

# RECONSTRUCTION

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Prof. Patrick Rael, Bowdoin College, Spring 2019

Meets: MW 1:15 - 2:40, [room]

Office (211C Hubbard) hours: T2-4, Th1-4, by apt (sign up for hours at <https://calendly.com/prael>)

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## Introduction

April 1865. The Civil War is over. Parts of the South lay in ruins, prostrate at the feet of conquering Union armies. A president has been assassinated. Four million enslaved African Americans are now free. It is time to rebuild the nation. How did the US cope with the aftermath of the bloodiest conflict ever fought on the continent? This course examines the aftermath of slavery and the Civil War. It focuses on three main themes: the abolition of slavery, the political and economic reconstruction of the South, and the ways these have been remembered by later generations. Our readings will delve into a wide array of primary and secondary sources, as we seek to understand the fierce debates surrounding Reconstruction. Some of these occurred during Reconstruction (over its policies), but many of the fiercest occurred after it (over its legacy and meaning).

The course starts with a reflection on the historiography of Reconstruction, viewed through the lens of popular culture. We'll then turn to a narrative of the period. At times I'll add a thematic beat on a broad topic. Narrative is critical to understanding Reconstruction; I'd like to see you build that storyline, down to a level of detail you've probably never experienced before – no more than sixteen years (1861-1877). I think you'll be rewarded with insight into one of the most extraordinary episodes in American history.

## Level

This course is an intermediate seminar. It is intended for History and Africana Studies majors, and for advanced students in other majors. It will require considerable reading and writing. Students are expected to enter the course with a solid understanding of the Civil War and American history, as well as of essay writing.

## Books

Dixon, Thomas. *The Clansman: An Historical Romance of the Ku Klux Klan*. Gretna, La.: Pelican, 2002.

*We'll begin the semester by reading the earliest interpretations of Reconstruction, which justified the means conservative southern white victors used to effect Redemption.*

Foner, Eric. *A Short History of Reconstruction: 1863-1877*. Rev. ed. New York: Harper Trade, 2015.

*This is an abridged and updated version of Foner's magisterial Reconstruction: America's Unfinished Revolution (1988), the greatest modern synthetic interpretation of Reconstruction.*

Rampolla, Mary Lynn. *Pocket Guide to Writing in History*. 9<sup>th</sup> ed. Boston: Bedford/Saint Martin's, 2017.

*Rampolla is your main guide for acknowledging and citing sources. It is assigned solely as a reference for you.*

Simpson, Brooks, ed. *Reconstruction: Voices from America's First Great Struggle for Racial Equality*. New York: Library of America, 2018.

*This work will provide most of the primary documents we will encounter. We will not read them all, but in your papers you should make use of relevant documents that were not assigned.*

*For each document we read, I want you to think of a one-sentence tagline, expressing its central significance. We will work on this together, because it's easy to do poorly, and hard to do well. This is "chunking," the process by which we learn complicated ideas and order voluminous pieces of information, and it is one of the most important academic skills we can develop.*

Other readings will be made available via the Blackboard website for this course, and through links on the syllabus below.

## Assignments

**Papers (70%):** You'll have four papers to complete during the semester, each longer, and worth more, than the previous. I will hold an early session to discuss what I'm looking for in your papers. The first three papers will rely solely on course materials; your final paper will extend a topic of your choice with some of your own secondary research.

Paper 1: 5-paragraph = 10%

Paper 3: 9-paragraph = 20%

Paper 2: 7-paragraph = 15%

Final paper: 12-paragraph = 25%

**Reading summaries (15%):** You'll sign up to submit five readings summaries for some of the weeks you don't have papers due. These are low-stakes assignments of 250-500 words offering a "voiced summary" of one of the readings for that day. I won't offer detailed feedback, as these are worth only 1 to 3 points each. If you think it wise, we may share these on Blackboard for each others' use.

**Class participation (10%):** As a seminar, this course requires your active participation. This course will challenge you to think aloud, and help others do the same. Our job is to keep conversation going: we are not trying to resolve problems so they can be put behind us, we are trying to formulate new problems from what we read. Please ensure that you've read all materials for each class session and are prepared to raise issues. If you don't contribute, this class will – for lack of a better word – suck.

**Something else (5%):** Let's think together of another short assignment that will change the pace a bit. Perhaps we'll view a film (*The Free State of Jones?*), or examine some documents in Archives and Special Collections.

## Acknowledging sources

Each author owns their own ideas, words, and research. You must give appropriate credit — generally in the form of quotations and proper citations — when using the work of another scholar. Plagiarism, whether intentional or not, is a serious violation of academic standards and Bowdoin's honor code. Be familiar with Bowdoin's honor code, Bowdoin's general guidelines for proper citation and attribution of sources, and any guidelines provided specifically for this course.

You will need to use Chicago/Turabian footnotes to acknowledge your sources. You need not include a Bibliography unless you consult sources outside of course material (e.g., your final paper). Rampolla's *Pocket Guide to Writing in History* is your guide for citation in this course. You may also consult a [YouTube video](#) I have made for this purpose, and guides available under the "Resources" tab on my [homepage](#) — notably, those on [Citation Basics](#) and the [Chicago-Style Citation Quick Guide](#). Proper citation form at this level of work is a priority. With the exception of the Simpson documentary collection, I have made it easier for you by using proper note form in citing all readings on the syllabus below. For citing work from the Simpson documentary collection, here are model citations:

### First reference (long form):

<sup>6</sup>"Abraham Lincoln: Speech on Reconstruction, April 11, 1865 -- Washington, D.C., April 1865," in Brooks Simpson, ed., *Reconstruction: Voices from America's First Great Struggle for Racial Equality* (New York: Library of America, 2018), 16.

