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*Decision Making in U.S. History*

**Civil War and Reconstruction**

Kevin O'Reilly

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# HOW TO USE THIS BOOK:

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Be sure to use these lessons:

1. **BEFORE students read about or study the topics.** If students read about the topics before they do the problems in each lesson, they may know which options worked well or poorly. That will spoil the whole decision-making experience!
2. **INDIVIDUALLY.** These are stand-alone lessons. They are meant to be plugged into your U.S. history curriculum wherever you see fit. They are not intended as part of a sequence.
3. **FLEXIBLY.** Each lesson can either be used as a quick introduction to a historical topic or unit, or alternatively as a lengthier in-depth study of the topic.
4. **FOR SKILLS as well as history CONTENT.** These lessons focus on real historical problems, and are often accompanied by pages of historical context; as such, they provide situations to challenge students' decision-making skills along with the historical background necessary to understand those situations.



# INTRODUCTION

## **RATIONALE: Hindsight versus Foresight**

When we study history, it is all too easy to sit in judgment of those who came before us. We read it after the fact; we see it in hindsight. Given the benefit of such 20/20 hindsight, some historical figures seem to have been very misguided or downright silly in their decisions. Why didn't they anticipate the consequences of their choices? How could they have been so shortsighted? Sports enthusiasts call this sort of analysis "Monday morning quarterbacking."

However, it's not so easy to laugh at the follies of past decision makers if we are confronted with decisions in history before we learn the actual results. In such a situation, we find ourselves making some of the same mistakes that historical characters made, and we sometimes commit new errors they did not make. This method of studying history, which we might call "foresight history", is far more challenging—and engaging—than the traditional retroactive method to which we are inured.

In short, when we learn history by hindsight we risk becoming more arrogant and complacent. If, on the other hand, we learn history by *foresight*, by casting ourselves in the role of those historical figures and making decisions as they did—without knowing the outcome—we can learn humility and gain a great deal of empathy for them. Students in my classes constantly exclaim, "This is hard!" as opposed to, "This is boring!"

Foresight history also helps students improve key decision-making skills they will use again and again as citizens. Schools of law, medicine, business, and nursing, along with the military and many other institutions, use case-study methods, where students are forced to make decisions about a particular case and then analyze their thinking. If each of these varied disciplines values decision making so much, shouldn't we be training all our future citizens how to make good decisions?

History provides many benefits for those who study it. Historical knowledge can be liberating all by itself, letting us draw back the veil of ignorance and see the present with eyes enlightened by the past. The more knowledge of history we possess, the better we understand our societies and ourselves. Study and evaluation of primary sources, discussions of motives, debates about significance, analyzing causes and effects, and many other strategies are vital to history courses. The lessons here on decision making are meant to support and enhance these other methods of studying history, not to replace them with a more "practical" type of history.

# OVERVIEW

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The lessons in *Decision Making in U.S. History* are meant to be used independently within a standard U.S. history course in middle school, high school, or college. Each book in this series is comprised of between eight and thirteen lessons. Each lesson includes the following:

1. Introduction: Includes an overview of the topic, content vocabulary, and decision-making skills emphasized in the lesson.
2. Lesson plan: Includes suggestions for how to use the handouts, how to focus on decision-making skills, how to connect the decision problem to the larger historical context, how to use video and other supplementary sources, and how to troubleshoot problems, should any arise.
3. Suggested answers: This section features teacher notes about outcomes (student versions of the outcomes are also provided—see #6 below), references to historians and interpretations of the topic, decision-making analysis, and suggestions for further research.
4. Sources: Includes the specific sources used in the lesson.
5. Problem(s): Reproducible handouts used by students to read and analyze the problem.
6. Historical outcome of the problem: What people in history actually did and the consequences thereof.
7. Primary sources and visuals (if any): These are integrated into the lesson itself, and are not included merely as window dressing.

Each individual decision-making challenge is referred to as a “problem.” Some lessons have one problem to challenge students, while others contain numerous problems. The handouts for each lesson are reproducible; teachers can also decide to use only selected parts of the handouts if so desired.

While decision making is the main point of the books, historical content is also very important. These lessons focus on real historical problems that convey powerful lessons about U.S. history. The problems involve important issues relevant both to America’s past and its present: taxation, foreign intervention, regulation of businesses and individuals, immigration, welfare, war, and so forth. In addition, not all of the problems come from the perspective of political leaders: many ask students to consider the perspectives of ordinary Americans such as workers, voters, farmers, black business owners, Native Americans, and women. Including problems from the perspective of ordinary people prepares students for their roles as citizens in a democracy and encourages empathy for unfamiliar groups.

Most of the problems are brief—some as short as one paragraph—and can be used as class warm-ups that last no more than ten minutes. Even with the short problems, however, the outcomes can often be quite complex, running on for several pages. The problems may look deceptively simple, but the analysis is complicated. You can best

judge of how much analysis to include for each problem, and for how long to run each problem and discussion.

On the other hand, some problems are more complicated. These problems deal with crucial turning points in our nation's history. Students will almost certainly need more background information before making decisions, and analysis of these problems could take several class periods. These more involved problems could form the organization for an entire unit of study. For example, in my classes the problem on the New Deal provides me with the bulk of the time and activities on my unit concerning the New Deal. Students learn about the basic New Deal programs, including their advantages and disadvantages, while simultaneously working to improve their decision-making skills.

## DECISION MAKING

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### **What is Decision Making?**

As explained in Student Handout 1, decision making involves making a choice when there is no one clearly right answer. Students can derive important lessons about decision making from encountering "messy" problems like these. Even where outcomes do not show a particular choice to be clearly right or wrong, students will still be surprised by some aspects of the outcomes and thereby gain insight into decision making.

### **Decision Making as Experience:**

As argued in Student Handout 1, the most powerful way to teach good decision making is through experience. People learn to make good decisions just by making decisions, period. Bad decisions are more instructive, perhaps, in making us more skeptical decision makers, but that isn't stressed to students in Student Handout 1. Examples from the teaching profession illustrate this negative reinforcement aspect of decision making. Teachers who just put students into groups without giving specific directions quickly learn not to do that again. Lessons that don't work well are dropped or modified the next time around. Good teaching is basically good decision making, and good decision making is shaped rapidly by previous decisions.

Ordinary people, including students, have an optimistic tendency simply to assume their decisions will result in positive outcomes, rather than making an estimate of the probabilities of certain outcomes. Decision-making experts, on the other hand, have a much more realistic view of probabilities, due in part to their greater experience with the types of problem with which they often deal. Experience teaches us to be more realistic about outcomes.

Just encountering the problems and outcomes in these books, therefore, can help students improve their decision making skills in general.

### **Targeting Decision-Making Skills:**

As mentioned in Student Handout 1, these books go beyond just decision-making problems and their outcomes. They also provide teachers with a decision-making model and strategies for teaching the skills involved in decision making. Students learn a simple model that provides basic guidelines for making decisions. This model goes by the acronym **P-A-G-E** (as explained below and in Student Handouts 2 and 3), and it gives support and guidance for student decisions, allows for communication built around specific skills and a common vocabulary, and provides specific criteria for teachers to evaluate student progress on those skills.

The teacher is crucial as a coach to guide students as they encounter the decision-making problems, in what Reuven Feuerstein refers to as “mediated learning.” The teacher’s guidance and questions can help students make sense of what they are thinking when they make decisions about historical situations.

The debate among researchers about the relative power of experience versus instruction on decision making is not crucial to these books. Rather, the problems and lessons in these books allow teachers to combine experience and instruction in the form of mediated learning (coaching).

### **Repetition in Order to Master Skills:**

These books are based on the hypothesis that several repetitions of decision-making problems and outcomes help improve decision making. That is, a person who has tried 50 problems will most likely have improved his/her decision-making skills more than a person who has tried only ten problems, simply because he or she has had more experiences making decisions. There are many problems included in these books, and teachers are encouraged to use them regularly (once or twice per week, perhaps) as warm-ups to start classes or units. It isn’t expected, however, that teachers will necessarily use all the problems.

Having experience with a large number of problems also provides students with more historical analogies upon which they can draw. It is striking how often decision makers base their thinking on an analogy (usually a recent one) in looking for ideas to help decide a problem. Having a broader range of analogies allows students to be more skeptical of any analogy suggested, since students are more likely to think of different analogies than the ones offered.

Though many experiences with decision making will help, it is essential that teachers coach students (mediated learning) and have time to reflect on their thinking during decision-making problems. Metacognition (thinking about our own thinking) is vital to improving thinking skills, according to numerous writers. Teachers should therefore allow “postmortem” time after each experience for students to reflect on their thinking, either verbally or in writing (see the section on evaluation for ideas). Teachers are also

encouraged to use some of the lessons for lengthier (1–3 class periods), more in-depth analysis of student thinking and the historical topics involved; perhaps two or three lessons could be used for in-depth analysis per semester.

### **Individual Choice Versus Historical Context:**

Research indicates that students generally view the role of individual choices as critical to historical events (for example, viewing Rosa Parks as an important catalyst for the civil rights movement), while professional historians stress underlying forces (for example, African Americans fighting in World War II, the Cold War, etc. as important causes of the civil rights movement) as more important. Historical actors are constrained by historical context, researchers argue—much more than students probably think.

By focusing on decisions by individuals and by groups, the books in this series may seem to perpetuate the overemphasis on the individual vs. historical forces. However, the lessons in these books help students see more historical context, not less. In order to make good decisions, students need to learn a great deal of historical context. All lessons in this book require students to ask questions about context. Each lesson includes a short outcome and a question about why students think that option was tried (e.g., “The Congress rejected the 1790 petition to end slavery. Why do you think it was rejected? What historical forces at the time led to this outcome?”). Each problem also asks students to think about the historical forces that made it difficult for the individual to make a good decision. In addition, many problems include multiple points of view, which enrich student understanding of context. Finally, students discuss the ways in which the actual decision made historically was similar to or different from the decision they made; this emphasizes the role of context in shaping individual choices.

## **STRATEGIES**

The basic format of the lessons, as explained above in the Overview, is problem, decision, outcome, discussion. However, many of the subskills of decision making are difficult for students to master. In order to assist students, many lessons put these subskills in a sort of multiple-choice format. For example, to improve the “asking for more information” skill, some lessons include a list of questions from which students can select the ones they wish to ask. To improve “identifying underlying problems,” some lessons list possible underlying problems. To improve “considering other points of view,” some lessons include handouts that put students into different roles (for example, not just looking at labor/strike problems from the point of view of the workers, but from the point of view of the owners as well).

## GOALS

The books in this series have four main goals:

### **1. Make History More Interesting:**

Simply giving students the problems, having them make decisions, and then telling them what the people involved actually did will keep student interest high. It's exciting to make decisions before you know what the historical characters actually did. It's dynamic learning and it's open-ended. Students enjoy comparing their decisions to those of their classmates and to the decisions actually made by the historical figures. Even if you decide to use the lessons without giving instruction on how to perform the skills involved in decision making, students will still enjoy learning history this way.

This increased interest should also lead to increased reading comprehension. After all, when students read their texts they will actively search for what actually happened and will want to compare it with what they chose.

### **2. Improve Decision Making Through Experience:**

The primary way people learn to make better decisions is through the process of making decisions, both good and bad. Students therefore become more sophisticated decision makers with every choice they make. By giving students many chances to make decisions where they can learn from mistakes and surprises, we can speed up the process of making them savvy decision makers. For example, students who decide to have a foreign government overthrown and see many negative consequences will think twice before trying that again, and will be skeptical of such a plan if proposed in the present day. Experience itself becomes the teacher.

### **3. More Complex Ethical Thinking:**

Ethical questions will arise regularly, and by discussing their positions students will develop more complex moral arguments and understandings. Please note, however, that these lessons are not aimed primarily at ethical reasoning. Teachers who want to focus primarily on this should consult *Reasoning with Democratic Values*, (2 volumes; by Alan Lockwood and David Harris, New York: Teacher's College Press, 1985).

### **4. Improve the Use of Decision-Making Skills and Reflection on Those Skills:**

As much as students can improve their decision making through experience, they will develop it that much more if they learn specific subskills, which can then become guidelines for thinking through decision-making problems more carefully. The instruction in these books is based on the skills of the **P-A-G-E** model. The specific elements of **P-A-G-E** are described in the section "Guide to Better Decision Making," and the strategies for teaching those skills are explained below in the section "Teaching Specific Decision-Making Skills."

One of the teaching strategies emphasizes journal writing, in which students reflect on the problems they encounter, including how they could improve their own decision making. If teachers can get them to reflect on how to improve upon decisions they've just made, students will learn to be more reflective in general.

Ideally, we want to train our future citizens to approach decision-making problems by asking insightful questions, carefully probing for underlying problems, seeing a problem from a variety of perspectives, setting clear and realistic goals, and imagining consequences.

## EXPLANATION OF P-A-G-E FOR TEACHERS

(See Student Handouts 1–3)

Good decision making involves a number of subskills. The more students can use the subskills, the more complex their thinking will be when they make decisions. In order to help students recall the subskills involved in decision making, these books offer a simple acronym—**P-A-G-E**. The acronym is only meant to help students recollect the subskills rather than provide an actual formula for making decisions; decision-making problems are too complex and varied for step-by-step formulas. For instance, in one problem, students will need to focus on envisioning unintended consequences, while in another, historical context will be more important. Research indicates that expert decision makers don't follow step-by-step models. The **P-A-G-E** acronym consists of guidelines only, not specific steps or points that should or must be followed.

## PROBLEM

The specific parts of **P-A-G-E** are explained in Student Handout 1, "Guide to Thoughtful Decision Making." The first section focuses on analyzing the problem, explaining what some experts call "framing." Framing seems to have a variety of meanings for different people. The handout emphasizes finding the underlying problem in an attempt to keep things simple for students. It also asks, "What's really going on here?" in order to help students uncover underlying problems.

According to Gary Klein, experts (people with a great deal of experience in a particular field, such as nursing, firefighting, or chess) "recognize" particular problems as being of one type or another. Once they make this recognition (i.e., once they frame it or represent it a particular way), experts can make very quick and successful decisions—that's why they're experts! Experts make these recognitions based on the large numbers of analogies they possess in their area of expertise. Thus, the section of the handout that discusses framing is related to the section on analogies. Experiments with expert chess players have shown that recognition is extremely important. When pieces were placed on a board in completely random fashion, experts could remember the placement no better than non-experts. But when the pieces were placed in a way similar to placements in a game, experts could remember the placements with a single glance and project several possible moves.

How students see or frame a problem depends partly on how the problem is worded. To help students become more aware of wording, some problems are phrased in two different ways: for example, half the class could get the problem worded using positive language, while the other half gets it worded with negative language. After students make their decisions, the class can discuss the effects of different wording on their decisions. Was it a big factor?

Political Scientist James Voss believes that the way people perceive problems in foreign policy acts as a key variable in the decisions they make. He believes that problem representation (which is similar to framing) constrains what we do thereafter. For example, if we see a problem as a case of communist aggression, we will make different choices than if we see it as a typical boundary dispute between neighboring countries. Questions included with some problems help students become more attuned to problem representation.

The handout's section on assumptions is greatly simplified compared to the literature on assumptions, which delineates several different types of assumptions (presuppositions, working assumptions, etc.). The primary method used in these books to teach students to recognize their own assumptions is by asking them to identify which of a specific menu of assumptions they made. When they see a list of possible assumptions, they can better recognize which ones they've made. This strategy seems more effective than having students read a lengthy explanation on types of assumptions.

### **ASK FOR INFORMATION**

Asking questions is crucial in good decision making. The more people know about background and context, the better they will understand the real problem. The "Guide to Thoughtful Decision Making" emphasizes asking questions about analogies ("How is the historical case different from this decision-making problem?"), but you should also encourage students to think of historical analogies in the first place. Students will often think about a problem in terms of a personal analogy: for example, "I don't like it when people criticize me, so it's wrong for a country to make a harsh speech against another country." Teachers should ask students where they got their ideas about what is really going on in a problem, probing for personal or historical analogies.

### **GOALS**

The section on goals includes setting clear, realistic goals and generating numerous options for accomplishing those goals. Questions about morality have also been included in this section, since morality is related to setting goals.

### **EFFECTS**

The section on effects/consequences includes both long-term unintended consequences and short-term possibilities of what could go wrong. Gary Kline argues that the ability to run mental simulations—that is, to imagine what could go wrong, and to imagine positive and



negative consequences—is a vital skill in decision making. Every decision-making problem in this series emphasizes unintended consequences and things that could go wrong.

# EVALUATION TIPS FOR STUDENT HANDOUT 5

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Here are some criteria to consider in grading student responses to the decision of whether an African American should invest in “People’s Grocery” in Memphis in 1892. Students need only get five criteria, and they only need to suggest ideas for each criterion. So, for example, I give full credit to students who suggest any possible underlying problem, or ask any reasonable question. The question in this analysis is: Which of these did students consider?

- **Underlying problem:**
  1. African Americans face tremendous racism, hostility and possible violence in Memphis and other Southern cities in 1892
  2. African Americans have no political power, so if something bad happens, they will probably not receive equal protection under the law
- **Other points of view:**
  1. White people may resent your high position with the post office and your middle-class status.
  2. Farmers, whether white or African American, will have economic incentive to trade with your store
  3. White-owned grocery stores will resent your competition and may find ways of crippling your business
- **Recognize assumptions or emotions:**
  1. Did students assume that both whites and African Americans would patronize the store? Did they assume whites wouldn’t patronize the store?
  2. Were students motivated by the American dream to become involved in a business? It is a legitimate perspective but it involves a positive emotion.
- **Ask questions about context:**
  1. Could a business make money selling to blacks in Memphis? Yes. (Yes. Blacks in Memphis buy products. Businesses owned by whites sell to blacks, but the blacks in the area may prefer to buy from a business owned by blacks.)
  2. Is there a need for a grocery store? (Yes. Again, blacks may prefer to buy from a black-owned business, and the store may become a gathering place for blacks. That would bring sales all by itself. The city is growing, so the demand is there to keep a new store in business. Prices of food in Memphis have fallen a little, but not as much as the price grocers are paying the farmers to get the food in their stores. That means that profits are actually going up.)
  3. What else could I do with my money? (You could invest in a white-owned business, the stock market, government bonds, or gold. These alternative investments might be safer, but you never know. Maybe this store will be very profitable.)
- **Ask about analogies:**

(Give no credit if students do not discuss differences or similarities between the two cases.)

1. Other people have started grocery stores and prospered, so we can too. (But, this is a store owned by African Americans, so it might be harder to be successful than it would be if the owners were white.)
  2. Other African Americans have started grocery stores and prospered, so we can too. (But, we don't have any extra money, so we might not be able to survive bad times, whereas some African Americans do have extra money. Also, some of these stores were in the North, where hostility might not be as bad as in Memphis.)
- **Ask about reliability of sources:**
    1. The two other men have a reason to lie about the profitability of the store to get you to invest
    2. How much do these other two men actually know about the economic situation in Memphis?
  - **What are my goals, and are they realistic?**  
(Give no credit if students do not discuss how realistic the goal is.)
    1. The goal is to make money. Since many stores go bankrupt within a few years, and since African Americans face greater hostility, there are significant odds against the store. It is realistic in the sense that there is some chance of making money.
    2. Another possible goal is to set a good example that African Americans can run successful businesses. It is realistic, but definitely not a sure thing.
  - **Generate alternative options:**
    1. There are a number of other ways to invest your money, such as government bonds, buying stocks, or depositing the money into a bank. Students could suggest some of these alternatives.
  - **Play out the options:**
    1. Students should anticipate if they have enough money to get through tough times. Do they have money to get through several months? Six months?
    2. Does the store have much storage area?
    3. What about security against crime? Is there police coverage in the area?
    4. What will they do if whites threaten them or the store?
  - **Anticipate consequences/effects (long-term):**
    1. One long term consequence is an African American business in this neighborhood of Memphis. This business would be a model for other African Americans to open other businesses.
    2. If whites attack the store or the owners, it would have the opposite long term effect, discouraging African Americans from starting businesses.
    3. A successful business patronized by African Americans and whites would reduce segregation in the area, and might lead to better relations between the races.

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# GUIDE TO THOUGHTFUL DECISION MAKING

## Student Handout 1

### Welcome to “Foresight” History!

The problems in the *Decision Making in United States History* series will challenge you to make choices about events in United States history before you know what actually happened in those events. This is learning history in a foresighted way—first you decide, then you find out what really happened—rather than hindsight history, where you just find out what happened. You will get at least two benefits from this method of learning history: first, you will improve your decision-making skills. Someday, when you avoid buying a “lemon” used car that would have wasted thousands of dollars, you can thank your history teacher for helping you build up your decision-making skills. Second, it’s fun to learn history as though it’s a cliffhanger mystery, where you’re eager to find out if your decision worked or ended in disaster. But don’t forget to concentrate on the actual historical decision that was made and how it turned out. You can learn a lot about your own decision making through these problems, but you’re mainly in class to learn history and to understand what really happened, not what could have happened.

### What is Decision Making?

You’ve learned about problem solving in other courses such as math and science, and you’ve encountered problem solving when you’ve tried to build something or fix something. Decision making resembles problem solving in some ways (for example, it involves defining a problem and thinking of alternatives) but it’s different from problem solving in that there is no one right answer. The lessons in this book involve “messy” problems; even long after the event, people often disagree about what the best decision was or should have been.

### Decision Making as Experience:

Experience teaches you how to make good decisions. Every decision that you make—whether good or bad—better equips you to make good decisions in the future. For example, you would probably feel safer being treated by a doctor who had a lot of experience than by a brand-new doctor. The historical problems your teacher gives you will provide you with experience in making decisions in general, and will help you become a better decision maker in your role as a citizen. You won’t just have learned about history, you will have experienced it. For some of these lessons, you will feel that you made good decisions; for others, you may feel that you’ve made errors in judgment. As you go along, try to reflect on your experiences as well as on your thinking about decision making.

**P-A-G-E Guide to Decision Making:**

While experience is the most important way to learn to make better decisions, it's also helpful to learn some basic decision-making skills so that you know what areas to target in order to improve your overall decision making. Handout 2 contains an acronym, **P-A-G-E**, that provides you with guidelines for making better decisions. These aren't rules you have to follow; they are just meant as helpful tips to help you improve your thinking about decision making.

Handout 3 explains and gives examples for each part of the **P-A-G-E** guide to decision making. Keep it in your notebook for reference as you make decisions about situations in U.S. History. Every single **P-A-G-E** guideline will not necessarily apply to each decision-making problem you encounter. You (with the assistance of your teacher) will have to determine which guidelines will work best with which problems.



# P-A-G-E ANALYSIS FOR DECISION MAKING

## Student Handout 2

### Decision-Making Analysis:

#### P=Problem

- Identify any **underlying problem**: What's really going on here?
- Consider **other points of view**: How do others see this situation?
- What are my **Assumptions? Emotions?**

#### A=Ask for Information (about)

- **Historical context**: What is the history and context of this issue?
- **Reliability of sources**: Does my information come from experts on this topic? Do the sources have a reason to lie? Is the information supported by evidence?
- **Historical analogies**: What has been done in the past about situations like this? In what ways do these other situations differ from this situation?

#### G=Goals

- What are my main **goals**? Are they **realistic**?
- Generate **options** to help achieve my goals. Are they **ethical**?

#### E=Effects

- Predict **unintended consequences**. What are some long-term effects?
- **Play out the options**. What could go wrong?

# P-A-G-E EXPLANATIONS AND EXAMPLES

## Student Handout 3

### PROBLEM:

#### Underlying problem:

Sometimes, a decision-making situation will seem very difficult until you recognize that an underlying problem exists. For example, suppose two people come in for marriage counseling because they have been arguing a lot about money. The counselor is going to look for an underlying problem (such as unfulfilled needs) that might have led to spending more money. A student doing poorly in school might turn things around by discovering she needs glasses—the underlying problem. Please remember that you should **not** just repeat or rephrase the problem: instead, you need to look for what's behind it, for what's causing it. Underlying problems are **not** openly given as part of the decision-making situation—you have to figure them out on your own.

Another way to think of this skill is “the ability to see what is really going on.” Some people call this “framing” the problem: in other words, by putting a “frame” around the heart of the problem and excluding unimportant parts, you discover what's really important. You need to call on your own personal experiences in order to see what's really going on. In history, this is done by making analogies. In a sense, you need to say, “The problem we are facing now is like a problem people faced before [this is an analogy], so I'd better do *this*.” The way you see (or frame, or represent) a problem influences the decision you eventually make.

#### Example:

*Bob's grades have been much lower for the last three months in history class. He says he's bored in class, and he'll improve his grades when he really needs to.*

List at least two possible underlying problems for Bob's lower grades. What's really going on?

#### Other points of view:

Other people are always involved in decisions in history. We need to consider their points of view as we make decisions about history, just as we need to consider other points of view in our own lives today.

#### Example:

*My brother, Mark, is angry at me for borrowing his car three times. But he's wrong to be angry. I needed to get to work each time I borrowed the car.*

Rewrite this problem from Mark's point of view.

### **What are my assumptions? Emotions?**

Sometimes after we make a decision, we realize that we had made an assumption that we didn't even know we were making until it was too late.

Emotions are part of being human, so they represent a legitimate part of the decision-making process. We do, however, need to be aware of our emotions during the decision-making process. Emotions, especially frustration and anger, can sometimes lead us to make irrational choices. People frequently become frustrated and say, "I've had enough of this situation. Let's just do *something*." But they often come to regret the rushed choices they made under such circumstances. They would have benefited from saying to themselves, "Okay. I'm getting frustrated, but I still need to take the time necessary to make a good decision."

Studies have shown that when people feel pessimistic, or when they're in a bad mood, they exaggerate the possible negative consequences of decisions; similarly, when they feel optimistic or are in a good mood, they overestimate positive consequences.

Emotions and gut feelings are unavoidable and natural, but thinking the situation through is crucial to making good decisions. We wouldn't want the President to decide about nuclear missiles in Cuba based solely on his gut feeling—we'd want him to gather information, consider several options, predict the possible consequences for millions of people, and so forth. As decision makers, we need to account for the role of emotion and gut feelings in our decisions and be aware of them as we choose.

#### Example for assumptions:

*Player to teammate: "We'll have no trouble beating Central. After all, Central lost to Suburban, and we beat Suburban the first game of the year."*

### **What is this player assuming?**

#### Example for emotions:

*Suppose you have two children, and are trying to decide whether to buy life insurance. An insurance ad shows a boy who can't go to college because his father died and had no life insurance.*

To what emotion does the ad appeal?

**ASK:**

### **Ask about historical context (history of the issue; context in the world):**

Asking questions about both the historical background and the present context of a problem are both essential for getting the information necessary to make a good decision. If you don't know the background, you will have difficulty deciding on the best solution.

