- Mother Jones, "The March of the Mill Children"
- Emma Goldman, ["Marriage and Love,"](#) and ["The Individual, Society and the State"](#)
- The Socialist Party Platform, 1912
- Joe Hill, "We Will Sing One Song," and "The Preacher and the Slave Girl"

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION:

1. According to Rauschenbusch, what is the cause of society's problems?
2. What is a Christian's responsibility to society?
3. Why is it so crucial, as John Muir contends in "The Hetch Hetchy Valley," to fight against the proposal to dam this pristine valley in order to create a reservoir for San Francisco? What are the arguments favoring the dam?
4. What does Mother Jones's account reveal about the working conditions these children faced? Why did politicians and the public ignore the exploitation of children?
5. In her writings Emma Goldman argues persuasively for the creation of a society in which democracy and freedom is truly realized and in which distinctions of gender and race have been obliterated. What does Goldman believe is the cause of exploitation? What does the institution of marriage do for women? Why should marriage be abolished? What is the importance of the individual? What is the purpose of the state? Can democracy fulfill this role? Why does she believe an anarchistic society is superior to a Marxist society? Can the type of society she envisions succeed?
6. How is the Socialist Platform similar to the Omaha Platform of the Populists'? In

what way is it different? Why is Socialism viewed as such a threat to American principles? Which American values and ideals would be diminished under a Socialist government? Are the Socialists' demands still viewed as radical today?

7. "We Will Sing One Song," and "The Preacher and the Slave Girl" are two of the many songs that Joe Hill wrote urging workers to organize. During the struggle to unionize music played a significant role as it did later in the century in the civil rights movement and in anti-war protests. What is it about music that makes it an effective device for protestors and dissidents?

CHAPTER 15

Making the World Safe for Democracy

There were many changes taking place in the United States during the First World War. One of the major ways the Great War in Europe impacted the United States was that it stimulated the Great Migration. The war was good for American business and so munitions manufacturers in the North sent agents into the South to recruit African Americans for cheap labor in the factories of Chicago, Detroit, Cleveland, and other northern cities. And so tens of thousands of African Americans left the South partly to escape Jim Crow and segregation and partly hoping for economic opportunity in the North. The subsequent Great Migration continued, and grew, not only throughout the entire war, but in the five subsequent decades and did not end until the 1970s. This created a massive change to the demographic map of the United States. There was violence and race riots in Chicago, Detroit, Tulsa, East St. Louis and other localities, and from the 1920s on the mass movement of African Americans created a growing sense of racial solidarity, which later helped foster the modern civil rights movement.

Once the United States entered the war a robust antiwar movement rose. World War I was, in fact, the most protested war in US history until the Vietnam War. President Wilson was cognizant of the fact that so many German-Americans and Irish-Americans were not inclined to side with Great Britain against Germany and so he set up the Office of Information, which was, in essence, a propaganda think tank to spread anti-German sentiment and drum up support for the war. Wilson also signed into law the Espionage and Sedition Acts, which, in addition to toughening laws against espionage and sedition, had the effect of criminalizing antiwar dissent. So as the antiwar movement grew protestors were just as adamant in denouncing the Espionage and Sedition Acts. Protestors in Central Park were actually arrested for publicly reading the Bill of Rights as part of their protest against the stifling of dissent.

Republican Senator Robert M. La Follette of Wisconsin condemned the acts as well as the war. So too did Eugene V. Debs who criticized the war from the standpoint of the Socialist Party arguing that the working class of the countries involved were forced to fight the war to enrich Wall Street bankers and businessmen when they had more in common with each other than any of them had with the ruling class. Debs' 1918 speech in Canton, Ohio led to his arrest for violating the Sedition Act. One of the leading antiwar critics was Randolph Bourne whose essays "War and the Intellectuals," and "War is the Health of the State," were scholarly critiques of how the significant classes use patriotism to coerce the masses to go to war. These essays can be read today with just as much resonance as they had then.

When the war was over a Red Scare swept the nation during which Attorney General A. Mitchell Palmer authorized raids arresting communists, anarchists, socialists, and

ordinary liberals. Many were sentenced to prison, and some (notably Emma Goldman) were deported.

SUGGESTED DOCUMENTS:

- Robert M. La Follette, Speeches to the Senate, April 4, 1917, and October 6, 1917
- [Eugene V. Debs, Speech at Canton, Ohio, June 1918](#)
- [Randolph Bourne, "War is the Health of the State"](#)

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION:

1. According to LaFollette, in these two speeches delivered to the United States Senate, what is the basic error in Wilson's argument for going to war? Does the senator agree that the war will "make the world safe for democracy," as Wilson often asserted, or does he identify other reasons behind the push for war? Why does LaFollette argue that free speech is absolutely necessary, especially in time of war?
2. Why is Debs opposed to World War I? What does his speech reveal about the state of "freedom of speech" in the United States? What does his arrest for delivering this speech reveal about the state of civil liberties in the United States in 1918?
3. Is it constitutional for Congress to limit freedom of speech in times of war? In light of the PATRIOT Act, would Debs have been arrested if he had given this speech in 2003 during the war with Iraq? Is it necessary in times of crisis that civil liberties be restricted?
4. What is Randolph Bourne's definition of the State? How does he distinguish it from the Government? The Nation?
5. What responsibility do intellectuals have in a time of war? Is this essay only applicable to World War I or can it be used to analyze all wars?

CHAPTER 16

Traditionalism Collides with Modernism

The 1920s was a momentous decade. Along with the booming economy after World War I and the significant social changes wrought by the Great Migration and the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Amendments that prohibited alcohol and gave women the right to vote the decade witnessed a crucial division between forces of modernism and forces of traditionalism. It marked the beginnings of the so-called culture wars the United States has experienced ever since.

Forces of modernism were seen in the changing gender relationships that the age of the “New Woman” brought about. Flappers were challenging all the old stereotypes about man/woman relationships. More women entered the workforce, although they were still economically disadvantaged. And, of course, there was the development of the assembly line and the mass production of the Model-T Ford that literally changed the face of America as roads and suburbs began to dominate the landscape.

The 1920s also saw the rise in atheist philosophies and scientific theories. Darwin’s theory of evolution, Freud’s studies of the unconscious, Einstein’s Theory of Relativity, Nietzsche’s claim that “God is Dead,” Heisenberg’s Uncertainty Principle, all of these views gained popularity and were powerful challenges to traditional religion and morality. The flight of African Americans out of the Jim Crow South and the creation of the vibrant black culture of the Harlem Renaissance. Marcus Garvey’s founding of the United Negro Improvement Association, that popularized his ideas of “Black Power” and “Black is Beautiful,” that planted the seeds for the modern civil rights movement. Margaret Sanger’s fight for reproductive freedom and the establishment of Planned Parenthood. The “Lost Generation” of writers denouncing the American worship of money that deadened artistic creativity. Some of these writers, Ernest Hemingway, Gertrude Stein, F. Scott Fitzgerald, went into voluntary exile in Paris in order to find an atmosphere that respected and nurtured creative artists.

