

**Unit Title: Reconstruction**

**Subject/Topic Area: US History**

**Grade Level(s): 9th Grade**

**Designed By: Thomas Baker, Chris Lohman, Jane Parker , Lisa Pruetter**

**District(s): Appoquinimink**

**Time Frame: 8 days (90 minute blocks)**

**Date: March 2009**

**Brief Summary of Unit**

Students will examine primary and secondary documents relating to Reconstruction. They will evaluate how various social groups were affected by Reconstruction reforms and legislation.

**Stage 1: Desired Results**

**(Determine What Students Will Know, Do and Understand)**

**Delaware History Content Standard** (Write out the Delaware History standard for which instruction is provided in this unit and which are ultimately assessed in the unit.)

**HISTORY ONE 9-12A: STUDENTS WILL ANALYZE HISTORICAL MATERIALS TO TRACE THE DEVELOPMENT OF AN IDEA OR TREND ACROSS SPACE OR OVER A PROLONGED PERIOD OF TIME IN ORDER TO EXPLAIN PATTERNS OF HISTORICAL CONTINUITY AND CHANGE.**

**Big Idea** (This should include transferable core concepts, principles, theories, and processes that should serve as the focal point of curricula, instruction, and assessment. Ex: Manifest Destiny, fighting for peace.)

Change over time

**Unit Enduring Understandings** (This should include important ideas or core processes that are central to the unit and transferable to new situations beyond the classroom. Stated as full-sentence statements, the understandings specify what we want students to understand about the Big Ideas Ex: All sources contain some level of bias.)

*Students will understand that...*

A historian must logically organize events, recognize patterns and trends, explain cause and effect, make inferences, and draw conclusions from those sources that are available at the time.

**Unit Essential Question(s)** (This should include open-ended questions designed to guide student inquiry and focus instruction for “uncovering” the important ideas of the content. Please consult the history clarification documents at [http://www.doe.k12.de.us/ddoe/files/pdf/History\\_Clarifications.pdf](http://www.doe.k12.de.us/ddoe/files/pdf/History_Clarifications.pdf) for a list of essential questions that the Delaware Department of Education has deemed to be in alignment with the standards.)

Is there a pattern of continuity or change over time?

**Knowledge & Skills** (This should include key knowledge and skills that students will acquire as a result of this unit. Ex: difference between a primary and secondary source, historians use different sources.)

It should also include what students will eventually be able to do as a result of such knowledge and skill Ex: analyze a primary source document, .)

*Students will know....*

Historians use historical documents to establish cause and effect relationships and to the extent to which change occurs over time.

*Students will be able to...*

Use historical documents to evaluate change and continuity over time.

**Stage 2: Assessment Evidence  
(Design Assessments To Guide Instruction)**

(This should include evidence that will be collected to determine whether or not the Desired Results identified in Stage One have been achieved? [Anchor the unit in a performance task that requires transfer, supplemented as needed by other evidence – quizzes, worksheets, observations, etc.]

**Suggested Performance Task(s)** (Strive for an authentic task that will yield evidence of student mastery of the targeted benchmark. Ex: a book or movie review, closing statement, a Photo Story documentary, a student composed section of a history text, a timeline.)

Students will participate in a debate on whether Reconstruction was a time of dramatic change or continuity for a particular social group. There will be three debates, one for each group: 1) Freedmen, 2) Poor and middling whites, and 3) Former plantation owners. When watching other groups debate, students will evaluate the performance of **ONE** classmate using the following check sheet:

<b>Tally</b>	<b>Positive Contributions</b>	<b>Tally</b>	<b>Detractions</b>
	Attentive and polite		Inattentive
	Argument backed by historical evidence		Argument lacking historical evidence
	Comment relevant to discussion		Irrelevant comment

Team Evaluation (to be completed by teacher)

CLASSROOM DEBATE RUBRIC

Criteria	Levels of Performance			
	1	2	3	4
<p><b>1. Organization and Clarity:</b></p> <p>viewpoints and responses are outlined both clearly and orderly.</p>	Unclear in most parts	Clear in some parts but not over all	Most clear and orderly in all parts	Completely clear and orderly presentation
<p><b>2. Use of Historical Evidence:</b></p> <p>examples and facts are given to support reasons.</p>	Few or no relevant supporting examples/facts	Some relevant examples/facts given	Many examples/facts given: most relevant	Many relevant supporting examples and facts given
<p><b>3. Use of Rebuttal:</b></p> <p>arguments made by the other teams are responded to and dealt with effectively.</p>	No effective counter-arguments made	Few effective counter-arguments made	Some effective counter-arguments made	Many effective counter-arguments made

Adapted from: [http://mh034.k12.sd.us/classroom\\_debate\\_rubric.htm](http://mh034.k12.sd.us/classroom_debate_rubric.htm)

## Lesson #1

# Every Group is Different in Reconstruction

Jane Parker

**Lesson Description:** Students will explore the differences between various groups impacted by Reconstruction in the South and will narrow the focus on the group that had the most *to gain* - the Freedmen.

**Time Required:** Two Days (block scheduling)

**Essential Question Addressed:** How does the status of three specific groups (Freedmen, Plantation Owners, and Poor/Middling Whites) change as a result of Reconstruction?

**Enduring Understanding:** Various groups in the South change and react in different ways as a result of Reconstruction.

### Materials:

Power Point A (w/ warm-up questions and various other instructions to the class) Noted as Slide #1, Slide #2, etc.

Power Point B (provides background information and used as a complete document)

Graphic Organizer

Reading #1: "African-American Politics in the Reconstruction Era," from *Atlas of African-American History*

Reading #2: "All Have Suffered," (Kate Stone Reading)

Reading #3: "Not Free Yet," (Henry Stone Reading)

Reading #4: "A Letter to a Former Master," (Jourdan Anderson Reading)

Reading #5: "The Devastated South," excerpt from *The Americans at Home*

Rubric for Warm-up

Worksheet #1 (Quotes)

Fountain Hughes Slave Narrative

Harriet Smith Slave Narrative

Worksheet #2 (Sound Recording Analysis Worksheet)

**Procedures:** Describe the steps that a teacher must follow to implement this lesson. Your steps must be numbered. Phrase the procedures so that those who have not used it will have no difficulty following the steps.

## Day One

1. Warm-up: Students should answer the warm-up question, "What needs to be addressed now that the Civil War is over?" (Power Point A, Slide #1) The warm-up should be posted on the monitor. Guide students into a discussion related to the physical damage and social issues and problems that may need to be addressed in the South.
2. Activity: Have students partner-up. The partner with the birthday closest to the date of the lesson becomes Partner A and is given a sheet of clean printer paper. Tell the students that it represents the South prior to the war. Have Partner A take that sheet of paper and illustrate war in two to three minutes (anything goes - red pen representing blood, rip, tear, etc.). At the end of the time share papers with class. Point out changes to the paper that illustrate various elements of war. Have Partner B take the paper and give them five minutes to reconstruct the paper to it's original state using any means possible (tape, white out, covering it up with another sheet of paper, etc.). After five minutes lead students in a class discussion about the difficulty in getting it back to the original state, the possibility of such actions, and how does this compare to the realities of life after war.
3. Direct Instruction: Review Power Point B (through to blank slide following pictures) to provide evidence and information related to what needs to be reconstructed in the South after the Civil War. Students are to take notes in their notebook for future reference.
4. Primary Document Research Jigsaw: Divide students into groups of five. Provide each group with the five primary document readings regarding the status of the three different groups facing hardships in the South following the Civil War. Students also receive a tree graphic organizer to note information gathered from their reading. Each student is responsible for reading one of the primary documents and noting the key information about the status of the groups. Once all students have completed their reading and notations on the graphic organizer they are to report out to the group what they learned. All students within each group will note information from the five readings. *(Note: Tell students that they may have more information than boxes in the graphic organizer. If more room is needed they can carry the information over to the back.)*
5. Check for Understanding: Ask each group to share information culled from each of the readings. Ask if some of the readings yielded information for several groups in the South or if they were focused on only one group (answers will vary).
6. Direct Instruction: Complete Power Point B (Civil War Aftermath to end) to assure information on graphic organizer is complete. Have

students make a prediction (Power Point B, Slide #22) concerning who/what the labor force will be in the South at the end of the war (another check for understanding - they will answer it in their notebook).

7. Wrap-up for Day: Students should complete a Simile Summary in their notebooks based on the information discussed in class during lesson (Power Point A, Slide #2).