Every problem has a back story, and we need to find out what that story is. The key is to ask questions that will help you obtain the necessary information.

Example:

*You are 17 years old, and you have been thinking about buying a car. You work part time after school, about ten hours per week. Your parents have told you that you'll have to pay for the car yourself. You go to a used car dealership and the salesman shows you a used car that costs \$2000.*

What questions should you ask before you buy it?

**Ask about reliability of sources:**

Information is crucial to making good decisions, but we need know what the sources of our information are and consider the reliability of those sources. Basing a decision on bad information from questionable sources is a recipe for disaster. You can evaluate sources by asking if the person giving the information has a reason to lie, if the person is a primary source, if other sources support this information, if the person is an expert on the topic, what the person's bias is on the topic, or if the person has been reliable in the past.

You should always be probing for disagreements among sources. Be wary if no disagreements seem to exist. It might mean your advisers are engaging in "groupthink," where they all get pulled to the same option without thoroughly thinking through other options or considering what could go wrong. Always try to find people who disagree with a proposed option. If you can't find one, ask tough questions yourself.

Example:

*The car salesman says this used car is in perfect condition.*

How reliable is the salesman? What reasons might you have to distrust him?

**Ask about historical analogies:**

It's natural to compare the problems we encounter to other, similar situations that have occurred in the past. In fact, one reason we study history in the first place is to build a deeper understanding of our world today through learning about historical events/ analogies. You should try to think of analogies to the problems you encounter. As mentioned above in the section on underlying problems, you derive your understanding of what is important in a problem (framing) from analogies. (Example: "This problem is like that situation George Washington was in at Trenton during the American Revolution.") The more you draw on your knowledge of history, the more likely you are to fully understand a decision-making problem.

However, analogies are tricky because important differences often exist between the problems we encounter now and the historical cases we use to guide our decisions. We

should always evaluate analogies by asking, “How do the two cases differ? In what ways are they similar? Are they similar enough to justify the conclusion?” We should also consider whether other, more appropriate analogies exist that could provide us with better guidance.

**Example:**

*Suppose you drove in a race at a parking lot near a mall a month ago. You raced your five-year old Toyota Corolla, and your time was 36.8 seconds. Margaret told you that she drove in a race last Sunday and her time was 28.2 seconds. She says this proves she is a better race driver than you are.*

What are two questions you could ask to determine whether Margaret is really a better driver?

**GOALS:**

**What are my main goals? Are they realistic?**

We can’t make good decisions if we are unclear about our goals. Once we establish goals, we can more easily set priorities use them as a basis for choosing between options.

However, establishing goals isn’t enough. The goals we set need to be realistic. Some decisions in history have been catastrophic because the decision makers didn’t notice that they had unrealistic goals. It didn’t matter how carefully they exercised their other decision-making skills—because their goals were unrealistic, they would never achieve them.

Example:

*You’re out of school and need a job, since you live on your own and have expenses (rent, car payments, food, heat, insurance, etc.). You’ve got two offers. The first one is close to where you live and pays a lot more money, but it’s doing work you wouldn’t like. The second job is farther away and pays less money (but enough to cover your expenses), but it’s doing something that you really like. What do you do?*

After you decide, list your goals and ask how realistic they are.

**Generate options to help achieve my goals. Are they ethical?**

After you’ve made a decision, you don’t want to be stuck thinking, “Oh, I wish I’d thought of that option before I decided.” At the same time, though, you don’t want to become paralyzed trying to think of every possible option, no matter how remote. However, important decisions should spur us to take the time to consider a number of options.

Example:

*You are 25 years old, single, work full-time ten miles from where you live, and drive your compact car to work. In recent months, gas prices have risen to very high levels. Your main goal at this point is to save money.*

**What options do you have for coping with these price increases?**

**EFFECTS:****Predict unintended consequences:**

Most of the time, predicting unintended consequences will be more important than any other thinking you do about a problem. For some problems, it may be enough just to see the situation from other points of view or to ask questions about background or context. However, considering consequences will do more to help you avoid that awful feeling you get when you've made a bad decision.

Example:

*Suppose you are 35 years old and have a son and a daughter, aged five and two. The company you work for is asking you to move to a different state. You can refuse and take a pay cut.*

If you make the move, what unintended consequences might it have on you and your family in ten years? Guess at what the effects of the move might be.

**Play out the option. What could go wrong?**

Here, you need to think about short-term effects, as opposed to predicting unintended consequences, which focuses more on long-term effects. For example, say you're playing the role of president and decide to get a law passed to help solve a problem. You have to take into account the fact that Congress has the constitutional power to pass laws, and thus to get your law enacted you need to convince Congress to approve it. By noticing that the approval of Congress is vital to the success or failure of your decision, you've identified something that could go wrong, and need to plan accordingly (overcoming opposition by talking to individual members of Congress, thinking of another option as backup, etc.).

Example:

*Suppose you are 30 years old and working at a job you like pretty well. You get an offer to work at a job for higher pay that is further away.*

If you take the job, what might happen? List two or more things that could go wrong.

# DECISION-MAKING LOG

## Student Handout 4

Topic	Actual decision	My decision	Why different/similar?	What I learned about P-A-G-E from this topic (2 examples)

# EVALUATE DECISION MAKING

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## Student Handout 5

You are a postal worker in Memphis in 1892, the city's first African American to hold a federal government position. Two friends came to you asking if you will put up the money to start a grocery store (also selling other household items) in the city. They want to call it "People's Grocery." The two men say the store is bound to make money because there are a lot of people in the area. Everyone needs a grocery store. The other two men will work in the store during the day, while you can work there in the evenings, after your other job. The cost of starting "People's Grocery" is about one year's salary. You have that much money saved, so you wouldn't have to borrow from others.

There are a growing number of black businesses in the U.S. at this time. For example, in Montgomery, Alabama there are 23 black-owned restaurants, 30 shoemakers, 12 contractors, five doctors, two undertakers, one insurance agent, one real-estate, and many others.

Explain whether you will invest your money in "People's Grocery," and explain your choice according to five or more criteria from P-A-G-E (listed on Handout 2). These are not the main four letters of P-A-G-E, but the ten criteria under the main letters. For example, you wouldn't be using "Problem," but one of the three criteria under "Problem," such as "What are my assumptions?" Write each of the five criteria as a separate paragraph.

After you have written your analyses based on five or more criteria, write a paragraph explaining your decision.

**P:**

**A:**

**G:**

**E:**





# THE CIVIL WAR AND RECONSTRUCTION

## Introduction

### OVERVIEW

This volume on the Civil War and Reconstruction consists of seven lessons: three focused on the Civil War and four on Reconstruction. As in the other volumes, no effort is made to cover all the major topics in this time period. Rather, lessons were chosen around interesting decision-making problems.

## SKILLS GRID FOR THIS VOLUME

X = part of lesson

E = emphasized in the lesson

Skill	Lessons						
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
<b>Underlying problem</b>	X			X		X	X
<b>Point of view</b>	X	X	X	E	X		X
<b>Assumptions/emotions</b>	X			X	E		E
<b>Ask—context</b>	X	E	X				
<b>Ask—sources</b>							X
<b>Ask—analogies</b>		X		E			
<b>Goals? Realistic?</b>	E	X	X	X	X	X	
<b>Options. Ethical?</b>	X				X		E
<b>Unintended consequences</b>	X	X	E	X	E	E	X
<b>Play out options</b>	X	X	E	X	X		X

# LESSON 1: POLICIES TOWARD AFRICAN AMERICANS

## Teacher Pages

### OVERVIEW

Decisions about African Americans were difficult for President Lincoln. He eventually issued the Emancipation Proclamation for which he is known as the “Great Emancipator.” Some people at the time and since felt he should have done more, however. This lesson puts students in President Lincoln’s shoes in 1861 when he had three history-making decisions to make, and then asks them to make the same three decisions again in 1862. How far will students go in helping African Americans achieve freedom and equality?

### VOCABULARY

- Border states—States of Missouri, Kentucky, Maryland, and Delaware, all of which allowed slavery and considered joining the Confederacy
- Secede—To leave the Union
- Abolitionist—A person who believes in ending slavery
- Integrated—Having African Americans and whites in the same group, in this case army units
- Unionism—The desire among Southerners to rejoin the Union
- Confiscate—To take a person’s property away, often by force
- Confederacy—The group of Southern states that broke away from the Union
- Robert E. Lee—Confederate general during the Civil War
- Aristocrats—People with inherited privileges
- Antietam—1862 battle in which the North won a strategic victory
- Emancipation Proclamation—President Lincoln’s announcement that slaves were free in states rebelling against the Union
- 13th Amendment—Constitutional amendment prohibiting slavery in the United States
- Freedmen’s Bureau—Government agency to help newly freed slaves

### DECISION-MAKING SKILLS EMPHASIZED

- Identify underlying problems
- Consider other points of view
- Recognize assumptions
- Ask about context
- Set realistic goals
- Generate ethical options
- Predict unintended consequences
- Play out options

# LESSON PLAN

## A. IN-DEPTH LESSON (one 40-minute class period):

### Procedure:

Distribute Handout 1 and have students pair up and decide what they will do. Circulate around the room to answer questions students might have. Bring the class back together and discuss their decisions as well as their reasons for them. (OPTION: After students discuss their choices for the first decision, ask them how they will convey the war aims to the public.) Distribute Handout 2 with the outcomes or tell the class what actually happened. (OPTION: Divide the class into three groups and assign each group one of the decisions. Have each group tell the class what their decision is and why.)

Continue the lesson by telling students that they will now make the same three decisions, but in 1862, rather than 1861. Distribute Handout 3 and have students pair up and decide what they will do. Bring the class back together and discuss their decisions as well as their reasons for them. Distribute Handout 4 with the outcomes or tell the class what actually happened.

Distribute Handout 5, an excerpt of the Emancipation Proclamation, and have students answer the questions. (Answers: (1) The areas listed were already under Union control or were sympathetic to the Union, (2) Lincoln believed it was constitutional as a war measure, so there would be a problem at war's end, and (3) most historians consider it a great document.)

### Reflecting on Decision Making:

Ask students how well they did on decision-making with these problems. Which decision-making skills were especially important in making decisions about these issues? Which of the letters of **P-A-G-E** applied especially to this problem? (See the "Decision-Making Analysis" section below for ideas.) Ask students what they did well or poorly on in terms of the **P-A-G-E** analysis of decision making. Discuss their answers.

### Putting the Actual Decisions Into Historical Context:

Ask students whether the decision to make the Emancipation Proclamation was the result more of historical forces or the result of decisions by President Lincoln. (Lincoln is known as the Great Emancipator for issuing the Emancipation Proclamation, but there are also a great many historical factors: the border states, the use of slaves in the Southern war effort, etc.)

### Connecting to Today:

Ask students if they feel African Americans have achieved full civil rights. How does the election of Barack Obama impact their understanding of racial equality?

Troubleshooting:

Remind students that even in wartime, Congress has many powers. The president cannot do whatever he wants.

**B. QUICK MOTIVATOR (15–20 minutes):**

Skip Handout 1. Give Handout 3 for homework. In class, have students pair up and discuss their choices for five minutes or so. Ask for a show of hands on each decision. Discuss their reasons for each decision. Distribute Handout 4 and have students comment for homework on what they learned from these outcomes.

# TEACHER NOTES FOR EXPANDING DISCUSSION

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(For Outcomes, see Handouts 2 and 4)

President Lincoln nullified the actions of General John C. Fremont by emancipating slaves under martial law in Missouri.

Some critics said the cost would be too great in compensating slaveholders in the border states for gradual emancipation. Lincoln responded that the cost would be equal to only about three months of the cost of conducting the war.

Some historians think that President Lincoln's changing religious beliefs in 1862 were important to the decision for the Emancipation Proclamation (Handout 3, Decision 6), as well as almost all his other wartime decisions thereafter. According to historian Allen Guelzo (see Sources), up to 1862, Lincoln was interested in religion but felt that God was an impersonal force in the world; after the death of his son Willie that year, God became a personal one to Lincoln. Lincoln felt that God was using the war to accomplish good outcomes, one of which was the abolition of slavery. Since Lincoln's religious beliefs are a subject of controversy (some historians cite evidence that Lincoln never changed his skepticism of religion), they are not included in the outcomes (Handout 4), but you may want to share this hypothesis with students.

President Lincoln felt that the North was making little progress with Southern Unionists and therefore would lose very little with the South by issuing the Emancipation Proclamation. Since Unionists were already failing to join the Northern cause, there was nothing to lose if they were upset by the proclamation. This issue of Southern Unionists is not included in the problem, since it would have become too complicated.

## DECISION-MAKING ANALYSIS:

### P = Problem

- \* - **Identify any underlying problem(s)**
- \* - Consider other points of view
- \* - What are my assumptions? Emotions?

### A = Ask for information (about)

- \* - Historical context (history of this issue; context in the world)
- Reliability of sources
- Historical analogies

### G = Goals

- \* - What are my main goals? Are they realistic?
- \* - **Generate options to achieve these goals. Are they ethical?**

### E = Effects

- \* - **Predict unintended consequences.**
- \* - **Play out the options. What could go wrong?**

\*Denotes topics emphasized in this lesson

- **Identify any underlying problems:** President Lincoln did a masterful job of reframing the decision to recruit African Americans into the army. He said the ex-slaves were reinforcements for white soldiers, shifting the emphasis of the underlying problem from whites and African Americans having to fight together (integration vs. racism) to getting enough soldiers to fight (manpower shortage). The new emphasis also played on white racism to gain support: if African Americans were dying, that meant fewer whites dying.
- **Consider other points of view:** Students should consider the views of African Americans in both North and South, whites in the North and those in the South, abolitionists, Democrats, and women's rights advocates, among others
- **Recognize assumptions, emotions:** Abraham Lincoln held basic assumptions about African Americans. Historians disagree on the extent of his prejudice. Moreover, he seemed to change his views during his presidency. For example, he eventually gave up the idea of colonization for ex-slaves. Students need to consider their own prejudices (assumptions about African Americans). Lincoln also assumed that the war would cause slavery to be extinguished no matter what he did, simply due to its destructive power. He nevertheless proclaimed emancipation to undermine the Southern war effort.
- **Ask about context:** After reading Handout 1, students could ask questions such as these: Decision 1—Is there a realistic chance that the border states will join the Confederacy? (Yes for Missouri and Kentucky; no for Maryland [already pacified] and Delaware); Decision 2—Have Southerners given any indication of how they would react to African Americans in the Northern army? (Yes. They have

said they would execute or enslave captured African Americans.); Have African Americans fought in previous wars? (Yes. They have fought in all of America's wars: the Revolution, the War of 1812, and the Mexican War.)

- **Set realistic goals:** Was it realistic to set abolition of slavery as a goal alongside winning the war?
- **Generate ethical options:** There might have been opposition to emancipation, but it was the right action to take in terms of ethicality
- **Predict unintended consequences:** Several consequences are explained in Handouts 2 and 4
- **Play out options:** For the Emancipation Proclamation, students should consider short-term effects, such as upon recruitment of soldiers, upon morale in the North and South, and upon the loyalty of border states. President Lincoln hoped that the benefits would outweigh the bad effects. Students should consider whether the Supreme Court would rule emancipation unconstitutional. For example, can the executive branch (the president) declare slaves free, or is that something only the legislative branch (Congress) can do? What would happen if the Supreme Court declared emancipation unconstitutional? What should the government do then? President Lincoln was careful to frame emancipation as a military necessity in order to avoid having it struck down.



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# LESSON 1: POLICIES TOWARD AFRICAN AMERICANS

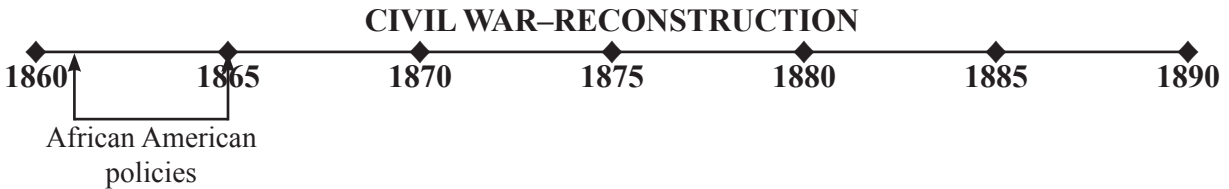
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## Vocabulary

- Border states—States of Missouri, Kentucky, Maryland, and Delaware, all of which allowed slavery and considered joining the Confederacy
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- Abolitionist—A person who believes in ending slavery
- Integrated—Having African Americans and whites in the same group, in this case army units
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- Robert E. Lee—Confederate general during the Civil War
- Aristocrats—People with inherited privileges
- Antietam—1862 battle in which the North won a strategic victory
- Emancipation Proclamation—President Lincoln’s announcement that slaves were free in states rebelling against the Union
- 13th Amendment—Constitutional amendment prohibiting slavery in the United States
- Freedmen’s Bureau—Government agency to help newly freed slaves

# LESSON 1: POLICIES TOWARD AFRICAN AMERICANS

## Student Handout 1: Problem



You are President Lincoln in 1861. Unfortunately, the South seceded from the Union soon after you were elected, which has led to a civil war between the North (which you lead) and the South. It has been a difficult war so far, with the North losing the first battles. The North has to win this war, and you are ready to play a key role in making that happen. One area you need to consider is the role of African Americans in the war.



Lincoln in 1861

**Decision 1—War aims:** One of your main duties as president and commander-in-chief is to determine the aims of the war. Northerners need to know why they are fighting. Many, especially abolitionists, are pushing for abolition of slavery as a war aim. We need a moral reason to fight, they argue, and freeing four million slaves is certainly a noble goal. Abolitionist Lewis Tappan has argued, “Slavery is the cause of the present war. What is the remedy? We unhesitatingly answer; immediate and universal emancipation.” However, many Northerners and Northern soldiers hold racist views of African Americans; they won’t be motivated to fight for people they don’t even like. Almost half of Northern voters supported the Democrats—who opposed the abolition of slavery—in the 1860 election. Congress passed a resolution last month stating that the purpose of the war is to preserve the Union.

There are also the border states to consider. These states—Missouri, Kentucky, Maryland, and Delaware—have slaves, so they might join the Confederacy if you abolish slavery in all states. That would mean the North would face 14 or 15 states in the Confederacy instead of just 11. It would hurt Northern chances of winning the war. Which of the following will you do? Explain your choice.

1. Preserving the Union, not abolishing slavery: The North has to win the war. Since abolishing slavery might hurt the war effort (by lowering morale in the North and by adding more states to the Confederacy), it should be avoided.
2. Abolishing slavery only in the states that seceded from the Union, and continue to allow slavery in the border states
3. Abolishing slavery only in the states that seceded from the Union; offer to pay slaveholders in the border states for their slaves if they gradually abolish slavery

4. Abolishing slavery in all of the United States. The people of the border states will have to decide if they want to do what is right.

**Decision 2—African American soldiers:** Northern abolitionists want African Americans to serve in the Northern army. They argue that African Americans should be able to fight for their freedom. On the other hand, white officers and soldiers do not want to fight alongside African Americans, since many whites even in the North believe African Americans are inferior. Which of the following will you do? Explain your choice.

1. Do not allow African Americans to become soldiers in the Northern armies. White soldiers do not want African Americans in the army, so don't force the issue.
2. Allow African Americans to become soldiers but keep them in separate units, keep their pay below whites' pay, and use white officers to lead them. White soldiers do not want to be in the same units with African Americans, and they wouldn't want to be paid the same as African Americans, either.
3. Allow African Americans to become soldiers and grant them equal rights in return, including equal pay, integrated units, and the right to vote.

**Decision 3—Slaves:** As the Northern army advances, slaves have been fleeing to the Union lines, and many have been captured. Which of the following will you do? You can choose more than one option. Explain your choice(s).

1. Allow the Union army to "confiscate" slaves and recruit them into the Northern army. Going further, declare that any slaves confiscated are forever free. Two Northern generals have already declared the slaves of Southern sympathizers to be free.
2. Require confiscated slaves to work under labor contracts for farm owners and businessmen. The farm work is necessary to grow cotton for the textile mills in the North. Without enough labor on cotton plantations, cotton factories in the North will have to close and workers will be fired. The ex-slaves would make a wage, but they would not be given land by the federal government (although they could buy land if they save enough money).
3. Distribute captured Confederate land to the ex-slaves and let them grow whatever crops they choose. The South chose to rebel against the Union; those rebels deserve to lose their land to slaves, who suffered under the horrors of slavery. Under this plan, thousands of slaves would each get a small farm for free.
4. Do not confiscate slaves or other property of Confederate sympathizers. Return slaves to their owners. This will reassure the border states and may keep them from seceding.
5. Give federal aid to states that begin gradual emancipation. The national government would provide money to states to help pay slaveholders who release their slaves. This compensated emancipation would end slavery in a moderate way, helping to bring an end to the war. This plan also wouldn't push border states to join the South, since it would be entirely voluntary.

# LESSON 1: POLICIES TOWARD AFRICAN AMERICANS

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## Student Handout 2: Outcomes

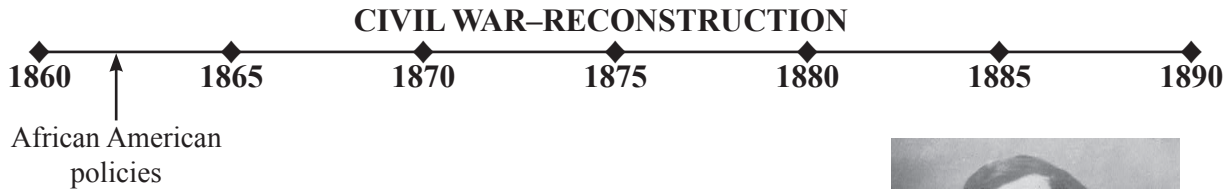
For Decision 1 (on war aims), President Lincoln chose Option 1 (preserving the Union). He felt people in the North weren't ready to fight in order to end slavery, and that the Union must be preserved before any other goals could be accomplished. He wanted to focus only on the most important goal: winning the war. Lincoln told Massachusetts Senator Charles Sumner that his two objections to immediate emancipation were "that half the army would lay down its arms and that three more states would rise [join the Confederacy]—Kentucky, Maryland, Missouri." He told leaders of the border states that no troops would occupy their states, and that the government had no plans to abolish slavery.

In Decision 2 (African Americans in the military), President Lincoln chose Option 1 (keep African Americans out of the army). He stated that "to arm the Negroes would turn 50,000 bayonets from the Loyal border states against us that were for us." He felt the opposition to African American soldiers would be so great that it wasn't a good choice.

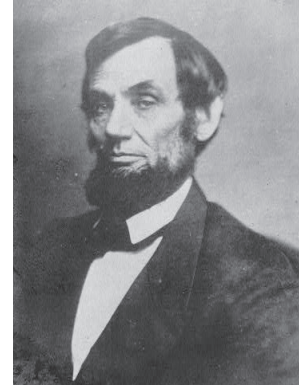
In Decision 3 (slaves), President Lincoln chose Option 4. He was appalled by the generals who confiscated slaves, arguing that confiscation would drive the border states to the Confederacy. As a result, it would be much harder for the North to win the war. Lincoln stated that he would like to have God on his side (i.e., by doing the right thing and acting to abolish slavery), but he *must* have Kentucky. He also got Congress to pass compensated emancipation (Option 5). Unfortunately, no states accepted the idea of gradual emancipation.

# LESSON 1: POLICIES TOWARD AFRICAN AMERICANS

## Student Handout 3: Problem



You are President Lincoln in July 1862. There have been some Northern successes in the war, but overall, the war has not gone very well. Southern armies seem just as good as or better than Northern forces, since the South has defeated the North in several key battles. You now face the same three questions about African Americans that you did in 1861.



Lincoln in 1862

**Decision 4—War aims:** You decided in 1861 to set the aim as preserving the Union, not to abolish slavery (Handout 1, Decision 1, Option 1). However, the situation has changed significantly in the past year in the border states. All four border states have stayed in the Union. Missouri and Kentucky chose to side with the Union, although there was some fighting in Missouri. Maryland has been pacified, and Delaware was never likely to join the Confederacy. Slavery was abolished in the District of Columbia without much reaction in the border states or the rest of the North. There is no longer any realistic threat of the border states joining the rebellion against the Union. You had offered to have the federal government pay for slaves if the border states gradually released them (Handout 1, Decision 3, Option 5), but leaders from the border states flatly refused the offer in a recent meeting.

Meanwhile, the war, in general, has not gone as well as you had hoped. When the Northern army attacked Richmond, General Robert E. Lee and his Southern army soundly defeated it. Northern abolitionists argue that now is the time for you to state that the North is fighting to abolish slavery, not just to preserve the Union. This worthy goal will increase morale among Northern soldiers and the civilians back home, encouraging them to sacrifice to win the war. In addition, targeting slavery means eliminating a key resource of the Southern war effort. Slaves provide food for the Southern armies and provide labor that allows white workers to join the Southern armies. The South can't win without slave labor. In addition, there is evidence that public opinion in the North would support emancipation. Senator John Sherman wrote of the great "change of opinion here [the North] as to the Negro question," including "the broad issue of universal emancipation."

Opponents of an abolitionist war aim remind you that many white Northerners are racist. The head Union general wrote you a letter warning that if you declared the war aim to be

abolition of slavery, many Northern soldiers would leave the army and the North would lose the war. Also, after losing key battles, a change in war strategy to abolishing slavery might look like a desperate attempt to gain victory. If people believe that the North is getting desperate, public support for the North may drop further.

Foreign policy should also be a consideration. Britain has been officially neutral on the Civil War, but the British have been building ships for the South. These ships are helping the South run the Northern blockade of Southern ports. The British need Southern cotton for their textile factories, so they have an incentive to help the South break the blockade. However, the British need Northern wheat also, since they have a food shortage. British and French aristocrats favor the South, but their workers hate slavery. The British government has abolished slavery and the slave trade. The French government is also officially against slavery. Nevertheless, both the British and French governments have been considering siding with the South.

Three of your cabinet officers want to continue the sole war aim of preserving the Union, while the other three want to add another aim: abolishing slavery. It isn't clear whether the latter three want to include the border states in emancipation or leave them out of it.

You are faced with a new situation in the war, which might mean new war aims. Which of the following would you do? Explain your choice.