These forces of modernism were anathema to conservatives who wanted to return to a white Anglo-Saxon America that valued old-time religion and old-time values. Despite large numbers of Americans eagerly looking forward to a new future, there was an equally large number that dug in their heels refusing to go there. And so, in the 1920s, there was a steep rise of nativism and xenophobia aimed mostly at Jews and Catholics and immigrants from Asia, Central America, and the non-Protestant countries of Europe. The 1920s also saw an enormous rise in the membership rolls of the Ku Klux Klan. And this membership was not restricted to the South. The Klan dominated many northern states: Indiana, Pennsylvania, Oregon and others. Regularly, the KKK held gatherings and parades in the nation’s capital denouncing immigrants and Catholics, and Jews, and Flappers, and, of course Blacks, and calling for “100%

Pure Americanism.” Prohibition, although almost impossible to enforce, was another powerful counter force to modernism. Rising fundamentalism also dominated the decade as evangelical preachers, like Billy Sunday and Aimee Semple McPherson, held revival meetings converting thousands of souls.

Perhaps the most famous example of the clash between modernism and traditionalism in the 1920s occurred right in the middle of the decade. The celebrated Scopes Trial in the summer of 1925 pitted fundamentalism, championed by the progressive Democrat William Jennings Bryan, against Darwinism, defended by atheist lawyer Clarence Darrow. Both sides, at the end of the trial, felt they had emerged victorious. But the debate, and the fight against teaching evolution in public schools continues.

SUGGESTED DOCUMENTS:

- Margaret Sanger, “Legislating Women’s Morals” and “The Goal,” chapters in *Woman and the New Race*
- Philip Randolph, “On Socialism”
- Marcus Garvey, “Speech to the United Negro Improvement Association, 1919,” and “Appeal to the Soul of White America, 1923”
- Langston Hughes, [“I, Too, Sing America”](#) and [“Let America be America Again”](#)
- H.L. Mencken, [“On Being an American.”](#) “Last Words,” “Mencken’s Creed”

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION:

1. Why, according to Margaret Sanger, should women break laws that forbid contraceptives? Why is birth control a fundamental right for women? Why is it that “Man has not protected woman in matters most vital to her”? How can women go about claiming this basic right?
2. In what way, according to A. Philip Randolph, does capitalism promote racism? How does socialism correct this?
3. What is Marcus Garvey’s argument in favor of black separation? Why would Garvey’s ideas have achieved such popularity in the 1920s? Have conditions changed so that today such views would no longer be so highly regarded?
4. What do Langston Hughes’ poems reveal about equality in the United States? Is race the only basis for discrimination? In what ways do the experiences of African Americans differ from those of white Americans?
5. What does Mencken’s satirical eye reveal about life in the United States in the 1920s? Do his comments have any relevance to today’s society? What place does humor have in critiquing society? Can it bring about change? Was Mencken looking to alter the conditions he mocked? Was he advocating change?

CHAPTER 17

A New Deal for America

When the Great Depression hit Americans were stunned. And as the stock market continued to fall discontent and dissent, as we would expect, rose precipitously. For the first time Americans were losing faith in capitalism and membership in the Socialist Party as well as the Communist Party grew rapidly. President Hoover, and the entire capitalist system, seemed unable to cope with the disaster. And Hoover's counsel that the market would correct itself and Americans just had to be patient did not hold water. In 1932 World War I veterans, billing themselves as the Bonus Army, marched on Washington with a petition urging Congress and the president to advance them the bonus that they were promised in 1920. Each veteran was to receive \$1,000. But not until 1945. Destitute veterans needed it now they claimed. Hoover was in no mood to increase deficit spending so he sent in the US Army under General Douglas MacArthur to remove the encampment. His heavy-handed treatment of the Bonus Army ensured that Hoover would not win re-election to a second term.

When the Democratic nominee, Franklin D. Roosevelt, promising a New Deal to the nation, won an overwhelming victory in November it seemed to stir up hope that the country could navigate its way out of the depression. The New Deal was not able to do that, but it at least restored some hope and confidence. FDR's policies were unprecedented and very controversial and after the first 100 days of his administration dissent continued to rise for the rest of the decade. Republicans, bankers, stock brokers, businessmen and other critics from the right protested that FDR was leading the country into socialism, communism, regimentation, dictatorship. Conservative politicians did everything they could to resist and thwart his programs, although FDR lamented that they just did not understand that he was the greatest friend that capitalism ever had—he believed he was saving capitalism from itself. There was also significant dissent from the left. Floyd Olson, Upton Sinclair, William Z. Foster, workers, socialists, radicals, protested that he was not doing enough to punish the Wall Street elites and the business leaders that were responsible for the depression. Demagogues like Father Charles Coughlin (the Radio Priest) and Senator Huey Long began attacking Roosevelt and the New Deal with increasing vitriol and, in Coughlin's case, anti-Semitism. Still, despite escalating dissent, and a rise in violent labor disputes, a majority of Americans appreciated what Roosevelt was trying to do.

Dissent during the New Deal was also expressed in creative ways. Photographers published heartrending photos that showed the despair of the impoverished. Writers like James Agee and John Steinbeck wrote books detailing the hardships created by the Depression and the strength of the human spirit in trying to survive and overcome their lot. Musicians like Leadbelly, Woody Guthrie, Sonny Terry and Brownie McGee wrote and performed songs for the working class that condemned capitalism and

racism. They sang on the radio and recorded albums of protest music that would speak to the people and subsequently influence song writers and folk musicians for decades to come.

SUGGESTED DOCUMENTS:

- Father Charles Coughlin, “National Radio Addresses, November 1934 and June 1936”
- Huey Long, [“The Congressional Record, February 5, 1934,”](#) “Radio Address, January 1935”
- Woody Guthrie, [“Pretty Boy Floyd,”](#) [“Jesus Christ,”](#) [“Deportee”](#)

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION:

1. What was the cause, as Father Coughlin views it, of the Great Depression? Why had Franklin D. Roosevelt failed as the savior of the nation? What does Coughlin’s statement, that Republicans have bred more radicals than Marx and Lenin ever did, reveal about dissent in the thirties?
2. What are the specifics of Senator Huey Long’s Share Our Wealth program? Who would be helped by it? Who would be harmed? How practical is it? What commonality is there between Long’s plan and Father Coughlin’s “Social Justice” program? Does the Long’s speech reveal a compassionate man who was truly interested in the plight of the poor, or a demagogue who was merely interested in becoming president?
3. “The Ballad of Pretty Boy Floyd,” turns a notorious bank robber who was hunted down by the FBI into a modern-day Robin Hood. In “Jesus Christ,” Guthrie portrays Jesus Christ as an activist. In “Deportee” he condemns the way migrant laborers are exploited. How radical are Guthrie’s songs? Were his critics correct in labeling him a communist? Who are the villains in his songs? The heroes?

CHAPTER 18

The Good War?

Although Americans were united more than usual during the Second World War, there were those who dissented against the war and they were not afraid to speak out knowing that they would be castigated by those who believed that the struggle against Hitler and fascism was an existential crisis as significant as the Civil War and the Great Depression for the United States. After the war broke out in Asia and Europe there was a powerful peace movement of isolationists, young radicals, and mothers of sons who protested against FDR's policies that they believed would inevitably drag the United States into the war. At the same time there was the influential America First Committee, led by aviation hero Charles Lindbergh (probably the most popular man in America at the time) that incessantly denounced any of the president's proposals to aid the victims of Nazi aggression. Pearl Harbor, of course, ended all isolationist protests and destroyed the America First Committee.