### Day Two

1. Warm-up: Students should answer the warm-up question, "Note two changes that occurred to each of the three social groups in the South after the war ended" (Power Point A, Slide #3) The warm-up should be posted on the monitor. Upon answering the question students will present it to be checked for understanding. The answer will be graded using the attached rubric (Warm-Up Rubric).

2. Activity: Students will receive a set of quotes (Power Point A, Slide #4 and Worksheet #1). In their notebooks, the students are to identify who might have made each statement and under what circumstance each quote might have been stated. Have students report out and share with class.

3. Audio Analysis: Students will listen to Fountain Hughes' slave narrative regarding freedom and emancipation (<http://www.pbs.org/wnet/slavery/experience/freedom/narratives.html>) and to Harriet Smith's slave narrative regarding legal rights and government (<http://www.pbs.org/wnet/slavery/experience/legal/narratives3.html>) from the PBS website for *Slavery and the Making of America*. For each narrative the students will complete a Sound Recording Analysis Worksheet for each narrative (Worksheet #2).

4. Check for Understanding: Students are to answer the following question using examples from the narratives, "How do the narratives of Fountain Hughes and Harriet Smith reflect changes in the Southern social roles?" (Power Point A, Slide #5)

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### **Resources & Teaching Tips**

Power Point A, Slides #1-5

Power Point B

Graphic Organizer

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Reading #1: "African-American Politics in the Reconstruction Era," from *Atlas of African-American History*

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Reading #2: "All Have Suffered," (Kate Stone Reading)

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Reading #3: "Not Free Yet," (Henry Stone Reading)

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Reading #4: "A Letter to a Former Master," (Jourdan Anderson Reading)

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Reading #5: "The Devastated South," excerpt from *The Americans at Home*

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Rubric for Warm-up

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Worksheet #1

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Fountain Hughes Slave Narrative

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Harriet Smith Slave Narrative

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Worksheet #2

Lesson #2  
**Reconstruction and Reparations**

Chris Lohman

**Lesson Description**

Students will describe the viewpoints of various groups involved in the continuing debate over whether or not the descendants of former slaves in the United States are entitled to reparation payments as compensation for their ancestor's bondage.

Students will evaluate how Reconstruction efforts with regards to the question of reparations, and reactions to it, have evolved since 1865. Students will also evaluate the successes and failures of both sides of the issues, including analyzing the social and political efforts towards a reparations resolution.

**Time Frame:**

2 Class Periods

**Essential Question:**

To what extent can legislation change long-standing traditions, beliefs, and behavior?

**Enduring**

**Understanding:**

Students will analyze historical materials to trace the development of an idea or trend across space or over a prolonged period of time in order to explain patterns of historical continuity and change.

**Materials:**

Reparations PowerPoint  
Student Worksheet – Pro/Con Diagram  
Student Worksheet – Evolution of Reparations  
Student Viewing #1  
Students Readings - #1 - #10  
Student Assignments – Letter, March Placard

**Unit Title:**

US Civil War: Reconstruction

**Subject/Topic Area:**

Reconstruction: The Question of Reparations

**Grade Level(s):**

9<sup>th</sup> Grade Social Studies

**Designed By:**

Christopher A. Lohman

**District(s):**

Appoquinimink, Middletown High School

**Date:**

March, 2009

**Brief Summary of Unit/Procedures**

- Students will be introduced to the unit via a brief PowerPoint presentation that initially asks the question, “Do you believe that governments who have intentionally wronged individuals, whether through war, genocide, or enslavement, should be held accountable for their actions? Why or why not?” Student answers will be discussed and opinions shared.
- Next, students will be shown several slides of examples of reparations from around the world, including German reparations to Holocaust survivors, and considerations for descendants of Spanish Civil War survivors and female sex slaves in Japan during WWI.
- At the conclusion of the third example of reparations, student will be asked, “If you believe that governments should be held accountable, how should they be made to compensate their victims (either individually or as a whole)?,” or “If you don’t believe that governments should be held accountable, what should become of the relationship between victims and their perpetrators after a crime has been committed?” Once again, time will be taken to hear how students feel about reparations, and if any of their initial feelings on the matter have changed after the introduction of real life instances of government wrong-doing and acknowledgment of/payment for those crimes.
- Lastly, the topic of slave reparations will be introduced. Students will then be asked, “Does the United States Government have a financial obligation to settle its debts owed to the descendants of former slaves?” It will be interesting to see if students who previously supported reparations around the world would now support reparations in our very own country, or vice-versa.
- Students will be broken up into groups of seven. Each student will receive a copy of the worksheets entitled, “Pro/Con Reparations”, and “The Evolution of the Reparations Debate.” In addition, a packet containing a single copy of each of the seven student readings will be given to the group as well.
- To re-introduce the topic of reparations, and to emphasize the fact that the topic is still relevant and still a topic of both social and political discussions, the entire class will view a brief clip from a CNN Presidential Debate that include the very question, ““Should African Americans Be Given Reparations For Slavery?””
- In order to research the topic of reparations, each student in the group will be assigned a single reading from the seven given to the group. Each student should read their specific assigned reading individually, and as they read, fill out their two worksheets. On the “Pro/Con Reparations” worksheet, each student should fill in the bubbles with reasons presented in their article that both support and oppose reparation payments. On the “Evolution” worksheet, students should make note of any significant victories or defeats by both the supporters and opponents of reparations, including any apologies made, legislation passed, political or social supporters (both individual scholars, politicians, etc., or organizations), since 1865.
- After all of the readings have been completed, each student should now present the information they found to the rest of their group. The rest of the group should copy this additional information onto their worksheets. This should continue until the summary of each of the seven articles has been read and copied onto each student’s worksheet.

- Once the worksheets have been completed, each individual student should answer the questions at the bottom of the “Evolution” worksheet. Here is where the students will be able to analyze the data that they have collected and see how the reparation movement has advanced (or stalled) over the past one hundred and fifty plus years. As a class we’ll discuss their answers in the context of; Is the movement still evolving, has it achieved its goals, what impediments have there been to both the pro and con sides to this debate, and what can be done by both sides in the future to reach a resolution?
- As part of checking for each students understanding of the content, and to allow them to express their own opinions on the issue, there are two extension assignments for this unit. Each student will be given a copy of the “Assignments” worksheet.
- First, students will be given a hypothetical situation in which the state of Delaware is considering passing a bill requiring reparation payments to be made to the descendants of former slaves. Their job, as explained on the “Student Assignments” worksheet, is to first write a formal letter to their state’s representatives expressing their opinion on the issue, basing their arguments for or against the bill’s passage on both their personal feelings on the matter and content they’ve read about during this lesson. The letters will follow the specific writing guidelines provided on the worksheet.
- Secondly, the class will split into two halves; those who support the passage of a reparations bill, and those who do not. Based on the hypothetical bill issue raised in the state house, each group has been instructed to create a placard, complete with a slogan and a picture that their group members could use during a march on the Capitol building. Their placard needs to express their group’s opinion on the issue at hand following the specific guidelines provided on the worksheet.

Lesson #   3  

# The Impact of Reconstruction on the First State

Tom Baker

**Lesson Description:** Students will explore the change and/or continuity reflected by the treatment of African-Americans and their integration into American and Delaware society from the end of the Civil War to the modern day.

**Time Required:** Approximately three block classes.

**Essential Question Addressed:** In what ways have attitudes towards and treatment of African-Americans changed over time in Delaware? In what ways have they stayed the same?

**Enduring Understanding:** The Reconstruction Era saw great changes for African-Americans but much of the prejudice and poor treatment remained.

**Materials:** Power Point Slides

Handouts 1-5

Poster Paper

Text of 13th, 14th, 15th Amendments

Primary Sources:

1866Resolution.doc

1875 laws.doc

1879 EdFund.doc

Jim Crow Laws.doc

1916ReportEduc.doc

IronHillSchool.doc

MiddletownSchool.doc

KKK.doc

**Procedures:**

Day One:

1 – Journal: Journal Question to be written in student notebooks: How would YOU lead the recovery process after the Civil War ends? What would you focus on?

2 - Power Point notes -Radical Reconstruction and the Reconstruction Amendments

3 - Assign students to mixed ability groups. If possible, groups of 3 or 4.

- 4 - Give each student a copy of Handout 1- Amendments Student Worksheet (AmendmentPosterStudent.doc) it contains their instructions; Give students a copy of Handout 2 - the Reconstruction Amendments/worksheet 2 (Amendments.doc).
- 5 - Assign each group either the 13<sup>th</sup>, 14<sup>th</sup> or 15<sup>th</sup> amendment. Depending on class size, the 14<sup>th</sup> amendment can be broken into four (4) sections. (If necessary, you can assign another one or two groups to create a poster on the Freedman's Bureau (Attached to the end of "Amendments.doc" this would allow up to 8 different groups)
- 6 - Have the groups create a poster on paper you provide (for appropriate size reasons) that must contain the following information.

