

CHAPTER
12

GUIDED READING *The Politics of Reconstruction*

Section 1

A. As you read about Reconstruction policies, make notes to answer the questions.

1865	<p>Lincoln is assassinated.</p> <p>Johnson announces his Reconstruction plan.</p> <p>Congress convenes, excluding newly elected Southerners.</p>	→	1. What did Johnson’s Reconstruction plan call for?
1866	<p>Congress votes to continue and enlarge the Freedmen’s Bureau.</p>	→	2. What was the purpose of the Freedmen’s Bureau?
	<p>Congress passes the Civil Rights Act of 1866.</p> <p>Johnson vetoes the Freedmen’s Bureau Bill and the Civil Rights Act.</p>	→	3. What were the provisions of the Civil Rights Act?
	<p>Congress overrides vetoes and adopts the Fourteenth Amendment.</p>	→	4. What were the main provisions of the Fourteenth Amendment?
1867	<p>Congressional elections are held.</p>	→	5. What was the central issue of the 1866 congressional elections?
	<p>Congress passes the Reconstruction Act.</p> <p>Johnson vetoes the Reconstruction Act.</p>	→	6. What were the main features of the act?
	<p>Congress overrides the veto. Johnson is impeached.</p>	→	7. Why was Johnson impeached? What was the Senate’s verdict after his impeachment trial?
1868	<p>Grant is elected President.</p> <p>Congress adopts the Fifteenth Amendment.</p>	→	8. What did the Fifteenth Amendment guarantee?

B. On the back of this paper, identify the following:

Radical Republicans Thaddeus Stevens Wade–Davis Bill

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GUIDED READING *Reconstructing Society*

Section 2

A. As you read this section, make notes that summarize postwar changes in the South. List the problems that the region suffered, grouping each problem according to whether it was mainly political, economic, or social. Then indicate how individuals and the government responded to each difficulty or crisis.

Problems	Responses
1. Primarily political	
2. Primarily economic	
3. Primarily social	

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B. On the back of this paper, identify or explain each of the following:

Hiram Revels scalawag carpetbagger sharecropping tenant farming

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GUIDED READING *The Collapse of Reconstruction*

Section 3

A. As you read about the end of Reconstruction, make notes in the chart to explain how each trend or event contributed to its collapse.

1. The rise of the Ku Klux Klan and other white supremacy groups	→	
2. The use of intimidation against Republican voters in Mississippi, Florida, South Carolina, and Louisiana	→	
3. Congress's approval of both the Amnesty Act and the end of the Freedmen's Bureau	→	
4. The exposure of widespread corruption in the Grant administration	→	
5. The formation of the Liberal Republican Party and the presidential campaign of 1872	→	
6. The Panic of 1873, economic depression, and currency controversies	→	
7. The Supreme Court decisions handed down in the <i>Slaughterhouse</i> cases, <i>U.S. v. Cruikshank</i> , and <i>U.S. v. Reese</i>	→	
8. The deaths of such Radical Republican leaders as Charles Sumner and Thaddeus Stevens	→	
9. The Compromise of 1877 (the political deal reached between supporters of Hayes and Tilden)	→	

B. On the back of this paper, briefly define **redemption** and **home rule**.

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Section 3

SKILLBUILDER PRACTICE *Evaluating Decisions*

The decisions by the Supreme Court during the 1870s had major impact on efforts to make Reconstruction in the South work. Were the Court's decisions good? Read the passage below, then answer the questions at the bottom of the page. (See Skillbuilder Handbook, p. 1048.)

The Slaughterhouse Cases In 1869 the legislature of the state of Louisiana had agreed to give all the slaughterhouse business in New Orleans to one company and to close all the other slaughterhouses. The butchers whose businesses had been closed sued the state for illegally taking away their occupation, in violation of the Fourteenth Amendment guarantee that no state could “abridge the privileges or immunities” of a United States citizen.

The Supreme Court ruled in favor of the Louisiana legislature and against the butchers. Basically, the Court interpreted the Fourteenth Amendment to mean that protection of rights under the amendment applied only to the rights people had because they were citizens of the nation, such as the right to travel safely between two states. The amendment did not apply, the Court said, to the basic civil rights a person acquires by being a citizen of a state. As a result, the federal government was not required to protect those civil rights from the states. The Fourteenth Amendment had been intended to prevent the

states from infringing on the rights of former slaves. The Supreme Court's decision nearly nullified that intent.

The Weakening of Reconstruction The ruling in the *Slaughterhouse* cases and in other cases before the Supreme Court in the 1870s signaled the Court's pulling of its support for Reconstruction. State and local officials found numerous loopholes in the laws to limit the rights of African-American men, confirming fears among Northerners that Reconstruction's goal of equality could not be enforced.

Gradually, political support for Reconstruction also dwindled, helped by President Grant's reluctance to use federal power in state and local affairs. Reconstruction officially ended in the South with the political deal known as the Compromise of 1877. By then, Southern Democrats had replaced Republicans in state legislatures and reversed Republican policies, thus limiting the rights and opportunities of free African American men.