### Subsequent references (short form):

<sup>11</sup>"Andrew Johnson: Reply to a Delegation of Colored Ministers, May 11, 1865 – 'Liberty to work': Washington, D.C., May 1865," in Simpson, *Reconstruction*, 27.

### Some fine print

- Students are responsible for any missed class material due to absences, including especially assignments due. If you must be absent, rely on friends in class for notes.
- Please do not leave the room during the class session.
- Please do not bring food to class.
- Notepads and laptops are not permitted in regular class meetings. Mobile phones should be turned off and kept away.
- Print out any electronically assigned readings and bring them to class. You should be highlighting your reading, writing notes in the margins, etc.
- We will "knock" at the end of class, to acknowledge our mutual effort.

### Challenging content

Higher education sometimes requires us to encounter material we find offensive and objectionable. Views expressed in the material we will cover do not necessarily reflect my own personal opinions. By continuing with this course, you are agreeing to be held academically accountable for all required materials in the syllabus, regardless of your own personal reactions to it. The academic enterprise invites vibrant class discussion, which balances critical thinking with mutual respect. Students are expected to take responsibility for their experience in this course by examining their own reactions to material they consider offensive. At all times, our priority will be critical engagement with scholarly material. Students uncomfortable with this approach are encouraged to drop this course at their discretion.



## Class meetings schedule

- This schedule is liable to change to suit class needs. The online syllabus always offers the most recent version of the syllabus.
- Though you are responsible for all assigned materials, I try to arrange readings in order of importance for each day.
- Readings are to be completed prior to class. Bring hard copies of assigned readings to class, and be prepared to discuss them.
- Online readings are available via Blackboard, or links below. Print out all digital readings.

W 1/23	<p><b>FIRST DAY</b>  <i>I won't know how much you know about the Civil War itself. I'll offer a running start. If this topic is utterly new to you, come see me in office hours.</i></p>
M 1/28	<p><b>THE STORY SO FAR: THE CIVIL WAR</b>  <i>I'll go over the war quickly, particularly the issues that would remain alive during Reconstruction. And we'll by reading one of the most racist and inaccurate histories you will ever read. The historiography of Reconstruction offers a fascinating example of how successive generations of historians contest the past as they construct their interpretations. In the first portion of the course, we'll establish the earliest interpretation of Reconstruction, then steadily knock it down.</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Thomas Dixon, <i>The Clansman: An Historical Romance of the Ku Klux Klan</i> (1915; Gretna, LA: Pelican, 2002), Book I.</li> <li>• Eric Foner, <i>A Short History of Reconstruction</i> (New York: Harper and Row, 1990), Preface, ch. 1 "The World the War Made."  <i>Note that this is the first citation to a secondary source book. This is the long form used for the first citation of a work in a paper.</i>            Brooks Simpson, ed., <i>Reconstruction: Voices from America's First Great Struggle for Racial Equality</i> (New York: Library of America, 2018), "Introduction," pp. xiii-xxix.  <i>Here's the first reference to the Simpson documentary. I'll show you below how I'll refer to the ones I've assigned.</i></li> </ul>
W 1/30	<p><b>THE CLANSMAN</b>  <i>This book does some remarkable things with history. Dixon pillaged the recent past for rhetorical ammunition, but he wasn't much of a historian. As you read, capture the narrative Dixon tells; what central claims is he making about why Reconstruction unfolded as it did?</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Dixon, <i>Clansman</i>, Book II.</li> </ul>
M 2/4	<p><b>WRITING DAY</b>  <i>Today I want to share with you my thoughts on writing college-level history essays. This is about understanding what makes for effective arguments, and how you can use the outline of your argument to structure your paper. These are the techniques I'll be asking you to practice in your essays, the first of which is due soon.</i></p> <p>Patrick Rael, "What Happened and Why? Helping Students Read and Write Like Historians," <i>History Teacher</i> 39, no. 1 (November 2005), 23-32. <a href="#">Online</a>  <i>Note that this is the first citation to a secondary source article. This is the long form used for the first citation of a source in a paper.</i>  <i>To get to the essay, click on the link and see what you get. Again, print out all digital readings.</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Catch up on <i>Clansman</i>.</li> </ul>