- a. **Title of the amendment (i.e. – Fourteenth Amendment; Section III)**
- b. **Brief summary of amendment**
- c. **Image that reflects your summary – imagine that the viewer of your poster cannot read (like most freedman). Can they understand the purpose of the amendment from your image?**

- 7 -When finished, have groups present posters to the class and hang it somewhere in the room (per the teacher's direction) for the class to see throughout the rest of the unit.
- 8 - As groups present, students should be answering the questions on the bottom of the Handout 1 As a check for understanding, these completed sheets should be shown as an "exit ticket" at the end of class.

Note – students will use the posters in the next lesson.

#### Day Two:

- 1 - Journal: Based on yesterday's notes and activities, write a newspaper headline that might have appeared in a southern newspaper at the beginning of "Radical Reconstruction".
- 2 - Give students Handout 3 Reconstruction Amendments and Delaware (ReconstructionAmendmentsDelaware.doc)
- 3 - As a class or quietly to themselves, have students read the information on the front of the page marked "Class Set" about Delaware and slavery.
- 4 - Have students turn the page labeled "Class Set" over and notice the dates Delaware ratified the Reconstruction Amendments you discussed yesterday.
- 5 - Give students a copy of Handout 4 titled "Student Worksheet Delaware" (also part of ReconstructionAmendmentsDelaware.doc); have students take this worksheet and visit the posters created in yesterday's lesson and write summaries of the reconstruction amendments in the graphic organizer on handout 4.
- 6 - Students should return to their seats and fill in the rest of the organizer to include the date the amendment actually became part of the Constitution and the date the amendment was finally ratified by Delaware. Students should finish by answering all the questions at the bottom of the worksheet.
- 7 - Review the chart and answers to the questions with an in class discussion.
- 8 - As a check for understanding, have students write another headline under the one they wrote to begin the lesson. Journal: Based on today's activities, write another newspaper headline that might have appeared in a Delaware newspaper during "Radical Reconstruction" Part of the journal should include an explanation of how and why the

Delaware headline was similar or different from the Southern Headline they wrote at the beginning of Class.

Day Three:

1 – In preparation for today’s class, post the documents listed below at various locations around the room. Make sure students have room to analyze the documents. You may want to group similar items together for smaller class sizes or really separate items utilize extra space such as the hallway outside of class (or two classrooms if another teacher is teaching the same lesson) for larger classes to facilitate analysis and avoid large crowds around a single document.

Documents to post:

- A -1866Resolution.doc
- B - 1875 laws.doc
- C – 1879 EdFund.doc
- D – Jim Crow Laws.doc
- E – 1916ReportEduc.doc
- F - IronHillSchool.doc
- G - MiddletownSchool.doc
- H - KKK.doc

ALTERNATIVE ITEM: 1954 Milford Deseg Crisis tape 3.mpg (audio) if space and technology allows.

2 – Begin today’s lesson with a discussion of student headlines from yesterday. How was Delaware different or similar to other parts of the south during Reconstruction (i.e. – no troops in DE, etc.../ resistant to equal rights and other changes to Constitution, etc...)? Discuss with students what changes occurred in Delaware as a result of the Reconstruction amendments.

3 – Give students Handout 5 (AnalysisForm.doc), Using the modified document analysis form –have students move from document to document, taking notes and filling in information on handout 5. Note: you may want students to work in pairs, this may speed up the process and allow for collaborative insight.

4 – When students have visited all the stations and have their worksheet completed, students should return to their seats and begin work on the following assignment:

**Using the information you have collected today and other knowledge you have discovered throughout this unit, write an article for Delaware Today magazine titled “Change and Continuity: How Delaware has changed and remained the same since the Civil War”. Your article should focus not just on African-American integration into mainstream society but also white Delawarean treatment of African-Americans from the end of the Civil War to the present. Make sure to include specific details such as events, laws, dates and people.**

Give students a copy of this assignment and the rubric used to grade it – Handout 6 – Effects of Reconstruction Article (ArticleRubric.doc)

5 – If students do not finish, the remainder of the work can be completed as homework.

**Debrief:** In what ways have attitudes towards and treatment of African-Americans changed over time in Delaware? In what ways have they stayed the same?

**Formative Assessment (“Check for Understanding”):** When students have visited all the stations and have their worksheet completed, students should return to their seats and begin work on the following assignment:

**Using the information you have collected today and other knowledge you have discovered throughout this unit, write an article for Delaware Today magazine titled “Change and Continuity: How Delaware has changed and remained the same since the Civil War”. Your article should focus not just on African-American integration into mainstream society but also white Delawarean treatment of African-Americans from the end of the Civil War to the present. Make sure to include specific details such as events, laws, dates and people.**

Give students a copy of this assignment and the rubric used to grade it – Handout 6 – Effects of Reconstruction Article (ArticleRubric.doc)

If students do not finish, the remainder of the work can be completed as homework.

## LESSON 4: Changing Interpretations of Reconstruction

Lisa Prueter

**Lesson Description:** Students will examine historians' analyses of Reconstruction. Students will identify key arguments in these analyses and place historians in a school of historical thought.

**Grade:** 9-12

**Time Required:** Two 90-minute blocks.

**Benchmark Addressed:**

- **History Standard Three 9-12a:** Students will compare competing historical narratives by contrasting different historians' choice of questions, use and choice of sources, perspectives, beliefs, and points of view, in order to demonstrate how these factors contribute to different interpretations.

**Essential Question Addressed:** In what ways are historical interpretations influenced by the time in which they are written and by whom they are written?

**Enduring Understanding:** Interpretations of historical events change over time.

**Prior Knowledge:** This lesson should be the conclusion of a unit on Reconstruction. Students should already be familiar with Presidential and Congressional Reconstruction, as well as the end of Reconstruction and the rise of Redeemer Governments and codified segregation in the South.

**Materials:**

- “Facts about Reconstruction” handout (two versions)
- PowerPoint lecture
- Textbook excerpts about the Ku Klux Klan from *History in the Making*
- Film clip from *Gone with the Wind* on YouTube: Scarlett and Melanie Protect Tara
- Textbook excerpts on Reconstruction from *History in the Making*
- Document Analysis Chart
- Summative Assessment Rubric
- Transfer task: Historical views of Columbus

## **Procedures:**

### **A. Introductory Activity:**

1. Hand out “Facts about Reconstruction” to students. Have students use the facts listed on the handout to write a short paragraph that summarizes Reconstruction. Students do not know that half of the class received a list of positive facts about Reconstruction; the other half received a list of negative facts. Ask a few students from both groups to read their paragraphs aloud. Students should be surprised to hear such conflicting accounts.
2. Use the following questions to guide class discussion:
  - Which view of Reconstruction is correct?
  - How might personal biases lead to one interpretation or the other?
  - How might the sources used by historians lead to one interpretation or the other? Give example of a source that would provide a positive/negative view of Reconstruction.
  - How would the questions asked by historians lead to one interpretation or another?

### **B. Direct Instruction:**

Use the accompanying PowerPoint to explain the four schools of Reconstruction Historiography: *Traditional, Dissenting, Revisionist, and Post-Revisionist*.

**Note:** This lecture outline is a simplified overview of how Reconstruction historiography has changed over the course of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Teachers should supplement this lecture with additional background information and encourage students to consider what social/political/cultural conditions might have influenced historical interpretation.

### **C. Document Analysis (whole group)**

1. Hand out copies of **Ku Klux Klan Documents A and B**. Read aloud together. For each document, lead students through guiding questions:
  - How are freed blacks described in this document? Underline the adjectives used to describe them.
  - How are members of the KKK described? Underline adjectives used to describe them.
  - What reasons are given for the creation of the KKK?
  - According to the document, what did the KKK do?
  - Does the document approve or condemn the KKK? Find specific evidence in the document to support your answer.
  - Which of the four schools of Reconstruction Historiography does each document belong? Why?

**Note:** Document A was published in 1916; Document B in 1996.

**Check for Understanding:**

Why might historical interpretations of an event change over time? Provide an example in your answer.

**Rubric**

2 – Response includes a valid reason and a relevant example.

1 – Response includes a valid reason and an irrelevant or no example.