1. What were some short-term effects of the Court's decision in the *Slaughterhouse* cases?

2. What were some long-term effects?

3. How would you evaluate this decision?

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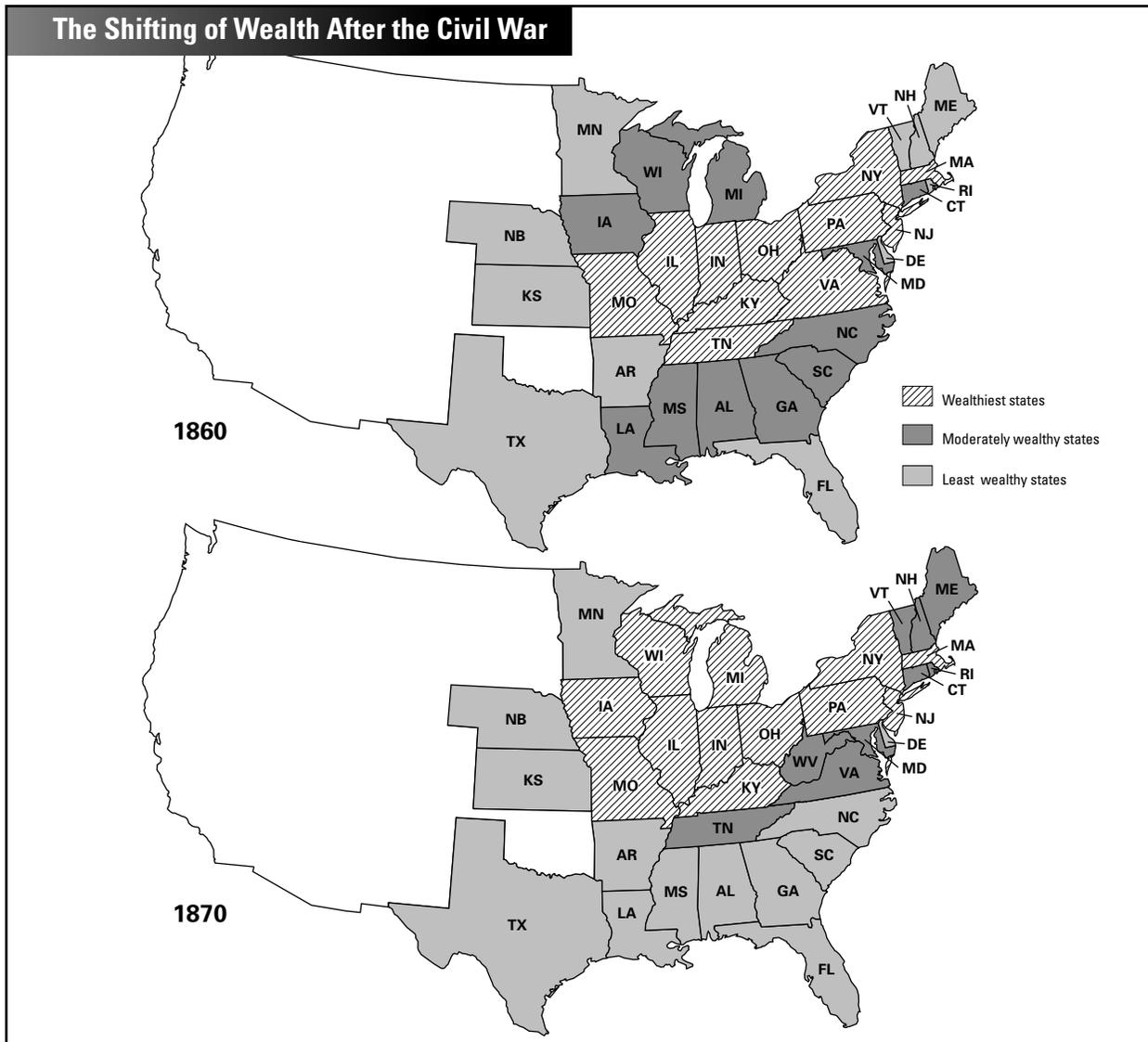
Section 2

GEOGRAPHY APPLICATION: HUMAN-ENVIRONMENT INTERACTIONS
The Economic Effects of the Civil War

Directions: Read the paragraphs below and study the maps carefully. Then answer the questions that follow.

The Civil War was fought in the South. Thus, much of its farmland was ruined, and the ability of the South to produce manufactured goods was weakened by the destruction of raw materials and buildings. In this way the Civil War redrew the economic

map of the United States, as can be seen by comparing the relative wealth of states at the beginning of the war to their status five years after the war was over. The judgments on wealth have been based on the value of farms and manufactured goods.



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Interpreting Text and Visuals

1. In which regions were most of the wealthiest states found in 1860? _____

Describe the shift in the location of the wealthiest states by 1870. _____

2. What Confederate states were among the richest in 1860? _____

By 1870, how had the situation of those states changed? _____

3. What was the status of the four border states at the beginning of the Civil War? _____

What was their status ten years later? _____

4. Compare and contrast the economic position of the Confederate states as a whole before and after the Civil War. _____

5. At the end of the Civil War, one region was much richer than it had been and one region was much poorer. What geographic and social factors contributed to the shift in wealth for both the North and South?

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Section 1

PRIMARY SOURCES Frederick Douglass on
Voting Rights

Frederick Douglass delivered this speech at the annual meeting of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society in Boston in 1865, before the end of the war. As you read this excerpt, notice how Douglass counters objections to his argument.

I am for the “immediate, unconditional, and universal” enfranchisement of the black man, in every state in the Union. Without this, his liberty is a mockery; without this, you might as well almost retain the old name of slavery for his condition; for, in fact, if he is not the slave of the individual master, he is the slave of society, and holds his liberty as a privilege, not as a right. He is at the mercy of the mob, and has no means of protecting himself.

