

Course ID: FYS100

Instructor: Dr. Julian Maxwell Hayter

Office Hours: Tues. and Thur. 1:00pm to 2:00pm, virtual and by virtual appointment

Office Location: Jepson Hall 237

Course Name: Summons to Conscience

E-mail: jhayter@richmond.edu

Phone: 804-287-6097

Summons to Conscience: Questioning Civil Rights Leadership and Popular Misconceptions of the Freedom Struggle, Fall 2024



Course Meetings:

Tuesday and Thursday (9:00 to 10:15)—Jepson, Room 120

Office Hours:

<https://urichmond.zoom.us/j/85906868900>

Course Description

Most African Americans weren't citizens of the United States until 1965, ten years prior to my birth—nearly a century after emancipation.

In thinking about America's strange juxtaposition of liberty and freedom, French scholar Alexis de Tocqueville defined the choices available to slaveowners rather simply. He argued that the United States could free enslaved peoples and treat them with some degree of dignity or perpetuate their serfdom for as long as possible. We chose the latter. In fact, Jim Crow segregation represents the very perpetuation of serfdom that Tocqueville presaged nearly 30 years prior to the American Civil War.

While slavery is the canvass upon which Americans etched decades of systematic racism, after 1865 the ways Americans and Southerners orchestrated the custom and practice of segregation made it difficult formerly enslaved people to be Americans. Jim Crow segregation, above all else, was nothing more than a reorganization of the Black labor force in light of emancipation.

This course uses contemporary literature from the mid-20th century and historical scholarship to interrogate the strategies civil rights activists used to upend nearly a century of *Jim Crow*, arguably the most discriminatory set of policies in American history.

If the story of black labor and lives after the Civil War is, in some ways, an immigrant story (e.g., new citizenship, hard work, land ownership, and mobility characterize the black lives post-1865 too!) the African American experience runs counter to the dominant narrative. Their story represents, in most cases, a dream deferred.

There was no ephiphanic awakening in the 1950s that led to civil rights movement—African Americans and their allies resisted segregation immediately. In popular memory, we often attribute the American civil rights movement and the civil rights bills to a handful of activists and policymakers. While Martin Luther King, Jr. helped organize direct-action tactics and President Johnson's appeals for an equality of results standard shaped the civil rights bills, everyday people were also integral to civil rights activism and policy creation. This course uses contemporary literature from the mid-20th century and recent historical scholarship to interrogate the strategies civil rights activists used to gut the segregated system.

Prepare to examine mid-20th century social movements and the ways civil rights legislation influenced American equality after 1965. We will also question how ostensibly unremarkable Americans were central to the development of not only the civil rights movement, but also modern liberalism.

Course Objectives

1. To expand and deepen your understanding of the world and yourselves
2. To enhance your ability to read and think critically
3. To enhance your ability to communicate effectively, in writing, speech, and other appropriate forms
4. To develop the fundamentals of information literacy and library research
5. To provide the opportunity for you to work closely with a faculty mentor

General Expectations

Success in this course hinges upon your ability to read course material effectively (you will not do well in this course if you do not read—trust me), write about the readings, and other course material, intelligently. Be prepared to participate thoroughly in class discussion/lectures.

1. **Attendance and Classroom Protocol:** Class attendance is essential to your success in this course. I do not take daily attendance, but I am keenly aware of students who are chronically absent. In fact, this course is designed (i.e., the quizzes and exams) to punish those of you that frequently miss class. Unless you have a mandated, university-based accommodation, you ***may not*** use laptops to take notes during class. Please keep your iPhones and iPads off the desks! During study sessions and group work, you may use these devices.
2. **Reading Material: THIS COURSE IS READING INTENSIVE!** I strongly urge students to complete readings prior to class. I also require that you bring reading material to class. Please be mindful of the reading load and try to stay abreast current readings.
3. **Class Participation: Class Participation:** Please come to class prepared to talk extensively about the reading material and/or how the reading material relates to *relevant* subjects you think might enhance lecture/discussion. Missing class regularly and not participating is “D to C level” participation. Missing class regularly, et participating is “B- level” work. Coming to class regularly yet failing to contribute is “B/B+ level” participation. Coming to class and participating regularly is “A-/A level” participation. Also, I can’t see alligator arms, if you’ve got something to say, raise your damn hand (high).
4. **Cheating:** I catch at least one person every semester, despite the fact that I’ve included this subheading in my syllabi since teaching at UR. That said, do your own work or face the consequences. Our honor system prohibits *unauthorized* assistance in the completion of given assignments. All students are expected to understand and avoid plagiarism and all other forms of academic dishonesty. Instances of cheating on coursework will be referred to the honor council—I *will not* adjudicate them. I simply send them directly to the Honor Council. As such, you must pledge and sign all written material for