**D. Film Analysis (whole group)**

<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=eL0aPDOSu80> 4:39

Read students this brief synopsis of *Gone with the Wind* to prepare them for viewing. Tell students that we will watch the film clip twice. On the second viewing, have students take notes on the details that reveal the film’s interpretation of the Civil War and Reconstruction.

*Gone with the Wind is the fictional story about Scarlett O’Hara, a southern belle whose comfortable life is turned upside down by the Civil War. When we pick up with this scene, Scarlett has returned to her family’s plantation from Atlanta at the end of the war. She finds that Union troops have destroyed the estate, leaving Scarlett and her family to cope the best they can with few resources. One day, Scarlett hears a stranger approach the house...*

After viewing the film clip, lead students through the guiding questions:

- Scarlett and her family represent the Old South. How are they portrayed in this scene?
- How are Northerners portrayed?
- Does it seem that Scarlett’s actions in this scene are justified? Why or why not?
- What do you think has “gone with the wind”?
- To which school of Reconstruction Historiography does this film belong? Why?

**E. Summative Assessment**

In mixed-ability pairs or groups of three, have students examine **Reconstruction Documents C, D, and E**. Students complete the accompanying chart. Students decide which school of Reconstruction Historiography each document belongs and why. See attached analysis chart and rubric.

**Sources:**

Document C: James West Davidson, et al, *Nation of Nations: A Narrative History of the American Republic, Vol. Two Since 1865* (New York: McGraw-Hill, Inc., 1994), 639-640.

Document D (1950): Kyle Ward, *History in the Making* (New York: The New Press, 2006), 201.

Document E (1995): Kyle Ward, *History in the Making* (New York: The New Press, 2006), 205.

**Transfer Task:** See attached.





## **The Ku Klux Klan**

Textbook excerpts

### **Document A**

In the North business went on as before; in the South the people had to face new conditions. The negroes were no longer slaves who had to work; they were free to work or not as they chose.

Most of them stayed on the farms and worked for wages. There were some, however, who wandered idly from place to place, and became a menace to the peace of the country. Soon they had no money, no food, and nobody to care for them. Some of them became vicious and even thought they could take by force what they needed.

To protect themselves against these idle and lawless negroes, who were often led away by evil white men, a secret order known as the "Ku Klux Klan" was formed by white people of the South. Its members met in the woods or on the outskirts of the town. They wore masks and hideous disguises and had a password and secret signs. Whenever a bad negro or white man began to give trouble a sign was nailed on his door, or a note was sent to him, ordering him to leave the community or suffer the consequences.

The "Ku Klux" riders were a great terror to the negroes. Whenever they appeared, the frightened blacks scurried to their cabins. The threats of this organization held the negroes in check, kept them in their house, forced the evil ones to behave, and made the idle ones work.

## Document B

The Radical Republican governments were able to remain in power in the south only so long as blacks voted for them. Some Southern whites decided to make sure that blacks did not vote. The South was now at war with itself. Southerners said that they were really fighting against their fellow southern blacks who wanted to be free and equal.

Before long, certain Old Confederates in the South had organized a secret army. Its purpose was to carry on the Civil War under another name. Although slavery was abolished by law, many Southerners still hoped to preserve as much as possible of their former life.

This secret army called itself the Ku Klux Klan – perhaps from the Greek word *kyklos*, meaning circle. Soon many branches, or circles, appeared all over the South. Klan members traveled the countryside flogging, maiming, and sometimes killing blacks who tried to vote or who in other ways presumed to be the white man's equal... Thousands of blacks were driven from their homes, maimed, or tortured. Whole communities were terrorized by masked thugs on parade, by burning crosses, by kidnapping and tar-and-feathering.

Excerpts from Kyle Ward, *History in the Making* (New York: The New Press, 2006), 207-213.

## **Reconstruction**

Textbook excerpts

### **Document C**

Reconstruction failed for a number of reasons. The reforming impulse that had created the Republican party in the 1850s had been battered and worn down by the war. The new materialism of industrial America inspired in many a jaded cynicism about the corruption of the age and a desire to forget uncomfortable issues of the past. In the South, African-American voters and leaders inevitably lacked a certain amount of education and experience; elsewhere, Republicans were divided over policies and options. Yet beyond these obstacles, the sad fact remains that the ideals of the war and Reconstruction were most clearly defeated by a deep-seated racism that permeated American life. Racism was why the white South so unrelentingly resisted Reconstruction. Racism was why most white northerners had little interest in black rights except as a means to preserve the Union or to safeguard the Republic. Racism was why northerners were willing to write off Reconstruction and with it the welfare of African-Americans. While Congress might pass a constitutional amendment abolishing slavery, it could not overturn at a stroke the social habits of two centuries.

## Document D

By the Reconstruction Act, men who only a few brief years before had labored as slaves were enabled to vote and hold office. Many of them could neither read nor write, and did not understand the workings of government. Therefore, they became easy victims of selfish white men who were known as *carpetbaggers* and *scalawags*. The carpetbaggers were Northerners who saw a chance to get rich quickly. They earned their name from the fact that they rushed to the South with their belongings hastily packed in old-fashioned traveling bags called "carpetbags." The scalawags, on the other hand, were southern white men who had opposed secession or who now thought that they could gain something by favoring the North. Both carpetbaggers and scalawags were more interested in wealth and power for themselves than in rebuilding the South.

## Document E

African-Americans were key, though underrepresented, members of the Republican party in the South. Determined to win their share of political power, they organized to promote the interests of their community. In 1865 the African American state convention addressed these words to the people of South Carolina:

*Now that we are free men, now that we have been lifted up by the providence of God to manhood, we have resolved to come forward, and, like MEN, speak and act for ourselves.*

Many southern whites criticized the presence of African Americans in Reconstruction governments. They accused African American officials of being corrupt or incompetent. In reality, the South's African American officials appeared to have been no worse and no better than their white counterparts. Many served with distinction. Between 1867 and 1869, approximately 1,000 men attended state constitutional conventions throughout the South. Some 265 of them were African Americans; at least 107 were former slaves. Many were veterans of the Union army, ministers, artisans, farmers, and teachers.

## Reconstruction Documents Analysis Chart

<b>Document</b>	<b>According to this document, Reconstruction was...</b>  (circle one)	<b><u>Two</u> examples from the document that support your conclusion.</b>
<b>C</b>	<p>A dramatic change for the better (traditional)</p> <p>A dramatic change for the worse (revisionist)</p> <p>Not enough change (post-revisionist)</p>	<p>1.</p> <p>2.</p>
<b>D</b>	<p>A dramatic change for the better (traditional)</p> <p>A dramatic change for the worse (revisionist)</p> <p>Not enough change (post-revisionist)</p>	<p>1.</p> <p>2.</p>
<b>E</b>	<p>A dramatic change for the better (traditional)</p> <p>A dramatic change for the worse (revisionist)</p> <p>Not enough change (post-revisionist)</p>	<p>1.</p> <p>2.</p>



<b>Scoring Category</b>	<b>Score Point 3</b>	<b>Score Point 2</b>	<b>Score Point 1</b>
<b>Interpretation</b>	Response correctly identifies multiple differences among historical interpretations.	Response correctly identifies at least one difference among historical interpretations.	Response does not identify interpretative differences.
<b>Use of Historical Evidence</b>	Response includes multiple pieces of supporting evidence from the documents.	Response includes some supporting evidence from documents.	Response includes irrelevant or no evidence from the documents.