1. Keep the only war aim as preserving the Union, not abolishing slavery
2. Add the aim of abolishing slavery only in the states that seceded from the Union. Leave slavery unchanged in the border states. Announce the abolition of slavery immediately—Northern soldiers need the morale boost of knowing their cause is just.
3. Add the aim of abolishing slavery only in the states that seceded from the Union, but wait to announce it until the war turns in the North's favor
4. Add the aim of abolishing slavery in all of the United States. Announce it immediately.
5. Add the aim of abolishing slavery in all of the United States, but wait to announce it until the war turns in the North's favor

**Decision 5—African American soldiers:** Northern abolitionists are increasing their calls for African Americans to be able to serve in the Northern army, and now other Northerners are joining them. Again, they argue that African Americans should be able to fight for their freedom, while opponents argue that Northern soldiers do not want to fight alongside African Americans. In the meantime, thousands of slaves are escaping to Northern lines. If we don't recruit them into the army, what will happen to them? Which of the following will you do? Explain your choice.

1. Do not allow African Americans to become soldiers in the Northern armies. White soldiers do not want African Americans in the army, so don't force the issue.
2. Allow African Americans to become soldiers but keep them in separate units,

keep their pay below whites' pay, and use white officers to lead them. White soldiers do not want to be in the same units with African Americans, and they don't want to be paid the same as African Americans, either.

3. Allow African Americans to become soldiers and grant them equal rights in return, including equal pay, integrated units, and the right to vote

**Decision 6—Slaves:** Thousands of slaves are fleeing to Union lines as Northern armies advance. In addition, slaves are being captured along with other rebel property. The captured slaves are helping the war effort in that their lost labor cripples the South. However, the runaway slaves are also a big problem for Northern generals. These ex-slaves are following Northern armies around, slowing the armies down and requiring valuable supplies. Ex-slaves can't just be allowed to wander up into Northern states, where they will look for jobs, competing with whites. There will be racial problems. Which of the following would you do? You can choose more than one option. Explain your choice(s).

1. Allow the army to confiscate slaves and recruit them into the Northern army
2. Require confiscated slaves to work under labor contracts for farm owners and businessmen. The farm work is necessary to grow cotton for the textile mills in the North. Without enough labor on cotton plantations, cotton factories in the North will have to close and workers will have to be fired. The ex-slaves would make a wage, but they would not be given land by the national government (although they could buy land if they save enough money).
3. Distribute captured rebel land to the ex-slaves and let them grow whatever crops they choose. The South chose to rebel against the Union. Those rebels deserve to lose their land to slaves, who suffered under the horrors of slavery. Under this plan, thousands of slaves would each get a small farm for free. Some Republicans in Congress, such as Charles Sumner, support this option, but a majority of Congressmen does not.
4. Do not confiscate slaves or other property of Southern sympathizers. Return slaves to their owners. This will keep the border states reassured.
5. Grant ex-slaves civil rights, such as the right to vote. A majority of Congressmen does not support this option.



# LESSON 1: POLICIES TOWARD AFRICAN AMERICANS

## Student Handout 4: Outcomes

For Decision 4, President Lincoln switched to Option 3: abolishing slavery in those states in rebellion against the Union (but not in the border states), but waiting to announce it until the Union won a significant victory. Some people criticized Lincoln for not releasing the slaves in the one area where he could actually free them, the border states. But Lincoln still did not want to alienate people in the border states. Moreover, Lincoln could only legally interfere as a war measure in those states in rebellion, in the war zone. In that sense, the Emancipation Proclamation makes sense.

The key point in deciding on the Emancipation Proclamation came in July 1862, when the leaders of border states rejected gradual emancipation. Lincoln realized that persuasion and compromise weren't working. The next day, he told his advisors that "we must free the slaves." He concluded that slaves were a key part of the Southern war effort, so the North had to target slavery to win the war. He decided not to proclaim abolition of slavery right away (Option 3), lest it look like desperation. Instead, he waited for a Union victory. This victory occurred in September 1862, at the Battle of Antietam. At this point, President Lincoln issued his famous Emancipation Proclamation, which would go into force in January 1863. In the short run, the proclamation led to a decline in Unionism in the South (some Unionists in eastern Tennessee did switch to the Confederate cause) and to bitter opposition by Democrats. After the proclamation, the war became primarily a Republican war, since almost all Democrats opposed the war. The proclamation boosted morale in the North and increased problems for the South, as more slaves escaped. Thus, the Emancipation Proclamation helped the North win the war. Republicans made significant gains in the 1862 elections, showing that the public in the North supported Lincoln's decision for emancipation.



A poster celebrating the Emancipation Proclamation

There were many long-term effects of the Emancipation Proclamation: it has inspired African Americans ever since (yet even 100 years later they were not completely free); Lincoln became known as the Great Emancipator; it brought a great feeling of achievement to abolitionists, although they criticized Lincoln for failing to emancipate slaves through the whole country; and it brought about a social revolution whereby the government could take away property for moral reasons.

In 1865, with President Lincoln’s support, Congress passed (and the states ratified) the 13th Amendment, abolishing slavery in the entire United States (Decision 4, Option 4).

The proclamation also called for African Americans to serve in the Union armies. At first they received lower pay and worse equipment than white soldiers (Decision 5, Option 2). But after African American soldiers protested, that policy was changed. African Americans received better treatment, but not equal rights (Decision 5, Option 3). Many Northerners were afraid that African Americans with weapons would lead to savage warfare. Nevertheless, the decision to use African Americans in the army had very significant effects. By the end of the war, 180,000 African Americans had fought in the Union army—eight percent of the total number of soldiers. In addition, just as with



the emancipation of slaves, African American soldiers fighting for freedom helped bring about a social revolution, demonstrating the equality of all races in the republic. African Americans fought valiantly—21 received the Medal of Honor for bravery. A Rhode Island artilleryman wrote in September 1863, “The prejudice against Negro troops is fast wearing away...” Social equality did not come in many places for 100 years or more, but the controversy over rights started immediately.

Prisoners of war were affected as a consequence of recruiting African American troops. Up to May 1863, Northern and Southern armies engaged in prisoner exchanges. By exchanging, for example, 1000 captured Southern soldiers for 1000 Northern captives, both sides avoided having to set up large prison camps. In reaction to African



Andersonville prison, 1864

Americans fighting, the Confederate Congress announced that the South would enslave or execute captured African American soldiers and their officers. The North retaliated by ending prisoner exchanges. For the rest of the war, large numbers of soldiers were held in prison camps, where many died of disease. One such prison camp, Andersonville (Georgia), became notorious for its horrible conditions.

For Decision 6 (slaves), President Lincoln chose Option 1 (recruit ex-slaves into the military), followed later by Option 2 (ex-slaves would work at labor contracts). Since the border states were now secure, Lincoln decided it was safe to take stronger action to weaken the Southern war effort. The president was concerned that runaways would move further north and compete with white workers for jobs; he preferred that ex-slaves fight in the war. He also cleverly framed the decision as providing reinforcements for white soldiers, thereby increasing support.



Freedmen in Richmond, Virginia

President Lincoln did not want to confiscate rebel land to distribute to ex-slaves (Decision 6, Option 3). The government did confiscate property, but the idea of distributing large amounts of land to ex-slaves was too radical. Confiscation of land to be redistributed to ex-slaves would also increase Southern resistance. Rather, Lincoln wanted Northern officials to encourage plantation owners to sell land to ex-slaves. He also wanted freedmen placed on abandoned plantations, to earn a living. Near the end of the war, in 1865, Lincoln signed the

Freedmen's Bureau Act, which included 40 acres for each freedman's family first under a lease and then for purchase, not as a gift. Lincoln believed the government could help freedmen, but the freedmen had to make it mainly on their own.

The president chose not to expand civil rights for African Americans (Decision 6, Option 5). He knew that civil rights were under the control of states, not the national government. He chose not to push the issue also because some Northern states, such as New Jersey and Illinois, denied African Americans civil rights. By the end of the war, on the other hand, Lincoln supported giving the vote to some freedmen, which showed he was moving toward civil rights for African Americans.

Overall, President Lincoln took a step-by-step approach to African American policies. He did what he could for slaves and ex-slaves while keeping the main goal of winning the war as his prime focus. He advanced more quickly on helping African Americans when those actions also helped win the war. Nevertheless, there is clear evidence that in some of his actions, Lincoln went beyond winning the war to help African Americans. For example, he kept working for the passage of the 13th Amendment even after victory was

assured. He eventually made abolition of slavery a condition of peace, despite the fact that this delayed settlement of the war and brought him criticism in the North.

# LESSON 1: POLICIES TOWARD AFRICAN AMERICANS

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## Student Handout 5: Primary Source

### The Emancipation Proclamation, January 1, 1863

...Now, therefore I, Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States, by virtue of the power in me vested as Commander-in-Chief, of the Army and Navy of the United States in time of actual armed rebellion against the authority and government of the United States, and as a fit and necessary war measure for suppressing said rebellion, do, on this first day of January, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-three, and in accordance with my purpose so to do publicly proclaimed for the full period of one hundred days, from the day first above mentioned, order and designate as the States and parts of States wherein the people thereof respectively, are this day in rebellion against the United States, the following, to wit:

Arkansas, Texas, Louisiana (except the Parishes of St. Bernard, Plaquemines, Jefferson, St. John, St. Charles, St. James Ascension, Assumption, Terrebonne, Lafourche, St. Mary, St. Martin, and Orleans, including the City of New Orleans), Mississippi, Alabama, Florida, Georgia, South Carolina, North Carolina, and Virginia (except the forty-eight counties designated as West Virginia, and also the counties of Berkley, Accomac, Northampton, Elizabeth City, York, Princess Ann, and Norfolk, including the cities of Norfolk and Portsmouth[]), and which excepted parts, are for the present, left precisely as if this proclamation were not issued.

And by virtue of the power, and for the purpose aforesaid, I do order and declare that all persons held as slaves within said designated States, and parts of States, are, and henceforward shall be free; and that the Executive government of the United States, including the military and naval authorities thereof, will recognize and maintain the freedom of said persons.

And I hereby enjoin upon the people so declared to be free to abstain from all violence, unless in necessary self-defence; and I recommend to them that, in all cases when allowed, they labor faithfully for reasonable wages.

And I further declare and make known, that such persons of suitable condition, will be received into the armed service of the United States to garrison forts, positions, stations, and other places, and to man vessels of all sorts in said service....

By the President: ABRAHAM LINCOLN  
WILLIAM H. SEWARD, Secretary of State.

### QUESTIONS FOR ANALYSIS

1. In what areas were slaves declared free and in what areas were they not declared free? Why did President Lincoln choose these areas?
2. Was this act constitutional? Explain why or why not.
3. Should this be considered a great document in American history?

# LESSON 2: STRATEGIC DECISIONS

## Teacher Pages

### OVERVIEW

This lesson addresses questions of strategy at the presidential level during the Civil War. Students are confronted with questions of national strategy, sabotage, and raising an army.

### VOCABULARY

- Anaconda Plan—Northern strategy to blockade and isolate the South
- Unconditional surrender—The strategy of continuing to fight until the other side gives up; i.e., no negotiation until the enemy surrenders
- Martial law—Military control of an area, often with enforced curfews
- Sabotage—A deliberate act aimed at weakening a government or enemy
- Writ of habeas corpus—A document requiring that authorities bring a person before a judge and justify his or her imprisonment
- Bounty—a payment to encourage a person to do something, in this case to join the army
- Draft—Required service in the military
- Ulysses Grant—General in the Union army
- Emancipation Proclamation—President Lincoln’s announcement that slaves were free in states rebelling against the Union
- Self-determination—The right of people in an area to rule themselves independently
- Confederate—A person who fought for the South in the Civil War
- *Ex parte Merryman*—The case in which a federal judge ruled that the president had no right to suspend habeas corpus
- New York City Riot—The largest riot in American history, started primarily against the draft

### DECISION-MAKING SKILLS EMPHASIZED

- Consider other points of view
- Ask about context
- Ask about analogies
- Set realistic goals
- Predict unintended consequences
- Play out options

# LESSON PLAN

## A. IN-DEPTH LESSON (one 40-minute class period)

### Procedure:

Distribute Handout 1 and have students pair up and choose what they will do for each of the four decisions. Circulate around the room to answer questions or clear up misunderstandings. Bring the class back together and discuss their decisions as well as the reasons for them. Distribute Handout 2 with the Outcomes. Have students read and write comments on the outcomes. Discuss their reactions to the Outcomes.

OPTION: Instead of having each pair choose and discuss all four decisions equally, assign each group one of the decisions. Bring the class back together and have each group give their reasons. Have the rest of the class vote on which options they favor in light of what the groups said.

### Reflecting on Decision Making:

Ask students how well they did on decision making with these problems. Which decision-making skills were especially important in making decisions as the commander-in-chief? Which of the letters of **P-A-G-E** applied especially to this problem? (See the “Decision-Making Analysis” section below for ideas.) Ask students what they did well or poorly on in terms of the **P-A-G-E** analysis of decision making. Discuss their answers.

### Putting the Actual Decisions Into Historical Context:

Ask students whether their decisions as commander-in-chief were the result more of historical forces or the result of decisions by a few individuals. (Historical forces played a more important role in Decisions 3 and 4. Historically, rights have been restricted and drafts have been implemented in several wars, which indicate that circumstances weighed heavily on choices that were made. There was great disagreement on Decisions 1 and 2, which points to a more important role for individual decisions. Lincoln could have negotiated while fighting. Insisting on unconditional surrender was unusual up to that time. [On the other hand, the unusual ferocity of the war may have provided the historical context for such a choice.] Lincoln’s involvement in war strategy was quite unusual, as many leaders typically leave war strategy to military experts.)

### Connecting to Today:

Ask students whether a president today should be involved in war strategy. Are conflicts today similar enough to the Civil War to question the president regarding war strategy? Should the United States have a draft today? Should rights be curtailed today in light of the threat from terrorism? Should enemy combatants be granted habeas corpus?



Troubleshooting:

Make sure students are clear on what rights of the accused are protected in the Constitution. Reviewing habeas corpus will help them understand the conflict over *ex parte Merryman*.

**B. QUICK MOTIVATOR (10–20 minutes)**

Have students write their choices for Decisions 1–4 on Handout 1 for homework. Then choose only one of the decisions to focus on in class. Have students pair up and discuss their choices on only that decision for three minutes or so. Ask for a show of hands on each option of the decision you selected and discuss several reasons for student choices. Distribute Handout 2 and have students comment for homework on what they learned from these outcomes.

# TEACHER NOTES FOR EXPANDING DISCUSSION

(For Outcomes, see Handout 2)

President Lincoln appointed many generals for political reasons. For example, he chose one candidate as a general simply because his name, Schimmelfennig, was German. He wanted some German-American generals in order to bolster German-American support for the Union, especially in volunteering for the army. But he also read books on military strategy from the Library of Congress, and spent a great deal of time at the War Department.

Lincoln did ask Horace Greeley to open negotiations with three Confederate representatives in July 1864, but it wasn't a serious effort at negotiating, so it is out of the lesson.

## DECISION-MAKING ANALYSIS:

### P = Problem

- Identify any underlying problem(s)
- \* - Consider other points of view
- What are my assumptions? Emotions?

### A = Ask for information (about)

- \* - Historical context (history of this issue; context in the world)
- Reliability of sources
- \* - **Historical analogies**

### G = Goals

- \* - What are my main goals? Are they realistic?
- Generate options to achieve these goals. Are they ethical?

### E = Effects

- \* - **Predict unintended consequences.**
- \* - **Play out the options. What could go wrong?**

\*Denotes topics emphasized in this lesson

- **Consider other points of view:** Students should consider the war from the Southern point of view. What are the Southern war aims and how do they affect various war aims by the North? For recruitment (Decision 4), students should consider various groups' points of view, such as farmers, workers, governors and other state leaders, and businessmen (who need workers).
- **Ask about context:** For Decision 3, students should ask what the Constitution says about habeas corpus. (The Constitution states that as one of Congress's powers, "The Privilege of the Writ of Habeas Corpus shall not be suspended, unless when in Cases of Rebellion or Invasion the public Safety may require it." The Civil War was clearly a rebellion. However, in the Habeas Corpus Act,

Congress authorized the president to suspend habeas corpus whenever “in his judgment the public safety may require it.” Was it constitutional for Congress to give that power to the president?) For Decisions 1 and 2, students should ask if the South is interested in rejoining the Union, and if so, under what conditions. (The South was not willing to rejoin the Union under almost any circumstances, as Southerners were convinced the North would interfere with slavery.) For Decision 2 on war strategy, students could ask whether presidents have controlled war strategy in past wars. (There was no president in the American Revolution. The president was highly involved in war strategy in the Mexican War, and in the War of 1812, President Madison personally assumed command on the battlefield in one fight against the British. For Decision 4 on recruitment, students could ask if the volunteer system was filling the need for soldiers. (No. The number of volunteers was falling somewhat behind.)

- **Ask about analogies:** As mentioned in Handout 2, President Lincoln believed the analogy to the American Revolution was weak. He argued that the American colonists were fighting for freedom, while the South was fighting to continue the oppression of slaves.
- **Set realistic goals:** The North had the resources to build ships to blockade the South and to defeat the Southern armies. So unconditional surrender was a realistic strategy.
- **Predict unintended consequences:** Several consequences are explained in Handout 2
- **Play out options:** Blockading the South would lead to huge expenses for the government, since navies are costly. Focusing on capturing the Southern capital of Richmond or on defeating Southern armies will mean attacking an entrenched enemy, which will lead to high casualties. Large armies will require large government contracts for supplies. How will the government get those supplies while preventing corruption?

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# LESSON 2: STRATEGIC DECISIONS

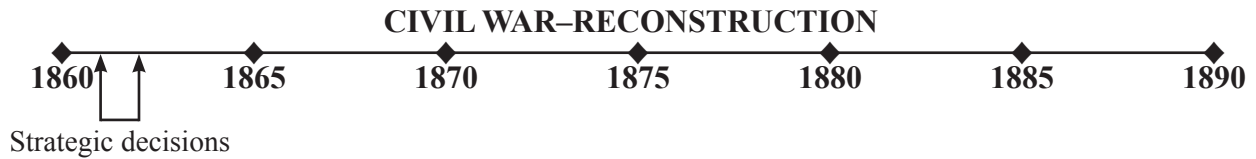
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## Vocabulary

- Anaconda Plan—Northern strategy to blockade and isolate the South
- Unconditional surrender—The strategy of continuing to fight until the other side gives up; i.e., no negotiation until the enemy surrenders
- Martial law—Military control of an area, often with enforced curfews
- Sabotage—A deliberate act aimed at weakening a government or enemy
- Writ of habeas corpus—A document requiring that authorities bring a person before a judge and justify his or her imprisonment
- Bounty—a payment to encourage a person to do something, in this case to join the army
- Draft—Required service in the military
- Ulysses Grant—General in the Union army
- Emancipation Proclamation—President Lincoln’s announcement that slaves were free in states rebelling against the Union
- Self-determination—The right of people in an area to rule themselves independently
- Confederate—A person who fought for the South in the Civil War
- *Ex parte Merryman*—The case in which a federal judge ruled that the president had no right to suspend habeas corpus
- New York City Riot—The largest riot in American history, started primarily against the draft

# LESSON 2: STRATEGIC DECISIONS

## Student Handout 1: Problem



You are President Lincoln in 1861. As the military's commander-in-chief, you have the duty to set the war policies of the Union. What will be the overall strategy of the Union in this civil war?

### Decision 1—War strategy:

Which of the following would you do? Explain your choice.

1. Isolate the South until its people come to their senses: There is no point to an all-out war when the North can just blockade the South and choke off the resources Southerners need to fight the war. This “Anaconda Plan” is being proposed by the leading Northern general, Winfield Scott, to squeeze the South until their people give up the rebellion. Northern ships would blockade Southern ports, and in some places, capture Southern coastal cities and islands. Northerners will also fight to capture the Mississippi River, starting at New Orleans. Gradually the whole South would be divided up and cut off from the outside world. The low level of fighting in this strategy would keep casualties low.
2. Capture the Southern capital: If the North captures Richmond, Virginia, the South will be forced to give up
3. Defeat the rebel armies: Capturing territory or isolating the South is not as important as defeating Southern armies in battle. The North has more resources and men. The mounting losses of constant warfare will wear the South down faster than it will the North.
4. Leave war strategy to military leaders. They are experts on strategy and you are not. You have never fought in a war, so you have no experience with military strategy.



Cartoon about the “Anaconda Plan”

**Decision 2—National strategy:**

Which of the following would you do? Explain your choice.

1. Negotiate: There is no sense in all the killing that would be involved in a war. It would be better to negotiate a settlement with Southern leaders whereby they will become a separate country in which slavery is protected. Since the two countries would be so closely integrated economically, there is no real danger in them becoming antagonistic to the North. The United States government has expressed the belief in the right to self-determination (that is, the right of the people to form their own government and rule themselves), so the government should be consistent with that belief. After all, the Declaration of Independence stated that the people have the right of revolution against a government they see as oppressive.
2. Fight and negotiate—a limited-war strategy: Fight to defeat the Southern armies, but negotiate while the armies fight. At some point, the North will get the upper hand on the battlefield, at which point the South will agree to negotiate an end to the war. The North will insist only on preserving the Union. The South will have to rejoin the Union to bring the war to an end.
3. Unconditional surrender: The North needs to fight until the South is defeated on the battlefield. There will be no negotiating. Only when the South decides to surrender completely will Northern leaders discuss surrender terms.

**Decision 3—National security and civil liberties:**



Seceding states appear in green

Eleven Southern states seceded from the Union in the past few months, and a war between the North and South has begun. Last month was frightening because Maryland came close to seceding from the Union as well. Washington D.C. can't be supplied arms if Maryland joins the rebel cause. Troops from Massachusetts put Maryland under martial law, and the leaders in Maryland understood the message that the government would deal harshly with rebellion. The Maryland

legislature voted to stay in the Union, which relieved the immediate crisis.

However, the crisis in Maryland isn't over completely. Confederate sympathizers are blowing up bridges and ripping up railroad tracks in an effort to stop reinforcements and supplies from reaching Washington D.C. One man, John Merryman, is training recruits in Maryland to fight for the Confederacy. These people could be arrested, but courts in Maryland may refuse to convict them. If these acts of sabotage are widespread, the war effort will be jeopardized.

As commander-in-chief, you have the responsibility for defending national security during wartime. To what extent will you emphasize national security over constitutionally protected rights? You may choose more than one option.

1. Arrest suspicious people and hold them without trial by civilian courts, thus suspending the writ of habeas corpus (a document commanding that authorities bring a person before a judge and justify his or her imprisonment). According to the Constitution, “The privilege of the writ of habeas corpus shall not be suspended, unless when in cases of rebellion or invasion the public safety may require it.” This is clearly a time of rebellion, so the government is justified in arresting people without trial.
2. Continue with martial law, which includes curfews (in which people cannot be outside their homes after a certain time) and soldiers shooting citizens to prevent looting or sabotage
3. Do neither. Uphold peacetime civil liberties. Suspicious people will be arrested, but then taken to civilian courts and protected under constitutional principles, such as the right to cross-examination and trial by jury.

#### **Decision 4—Recruiting an army:**

It is now 1863. Up to now, the North has been relying on volunteers for the army. As commander-in-chief you have the responsibility for recruiting soldiers for the army. What decisions will you make to ensure the army has enough soldiers to defeat the South?

1. Continue the volunteer system, which includes bounties (money) paid by local governments to volunteers to get enlistments up. The bounties could be as high as \$600, the equivalent of a year’s salary.
2. Set quotas for states to meet. If states do not meet the quotas, then their citizens will be drafted by the national government into the army. Individuals called to serve by their state governments could buy their way out of having to fight by hiring a substitute or paying a fee of \$300.
3. Do away with the old system of volunteers. Make every white male in the North between the ages of 18 and 30 subject to the draft, without exception. The federal government will set up draft boards in every state, compile lists of males between the ages of 18 and 30, and order those men to report to their draft boards. The government will then draft enough men to fill the ranks of the army.



# LESSON 2: STRATEGIC DECISIONS

## Student Handout 2: Outcomes

**Decision 1:** At first, President Lincoln thought the war was a minor insurrection that the North could suppress with a small force of soldiers. After losing the first battles, Lincoln realized the rebellion could be defeated only by a major war. Nevertheless, he still saw it as a war limited to battlefields rather than an all-out war on the entire Southern population. He agreed, as a war strategy, to General Winfield Scott's Anaconda Plan (Option 1) of blockading and isolating the South until Southern leaders came to their senses and agreed to a negotiated settlement. The Anaconda Plan would limit casualties and was intended to restore the federal government's authority over rebel territory, not to overthrow the Southern political and social system. Unfortunately, at the start of the war, the North had only 42 warships to guard hundreds of miles of coastline, so the blockade only gradually became effective.

President Lincoln also chose Option 2 at first, trying to capture the rebel capital at Richmond. Within a short time, however, he changed to a strategy of defeating the rebel armies (Option 3). He told generals to attack Southern armies and he removed many who did not carry out his orders. Eventually he got the general he wanted in Ulysses Grant, whom he stuck with until the war ended. Most historians regard Lincoln's active role in military strategy as a key to Northern victory in the war. President Lincoln felt he had a duty to help determine war strategy (rejecting Option 4), despite his lack of experience.

**Decision 2:** In terms of national strategy, President Lincoln initially chose Option 2. He hoped that Southern leaders would come to their senses, end the rebellion, and rejoin the Union. Battles in 1861 and 1862 showed him that the war would be difficult, however. In the spring of 1862, Northern armies suffered significant defeats. The Battle of Shiloh, in which 20,000 men were killed or wounded, showed that Southerners were fighting with everything they had against the Union. The president realized that the limited war strategy wasn't sufficient to defeat the South. At this point, he turned to the strategy of unconditional surrender (Option 3). This strategy meant that the North moved to total war in order to achieve victory. For example, Northern armies ripped up railroads in the South and took food and livestock, and when Northern soldiers burned Southern supplies in Atlanta, the fire got out of control and destroyed much of the city.



“Total war”: destruction in Charleston, South Carolina

Democrats in the North constantly pushed for negotiations with the South (Option 2). Before the 1864 election, Democrats proposed offering to end the war if the South would

rejoin the Union, but without requiring them to agree to emancipation. But President Lincoln insisted on unconditional surrender and then on emancipation.

Negotiating for a peaceable separation (Option 1) was never an option for President Lincoln. He argued forcefully that the analogy to the American Revolution (in which the people fought a just rebellion against an oppressive government) was weak. According to Lincoln, the American colonists were fighting for freedom, while the South was fighting to preserve oppression over slaves. He argued repeatedly that the Union was the key to American freedom, so secession by Southern states was a threat to everything that Americans held dear.

**Decision 3:** President Lincoln continued martial law (Option 2) and arrested people without trial (Option 1) in Maryland. One such person was John Merryman, who was accused of recruiting and training men in Maryland for the Confederate army. Supreme Court Justice Roger Taney ordered that Merryman be brought before a judge. When the government refused, Taney wrote the opinion *ex parte Merryman*. In it, he argued that Lincoln did not have the authority to suspend habeas corpus. Lincoln ignored the opinion. He expanded the policy of arresting and holding suspects without trial to other states. Some accused Lincoln of trampling on constitutional rights, while others saw his actions as necessary during the Civil War crisis.