W 2/6	<p><b>THE CLANSMAN</b>  <i>We finish up with The Clansman and think a bit more about the milieu that produced it. Dixon was an extremist, but he was a popular one.</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Dixon, <i>Clansman</i>, Book III.</li> </ul>
M 2/11	<p><b>BIRTH OF A NATION</b>  <i>We end this beat seeking to understand the environment that shaped these earliest views of Reconstruction. They were, in fact, direct descendants of the white supremacist regimes that defeated the "carpbetbaggers."</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>James S. Pike: South Carolina Prostrate, March 29, 1873 -- "A descent into barbarism": South Carolina, February 1873, p. 435  <i>This is the first citation to a document from the Simpson collection; references to other documents will look like this.</i></li> <li>W.E.B. DuBois, "The Propaganda of History," from <i>Black Reconstruction in America, 1860-1880</i> (1935; reprint ed., New York: Atheneum, 1975), ch. 17. Blackboard  <i>Go to the Blackboard website for this course, and look under "Readings," then find the day for the reading (they're listed in the order we'll encounter them). Then print out the reading; studies consistently show that you learn more by working with hard copies.</i></li> <li>View selections of "Birth of a Nation" (1915): entire with <a href="#">library link</a>), or selected YouTube clips:  <a href="#">"Guerilla" raid on Piedmont by "negro" troops</a>  <a href="#">Black enfranchisement and voting</a>  <a href="#">Election day</a>  <a href="#">Justice in the hands of all-black juries</a>  <a href="#">Marion Lenoir's death scene</a>  <a href="#">The "negro" state legislature</a>  <a href="#">The origins of the Klan</a>  <a href="#">The ride of the Klan</a></li> </ul> <p><b>Friday 2/15: First paper due</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li><i>Your assignment is to prepare a five-paragraph essay comparing the representation of some aspect of Reconstruction in The Clansman and "Birth of a Nation." Construct an argument that reveals something about how these texts work differently.</i></li> <li><i>Papers are due by 5pm. Your submission is not timely or complete until I receive a (stapled) hard copy in my box (1st floor Hubbard Hall) and a digital copy as an email attachment.</i></li> </ul>
W 2/13	<p><b>WARTIME RECONSTRUCTION: EMANCIPATION, LAND, AND LABOR</b>  <i>The war utterly conditioned the nature of emancipation and Reconstruction. Today we examine the wartime experiments in free labor that emerged in the wake of Union victories.</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Akiko Ochiai, "The Port Royal Experiment Revisited: Northern Visions of Reconstruction and the Land Question," <i>New England Quarterly</i> 74, no. 1 (March 2001), 94-117. <a href="#">Jstor</a></li> <li>Keith Wilson, "Education as a Vehicle of Racial Control: Major General N.P. Banks in Louisiana, 1863-64," <i>Journal of Negro Education</i> 50, no. 2 (Spring 1981), 156-70. <a href="#">Jstor</a></li> <li>Foner, <i>A Short History of Reconstruction</i>, ch. 2, pp. 16-28, ch. 3, pp. 35-45.  <i>This is my second reference to Foner, so I use the short form of citation.</i></li> </ul>
M 2/18	<p><b>PROSPECTS FOR RECONSTRUCTION</b>  <i>Today we examine prospects for Reconstruction in Spring 1865, immediately following Lincoln's assassination. Our objective will be to understand the range of possibilities, including the ideological limitations on what was conceivable.</i></p>

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Simpson, <i>Reconstruction</i>, "Presidential Reconstruction, 1865-1866," 1-4. <i>This is the first citation to a document from the Simpson collection; references to other documents will look like this. When there are multiple secondary readings, I'll list them in declining priority.</i></li> <li>• Foner, <i>A Short History of Reconstruction</i>, ch. 2, pp. 28-34.</li> <li>• Frederick Douglass: What the Black Man Wants, January 26, 1865 – 'Do nothing with us!': Massachusetts, January 1865, in Simpson, <i>Reconstruction</i>, p. 5.</li> <li>• "Abraham Lincoln: Speech on Reconstruction, April 11, 1865 -- Washington, D.C., April 1865," p. 14.</li> <li>• Springfield Republican: Restoration of the Union, April 20, 1865 -- Forgiving rebels: Massachusetts, April 1865, p. 19</li> <li>• Andrew Johnson: Interview with Pennsylvania Delegation, May 3, 1865 -- "Treason is a crime": Washington, D.C., May 1865, p. 21</li> <li>• Charles Sumner to Gideon Welles, July 4, 1865 -- 'Shame &amp; disaster': Massachusetts, July 1865, p. 56</li> <li>• Wendell Phillips to the National Anti-Slavery Standard, July 8, 1865 -- The Danger of Rebels in Congress: Massachusetts, July 1865, p. 59</li> </ul> <p><i>Recommended:</i> <i>Here's the first reference to recommended readings. I strongly urge you to explore these as well. If you're writing a paper on this day, you'll need to engage recommended documents.</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Richard Henry Dana: Speech at Boston, June 21, 1865 -- 'The grasp of war': Massachusetts, June 1865," p. 44</li> <li>• Francis Preston Blair to Andrew Johnson, August 1, 1865 – "The white race alone": Maryland, August 1865, p. 61</li> <li>• Carl Schurz: from Report on the Condition of the South -- "Submission to necessity": Washington, D.C., December 1865, p. 153</li> </ul>
W 2/20	<p><b>THE FREEDMEN'S BUREAU</b></p> <p><i>The Freedmen's Bureau constituted a novel attempt to put the national government in unprecedented position of directly aiding a population subgroup. What ideological limitations constrained his exceptional exercise of state power?</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Foner, <i>A Short History of Reconstruction</i>, ch. 3, pp. 64-81.</li> <li>• John and LaWanda Cox, "General O. O. Howard and the 'Misrepresented Bureau,'" <i>Journal of Southern History</i> 19, no. 4 (November 1953): 427-56. <a href="#">Jstor</a></li> </ul> <p><i>Recommended:</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• John David Smith, "The Enduring Myth of 'Forty Acres and a Mule,'" <i>Chronicle Review, Chronicle of Higher Education</i> (February 21, 2003). Blackboard <i>Here are the first recommended readings on this syllabus. I'm including these because they offer important insights into the day's topic. Those writing papers on this topic should take particular care to read these.</i></li> <li>• Keri Leigh Merritt, "Race, Reconstruction, and Reparations," <i>Black Perspectives</i> (February 9, 2016). <a href="#">Online</a> <i>From here on, I will put assigned secondary readings above primary source documents.</i></li> <li>• Charles C. Soule and Oliver O. Howard: An Exchange, June 12 and 21, 1865 -- False ideas of freedom: South Carolina, June 1865, p. 35</li> <li>• Joseph S. Fullerton to Andrew Johnson, February 9, 1866 -- Objections to the Freedmen's Bureau: Washington, D.C., February 1866, p. 181</li> <li>• Andrew Johnson: Veto of the Freedmen's Bureau Bill, February 19, 1866 -- Washington, D.C., February 1866, p. 188</li> </ul>