It may be objected, however, that this pressing of the Negro’s right to suffrage is premature. Let us have slavery abolished, it may be said, let us have labor organized, and then, in the natural course of events, the right of suffrage will be extended to the Negro. I do not agree with this. The constitution of the human mind is such, that if it once disregards the conviction forced upon it by a revelation of truth, it requires the exercise of a higher power to produce the same conviction afterward. The American people are now in tears. The Shenandoah has run blood, the best blood of the North. All around Richmond, the blood of New England and of the North has been shed, of your sons, your brothers, and your fathers. We all feel, in the existence of this rebellion, that judgments terrible, widespread, far-reaching, overwhelming, are abroad in the land; and we feel, in view of these judgments, just now, a disposition to learn righteousness. This is the hour. Our streets are in mourning, tears are falling at every fireside, and under the chastisement of this rebellion we have almost come up to the point of conceding this great, this all-important right of suffrage. I fear that if we fail to do it now, if Abolitionists fail to press it now, we may not see, for centuries to come, the same disposition that exists at this moment. Hence, I say, now is the time to press this right.

It may be asked, “Why do you want it? Some men have got along very well without it. Women have not this right.” Shall we justify one wrong by another? That is a sufficient answer. Shall we at this

moment justify the deprivation of the Negro of the right to vote, because someone else is deprived of that privilege? I hold that women, as well as men, have the right to vote, and my heart and my voice go with the movement to extend suffrage to woman; but that question rests upon another basis than that on which our right rests. We may be asked, I say, why we want it. I will tell you why we want it. We want it because it is our right, first of all. No class of men can, without insulting their own nature, be content with any deprivations of their rights. We want it, again, as a means for educating our race. Men are so constituted that they derive their conviction of their own possibilities largely from the estimate formed of them by others. If nothing is expected of a people, that people will find it difficult to contradict that expectation. By depriving us of suffrage, you affirm our incapacity to form an intelligent judgment respecting public men and public measures; you declare before the world that we are unfit to exercise the elective franchise, and by this means lead us to undervalue ourselves, to put a low estimate upon ourselves, and to feel that we have no possibilities like other men. Again, I want the elective franchise, for one, as a colored man, because ours is a peculiar government, based upon a peculiar idea, and that idea is universal suffrage.

Discussion Questions

1. Why does Douglass feel that suffrage for the black man is so important?
2. Do you agree with Douglass that the time was right to press for suffrage for black men? Explain.
3. Do you think the right to vote in our time is as important as it was in Douglass’s time? Why or why not? What would happen today if Americans lost the right to vote?

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Section 2

PRIMARY SOURCE *from Proud Shoes* by Pauli Murray

In her family memoir, Pauli Murray focuses on her grandfather, Robert G. Fitzgerald. After fighting in the Civil War, Fitzgerald studied to be a missionary at Ashmun Institute and taught freedmen in the South during Reconstruction. As you read part of a letter that Fitzgerald wrote to Ashmun's president, think about challenges he faced.

Freedmen's Chapel, 6 miles West
Amelia Court House, Va.
Aug. 28th 1866

Mr. I. N. Rendall,
Dear Sir,

You must pardon my long delay in writing to you. I have attempted to write you several times since coming here, but this is the first time I have succeeded. I have endeavoured to make myself useful since I left the college. I received a small outfit of books & charts from Mr. Main 821 Chestnut St. Phil. on the 22nd of June. I started immediately and on the evening of the 23rd arrived in Richmond. I taught sabbath school on the 24th which was Sabbath, and on the 25th arrived at Amelia C.H.Va. one of the most dreary looking places you ever saw, and on stepping off the cars I conceived I saw some of the very faces I had met in the battle of Petersburg which is only 25 miles from here. They seemed still to have that savage unsettled appearance, and we were somewhat alarmed to hear some of them use oaths in speaking of us, but they made no further demonstration. Mr. Murphy [Reverend T. J. Murphy, a Union army chaplain] was absent and the officer of the post recommended that Mr. Chrestfield to go south to Danville, Mr. Brown to a plantation 6 miles south of the C.H. and myself to a building which the colored people had commenced for a church; it was near 6 miles west of the C.H. and I arrived there in the evening of 25th and was discouraged to find it without roof, door, or windows, the workmen having quit it for the summer harvest. I went around among them and was successful in getting a few to go to work with me next morning. I worked 3 days with them in nailing on the roof, carrying lumber making the floor &c and on the 4th day I commenced school with only 8 pupils. My working with them had a very good effect, for in a few days pupils were coming 5 or 6 miles to school. The 1st Sabbath I was here I had near 200 Sabbath scholars. They walk 10 miles some of them to our Sab. School. Mr. Brownd [sic] joined me on the 1st of July (not having succeeded in getting a schoolhouse

on the plantation). We have been very successful in sab. and day school and have 230 sabbath and 145 day scholars. I have written to some friends in Brooklyn for some pamphlets, Sab. S. books & papers to distribute to them. . . .

These people learn more rapidly than any school I ever taught, and if you approve of it, I shall remain here till the 1st of Nov. they insist on our staying and Mr. M——has made arrangements to teach our latin and Greek lessons twice a week, so I think by that time we could have these people reading, writing and ciphering for enough to keep their accounts.

Mr. Rendall, has father paid that bill yet? He told me just before I left that he would pay the 1st thing after his crop was off; in this or the first of next month. If it is not paid by that time, by him, I will have enough earned to send it myself, and I shall do so. We get only \$25.00 a month and board & pay our own passage home, so you can see Mr. R—— that after buying our summer & winter clothing, paying our passage home &c, even 4 months pay will look very small. . . .