John Merryman

**Decision 4:** Congress passed (and the president signed) the Draft Act in 1863, which put a quota of a minimum number of recruits on each Northern state (Option 2). If a state did not meet its quota of recruits, the federal government would draft men until the quota was met. In effect, it was a draft, but almost all the quotas were filled by the states, so states retained control over the recruitment process. Most Northern soldiers (about 90%) were listed as volunteers, but many of these were actually recruited by local boards to fill quotas under the Draft Act. The states continued to attract recruits by paying bounties, which actually increased under the Draft Act. The bounties led to “bounty jumping,” a practice in which men would sign up and collect a bounty, then desert, go back, sign up again, and collect another bounty. The part of the draft that allowed a draftee to hire a substitute for \$300 led to the charge that the conflict was “a rich man’s war and a poor man’s fight.” Evidence shows that both rich and poor fought in the Civil War so it wasn’t really only a poor man’s fight, but people believed it was due to the substitute aspect of the draft.



A scene from the New York City draft riots

An unintended consequence of the draft was the rise of draft riots in numerous cities. The largest riot in American history occurred in New York City in 1863, caused largely by anti-draft outrage.

Nevertheless, the Draft Act worked—it ended the manpower shortage in the Union army. Although it was controversial, especially with Democrats, the draft was never subjected to a Supreme Court ruling.

Given the manpower shortage in the army under the volunteer system (Option 1), continuing the system would not have solved the problem. A comprehensive draft by the federal government (Option 3) would have removed the local nature of recruiting and probably reduced enthusiasm for the war.

# LESSON 3: CIVIL WAR DOMESTIC POLICY

## Teacher Pages

### OVERVIEW

In this lesson, students will decide on questions of domestic policy. The most urgent question was how to finance the war. Failure on that question could have spelled disaster for the North. However, the war also provided an opportunity, since there were so few Democrats in Congress, for Republicans to pass programs that they could not pass before the war. Some historians argue that these programs constituted one of the greatest changes in the role of government in American history. Will students approve these programs during the war?

### VOCABULARY

- Tariff—A tax on imports
- Income tax—A tax that takes a percentage of people’s income
- Bond—An agreement in which a person loans money to the government in exchange for a document (bond) that promises to pay the money back with interest
- Internal improvements—Government help for roads, canals, or railroads
- Pacific Railway Act—Law that authorized building of a railroad from Nebraska to California
- Subsidy—Government payment or assistance to a business
- Jay Cooke—Businessman who organized bond drives to borrow money for the Civil War
- Greenbacks—Federally issued currency not backed by the gold standard (on the gold standard, a dollar’s worth of gold had to back each dollar of currency)
- Homestead Act—An act that allowed someone to become the owner of 160 to 640 acres of land after working to improve that land for five years

### DECISION-MAKING SKILLS EMPHASIZED

- Consider other points of view
- Ask about context
- Set realistic goals
- Predict unintended consequences
- Play out options

# LESSON PLAN

## A. IN-DEPTH LESSON (one 40-minute class period)

### Procedure:

Distribute Handout 1 and have students pair up and choose what they will do for each of the three problems. Circulate around the room to answer questions or clear up misunderstandings. Bring the class back together and discuss their decisions as well as the reasons for them. Distribute Handout 2 with the outcomes. Have students read the outcomes and write comments on the outcomes. Discuss their reactions to what actually happened.

OPTION: Instead of having each pair choose and discuss all three decisions, divide the class into three groups and assign each group one of the decisions. Have each group discuss its decision. Bring the class back together, have the group assigned each problem give their reasons for their decisions and then have the rest of the class vote on which options they favor in light of what the groups said.

OPTION: Simplify the lesson by having students answer only the decision about the Pacific Railroad, which is the least abstract of the problems. After discussing student decisions on the problem, distribute the outcome to just that decision.

### Reflecting on Decision Making:

Ask students how well they did on decision making with these problems. Which decision-making skills were especially important in making decisions on the home front? Which of the letters of **P-A-G-E** applied especially to this problem? (See the “Decision-Making Analysis” section below for ideas.) Ask students what they did well or poorly on in terms of the **P-A-G-E** analysis of decision making. Discuss their answers.

### Putting the Actual Decisions Into Historical Context:

Ask students whether the decisions on the home front were the result more of historical forces or the result of decisions by a few individuals. (Historical forces played a more important role in Problem 1. The war forced leaders to make choices that they would not otherwise have made on taxes, and borrowing and printing money. Even the differences between North and South on war financing may have been due more to historical forces than to individual choices. The South had fewer resources, so it was forced to rely on printing money. But Problems 2 and 3 were strictly optional, so the results were due much more to political beliefs than to historical forces. The war provided the opportunity but not the necessity for new policies.)

### Connecting to Today:

Ask students whether the government today should print more money when the economy slows down. Printing money helped the North finance the war, so would it help today?

Troubleshooting:

Students often have difficulty understanding why printing money (greenbacks) leads to inflation. Tell them that there are 100 items for sale at an auction and the people at the auction have a total of \$100. What will the average price be? (\$1) If the government now gives a total of \$100 to the people at the auction, what will the new average price be? (\$2) That's why it causes inflation.

**B. QUICK MOTIVATOR (10–20 minutes)**

Have students write their choices for Problems 1-3 on Handout 1 for homework. Choose only one decision to focus on in class (use Problem 2, as explained above for simplifying the full lesson). Have students pair up and discuss their choices on only that decision for three minutes or so. Ask for a show of hands on each option of the decision you selected and discuss several reasons for students' choices. Distribute Handout 2 and have students comment for homework on what they learned from these outcomes.

# TEACHER NOTES FOR EXPANDING DISCUSSION

(For Outcomes, see Handout 2)

Historian James McPherson says that the number of laws passed in 1861 “did more to reshape the relation of the government to the economy than any comparable effort except perhaps the first hundred days of the New Deal.” Another historian says these laws “created a blueprint for modern America.”

Historians disagree about the extent to which Northern financial decisions helped create the economic boom during the Civil War. Some scholars argue that the war itself brought about almost all the prosperity, and would have resulted under almost any reasonable financial policies. Others believe the financial policies, especially controlling inflation, played a significant role in the economic growth of the war years and after the war.

## DECISION-MAKING ANALYSIS:

### P = Problem

- Identify any underlying problem(s)
- \* - Consider other points of view
- What are my assumptions? Emotions?

### A = Ask for information (about)

- \* - Historical context (history of this issue; context in the world)
- Reliability of sources
- Historical analogies

### G = Goals

- \* - What are my main goals? Are they realistic?
- Generate options to achieve these goals. Are they ethical?

### E = Effects

- \* - **Predict unintended consequences.**
- \* - **Play out the options. What could go wrong?**

\*Denotes topics emphasized in this lesson

- **Consider other points of view:** Students should consider the points of view of workers and bankers (who would be hurt by inflation) and farmers (who would benefit from inflation), among other groups. Students should also consider the views of Native Americans on the Homestead Act.
- **Ask about context:** Students should ask questions, such as: Have national banks been helpful in other countries during wars? (Yes, especially in Britain.) Have tariffs tended to help economic growth in the past? (There is no clear answer.) Have government subsidies for railroads been successful in the past? (In general

yes, especially in England and Belgium.) Do we have enough government officials to ensure that people actually live on and improve the land? (No, there are very few agents.)

- **Set realistic goals:** Is it a good idea to spend money on a program which is unrelated to the war, such as a transcontinental railroad, during a war? Isn't that being unrealistic?
- **Predict unintended consequences:** Several consequences are explained in Handout 2
- **Play out options:** Students should play out the options on each of these proposals, considering what could go wrong: Is there a way for railroad companies to get more government money than they would actually spend? (Yes, by exaggerating expenses). What will happen to the cost of labor during a wartime labor shortage if people are lured out west by the offer of free land? (The cost of labor would rise as the labor shortage gets worse.) How will it be ensured that people will really live on the land for five years before claiming land under the Homestead Act? (It can't, since there are so few agents to monitor so much land. Some people turned in fraudulent claims, and some agents were bribed. Land speculators took advantage of the act and built 12' x 14' houses (the act didn't specify it had to be in feet). In this way, speculators got huge tracts of land for free.



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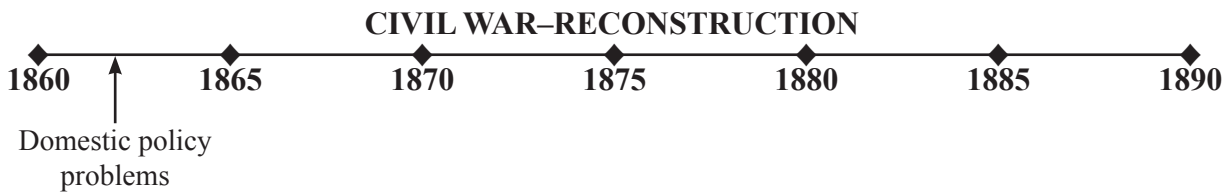
# **LESSON 3: CIVIL WAR DOMESTIC POLICY**

## **Vocabulary**

- **Tariff**—A tax on imports
- **Income tax**—A tax that takes a percentage of people’s income
- **Bond**—An agreement in which a person loans money to the government in exchange for a document (bond) that promises to pay the money back with interest
- **Internal improvements**—Government help for roads, canals, or railroads
- **Pacific Railway Act**—Law that authorized building of a railroad from Nebraska to California
- **Subsidy**—Government payment or assistance to a business
- **Jay Cooke**—Businessman who organized bond drives to borrow money for the Civil War
- **Greenbacks**—Federally issued currency not backed by the gold standard (on the gold standard, a dollar’s worth of gold had to back each dollar of currency)
- **Homestead Act**—An act that allowed someone to become the owner of 160 to 640 acres of land after working to improve that land for five years

# LESSON 3: CIVIL WAR DOMESTIC POLICY

## Student Handout 1: Problem



You are President Lincoln in 1862. You took office in 1861 after a bitter election that showed just how divided the country has become. You didn't win a single Southern state; you and the Republican Party won because of concentrated support in the North. Worse, soon after you were elected, the Southern states seceded, and the Civil War began. On the other hand, with all those Southern Democrats no longer in Congress, the Republicans are even more dominant. Republicans have an opportunity to pass laws favoring their principles, but they also have the responsibility to do what is best for the country.

### Problem 1—Government financing of the war:

Before the war started, the federal government was very small (its biggest department was the post office) and spent very little money. Since the war started, the government has been spending much more money. The government gets revenue from tariffs (taxes on imports) and from the sale of lands in the West. Most Americans oppose instituting an income tax. Which of the following will you do in terms of financing the war? If you choose a combination of A and B, what percentage will be A and what percentage B? If you choose a combination of A, B, and C, what percentage would you devote to each?

- A. Increase taxes by starting an income tax
- B. Borrow money by appealing to people's patriotism, for example, by asking people to buy bonds. Borrowing will postpone some of the cost of the war to future generations.
- C. Print money and use it to pay the government's bills
- D. Do nothing. The problem isn't that severe. We should buy the materials for war with the budget we have right now. We shouldn't increase taxes or borrowing.

### Problem 2—Pacific Railway:

You were a Whig for most of your political career, before becoming a Republican. Whigs have always emphasized an active role for the federal government in internal improvements, such as building roads, canals, and railroads. Whigs believed that having the government provide help for businesses (subsidies) to build transportation improvements was worth the expense to taxpayers because the better transportation options cut shipping costs and increased trade. Internal improvements do more than strengthen the economy, however. They also bind the nation together politically and

socially. On the other hand, Congress has repeatedly voted against spending for internal improvements because of the cost to taxpayers and because an increased role for government will probably lead to more corruption. Who, for example, will decide which companies will get the government subsidies? Couldn't such people be bribed?

Under the Pacific Railway Act, it has been proposed to build a railroad from Nebraska to California, across the Great Plains and the Rocky Mountains. It will be extremely expensive to build such a long railroad, so government subsidies seem to be necessary. The railroad will connect isolated farms with east coast markets. The government would help the railroad companies by giving them 15 million acres of land along the railroad route. The railroad companies could then sell the land to raise funds for construction and to make a profit. The government would also give government bonds to the railroad companies, which the companies could sell to raise funds quickly. Since the Democrats are no longer strong in Congress, this bill should pass easily, if you choose to support it.

Will you support the Pacific Railway Act? Explain your decision.

- A. Support the Pacific Railway Act (described above)
- B. Oppose the Pacific Railway Act

**Problem 3—Whig economic policies (tariff/national bank/public land):**

Whigs also favored other economic policies, including the following:

- A. A high protective tariff for American manufacturers. The tariff would protect American manufacturers against unfair competition from foreign businesses. Americans should be encouraged to “buy American.” Increased sales of American products would lead to more employment for American workers and more wealth for American communities.
- B. A national bank to centralize and control banking in the U.S. A national bank would stabilize the economy, allowing for controlled expansion of the money supply. Now, during this civil war, there is more need than ever for a national bank to monitor the sale of bonds to finance the war effort. The disorganized banking system and the unstable currency makes it harder for the government to sell bonds.
- C. Giving away land in the West to encourage settlement. Free land will encourage Americans to move west, which will give everyone a second chance to improve their lives. Republicans are proposing free land plots of 160 acres to settlers willing to pay a \$10 registration fee and stay on the land for five years. Slaveholders opposed the act before the Civil War, since it would create more free states and endanger slavery. But they are not in the government any more. Northern factory owners also oppose the idea, since each new settler is someone no longer in the factory workforce, which will drive up labor costs.

With a large majority of Republicans in Congress and a weak Democratic Party, all these bills will probably pass. The question is: Should they?

Will you support each of these Whig economic policies? Explain your decision.

- A. High protective tariff
- B. National bank
- C. Free land to people to settle the West

# LESSON 3: CIVIL WAR DOMESTIC POLICY

## Student Handout 2: Outcomes

### Problem 1—Government financing of the war

The national government raised taxes (Choice A), which paid for 21% of the cost of the war. It instituted an income tax, which taxed incomes over \$800 at a 3% rate. But more money was raised from sales taxes and the sale of confiscated Southern cotton. The taxes were important to show that the government was making an effort to finance all this spending by raising some of the necessary funds during the war. Thus, people kept their faith in the financial stability of the government.

In addition, the government borrowed heavily (Choice B) through the sale of bonds. Bond sales paid for about 67% of the cost of the war. At first, the sales brought in little money. Then the government turned to businessman Jay Cooke, who used mass-marketing techniques to increase sales dramatically. Appeals to patriotism in large rallies increased sales to the point that, by the end of the war, one out of every four Northern households had bought war bonds.

The North also resorted to printing money (Choice C), which paid for about 13% of the war. The government printed millions of dollars in paper money, referred to as “greenbacks.” Naturally, this infusion of money led to inflation. The cost of living in



An 1862 greenback

the North was 80% higher at the end of the war than it was in 1861 (in other words, something that had cost \$10 in 1861 cost \$18 in 1865). Essentially, this was taxation by inflation. The government printed money to pay for supplies for the war, the funds for which came from consumers who had to pay higher prices for everything they bought. The demand for goods, financed partly by greenbacks, also led to a generally booming economy. The amount of inflation was held in check because the government increased taxes (described above). Greenbacks continued to be promoted and debated after the war, especially by farmers, so greenbacks had important long-term effects.

Doing nothing in terms of financing (Choice D) would have prevented the North from fighting the war effectively. That would have been a bad choice. Wars are expensive!

While the Northern method of financing the war has its critics, it contrasts sharply with the Southern method. The South relied on inflation through printing money for 60% of the cost of the war effort. Prices in the South were about *92 times* higher at the end of the war as they were before it (so something that had cost \$10 in 1861 cost \$920 in 1865). Inflation was much better controlled in the North during the war, which spurred economic growth. The North managed to fight the war without rationing, shortages, or a decline in the economy.

### **Problem 2—Pacific Railway:**

President Lincoln approved the Pacific Railway Act, which had numerous effects. There was indeed corruption, as railway companies took advantage of government subsidies. Many workers died in constructing the railway. In the long run, however, the railroads bound the western part of the country to the east. The larger market was a great stimulus to economic growth and increased settlement of the West. Unfortunately, the railroads spelled doom for Native Americans, as they lost more and more of their land.



The route of the first transcontinental railroad

### **Problem 3—Whig economic policies (tariff/national bank/public land):**

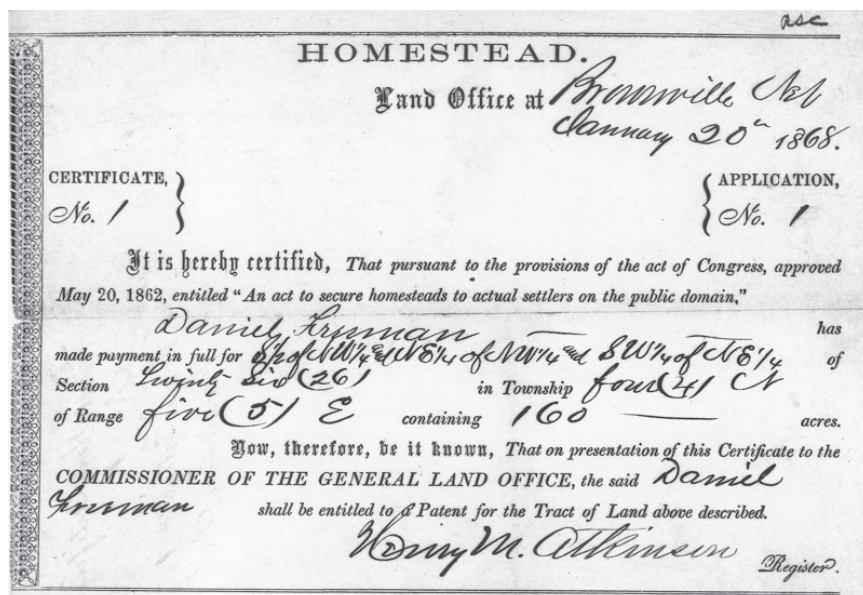
President Lincoln favored all three economic policies. Congress passed them and Lincoln signed them into law. The high tariff (Decision A) did protect American manufacturers, but also hurt consumers, who paid much higher prices than before the tariff. The tariff also hurt exporters, especially farmers. With fewer ships bringing in imports, there were fewer ships taking out exports. Also, foreign governments raised their own tariffs in retaliation for the high American tariff. Farmers complained bitterly about the tariff.

The government needed revenue (tax money) desperately during the war, and the tariff provided some of that revenue. Unfortunately, since the tariff reduced trade, the amount of money raised from the tariff declined. The high tariff remained in place for over 40 years after the war ended. So the tariff had significant long-term effects, helping domestic businesses competing with foreign imports, but hurting exporters and consumers.

The national bank (Decision B) did provide financial stability for the government during the war, helping to raise funds while avoiding excessive inflation. In that way, the bank

helped the North win the war. The bank was discontinued after the war ended, so it did not have the long-term effects that the tariff had.

Congress and the president supported free public land in the form of the Homestead Act (Decision C), which contained three parts: (1) A settler applies for 160 to 640 acres, (2) he lives on the land for five years, making improvements, including building a house of at least 12 by 14 in size (the units—feet or inches—weren't given) and planting crops, and (3) he applies for ownership of the land. Public land helped promote the settlement of the West during and after the Civil War. In the short run, the act made the labor shortage during the war worse, since some people left the East (where the shortage was) and went out West. In the long run, western settlement had important effects, such as increased food production; a greater labor shortage in American factories, which drove up wages and increased the demand for immigrants; a spirit of individualism and equality; a great increase in economic growth; a dramatic expansion in the use of resources; increased pollution and environmental degradation; and subjugation of Native Americans. Eventually, 1.6 million homesteads were granted and 10% of all land in the United States was privatized under this act.



A homestead certificate



# LESSON 3: CIVIL WAR DOMESTIC POLICY

## Student Handout 3: Primary Source

### Homestead Act (1862)

CHAP. LXXV.—*An Act to secure Homesteads to actual Settlers on the Public Domain.*

...SEC. 2. And be it further enacted, That the person applying for the benefit of this act shall, upon application to the register of the land office in which he or she is about to make such entry, make affidavit before the said register or receiver that he or she is the head of a family, or is twenty-one years or more of age, or shall have performed service in the army or navy of the United States, and that he has never borne arms against the Government of the United States or given aid and comfort to its enemies, and that such application is made for his or her exclusive use and benefit, and that said entry is made for the purpose of actual settlement and cultivation, and not either directly or indirectly for the use or benefit of any other person or persons whomsoever; and upon filing the said affidavit with the register or receiver, and on payment of ten dollars, he or she shall thereupon be permitted to enter the quantity of land specified,...shall prove by two credible witnesses that he, she, or they have resided upon or cultivated the same for the term of five years immediately succeeding the time of filing the affidavit aforesaid, and shall make affidavit that no part of said land has been alienated, and that he has borne due allegiance to the Government of the United States; then, in such case, he, she, or they, if at that time a citizen of the United States, shall be entitled to a patent [ownership], as in other cases provided for by law....

APPROVED, May 20, 1862.

### QUESTIONS FOR ANALYSIS

1. Who were the authors referencing when they said that those who have “borne arms against the Government of the United States” would be excluded from getting a homestead?
2. What was this law trying to prevent in saying that the land could not have been used “either directly or indirectly for the use or benefit of any other person or persons whomsoever”?

# LESSON 4: VIEWS ON FREEDMEN, 1865

## Teacher Pages

### OVERVIEW

After the Civil War, the North faced the challenge of readmitting the Southern states into the Union, while helping African Americans adjust to freedom. This time period is known as Reconstruction. In this lesson, students view Reconstruction from the perspectives of five different groups: freedmen, plantation owners, Southern political leaders, Northern workers, and Freedmen's Bureau agents.

### VOCABULARY

- Reconstruction—The time after the Civil War in which Southern states were brought back into the Union
- Freedmen—African Americans freed from slavery in the United States
- Sharecroppers—People who work the land and get a share of the crop when it is sold
- Cash—Money in the form of bills or coins
- Vagrancy laws—Rules preventing people from wandering from place to place; during Reconstruction, these rules were used as a way of forcing freedmen to continue working the lands they had worked as slaves
- Black Codes—Laws after the Civil War that denied African Americans their civil rights
- Freedmen's Bureau—Government agency established to help ex-slaves
- Andrew Johnson—President after the Civil War
- Ku Klux Klan—Terrorist organization that used violence to intimidate freedmen

### DECISION-MAKING SKILLS EMPHASIZED

- Identify underlying problem(s)
- Consider other points of view
- Identify assumptions, emotions
- Ask about analogies
- Set realistic goals
- Predict unintended consequences
- Play out options

# LESSON PLAN

## A. IN-DEPTH LESSON (one 40-minute class period)

### Procedure:

There are two basic ways to teach this lesson:

OPTION A: Distribute Handout 1 with the five points of view. Have students read Problem 1 from the freedmen's perspective, then pair students up and have them choose their top three priorities. Circulate around the room to answer questions or clear up misunderstandings. Bring the class back together and discuss their decisions as well as their reasons. Repeat this process for the other four perspectives. Distribute Handout 2 (Outcomes). Have students read the outcomes and write their reactions to them. Discuss their reactions to the outcomes. Ask students how their decisions as a particular group (for example, freedmen) were affected when they read the problem from other points of view. Did students change their thinking?

OPTION B: Distribute Handout 1 and assign each student one of the five perspectives. After students decide individually what to do from the perspective they were assigned, have the students with the same perspective form groups and decide what they will do (e.g., all the students assigned the perspective of freedmen meet and decide what to do). Bring the class back together and have each group report its decision and explain its reasons. Distribute Handout 2 (Outcomes). Have students read and write their reactions. Discuss their reactions. Ask students how their decisions as one group (for example, freedmen) were affected when they read the problem from other points of view. Did students change their thinking?

You can enrich the lesson by including the primary sources. The Mississippi Black Code (Handout 3) could be used when the class focuses on the outcomes for the Southern political leader. The letter from Jourdon Anderson (Handout 4) could be used with the outcomes for the freedmen or plantation owner. Students tend to remember what they read in this very interesting document.

### Reflecting on Decision Making:

Ask students how well they did on decision making on these problems. Which decision-making skills were especially important in making decisions from the various perspectives during Reconstruction? Which of the letters of **P-A-G-E** applied especially to this problem? (See the "Decision-Making Analysis" section below for ideas.)

You might want to focus most of your attention on point of view, as outlined in the "Procedure" section above. Ask students what they did well or poorly on in terms of the **P-A-G-E** analysis of decision making. Discuss their answers.

### Putting the Actual Decisions Into Historical Context:

Ask students whether the decisions on Reconstruction were the result more of historical forces or the result of decisions by a few individuals. (The interplay of the various perspectives show that historical forces probably dominated. An argument could be made that plantation owners and white political leaders made crucial decisions, but even there, the choices were influenced by racism, economic needs, and the devastation of the war. As the lesson shows, African Americans played a key role in Reconstruction.)

### Connecting to Today:

Ask students whether the decisions during Reconstruction have had a long-term influence on race relations in the United States that reaches to the present day. A second connection could be made to the Iraq war. Ask students the extent to which various groups in Iraq have influenced events in the reconstruction of that country after the 2003 war. Reconstruction is a good illustration of the difficulty in rebuilding a society ruined by war, and the degree to which older ideas, practices, and institutions survive even after the society that birthed them has vanished.

### Troubleshooting:

You can help students understand high interest rates by asking leading questions about lending. Suppose there are four people trying to borrow money. They have a choice of four lending banks, one run by the students and three others. But what if only the student-run bank was capable of lending money; would they charge a higher interest rate then? Would they charge higher interest rates if the other three banks had only a small amount of money available to lend?

## **B. QUICK MOTIVATOR (20 minutes)**

Have students decide for homework what they will do for each perspective. The next day, ask for a show of hands for each problem/perspective and discuss several reasons for students' choices. Distribute Handout 2 and have students comment for homework on what they learned from these outcomes.

# TEACHER NOTES FOR EXPANDING DISCUSSION

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(For Outcomes, see Handout 2)

Northern factory owners were not included in Handout 1 to avoid making the handout too long. The Northern factory workers represent owners to some extent, and the owners' views are alluded to in the "Outcomes" handout.

Under the sharecropping system, the owners who were lending tools, land, and so forth, and the merchants who were lending goods were paid before the sharecroppers (called "first lien"). This further complication is not included in this lesson to keep it as simple as possible. The then-common word "peonage" used to describe the cycle of indebtedness and dependence is also not included.