- this course-- “I pledge that I have neither given nor received unauthorized assistance during the completion of this work”.
5. **Pledging: I will not grade assignments that students fail to pledge.** You may not upload course materials from blackboard, class notes, etc. to any course-specific webpage (e.g., coursehero.com). Course materials from blackboard are my and other scholars’ work.
 6. **Communication:** Please check your email regularly— email is our primary mode of out-of-class communication. I will respond to emails in a timely manner. However, **I will not respond to messages sent after 8pm until the next morning.** Although email is a viable means to ask questions about the course, course material, or writing assignments, these questions may also be answered during office hours or by appointment.
 7. **Exams and Quizzes:** Unless mandated by administrators for the purposes of athletics, contract tracing, other COVID-19 related issues, and/or university-approved issues (of the serious persuasion), **exams and quizzes cannot be rescheduled.** Period. You’re definitely not rescheduling final exams to leave at a time that’s more convenient for you. The final schedule is what it is. Take it up with administration if you think you’ve been hoodwinked. If you miss a quiz or an exam, **your score is zero.** Also, if you have a DAN, you need to either schedule to take your exam with Christina Mills in Jepson or with Disability Services—either works.
 8. **NO EXTRA CREDIT. NEVER. FOREVER. EVER. FOREVER EVER. DID I SAY NEVER?**

Syllabus Meaning (this heading is red for a reason)

Consider this document a contract. Fulfill your end of the bargain—the parameters under which you will work have been clearly articulated. The rules, especially now, are important. Follow them. The success of this course hinges on our ability to work together in a manner that respects the group. Do your job so that I can do mine. It’s that simple.

Assessment

Participation & Discussion Questions:	25% of final grade
Reading Response Paper One:	25% of final grade
Midterm Exam:	25% of final grade
Final Paper:	25% of final grade

Grading Scale:

A+ 4.0	B+ 3.3	C+ 2.3	D+ 1.3
A 4.0	B 3.0	C 2.0	D 1.0
A- 3.7	B- 2.7	C- 1.7	D- 0.7
F 0.0	I 0.0	M 0.0	V 0.0

Standards for Written Work

1. Articulate a clear argument and purpose
2. Exhibit awareness of and attention to audience
3. Demonstrate an understanding of appropriate organization to meet disciplinary and/or task conventions
4. Analyze evidence from sources, experience, and empirical research to provide support to ideas
5. Demonstrate a command of writing mechanics

Major Assignments

1. **Reading Response Paper:** Each student will write one 1000-word reading response papers (1000 words on the mark, not including citations). These papers will address issues specific to the reading material. It is your responsibility to not merely answer the queries I put forward, but answer these questions argumentatively. As such, these papers must have clearly articulated thesis statements, be supported with material from the reading(s) in question. These papers **should not be summaries** of the reading material— they are clear and succinct arguments that make claims about specific ideas in the reading materials, etc. I will mark papers down for excessive typos, lack of argument, grammatical mistakes, general disorganization, and the absence of analysis.
2. **Discussion Questions (only due on discussion days—see course schedule below):** Students generate classroom discussion. On discussion days (delineated below in the course schedule), you must come to class equipped with a 75 to 100-word question. Firstly, your question must demonstrate command of the reading material. These questions should not only be open-ended, but you should also interrogate/analyze the material in question. This portion, preferably, should precede the question—it'd be wise to either boil down the reading or think broadly about how the reading relates to something relevant to American society, culture, economics, or politics. That is to say, preface your question with an observation, a quote from the reading, a remark by an expert on the topic in play (i.e., according to 'such and such'), or a something by a

speaker of particular merit—demonstrate the significance of your question by contextualizing the problem.