M 2/25	<p><b>PRESIDENTIAL RECONSTRUCTION</b></p> <p><i>Andrew Johnson is often portrayed as an ineffectual drunk, incapable of filling the shoes of the martyred Lincoln. Yet there was some kind of rational basis to Johnson's approach. What was his plan for political success? What challenges did it confront?</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Foner, <i>A Short History of Reconstruction</i>, ch. 5 "The Failure of Presidential Reconstruction."</li> <li>• Colored People of Mobile to Andrew J. Smith, August 2, 1865 -- Defending "pure freedom": Alabama, August 1865, p. 71</li> <li>• Jourdon Anderson to, p. H. Anderson, August 7, 1865 -- "Send us our wages": Ohio, August 1865, p. 74</li> <li>• Christopher Memminger to Andrew Johnson, September 4, 1865 -- "Indentures of apprenticeship": North Carolina, September 1865, p. 87</li> <li>• Andrew Johnson: Speech to the 1st U.S. Colored Infantry, Washington, D.C., October 10, 1865 -- Washington, D.C., October 1865, p. 117</li> <li>• Sarah Whittlesey to Andrew Johnson, October 12, 1865 -- "A lying, lazy people": Virginia, October 1865, p. 122</li> <li>• "The Rebel Debts," Archives, <i>New York Times</i> (November 9, 1865). <a href="#">Online</a></li> </ul>
W 2/27	<p><b>SPECTERS OF VIOLENCE</b></p> <p><i>Whatever doubt remained about the place that southern whites believed the freedpeople should occupy in the postwar social order became clear in the wake of two race riots that struck the South in 1866. How did one illustrate social tensions and the other political?</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Kevin R. Hardwick, "'Your Old Father Abe Lincoln Is Dead and Damned': Black Soldiers and the Memphis Race Riot of 1866," <i>Journal of Social History</i> 27, no. 1 (Autumn 1993): 109-28. (<a href="#">Jstor</a>)</li> <li>• Donald E. Reynolds, "The New Orleans Riot of 1866, Reconsidered," <i>Louisiana History</i> 5, no. 1 (Winter 1964): 5-27. (<a href="#">Jstor</a>)</li> <li>• George Stoneman to Ulysses S. Grant, May 12, 1866 -- The Memphis Riot: Tennessee, May 1866, p. 246</li> <li>• Elihu B. Washburne to Thaddeus Stevens, May 24, 1866 -- "Butcheries and Atrocities": Tennessee, May 1866, p. 252</li> <li>• Cynthia Townsend: Testimony to House Select Committee, May 30, 1866 -- "They all fired at her": Tennessee, May 1866, p. 253</li> <li>• Philip H. Sheridan to Ulysses S. Grant, August 1 and 2, 1866 --The New Orleans Riot: Louisiana, August 1866, p. 270</li> <li>• Harper's Weekly : The Massacre in New Orleans --The President's Responsibility: New York, August 1866, p. 272</li> </ul>
M 3/4	<p><b>CONGRESS RESPONDS</b></p> <p><i>Lacking the tensions between White House and Congress, Radical Reconstruction would never have happened. What was the Radicals' solution? To what problem? Of the range of options available, which were taken, and why?</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Foner, <i>A Short History of Reconstruction</i>, ch. 6 "The Making of Radical Reconstruction."</li> <li>• Robert J. Kaczorowski, "To Begin the Nation Anew: Congress, Citizenship, and Civil Rights after the Civil War," <i>American Historical Review</i> 92, no. 1 (February 1987): 45-68. (<a href="#">Jstor</a>)</li> <li>• Thaddeus Stevens: Speech at Lancaster, September 6, 1865 -- Confiscating rebel estates: Pennsylvania, September 1865, p. 92</li> <li>• Andrew Johnson: Veto of the Civil Rights Bill, March 27, 1866 -- Washington, D.C., March 1866, p. 214</li> </ul>