Since monthly wages varied widely by state and by year, they are not included in the lesson. If students are curious, monthly wage rates from Historian Leon Litwack (see Sources) for a first-class male field hand are as follows: Virginia, North Carolina, and Tennessee—\$5–\$10; South Carolina and Georgia—\$8–\$12; Mississippi, Alabama, Florida, and Louisiana—\$10–\$18; and Arkansas and Texas—\$15–\$25.

Hundreds of freedmen refused to sign labor contracts or to leave plantations, claiming unsuccessfully that the land belonged to them. They also refused to do certain kinds of work, such as weeding cotton in the rain.

Historians' estimates of the number of African American cowboys vary from 2% of the total number of cowboys to 25% of the total. All agree that there were over 1200 African American cowboys. Many of the African American cowboys had worked on ranches in Texas before or during the Civil War. A significant number of cowboys were also Hispanic.

## DECISION-MAKING ANALYSIS:

### P = Problem

- \* - **Identify any underlying problem(s)**
- \* - Consider other points of view
- \* - What are my assumptions? Emotions?

### A = Ask for information (about)

- Historical context (history of this issue; context in the world)
- Reliability of sources
- \* - **Historical analogies**

### G = Goals

- \* - What are my main goals? Are they realistic?
- Generate options to achieve these goals. Are they ethical?

### E = Effects

- \* - **Predict unintended consequences.**
- \* - **Play out the options. What could go wrong?**

\*Denotes topics emphasized in this lesson

- **Identify underlying problem(s):** At this point in time, large commercial farming was dominating small farms, making it increasingly difficult for small farmers (which freedmen wanted to be) to make a decent living. A second underlying problem was the Civil War. The war changed everything, which made former ways of thinking obsolete in many cases. Those who thought they could go back to the antebellum culture were mistaken. One of the underlying problems of the Civil War was a culture of violence. A large number of Southern whites were ex-soldiers with weapons, especially the new rapid-fire pistols. They were despondent over the loss of the war and they were trained in how to use their weapons. It was a deadly combination. As noted in Handout 1, the Civil War also destroyed large portions of the South economically. Such devastation was a significant underlying problem.
- **Consider other points of view:** The entire lesson is focused around seeing Reconstruction from different points of view. These points of view are explained in Handout 1, and some of the effects of these conflicting points of view are explained in Handout 2.
- **What are my assumptions?** As stated in Handout 2, owners assumed that when African Americans worked less it showed they were lazy, not recognizing that their own lifestyles of leisure could also be viewed as laziness
- **Ask about analogies:** Some people at the time, especially plantation owners, pointed to other societies in which slaves were emancipated. But there are very important differences between the U.S. and these other societies that make the analogies highly questionable:

1. The U.S. was the only society where all the slaves were emancipated at once
  2. The number of slaves in the U.S. (four million, about two-thirds of all slaves in the Americas) was much larger than in any other society,
  3. Only in 19th-century American society did whites outnumber slaves (except in South Carolina). Southern whites faced competition for jobs from newly emancipated slaves.
  4. The bloodshed of the U.S. Civil War was unique in the emancipation process in the Western world
  5. Slaves in the U.S. were overwhelmingly born in the U.S., most going back several generations, while most slaves in other societies had been imported from Africa during their lifetimes. Slaves in the U.S. were uniquely American.
- **Set realistic goals:** Students should consider the main goal of each point of view as they make their decisions. Are these goals realistic? As students can see in Handout 2, some goals turn out to be unrealistic, given the circumstances. For example, getting Southern support for dividing up land for freedmen was unrealistic.
  - **Predict unintended consequences:** Several consequences are explained in Handout 2
  - **Play out option:** Students should play out the option of these proposals in light of the other points of view. How are Southern political leaders and Northern workers likely to react to the idea of using soldiers to protect African American rights? Playing out options may lead to different choices.

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## LESSON 4: VIEWS ON FREEDMEN, 1865

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### Vocabulary

- Reconstruction—The time after the Civil War in which Southern states were brought back into the Union
- Freedmen—African Americans freed from slavery in the United States
- Sharecroppers—People who work the land and get a share of the crop when it is sold
- Cash—Money in the form of bills or coins
- Vagrancy laws—Rules preventing people from wandering from place to place; during Reconstruction, these rules were used as a way of forcing freedmen to continue working the lands they had worked as slaves
- Black Codes—Laws after the Civil War that denied African Americans their civil rights
- Freedmen’s Bureau—Government agency established to help ex-slaves
- Andrew Johnson—President after the Civil War
- Ku Klux Klan—Terrorist organization that used violence to intimidate freedmen

# LESSON 4: VIEWS ON FREEDMEN, 1865

## Student Handout 1: Problem



This lesson looks at the problems of Reconstruction from various points of view. It will help you gain a better understanding of the problems of this challenging time period. Decide what you will do for each viewpoint—make your decision based on what would best help that group, not necessarily what would help the country in general.

### Viewpoint 1—Freedmen:

You are an adult male freedman in 1865. You live with your family on a plantation, but now that the war has ended, you are free. You could move away, but this is where you have lived all your life. Most of the people you know, friends and relatives, live right in this area. As a former slave you were dependent on your master for almost everything, so you don't have any wealth and you only have a few dollars in cash.



Freedmen on a South Carolina plantation

Which of the following are your top priorities in this situation? Number your top three priorities (that is, put a 1 next to your first choice, a 2 next to your second, and a 3 next to your third):

- A. Stay and work on the cotton plantation. You would be working in a group, as you did while a slave, but you would be paid wages. Your wife and children would not have to work.
- B. Look for work outside of the plantation, for higher wages. You could move to a city to find a non-plantation job. Or you could just search for work at other plantations.
- C. Demand that you get your own land. Freedmen you know say that the federal government is going to take land away from Confederate rebels and give about 40 acres to each freedman and his family. Freedmen in Haiti, Jamaica, and Barbados all wanted to possess their own land. Owning land is the key to economic independence for freedmen.
- D. Rent land. That way, you would be able to make extra money after paying your rent.
- E. Sign a sharecropping agreement. You would work on a plot of land and get a share of the crop at the end of the year.
- F. Leave the South and move your family to the West or North.

**Viewpoint 2—White plantation owner:**

You are a white plantation owner in 1865. The South has suffered extensive devastation from the Civil War. Bridges, buildings, fences, tools, and livestock have been destroyed, including those on your plantation. More than one-fifth of adult white male Southerners died in the war and many more were wounded. To make matters worse, there is almost no money available, and interest rates are extremely high. You and the other plantation owners you know have some money, but it isn't enough to pay wages and make repairs to your plantation. Unfortunately, since interest rates are high, it isn't a good idea to borrow money. The emancipation of your slaves, the biggest source of your wealth other than land, was a big financial loss to you. You didn't sell your slaves—they were freed all at once without any payment to you. Meanwhile, you have to get your cotton plantation producing again and you need freedmen to work on it.

Bargaining with freedmen for wages is very difficult, since they are your former slaves. As one plantation owner wrote, "It seems humiliating to be compelled to bargain and haggle with our own servants about wages." You've always prided yourself on how well you took care of your slaves. Now your former slaves don't seem to appreciate all you did for them over the years. Ex-slaves have been disrespectful to you and other whites. They don't know their proper place anymore. Moreover, most plantation owners believe that African Americans are lazy. They will not work unless they are compelled to (for example, by overseers who use whips). Some owners believe, on the other hand, that African Americans are no different than white workers, and will respond to economic incentives, such as higher pay for better work.

In other countries that have abolished slavery, such as Jamaica and Barbados, plantation owners reported that ex-slaves were lazy, hurting crop production. Only when governments passed laws forcing ex-slaves to work on plantations did the plantation economies recover.

One of the biggest fears of plantation owners, as well as people in the South in general, is the threat of lawless violence. One white woman was killed in her bed by her slaves during the Civil War. Now, African Americans are carrying guns and are often rebellious toward whites. Lives will be lost and the economy crippled if there is widespread lawlessness.

Which of the following are your top priorities in this situation? Number your top three priorities.

- A. Take steps to make sure freedmen will work on your cotton plantation. Hire freedmen to work for very low wages. They would work in groups, as they did as slaves. You don't have money to pay them until the harvest comes in, so you would be promising them low wages at the end of the year. You hope to have women and children work also, since you need labor so badly.
- B. Try to prevent freedmen from working outside of your plantation and looking for higher wages. You can have freedmen sign a labor contract for the whole year, so

- they are legally bound to stay. Also, you could ask the state legislature to pass a vagrancy law. This would prevent freedmen from moving away.
- C. Work to prevent freedmen from owning land. Every freedman who owns land is one less freedman to work on a plantation. When freedmen in Haiti, Trinidad, and Jamaica left plantations to work their own farms, the whole plantation economy was crippled. Only in Barbados, where freedmen could not get any land because whites controlled it all, did the plantation economy continue and prosper.
  - D. Offer to rent land to freedmen. This way, you won't have to pay wages or put up money in advance.
  - E. Sign a sharecropping agreement. Have freedmen work on a plot of your land and give a share of the crop from that plot (often one-third to one-half) to them at the end of the year. This way, you won't have to pay wages or put up money in advance.
  - F. Encourage or even fund violence, if necessary, against freedmen to keep them in their place. The violence could be used to prevent freedmen from voting, from trying to get their own land, from moving to cities in search of non-plantation work, or from moving out of the South. This might be the only way to keep Southern society and culture intact.

### **Viewpoint 3—Southern political leader:**

It is 1865, and you are a white Southern political leader at the state level. As a Democrat, you are worried that Republicans will take control of the South, working to punish whites and reward blacks. Freedmen want equal rights with whites, including the right to vote, to serve on juries, and to run for office. Almost all whites are outraged by these demands. Ex-slaves are asking for too much, too quickly; moreover, not all slaves are likely to become responsible, law-abiding citizens. Giving irresponsible freedmen rights will throw the whole South into chaos, and might destroy the entire Southern economy and way of life once and for all. Most blacks will probably vote for Republicans in order to get government help, and that means taxes for whites will go up both to pay for the corrupt Republican agenda and to support blacks.

The South is devastated from the war. Countless bridges, buildings, fences, tools, and livestock have been destroyed. More than one-fifth of adult white male Southerners died in the war and many more were wounded. In this tragic situation, Southerners are looking to the state government for help in expanding the economy. Cotton was the main source of wealth before the Civil War; maybe it could continue to be in the future. Plantation owners need to start producing again, but that is going to be difficult because there is a labor shortage and a shortage of money. Plantation owners, dependent on freedmen for labor, are concerned that freedmen will not work, not work hard, move to cities to find non-plantation jobs, or leave the South entirely. Ex-slaves might wander around from plantation to plantation looking for the highest wages. That would drive up labor costs at a time when plantation owners don't have money.



A bridge destroyed by Union troops

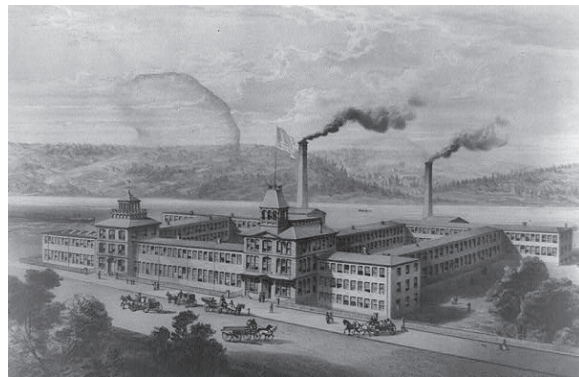
The South may have been defeated in the war, but Southerners still have their honor. They can show their honor by standing up against Republican schemes to change the South.

Which of the following will you support in this situation? You may pick as many as you would like.

- A. Pass a head tax. Every adult would have to pay a tax in cash. That way, freedmen would have to work for white farm owners, in order to get the cash necessary to pay the tax.
- B. Pass vagrancy laws, requiring every adult to have a residence and employment. These laws would prevent freedmen from wandering around, being idle, or moving away.
- C. Act to prevent freedmen from owning land. Every freedman who owns land is one less freedman to work on a plantation. Work hard to make sure that all plantation owners get back ownership of their plantations. Prevent the confiscation of land to be divided up and given out to freedmen. When freedmen in Haiti, Barbados, and Jamaica left plantations to work their own farms, the whole plantation economy was crippled.
- D. Pass Black Codes that would prevent freedmen from serving on juries, carrying guns, or testifying in court
- E. Prevent African Americans from voting, through state law or with violence
- F. Make speeches to encourage violence against freedmen to keep them in their place. The violence could be used to prevent freedmen from voting, from trying to get their own land, from moving to cities in search of non-plantation work, or from moving out of the South. Contact police and judges to make sure whites who commit acts of violence against freedmen are not prosecuted or convicted. This might be the only way to preserve the Southern way of life.
- G. Make speeches and pass bills to move the South away from cotton production. In the short run the change will be hard. But in the long run, the South needs to modernize, which means moving away from plantations and cotton. Increase taxes on whites to pay for better education for everyone, to pay for railroads, and to repair bridges, roads, harbors, and other transportation structures. Give tax breaks to people willing to invest in factories in the South.
- H. Advertise in Europe and the North for immigrants to come to the South. If the South draws in more workers, the labor shortage may be reduced.

**Viewpoint 4—Northern factory worker:**

You are a white factory worker in the North in 1865. The textile (cloth) factory in which you work made some money during the Civil War by filling government contracts for the army. But there was a shortage of cotton during the war and there still is a



A 19<sup>th</sup>-century factory in Massachusetts

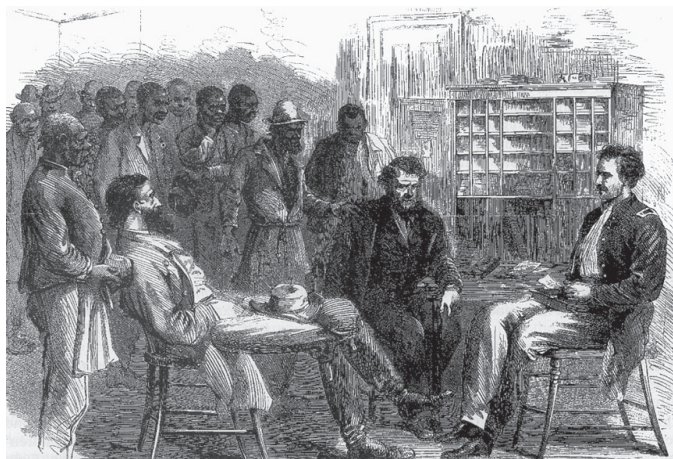
shortage, which means you might not be able to keep your job for long. If plantations can start producing again, cotton supplies will increase and prices for cotton will fall. That will mean increased production and greater profits for the factory. The factory may need more workers, which will make your job more secure. On the other hand, freedmen who come north will come looking for jobs. That might well cost you your job, but even if it doesn't, it will surely lower your wages, and your family is dependent on your income to survive. How far can you afford to support freedmen?

Which of the following proposals will you support? You may support none or as many as you like.

- A. Show your support for African Americans' rights by arguing they should be able to move anywhere in the country, including to the North
- B. Support those Republicans interfering with Southern society in order to ensure freedmen get equal rights. These Republicans want to end vagrancy laws (which force freedmen to work on plantations), Black Codes (which prevent freedmen from serving on juries, carrying guns, or testifying in court), and restrictions on voting (through poll taxes or literacy tests). But interfering in the South might mean using soldiers to enforce the rights of freedmen.
- C. Support those Republicans who believe freedmen deserve to own land. These Republicans want to confiscate large plantations, divide them up, and give small plots of land to freedmen to own and farm.
- D. Support a movement to allow African Americans to vote in your state
- E. Support the proposal to start a government agency for freedmen, which would provide education and employment help for freedmen, funded by taxes from the North and South
- F. Support policies of Southern states to keep freedmen working on plantations. This will keep cotton production up for Northern factories and prevent freedmen from moving North and threatening your job.

### Viewpoint 5—Freedmen's Bureau agent:

You are a Freedmen's Bureau agent in the South in 1865. Your job is to help ex-slaves adjust to their new life. It is a difficult adjustment for ex-slaves, as 80% are illiterate, and slavery did not prepare them for freedom. Southern whites, meanwhile, are upset by this new situation, since they are used to slavery, where slaves did what they were told and knew their "proper place" (in other words, their inferiority to whites). Plantation



A Freedmen's Bureau in Tennessee, 1866

owners complain that freedmen are lazy and irresponsible. The only way for the Southern economy to become stronger is for freedmen to work hard to get the crops harvested and ready for sale. There are very few Freedmen's Bureau agents, so there are limits on what you can do.

Which of the following are your top priorities in this situation? Number your top three priorities:

- A. Interfere with labor contracts to make sure freedmen are not restricted unfairly. For example, many labor contracts require freedmen to work for a whole year under penalty of law. If a freedman leaves before the year is up, he loses part of his wages and may be arrested. Try to end this unfair type of contract.
- B. Work to make sure freedmen get equal rights. Speak out against vagrancy laws (which force freedmen to work on plantations), Black Codes (which prevent freedmen from serving on juries, carrying guns, or testifying in court), violence against freedmen, and restrictions on voting (through poll taxes, literacy tests, and the grandfather clause). Interfering in the South might mean using soldiers to enforce the rights of freedmen.
- C. Work to make sure that African Americans can move anywhere in the country, including to the North
- D. Work to help freedmen own land. Ask Northern generals to divide up land confiscated from wealthy Confederate rebels and give the plots to freedmen. Encourage freedmen to settle on the new land. Give money to some freedmen to buy land.
- E. Recruit Northern teachers to volunteer to educate freedmen and the children of freedmen

# LESSON 4: VIEWS ON FREEDMEN, 1865

## Student Handout 2: Outcomes

### Viewpoint 1—Freedmen:

Freedmen preferred asking to be granted their own land (Option C) by the national government. Freedmen believed that the national government would divide up land and give it to ex-slaves. They were discouraged when the government didn't distribute land.

There were good reasons at first for freedmen to stay where they were. It was risky to move into unknown areas—the whole situation was confusing. Nevertheless, many freedmen moved away from their former plantations, looking for non-plantation work or at least plantation work for higher wages (Option B). Many of these ended up returning to their original plantations discouraged.



Freedmen arriving in Baltimore, 1865

Opportunities were few. Those who moved to cities found a surplus of workers. Many lived in poverty on the edge of the cities. Most African Americans who moved were looking to reunite with other family members and stayed in the same area where they had friends and relatives. Only a few thousand (50,000 to 100,000) African Americans moved out of the South, as it was impractical. Some moved to the West (Option F). For example, historians estimate that thousands of cowboys were African American.

All the options for freedmen were restricted. The government didn't give land, and African Americans were not allowed to move around. Of the remaining options, freedmen preferred renting (Option D) or sharecropping (Option E), where they had some independence. They were working for themselves, not in gangs for someone else, supervised by an overseer. Their least favorite option was working on plantations for wages (Option A). If they had to endure that choice, they preferred to be paid their wages in cash each month.

Renting and sharecropping did not work out well for African Americans or for poor whites. The need for cash caused most farmers to grow the crop that brought the highest price: cotton. But that led to overproduction, driving the price down. Low prices meant that sharecroppers remained in debt. Nature didn't help—there were droughts, floods, and insect damage, especially by the boll weevil. To make matters worse, owners and storekeepers kept sharecroppers in debt. Owners lent sharecroppers the land and tools, which meant that sharecroppers had to pay owners back when the crops were sold.



The interest on these loans was often extremely high. Owners also kept the books and could change the numbers to cheat their (often illiterate) sharecroppers. Any African American who accused an owner of cheating could be attacked and killed. In this way, sharecroppers could be kept in permanent debt.

Most freedmen ended up with their last choice, working on plantations as wage laborers, paid once a year from a share of the crops. Freedmen resented contracts forced on them and found the wages inadequate, so they worked irregularly, devoting more time to their own garden plots. The irregular work reinforced white prejudices that African Americans were lazy. On the other hand, freedmen were successful at least in withdrawing their wives and children from the labor force. A Georgia newspaper reported that the “freedmen have almost universally withdrawn their women and children from the fields, putting the first at housework and the latter at school.” Those who rented or sharecropped had to have their wives and children work to give themselves the best chance of being successful. In that sense, working for wages on plantations was actually better than renting or sharecropping for African American families.

There were some cases of successful freedmen, but by 1866 almost all freedmen (whether they worked on plantations, rented, or sharecropped) were still economically dependent on whites. The freedman worked the white man’s land, planted with the white man’s seed, plowed with the white man’s plough, and wore clothes and ate food provided by the white man.

### Viewpoint 2—White plantation owners:

White plantation owners were successful in keeping most freedmen tied to plantation work for very low wages (Option A). Freedmen were prevented by the Northern army and state legislatures from moving around to other plantations or to cities to look for work (Option B), and they were prevented from owning land (Option C) by President Andrew Johnson. Plantation owners were vigorously opposed to land being taken from them and given to freedmen. A newspaper article in the *New Orleans Tribune* stated that South Carolina was in the midst of a class war over land. Plantation owners always believed they knew their “negroes” best. What ex-slaves needed, according to planters, was control by whites and discipline to work hard. Freedom for ex-slaves was foolishness, they said. One former slaveholder said that whites did not want



A cartoon critical of Southern whites’ attitudes towards freedmen. The man on the porch is saying, “My boy, we’ve toiled and taken care of you long enough—now, you’ve got to work!”

African Americans to be argumentative, “and we don’t mean to have any such nonsense as letting him [any freedman] vote. He’s helpless and ignorant, and dependent, and the old masters will still control him.”

Yearlong contracts and vagrancy laws were the keys to keeping many freedmen working on plantations. Moreover, wages were usually paid at the end of the year, after the plantation sold its crop. African American workers could not leave the plantation early, or they would lose the wages owed them. After expenses were deducted (sometimes including charges for poor work, which were almost always defined by white owners or overseers), freedmen often had little or no money coming to them. These restrictions began under the Union army. During the war, in areas of the South occupied by Union soldiers, army generals forced ex-slaves to work on plantations for yearly contracts and would not allow them to leave plantations without a pass. Army generals wanted to avoid the expense of running camps for African American refugees, so they decided to quickly resettle freedmen on plantations.

Yet even with these restrictions, it was difficult for plantation owners to get enough labor or pay wages to their workers. Some ex-slaves refused labor contracts. They searched out nearby plantations for opportunities to rent land or at least get better labor contracts. Some plantation owners countered this competition for laborers by agreeing “not to hire their neighbor’s negroes.” On average, freedmen worked about one-third fewer hours per person in the years after the Civil War than they had under slavery. Owners complained that slaves were now lazy, which was ironic, since white Southern gentlemen were by definition lazy—they took time for hunting, gambling, and other leisure activities. Most owners believed that force (whipping) was necessary to get African Americans to work hard.

Unfortunately for owners, there were both droughts and floods in 1866 and again in 1867, which reduced the crop output even while the price of cotton remained low. To avoid paying wages, some cash-poor owners rented land out (Option D) or used some of their land for sharecropping (Option E). Renting provided some owners with monthly cash at a time when cash was scarce. More often, rent for the year was deducted from the sale of crops at harvest time, with plantation owners often adding on extra charges. Sharecropping became notorious for keeping freedmen dependent, as explained above under Viewpoint 1: Freedmen. Sharecroppers were lent the land and tools and couldn’t leave the land until their debts were paid. Since the debts could not be paid from the meager sales of crops, sharecroppers were forced to stay year after year.

### **Viewpoint 3—Southern political leaders:**

Southern political leaders felt their political futures lay with whites, so they listened to the concerns of whites. They passed head taxes (Option A) and vagrancy laws (Option B), and they worked to get all land back into the hands of plantation owners (Option C), thus preventing land ownership for freedmen. (The head taxes also hurt poor, cashless whites, which may have been an unintended consequence or may have been a deliberate step by plantation owners to also keep poor whites dependent.) State legislatures also

passed Black Codes (Option D). Most of the new Southern governments did not allow African Americans to vote. The Governor of South Carolina stated, “To extend this universal suffrage to the ‘freedmen’ in their present ignorant and degraded condition, would be little less than folly and madness...[because] this is a white man’s government, and intended for white men only.” African Americans were also kept from voting through threats and violence (Option E).

One of the most effective weapons for keeping African Americans “in their place” was the encouragement of violence (Option F). African Americans were assaulted or killed for disrupting labor contracts, attempting to leave plantations, not working hard enough, or attempting to buy or rent land. Whites were fearful of African Americans asserting their rights, and they were angry at not being deferred to as they had been before the Civil War. Since whites were not prosecuted if they committed violence against blacks (the judges and juries were all white, after all), they were able to terrorize African Americans, forming groups such as the Ku Klux Klan. Such violence was easy to encourage because so many former Southern soldiers were upset with the loss of the war and were armed. Southern whites started the “Lost Cause” myth, that the South had fought the Civil War for a noble cause. Southerners had fought bravely, the myth went, but were defeated simply by larger numbers of Northerners, rather than by better strategy.



Ku Klux Klan members in disguise, 1868

These many restrictions resulted in a forced labor system. Freedmen were forced to work under conditions similar to slavery. They couldn’t leave plantations easily, and they had few rights. This forced labor system was not unusual, however. Almost all societies that abolished slavery adopted a restricted, forced labor system.

The forced labor system for freedmen was eventually reinforced by a prison-gang system—blacks imprisoned for violating one of the minute statutes of the Black Codes could be forced to perform gang labor. States would rent out their prison labor forces to local planters and businessmen under conditions very similar to slavery; for example, they would be under the watch of an overseer.

Advertising for immigrants (Option H) didn’t work, since immigrants were not interested in working on plantations under severe restrictions. Immigrants wouldn’t have wanted to work for such low wages and they wouldn’t have wanted to rent land or engage in sharecropping. Many immigrants preferred to live in cities, near immigrants from their same ethnic group. There were many opportunities in the North and West for immigrant work, starting businesses, or owning land, so why would they migrate to the South?

The most promising long-term strategy, according to some historians, would have been Option G, the proposal to move away from cotton plantations. While cotton generated income in the short run, it caused the South to stay with a single crop rather than change

to industrial production in the long run. Some people recognized the underlying problem that cotton would trap the South in agricultural rather than industrial production. These people faced formidable obstacles, however, in convincing Southerners to change. First, taxes had to be increased just when people had very little money. Second, borrowing through bonds would have been very expensive, as interest rates were high (due to the scarcity of money). Third, Southerners had lived all their lives in a plantation-dominated society. Asking them to change (and pay high taxes to make the change) was essentially calling on them to replace their whole culture.

**Viewpoint 4—Northern factory workers:**

Northern workers did not want African Americans moving north (Option A) to compete for jobs, which would lower wages. In addition, many were racist, which meant they opposed allowing African Americans to vote in their states (Option D). Northern workers were split on whether to help freedmen through the Freedmen's Bureau (Option E) or interfere to ensure that African Americans achieve some semblance of equal rights (Option B). Part of the support for interference in the South came from negative feelings toward Southern whites who had seceded from the Union.