3. **Final Procecss Paper:** Each student will write one 3000 word final paper (3000 words on the mark, not including citations). These papers, using primary and secondary sources (we will hold sessions in the library with Kyle Jenkins for this portion of the assignment), will research a specific question about something instrumental to the struggle for civil rights—persons, places or things. **Project Milestones:** in the schedule below, you will find several important due dates for material specific to the project
 - a. **October 29—choose topic**
 - b. **November 7 (100 points)—annotated bibliography due:** An annotated bibliographies are lists of citations to books, articles, documents, other sources (primary and secondary sources, more specifically). Following each citation is a brief (typically 150 words) descriptive and evaluative paragraph, *the annotation*. Annotations must inform the reader of the relevance, accuracy, and quality of the source at hand.
 - c. **November 21 (100 points)—thesis statement due:** The problem or argument you present in your project must be organized argumentatively. A thesis statement *must* establish not just a contestable claim, but reasons that justify the claim put forward. In fact, your project should be organized in the image of a thesis statement/argument. A solid argument consists of a status quo, a destabilizing condition, and a thesis statement.
 - d. **December 5 (100 points)—outline due:** Outlines should summarize the paper and roadmap how the body of the paper builds upon the thesis—i.e., begins to draft findings, and conclusions. They should make a contention about the subject, (i.e., you need a thesis statement), give the historical/situational context surrounding the subject, and summarize why this topic is critical to matters of civil rights.
 - e. **Final Papers due during finals week—date TBD (200 points)**

DQ Due Dates—September 5, 12, 19, and October 24

Reading Response Paper Due Date—September, 30

Mid-Term Exam—October 17

Final Paper— finals week, due date TBD

Resources

If you experience difficulties in this course, do not hesitate to consult with me. There are also other resources that can support you in your efforts to meet course requirements.

Academic Skills Center (asc.richmond.edu): Assists students in assessing their academic strengths and weaknesses; honing their academic skills through teaching effective test preparation, critical reading and thinking, information conceptualization, concentration, and related techniques; working on specific subject areas (e.g., calculus, chemistry, accounting, etc.); and encouraging campus and community involvement. Tutors will be available virtually. The on-call peer-tutors available for these appointments are listed in the Box file: [On-Call Online Tutors \(https://richmond.box.com/s/dpe37chr2zodr3o1amtj8omjk72v2ktb\)](https://richmond.box.com/s/dpe37chr2zodr3o1amtj8omjk72v2ktb). Email [Roger Mancastroppa \(rmancast@richmond.edu\)](mailto:rmancast@richmond.edu) and [Hope Walton \(hwatson@richmond.edu\)](mailto:hwatson@richmond.edu) for appointments in academic and life skills to request a Zoom conference.

Boatwright Library Research Librarians: (library.richmond.edu/help/ask/ or 289-8876): Research librarians help students with all steps of their research, from identifying or narrowing a topic, to locating, accessing, evaluating, and citing information resources. Librarians support students in their classes across the curriculum and provide library instruction, tutorials, research guides, and individual help. All research support will be provided online or by appointment and students can contact a librarian for help via email (library@richmond.edu), text (804-277-9ASK), chat, or Zoom (by appointment).

Career Services: (careerservices.richmond.edu or 289-8547): Can assist you in exploring your interests and abilities, choosing a major or course of study, connecting with internships and jobs, and investigating graduate and professional school options. We encourage you to schedule an appointment with a career advisor early in your time at UR.

Counseling and Psychological Services (caps.richmond.edu or 289-8119): Assists currently enrolled, full-time, degree-seeking students in improving their mental health and well-being, and in handling challenges that may impede their growth and development. Services include brief consultations, short-term counseling and psychotherapy, skills-building classes, crisis intervention, psychiatric consultation, and related services.

Disability Services (disability.richmond.edu) The Office of Disability Services works to ensure that qualified students with a disability (whether incoming or current) are provided with reasonable accommodations that enable students to participate fully in activities, programs, services and benefits provided to all students. Please let your professors know as soon as possible if you have an accommodation that requires academic coordination and planning.