Once the United States was fully involved in the war, and hundreds of thousands of young men enlisted in the military, there was an effort on the part of Quakers and others who resisted the war on moral grounds. Four such conscientious objectors were Larry Gara, David Dellinger, Bayar Rustin, and Desmond T. Doss. The first three were sentenced to prison for their refusal to fight and there were subjected to medical experimentation and other indignities. Desmond Doss who refused to carry a weapon when he served as a medic in the army, and was subjected to the abuse and castigation of his comrades, wound up receiving the Congressional Medal of Honor for his service rescuing seventy-five wounded soldiers at great risk to himself while under fire in Okinawa.

One of the most obvious and lasting examples of dissent during World War II was the resistance on the part of Japanese American Nisei (American citizens born in the USA of Japanese descent) after FDR's Executive Order 9066 that interned all Japanese Americans in the months after Pearl Harbor. This, as we know, was one of the most egregious examples of an assault on civil liberties in the United States. Among the many Japanese-Americans who protested against their internment were Fred Korematsu, Minoru Yasui, and Gordon Hirabayashi who all brought challenges to the Supreme Court of FDR's executive order.

Another example of dissent during the war was the "Double V" campaign initiated by African Americans. Despite the fact the more than 750,000 African Americans served devotedly in the military during the war, they fought in segregated regiments and were forced to endure the prejudice and racist bigotry that seems to define "Americanism." US soldiers Charles F. Wilson and J. Saunders Redding protested to the federal government against the racism they faced while protecting this country against the

racism of the Nazi regime. One of the real ironies, as I point out in the book, was that there were examples of POW camps in the US, where Nazi prisoners of war were treated better than the African America troops who were guarding them!

SUGGESTED DOCUMENTS:

- Excerpts from Larry Gara & Lenna Mae Gara, eds., *A Few Small Candles: War Resisters of World War II Tell Their Stories* (mainly chapters from Larry Gara, David Dellinger, Bayard Rustin)
- J. Saunders Redding, *The Meaning of World War Two for a Negro*, 1942
- Charles F. Wilson, Letter to President Roosevelt, 1944
- Minoru Yasui's Statement Upon Sentencing, 1942, and his Letters from Jail to his Sister Yuka Yasui
- Henry Miller, "Murder the Murder," 1944

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION:

1. What were Dellinger's and Rustin's main objection to the war? If they were so opposed to Nazism and Fascism, why would they refuse to fight against it? Why does Redding support the war effort? Did the civil rights movement prove him right?
2. How does Wilson's letter to FDR suggest the President solve the problem?
3. On what grounds did Minoru Yasui fight the curfew and evacuation orders? What does the treatment of Japanese Americans indicate about the state of mind of Americans during the Second World War? Is it appropriate, in order to achieve wartime security, to suspend any of the basic civil liberties guaranteed by the Constitution?
4. What authorities does Miller use to back up his antiwar argument? In what ways, in "Murder the Murderer," does Miller echo other war dissenters? In what ways does he go beyond traditional political or religious objections to war? How effective is the sarcasm he frequently employs?

CHAPTER 19

Dissent in an Age of Conformity

The 1950s was an age that valued conformity above all else. Conformity in anti-communism politics, conformity in religious values, conformity in dress and lifestyle. The Cold War and the nuclear arms race created a schizophrenic atmosphere in the United States. Americans were united in their belief in progress, affluence, and the American Way and their loathing for communism and totalitarianism. They were proud to be American, proud that the United States had saved the world from Nazism and Fascism, proud that we were the most advanced democracy the world had ever seen. We were leaders of the “Free World,” whereas the Soviets were the leaders of the enslaved world incarcerated behind the Iron Curtain. Americans believed the American Dream was open to everyone and there was boundless faith in a glorious future. Yet, at the same time, we lived in fear that at any moment it might all come to an end with a nuclear holocaust. Or, just as bad, the infiltration of communists and communist programs that would undermine the United States and turn us into a totalitarian dictatorship.

Regardless of whether you were a Republican or a Democrat you had to prove your Cold Warrior credentials. Politicians on both sides of the aisle were stumbling over each other in their effort to prove they were more anticommunist than their opponents. The anticommunist hysteria stifled legitimate political debate between conservatives and liberals. As the McCarthyites said: “a liberal as a hop, skip, and a jump from a communist.” Religion too became part of the Cold War arsenal. The Soviets proclaimed themselves atheists, thus Americans emphasized our religiosity. Bishop Fulton Sheen had a popular television show. Billy Graham led evangelical revivals. The Eisenhower administration inserted “under God” into the Pledge of Allegiance and “In God We Trust” on our coins. Middle-class Americans abandoned the cities for suburbs to live in cookie-cutter houses with all the material goods they could buy. Televisions, dishwashers, refrigerators, freezers, garbage disposals, a picket fence, and an automobile in the garage.

Despite the conformity and worship of all things American, there were many examples of dissent in the 1950s that hinted that all was not well under the complacent surface of 1950s America. Some courageous Americans protested against the House Committee on Un-American Activities (HUAC), as well as Senator Joseph McCarthy’s Senate Hearings where he grilled scores of Americans trying to unearth secret communists. Some of the victims of these hearings, although blacklisted and reputationally destroyed, spoke out against the witch hunts. John Howard Lawson, Paul Robeson, Pete Seeger, and many others. Republican Senator Margaret Chase Smith and celebrated journalist Edward R. Murrow bravely stood up for the victims of HUAC and McCarthy and finally helped restore a semblance of sanity to the political

process.

There were also Americans who began to protest against nuclear proliferation urging the United States not to continue developing and testing nuclear bombs. And then there was a significant amount of cultural and artistic dissent. In music there were jazz artists, like John Coltrane, Thelonious Monk, Charlie Parker, Dizzy Gillespie who challenged conformity by breaking many of the rules of musical theory and developed Bebop and modern jazz. In the art world Abstract Expressionists like Jackson Pollack, Robert Motherwell, and Mark Rothko challenged all the rules and assumptions of art. I doubt that these musicians and artists were intentionally setting out to be “nonconformists,” but they were certainly reacting at some visceral level to the plain vanilla, white bread mentality of middle-class conventionality and, as such, they were indeed nonconformists.

There were other signs in the 1950s that we can see with hindsight were seeds of the Radical Sixties. When Rock and Roll came on the scene it was a shock to the older generation as their sons and daughters fell in love with the beat and the performers. There was nothing political or revolutionary about the lyrics, but the music itself was sensual, visceral, and suggestive. Parents were appalled at the gyrations and moves of stars like Elvis Presley and Little Richard. It was the first inkling of a generation gap. Before Rock and Roll popular music was popular with everyone. It was cross generational. But the more the kids loved Rock and Roll, the more the parents hated it. It also was integrationist. Black and white teenagers flocked to concerts of black and white artists and for many of these teenagers it was the first time they got to know people of a different race. Along with the music the Beat Movement also spoke to young people and as the decade progressed the Beats became an ever-increasing challenge to the status quo. Allen Ginsberg, Jack Kerouac, William Burroughs and other writers criticized the “split-level American Dream,” questioned Cold War stereotypes, and ridiculed a culture that marginalized African Americans, gays, lesbians, drug addicts, ex-cons, Native Americans, Hispanics, and anyone with left-wing opinions.