There are thousands of children in this county that [are] not in the reach of schools and I suppose the next 5 years will not find enough teachers here south to reach all the freedmen, and I think from what I have seen if they are not educated they will become a dangerous element. . . .

With much Respect
Robert G. Fitzgerald

from Pauli Murray, Proud Shoes (New York: Harper & Row, 1978), 173–175.

Discussion Questions

1. What different challenges did Fitzgerald face after he arrived in Virginia?
2. According to this letter, what was the freedmen's response to the chance for an education?
3. Why do you think getting an education was so important to Fitzgerald's students? Cite evidence from your textbook to support your opinion.

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PRIMARY SOURCE *from* **An Inquiry on the
Condition of the South**

Congress established the Joint Select Committee to investigate reports of violence and intimidation in the South. On August 4, 1871, the committee took this testimony from Henry B. Whitfield, the mayor of Columbus, Mississippi. What does Whitfield's testimony reveal about conditions in Mississippi during Reconstruction?

QUESTION. This committee is charged with inquiring into the condition of affairs in Mississippi and other States, especially in reference to the safety of property and life, and the due execution of the law. State anything you know on that subject.

ANSWER. I consider that in the counties in Eastern Mississippi particularly, and on the Alabama line, and in North Mississippi, on the Tennessee line, there is considerable insecurity to liberty of person, and in some instances to life, unless a party espouses certain opinions.

QUESTION. What opinions do you mean?

ANSWER. I mean that if a white man, an old citizen of the county, is known to be a member of the republican party, the people are very intolerant toward him; and if a northern man who has come there is a republican they are a little worse toward him; and toward the black people, unless they are willing to vote as the people there desire them to vote, they are very intolerant. . . .

QUESTION. Take first your own county of Lowndes, and state the condition of things there.

ANSWER. . . . Back as far as the year 1868 was the first time that we had any indications there of any organizations which appeared to be for improper purposes—for the purpose of controlling opinion or making people do as they wanted them to do. Such organizations then existed, being organized during the campaign of 1868—at the time of the election for the convention in the State. During 1869 and a part of 1870, we did not hear of anything of the kind to any extent in Lowndes County. But last February the thing seemed to have broken loose again with every indication of violence, and to a very outrageous extent in the northeastern part of the county.

QUESTION. The part of the county bordering on the Alabama line?

ANSWER. Yes, sir. . . . I will state that the first outbreak which occurred was in the latter part of

February of the present year. The victim was a negro named James Hicks. . . . It was charged that . . . he had used some improper language in regard to some white ladies of the neighborhood; and these people determined, I suppose, that he should suffer for it. He had moved down some seven miles below that, into another neighborhood. They found out where he lived, followed him down there, and took him out one night. From the best information I could get, there were from one hundred to one hundred and twenty disguised men, who were armed heavily. They took him out into the public road and whipped him. The statements of the witnesses varied considerably as to the amount of whipping he received. The lowest estimate that I heard was three hundred lashes; some of the black people who were present thought it was as high as one thousand. I have no doubt myself, from the man's appearance two days afterward, and from the evidence in the case, that he was very severely beaten.

from Testimony Taken by the Joint Select Committee to Inquire into the Condition of Affairs in the Late Insurrectionary States. Reprinted in Louis M. Hacker, ed., *The Shaping of the American Tradition* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1947) 647–651.

Activity Options

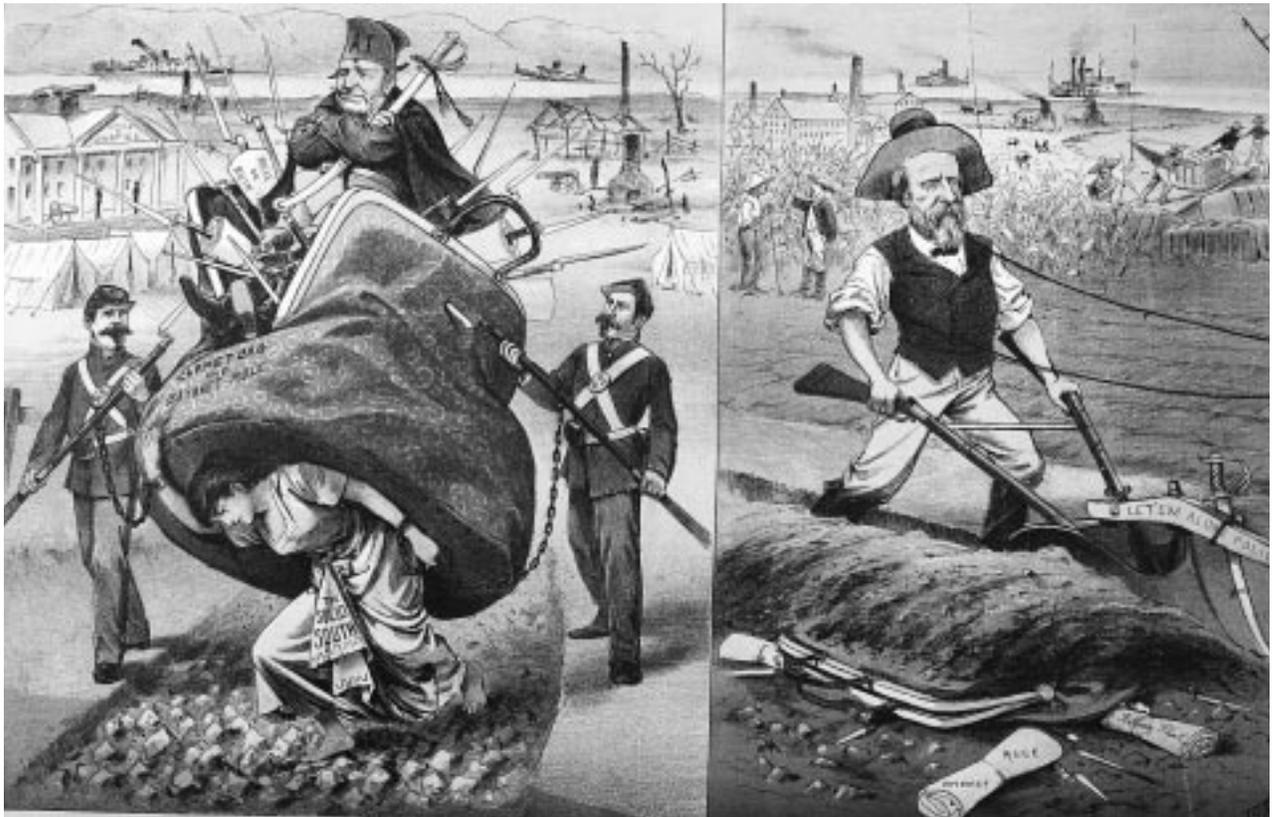
1. Imagine yourself as a member of the Joint Select Committee. Write a list of questions that you might want to ask witnesses about conditions in the South during Reconstruction.
2. With a small group of classmates, role-play the questioning of Whitfield by the Joint Select Committee.
3. Based on your reading of Chapter 12, list two or three witnesses that you think the Joint Select Committee could have called to testify.