**Above the Standard: 5-6**

**Meets the Standard: 4**

**Below the Standard: Less than 4**



**2. One of these textbook excerpts was written in 1830; the other was written in 1995. Which document do you think was written in 1830? Use an example from the document to support your answer.**

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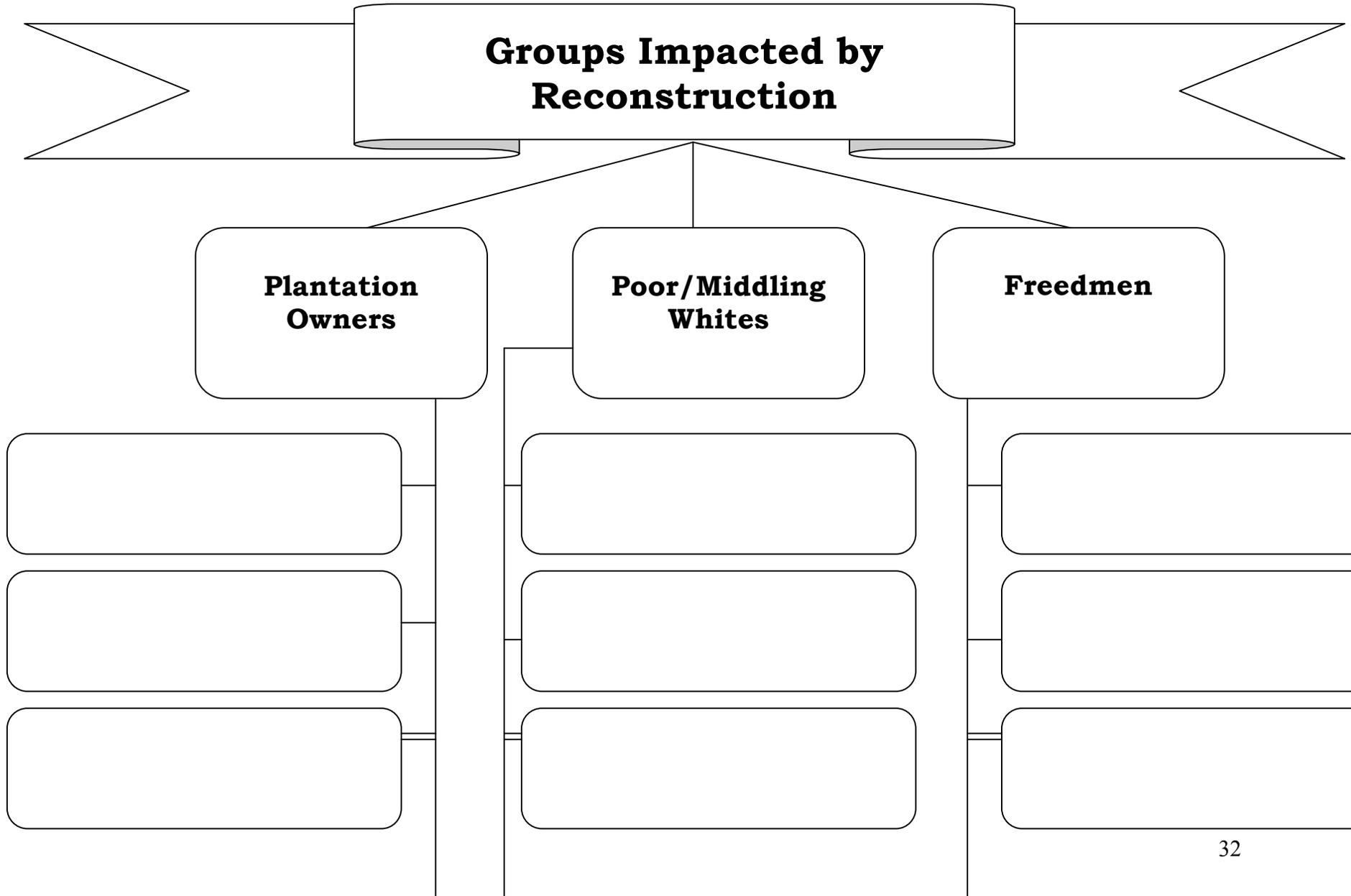
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**Rubric**

- 2 – Response identifies the correct document and includes a relevant example.
- 1 – Response identifies the correct document and includes an irrelevant or no example.





Warm-up Rubric

Point Value

Date (1 point) \_\_\_\_\_

Question Written (1 point) \_\_\_\_\_

Depth of Answer (0-3 points) \_\_\_\_\_

**Total Score: \_\_\_\_\_ out of 5 points**

- 0 = off topic
- 1 = response is unclear/no support
- 2 = incomplete response/ some relevant details
- 3 = clear response that demonstrates clear understanding of topic/ with several specific details

Warm-up Rubric

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## FOUNTAIN HUGHES

**Interviewee:** Fountain Hughes

**Interviewer:** Hermond Norwood



**FH:** See I wasn't old enough during the war to sell, during the Army. And uh, my father got killed in the Army, you know. So it left us small children just to live on whatever people choose to, uh, give us. I was, I was bound out for a dollar a month. And my mother used to collect the money. Children wasn't, couldn't spend money when I come along. In, in, in fact when I come along, young men, young men couldn't spend no money until they was twenty-one years old. And then you was twenty-one, why then you could spend your money. But if you wasn't twenty-one, you couldn't spend no money. I couldn't take, I couldn't spend ten cents if somebody give it to me. Because they'd say, "Well, he might have stole it." We all come along, you might say, we had to give an account of what you done. You couldn't just do things and walk off and say I didn't do it. You'd have to, uh, give an account of it. Now, uh, after we got freed and they turned us out like cattle, we could, we didn't have nowhere to go. And we didn't have nobody to boss us, and, uh, we didn't know nothing. There wasn't, wasn't no schools. And when they started a little school, why, the people that were slaves, there couldn't many of them go to school, except they had a father and a mother. And my father was dead, and my mother was living, but she had three, four other little children, and she had to put them all to work for to help take care of the others.

So we had, uh, we had what you call, worse than dogs has got it now. Dogs has got it now better than we had it when we come along. I know, I remember one night, I was out after I, I was free, and I didn't have nowhere to go. I didn't have nowhere to sleep. I didn't know what to do. My brother and I was together. So we knew a man that had a, a livery stable. And we crept in that yard, and got into one of the hacks of the automobile, and slept in that hack all night long. So next morning, we could get out and go where we belonged. But we was afraid to go at night because we didn't know where to go, and didn't know what time to go. But we had got away from there, and we afraid to go back, so we crept in, slept in that thing all night until the next morning, and we got back where we belong before the people got up. Soon as day commenced, come, break, we got out and commenced to go where we belonged. But we never done that but the one time. After that we always, if there, if there was a way, we'd try to get back before night come. But then that was on a Sunday too, that we done that. Now, uh, when we were slaves, we couldn't do that, see. And after we got free we didn't know nothing to do. And my mother, she, then she hunted places, and bound us out for a dollar a month, and we stay there maybe a couple of years. And, she'd come over and collect the money every month. And a dollar was worth more then than ten dollars is now. And I, and the men used to work for ten dollars a month, hundred and twenty dollars a year. Used to hire that a way. And, uh, now you can't get a man for, fifty dollars a month. You paying a man now fifty dollars a month, he don't want to work for it.

**HN:** More like fifty dollars a week now a days.

**FH:** [laughs] That's just it exactly. He wants fifty dollars a week and they ain't got no more now than we had then. And we, no more money, but course they bought more stuff and more property and all like that. We didn't have no property. We didn't have no home. We had nowhere or nothing. We didn't have nothing only just, uh, like your cattle, we were just turned out. And uh, get along the best you could. Nobody to look after us. Well, we been slaves all our lives. My mother was a slave, my sisters was slaves, father was a slave.

---

Photo of Fountain Hughes  
Credit: The Jeffersonian

In the 1930s, the Works Progress Administration (WPA) sponsored a federal project dedicated to chronicling the experience of slavery as remembered by former slaves and their descendants. Their stories were recorded and transcribed, and this site presents dozens of select sound recordings and hundreds of transcriptions from the interviews. Beyond the content of the interviews, little to no biographical information is available on the individuals whose interviews appear here

<http://www.pbs.org/wnet/slavery/experience/freedom/narratives.html> - for reading and audio

# HARRIET SMITH

**Interviewee: Harriet Smith**

**Interviewer: John Henry Faulk**

**JHF:** Was your husband H. S., uh, much of a [HS interrupts]

**HS:** J. S.

**JHF:** Uh, oh, J. S.

**HS:** Hmmm.

**JHF:** Was he a church man?

**HS:** Yes, he was [JHF interrupts]

**JHF:** What happened [HS interrupts]

**HS:** Church man, church man, and a politic man too.

**JHF:** Oh you were, y'all voted in those days.

**HS:** Yes. My husband was uh, he was known by white folks. He was well, uh, when he got kill them white folks was just crazy about him. He'd gone through [unintelligible]. That boy that killed my husband, I nursed him when he was a baby.



**JHF:** Well what kind of politicking did he do?

**HS:** Well, he worked for white, white people when they want to be elected, you know, anything that time.

**JHF:** He'd work amongst the colored folks.

**HS:** Amongst the colored people. Men speak, and white folks, you couldn't get in the house when he spoke hardly for white people, all that section there. He had a good learning. Uh, all of them boys did.

**JHF:** And he'd round up the votes, and that's how come them to kill him.

**HS:** Uh huh. He rounded, when he set the night for a speech, people from Austin, from San Marcos, from every which way, white and colored, to hear him speak. He'd go to court house and speak for them.

**HS:** Yeah, he was forever speaking.

**JHF:** Well, he uh, did the colored folks not like him?

**HS:** No. The colored people all went too, but these white people, this boy that killed him, old W. B., I nursed him when he was a baby before I was ever acquainted with my husband.