But the principal indicator that dissent was rising in the 1950s was the Civil Rights Movement. And as it unfolded after the *Brown v. Board of Education* decision and the murder of Emmet Till, it launched a second American Revolution.

SUGGESTED DOCUMENTS:

- Testimony and Statement of John Howard Lawson to the House Committee on Un-American Activities, 1947
- [Margaret Chase Smith, *Declaration of Conscience*, 1950](#)
- [Testimony of Pete Seeger before the House Un-American Activities Committee,](#)

[August 18, 1955](#)

- Testimony of Paul Robeson before the House Committee on Un-American Activities, June 12, 1956.
- [Allen Ginsberg, "America"](#)

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION:

1. Does the give-and-take between Lawson and the Chairman support Lawson's view that HUAC was jeopardizing free speech? Were Lawson's communist ideas more of a threat to the United States than the alleged suspending of the Bill of Rights?
2. According to Margaret Chase Smith, is McCarthy trying to expose communists, or is he just attempting to build political advantage? How does McCarthy's "witch hunt" endanger American democracy? Do you agree with the Declaration's assertion that McCarthy is playing into the hands of the communists?
3. Does Pete Seeger's testimony and statement expose him as a subversive, or as a patriotic American? Are his ideas contrary to constitutional principles? Is he right in refusing to answer the questions put to him?
4. How accurate is Paul Robeson's charge that the committee itself is unpatriotic? According to Robeson, what is the real reason his loyalty to the United States is being questioned? Why does he lecture the committee on African American history?
5. In "America," Ginsberg takes on consumerism and the superficiality of American values. What is the effect of Ginsberg's citing of historical persons and events? What does he think is wrong with *Time Magazine*?

CHAPTER 20

Civil Rights: An American Revolution?

This chapter covers the history of one of the most important dissent movements in US history—the Civil Rights Movement. From the African American experience during World War II and the *Brown v. Board of Education* decision, the importance of television in getting out the message, the impact of Cold War ideology, and the most important campaigns from Montgomery to Selma. The Civil Rights Movement, using the tactics and principles of nonviolent resistance and civil disobedience, sought to educate Americans, and the American government, and raise consciousness about the devastating effects of segregation on the black community.

Martin Luther King, Jr., Rosa Parks, E.D. Nixon, Malcolm X, James Forman, James Farmer, Ella Baker, Fannie Lou Hamer, Julian Bond, Diane Nash, John Lewis, Medgar Evers, Stokely Carmichael, Bobby Seale, are some of the important people to discuss in this chapter. Also detailed are the chief protest campaigns: the Montgomery Bus Boycott, the integration of Little Rock Central High School, the Sit-Ins, Freedom Rides, the Albany campaign, integrating the University of Mississippi, Birmingham, the March on Washington, Freedom Summer, and Selma.

Also important are the organizations that came to the fore during this time, the Congress of Racial Equality, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference and the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee.

It took a while to convince President John F. Kennedy to speak out and support the movement, which he finally did during the last months of his presidency. His successor, Lyndon Baines Johnson, took up where JFK left off and wound up being the president to sign into law the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Voting Rights Act of 1965.

The movement was successful, at least in destroying the Jim Crow laws, but clearly so much still needs to be done as racism continues to infest this country.

SUGGESTED DOCUMENTS:

- [Martin Luther King, Jr., “Letter from a Birmingham Jail”](#)
- Malcolm X, “The Ballot and the Bullet”
- [Fannie Lou Hamer, “Testimony to Congress, 1964”](#)
- [The Civil Rights Act of 1964](#)
- [The Voting Rights Act of 1965](#)
- Stokely Carmichael, “Speech at Berkeley,” October 1966

- Black Panther Party Platform, 1966

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION:

1. Like Thoreau more than a century earlier, Martin Luther King argues that while just laws must be obeyed, unjust laws must be broken. What is the distinction between a just law and an unjust law? How does King respond to the charge that the nonviolent civil rights movement is the cause of violence?
2. What does Fannie Lou Hamer's testimony reveal about conditions African Americans faced in Mississippi in 1964?
3. What is Malcolm X's definition of Black Nationalism? Under what circumstances does he advocate violence? Is his approach more realistic than Martin Luther King's philosophy?
4. Is Stokely Carmichael threatening white America with violence? Is he correct when he claims that whites have controlled African Americans' identity and that African Americans must define themselves on their own terms and not on white America's terms? Why does Carmichael object to integration as a solution? Which approach, Carmichael's or King's, is more effective in achieving civil rights?
5. Is there a place in the civil rights movement for whites or should only Blacks be involved in the struggle? Is "Black Power," as many critics claimed, merely racism in reverse?
6. What is the Black Panthers' main program? Does their Platform promote violence? Are their demands unreasonable?

CHAPTER 21

Make Love, Not War

The main approach to take with this chapter is to emphasize that there were two wings to the Movement: the Political Rebels of the New Left and the Cultural Rebels of the Counterculture. But it is also essential to explain that there was a great deal of overlapping between the New Left and the Counterculture and that they were not entirely separated from each other.

The Civil Rights Movement was a powerful instigating force. Young people who were brought up believing deeply in American values saw the hypocrisy of a racist society. When young African American students started sit-ins and freedom rides, young whites were inspired. Many joined them. At the University of Michigan students formed SDS, Students for a Democratic Society, and got heavily involved in civil rights and labor union organizing. And, in the aftermath of Freedom Summer, white students who had participated returned to their campuses and insisted on proselytizing for the civil rights movement. This precipitated the Berkeley Free Speech Movement and thus the Civil Rights Movement gave birth to the so-called Student Movement. And then as Vietnam heated up, they began seriously questioning Cold War clichés and stereotypes and delved into leftist critiques of capitalism. The writings of Franz Fanon, Herbert Marcuse, Norman O. Brown, Paul Goodman, and others resonated with many college students.

I usually start with a lecture on the forces that *precipitated* the Movement: the Baby Boom, the idealism that JFK tapped into, the inspiration of the Civil Rights Movement, and the escalating war in Vietnam. Take away one or two of these and perhaps the counterculture and the radical Sixties might not have been so radical. There were also a number of forces that, along with the Marxist critique of American capitalism, *fueled* the Movement and help spread the message: the Folk Music Revival, Rock and Roll becoming political, Timothy Leary and the drug culture, the pill and the advent of the sexual revolution. It is important to emphasize that all of these things, whether it was marijuana or LSD or sexual exploration or going to an antiwar demonstration or reading Marcuse were all part of the overall process of seeking to live a full and authentic life. To experience your individual potential to its fullest. It is not a coincidence that during this time there was a rebirth of interest in the Romantic Poets like Blake and Wordsworth and Shelley, the Transcendentalists Emerson, Fuller, and Thoreau, the anarchist writings of Emma Goldman.