	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Harper’s Weekly : Radicalism and Conservatism, April 21, 1866 -- Defining Radicalism: New York, April 1866, p. 231</li> <li>• Joint Resolution Proposing the Fourteenth Amendment, June 13, 1866 -- Washington, D.C., June 1866, p. 258</li> <li>• Thaddeus Stevens: Speech in Congress on the Fourteenth Amendment, May 8, 1866 -- “Accept what is possible”: Washington, D.C., May 1866, p. 235</li> <li>• Thaddeus Stevens: Speech at Lancaster, September 27, 1866 -- “Congress is the sovereign power”: Pennsylvania, September 1866, p. 288</li> <li>• Frederick Douglass: Reconstruction, December 1866 -- “Let there be no hesitation”: December 1866, p. 294</li> </ul>
W 3/6	<p><b>REPUBLICANS IN CHARGE</b></p> <p><i>With the Republicans holding power in the federal government and most of the South, what was their vision for a reconstructed South? How did they stand toward the freedpeople and their rights? Why did they approach the issue as they did?</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Foner, <i>A Short History of Reconstruction</i>, ch. 7, 129-42.</li> <li>• Simpson, <i>Reconstruction</i>, “Congressional Reconstruction, 1866-1869,” pp. 225-28.</li> <li>• Andrew Johnson: Veto of the Civil Rights Bill, March 27, 1866 -- Washington, D.C., March 1866, p. 214</li> <li>• Thaddeus Stevens: Speech in Congress on the Fourteenth Amendment, May 8, 1866 -- “Accept what is possible”: Washington, D.C., May 1866, p. 235</li> <li>• Joint Resolution Proposing the Fourteenth Amendment, June 13, 1866 -- Washington, D.C., June 1866, p. 258</li> <li>• Thaddeus Stevens: Speech at Lancaster, September 27, 1866 -- “Congress is the sovereign power”: Pennsylvania, September 1866, p. 288</li> <li>• Frederick Douglass: Reconstruction, December 1866 -- “Let there be no hesitation”: December 1866, p. 294</li> <li>• Thaddeus Stevens: Speech in Congress on Reconstruction, January 3, 1867 -- “No nearer to a true Republic”: Washington, D.C., January 1867, p. 301</li> <li>• Mobile Daily Advertiser and Register : No Amendment—Stand Firm, January 9, 1867 -- “Spurning self-degradation”: Alabama, January 1867, p. 313</li> <li>• Frank, p. Blair to James O. Broadhead, June 30, 1868 -- Overthrowing Reconstruction: Washington, D.C., June 1868, p. 350</li> </ul>
M 3/25	<p><b>IMPEACHMENT</b></p> <p><i>Impeachment is the Constitution’s only and ultimate remedy for a wayward executive. Was its use warranted in 1868? What consequences did it entail, for better or worse? This is also a good moment to reflect on the broader meaning of the Radical Republicans’ efforts to secure the civil rights of the freedpeople.</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Michael Les Benedict, "From Our Archives: A New Look at the Impeachment of Andrew Johnson," <i>Political Science Quarterly</i> 113, no. 3 (Autumn 1998): 493-511. <a href="#">Jstor</a></li> <li>• Foner, <i>A Short History of Reconstruction</i>, ch. 7, 142-47.</li> <li>• Martha Jones, “Citizens: 150 Years of the 14<sup>th</sup> Amendment,” <i>Public Books</i> (July 9, 2018). <a href="#">Online</a></li> <li>• Harper’s Weekly : Impeachment, December 14, 1867 -- “Doubtful grounds”: New York, December 1867, p. 318</li> <li>• New-York Tribune: The President Must Be Impeached, February 24, 1868 -- “Absolute and despotic power”: New York, February 1868, p. 329</li> <li>• Thaddeus Stevens: Speech in Congress on Impeachment, February 24, 1868 -- “His wicked determination”: Washington, D.C., February 1868, p. 337</li> </ul>