Despite these negative feelings toward Southern whites, however, almost all workers (and indeed almost all Northerners) opposed taking property away from large landowners and dividing it into small farms to be given to freedmen (Option C). Northerners thought there was something wrong with the government taking property away from some people, even rebels. Northerners also opposed giving land to people for free. Edward Philbrick, a railroad official, said, "[N]o man...appreciates property who does not work for it." In the meantime, Northern investors purchased some plantations, so they needed laborers themselves. Some investors felt that the free labor of ex-slaves would show its superiority to slave labor. However, they thought freedmen were misguided in growing food instead of growing cotton to sell to Northern textile mills. Northerners were also convinced that contracts were a key element in a free labor system, not realizing how much power plantation owners had over freedmen. These were not voluntary contracts between equally free people. Freedmen were forced to sign yearlong contracts, whereas idle white men were not forced to sign such contracts. Many Northern workers realized that keeping freedmen working on plantations was good for their factories, so they took no strong position against it (Option F).

Racism united most whites in the South and North, including Northern factory owners, factory workers, Southern plantation owners, and poor whites. All these groups either encouraged violence against freedmen or they at least looked the other way in what amounted to a race war.

### Viewpoint 5—Freedmen’s Bureau agent:

Freedmen’s Bureau agents did sometimes interfere in labor contracts to ensure fairness to ex-slaves (Option A). The interference led to plantation owner complaints to state legislatures. Since when, owners argued, did white people interfere to protect blacks in contracts? What had happened to the right to freely make a contract? Plantation owners argued that the Freedmen’s Bureau was a frightening expansion of government power over states and over individual freedom. Freedmen’s Bureau agents also spoke out against Black Codes, vagrancy laws, restrictions on voting, violence, and restrictions on moving (Options B and C). Eventually, the national government did interfere to stop these restrictions, but those actions are described in a different lesson. In general, the Freedmen’s Bureau did little to protect freedmen, since there were only 900 agents for the whole South. In one South Carolina county, for example, a single bureau agent was responsible for 40,000 freedmen.



A school run by the Freedmen’s Bureau

On the other hand, Freedmen’s Bureau agents were successful in recruiting Northern teachers to educate African Americans (Option E). Although the education was still inferior to what whites were receiving, the Freedmen’s Bureau had some success in educating African Americans. Freedmen’s Bureau agents and Northern generals in some places began dividing up confiscated land and giving it in 40-acre parcels to African Americans (Option D). However, President Johnson ordered a halt to the practice, which effectively ended giving land to freedmen. As shown in the Northern worker’s perspective (above), most people in the North opposed dividing and distributing land anyway, so this proposal had little support.

The main function of the Freedmen’s Bureau was to settle disputes between freedmen and former owners. It allowed Freedmen an opportunity to legally challenge increasingly oppressive laws. White Southerners resented this interference in their relations with African Americans. Later, after the bureau was weakened, it functioned mostly as a relief agency, founding schools and distributing millions of tons of food aid to freedmen (and even poor whites) during the droughts of 1867 and 1868.

# LESSON 4: VIEWS ON FREEDMEN, 1865

## Student Handout 3: Primary Source

### The Mississippi Black Code of 1865

Be it enacted, ...That it shall not be lawful for any freedman, free negro, or mulatto to intermarry with any white person; nor for any white person to intermarry with any freedman, free negro, or mulatto and any person who shall so intermarry, shall be deemed guilty of felony, and on conviction thereof shall be confined in the State penitentiary for life; and those shall be deemed freedman, free negro, or mulatto who are of pure negro blood, and those descended from a negro to the third generation, inclusive, though one ancestor in each generation may have been a white person.

That all contracts for labor made with freedman, free negroes, or mulattoes for a longer period than one month shall be in writing, and if the laborer shall quit the service of the employer before expiration of his terms of service, without good cause, he shall forfeit his wages for that year, up to the time of quitting ...

That every civil officer shall, and every person may arrest and carry back to his or her legal employer any freedman, free negro, or mulatto who shall have quit the service of his or her employer before the expiration of his or her term of service without good cause...

That it shall be the duty of all sheriffs, justices of the peace, and other civil officers of the several counties in this State, to report to the probate courts of their respective counties semi-annually, at the January and July terms of said courts all freedmen, free negroes, and mulattoes, under the age of eighteen, in their respective counties, beats, or districts, who are orphans or whose parents have not the means or who refuse to provide for and support said minors; and thereupon it shall be the duty of said court to apprentice said minors to some competent and suitable person, on such terms as the court may direct, having a particular care to the interest of said minor; Provided that the former owner of said minors shall have the preference, when, in the opinion of the court, he or she shall be a Suitable person for that purpose.

### QUESTIONS FOR ANALYSIS

1. Why were the writers of this Black Code concerned about interracial marriage?
2. What were the writers of this code trying to accomplish in the second and third paragraphs?
3. What is the implication in the last paragraph of the phrase “or whose parents have not the means...to provide for said minors”?

# LESSON 4: VIEWS ON FREEDMEN, 1865

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## Student Handout 4: Primary Source

Dayton, Ohio, August 7, 1865

To My Old Master, Colonel P.H. Anderson, Big Spring, Tennessee

Sir: I got your letter and was glad to find you had not forgotten Jourdon, and that you wanted me to come back and live with you again, promising to do better for me than anybody else can. I have often felt uneasy about you. I thought the Yankees would have hung you long before this for harboring Rebs they found at your house. I suppose they never heard about your going to Col. Martin's to kill the Union soldier that was left by his company in their stable. Although you shot at me twice before I left you, I did not want to hear of your being hurt, and am glad you are still living. It would do me good to go back to the dear old home again and see Miss Mary and Miss Martha and Allen, Esther, Green, and Lee. Give my love to them all, and tell them I hope we will meet in the better world, if not in this. I would have gone back to see you all when I was working in the Nashville Hospital, but one of the neighbors told me Henry intended to shoot me if he ever got a chance.

I want to know particularly what the good chance is you propose to give me. I am doing tolerably well here; I get \$25 a month, with victuals and clothing; have a comfortable home for Mandy—the folks here call her Mrs. Anderson—and the children—Milly, Jane, and Grundy—go to school and are learning well; the teacher says Grundy has a head for a preacher. They go to Sunday-School, and Mandy and me attend church regularly. We are kindly treated; sometimes we overhear others saying, “Them colored people were slaves” down in Tennessee. The children feel hurt when they hear such remarks, but I tell them it was no disgrace in Tennessee to belong to Col. Anderson. Many darkies would have been proud, as I used to be, to call you master. Now, if you will write and say what wages you will give me, I will be better able to decide whether it would be to my advantage to move back again.

As to my freedom, which you say I can have, there is nothing to be gained on that score, as I got my free papers in 1864 from the Provost-Marshal-General of the Department of Nashville. Mandy says she would be afraid to go back without some proof that you are sincerely disposed to treat us justly and kindly; and we have concluded to test your sincerity by asking you to send us our wages for the time we served you. This will make us forget and forgive old scores, and rely on your justice and friendship in the future. I served you faithfully for thirty-two years and Mandy twenty years. At twenty-five dollars a month for me, and two dollars a week for Mandy, our earnings would amount to eleven thousand six hundred and eighty dollars. Add to this the interest for the time our wages has been kept back and deduct what you paid for our clothing and three doctor's visits to me, and pulling a tooth for Mandy, and the balance will show what we are in justice entitled to. Please send the money by Adams Express, in care of V. Winters, Esq., Dayton,

Ohio. If you fail to pay us for faithful labors in the past we can have little faith in your promises in the future. We trust the good Maker has opened your eyes to the wrongs which you and your fathers have done to me and my fathers, in making us toil for you for generations without recompense. Here I draw my wages every Saturday night, but in Tennessee there was never any pay-day for the Negroes any more than for the horses and cows. Surely there will be a day of reckoning for those who defraud the laborer of his hire.

In answering this letter please state if there would be any safety for my Milly and Jane, who are now grown up and both good-looking girls. You know how it was with Matilda and Catherine. I would rather stay here and starve, and die if it comes to that, than have my girls brought to shame by the violence and wickedness of their young masters. You will also please state if there has been any schools opened for the colored children in your neighborhood, the great desire of my life now is to give my children an education, and have them form virtuous habits.

P.S.—Say howdy to George Carter, and thank him for taking the pistol from you when you were shooting at me.

From your old servant,  
Jourdon Anderson

### QUESTIONS FOR ANALYSIS

1. What is the point of this letter?
2. What does the letter show about the author and his former master?
3. How well do you think the letter represents the views of freedmen in general?



# LESSON 5: CONGRESSIONAL RECONSTRUCTION

## Teacher Pages

### OVERVIEW

This is a long problem; the full lesson will take more than one regular-length class period. It covers the traditional core of Reconstruction and the conflict between the president and Congress regarding African Americans and whites in the South. Students who have done the previous lesson will be able to place this conflict into context.

### VOCABULARY

- Andrew Johnson—President after the Civil War
- Reconstruction—The period after the Civil War in which Southern states were brought back into the Union
- 10% Plan—President Lincoln’s plan to allow Southern states to reenter the U.S. when 10% of their citizens pledged loyalty to the Union
- Special Field Order 15—General Sherman’s order to give abandoned or confiscated land to freedmen
- Freedmen’s Bureau—Government agency established to help African Americans
- 13th Amendment—Constitutional amendment prohibiting slavery in the United States
- Black Codes—Laws after the Civil War that granted a few rights, but overall denied African Americans their civil rights
- Civil Rights Act—Passed by Congress, it declared that all persons born in the United States were now citizens, without regard to race
- Veto—When the President refuses to approve a bill, preventing it from becoming law
- Override—Two-thirds of both houses of Congress can approve a bill without the president’s approval
- Tenure in Office Act—A law preventing the President from removing from office, without the Senate’s approval, any official appointed by him and approved by the Senate
- Impeachment—A process by which a government official is charged of wrongdoing by the House (impeached) and tried by the Senate on a two-thirds vote (convicted or acquitted)
- 14th Amendment—Guarantees all citizens equal protection of the law; it penalized states that did not allow African Americans to vote (but did not protect women’s voting rights)
- 15th Amendment—Guarantees African American men the right to vote
- Reconstruction Act—Divided the South into five military districts and sent in soldiers to protect the rights of African Americans
- Reconstruction governments—Governments set up in Southern states after the Reconstruction Act, controlled by Republicans and including African Americans

## DECISION-MAKING SKILLS EMPHASIZED

- Consider other points of view
- Consider assumptions
- Set realistic goals
- Generate options
- Predict unintended consequences
- Play out options

# LESSON PLAN

## A. IN-DEPTH LESSON (two 40-minute class periods)

### Procedure:

Distribute Handout 1 and have students pair up and choose what they will do. Circulate around the room to answer questions or clear up misunderstandings. Bring the class back together and discuss their decisions as President Johnson, as well as the reasons for them. Distribute Handout 2 with the outcomes for President Johnson and discuss these outcomes.

Switch to Congress's perspective in 1865 by distributing Handout 3. Again, have students pair up and decide what they will do. Circulate to answer questions. Bring the class back together and discuss their decisions as Congress in 1865, as well as the reasons for their decisions. Distribute Handout 4 with the outcomes for 1865. Have students read and write comments on the outcomes. Discuss their reactions to the outcomes.

OPTION: Instead of having the whole class read both points of view, give half the class Handout 1 to read and the other half Handout 3. Have the students who had President Johnson's perspective explain their decisions and the reasons for them, followed by the congressional decisions and their reasons. After each side gives its decisions and reasons, you could have them go back and see if they would do anything different. Sometimes students will change their decisions after they hear what the other group is thinking. Then distribute Handouts 2 and 4 with outcomes for each point of view.

Tell students that the clock has moved ahead two years. Everyone will now be deciding from the perspective of Congress in 1867. Distribute Handout 5, have students read it and decide what they will do. (OPTION: This would be a good point at which to give them Handout 7, with President Johnson's racist comments. They could read this primary source and answer the three questions.) Pair students up or form them into groups of four to decide what they will do. Bring the class together to discuss their decisions and reasons. Distribute Handout 6 with the outcomes of these decisions in 1867 and have them comment for homework.

### Reflecting on Decision Making:

Ask students how well they did on decision making on these problems. Which decision-making skills were especially important in making decisions between Congress and the President on Reconstruction? Which of the letters of **P-A-G-E** applied especially to this problem? (See the "Decision-Making Analysis" section below for ideas.) Ask students what they did well or poorly on in terms of the **P-A-G-E** analysis of decision making. Discuss their answers.

### Putting the Actual Decisions Into Historical Context:

Ask students whether the decisions on Reconstruction were the result more of historical forces or the result of decisions by President Johnson and a few key Congressmen. (According to historians, President Johnson's rigid decision-making was a very important cause of problems in Reconstruction. Some also emphasize Thaddeus Stevens's uncompromising attitude in Congress, although he is not the focus of this lesson. On the other hand, evidence from other emancipation situations in the Americas shows that the freedmen almost always were prevented from getting economic opportunities or equal civil rights. This evidence lends support to historical forces as important causes.)

### Connecting to Today:

Ask students whether there have been confrontations between the President and Congress in the recent past similar to those in Reconstruction. (One that comes to mind is the impeachment trial of President Clinton. Other splits between Congress and the President don't seem to come up to the level of animosity and importance of Reconstruction.)

### Troubleshooting:

Review with students the process of impeachment. If the House votes to impeach (indict) a government official, it leads to a trial in the Senate in which two-thirds of senators have to vote to convict in order to sustain a guilty verdict.

## **B. QUICK MOTIVATOR (30 minutes)**

Give Handouts 1 and 3 for homework and have students make their decisions. In class, ask for a show of hands for each decision. Discuss reasons for only two or three minutes. Give Handouts 2 and 4 with outcomes. Tell students to read and highlight Handouts 2 and 4 for homework. Now distribute Handout 5. Students are to read it and decide what they will do. Pair them up to discuss their choices. Bring the class together and discuss their decisions. Distribute Handout 6 with the 1867 outcomes. Have students write their reactions for homework.

# TEACHER NOTES FOR EXPANDING DISCUSSION

(For Outcomes, see Handouts 2, 4, and 6)

The terms “carpetbagger” and “scalawag” were deliberately not used in this lesson because they bias students against the Reconstruction governments. These terms were made up by Southern opponents of Reconstruction. Repeating them perpetuates myths about those governments. For example, most people who came to the South during Reconstruction (carpetbaggers) were schoolteachers or Union soldiers, not politicians or con men, as the term implies.

Some historians, such as Walter McDougall (see Sources) and Ulrich B. Phillips (not cited in this lesson), feel the Reconstruction Act was too extreme in controlling the South, missing an opportunity to compromise with Southern whites. Other historians, such as Eric Foner and Kenneth Stampp (see Sources), feel the Republicans had no choice to compromise if they were to protect the rights of African Americans.

## DECISION-MAKING ANALYSIS:

### P = Problem

- Identify any underlying problem(s)
- \* - Consider other points of view
- \* - What are my assumptions? Emotions?

### A = Ask for information (about)

- Historical context (history of this issue; context in the world)
- Reliability of sources
- Historical analogies

### G = Goals

- \* - What are my main goals? Are they realistic?
- \* - **Generate options to achieve these goals. Are they ethical?**

### E = Effects

- \* - **Predict unintended consequences.**
- \* - **Play out the options. What could go wrong?**

\*Denotes topics emphasized in this lesson

- **Consider other points of view:** Students should consider the points of view of the other side as they take each position. So when they are making decisions as President Johnson (Handout 1), they should be thinking about the points of view of Congress, factory owners in the North, Republicans, poor whites, and so forth. They should do the same when they make decisions for Congress (Handouts 3 and 5).

- **What are my assumptions?** Students should consider their assumptions about whites and African Americans. Discuss President Johnson’s assumptions about African Americans (Handout 7) and how they influenced his policies on Reconstruction. Almost all Americans at the time felt that the importance of private property outweighed any claim by ex-slaves for land of their own. To some historians, it was this belief in private property that prevented the best solution to the plight of ex-slaves.
- **Set realistic goals:** Students should consider what they are trying to accomplish. Is the main goal to protect the civil rights of African Americans? To help them get a solid economic start? To heal the Union, even if African Americans don’t get all their rights?
- **Generate options:** As students consider their decisions from each point of view, they should consider how they could compromise to accomplish worthwhile goals. For example, if Congress had added financial help for Southern farmers to its bills to protect African American rights, it might have received more support from Southern whites. It seemed that President Johnson and Republicans in Congress became more and more opposed to each other, making them unable to compromise. Most of the blame seems to fall on Johnson, as Congress made several efforts to compromise in 1865.
- **Predict unintended consequences:** Several consequences are explained in Handouts 2, 4, and 6
- **Play out option:** Students should play out the options for each of these proposals, considering what could go wrong:
- President Johnson should have anticipated something like Black Codes when he decided to readmit Southern states with few requirements. On the other hand, Johnson was such a racist that he probably didn’t mind the Black Codes.
  1. President Johnson should have anticipated congressional backlash against admitting Southern states when Congress wasn’t in session.
  2. Congress should have predicted extensive opposition in the South to Reconstruction governments. As mentioned in the “Generate Options” section, they could have considered ways, such as helping white farmers, to reduce that opposition.

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# LESSON 5: CONGRESSIONAL RECONSTRUCTION

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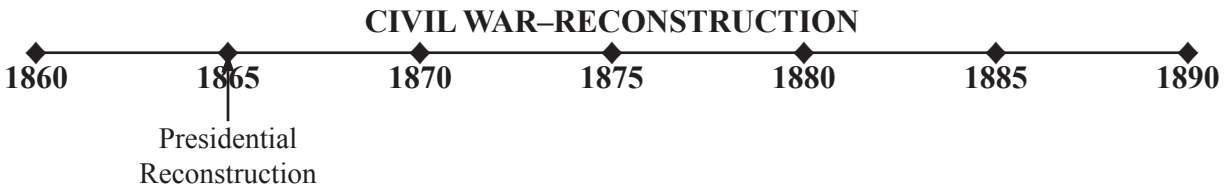
## Vocabulary

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- Reconstruction—The period after the Civil War in which Southern states were brought back into the Union
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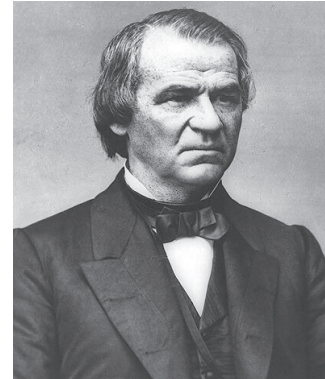


# LESSON 5: RECONSTRUCTION

## Student Handout 1: President's Views, 1865



You are President Andrew Johnson in March 1865. After the greatest bloodshed in our nation's history, the Civil War has finally ended. Hundreds of thousands of soldiers have lost their lives and even more have been horribly wounded. Much of the South has been destroyed. Farms have been abandoned, buildings destroyed, and railroads demolished. Congress faces some difficult choices about how to deal with the South. President Lincoln had a lenient policy that allowed each Southern state to return to the Union if 10% of its citizens signed a pledge of loyalty and if the state abolished slavery—but that was during the war. Lincoln needed to be lenient to win Southerners over to the Union cause, and help the North win the war. Now that the war is over, Congress and you can set the conditions for reentering the Union. After President Lincoln was tragically assassinated, you assumed the presidency. The question is, what policies will you adopt toward the Southern states?



President Andrew Johnson

You have been a Democrat, so you tend to favor states' rights and a weaker federal government. For example, you oppose funding internal improvements by the national government. You were added as a vice-presidential candidate in 1864 to provide a unity party of Republicans and Democrats to win the war. Political leaders are expecting you to work with Republicans to resolve issues regarding Southern states. However, politically there is another direction you could go. You could start policies favorable to Southern whites that would build support for the Democratic Party in the South. Northern Democrats would then join, in an effort to oppose Republican power. Even moderate Republicans might join the group. You could lead a stronger Democratic Party and be reelected in 1868. Many Northerners feel that since the war is over, the country should leave the Southern states to make their own decisions.

At this point, Congress (which is controlled by Republicans) is not in session, and it won't be for six months. You could wait for Congress, or you could start taking actions now. Your advisers tell you that Southern states are anxious to get back into the Union, so they are likely to agree to almost any conditions you or Congress place on them. You have received many petitions from African Americans and Unionists (pro-Union people during the Civil War) throughout the South asking you not to put control of Southern states back in the hands of former rebels. The Chief Justice of the Supreme Court said that Reconstruction should be based on full citizenship, including voting, for freedmen.

Ex-slaves have occupied abandoned land in some areas of the South, setting up small farms. African Americans in general have made it clear that they want to own a portion of the plantations where they had been slaves. General Sherman gave land to ex-slaves in Georgia and South Carolina in his Special Field Order 15. The Freedmen's Bureau also gave abandoned small farms to freedmen. Letting those orders stand will send a message that the national government is siding with ex-slaves against Southern whites.

Which of the following actions will you take in regard to the Southern states? You can choose as many options as you like.

- A. Allow Southern states back into the Union as equals. This would mean that Southern states would send Senators and representatives back to Congress.
- B. Require Southern states to agree to the 13th Amendment in order to reenter the Union
- C. Prevent rebel leaders (leaders of the South or high officers in the military in the war against the North) from serving in local, state, or national government.
- D. Let whites run their states their way, without interference by the national government. Each state can decide about rights for freedmen, such as voting, serving on juries, and whether they can move around to look for work. States' rights need to be protected.
- E. Require Southern states to protect the rights of freedmen, such as voting, serving on juries, and being free to look around for work
- F. Send U.S. soldiers to the South to make sure freedmen get their rights. The soldiers would be stationed in Southern states for a period of several years, until you are convinced freedmen are being fairly treated.
- G. Do nothing significant now. Wait for Congress to come back in session and work with the House and Senate for a unified policy on Southern states.
- H. Order all land seized during the Civil War to be given back to the original plantation owners. Ex-slaves would become landless, so they would have to work for the plantation owners or save money to buy land.

# LESSON 5: RECONSTRUCTION

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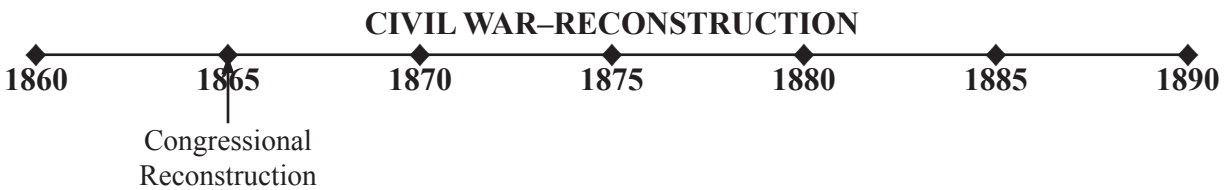
## Student Handout 2: Presidential Outcomes, 1865

President Johnson ignored advice from African Americans, the Chief Justice, and congressmen and decided to readmit Southern states as equal states (Option A), letting them run their states their way (Option D). He did require states to agree to the 13th Amendment (Option B), which they were quick to adopt. He did not prevent former rebels from serving in the government, although he required the highest officials to get personal pardons from him (Option C). As a result, former Confederate leaders came to Washington to serve in the government against which they had just fought. Many people (including congressmen) in the North were upset by this decision. President Johnson did not require that Southern states protect the rights of freedmen (Option E), did not send soldiers to protect those rights (Option F), and did not wait for Congress to come back to session (Option G). The President also ordered the Freedmen's Bureau to move African Americans from the land they had been given, and to restore the land to the original plantation owners (Option H). The ex-slaves felt betrayed.

The result of this lenient policy on Southern states was exactly what African Americans and Republicans warned against and feared. Black Codes were passed in Southern states, which restricted the rights of African Americans, including the right to leave plantations and the right to vote. Without land, African Americans had few good economic options. President Johnson was not upset by these results, however. Although he supported emancipation of slavery, he always felt that African Americans were inferior, so he had never supported equal rights for freedmen. He said that former slaves would be better off under the protection of the large plantation owners. Left to themselves, ex-slaves would live in idleness and dishonesty, according to Johnson. President Johnson made this terrible decision partly to get the support of Southern whites to strengthen him politically. The decision led to continuing conflict between North and South and to blatant discrimination against African Americans for over a century. All discrimination cannot be attributed to this one decision, but it is clear that Johnson's decision was a missed opportunity to resolve some civil rights and racial issues.

# LESSON 5: RECONSTRUCTION

## Student Handout 3: Congress's Views, 1865



You are a Republican member of Congress in December 1865. The Civil War has ended after the greatest bloodshed in our nation's history. There is widespread destruction in the South. Now that the war is over, Congress and the president can set conditions for Southern states wanting to reenter the Union. After President Lincoln was tragically assassinated, the new president, Andrew Johnson, set very lenient requirements for Reconstruction. He allowed Southern states back into the Union and basically let them to set up their own governments without supervision by the federal government. Unfortunately, this allowed Southern states to pass Black Codes, laws that, although they protect a few rights, restrict the rights of African Americans overall. For example, the Louisiana Black Codes do not allow African Americans to vote, serve on a jury, testify in court, intermarry with whites, or leave plantations to look for other work. Children of freedmen can be taken away and given to white families as apprentices (workers). Freedmen are forced to work on plantations whether they want to or not. There is also widespread violence in the South against African Americans. A Nashville newspaper reported that white gangs "are about whipping, maiming, and killing all negroes who do not obey the orders of their former masters, just as if slavery existed."

Moreover, these new states have sent representatives to Congress, and there are many rebels among the congressmen. These men had been part of a rebellion against the Union. If nothing is done, Southerners will have *more* representation in Congress, because each African American now counts as a full person (having been freed by the 13th Amendment), rather than the three-fifths of a person they were before the war. Freedmen, who are being oppressed by whites, are being used to give more power to the people who are oppressing them.

African Americans have organized to get their rights. State conventions met and passed resolutions demanding equality before the law, including the right to vote. African Americans have also demanded land as the basis for true freedom. Ex-slaves have occupied abandoned land in many areas of the South, setting up small farms. African Americans in general have made it clear that they want to own a portion of the plantations where they had been slaves. Most do not want to go to a new area, since friends and relatives tend to live in the same area as their plantation. General Sherman gave land to ex-slaves in Georgia and South Carolina in his Special Field Order 15. The Freedmen's Bureau, a government organization to help freedmen, also gave abandoned lands to freedmen to start small farms. Now President Johnson has ordered all lands be given back to their original owners, even if those owners were rebel leaders.

Which of the following will you do in regard to reconstructing the Southern states in 1865? You can choose as many options as you would like.