One of the most successful teaching tools is to bring music into the classroom. Have students listen to and analyze songs by Pete Seeger, Bob Dylan, Phil Ochs, Joan Baez, Judy Collins, Simon and Garfunkel, Buffy Sainte-Marie, the Beatles, the Doors, Creedence Clearwater Revival, and more. YouTube can be very helpful here, as you

can find many recordings of these artists for free, the links are also easy to copy/paste/distribute.

Cover the teach-ins that started in 1965, the antiwar protests at the Pentagon in 1965 and 1967, the Christian activism of the Berrigan Brothers, Thomas Merton, and William Sloane Coffin. And, of course, the pivotal events of 1968: the Tet Offensive, the credibility gap, the New Hampshire Primary, the assassinations of Martin Luther King and Robert Kennedy, Columbia University, the international protests, the events in Paris and Prague and Mexico City, the Chicago Convention and the police riots, the election of President Richard Nixon, and then in 1969 Woodstock, the Moratorium, the March Against Death, Vietnam Vets Against the War, the Pentagon Papers.

SUGGESTED DOCUMENTS:

- [SDS, “The Port Huron Statement”](#)
- Mario Savio, “Speech at Berkeley,” December 2, 1964
- Carl Oglesby, “Speech in Washington,” November 27, 1965
- [The Weathermen, “You Don’t Need a Weatherman to Know Which Way the Wind Blows,” 1969](#)
- [Statement by John Kerry to the Senate Committee of Foreign Relations, April 23, 1971](#)
- Timothy Leary, “Using LSD to Imprint the Tibetan-Buddhist Experience”
- [Herbert Marcuse, “Political Preface” to *Eros and Civilization*](#)
- Abbie Hoffman, Introduction to *Steal This Book*

SONGS TO LISTEN TO:

- Pete Seeger, “I Ain’t Scared of Your Jail,” “Back of the Bus,” “Little Boxes,” “Waist Deep in the Big Muddy”
- Bob Dylan, “Only a Pawn in the Game,” “The Times They Are A-Changin’,” “It’s Alright Ma (I’m Only Bleeding)”
- Phil Ochs, “I Ain’t Marchin’ Anymore”
- Country Joe McDonald, “I-Feel-Like-I’m-Fixin’-to-Die-Rag”
- Buffy Sainte-Marie, “Universal Soldier”
- Creedence Clearwater Revival, “Fortunate Son.”
- The Fugs, “Nothing”

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION:

1. What, according to SDS, is the source of problems in the United States? What glaring paradoxes must be rectified? What is meant by “participatory democracy”?
2. Why does Mario Savio argue that students should put their “bodies upon the gears and the wheels”?
3. According to Carl Oglesby were we in Vietnam to fight Communism or to promote Capitalism? What would US policy be if we were truly a nation that believed in the ideals of the American Revolution? Is Oglesby’s position similar to Bryan’s and Schurz’s stand on American involvement in the Philippines in 1899?
4. Who is more patriotic, the soldiers going to Vietnam or the protestors urging them not to go? What does burning a US flag during a demonstration signify? Are those who burn the flag people who hate this country?
5. What is the Weatherman’s (Weather Underground) goal? Are there any valid points in their critique of the United States? How would they view America’s role in the world today?
6. How would patriotic Americans who believed in the War and steadfastly supported our troops in Vietnam react to John Kerry’s testimony? What prompted Kerry to turn against the War?
7. Does Timothy Leary sound like an irresponsible crackpot or a serious scientific researcher? What do you think of his comparison of drugs with spiritual experience? Is LSD a vehicle for satori—enlightenment—a way for people to raise their consciousness to a higher level? Can an experience be religious if it is drug-induced?
8. Do you agree or disagree with Herbert Marcuse’s assertion that “the fight for life, the fight for Eros, is the political fight”? What would Marcuse say today about consumerism and the global economy, about the commodification of sex? How would he interpret the “war on terrorism”? What is the meaning of the slogan “make love, not war”? Why did so many young people challenge traditional American Values? Why did the media say the protestors were all about “sex, drugs, and rock-and-roll”?
9. According to Abbie Hoffman, is there freedom of the press in the United States? Why does he spell Amerika with a “k”? Why does he call theft moral? How would you expect the average citizen to react to this? Is he serious?

CHAPTER 22

Mobilization and Backlash

The Civil Rights Movement and the Counterculture, the Antiwar Movement and the radical politics of the time inspired dozens of other rights movements—a veritable mobilization of minorities. Feminism, Chicano rights, gay and lesbian rights, the American Indian Movement (AIM), just about every minority group that had experienced some form of discrimination formed protest groups and took to the streets demanding equality.

One of the major movements that was a spinoff of the radical Sixties was “Second Wave Feminism.” This grew out of the leftwing politics of SDS where female members critically analyzed how capitalism turned everything, including relationships, into commodities. It was not only their intellectual analysis that radicalized them, but the obvious sexism of most SDS male members drove them to form their own solidarity groups. Women organized consciousness raising sessions and founded radical feminist organizations like Redstockings that sought to overthrow the gender assumptions that governed relations between the sexes.

In 1969, with the Stonewall Uprising of gay Americans protesting police violence and the intolerance that threatened their jobs and lives, the gay liberation movement began. AIM was inspired by the Black Power Movement. Environmentalism was another movement that came out of the consciousness raising of the 1960s. It seems that every day, even in the 21st century new grievances are being expressed, new demonstrations are gripping the nation from the DREAMers of the immigrant rights movement to the high school students Marching For Our Lives demanding gun-control legislation.

But there was significant backlash against these movements, most strongly a white backlash against the achievements, unfinished though they were, of the Civil Rights Movement. Clearly, every time there was some sort of advance for African Americans in this country, there were setbacks initiated by white America. The “Southern Strategy” of the Republican Party that cozied up to racists and white supremacists by using code words like States Rights and “Welfare Queens” and “Forced Bussing” to gain political allies. The “War on Drugs,” the “War on Crime” initiated in the 1960s at the height of civil rights progress, were disguised attempts to keep African Americans in their place. And this has, of course, led to the mass incarceration and brutal tactics in policing black neighborhoods that is one of the major crises that faces the US today.

The protests of the 1960s led to a more progressive, tolerant era, but it spawned its own dissenters. The conservative backlash against the radical sixties focused on the Supreme Court’s decisions on bussing, school prayer, and abortion (*Roe v. Wade*).

The Christian Right and the Moral Majority led the battle against these agendas and initiated a powerful Pro-Life Movement in an effort to prohibit abortion. Jerry Falwell, Paul Weyrich and many other outspoken conservatives led the way in denouncing the licentiousness and immorality of the 1960s.