Speech Center (speech.richmond.edu or 289-6409): Assists with preparation and practice in the pursuit of excellence in public expression. Recording, playback, coaching and critique sessions offered by teams of student consultants trained to assist in developing ideas, arranging key points for more effective organization, improving style and delivery, and handling multimedia aids for individual and group presentations. Remote practice sessions can be arranged; we look forward to meeting your public speaking needs.

Writing Center (writing.richmond.edu or 289-8263): Assists writers at all levels of experience, across all majors. Students can schedule appointments with trained writing consultants who offer friendly critiques of written work.

AI Policy

Artificial Intelligence Technology & Honor Code

All assignments are expected to be the student's original work. The Jepson School follows the provisions of the Honor System as outlined by the School of Arts and Sciences. This means that no student is to use, rely on or turn in work that was paid-for, copied, excessively summarized without citation, created in collaboration (without permission), produced by AI, or is otherwise not the original work of the student for the specific assignment (without explicit permission).

Reading Material

Points of Entry: Very rarely will we read a book from cover to cover. In fact, we will read these books from various points of entry. As such, it is critical that you read these books' introductions—a book's body, particularly in discipline of history, is often written in the image of the introduction. Introductions outline arguments, often summarize chapters, contextualize relevant literature, and demonstrate specific methodologies.

We will have several readings that are also posted to blackboard but are not delineated immediately below (just be mindful of the syllabus—you'll find the readings in the course schedule and on blackboard). I have marked blackboard readings in the course schedule as **(blackboard) or (BB)**.

There are also readings on blackboard that *are not* delineated on the list immediately below.

Wayne Booth, *The Craft of Research*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2008)

Jacquelyn Dowd-Hall, "The Long Civil Rights Movement and the Political Uses of the Past," *Journal of American History* Vol., 91, No. 4, March 2005, 1233-1263

Lorraine Hansberry, *A Raisin in the Sun* (New York: Random, 2004)

Julian Maxwell Hayter, *Crusading for Citizenship: How the Mid-Twentieth Century Quest for Voting Rights Emphasized Plurality Over Populism*, (Cheltenham: Edward Elgar, 2020)

Julian Maxwell Hayter and George R. Goethals, *Reconstruction and the Arc of Racial (in) Justice* (Cheltenham: Edward Elgar, 2018)

Thomas Jackson, *From Civil Rights to Human Rights: Martin Luther King, Jr. and the Struggle for Economic Justice*, (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2006)

Blair L.M. Kelley, *Right to Ride: Streetcar Boycotts and African American Citizenship in the Era of Plessy v. Ferguson* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2010)

Michael J. Klarman, "How Brown Changed Race Relations: The Backlash Thesis," *The Journal of American History*, Vol 81, No. 1, June 1994, 81-118

Bayard Rustin, "From Protest to Politics: The Future of the Civil Rights Movement," *Commentary*, 1965

J. Douglas Smith, *Managing White Supremacy: Race, Politics, and Citizenship in Jim Crow Virginia* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2002)

Patricia Sullivan, *Days of Hope: Race and Democracy in New Deal America*, (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1996)

David Schwartz, "The Grand Alliance Between Black and Jewish Americans," NPR, March 28, 2024

Jeanne Theoharis, *A More Beautiful and Terrible History: The Uses and Misuses of Civil Rights History* (New York: Beacon Press, 2018)

[Course Schedule](#)

Adjustments may be made to the course schedule as I see fit.

There may be slight variations in page numbers, as some of the book editions have been updated. Use your best judgment.

CAUTION—reading material assigned to a particular date pertain to the corresponding lecture. Reading(s) delineated on a particular day should be completed prior to the day I have slotted the material. **For instance, readings pertaining to August 29 will appear beneath the heading on August 27, and so forth.**

(BB)= reading on blackboard

Week One: A New Narrative: Interrogating the Montgomery to Selma Story

August 27: Introduction

Readings (readings below are for August 29):

Jacquelyn Dowd Hall, *The Long Civil Rights Movement*, entire article **(blackboard)**

Hayter and Goethals, *Reconstruction and the Arc of Racial Injustice*, Intro **(blackboard)**

August 29: A New Chronology (readings below are for September 3)s

Readings

Theoharis, *A More Beautiful and Terrible History*, Introduction
Hayter and Goethals, *Reconstruction and the Arc...*, Chapter 2 **(blackboard)**