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Section 3

PRIMARY SOURCE **Political Cartoon**

This political cartoon, which shows President Grant on the left and President Hayes on the right, illustrates the cartoonist's view of two different governing styles. According to the cartoon, under which type of federal government would the South flourish during Reconstruction?



The Granger Collection, New York.

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Discussion Questions

1. According to the cartoon on the left, what was the effect of President Grant's government on the South?
2. According to the cartoon on the right, what was the outcome of President Hayes's "Let 'Em Alone" policy?
3. How would you design a political cartoon that expresses your opinion about federal intervention in the South during Reconstruction? Share your opinion with your classmates.

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Section 2

LITERATURE SELECTION *from Jubilee*
by Margaret Walker

Jubilee is based on the true story of Margaret Walker's great-grandmother, Vvry, during the years before the Civil War through Reconstruction. In this excerpt, Vvry, her husband, Innis, and her children Jim, Minna, and Harry are homesteading in Alabama after the war. They work for awhile at the Jacobsons' house and sawmill before putting in the crops on their new farm. In keeping with the setting of this novel, some of the white characters use offensive racial epithets.

Spring of 1869 was a turbulent spring in Alabama. There were Negro soldiers in the streets of Troy as well as many northern white strangers. The local white people and the northern whites clashed and there were scuffles among the Negroes and between the Negroes and whites. Vvry and Innis kept thinking how glad they were that they lived on the outskirts of town on top of one of its many hills. They went back and forth to the Jacobsons throughout the month of March and meanwhile they were going on Sunday nights to church meeting.

The question of a new Negro school had created some controversy. The whites wanted to know where the money was coming for “nigger” children to read books when there were fields that needed to be worked, sawmills, and turpentine camps that were going idle. Mr. Jacobson [the white owner of the sawmill where Innis works] told Innis he didn’t know how it was all going to work out, that they should be careful. Innis told Vvry that it was all right for Minna, but he thought it might be a mistake to send Jim to school.

“Why?” asked Vvry.

“He’s old enough to work, that’s why.”

“But he got a right to learn, too, ain’t he?”

“That ain’t the point.”

“What is the point?”

“The point is we needs him to help work.”

“I wants him to go to school.”

“Well, the white folks is saying . . .”

“I don’t care what the white folks is saying. I wants my chilluns to learn to read and write.”

“Well, they is agin it.”

The subject became a sore topic even between Vvry and Innis. When the fifty cents tax was levied, the white folks claimed the Negroes would not pay,

and Innis said, “We ain’t got the money.”

“We is got the money, Innis Brown, and you knows it.”

“But we can’t afford it.”

“What else can we afford more’n book learning for your younguns?” And, stricken by the conflict, she looked at him and he dropped his eyes.

April came and time to leave the Jacobsons and Vvry was surprised to see that Mrs. Jacobson had not expected it, did not like it, and was not only bitter but almost nasty about it.

“You mean you’re going to stop cooking for us now that you’ve got yourself a house and a farm?”

“Well, ma’am, I figgers my husband needs me to help work the place.”

“What about Jim? Can’t he help him?”

Vvry felt a pang of fear, but she continued to look steadily at Mrs. Jacobson while she spoke, “Yes’m, Jim can help, but I figered whilst all the spring plowing and planting’s going on they can’t hardly manage all by themselves.”

“Can’t Minna keep the baby and look after the house?”

“Yes’m, she can,” and now Vvry was twisting her apron in her hands, and her agitation must have been visible to her employer at this point.

“Oh, I know, you want them to go to school, is that it?” And Vvry could tell from the accusing tone of Mrs. Jacobson’s voice that she really didn’t like the idea even though it was she who had given Minna her first book.