	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>The Nation: The Result of the Trial, May 21, 1868 -- The President's Acquittal: New York, May 1868, p. 344</li> </ul>
W 3/27	<p><b>THE REPUBLICAN COALITION</b></p> <p><i>We examined Republican policies and strategies at the national level; now let's take a look to see how things played out at the state level. What was the core task the Republicans had to accomplish in order to retain power in the South? What challenges did this confront them with?</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Peter Kolchin, "Scalawags, Carpetbaggers, and Reconstruction: A Quantitative Look at Southern Congressional Politics, 1868-1872," <i>Journal of Southern History</i> 45, no. 1 (February 1979), 63-76. <a href="#">Jstor</a></li> <li>Allen W. Trelease, "Republican Reconstruction in North Carolina: A Roll-Call Analysis of the State House of Representatives, 1868-1870," <i>Journal of Southern History</i> 42, no. 3 (August 1976), 319-44. <a href="#">Jstor</a></li> <li>Foner, <i>A Short History of Reconstruction</i>, ch. 7 "Blueprints for a Republican South," pp. 129-36 <i>Recommended</i></li> <li>Richard L. Hume, "Carpetbaggers in the Reconstruction South: A Group Portrait of Outside Whites in the 'Black and Tan' Constitutional Conventions," <i>Journal of American History</i> 64, no. 2 (September 1977): 313-30. <a href="#">Jstor</a></li> </ul>
M 4/1	<p><b>POLITICS AND COMMUNITY</b></p> <p><i>African Americans emerged from slavery and the collective ethos it inspired into a new order of unbridled capitalism and liberal individualism. How did they fare? To what extent did they retain a "communal" ethos from slavery, and how did this impact their politics?</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Elsa Barkley Brown, "Negotiating and Transforming the Public Sphere: African American Political Life in the Transition from Slavery to Freedom," <i>Public Culture</i> 7 (Fall 1994): 107-46. Blackboard</li> <li>Laura F. Edwards, "Law, Domestic Violence, and the Limits of Patriarchal Authority in the Antebellum South," <i>Journal of Southern History</i> 65, no. 4 (November 1999): 733-70. <a href="#">Jstor</a></li> <li>Foner, <i>A Short History of Reconstruction</i>, ch. 3, pp. 49-56, ch. 7, pp. 124-29.</li> <li>Colored Men of North Carolina to Andrew Johnson, May 10, 1865 -- Muskets and Ballots: North Carolina, May 1865, p. 24</li> <li>Delegation of Kentucky Colored People to Andrew Johnson, June 9, 1865 -- "Most inhuman laws": Washington, D.C., June 1865, p. 33</li> <li>Edisto Island Freedmen to Andrew Johnson, October 28, 1865 -- "The only true and Loyal people": South Carolina, October 1865, p. 125</li> <li>Address of the Colored State Convention to the People of South Carolina, November 24, 1865 -- Claiming the rights of citizenship: South Carolina, November 1865, p. 129</li> </ul>
W 4/3	<p><b>WHITE INSURRECTION</b></p> <p><i>Following recent work on Reconstruction, I argue that the white supremacist violence that greeted Congressional Reconstruction constituted a virtual continuation of the war. Is that a plausible assessment? What accounted for this violence, what were its aims, and what were its prospects for achieving them?</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Lisa Cardyn, "Sexual Terror in the Reconstruction South," in Catherine Clinton and Nina Silber, eds., <i>Battle Scars: Gender and Sexuality in the American Civil War</i> (New York: Oxford University Press, 2006): 140-67. Blackboard</li> <li>Foner, <i>A Short History of Reconstruction</i>, ch. 9, pp. 184-91.</li> <li><i>Recommended:</i></li> </ul>

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Josh Marshall, "The Battle For Memory and Forgetting Started Immediately," EdBlog, <i>Talking Points Memo</i> (August 15, 2017). <a href="#">Online</a></li> <li>• Mark Twain: Only a Nigger. <i>The Buffalo Express</i>, August 26, 1869 -- A Lynching in Tennessee: New York, August 1869, p. 376</li> <li>• William W. Holden to Ulysses S. Grant, March 10, 1870 -- A Klan Insurrection: North Carolina, March 1870, p. 381</li> <li>• Robert K. Scott to Ulysses S. Grant, October 22, 1870 -- "Inhuman and brutal outrages": South Carolina, October 1870, p. 391</li> <li>• Maria Carter: Testimony to the Joint Select Committee, Atlanta, Georgia, October 21, 1871 -- The Murder of John Walthall: Georgia, April 1871, p. 419</li> </ul>
M 4/8	<p><b>THE CHALLENGE OF ENFORCEMENT</b></p> <p><i>The federal government put down the Klan insurrection -- at serious political costs, and with long-term consequences. What were these costs and consequences, and what do they tell us about the limits of what was possible during Reconstruction?</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Elaine Frantz Parsons, "Klan Skepticism and Denial in Reconstruction-Era Public Discourse," <i>Journal of Southern History</i> 77, no. 1 (February 2011): 53-90. <a href="#">Jstor</a></li> <li>• Richard Zuczek, "The Federal Government's Attack on the Ku Klux Klan: A Reassessment," <i>South Carolina Historical Magazine</i> 97, no. 1 (January 1996): 47-64. <a href="#">Jstor</a></li> <li>• Foner, <i>A Short History of Reconstruction</i>, ch. 9, 191-98.</li> <li>• James A. Garfield: from Speech in Congress on the Enforcement Bill, April 4, 1871 -- Preserving Local Government: Washington, D.C., April 1871, p. 409</li> </ul>
W 4/10	<p><b>GENDER AND LABOR</b></p> <p><i>In nineteenth-century America, formal politics and public life were widely understood to be male realms. So, too, the production for exchange that promised economic mobility. How did freedwomen fare in such a climate?</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Jacqueline Jones, "The Political Economy of the Black Family and Community Life in the Postwar Period," from <i>Labor of Love, Labor of Sorrow: Black Women, Work, and the Family from Slavery to the Present</i> (New York: Vintage, 1985), 58-68. Blackboard</li> <li>• Susan Mann, "Slavery, Sharecropping, and Sexual Inequality," <i>Signs</i> 14, no. 4 (Summer 1989), 774-98. <a href="#">Jstor</a></li> </ul>
M 4/15	<p><b>CIVIL RIGHTS AND WOMEN'S RIGHTS</b></p> <p><i>The debate surrounding passage of the 15<sup>th</sup> Amendment marked a crisis among the reforming ranks: work for the formidable but easier lift of voting rights for African American men, or risk the heavier lift of demanding women's right to vote as well? If the vote would be extended irrespective of race, why not of sex?</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Ta-Nehisi Coates, "The Great Schism," <i>Atlantic</i> (October 18, 2011). <a href="#">Online</a></li> <li>• Brent Staples, "How the Suffrage Movement Betrayed Black Women," Opinion, New York Times (July 28, 2018). <a href="#">Online</a></li> <li>• Frances Ellen Watkins Harper: Speech at the National Woman's Rights Convention, May 10, 1866 -- "We are all bound up together": New York, May 1866, p. 242</li> <li>• Elizabeth Cady Stanton: Gerrit Smith on Petitions, January 14, 1869 -- "Universal Suffrage": New York, January 1869, p. 357</li> <li>• Joint Resolution Proposing the Fifteenth Amendment, February 27, 1869 -- Washington, D.C., February 1869, p. 364</li> </ul>