SUGGESTED DOCUMENTS:

- The Redstockings Manifesto
- [Gloria Steinem, “‘Women’s Liberation’ Aims to Free Men, Too”](#)
- Stonewall flyers from 1969
- [Interview 1970, “Cesar Chavez Apostle of Non-Violence”](#)
- American Indian Movement, “A Proclamation to the Great White Father and All His People,” and “20 Point Proposal,” October 1972, Minneapolis, Minnesota

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION:

1. In what ways, does the Redstockings Manifesto argue, that women are an oppressed class? Is it true, as the manifesto claims, that all forms of oppression, “racism, capitalism, imperialism,” are extensions of male supremacy? Why are male/female relationships political?
2. What, does Steinem maintain, are the goals of the feminist movement? In what way will women’s liberation emancipate men as well as women? Why is consciousness raising important? In what ways have women’s roles changed since 1970?
3. Reflecting on the Stonewall flyers, how does a minority group effect change? Will rights ever be granted to people if they don’t act pro-actively to claim those rights?
4. According to Cesar Chavez, in a 1970 interview, why is nonviolence more effective than violence? What would happen if those struggling for their rights resorted to violence, even in self-defense?
5. Though the Alcatraz and Wounded Knee occupations were thwarted was the American Indian Movement successful in achieving their main goal of calling attention to their cause? How valid were their arguments for reclaiming Alcatraz? Which of AIM’s 20 Point Proposals are justifiable?

CHAPTER 23

A New Age of Dissent

In 1995 Americans were shocked when Timothy McVeigh set off a bomb at the federal building in Oklahoma City killing 168 people, nineteen of them children in a daycare center. Most people were aware that there was an upsurge in right-wing militias in the country, like the Michigan Militia, but no one expected that their protests against the federal government would induce them to resort to terrorism.

There were other forms of dissent during the 1990s and the beginning of the Twenty-First Century, but none so troubling as the Oklahoma City bombing. Gay activists formed ACT-UP to organize massive protests against the government's inaction in the face of the AIDS epidemic. And environmental activist organizations, like Earth First! and the Earth Liberation Front increasingly engaged in property damage to wake Americans up to environmental degradation. Other environmentalist groups, like Greenpeace, engaged in nonviolent protests and there were individuals who staged unique forms of protest in order to raise consciousness. Julia "Butterfly" Hill climbed into a thousand-year-old redwood tree in California and lived there for two years in order to prevent the Pacific Lumber Company from cutting it down. Folk singer Pete Seeger built a replica of a Nineteenth-Century sloop, the *Clearwater*, and sailed it up and down the Hudson River to call attention to the industrial pollution that was regularly dumped into the river. He also organized an annual folk festival at Croton Point and by the late 1990s the Hudson was cleaned up, the sturgeon returned, and it was safe enough for people to swim.

But dissent in the 1990s was not as widespread as it had been in the previous decades. All that changed after 9/11. As soon as the United States began to respond against the terrorist attacks in New York and Washington, protestors took to the streets. They protested against the PATRIOT Act and they protested against President George W. Bush's plan to invade Iraq. It was remarkable how large the antiwar demonstrations were *before* the invasion took place! And the protests continued during the war and the occupation. Not in Our Name, Veterans Against the War, MoveOn.org, and the ACLU were just four of the activist organizations that circulated petitions, distributed manifestos, coordinated protests, and galvanized Americans to speak out against the "War on Terror."

Musicians, film makers, and comedians all took part in protesting. Ani Di Franco, Rage Against the Machine, Immortal Technique, Steve Earle, Michael Moore, Jon Stewart, and Steven Colbert were just a few of the creative artists who questioned US policy. A good teaching tool I use is to listen to the protest songs and poems the musicians have recorded, and watch some examples of the comedians' routines on the internet as well as clips from various Michael Moore documentaries.

In the aftermath of Barack Obama's election to the presidency there was a powerful backlash, expressed most notably in the Tea Party Movement that organized protests against the Affordable Care Act and other measures Obama proposed. The Occupy Movement that flared up in 2011 was successful in changing the political debate. Although the movement did not accomplish its goal of diminishing the economic domination of the 1%, it did bring the issue of income inequality into the public arena.

After the 2016 election, which showed how formidable the white backlash against the nation's first African American president was, a new wave of dissent has emerged. The Women's March in January 2017 was the largest march on Washington the nation has ever seen. Dozens of political action groups formed, modeling themselves on the Tea Party Movement, to oppose the racist, bigoted, and sexist views of Donald Trump and to galvanize voters to take back the government. Operation 45, Sing Left, #KnockEveryDoor, Indivisible, are a few of these groups that fear Trump is a threat to American democracy.

Contemporary dissent invariably serves to get great discussions going in class. Get students to discuss LGBTQ rights, same-sex marriage, undocumented immigrants, Dreamers, and immigration reform, the March for Our Lives Movement demanding the passage of gun control legislation, the #MeToo Movement, Black Lives Matter, systemic racism, police brutality and the protests currently sweeping the nation in the aftermath of the George Floyd killing.

SUGGESTED DOCUMENTS:

- "ACT-UP Activist Aldyn McKean Explains Civil Disobedience"
- [Vito Russo, "Why We Fight"](#)
- Paul Weyrich, "A Conservative's Lament: After Iran, We Need to Change Our System and Grand Strategy"
- Michigan Militia, "Statement of Purpose and Mission," and "In Defense of Liberty"
- Julia Butterfly Hill, "Kent State Speech"
- Craig Rosebraugh, "Written Testimony Supplied to The US House Subcommittee on Forests and Forests Health for the February 12, 2002, Hearing on 'Ecoterrorism'"
- [ACLU, "Freedom Under Fire: Dissent in Post 9/11 America"](#)
- Veterans Against the Iraq War, "Call to Conscience from Veterans to Active Duty Troops and Reservists," and "Message to the Troops: Resist!, October 11, 2002"
- Tea Party Manifesto

- [Occupy Wall Street Manifesto](#)
- [Black Lives Matter, "What We Believe"](#)
- [March for Our Lives, "A Peace Plan for a Safer America"](#)

SONGS TO LISTEN TO:

- Rage Against the Machine, "Know Your Enemy"
- Mos Def, "Mathematics"
- Ani Di Franco, "self evident"
- Bikini Kill, "Liar"
- Rhiannon Giddens, "At the Purchaser's Option"
- Lady Gaga, "Til It Happens to You"
- Steve Earle, "Rich Man's War"
- Immortal Technique, "The 4th Branch"
- Eminem, "The Storm"
- Usher, "Chains"
- Prince, "Baltimore"
- Kendrick Lamar, "Alright"
- Janelle Monae, "Hell You Talmbout"
- Keedron Bryant, "I Just Wanna Live"

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION:

1. According to ACT-UP what needs to be done about the AIDS crisis? What is the reason for the Reagan Administration's inaction?
2. Why does Paul Weyrich believe our national strategy is outdated? What must be done? What is wrong with the process of choosing our leaders?
3. What is the purpose of the Michigan Militia? Is it realistic for them to expect that, like the minutemen of Lexington and Concord, they would be able to resist the invasion of a foreign power? What foreign power are they preparing to fight?
4. Why was it important for Julia Butterfly Hill to save the redwood? Although her civil disobedience did save the tree, are such actions really an effective means of reversing environmental damage? How do we achieve a balance between developing natural resources and preserving a safe ecosystem?