“Well, ma’am, I was thinking you more’n anybody else would understand.”

“Yes, I do understand. I understand how you colored people don’t want to work the way you useta. What’s more you won’t work the way you useta. You expect everything to come dropping in

The question of a new Negro school had created some controversy.

your laps, houses and land and schools and churches and money, and you want to leave the white people holding the bag. We've done everything we can for you, my husband and I . . ."

"Yes'm, you sho is," said Vyry miserably trying to avoid a big misunderstanding by interrupting, "and we appreciates it, ma'am, we does."

"It doesn't look like it now."

"I wasn't planning on quitting working for you for good, Missus Jacobson. I just wants to help him get the cotton and corn and taters in the ground."

"Oh, yes, you want everything at your convenience and none at mine. You take off any time at all and you need not come back." And Vyry, with her head bowed, sorrowfully turned away.

One April morning Vyry and Innis and Jim were hard at work in the field. It was nearly noon and they would soon stop working and go to the house for dinner. Minna was in the house with Harry. She could clean the house and wash the dishes and tend Vyry's cooking pots while the others were in the field. When Harry was asleep she tried to figure out the words in her picture book which Mrs. Jacobson had given her. She had worn it hard and thin and she fussed with Jim if his hands were dirty and messed up her book while he tried to read it in the evenings. They would have fought over that book had it not been for Vyry. This was a bright, sunny morning, a Friday, and although Minna did not exactly understand the difference in all the days yet, she was learning. She knew it was Friday because Vyry kept track of church meeting night and there were two more nights before Sunday. Minna put down her book and went to look at the pots on the stove. Standing in the back door were three half-grown white boys or young men, and they were walking into the house. Minna was startled and stepped back toward the room where Harry was sleeping.

"Hey, nigger-gal, what you cooking?" And one of the boys moved toward Minna, while the other two giggled. Minna backed quickly into the bedroom and grabbed Harry. Awakened suddenly from a nap, he hollered.

"Make him shut up, nigger-gal, or I'll cut his black throat with my razor."

They were still coming in the room and Minna, now frightened out of her wits, had Harry in her arms and was backing into a corner. When he screamed again and she saw the boy flick the razor she put her hand over Harry's mouth and muffled his sound. The boys were still grinning, and one said, "We wants a drink of water, nigger-gal, come on outside and give it to us." But they stood blocking her path and when she made an effort to move they laughed and moved in closer. Now the third boy looked at his friends and then back at Minna and Harry, and pointing his finger from one to the other he began to mimic,

Eny, meeny, minie, moe,
Catch a nigger by his toe,
If he holler let him go.
Eny, meeny, minie, moe.

And they were laughing loudly when suddenly coming through the house were Innis, Vyry, and Jim. The boys were startled when they looked up and saw three their size. One of them wanted to stand his ground and get ugly, but after a moment's hard silence another said, "Come on yall, let's git outa this nigger house. It stinks." And

laughing loudly again, they ran out. Minna was near the point of hysteria and she collapsed in Vyry's arms screaming. "Maw, oh Maw!"

Innis and Jim were unable to utter a word but they fully understood Minna's terror and the whole family was stunned into silence. Saturday morning Vyry did not go into the field with Innis and Jim. She knew she could not leave Minna alone in the house again, even though they were so near.

"I'm just thankful it wasn't no worse than it was."

"It was bad enough, Maw. They nearabouts scared me to death."

"I knows they did. Your Paw and me keeps wondering what they come up here for in the first place."

"I guess they was just out in the woods and wanted water, so they come over here and then they seen me here by myself and started meddling."

"I dunno. I just don't know."

Standing in the back door were three half-grown white boys or young men, and they were walking into the house. Minna was startled and stepped back toward the room where Harry was sleeping.

Vyry and Minna were cooking and baking for Sunday as well as Saturday.

“We’s gwine have the new preacher for dinner tomorrow and then we’s all gwine to town for evening meeting.”

“All us?”

“Yeah, your Paw says so.”

Although Vyry worked hard all day scrubbing and cleaning and cooking and baking, and sometimes singing from long force of habit, she was deeply troubled over the boys’ intrusion on Friday. She wanted to tell somebody like the Jacobsons, but she knew Mrs. Jacobson was still angry. “She’ll just hafta git over it, I reckons.”

“What did you say, Maw?”

“Nothing, Minna. I was just thinking.”

Sunday was a merry day. The new house shone with Vyry’s best. Everybody was happy to have company. Once, when Jim was gulping down chicken and dumplings faster than seemed company manners, Innis roughly reproved him, “Sirrah, there boy! Ain’t nobody running you no race. This food ain’t gwine no place.” But to the preacher he said, “Eat hearty, Reverend, if they ain’t enough my wife’ll cook some more.”

And they laughed, for Vyry always had more than enough.

They were climbing the hill that night between nine and ten o’clock. Innis was riding Harry on his back. Vyry was still deep in the mood of the meeting, hearing the singing and the preaching and the stirring testimonies. She could still feel the intense joy of the song she was humming,

Tell me how did you feel when you come out
the wilderness?

Come out the wilderness,

Come out the wilderness,

Tell me how did you feel when you come out
the wilderness

Leaning on the Lawd?

She had Minna’s hand in hers, and the little girl was looking up at the sky full of stars and the house at the top of the hill that was home, when suddenly she cried out, “Look, Maw! Paw, looka-there!”