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Frederick Douglass and Susan B. Anthony: Exchange on Suffrage, May 12, 1869 -- "The question of precedence": New York, May 1869, p. 372</li> <li>• The New York Times : Reconstruction Nationalized, February 21, 1870 -- "It secures political equality": New York, February 1870, p. 379</li> <li>• Ulysses S. Grant: Message to Congress on the Fifteenth Amendment, March 30, 1870 -- "The greatest civil change": Washington, D.C., March 1870, p. 383</li> <li>• James A. Garfield: from Speech in Congress on the Civil Rights Bill, February 4, 1875 -- "This act of plain justice": Washington, D.C., February 1875, p. 586</li> </ul>
W 4/17	<p><b>SHARECROPPING</b>  <i>Sharecropping is often presented as a system of extreme labor exploitation. Under what conditions did it emerge? What role did the freedpeople themselves play in its development?</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Foner, <i>A Short History of Reconstruction</i>, ch. 3, pp. 45-48, 56-64; ch. 8, pp. 168-79.</li> <li>• Roger L. Ransom and Richard Sutch, "Debt Peonage in the Cotton South After the Civil War," <i>Journal of Economic History</i> 32, no. 3 (September 1972): 641-69. <a href="#">Jstor</a>  <i>Recommended:</i></li> <li>• Pete Daniel, "The Metamorphosis of Slavery, 1865-1900." <i>The Journal of American History</i> 66, no.1 (June, 1979): 88-99. <a href="#">Jstor</a></li> <li>• Harriet Jacobs to The Freedman, January 9 and 19, 1866 -- Destitution Among the Freed People: Georgia, January 1866, p. 165</li> </ul>
M 4/22	<p><b>LIBERAL REPUBLICANS AND THE NEW DEPARTURE</b>  <i>Once Republicans gained power, they had to hold it. What challenges did they confront in doing this in the election cycle of 1872? How did they cope with those challenges? What were the consequences for the freedpeople?</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Wilbert H. Ahern, "Laissez Faire vs. Equal Rights: Liberal Republicans and Limits to Reconstruction," <i>Phylon</i> 40, no. (1st Quarter 1979), 52-65. <a href="#">Jstor</a></li> <li>• Foner, <i>A Short History of Reconstruction</i>, ch. 8, pp. 148-68; ch. 9, pp. 180-84, ch. 10, pp. 199-216.</li> <li>• Simpson, <i>Reconstruction</i>, "'Let Us Have Peace', 1869-1873," pp. 365-68.  <i>Recommended:</i></li> <li>• Robert Mitchell, "The first midterm 'wave' election that ended total Republican control of government," Retropolis blog, <i>Washington Post</i> (November 4, 2018). <a href="#">Online</a>.</li> <li>• Horace Greeley: Reply to Committee of the Liberal Republican Convention, May 20, 1872 - - Accepting a Nomination: New York, May 1872, p. 425</li> <li>• Frederick Douglass: Speech at New York City, September 25, 1872 -- Grant Over Greeley: New York, September 1872, p. 428</li> <li>• New York Herald: General Grant's New Departure, January 20, 1874 -- "I am tired of this nonsense": Washington, D.C., January 1874, p. 475</li> </ul>
W 4/24	<p><b>THE ONGOING STRUGGLE</b>  <i>The 1870s saw the last push to help guarantee a meaningful freedom for African Americans through law. By this time, though, the array of forces opposing this effort were becoming clear. Violence became a norm at elections throughout the southern states.</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Michael Les Benedict, "Preserving the Constitution: The Conservative Basis of Radical Reconstruction," <i>Journal of American History</i> 61, no. 1 (June 1974), 65-90. <a href="#">Jstor</a></li> <li>• Foner, <i>A Short History of Reconstruction</i>, ch. 9, 191-98, ch. 11 "The Politics of Depression," pp. 217-33.</li> </ul>