**JHF:** Well what I was, what I'm trying to, to find out is, how come him to kill your husband. Was it over politics?

**HS:** Uh huh, politics and different things you know. [mumbles] Poor white people.



**JHF:** Did the white folks have your husband killed or did uh, did he just, W. B. just go shoot him [HS interrupts]

**HS:** No, my husband went to cedar break that day, and uh, and on his way back from the cedar break, uh, he lay by the road and killed him. And let's see, there was something about a horse, I don't hardly, how they done, but the white people, W. K. and them, was the first one got to him when he was killed. They had to shoot him, you know. And they brought the news to us. My brother and them.

---

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<http://www.pbs.org/wnet/slavery/experience/legal/narratives3.html> - for reading and audio

## All Have Suffered

Kate Stone grew up on a large cotton plantation, Brokenburn, in northeastern Louisiana. Only twenty years old when the [Civil War](#) broke out, the well-educated young woman kept a journal describing her experiences, including her flight to Texas during the worst days of the war. The two entries excerpted below contrast her life of privilege before the war with her existence afterward, in a very different world.

### May 23, 1861

Mamma was busy all the morning having the carpets taken up and matting put down and summer curtains hung. Of course the house was dusty and disagreeable. Mr. Newton and the children were shut up in the schoolroom and so escaped it, but Uncle Bo wandered aimlessly around, seeking rest and finding none. I retired to the fastness of my room with a new novel and a plate of candy was oblivious to discomfort until Frank came to say dinner was ready and "the house shorely do look sweet and cool."

In the afternoon Mamma lay down to rest as she was tired out. Mr. Newton and Uncle Bo rode out to Omega [Landing] for the mail and to hear the news. The boys, Little Sister, and I all went down the bayou for a walk with a running accompaniment of leaping, barking hounds, ranging the fields for a scent of deer or maybe a rabbit....

Tonight a little fire was pleasant and we all gathered around it to hear Mr. Newton read the papers.... We take quite a [number of papers](#): *Harper's Weekly and Monthly*, the *New York Tribune*, *Journal of Commerce*, *Littell's Living Age*, the *Whig* and *Picayune* of New Orleans, and the *Vicksburg* and local sheets. What shall we do when Mr. Lincoln stops our mails....

### September 22, 1867

A long silence and a year of hard endeavor to raise a crop, reconstruct the place with the problem of hired labor, high water, and cotton worms. Mamma had little trouble in getting advances in New Orleans to plant. Cotton is so high that merchants are anxious to advance to put in a crop, and there is much Northern capital seeking investment in that field.... The Negroes demanded high wages, from \$20 to \$25 for men, in addition to the old rations of sugar, rice, tobacco, molasses, and sometimes hams. Many of the old hands left, and My Brother went to New Orleans and brought back a number of [ex-Negro soldiers](#), who strutted around in their uniforms and were hard to control. I was deadly afraid of them. During the spring while Mamma and I were in New Orleans (Mamma on business and she took me for my pleasure), and Uncle Bo and My Brother and Jimmy were away for a few hours, Johnny had a fight with a young Negro in the field, shot and came near killing him, and was mobbed in return. Johnny would have been killed but for the stand one of the Negroes made for him and Uncle Bo's opportune arrival just as the Negroes brought him to the house--a howling, cursing mob with the women shrieking, "Kill him!" and all brandishing pistols and guns. It came near breaking up the planting, and it is a pity it did not as it turned out. Johnny had to be sent away. He was at school near Clinton [Miss.] and the Negroes quieted down and after some weeks the wounded boy recovered, greatly to Johnny's relief. He never speaks now of killing people as he formerly had a habit of doing. He came home when school closed and there was no further trouble.

(After the cotton was picked and sold, Kate is upset)...that none of that money went for our personal comfort. All of it went to the Negroes. Mamma would buy only bare necessities for the table and plainest clothes for the family. Not a luxury, no furniture, carpets, or anything. We are worse off for those things than even in Texas and such a sum spent! But Mamma said it was not honest to spend the money on anything but making the crop. All in this section have suffered in the same way, and for awhile they seemed stunned by their misfortunes. But now the reaction has come, and all are taking what pleasure offers....

Excerpt from John Q. Anderson, ed. *Brokenburn: The Journal of Kate Stone, 1861-1868*. Baton Rouge, Louisiana: Louisiana State University Press, 1995.

Original version cited from [http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/amex/reconstruction/plantation/ps\\_stone.html](http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/amex/reconstruction/plantation/ps_stone.html)



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BATON ROUGE

## A LETTER TO A FORMER MASTER

**After the Civil War, many plantation owners asked their former slaves to return and work for wages. In this letter, freedman Jourdon Anderson responded to such a request from his former master. As you read, think about what freedom meant to Jourdon Anderson.** Source: Cincinnati Commercial, reprinted in New York Tribune, August 22, 1865.

Consider the following questions while reading:

1. When and where did Jourdon Anderson get papers saying he was free?
2. How much total back pay was Jourdon Anderson asking for? **Why?**
3. Critical Thinking: Based on this letter, how do you think Jourdon Anderson would define freedom?

---

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... 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. 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 (food) 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.... 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.... I served you faithfully for thirty-two years and Mandy twenty years. At \$25 a month for me, and \$2 a week for Mandy, our earnings would amount to \$11,680. 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 (pay). In answering this letter 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

## Not Free Yet

*Freed by the Emancipation Proclamation in 1865, former slave Henry Adams testified before the U.S. Senate fifteen years later about the early days of his freedom, describing white planters' unfair labor practices and the violent, intimidating atmosphere in which ex-slaves felt compelled to work for their former masters.*

The white men read a paper to all of us colored people telling us that we were free and could go where we pleased and work for who we pleased. The man I belonged to told me it was best to stay with him. He said, "The bad white men was mad with the Negroes because they were free and they would kill you all for fun." He said, stay where we are living and we could get protection from our old masters.

I told him I thought that every man, when he was free, could have his rights and protect themselves. He said, "The colored people could never protect themselves among the white people. So you had all better stay with the white people who raised you and make contracts with them to work by the year .... We have contracts for you all to sign..."

I told him I would not sign anything. I said, "I might sign to be killed. I believe the white people is trying to fool us." But he said again, "Sign this contract so I can take it to the Yankees and have it recorded." All our colored people signed it but myself and a boy named Samuel Jefferson....

On the day after all had signed the contracts, we went to cutting oats. I asked the boss, "Could we get any of the oats?" He said, "No; the oats were made before you were free." After that he told us to get timber to build a sugar-mill to make molasses. We did so. We made five bales of cotton but we did not get a pound of that. We made two or three hundred gallons of molasses and only got what we could eat. We made about eight-hundred bushel of potatoes; we got a few to eat. We split rails three or four weeks and got not a cent for that.

In September I asked the boss to let me go to Shreveport. He said, "All right, when will you come back?" I told him "next week." He said, "You had better carry a pass." I said, "I will see whether I am free by going without a pass."

I met four white men about six miles south of Keachie, De Soto Parish. One of them asked me who I belonged to. I told him no one. So him and two others struck me with a stick and told me they were going to kill me and every other Negro who told them that they did not belong to anyone. They left me and I then went on to Shreveport. I seen over twelve colored men and women, beat, shot and hung between there and Shreveport....

- 1. In what ways did Henry Adams's former master try to take advantage of his former slaves?*
- 2. Why did Adams refuse to sign his former master's contract?*
- 3. What are examples of Adams's independent thinking and determination to hold on to his rights?*
- 4. Based on Adams's account, what were conditions like for freed slaves in the South just after the war?*
- 5. Why might the federal government have chosen to hear a report from Henry Adams?*

**Step 1. Pre-listening**

A. Whose voices will you hear on this recording?

---

B. What is the date of the recording?

---

C. Where was this recording made?

---

**Step 2. Listening**

A. Type of sound recording (check one):

- |   |  |
|---|--|
| <input type="radio"/> Policy Speech           | <input type="radio"/> Convention proceedings   |
| <input type="radio"/> Congressional Testimony | <input type="radio"/> Campaign speech          |
| <input type="radio"/> News report             | <input type="radio"/> Arguments before a court |
| <input type="radio"/> Interview               | <input type="radio"/> Panel discussion         |
| <input type="radio"/> Entertainment broadcast | <input type="radio"/> Other                    |
| <input type="radio"/> Press conference        |  |

B. Unique physical qualities of the recording

- Music
- Live broadcast
- Narrated
- Special sound effects
- Background sounds

C. What is the tone or mood of this recording?

---

**Step 3. Post-listening (or repeated listening)**

A. List three things in this sound recording that you think are important:

1. 