5. How does Craig Rosebraugh justify acts of sabotage and destruction against property? Does eco-terrorism successfully focus attention on the issues that ELF wants addressed or does such violence create a backlash? What will be the result, according to Rosebraugh, if groups like ELF do not commit such acts of sabotage?
6. What are the state and federal measures that the ACLU views as a threat to civil liberties? What are people doing about it? Where does one draw the line between dissent and patriotism?
7. What specific causes, according to Ani Di Franco, lay behind the 9/11 attacks? Does she give any indication how we should handle the “war on terrorism”? Are antiwar activists’ efforts aimed at the military acts of subversion, or even treason, or are they simply an expression of free speech?
8. Are any of the Veterans Against the Iraq War criticisms valid? What is the main objection to the war expressed by the veterans group?

A couple of explosive discussion questions on dissent you can ask throughout your course:

- Why do we revere Martin Luther King, but despise Timothy McVeigh? After all both of these men were dissenters.
- Is Colin Kaepernick showing disrespect when he kneels during the National Anthem? Or is his silent protest patriotic?
- Is the United States a democracy?
- What is it about the present moment that has caused a sharp increase in protest demonstrations?

SAMPLE SYLLABUS

History Course: Dissent in America

COURSE DESCRIPTION:

A central aspect of a democratic society is the constitutional guarantee that all citizens possess freedom of speech, thought and conscience. Throughout American history individuals and groups of people, oftentimes vociferously, marched to the beat of a different drummer, and raised their voices in strident protest. We are going to study the story and development of dissent in America. How has dissent shaped American society? Why is it that some people never “buy into” the “American Dream” perceiving it not as a dream, but more like a nightmare? How has dissent molded groups of people within American society and, indeed, even transformed individuals.

AREAS OF CONCENTRATION:

- Dissent during the colonial period: Anne Hutchinson, Roger Williams, Native Americans.
- Dissent during the early national period
- Abolitionism. Transcendentalism. Early feminism.
- Workers’ Rights.
- Anti-War Movements.
- The Women’s Movement: From Suffragist to Feminist.
- The Struggle for Civil Rights.
- Cultural Dissent: The rise of a counterculture from Beatniks to Hippies.
- Contemporary dissent.

History courses are designed to develop the many interpretive skills that historians use. In this course, you will be introduced to some of these skills and be expected to become competent in them. These competencies are fundamental, and they will be beneficial to you in whatever career you pursue:

- Construction of simple essay arguments using historical evidence (exhibiting a clear sense of chronology, using evidence in support of a clearly stated thesis)
- Comprehension of time and change (understanding continuity and change over time) and understanding the connections
- Distinguishing between fact and interpretation (recognizing valid historical sources and their interpretations)

- Understanding of internet and digital library resources and the ability to determine which are appropriate for academic use
- Evaluation of primary sources in their historical context
- Critical analysis of written materials and historical sources and demonstration of ability to write an analytical historical essay

OBJECTIVES:

	LEARNING OBJECTIVE	DIRECT/INDIRECT ASSESSMENT TOOL
1	Examination of the evolution of dissent and its central place in American society.	Course engagement, research projects, exams
2	Developing successful and effective methods of reading material for content and context.	Course engagement, analysis, research project and exams
3	How to identify an author's argument, and how to distinguish the evidence used to support that argument.	Analysis, Research Project, Film analysis, book analysis and exams
4	How different non-traditional sources (fiction, art, video) can be used as effective methods of transmitting historical information.	Book analysis, research project, course engagement, and exams
5	Effective note-taking skills.	Exams

CLASS PROCEDURES AND POLICIES:

There will be lectures, discussions, in-class analysis of dissenters' own words, library and Internet research, occasional quizzes and a research paper. We will frequently refer to the documents in the *Dissent in America* reader so always have it handy.

Participation in discussions is expected and will be a factor in your final grade. Good attendance is therefore essential if you expect to do well. Missing 25% of the classes results in automatic failure. Papers submitted late will be reduced by one grade per day. Missed exams or quizzes will receive a grade of "F".

REQUIRED READINGS:

1. Ralph Young, *Dissent: The History of an American Idea*, NYU Press (ISBN: 978-1479806652)
2. Ralph Young, ed., *Dissent in America: Voices That Shaped a Nation, Concise Edition*, Pearson/Longman, (ISBN: 978-0205625895). (A non-concise hardback edition of this book is available and would be fine to use, especially if you can get it cheaply.)

TAKING NOTES / HOW TO STUDY FOR THIS COURSE:

Keep in mind that a primary goal of a college education is to develop your critical thinking skills. And one way to do that is by learning how to take notes and figuring out for yourself what is really important without relying on copying your instructor's lectures or outlines or bullet points.

Many studies have shown that student learning is strengthened simply by the process of writing down information in your own words and developing your own analysis of that information. This is a skill that you will need in any future job or career you might enter.

For example, when we study the development of dissent and its impact on the United States, it is, of course, important to learn the significant events and people who played a part. But what is most important is to understand and evaluate the motivation and reasoning that lay behind decision making and how reasoning evolved over time. So, during lectures and discussions about the specific events and people pictured on the screen, you should take notes about the salient points that are brought up and, even more importantly, write down your own opinions and thoughts especially when you have insights into the motivation (whether critical or laudatory) of the historical players.

Perhaps you've had teachers in middle and high school who periodically handed out notes or outlines or summaries of what to study in order to do well on a test. However, at university an essential part of your education is to figure these things out for yourself and not be spoon-fed facts to regurgitate on an exam. To be dependent on such methods does little to enhance your critical thinking. Becoming independent is the first step toward becoming a lifelong learner.

POLICY ON ACADEMIC HONESTY:

Our University believes strongly in academic honesty and integrity. Plagiarism and academic cheating are, therefore, prohibited. Essential to intellectual growth is the development of independent thought and a respect for the thoughts of others. The prohibition against plagiarism and cheating is intended to foster this independence and respect. Plagiarism is the unacknowledged use of another person's labor, another person's ideas, another person's words, another person's assistance. . . . Undocumented use of materials from the World Wide Web is plagiarism. Academic cheating is, generally, the thwarting or breaking of the general rules of academic work or the specific rules of the individual courses. It includes falsifying data; submitting, without the instructor's approval, work in one course which was done for another; helping others to plagiarize or cheat from one's own or another's work; or actually doing the work of another person.