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Robert Brown Elliott: Speech in Congress on the Civil Rights Bill, January 6, 1874 -- "Perfect equality before the law": Washington, D.C., January 1874, p. 456</li> <li>• Isaac Loveless to Ulysses S. Grant, November 9, 1874 -- A Black Veteran's Appeal: Tennessee, November 1874, p. 519</li> <li>• William Lloyd Garrison to the Boston Journal, September 3, 1874 -- "A reign of terror": Massachusetts, September 1874, p. 509</li> <li>• Eugene Lawrence to Harper's Weekly, October 31, 1874 -- "A war of intimidation": Louisiana, October 1874, p. 515</li> <li>• John R. Lynch: from Speech in Congress on the Civil Rights Bill, February 3, 1875 -- Social Rights and Public Rights: Washington, D.C., February 1875, p. 553</li> </ul>
M 4/29	<p><b>REDEMPTION: THE STATES</b></p> <p><i>I would argue that the campaigns of vigilante political violence that doomed the last state Republican regimes effectively reprised the insurgency tactics of the Klan. Is this formulation warranted, or does it go too far? On what basis?</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Foner, <i>A Short History of Reconstruction</i>, ch. 11, 233-37; ch. 12 "Redemption and After."</li> <li>• Simpson, <i>Reconstruction</i>, "The End of Reconstruction, 1873-1877," pp. 445-48.</li> <li>• Hinds County Gazette: How to Meet the Case, August 4, 1875 -- An Election Plan: Mississippi, August 1875, p. 589</li> <li>• Ulysses S. Grant to Edwards Pierrepont, September 13, 1875 -- "The whole public are tired out": New Jersey, September 1875, p. 591</li> <li>• Sarah A. Dickey to Ulysses S. Grant, September 23, 1875 -- "A kind of guerrilla war": Mississippi, September 1875, p. 595</li> <li>• Ulysses S. Grant to Daniel H. Chamberlain, July 26, 1876 -- The "Barbarous" Hamburg Massacre: Washington, D.C., July 1876, p. 619</li> <li>• David Brundage to Ulysses S. Grant, October 14, 1876 -- Intimidation at the Polls: Georgia, October 1876, p. 632</li> <li>• Joseph H. Rainey: From Remarks in Congress on South Carolina Elections, March 3, 1879 -- "The destruction of a free ballot": Washington, D.C., March 1879, p. 658.</li> </ul>
W 5/1	<p><b>REDEMPTION: NATIONAL</b></p> <p><i>The Republican failure at the state level mirrored its failure at the national level. What were the elements of that failure? To what degree did Republican failure spell the success of the Democratic Party and the white supremacists of the South?</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• William Blair, "The Use of Military Force to Protect the Gains of Reconstruction," <i>Civil War History</i> 51, no. 4 (December 2005): 388-402. <a href="#">Muse</a> <i>Recommended:</i></li> <li>• Andrew F. Lang, "Republicanism, Race, and Reconstruction: The Ethos of Military Occupation in Civil War America," <i>Journal of the Civil War Era</i> 4, no. 4 (December 2014): 559-89. <a href="#">Muse</a></li> <li>• Eugene Lawrence to Harper's Weekly, October 31, 1874 -- "A war of intimidation": Louisiana, October 1874, p. 515</li> <li>• Rutherford B. Hayes: Diary, November 12, 1876 -- The Election Results: Ohio, November 1876, p. 634</li> <li>• The Nation: The Political South Hereafter, April 5, 1877 -- "Nothing more to do with him": New York, April 1877, p. 647</li> <li>• Chicago Tribune: The Court of Arbitration, January 21, 1877 -- "The public demand peace": Illinois, January 1877, p. 642</li> </ul>

M 5/6	<p><b>COMPARATIVE PERSPECTIVES</b>  <i>What about the US instance of abolition was unique? What made it so?</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Peter Kolchin, "Comparative Perspectives on Emancipation in the U.S. South: Reconstruction, Radicalism, and Russia," <i>Journal of the Civil War Era</i> 2, no. 2 (June 2012): 203-32. <a href="#">Muse</a></li> <li>• Peter Kolchin, "The Tragic Era? Interpreting Southern Reconstruction in Comparative Perspective," in Frank McClynn and Seymour Drescher, eds., <i>The Meaning of Freedom: Economics, Politics, and Culture after Slavery</i> (Pittsburgh, 1992), 291-321. Blackboard</li> </ul> <p><b>Recommended:</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Thomas J. Pressly, "Reconstruction in the Southern United States: A Comparative Perspective," <i>OAH Magazine of History</i> 4, no. 1, The Reconstruction Era (Winter 1989): 14-33. <a href="#">Jstor</a></li> <li>• James M. McPherson, "War and Peace in the Post-Civil War South," in <i>The Making of Peace: Rulers, States, and the Aftermath of War</i>, eds. Williamson Murray and Jim Lacey (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009): 160-75. Blackboard.</li> </ul>
W 5/8	<p><b>THE PROBLEM OF LIBERALISM</b>  <i>I've argued elsewhere that the liberal imagination failed badly at the moment of emancipation. What prevented the triumphant post-emancipation order from (a) imposing its vision of society on the South, and (b) effectively permitting that freedom to devolve into sub-citizen status for the freedpeople?</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Thomas Holt, "'An Empire over the Mind': Emancipation, Race and Ideology in the British West Indies and the American South," in <i>Region, Race and Reconstruction: Essays in Honor of C. Vann Woodward</i>, eds. J. Morgan Kousser and James McPherson (New York: Oxford University Press, 1982), 283-313. Blackboard</li> <li>• Adamson, Christopher R. "Punishment after Slavery: Southern State Penal Systems, 1865-1890." <i>Social Problems</i> 30, no. 5, Thematic Issue on Justice (June, 1983): 555-569. <a href="#">Jstor</a></li> </ul> <p><b>Recommended:</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Amy Dru Stanley, "Beggars Can't be Choosers: Compulsion and Contract in Postbellum America," <i>Journal of American History</i> 78, no. 4 (March 1992): 1265-93. <a href="#">Jstor</a></li> <li>• Adam Winkler, "'Corporations Are People' Is Built on an Incredible 19th-Century Lie," <i>Business, The Atlantic</i> (March 5, 2016). <a href="#">Online</a></li> </ul>
	<p><b>FINAL PAPER DUE</b></p>