Week Two: Organizing Traditions

September 3: Foundations for Uplift

Readings

Hayter and Goethals, *Reconstruction and the Arc...*, Chapter 2
(blackboard)

September 5: Discussion (DQ DUE)

Readings

Smith, *Managing White Supremacy*, Introduction **(blackboard)**
Kelley, *Right to Ride*, Introduction and Chapter 5 **(blackboard)**

Week Three: Organizing Traditions Continued

September 10: In the Old Dominion

Readings

Smith, *Managing White Supremacy*, Chapters 1-3 **(blackboard)**
Hayter and Goethals, *Reconstruction and the Arc*, Chapter 4
(blackboard)

September 12: Discussion (DQ DUE)

Readings

Sullivan, *Days of Hope*, Introduction and Chapter 3
(blackboard)
Klarman, *The Backlash Thesis*, Entire Article **(blackboard)**

Week Four: Onward to Washington

September 17: NAACP, the Courts and the Vote

Readings

Klarman, *From Jim Crow to Civil Rights*, 171-210 and 290-325
(blackboard)

September 19: Discussion (DQ DUE)

Readings

Hansberry, *A Raisin in the Sun*, Acts 1 and 2
Explore “redlining” material on *Mapping Inequality*:
<https://dsl.richmond.edu/panorama/redlining/>

Week Five: Urban History and The Geography of Blackness

September 24: Up South: Urban History Beyond Jim Crow
Readings

Hansberry, *A Raisin in the Sun*, Act 3

Mark Dent, "Who Made the Suburbs White," *Slate*

<https://slate.com/business/2023/08/jc-nichols-covenants-segregation-development-zoning.html>

September 26: Up South: Urban History Beyond Jim Crow
Readings

No Reading— write reading response paper!

Week Six: The Movement We Know... Or not

Reading Response Paper Due, Monday September 30th

October 1: The Traditional Movement

Readings

King, *My Pilgrimage to Non-Violence*, Entire Article

(blackboard)

Rustin, *From Protest to Politics*, Entire Article **(blackboard)**

October 3: Documentary—*The Power Broker*

Readings

Jackson, *From Civil Rights to Human...*, 25-50 **(blackboard)**

Theoharis, *A More Beautiful...*, Chapter 5

Week Seven: The Politics of Integration

October 8: Discussion (NO DQ)

Reading

No Reading

October 10: **No Class**

No Reading

Week Eight: Work Time!

October 15: **Study Session**

Readings

No Reading

October 17: **Mid-Term**

Readings

Theoharis, *A More Beautiful...*, Chapters Six and Seven

Week Nine: Reimagining Civil Rights Leadership

October 22: Civil Rights Leadership, In Context

Readings:

Schwartz, *The Grand Alliance*, Entire Article

<https://www.npr.org/2024/03/28/1239289512/black-jewish-grand-alliance-civil-rights-history>

October 24: Discussion (DQ DUE)

Readings:

Theoharis, *A More Beautiful...*, Chapters 8

Malcolm X, *Interview at Berkeley*, Entire Speech

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=FZMrti8QcPA>

Week Ten: Research Library Sessions

October 29: In Library w/Kyle Jenkins

Readings

No Reading, Just Research

October 31: In Library w/Kyle Jenkins (choose topic)

Readings

No Reading, Just Research

Week Eleven: Black Power Politics Continued

November 5: Annotated Bibliography Consultation

Readings

Theoharis, *A More Beautiful*, Chapter 9

Booth, *The Craft of Research*, 84-107

November 7: Black Power (**annotated bibliography due**)

Readings

Theoharis, *A More Beautiful*, Afterword

Booth, *The Craft of Research*, 108-138

Week Twelve: *Toward New Crises*

November 12: Black Power

Readings:

No Reading

November 14: Thesis Statement Consultation

Readings

Walker, *Historical Terms and Why They Matter*, Entire Article

<https://www.mission-us.org/2022/11/08/historical-terms-and-why-they-matter/>

Week Thirteen:

November 19: *I Am Not Your Negro*

Research Project

November 21: Discussion (**thesis statement**)



Week Fourteen: THANKSGIVING BREAK

Week Fifteen: You Made it!

December 3: Outline Consultation
Research Project

December 5: No Class (outline due)
Research Project