It was happening so suddenly they hardly real-

ized the stunning impact. They saw a half-dozen white-sheeted and hooded figures, some on horseback, some holding horses, and others busy on the ground. Then they saw them hoist a huge rough cross-like structure tall as a tree and flaming with fire, and it rose up on the hill against their house. Suddenly they felt the earth rock under their feet, and they smelled the strong fumes of kerosene oil,

and they heard an explosive noise break forth on the spring night, while expertly directed flames licked their beautiful new house and it burst into a roaring fire. As the blaze leaped up the white-sheeted riders galloped away and vanished into the spring night.

Innis began running and Vyry, with her heart in her throat, tried to run, but she felt herself stumbling forward heavily and weighted

as though in a dream. Jim and Minna were running and screaming and thinking this must be a nightmare and not their brand-new house with windows from the mill. Innis was fighting the flames to pull out Vyry’s new churn, her chest, and her spinning wheel. They were blackened with smoke and the smoke was choking him, so they were all that he managed to save.

They saw a half-dozen white-sheeted and hooded figures, some on horseback, some holding horses, and others busy on the ground.

Activity Options

1. In a two-column chart, list the negative and positive aspects of Reconstruction that Vyry and her family experience in this excerpt from *Jubilee*. Then share your chart with the class.
2. Write a diary entry about Reconstruction from the point of view of one of these characters. Remember to keep in character as you write down thoughts and feelings. To clarify how each of these characters might have reacted to Reconstruction, draw on information in your textbook.
3. Write a factual newspaper story about the fire that destroys the family’s home. Be sure to explain what happened, when it took place, where it happened, who was involved, and why it occurred. Post your news story in the classroom.

CHAPTER
12

AMERICAN LIVES **Thaddeus Stevens**
Passionate Man of Principle

Section 1

"[If members of Congress would] fling away ambition and realize that every human being, however lowly-born or degraded by fortune, is your equal and that every inalienable right which belongs to you belongs also to him, truth and righteousness will spread over the land."—Thaddeus Stevens, last speech in Congress (1868)

Thaddeus Stevens devoted his congressional life to removing slavery, which he called "a curse, a shame, and a crime." Once that goal was achieved, he labored to win equal rights for African Americans. He accomplished these goals because he was a skilled lawyer and legislator and tireless in his efforts.

Born in Vermont, Stevens (1792–1868) grew up poor and lacking a father, who either died or left his family when he was very young. He applied himself in school, however, and after attending Dartmouth College settled in Pennsylvania. He became a lawyer. Living near Maryland—a slave state—Stevens saw African Americans taken to court as fugitive slaves. He defended many of them, frequently winning the person's freedom.

He was generous with money. Stevens often took no fee for his defense of fugitive slaves. He once used his savings to purchase the freedom of a man about to be taken south as a fugitive. During the Civil War, Confederate raiders destroyed an iron works he owned. Stevens sent money to the families who lost income when the works shut down.

He was elected to the Pennsylvania legislature in 1833. He became known for his legislative skill; his passionate, sometimes angry speeches; and his defense of principle. He won passage of a law that made education free throughout the state. When opponents tried to overturn it, he criticized the move as an effort by the wealthy to suppress the poor. He refused to sign the new Pennsylvania constitution of 1837 because only whites were allowed to vote.

After a brief retirement, Stevens returned to public life, this time in the U.S. House of Representatives. He began to push the antislavery cause with energy and his sharp tongue. He worked against the Compromise of 1850 and the Fugitive Slave Law. His hatred of slavery became anger at Southerners. No polite debater, he blasted Southern representatives as slave-drivers—and also condemned Northern representatives who did not

work against slavery.

During and just after the Civil War, he was perhaps the most powerful member of the House of Representatives. He urged aggressive prosecution of the war and lashed out when he felt Abraham Lincoln was not taking strong enough measures. He dismissed Lincoln's plan for emancipation as "diluted milk and water gruel." At the same time, he remembered his commitment to the poor. In arguing for the income tax needed to fund the war, he promised it would be a progressive tax: "No one will be affected by the provisions of this bill whose living depends solely on his manual labor."

After the Civil War, Stevens used his power to punish the South, end slavery, and ensure African-American equality before the law. "The foundation of [Southern] institutions . . . must be broken up and relaid, or all our blood and treasure have been spent in vain," he said. He bitterly opposed Andrew Johnson's mild Reconstruction plan. To combat this plan, he got Congress to create a joint committee on reconstruction, which he dominated. He pushed passage of the Fourteenth Amendment, which ended slavery; the Civil Rights Act of 1866; and the Fifteenth Amendment, which gave African Americans the right to vote.

Growing increasingly ill, Stevens led the effort to impeach Andrew Johnson. A few months after the Senate trial ended with Johnson a one-vote survivor, Stevens died. Following his wishes, he was buried in an African-American cemetery.

Questions

1. How does the quotation at the top of the page reflect Stevens's actions during his life?
2. Would Stevens's style of debate be likely to persuade opponents to accept his ideas?
3. Stevens judged his life a failure. Would you agree? Why or why not?

CHAPTER
12**Section 2****AMERICAN LIVES** **Hiram Revels*****African-American Groundbreaker***

"[Black Americans] aim not to elevate themselves by sacrificing one single interest of their white fellow citizens."—Hiram Revels, first speech in U.S. Senate (1870)

Hiram Revels was a religious and educational leader of the African-American community in the years just before and after the Civil War. He also became the first African American to serve in the U.S. Senate—where he held, ironically, the seat of former Confederate president Jefferson Davis. Like many of the African Americans who held office during Reconstruction, he tried to reassure whites that black political power did not threaten whites' rights.