- A. Allow Southern states back into the Union as equals. Let whites run their states their way, without interference by the national government. States should have that right.
- B. Refuse to seat the representatives from the South in the new Congress until Congress sets the rules for readmitting states. President Johnson overstepped his authority in deciding the terms of readmission.
- C. Pass a law to protect the rights of freedmen, such as voting, serving on juries, and being free to look around for work. This law would override state laws depriving citizens of these rights. Some think giving African Americans the vote goes too far, since most Northern states also restrict African American voting. But generally, public opinion in the North supports suffrage (the right to vote) for freedmen.
- D. Send U.S. soldiers to the South to make sure freedmen get their rights. The soldiers would be stationed in Southern states for a period of several years, until Congress is convinced freedmen are being fairly treated.
- E. Give government aid to ex-slaves to help them find jobs or get an education. Government officials would make sure that African Americans are not cheated on labor contracts or unfairly charged for vagrancy.
- F. Overturn President Johnson's decision to give abandoned land back to the original plantation owners. At least the government could return the land that was just given to African Americans. This action wouldn't help most ex-slaves, but it would be a start.
- G. Take action to make sure freedmen get economic security. Have the government take land owned by Confederate leaders (as well as abandoned land) and give it to freedmen as small farms. This would be a large-scale operation that would put land in the hands of many, if not most, freedmen. As a result of this action, freedmen will have a fair chance to have a decent life. After all, plantation owners who supported the Confederacy don't deserve leniency, while freedmen who worked land for their owners all their lives deserve to own that land.

# LESSON 5: RECONSTRUCTION

## Student Handout 4: Congressional Outcomes, 1865

Republicans refused to seat the Southern representatives in Congress (Option B). Further, Republicans decided to pass a civil rights act to protect the rights of African Americans (Option C), rather than let Southern states run their states their own ways (Option A). Republicans were hoping these actions would correct the situation by making it illegal to violate African American rights. When President Johnson vetoed the civil rights bill, Congress overrode the veto. Congress and the president had conflicting policies on Reconstruction.

Putting the South under military rule (Option D) was too extreme for most members of Congress. Without soldiers, however, there was no way for the national government to protect African Americans against violence. Confiscating plantations and dividing them into farms for freedmen (Option G) also seemed too radical for Congress to approve. Even overturning President Johnson's decision to give land back to plantation owners (Option F) was seen as too extreme. Most Americans believed that private property should go back to its original owner, no matter what that owner had done.

Congress relied on the Freedmen's Bureau to help freedmen (Option E). Freedmen's Bureau agents tried to protect African American rights but Congress didn't give any funding for the first year. There were not enough agents, so the bureau wasn't very effective. It did help, however, and it signaled to African Americans that the federal government was prepared to support them in attaining equal rights.

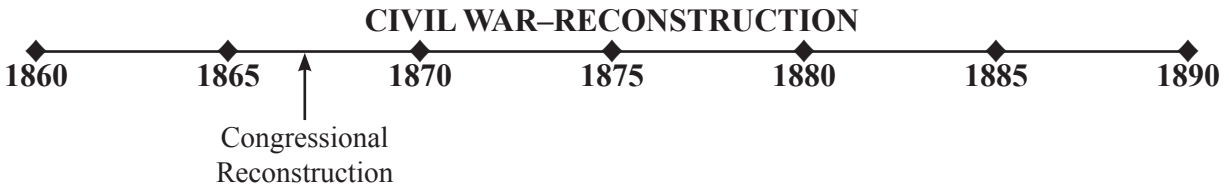


OLIMPIOS AT THE FREEDMEN—THE FREEDMEN'S UNION INDUSTRIAL SCHOOL, RICHMOND, VA.—FROM A SKETCH BY OUR SPECIAL ARTIST, JAS. E. TAYLOR.

The Freedmen's Union Industrial School in Richmond, Virginia

# LESSON 5: RECONSTRUCTION

## Student Handout 5: Congress's Views, 1867



You are a Republican member of Congress in 1867. President Johnson has been a stumbling block in helping African Americans get equal rights in the South. Congress passed a civil rights act for African Americans, but he vetoed it. He also vetoed a stronger Freedmen's Bureau bill, and gave racist reasons for his vetoes. He stated that African Americans are inferior, so they don't deserve rights. Then President Johnson campaigned against Republican candidates for Congress in 1866, a year when Johnson wasn't even running for office. Congress is mighty upset with Johnson and has the votes to override any presidential veto. Johnson also removed one of his Cabinet members, despite the Tenure in Office Act, which said he had to get Congress's approval before removing a cabinet officer.

In Southern cities—including Memphis, New Orleans, Charleston, Norfolk, Richmond, and Atlanta—there have been numerous race riots instigated by whites against African Americans. In Memphis, 45 African Americans were killed and 75 seriously wounded. In New Orleans, more than 150 African Americans were killed or wounded by police and white bystanders as they gathered to support suffrage (the right to vote) for freedmen.



Whites murdering blacks in  
New Orleans, 1866

Which of the following would you do? You may choose as many as you want.

- A. Pass a bill (with a two-thirds majority of Congress) for a constitutional amendment to protect the civil rights of all citizens, including African Americans. That way, no one will be able to interfere with equal rights for African Americans.
- B. Try to compromise with President Johnson. There must be a way to get him to agree to grant some rights to African Americans. Maybe he would agree to a limited right to vote for African Americans, perhaps for those who had been free before the Civil War.
- C. Send U.S. soldiers to the South to make sure freedmen get their rights. The soldiers would be stationed in Southern states for a period of several years, until Congress is convinced freedmen are being fairly treated.
- D. Impeach the president. He committed a crime by breaking the Tenure in Office Act. The Constitution says the president can be impeached for "high crimes and

- misdemeanors.” Without Johnson as president, Republicans can enforce rights for African Americans significantly.
- E. Take action to make sure freedmen get economic security. Have the government take land owned by Confederate leaders (as well as abandoned land) and give it to freedmen as small farms. This would be a large-scale operation that would put land in the hands of many, if not most, freedmen. As a result of this action, freedmen will have a fair chance to have a decent life. After all, plantation owners who supported the Confederacy don’t deserve leniency, while freedmen who worked land for their owners all their lives deserve to own that land.



# LESSON 5: RECONSTRUCTION

## Student Handout 6: Congressional Outcomes, 1867

Congress decided on Options A, C, and D. Option A was accomplished with the 14th and 15th Amendments, which brought important change to the country. In general, these amendments increased the role of the federal government significantly in state and local affairs.

Option C took the form of the Reconstruction Act, which split the Southern states (except for Tennessee) into five military districts and sent soldiers to protect the rights of African Americans. The act also prevented former Confederate leaders from voting or holding office. The results of the act included pro-Republican governments in all the Southern states. African Americans served in large numbers in these state governments, achieving a majority of representatives in South Carolina. African Americans were joined in the new governments by Southern and Northern whites who supported Republican business policies, who wanted to help freedmen, or who wanted personal gain. The Reconstruction governments spent huge amounts of money to improve transportation (railroads) to attract modern businesses to the South. It didn't work. Northerners were reluctant to invest in the South, where interest rates were high, demand was low, and labor was expensive. The excessive spending led to widespread corruption in the South, on an even grander scale than the corrupt governments across the country at the time. On the other hand, Reconstruction governments improved education tremendously in the 1860s and 1870s, including education for African Americans. They removed property requirements to vote, ended Black Codes, and expanded the property rights of married women, allowing them to hold property independent of their husbands.

The Republicans in Congress also decided to impeach President Johnson (Option D). The impeachment trial in the Senate to convict President Johnson failed by one vote. This was the first time that Congress had used impeachment against a president. The public saw impeachment for what it was, a weapon used by Congress to cripple the president in a policy dispute. It was obvious that the president had not committed “high crimes or misdemeanors.” Republicans in Congress only hurt themselves with their foolish impeachment strategy.



Cartoon showing President Johnson and Congress as engineers with trains on a collision course

Republicans did not try to compromise with President Johnson (Option B). They had had repeated confrontations with the president, so they felt there was no chance for compromise. Political leaders also reflected the general belief in the United States that private property should be protected, not confiscated to give to other people (Option E). Radical leaders such as Thaddeus Stevens kept emphasizing the need for land ownership for freedmen as a basis for economic security, but the radical proposal to confiscate land was rejected.

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# LESSON 5: RECONSTRUCTION

## Student Handout 7: Primary Source

**President Andrew Johnson, Third Annual Message, December 3, 1867 (excerpt)**

...Negro suffrage was established by act of Congress, and the military officers were commanded to superintend the process of clothing the Negro race with the political privileges torn from white men.

The blacks in the South are entitled to be well and humanely governed, and to have the protection of just laws for all their rights of person and property. If it were practicable at this time to give them a Government exclusively their own, under which they might manage their own affairs in their own way, it would become a grave question whether we ought to do so, or whether common humanity would not require us to save them from themselves. But under the circumstances this is only a speculative point. It is not proposed merely that they shall govern themselves, but that they shall rule the white race, make and administer State laws, elect Presidents and members of Congress, and shape to a greater or less extent the future destiny of the whole country. Would such a trust and power be safe in such hands?

The peculiar qualities which should characterize any people who are fit to decide upon the management of public affairs for a great state have seldom been combined. It is the glory of white men to know that they have had these qualities in sufficient measure to build upon this continent a great political fabric and to preserve its stability for more than ninety years, while in every other part of the world all similar experiments have failed. But if anything can be proved by known facts, if all reasoning upon evidence is not abandoned, it must be acknowledged that in the progress of nations Negroes have shown less capacity for government than any other race of people. No independent government of any form has ever been successful in their hands. On the contrary, wherever they have been left to their own devices they have shown a constant tendency to relapse into barbarism. In the Southern States, however, Congress has undertaken to confer upon them the privilege of the ballot. Just released from slavery, it may be doubted whether as a class they know more than their ancestors how to organize and regulate civil society.

### QUESTIONS FOR ANALYSIS

1. What is President Johnson arguing?
2. How well do you think President Johnson proves his argument?
3. How do President Johnson's assumptions influence his views on Reconstruction?

# LESSON 6: 14TH AND 15TH AMENDMENTS

## Teacher Pages

### OVERVIEW

The 14th and 15th Amendments are referred to in Lesson 5. However, they are so important in understanding long-term consequences that they merit their own lesson. In this lesson, students will decide how far to go to protect civil rights, specifically voting rights. The lesson focuses on the long-term consequences of these amendments.

### VOCABULARY

- Veto—When the President refuses to approve a bill, preventing it from becoming law
- Civil Rights Act—Passed by Congress, it declared that all persons born in the United States were now citizens, without regard to race
- Override—Two-thirds of both houses of Congress can approve a bill without the President’s approval
- 14th Amendment—Guarantees all citizens equal protection under the law; it penalized states that did not allow African Americans to vote (but it did not protect women’s voting rights)
- 15th Amendment—Guaranteed African American men the right to vote
- Suffrage—The right to vote
- Bill of Rights—The first ten amendments to the Constitution, which protect civil rights from restriction by the national government
- Ratification—When three-fourths of the states approve an amendment

### DECISION-MAKING SKILLS EMPHASIZED

- Identify underlying problem(s)
- Set realistic goals
- Predict unintended consequences

# LESSON PLAN

## A. IN-DEPTH LESSON (30 minutes)

### Procedure:

Distribute Handout 1 and have students pair up and choose what they will do regarding civil rights and voting. Circulate around the room to answer questions or clear up misunderstandings. Bring the class back together and discuss their decisions as well as the reasons for them.

If it doesn't arise in the discussion, ask students what "equal protection of the laws" means. What does it say about the federal government and rights? (The federal government will now be involved in protecting civil rights against state restrictions.) Tell them to list as many consequences of this part of the 14th Amendment as they can. Bring the class back together and have students give their predictions for consequences, listing their responses on the board.

OPTION: Use the 14th Amendment and 15th Amendment in Handout 3 to help students analyze their decisions and predict consequences of the amendments.

Distribute Handout 2 with the outcomes. Have students read and write comments on the outcomes. Discuss their reactions.

OPTION: The wording of the choices in Handout 1's first problem may confuse some students. You can simplify the lesson by focusing exclusively on who can vote (the second part of Handout 1), and avoiding the first part on equal protection of the law. Or, you could just ask students to vote if they support Handout 1's Option A on the first problem (equal protection). Either of these strategies will help avoid confusion.

### Reflecting on Decision Making:

Ask students how well they did on decision making on these problems. Which decision-making skills were especially important? Which of the letters of **P-A-G-E** applied especially to this problem? (See the "Decision-Making Analysis" section below for ideas.) Ask students what they did well or poorly in terms of the **P-A-G-E** analysis of decision making. Discuss their answers.

### Putting the Actual Decisions Into Historical Context:

Ask students whether the decisions to adopt the amendments were the result more of historical forces or the result of decisions by a few individuals in Congress. (Historical forces played a much more important role in the decisions in this lesson. There were individuals fighting for civil rights, but those fights and the decisions themselves were embedded in historical forces.)

### Connecting to Today:

Ask students how the 14th Amendment affects American society today. (States' leaders are always conscious of not restricting the civil rights of any group, although it is not always clear how the federal courts will apply 14th-Amendment protections. Many issues are affected, as pointed out in Handout 2. Not all issues are subject to the 14th Amendment, however. For example, gay marriage has been handled on a state-by-state basis.) As mentioned in Handout 2, African Americans' voting (15th Amendment) was a major factor in electing Barack Obama in 2008.

### Troubleshooting:

Review with students the amendment process: the amendment must be passed by two-thirds of both the House and Senate, and ratified by three-fourths of the states. You might also want to review the Bill of Rights before starting the lesson. You could ask students if the Bill of Rights applied to states directly in 1866. (The federal Bill of Rights did not apply to states at the time. State trials, for example, applied only the rights in the state constitution for that state.)

## **B. QUICK MOTIVATOR (10–15 minutes)**

Have students write their choices for Handout 1 for homework. Discuss their choices, but do not have students pair up, examine the Primary Sources (Handout 3), or list consequences. Keep the discussion of reasons for their choices to five minutes. Distribute Handout 2 and have students comment for homework on what they learned from these outcomes. OPTION: Have students just answer Handout 1's second problem on voting, as described above.

# TEACHER NOTES FOR EXPANDING DISCUSSION

(For Outcomes, see Handout 2)

Historians argue, as mentioned in Handout 2, that the 14th Amendment fundamentally changed the relationship of the national government with the state and local governments. The *Slaughterhouse Cases* limited the amendment's protections to state governments, but later cases applied the protections more broadly.

Consider mentioning that corporations used the 14th Amendment's "due process of law" section to protect themselves against state regulations. They argued that, legally, corporations were people. It is not included in this lesson to keep the focus on African Americans' civil rights.

## DECISION-MAKING ANALYSIS:

### P = Problem

- \* - **Identify any underlying problem(s)**
- Consider other points of view
- What are my assumptions? Emotions?

### A = Ask for information (about)

- Historical context (history of this issue; context in the world)
- Reliability of sources
- Historical analogies

### G = Goals

- \* - What are my main goals? Are they realistic?
- Generate options to achieve these goals. Are they ethical?

### E = Effects

- \* - **Predict unintended consequences.**
- Play out the options. What could go wrong?

\*Denotes topics emphasized in this lesson

- **Underlying problem:** Students should consider that one underlying problem is prejudice against African Americans and women.
- **Set realistic goals:** Is it a good idea to fight for suffrage for African Americans and women at the same time? It reduces the probability of passing, but it has to be weighed against doing what is moral (both groups deserve the vote).
- **Predict unintended consequences:** Numerous consequences, especially of the 14th Amendment, are explained in Handout 2.

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# LESSON 6: PROTECTING CIVIL RIGHTS

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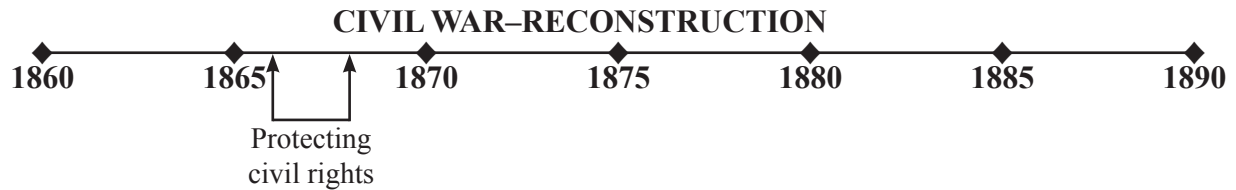
## Vocabulary

- Veto—When the President refuses to approve a bill, preventing it from becoming law
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- Ratification—When three-fourths of the states approve an amendment



# LESSON 6: PROTECTING CIVIL RIGHTS

## Student Handout 1: Problem



You are a congressman in 1866. Reconstruction of the South has been a struggle. Congress passed the Civil Rights Act by overriding President Johnson's veto. He said that civil rights are a state issue, and that therefore the bill was unconstitutional. His veto shows that, at a later time, a president or a different Congress could overturn the civil rights of African Americans. It also shows that enforcing civil rights by the federal government could be ruled unconstitutional. One way to ensure that civil rights are always protected is by passing an amendment to the Constitution. No one could then say that enforcing civil rights is unconstitutional. But amendments are serious, and not easily undone if you make a mistake. So you have to think about this amendment carefully.

The historical context is important to understanding the situation of civil rights. First, women worked mightily for the emancipation of slaves before the Civil War, and they have been fighting hard for equal rights for freedmen since the Civil War. They have also been fighting for women's equal rights and especially the right to vote for women. However, if you fight for the right to vote for both women and African Americans, you will increase the opposition. People opposed to women voting will be added to people opposed to African American voting. Thus, the amendment is more likely to fail. Second, most Northern states do not allow African Americans the right to vote. Third, although each state governing itself has a long tradition in the U.S., the Civil War was won by the North in part to show that the federal government could stop states from taking their own actions (such as seceding from the Union). Fourth, the South is overrepresented in Congress since each freedman is now counted as one person (although he is denied the vote). Fifth, there has been major trouble in the South lately. Just in the last few months, there have been savage murders of African Americans by whites. There was a major race riot in Memphis, Tennessee, in which 46 African Americans were killed. A second race riot in New Orleans resulted in the death of 34 African Americans and the injury of hundreds more.

There are two issues involved in the amendment, civil rights in general and voting (suffrage) in particular:

Which of the following will you do regarding civil rights in general? You can choose as many options as you would like.

- A. Pass an amendment to protect the civil rights of African Americans. It would say that no state could deprive an African American of "equal protection of the laws."

- B. Pass an amendment to protect the civil rights of African Americans. It would state that no state **or group or individual** could deprive an African American of the “equal protection of the laws.”
- C. Pass an amendment to protect the civil rights of all citizens. It would say that no state could deprive any citizen of the “equal protection of the laws.”
- D. Pass an amendment to protect the civil rights of all citizens. It would say that no state **or group or individual** could deprive any citizen of “equal protection of the laws.”
- E. Don’t pass an amendment. Civil rights are for states, not the national government, to protect.

The second issue is about voting in particular. Which of the following will you do in regard to suffrage (voting)? You can choose as many options as you would like.

- A. Pass an amendment stating that the right of citizens to vote shall not be denied by any state on the basis of race, color, or previous servitude (slavery). This leaves the right for women to vote up to the states, but protects it for African Americans.
- B. Pass an amendment that says that the citizens’ right to vote shall not be denied by any state for race, **sex**, color, or previous servitude (slavery). This protects the right to vote for women and African Americans.
- C. Pass an amendment stating that if a state denies the right to vote to any citizen over the age of 21, the representation of that state will be reduced in Congress. This gives states the option to restrict voting if they are willing to accept the penalty. This leaves the right for women to vote up to states and provides incentive for states to give the right to vote to African Americans.
- D. Pass an amendment stating that if a state denies the right to vote to any **male** citizen over the age of 21, the representation of that state will be reduced in Congress. This gives states the option to restrict voting if they are willing to accept the penalty. This makes clear that the right to vote by women is not protected by this amendment, but provides incentive for states to give the right to vote to African Americans.
- E. Don’t pass an amendment. Voting is for states, not the federal government, to protect

# LESSON 6: PROTECTING CIVIL RIGHTS

## Student Handout 2: Outcomes

### Civil rights:

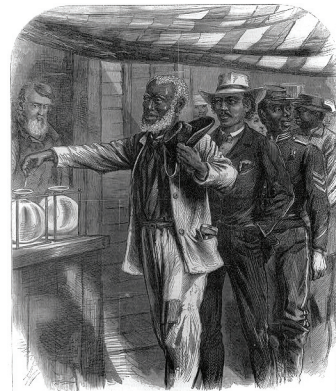
Congress chose Option C in the form of the 14th Amendment. This amendment states that no state could deny to “any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws.” It does not say anything about groups or individuals. So, at first, the Supreme Court ruled that the amendment only applied to states. Eventually, the court applied the amendment to groups or individuals who denied equal protection of the law to citizens.

The 14th Amendment’s “equal protection of the laws” statement (along with “due process of law,” which is not a focus of this lesson) revolutionized the American constitutional system. The amendment expanded the role of the federal government in state and local issues that revolved around constitutional rights. Equal protection of the laws led to courts applying to states such Bill of Rights protections as free speech and freedom of religion (First Amendment); searches and seizures, and abortion (Fourth Amendment); arrests and trials (Fifth Amendment); the death penalty (Eighth Amendment); and hate crimes, integrated schools, and forced busing to achieve racial balance (14th Amendment). Without the 14th Amendment, these issues and many others would have been left primarily to states and local governments. It is breathtaking to see such dramatic effects from just one decision.

### Voting rights:

When the 14th Amendment was ratified by the states in 1868, Congress chose Option D. The amendment reduced representation for states that denied voting for male citizens. Congressmen thought it would be too drastic to require all states to allow African Americans to vote, since most Northern states also denied the vote to African Americans. The more drastic Option A, enforcing the vote for all male citizens, was passed and ratified with the 15th Amendment two years later. This amendment had some weaknesses, since it allowed for states to prevent some voting as long as it wasn’t based on race. Thus it allowed for poll taxes and literacy tests, which were adopted in the 1880s and 1890s in most Southern states. The poll tax and literacy test effectively disenfranchised African Americans (and many poor whites) during the Jim Crow era (1880s to 1950s).

During the civil rights movement of the 1950s and 1960s, civil rights workers made great efforts to register African American voters. African American voting was especially important in the 2008 election of Barack Obama, the first African American president.



A print celebrating the 15<sup>th</sup> Amendment

The inclusion of the word “male” in the 14th Amendment was a major setback for female suffragists. It is the only time that the denial of rights to women was explicitly stated in the Constitution. Women who had worked for decades to support rights for African Americans felt betrayed. Congressmen, as stated in Handout 1, were afraid that supporting suffrage for both African Americans and women at the same time would lead to defeat of the amendment and thus no progress for either group. Abolitionist Frederick Douglass argued that this was the African American’s moment. Next, everyone would work for female suffrage. Some embittered female suffragists argued that ignorant black men were being given the vote while intelligent, educated (white) women were not.

# LESSON 6: 14TH AND 15TH AMENDMENTS

## Student Handout 3: Primary Sources

### 14th Amendment, 1868 (excerpt)

**Section 1.** All persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and of the State wherein they reside. No State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States; nor shall any State deprive any person of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws.

**Section 2.** Representatives shall be apportioned among the several States according to their respective numbers, counting the whole number of persons in each State, excluding Indians not taxed. But when the right to vote at any election for the choice of electors for President and Vice President of the United States, Representatives in Congress, the Executive and Judicial officers of a State, or the members of the Legislature thereof, is denied to any of the male inhabitants of such State, being twenty-one years of age, and citizens of the United States, or in any way abridged, except for participation in rebellion, or other crime, the basis of representation therein shall be reduced in the proportion which the number of such male citizens shall bear to the whole number of male citizens twenty-one years of age in such State.

### 15th Amendment, 1870 (excerpt)

The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude.

#### QUESTIONS FOR ANALYSIS

1. Can you think of any children born in the U.S. who you think should not be considered U.S. citizens? For example, do you think the children of illegal immigrants should be considered U.S. citizens?
2. Do you agree that anyone who is at risk to be deprived of life, liberty, or property is entitled to due process of law (a hearing or trial, including the protections of the Fifth Amendment)? For example, should someone being fired from a job (being deprived of property—earnings) be entitled by law to a hearing? Someone losing a home because of not keeping up with mortgage payments?
3. Are there any limits to who should be able to vote? For example, should convicted felons be able to vote? What about the illiterate? The mentally handicapped?

# LESSON 7: THE END OF RECONSTRUCTION AND JIM CROW

## Teacher Pages

### OVERVIEW

The focus of this lesson is on the ending and aftermath of Reconstruction. There are four pairs of handouts (every pair consists of a problem and outcome), each on a different aspect of the end of Reconstruction: the redeemed phase of Reconstruction, the Jim Crow decision, *Plessy v. Ferguson* and the debate over African American responses to these new restrictions. Choose from among these handouts to immerse students in some or all of the racial, constitutional, and political conflicts of the late 19th and early 20th centuries.

### VOCABULARY

- Reconstruction governments—Governments set up in Southern states after the Reconstruction Act, controlled by Republicans, including African Americans
- Ku Klux Klan—Terrorist organization that used violence to intimidate freedmen
- Depression—A sharp decline in the economy (GDP) coupled with an increase in unemployment over 10%
- Farmers' Alliances—Farmers (including whites and African Americans) grouping together primarily to get lower shipping rates and higher prices for their crops
- Poll tax—Charging money to vote
- Literacy test—A test to show a prospective voter can read, taken before he/she may vote
- Lynching—The killing of a person (at this time, almost always an African American) by a mob
- Jim Crow laws—Segregation by law
- *Plessy v. Ferguson*—1896 Supreme Court case upholding Jim Crow laws; separate facilities could be equal, so they were allowed
- 14th Amendment—Guarantees all citizens equal protection of the law; it penalized states that did not allow African Americans to vote (but did not protect women's voting rights)
- Booker T. Washington—African American leader who recommended that blacks should not agitate for civil rights; he argued it would be better to strengthen their position economically through hard work
- W.E.B. Du Bois—African American leader who opposed Booker T. Washington, arguing that blacks needed to stand up for their rights

## DECISION-MAKING SKILLS EMPHASIZED

- Identify underlying problems
- Consider other points of view
- Consider assumptions
- Ask about the reliability of sources
- Generate ethical options
- Predict unintended consequences
- Play out options

# LESSON PLAN

## A. IN-DEPTH LESSON (one 40-minute class period)

### Procedure:

Distribute Handout 1 and have students pair up and choose what they will do to “redeem” the South. Remind students that although they might be in a role with which they do not agree, they should try to do what they think is best for the country. They don’t have to agree with the perspective of the handout. Circulate around the room to answer questions or clear up misunderstandings. Bring the class back together and discuss their decisions as well as the reasons for them. Distribute Handout 2 with the Outcomes. Have students read and write comments on these, and discuss their reactions.