ASSIGNMENTS:

1. Course Engagement. An important way to evaluate learning is through course engagement. A student who is “engaged” attends all class meetings, is consistently prepared to discuss the readings and presentations, and turns in all assignments complete and on time. An engaged student responds appropriately and intelligently to questions asked during class, provides leadership in any group activities, and takes the initiative during class discussions to provide insightful comments that spark further discussion. Engaged students draw connections among classes they have taken or ideas they have encountered outside of the classroom in books, newspapers, movies, or elsewhere. Though it is not a requirement to visit me during office hours, engaged students usually seek out the professor to clarify the terms of assignments, to refine paper topics, and to go over study questions.
2. Quizzes and Examinations: There will be several quizzes from time to time based on the two textbooks as well as a midterm and final examination based on the textbooks and the lectures.
3. Library Project: The Library has several valuable databases that you can use for the library project: African American Newspapers; American Civil War Letters and Diaries; Women’s History Online, 1543-1945; The Historical New York Times; North American Immigrant Letters & Diaries; Pennsylvania Gazette; and Women and Social Movements in the United States: 1600-2000. Examine three contemporary newspaper/magazine accounts of an historical protest act by a dissenter and analyze how that person or event was reported at the time. For example, after you read the account of Susan B. Anthony’s 1873 trial in the Dissent in America reader access the library databases listed in the DiA

Library Guide and write a 2-page report on how at least three of the periodicals or newspapers (e.g., the New York Times, Harper's, McClure's, etc.) reported on Anthony's trial. Do the newspaper accounts at that time reveal animosity or support for Susan B. Anthony's protest? What do the media accounts show about attitudes toward women's rights in 1873? Choose from any one of these six dissenters: John Brown, Susan B. Anthony, Eugene V. Debs, Upton Sinclair, Emma Goldman, or Joe Hill.

4. Podcast: Interview someone who has participated in an act of dissent. (Demonstration, march, civil disobedience campaign, boycott, etc.) Perhaps a member of your family, or a friend, neighbor, rabbi, priest, minister, or professor. Give some biographical information about your subject—name (if the person does not want their real name used that is okay), background, date and place of birth, and other information that will help your audience understand who your person is and the historical context for their protest. Focus your questions on why that person became an activist, have that person tell you, detail by detail, what the specific demonstration/protest was like. What will work best is getting someone to talk very concretely about what he or she felt or saw or did during the act of protest. Do not try to give an overview of everything your subject did, said, felt and thought, but find the nuances, the texture, the hard reality, and the emotions of the past. Be specific. Your subjects will want to speculate about the Big Picture and that is your subject's right – he or she lived through it. But your job is to peg your questions to the concrete experiences of the individual to whom you are talking. And out of all the material you gather you'll want to figure out how to boil it down and edit it to what is most telling, most revealing about your subject and the event he or she lived through. Record your interview and present it to the class as a 10-minute podcast. The Podcast will require editing. Make it informative and entertaining. A presentation that will hold the audience's interest and provoke discussion. I suggest you record the interview on your phone. In order to edit it, you can upload the sound file to a computer and edit it there (Quicktime is a good option, but there are plenty of sound editors available online.) Upload the edited file to the podcast assignment tab on the course Canvas site.
5. Research Project: Each student will research and write a 1200-1600-word paper. Footnotes/endnotes and a bibliography must be used according to the Chicago Manual of Style. Analyze a dissenter or dissent movement in American history. An essential part of this paper is that you must quote at least TWO relevant primary sources from the speeches, letters, pamphlets or ephemera, published or documented by the people that appear in your paper. Begin the paper with a brief overview of the historical context during which the dissenting activity takes place then go into a deeper examination and analysis of the dissenter or movement you have chosen. Argue a convincing case why the person or movement is important

and what impact she, he, or it had on American history. Was it successful? Why or why not? Dissent in America contains a number of significant documents that you can quote from, but do not be confined only to those documents. Check with me or the librarian for further guidance into other sources that would support the thesis you want to argue. Choose one of the topics from the sign-up sheet that I will distribute in September. Alternatively you can choose a present-day organization that has a local chapter. Examine its historical roots and place the group in its historical context. Attend a meeting, if you wish, or interview member(s) of the group. What are their long-term plans? What are their short-term plans? How successful are they?



GRADING:

A Word About Grading: The way to earn an A for this course is by showing the ability to learn, to assimilate and digest new ideas, and to express your critical views and arguments expertly and articulately in papers, exams, and discussions. My grading scheme is exacting and is strictly adhered to:

94-100 = A	74-76 = C
90-93 = A-	70-73 = C-
87-89 = B+	67-69 = D+
84-86 = B	64-66 = D
80-83 = B-	60-63 = D-
77-79 = C+	0-59 = F

GRADING BREAKDOWN:

Course Engagement/Attendance:	10%
Quizzes:	15%
Library Project:	10%
Mid Term Exam:	10%
Podcast:	10%
Book Analysis:	10%
Research Project:	15%
Final Examination:	20%

CALENDAR:

Week	Topic	Readings, Assignments, Presentations
1	Orientation and Overview Foundations of Dissent: European Background	Williams, Hutchinson, Dyer, Bacon, Native American Voices, Zenger <i>Dissent in America (DiA)</i> , pp. 1-37 <i>Dissent: The History of an American Idea (DHAI)</i> , pp. 1-33
2	“City Upon a Hill” Dissent in Colonial America “All Men Are Created Equal”?	Woolman, <u>Adamses</u> , Paine, Hutchinson, Shays, Mason, Murray, Tecumseh <i>DiA</i> , 39-85 <i>DHAI</i> , 34-99
3	Questioning the New Republic Indian Resistance, Reformers, Abolitionists, Feminists, Workers	Frelinghuysen, Ross, Walker, Garrison, Apess, The <u>Grimké Sisters</u> , Emerson, Fuller, Lowell Mill Girls, Stanton, Douglass, Thoreau, Brown <i>DiA</i> , 87-141 <i>DHAI</i> , 99-172
4	Civil War Dissenters Library Workshop with Rebecca Lloyd (January 27)	<u>Vallandigham</u> , Brownlow, Pringle, African American Soldiers, Anthony <i>DiA</i> , 143-182 <i>DHAI</i> , 173-212
5	Dissent in the Gilded Age	Powderly, Chief Joseph, Lease, The People’s Party, Washington, DuBois, Wells-Barnett <i>DiA</i> , 183-221 <i>DHAI</i> , 213-274 Library Project Due
6	Progressives and Dissent	Schurz, Jones, Muir, Goldman, Rauschenbusch, Hill, La Follette, Debs, Bourne <i>DiA</i> , 221-244 <i>DHAI</i> , 275-326 Midterm Exam
7	Term Break	
8	Conflict and Depression	Garvey, Randolph, Sanger, Mencken, Coughlin, Long, Guthrie, <u>Dellinger</u> , Yasui <i>DiA</i> , 245-310 <i>DHAI</i> , 327-392

9	Un-American Activities	Lawson, Smith, Robeson, Seeger, Hay, Ginsberg <i>DiA</i> , 311-338 <i>DHAI</i> , 393-423 Podcast Due
10	Civil Rights	King, Malcolm X, Carmichael, SDS, Friedan, Ochs, Dylan <i>DiA</i> , 339-372 <i>DHAI</i> , 424-452
11	Vietnam and the Counterculture	Savio, Oglesby, Kerry, Leary, Hoffman, Music <i>DiA</i> , 373-403 <i>DHAI</i> , 453-481
12	Mobilization of Minorities	Redstockings, Steinem, SCUM, Stonewall, AIM <i>DiA</i> , 403-415 <i>DHAI</i> , 482-500 Book Analysis Due
13	Environmentalism, Sexuality, Pacifism, and Militias	ACT UP, Gay Liberation, Kaczynski, Protest Music, Nader, DiFranco AI, ELF, VAIW, ACLU <i>DiA</i> , 417-478 <i>DHAI</i> , 501-522
14	Contemporary Dissent	Research Paper Due
15	Final Examination	