Revels (1822–1901) was born free in Fayetteville, North Carolina, of African and Native American descent. He moved to Indiana at 22 and pursued his education at various colleges. At the same time, he became a minister in the African Methodist Church. In the next 15 years, he preached and taught in the black communities of many northern and border states. In 1860 he came to Baltimore as the pastor of a church and principal of a school.

After the Civil War broke out, Revels was active. He helped raise three regiments of African American troops, two in Maryland and one in Missouri. In St. Louis, he also began a school for freedmen, the term for African Americans freed from slavery. In 1864 he became chaplain for a Mississippi regiment and helped start several African American churches in Jackson. After two years of preaching in Kentucky and Kansas, he settled in Natchez, Mississippi, in 1866.

In Natchez, Revels entered local politics, although he was reluctant to do so. He wanted to avoid racial conflict and was equally worried that politics would take time away from his religious duties. Nevertheless, he won election to the state senate in 1869 as part of the first Mississippi government elected with African-American suffrage. Invited to give the prayer opening the 1870 session, he offered what one observer called "one of the most impressive and eloquent prayers" ever given in the Senate chamber. State legislators had to name new U.S. Senators to take Mississippi's seats in Washington. Revels was chosen by 85 to 15 to complete Davis's term.

Revels's election to the Senate was fought by some who opposed Republican control of the

South. They argued that since African Americans became citizens only with the approval of the Fourteenth Amendment in 1866, he did not meet the constitutional requirement of nine years' citizenship. The Senate ignored the argument, voting in favor of Revels by a 48 to 8 majority.

In the Senate, Revels pursued his interest in education by joining the Education and Labor committee. He took a conservative view, feeling that education and Christian morality—not campaigns for equal rights—would best advance African-Americans' equality. At the same time, he took active steps to promote that equality. His first speech came in defense of African Americans elected to the Georgia legislature who had been denied their seats. He gave a speech against a bill that would continue segregation in Washington, D.C. schools. He also convinced the secretary of war to hire African-American mechanics for the Washington Navy Yard.

After completing his term, Revels returned to Mississippi where he was named first president of Alcorn University, an all-black institution. Caught in the crosswinds of a struggle for power in the Mississippi Republican party, he resigned in 1874. In the 1875 election, Revels campaigned for Democrats. He even wrote a letter to President Grant—much publicized—that criticized the state Republicans and argued that election violence was not a problem in Mississippi. These actions cost him some support in the African-American community. He returned to lead Alcorn from 1876 to 1882, when he retired to pursue his Methodist work until his death.

Questions

1. Why did Revels and other Reconstruction era office holders try to reassure whites?
2. Republicans were called "radicals." Do Revels's views seem radical? Explain.
3. Why would Revels support for Mississippi Democrats alienate African Americans?

CHAPTER
12
Project

LIVING HISTORY *Researching and Writing
a Biography*

FINDING A SUBJECT Do some preliminary research before you decide on a Reconstruction figure. Try these steps:

1. Browse through books or encyclopedia articles on Reconstruction to identify three people you could write about. Try these books:

- *A Short History of Reconstruction* (1991) by Eric Foner
- *The Trouble They Seen* (1994) edited by Dorothy Sterling



2. Use what you learn about these three people to input key words in these sources:

- an electronic library catalog of print and nonprint sources of information
- an Internet search engine such as Lycos, Yahoo! Infoseek, or Magellan



3. Select a Reconstruction figure who interests you and who has enough information available to include in your biography.

RESEARCHING Use at least two different sources when you're gathering information. For example, you could use an encyclopedia article and a book or a magazine article and an article you downloaded from the World Wide Web. Make sure you gather enough of the following kinds of information:

- ✓ details about the person's early life
- ✓ details about the person's experiences during Reconstruction
- ✓ information about the effects of those experiences on the person's later life
- ✓ expressions of the person's political beliefs
- ✓ anecdotes and quotations that make the person come alive in your reader's imagination
- ✓ pictures (if available)

Remember to document each source with author, title, year of publication, and page numbers.

DRAFTING AND REVISING Begin with an outline or a draft. Concentrate on getting your ideas on paper and organizing all your research to support the important experiences in the person's life. When you revise, make sure you have

- written an introduction that explains your subject's historical importance
- generally organized your biography according to the chronological order of the person's life
- supported all inferences and generalizations with facts
- written a conclusion that sums up the significance of the person's life
- proofread for mistakes in grammar, spelling, and punctuation



LIVING HISTORY *Standards for Evaluating
a Biography*

RESEARCH	Exceptional	Acceptable	Poor
1. Combines research from at least two sources			
2. Documents each source by listing author, title, date of publication, and page numbers			
IDEAS AND CONTENT			
3. Presents a variety of details about the person's life			
4. Explores the person's experiences during Reconstruction, including the effect of those experiences in later life			
5. Includes expressions of the person's political beliefs			
6. Uses quotations, anecdotes, and pictures (if available) to further illustrate the person's life.			
STRUCTURE AND FORM			
7. Has an introduction and a conclusion to explain the person's historical significance			
8. Supports statements about the person's life with facts			
9. Generally follows a chronological organization			
10. Includes only a few errors in grammar, spelling, and punctuation			

Comments _____

Overall Rating _____