Repeat the steps above for Handouts 3 (problem in 1894) and 4 (outcome). Repeat again for Handouts 5 and 6 (*Plessy*), and 7 and 8 (Washington and Du Bois). The summaries of Washington and Du Bois’s arguments in the Handout are brief. This is an opportune moment to use excerpts from their arguments (Handout 9: Primary Source).

### Reflecting on Decision Making:

Ask students how well they did on decision making on these problems. Which decision-making skills were especially important in making decisions on ending Reconstruction and on Jim Crow laws? Which of the letters of **P-A-G-E** applied especially to this problem? (See the “Decision-Making Analysis” section below for ideas.) Ask students what they did well or poorly on in terms of the **P-A-G-E** analysis of decision making. Discuss their answers.

### Putting the Actual Decisions Into Historical Context:

Ask students whether the decisions about ending Reconstruction and Jim Crow Laws were the result more of historical forces or the result of decisions by a few individuals. (A good case could be made for both sides: a small group of Democrats made decisions for how to end Reconstruction and to start legal segregation, and the Supreme Court decided that Jim Crow laws were constitutional. On the other hand, the devastation from the Civil War, the increased taxes on white farmers, the Depression of 1893, and other elements, all provided ammunition for those emphasizing historical forces.)

### Connecting to Today:

Ask students if they have heard of discrimination similar to Jim Crow laws in other countries. (apartheid in South Africa and the caste system in India are two possible examples). Ask what Jim Crow laws have to do with the 2008 election of Barack Obama. (Some commentators feel Obama’s election is symbolic of the country overcoming its Jim Crow past.)



Troubleshooting:

Students will need the historical context of Reconstruction in order to understand this lesson. Also, remind students that both Booker T. Washington and W.E.B. Du Bois were African Americans and were arguing over the best strategy for African Americans.

**B. QUICK MOTIVATOR (10–20 minutes)**

There are four pairs of handouts in this lesson, each on a different aspect of the end of Reconstruction and the rise of Jim Crow. Depending on the length of the lesson you want, you could do one (10 minutes) or two pairs of handouts (20 minutes) rather than all four pairs.

# TEACHER NOTES FOR EXPANDING DISCUSSION

(For Outcomes, see Handouts 2, 4, 6, and 8)

Historians debate the extent to which Southern society was already segregated before the 1890s and the Jim Crow laws. According to William Chafe (see Sources), farming itself changed from plantations where whites and African Americans interacted on a regular basis to rental arrangements, where African Americans were scattered away from whites. African Americans also formed their own churches. Almost all historians argue, however, that the Jim Crow era was a new level of segregation.

By 1894, the Farmers' Alliances were changing into the Populist Party. Two years earlier, the party nominated a presidential candidate who received well over a million votes. The movement's name and the national political scene are not included in this lesson in order to keep the focus on whites and African Americans. (See the *Gilded Age* volume in this series for two lessons on the Populists.)

African Americans resisted their second-class status as best they could through the language they used and by asserting themselves where possible in public spaces. The conflict over public spaces is illustrated by the 1883 Danville riot (Virginia), as explained in the journal article by Daily (see Sources).

## DECISION-MAKING ANALYSIS:

### P = Problem

- \* - **Identify any underlying problem(s)**
- \* - Consider other points of view
- \* - What are my assumptions? Emotions?

### A = Ask for information (about)

- Historical context (history of this issue; context in the world)
- \* - Reliability of sources
- Historical analogies

### G = Goals

- What are my main goals? Are they realistic?
- \* - **Generate options to achieve these goals. Are they ethical?**

### E = Effects

- \* - **Predict unintended consequences.**
- \* - **Play out the options. What could go wrong?**

\*Denotes topics emphasized in this lesson

- **Identify underlying problems:** African American voting was one of the underlying problems from whites' point of view in 1894. Once whites in the 1890s identified African American voting as a problem, some of them decided to use strategies to stop African Americans from voting (Handout 3, Option C). Interestingly, whites could also have decided African American voting was an opportunity and continued to work with them (Handout 3, Option A).
- **Consider other points of view:** Students should consider the point of view of African Americans, as well as other groups, such as Northern white workers and owners, and Southern farmers and businessmen
- **Consider assumptions:** Many whites in the South assumed that African Americans were a different race than they were, with fundamentally different characteristics. One of the interesting points of the *Plessy v. Ferguson* case is the absurdity in trying to establish the racial identity of a person. Plessy was only one-eighth "colored," but was identified as a "colored." Such beliefs led to theories of scientific racism and the "one drop" theory, which held that a person was "colored" if he or she had even one drop of non-white blood. These examples alone show how faulty it is to think of African Americans as a different "race."
- **Ask about the reliability of sources:** It's noted in Handout 1 that newspapers are reporting widespread corruption; students should question the reliability of the newspapers. The reporters at these papers may be prejudiced against African Americans, and they have a reason to lie: to please readers who don't like the Reconstruction governments.
- **Generate ethical options:** The decisions made to use violence and institute Jim Crow laws raise ethical questions that students should consider
- **Predict unintended consequences:** Several consequences are explained in Handouts 2, 4, and 6. Negative consequences of the decisions made in this lesson were and are especially profound for our country.
- **Play out options:** Students should play out the options for each of these proposals. One problem, as was explained under assumptions, is how to define race for individuals and the futility in defining it at all.

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# LESSON 7: THE END OF RECONSTRUCTION AND JIM CROW

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## Vocabulary

- Reconstruction governments—Governments set up in Southern states after the Reconstruction Act, controlled by Republicans, including African Americans
- Ku Klux Klan—Terrorist organization that used violence to intimidate freedmen
- Depression—A sharp decline in the economy (GDP) coupled with an increase in unemployment over 10%
- Farmers' Alliances—Farmers (including whites and African Americans) grouping together primarily to get lower shipping rates and higher prices for their crops
- Poll tax—Charging money to vote
- Literacy test—A test to show a prospective voter can read, taken before he/she may vote
- Lynching—The killing of a person (at this time, almost always an African American) by a mob
- Jim Crow laws—Segregation by law
- *Plessy v. Ferguson*—1896 Supreme Court case upholding Jim Crow laws; separate facilities could be equal, so they were allowed
- 14th Amendment—Guarantees all citizens equal protection of the law; it penalized states that did not allow African Americans to vote (but did not protect women's voting rights)
- Booker T. Washington—African American leader who recommended that blacks should not agitate for civil rights; he argued it would be better to strengthen their position economically through hard work
- W.E.B. Du Bois—African American leader who opposed Booker T. Washington, arguing that blacks needed to stand up for their rights

# LESSON 7: THE END OF RECONSTRUCTION AND JIM CROW

## Student Handout 1: Problem



It is 1872, and you are a white Southerner in the Democratic Party. Reconstruction governments have been running for about five years. These Republican-controlled governments in the Southern states include mostly African Americans, supported by pro-Republican whites from the North and South. According to newspapers in the South, the leaders of these governments have improved education, but they have increased taxes on white people and cheated taxpayers through widespread corruption. Worst of all, in the eyes of most white Southerners, Republicans have put former slaves into government positions to rule over their former slave owners, who are denied the right to serve in government.

White Southerners are divided on what actions to take in response to these Reconstruction governments. Up to this point, many white Democrats have worked with African Americans on some issues, hoping to get their votes. However, most African Americans continue to vote Republican. These Democrats want to continue to cooperate with African Americans because they see it as the best alternative available. They claim that confrontation would be bad for the South in the long run, since the North has threatened to send more troops if there is trouble.

A second group call themselves “Color-Line Democrats.” They want to emphasize racism, which will unite Southern whites in the Democratic Party. They want to use violence to intimidate African Americans and their white Republican friends. With Southern whites united to get rid of the Republicans, and with African American and white Republicans afraid to vote or hold office, the Democratic Party will regain control of the Southern states.

It’s likely Northerners won’t actually do anything if Southern whites become more racist. Many Northerners are racist themselves and too busy with economic changes in the North to worry about Southern African Americans. Some Republicans are even starting to feel that the freedmen are partly responsible for their slow progress. On the other hand, some Northern businessmen have financial investments in the South, so they will be concerned if there is trouble.

Which options will you choose? You can do as many as you would like.

- A. Continue to cooperate with the Reconstruction governments. Any strong actions against African Americans or Republicans will just provoke a big reaction from the North. Conflict within the South will make businesses reluctant to invest in the region, hurting the Southern economy in the long run.
- B. Use racism to unite whites against the Republican governments. Within a few years Democrats will control Southern governments again. Northerners are concerned about their own issues, so they won't get involved in issues in the South. Many Northerners are also racist.
- C. Use violence against African Americans to prevent them from voting or holding office. This would include encouraging violent groups such as the Ku Klux Klan. Northerners are dealing with their own economic issues and labor strikes, so they won't be concerned about violence in the South.

# LESSON 7: THE END OF RECONSTRUCTION AND JIM CROW

## Student Handout 2: Outcomes

Southern Democrats chose to emphasize racism (Option B) and violence (Option C), giving up on the previous strategy of cooperating on at least some issues (Option A). The racism and violence were effective strategies, ending all the Reconstruction governments within the next five years. One obvious long-term effect, however, was the increase in racist violence in the country that lasted for decades. In addition, millions of African Americans over several generations were disenfranchised and oppressed economically.



A cartoon captioned “Of course he wants to vote the Democratic ticket”

Congress reacted to the organized violence by investigating and arresting members of the Ku Klux Klan. However, the crackdown on the KKK lasted less than one year, and people in the North did nothing to stop the overthrow of Reconstruction governments in the South.

Northern business owners were afraid that freedmen would set up an alliance with white workers that would increase worker demands and cost them money, so they did not support actions to protect freedmen. Northerners in general looked the other way as Southern whites took back control of Southern states.

Economic problems in the North caused Northerners to look the other way. The Depression of 1873 focused Northern attention on its own region. In 1874, Democrats



won a majority in the House of Representatives, showing how much public opinion had changed. Ironically, some of the federal troops pulled out of the South (where they had been protecting the rights of African Americans) were used to stop labor strikes in Northern cities, while others were used to fight Native Americans.

# LESSON 7: THE END OF RECONSTRUCTION AND JIM CROW

## Student Handout 3: Problem



You are a wealthy white Southerner in the Democratic Party in 1894. For the past 20 years, Southern Democrats have been able to control the South through three methods:

1. Launching new government programs, like railroad building and subsidies to attract factories, to improve the South
2. Reminding everyone that Democrats overthrew the Republican/African American governments in the 1870s
3. Winning African American votes by offering them government jobs (patronage). African Americans vote in large numbers, composing about 40% of the vote in some states. Getting some of their votes has kept the Democrats in power.

Currently, there is trouble for Democrats. Charges of widespread corruption under Democratic rule have been made public. Seven state treasurers have been accused or charged with crimes. Whites in the South associate the new Democratic programs (#1 above) more with corruption than with improvement. Some charge that corruption is actually worse under the Democrats than it was under the Reconstruction governments, which undermines the claim about redeeming the South from Republican governments (#2 above). The charges of corruption are magnified because the country is in a depression (a decline in the economy). People never like government corruption, but when they have lost their jobs or their property, they are even more upset. Many whites never liked the method of the Democratic Party in making deals with African Americans in exchange for votes (#3 above). Racist whites resent more than ever the policy of giving African Americans government jobs when so many whites need jobs in these troubled economic times.

On top of this negative situation, Farmers' Alliances have formed to threaten the control of the South by wealthy whites and the Democratic Party. Farmers' Alliances want more help for poor farmers at the expense of wealthy planters. Since the alliances are focused on class differences (poor versus rich), they aren't concerned about race. The alliances are made up of poor whites and poor African Americans, so they are a serious threat to you and other rich whites.

In the meantime, Northerners are suffering equally from the depression. They are much too absorbed in their own problems to take notice of events in the South.

Which options will you choose? You can do as many as you would like.

- A. Continue to cooperate with African Americans, including offering government jobs in exchange for votes. There are a lot of African American voters, so they could keep the Democrats in power.
- B. Use racism to unite whites and split the Farmers' Alliances. Whites and African Americans already don't mix with each other in many aspects of their lives. But if the states were to pass laws declaring that there had to be separate facilities, such as separate restaurants, water fountains, hospitals, and train cars, whites would feel superior to African Americans. It would then be harder for white—even poor whites—to join forces with blacks and upset the balance of power in the South.
- C. Start a program to take the vote away from African Americans. The real problem here is widespread voting by African Americans over the past 20 years. If they no longer voted in large numbers, racist whites would be happy and would return to supporting wealthy whites within the Democratic Party. The program to disenfranchise African Americans could be accomplished by taking such actions as creating poll taxes (meaning people must pay a small tax in order to vote) and literacy tests. These would also prevent poor whites from voting, but that would be good for you as it would weaken the Farmers' Alliances.
- D. Continue the practice of lynching (killing, usually by a mob) African Americans to intimidate them and make them hesitant to vote or hold public office
- E. Start a moderate program to please poor whites and African Americans in the South. Expand government jobs for both poor whites and African Americans, and increase aid for farmers. Give more aid to schools in the South to improve education for poor whites and poor African Americans. This would dramatically boost support from both groups.

# LESSON 7: THE END OF RECONSTRUCTION AND JIM CROW

## Student Handout 4: Outcomes

Southern Democrats chose to emphasize racism (Option B). Racism was stressed through laws to segregate many areas of public life. These laws, called “Jim Crow” laws (the term may have come from a song and dance by a white entertainer in the 1830s, called “Jump Jim Crow”), segregated whites from African Americans on trains, in restaurants, at water fountains, and in workplaces, elevators, and parks. There were separate Bibles for testifying in court and there were separate neighborhoods for African Americans and whites. Since the law segregated the two races, more people thought that race mattered. The law increased a sense of separate identities for whites and African Americans.



A lynching victim

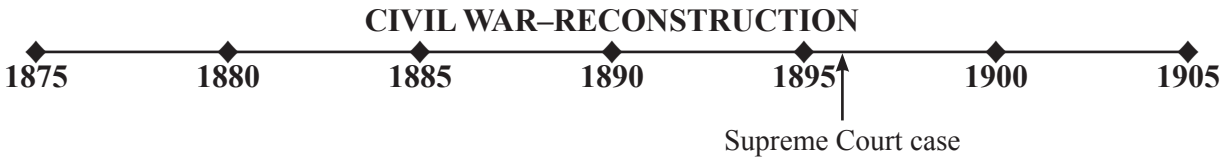
The institutionalized racism affected American society in many ways. Lynchings of African Americans increased, resulting in thousands of murders over the decades. There had been murders before, but the number rose dramatically, and these murders often became public spectacles in which the victims were tortured. This brutality was justified by even more racism. African American men, whites claimed, were likely to commit crimes, especially brutalizing white women. Novels, nonfiction books, and other forms of writing were filled with stereotypes of African Americans. Many of these stereotypes carried over into movies, such as *Birth of a Nation* and *Gone with the Wind*. The racism generated by Jim Crow laws has affected—and continues to affect—the way others see Americans and the way we think about ourselves. It is

widely believed that America has a race problem. The decisions of individuals and groups of people during the Jim Crow era greatly contributed to this problem.

Whites also decided to take the vote away from African Americans (Option C). The main methods used were the poll tax and the literacy test. State officials used exceptions for whites so they could still vote. For example, the literacy test was easier for whites. Nevertheless, these methods also took the vote away from many poor whites.

# LESSON 7: THE END OF RECONSTRUCTION AND JIM CROW

## Student Handout 5: Problem



You are a Supreme Court justice in 1896. Homer Plessy has sued to stop segregation on public transportation. Mr. Plessy is one-eighth African American and seven-eighths white. He was required to leave the white car on a train in Louisiana and relocate to the “colored” car, since he was classified as “colored” by Louisiana law. He refused and was arrested. Plessy’s lawyer has argued that separate railroad cars—indeed all separate facilities for African Americans and whites—violate the 14th Amendment’s requirement of “equal protection of the laws.” Separate facilities imply that African Americans are inferior to whites. Besides, the facilities are not equal to each other—the ones for African Americans are nearly always inferior. The state of Louisiana has argued that no one is implying that African Americans are inferior. It is just a matter of public policy to separate the races. They also argue that the railroad cars are equal facilities.



Homer Plessy

It is time to decide whether to support Plessy or the State of Louisiana.

- A. Decide in favor of Mr. Plessy. These separate facilities do imply that African Americans are inferior and therefore violate the “equal protection” clause of the 14th Amendment.
- B. Decide in favor of the State of Louisiana. African Americans may feel inferior, but that is a matter of interpretation. It is not a problem with the law itself. The Supreme Court’s only duty is to judge whether a law is constitutional, no matter what people may think the effects on society are. As long as the facilities are equal, as they are in this case, then there is no problem with the law.

# LESSON 7: THE END OF RECONSTRUCTION AND JIM CROW

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## Student Handout 6: Outcomes

In the case of *Plessy v. Ferguson*, the Supreme Court decided by a 7–1 vote in favor of the State of Louisiana (Choice B) and against Mr. Plessy. (Ferguson was the name of the judge who decided the state case.) The majority argued that separate facilities did not imply the inferiority of African Americans. Justice Brown declared in the majority opinion, “We consider the underlying fallacy of the plaintiff’s [Plessy’s] argument to consist in the assumption that the enforced separation of the two races stamps the colored race with a badge of inferiority. If this be so, it is not by reason of anything found in the act, but solely because the colored race chooses to put that construction upon it.” The court found that as long as facilities were equal in quality, as they were in this case, they could be separate.

The case had a significant impact on both African Americans and whites. Jim Crow laws (which separated African Americans and whites) exploded all over the South. This segregation lasted for decades. It began to end only in the 1950s, due to the work of the civil rights movement.

Another long-term effect of the *Plessy* case and Jim Crow laws was their impact on people’s assumptions about race. Many whites and African Americans who lived their whole lives in Jim Crow society thought that whites and African Americans had always lived separately. Some people, both African American and white, sincerely believed that whites were naturally superior to African Americans. They could not see that segregation was the result of conscious decisions made by whites in the 1890s and the early 20th century.

# LESSON 7: THE END OF RECONSTRUCTION AND JIM CROW

## Student Handout 7: Problem



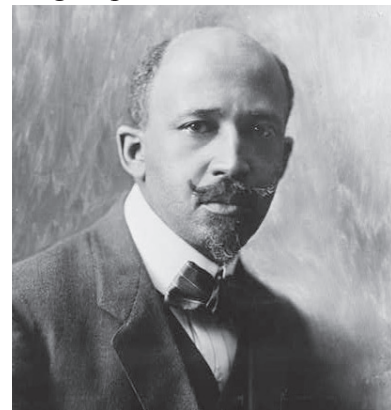
You are an African American in 1903. You have heard two arguments about the best approach for African Americans to improve their roles in American society. One African American leader, Booker T. Washington, argues that the key is economic power; African Americans should work hard and build up their skills so they will be valuable to white business owners. He runs a school, the Tuskegee Institute, where African Americans can learn practical skills in trades and farming. Since they will be economically valuable



Booker T. Washington

to whites, African Americans will gain economic security and rights. Washington argues that no group of people has ever oppressed another group that they depended on economically. He says that since slaves worked for others, they unfortunately learned to be lazy and developed few skills. If African Americans agitate and demonstrate for equal rights, whites (who have all the wealth and power) will react strongly and oppress them. The situation for African Americans will be worse than before. African Americans should stop demanding integration in public places and suffrage (the right to vote). The failure of Reconstruction shows the danger of giving political rights to a group of people who are not strong economically.

On the other hand, W.E.B. Du Bois (the first African American to receive a PhD. from Harvard) argues that African Americans should stand up for equal rights, stating, for example, “Persistent manly agitation is the way to liberty.” No group has ever attained equality without struggling for their rights. One of his strategies is for African Americans to sue for equal rights in court. Working for whites and building up skills will just mean African Americans will continue to end up working for whites. The practical skills taught by Washington’s school will help some African Americans, but they won’t help African Americans as a group. Until African Americans attain political rights, whites will see no need to change anything. What African Americans need most are intelligent, articulate leaders who have been educated at the best colleges, and who can create a movement toward political change.



W.E.B. Du Bois

Which argument do you support?

- A. Mr. Washington's
- B. Mr. Du Bois's



# LESSON 7: THE END OF RECONSTRUCTION AND JIM CROW

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## Student Handout 8: Outcomes

Many whites in the South liked Booker T. Washington's advice that African Americans should try to work hard without challenging whites politically. Some wealthy whites helped fund the Tuskegee Institute. African Americans also supported his ideas at first. Unfortunately, lynchings and riots against African Americans showed that giving in to whites only made them worse off. The number of lynchings rose to over 100 per year.

African Americans split over the best approach to their oppressed situation. Poor African Americans in the South generally remained loyal to the approach of Washington for hard work and self-help, while African Americans in cities in the North increasingly favored the more demanding approach of W.E.B. Du Bois for political rights. Du Bois co-founded the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) in the first decade of the 20th century, and African Americans fought against lynchings throughout the early part of the same century. Eventually, Du Bois's approach gained dominance in the civil rights movement of the 1950s and 1960s.

# LESSON 7: THE END OF RECONSTRUCTION AND JIM CROW

## Student Handout 9: Primary Source

**Speech by Booker T. Washington to the International Exposition,  
Atlanta, GA , 1895 (excerpt)**

Mr. President and Gentlemen of the Board of Directors and Citizens:

...Ignorant and inexperienced, it is not strange that in the first years of our new life we began at the top instead of at the bottom; that a seat in Congress or the state legislature was more sought than real estate or industrial skill; that the political convention or stump speaking had more attractions than starting a dairy farm or truck garden.

...[I]t is well to bear in mind that whatever other sins the South may be called to bear, when it comes to business, pure and simple, it is in the South that the Negro is given a man's chance in the commercial world, and in nothing is this Exposition more eloquent than in emphasizing this chance. Our greatest danger is that in the great leap from slavery to freedom we may overlook the fact that the masses of us are to live by the productions of our hands, and fail to keep in mind that we shall prosper in proportion as we learn to dignify and glorify common labor, and put brains and skill into the common occupations of life; shall prosper in proportion as we learn to draw the line between the superficial and the substantial, the ornamental gewgaws of life and the useful. No race can prosper till it learns that there is as much dignity in tilling a field as in writing a poem. It is at the bottom of life we must begin, and not at the top. Nor should we permit our grievances to overshadow our opportunities.

To those of the white race who look to the incoming of those of foreign birth and strange tongue and habits for the prosperity of the South, were I permitted I would repeat what I say to my own race, "Cast down your bucket where you are." ...Cast down your bucket among these people who have, without strikes and labor wars, tilled your fields, cleared your forests, builded your railroads and cities, and brought forth treasures from the bowels of the earth... As we have proved our loyalty to you in the past, in nursing your children, watching by the sick-bed of your mothers and fathers, and often following them with tear-dimmed eyes to their graves, so in the future, in our humble way, we shall stand by you with a devotion that no foreigner can approach, ready to lay down our lives, if need be, in defense of yours, interlacing our industrial, commercial, civil, and religious life with yours in a way that shall make the interests of both races one. In all things that are purely social we can be as separate as the fingers, yet one as the hand in all things essential to mutual progress...

The wisest among my race understand that the agitation of questions of social equality is the extremest folly, and that progress in the enjoyment of all the privileges that will come to us must be the result of severe and constant struggle rather than of artificial forcing.

No race that has anything to contribute to the markets of the world is long in any degree ostracized. It is important and right that all privileges of the law be ours, but it is vastly more important that we be prepared for the exercise of these privileges. The opportunity to earn a dollar in a factory just now is worth infinitely more than the opportunity to spend a dollar in an opera-house...

**W. E. B. Du Bois, *The Souls of Black Folk* (Chicago, 1903) (excerpt)**

(This essay is a reaction to Mr. Washington's Atlanta Speech)

...Mr. Washington represents in Negro thought the old attitude of adjustment and submission... In the history of nearly all other races and peoples the doctrine preached at such crises has been that manly self-respect is worth more than lands and houses, and that a people who voluntarily surrender such respect, or cease striving for it, are not worth civilizing.

In answer to this, it has been claimed that the Negro can survive only through submission. Mr. Washington distinctly asks that black people give up, at least for the present, three things,—

First, political power,

Second, insistence on civil rights,

Third, higher education of Negro youth,

—and concentrate all their energies on industrial education, the accumulation of wealth, and the conciliation of the South. This policy has been courageously and insistently advocated for over fifteen years, and has been triumphant for perhaps ten years. As a result of this tender of the palm-branch, what has been the return? In these years there have occurred:

1. The disfranchisement of the Negro.
2. The legal creation of a distinct status of civil inferiority for the Negro.
3. The steady withdrawal of aid from institutions for the higher training of the Negro.

These movements are not, to be sure, direct results of Mr. Washington's teachings; but his propaganda has, without a shadow of doubt, helped their speedier accomplishment. The question then comes: Is it possible, and probable, that nine millions of men can make effective progress in economic lines if they are deprived of political rights, made a servile caste, and allowed only the most meager chance for developing their exceptional men? If history and reason give any distinct answer to these questions, it is an emphatic No...

His [Mr. Washington's] doctrine has tended to make the whites, North and South, shift the burden of the Negro problem to the Negro's shoulders and stand aside as critical and rather pessimistic spectators; when in fact the burden belongs to the nation, and the hands of none of us are clean if we bend not our energies to righting these great wrongs.

...So far as Mr. Washington preaches Thrift, Patience, and Industrial Training for the masses, we must hold up his hands and strive with him, rejoicing in his honors and glorying in the strength of this Joshua called of God and of man to lead the headless host. But so far as Mr. Washington apologizes for injustice, North or South, does not rightly value the privilege and duty of voting, belittles the emasculating effects of caste distinctions, and opposes the higher training and ambition of our brighter minds,—so far as he, the South, or the Nation, does this,—we must unceasingly and firmly oppose them. By every civilized and peaceful method we must strive for the rights which the world accords to men, clinging unwaveringly to those great words which the sons of the Fathers would fain forget: “We hold these truths to be self-evident: That all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.”

### QUESTIONS FOR ANALYSIS

1. Who do you think was the audience for Mr. Washington’s speech—mostly black people or mostly white people? Why?
2. Why does Mr. Washington think economic strength is so important?
3. To whom is Mr. Washington referring in the third paragraph when he says that whites “look to the incoming of those of foreign birth and strange tongue”?
4. What does Mr. Du Bois say has resulted from African Americans not insisting on political rights for 15 years?
5. According to Mr. Du Bois in the last paragraph, on what points should African Americans criticize Mr. Washington?