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2. 

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3. 

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B. Why do you think the original broadcast was made and for what audience?

---

C. What evidence in the recording helps you to know why it was made?

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D.	List two things this sound recording tells you about life in the United States at the time it was made: 1. _____ 2. _____
E.	Write a question to the broadcaster that is left unanswered by this sound recording. _____
F.	What information do you gain about this event that would not be conveyed by a written transcript? Be specific. _____

Reset Form

**Designed and developed by the  
Education Staff, National Archives and Records Administration,  
Washington, DC 20408**

Print Form

[http://www.archives.gov/education/lessons/worksheets/sound\\_recording\\_analysis\\_worksheet.pdf](http://www.archives.gov/education/lessons/worksheets/sound_recording_analysis_worksheet.pdf)

- “The Yankee freed you. Now let the Yankee feed you.”
- “I felt like a bird out of a cage. Amen. Amen.”
- “We have turned loose 4 million slaves without a ...cent in their pockets.”
- “White men must manage the south.”
- “There is nothing else I know anything about except managing a plantation.”

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**Reflective Writing in Journal:**

1. Based on info reported, predict how each group (Freedmen, Poor Whites, Former Plantation Owners) will react politically, economically, and socially during the Reconstruction Period.
2. Answer the essential question with the information we have discussed up to this point (*To what extent is reconstruction following a civil war successful?*).

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David Macrae

## The Devastated South

In this excerpt from *The Americans at Home* (1870), an account of his tour of the United States, the Scottish clergyman David Macrae describes the war-stricken South as he found it in 1867–1868, at a time when the crisis over Reconstruction was boiling over.

I was struck with a remark made by a Southern gentleman in answer to the assertion that Jefferson Davis [the president of the Confederacy] had culpably continued the war for six months after all hope had been abandoned.

"Sir," he said, "Mr. Davis knew the temper of the South as well as any man in it. He knew if there was to be anything worth calling peace, the South must win; or, if she couldn't win, she wanted to be whipped—well whipped—thoroughly whipped."

The further south I went, the oftener these remarks came back upon me. Evidence was everywhere that the South had maintained the desper-

there to strengthen his limb, and enable him to walk without limping, half of his foot being off. He showed me on the other leg a deep scar made by a fragment of a shell; and these were but two of seven wounds which had left their marks upon his body. When he heard me speak of relics, he said, "Try to find a North Carolina gentleman without a Yankee mark on him."

Nearly three years had passed when I traveled through the country, and yet we have seen what traces the war had left in such cities as Richmond, Petersburg, and Columbia. The same spectacle met me at Charleston. Churches and houses had been battered down by heavy shot and shell hurled into the city from Federal batteries at a distance of five miles. Even the valley of desolation made by a great fire in 1861, through the very heart of the city, remained unbuilt. There, after the lapse of seven years, stood the blackened ruins of streets and houses waiting for the coming of a better day. . . . Over the country districts the prostration was equally marked. Along the track of Sherman's army—especially, the devastation was fearful—farms laid waste, fences burned, bridges

had held commanding positions during the war had fallen out of sight and were filling humble situations—struggling, many of them, to earn a bare subsistence. . . . I remember dining with three cultured Southern gentlemen, one a general, the other, I think, a captain, and the third a lieutenant. They were all living together in a plain little wooden house, such as they would formerly have provided for their servants. Two of them were engaged in a railway office, the third was seeking a situation, frequently, in his vain search, passing the large blinded house where he had lived in luxurious ease before the war.

SOURCE: Allan Nevins, ed., *America through British Eyes* (Gloucester, MA: Peter Smith, 1968), 345–347.

### ANALYZING THE EVIDENCE

> In general, we value accounts by foreigners for insights they provide into America that might not be visible to its own citizens. Do you find any such insights in the Reverend Macrae's account of the postwar South?

> The South proved remarkably re-

... Almost every man I met in the South, especially in North Carolina, Georgia, and Virginia, seemed to have been in the army; and was pleased to find many who had returned were mutilated, maimed, or broken in health by exposure. When I asked this to a young Confederate soldier in North Carolina, and said I was glad to see that he had escaped unhurt, he said, "Wait till we get to the office, sir, and I will tell you more about that." When we got there, he tied up one leg of his trousers, and showed me that he had an iron rod

implanted in many cases turned into wilderness again.

The people had shared in the general wreck, and looked poverty-stricken, careworn, and dejected. Ladies who before the war had lived in affluence, with black servants round them to attend to their every wish, were boarding together in half-furnished houses, cooking their own food and washing their own linen. Some of them, I was told, so utterly destitute that they did not know when they finished one meal where they were to find the next. . . . Men who

resisted in northern efforts at reconstruction. Can we find explanations for that resistance in Macrae's account?

> The North quickly became disillusioned with radical Reconstruction (see p. 469). Is there anything in Macrae's sympathetic interviews with wounded southern gentlemen and destitute ladies that sheds light on the susceptibility of many Northerners to propaganda depicting a South in the grip of "a mass of black barbarism"?

## Resources for Lesson 2

### **Student Viewing #1 – CNN 2008 Presidential Election**

#### ***“Should African Americans Be Given Reparations For Slavery?”***

[http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=O5XAvfgesU&feature=PlayList&p=0F89BED84D58F089&playnext=1&playnext\\_from=PL&index=33](http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=O5XAvfgesU&feature=PlayList&p=0F89BED84D58F089&playnext=1&playnext_from=PL&index=33)

### **Student Reading #1 – Definition and Overview**

Merriam-Webster defines "reparation" as "1a: a repairing or keeping in repair, ... 2a: the act of making amends, offering expiation, or giving satisfaction for a wrong or injury, ... 3: the payment of damages." Reparations for the suffering of and wealth appropriated from and denied to African Americans has long been a topic of debate — as well as a policy practiced — in the United States.

#### A Form of Reparations: Affirmative Action

Though Nixon's presidency closed the door to a real mass investment in working-class and poor communities, he did advance affirmative action, a significantly narrower reparations program that has been a source of controversy for the past 40 years. The program was originally used to describe actions that would assist in integrating historically segregated institutions. When President Lyndon Johnson served as John F. Kennedy's vice president, he recognized that President Eisenhower's nondiscrimination policy for federal government contractors wasn't enough to open up federal employment for African Americans; so Johnson recommended "to impose not merely the negative obligation of avoiding discrimination but the affirmative duty to employ applicants."

President Nixon agreed with this line of thinking and put into place hiring goals for the building trades that received federal contracts. The addition of hiring goals added to the affirmative duty to employ African-American applicants is considered the beginning of affirmative action in the United States. Nixon reasoned that giving "everybody an equal chance at the line and then giving those who haven't had their chance, who've had it denied for a hundred years, that little extra start that they need so that it is in truth an equal chance" served as a long-standing rationale for affirmative action policies.

#### Post-Civil Rights Reparations

Since the 1970s, the United States has seen a growing number of large settlements to people who have suffered from prejudice and racism. In 1980, the Great Sioux Nation was awarded a reparations settlement stemming from a 1922 lawsuit over tribal lands that had been illegally appropriated in 1877. By 2002, this settlement, held in trust by the U.S. government, was valued at \$712.4 million.

In 1999, a federal court settlement was approved that provided \$1.6 billion in reparations to interned Japanese Americans and their heirs for the placing of Japanese people in U.S. concentration camps during World War II. The reparations to Japanese Americans came after decades of petitioning for an apology and reimbursement to Japanese Americans for their treatment during World War II. In 1988, Congress and President Ronald Reagan signed an official apology for the mass internment. The apology recognized that these past actions were the result of "race prejudice, war hysteria and a failure of political leadership."

Internationally, financial reparations have been distributed to Jewish victims of the Holocaust and their relatives. The Swiss gave over \$1 billion in reparations, for money appropriated from Jews during World War II and for the labor of Jews who spent time in concentration camps. The German government has set up an estimated \$1.75 billion fund from the proceeds of private businesses as reparations for the Holocaust.

In countries such as Malaysia and South Africa, a massive affirmative action policy has been implemented to restructure societies that had previously institutionalized economic inequality along racial/ethnic lines. Both of these countries had majority populations that were economically disenfranchised and demanded greater inclusion in the wealth of the nation. In Malaysia, a program called the New Economic Policy was first implemented in 1971.

The policy promoted preferential treatment for native Malaysians in government job opportunities, set quotas for native Malaysian investors, and subsidized loans and special educational opportunities. In South Africa, following the election of Nelson Mandela and the end of apartheid rule, the Black Economic Empowerment program was put in place. This initiative created a scorecard by which any business that wanted to do business with the government would be evaluated. Only by meeting the criteria of the Black Economic Empowerment program is a business considered for a government contract. Black Economic Empowerment criteria

include black ownership of companies, employment of blacks at all levels within a business, and social investment in the black community on the part of these private companies.

Malaysia and South Africa have experienced success in creating greater wealth in formerly disenfranchised communities. However, there have been charges in both countries of corruption in the implementation of the programs, and there is concern that the programs are creating an elite minority within the disenfranchised groups rather than empowering these groups as a whole.

Reparations through affirmative action policies is a global phenomenon. Countries such as Brazil, China, Japan and Sri Lanka, as well as many Western European countries all have reparation programs in the form of affirmative action policies that are to benefit those deemed disenfranchised according to race/ethnicity, gender, ability, language, and so on. These global affirmative action programs primarily focus on making employment and education opportunities available to disenfranchised communities.

### The Post-Civil Rights Struggle for Reparations

Over the last 30 years, African Americans have made strides in the struggle for reparations. In 1987, the National Coalition of Blacks for Reparations in America was formed. It called for reparations for Africans in the United States and throughout the diaspora to repair the damages caused by the transatlantic slave trade. A few years after the forming of this organization, Congressman John Conyers, of Detroit, Michigan, introduced H.R. 40, which calls for an investigation into the legacy of slavery and its modern-day effects. In 2007, Congressman Conyers, now Chair of the House Judiciary Committee, held a preliminary hearing on this resolution.

In 1994, the Florida state legislature voted to compensate nine African-American former residents of the small town of Rosewood, Florida. In 1923, this town of several hundred was burned to the ground by a white mob after a white woman claimed to have been assaulted by a black man.

In 2001, the Tulsa Race Riot Commission recommended monetary reparations to survivors of the 1921 Tulsa race riot and their descendants. The Tulsa race riot was another case in which a white mob — with the support of state and local police forces — attacked and destroyed a black community. It is believed that hundreds of blacks were killed and thousands lost their homes.

More recently, several states have offered apologies and/or regret for their participation in the transatlantic slave trade of African peoples. Since 2007, Virginia, Maryland, Arkansas, New Jersey, North Carolina, Florida and Alabama have all passed resolutions of apologies or regret. This year, Congressman Stephen Cohen of Memphis, Tennessee, has sponsored a federal bill that calls on the United States to apologize for slavery and the segregation that followed.

The call for reparations by African Americans has continued for a very long time. Instead of calls quieting as time passes, the debate is only broadening and reaching higher levels of government. It appears that the quest for reparations for African Americans will only end when the racial inequality between blacks and whites ends.

### **Student Reading #2 – Historical Efforts to Secure Reparations**

Most white Americans view recent calls for reparations for slavery as new and strange. Edward Ball, author of the best-selling book *Slaves in the Family* (1998), observes that he rarely meets a white person "who does not roll their eyes hearing the word reparations. It's thought to be some kind of alien concept, frightening if not even laughable." According to polls, nine out of ten whites reject the idea, many arguing that it is of recent vintage and distinctly un-American.

The loudest and most persistent expression of this perception has come from conservative critic David Horowitz of the Center for the Study of Popular Culture in Los Angeles and the author of *Uncivil Wars: The Controversy over Reparations for Slavery* (2002). He claims that such calls are the product of recent "historical revisionism" by radical activists and academic fellow-travelers on the Left.

According to Horowitz, the idea of reparations is "a fringe proposition favored by the political extreme," which bases its demands for restitution on "racist ideas that are inconsistent with America's democratic principles and institutions." His arguments have been widely circulated and, except on college campuses and among reparations activists, relatively well received.

The popularity of this view is not lost on African American scholars and activists. Charles Ogletree of Harvard Law School, a leading figure in the contemporary reparations movement, while noting that "the idea of reparations makes Americans uneasy," argues that "it is probably partly because, for most whites, it is a new idea, based on a history they do not understand." Robin D. G. Kelley, an historian and public intellectual at New York University, suggests in his volume *Freedom Dreams* (2002) that "most of America is still dismissing demands for reparations, claiming that the very idea violates the basic principles of U.S. democracy and laissez-faire capitalism."

In fact, the idea of reparations for slavery is far from new. Calls for compensation in some form to slaves and their descendants preceded the founding of the United States, dating back to at least the 1760s and continued to be sounded in relatively unbroken form for some two-and-a-half centuries up to the present.

This long history of reparations arguments and practices included a range of individuals and groups prior to the Civil War: hundreds of eighteenth-century Quakers, who freed their slaves and personally compensated them for their unpaid time in bondage; a few newly-freed slaves in the North after the American Revolution, who sued in court for a portion of their former masters' wealth; dozens of penitent masters in the upper South, who set their slaves at liberty (especially in their wills) as acts of "retribution" and gave them plots of land, often in the emerging free states north of the Ohio River; a small cadre of nineteenth-century black and white abolitionists, who argued that it was important not only to emancipate the slaves but to "compensate them for the crime"; and hundreds of thousands of slaves on Southern farms and plantations before the Civil War, who sounded subtle calls for both freedom and reparations in their folk songs and tales, claiming that they were due "Egypt's spoil" for their "unrequited toil." These several threads converged after the Civil War as African Americans and their white allies pressed unsuccessfully to redistribute "forty acres and a mule" to each family of recently-freed slaves from the farms and plantations that the U.S. government had confiscated from Confederate rebels during the fighting. They argued that these freedmen and freedwomen were owed a plot of land and an animal to work it as just compensation for their unpaid labor and suffering in slavery.

Several black leaders, most notably former slave and women's rights advocate Sojourner Truth, called for giving African Americans free government land in the West. Fiery young preacher Henry McNeal Turner campaigned for \$40 billion in federal cash payments to the ex-slaves. At the turn of the twentieth century, some 600,000 African Americans joined organizations lobbying for monthly federal pensions to be paid to those who had once been in bondage. These organizations succeeded in getting several bills authorizing such pensions to the floor of Congress and in 1915 filed a reparations lawsuit in federal court.

As the generations of African Americans who had known bondage passed from the scene, their descendants, then flocking in ever larger numbers to America's urban centers, continued to push for reparations for slavery. Many black nationalists, especially followers of Marcus Garvey, Communists, and adherents to the Nation of Islam, generated calls for an all-black state or states in the South as a form of restitution to slavery's grandchildren.

In 1962, "Queen Mother" Audrey Moore of Harlem, a former Garveyite, even presented pro-reparations petitions bearing a million signatures to President John F. Kennedy. During the era of the Civil Rights Movement, a range of African American leaders and organizations called for reparations, including Martin Luther King, Malcolm X, the Black Panthers, the Republic of New Africa, and especially James Forman, whose "Black Manifesto" (1969) shocked white Americans by demanding \$500 million from mainstream churches and synagogues to be directed into black economic development. In fact, by the late twentieth century, reparations sentiment (often captured in the language of "forty acres and a mule") seemed deeply embedded in African American culture, finding expression in kitchen table conversation, song lyrics, T-shirts and ball caps, even the name of Spike Lee's film production company. Contemporary calls for reparations for slavery continue a 250-year-old tradition.

Calls for reparations have also depended upon arguments drawn from both Western political thought and Judeo-Christian social ethics and concepts of justice. Revolutionary-era Quakers, pre-Civil War abolitionists, and Black Panthers all pointed to the philosophy of natural rights expressed in the Declaration of Independence. Others looked to the Bible. Quakers and black abolitionists repeatedly employed the Golden Rule that one should "do unto others as you would have them do unto you" (Matthew 7:12) in defending the idea of reparations. The values underlying reparations for slavery can be seen as wholly American.

### **Student Reading #3 – For and Against Reparations**

Reparations efforts have led a number of cities and states to approve measures that force businesses to publicize their historical ties to slavery. Several reparations court cases are in progress, and international human rights officials are increasingly spotlighting the issue. "This matter is growing in significance rather than declining," said Charles Ogletree, a Harvard law

professor and a leading reparations activist. "It has more vigor and vitality in the 21st century than it's had in the history of the reparations movement."

The most recent victories for reparations advocates came in June, when the Moravian Church and the Episcopal Church both apologized for owning slaves and promised to battle current racism. The Episcopalians also launched a national, yearslong probe into church slavery links and into whether the church should compensate black members. A white church member, Katrina Browne, also screened a documentary focusing on white culpability at the denomination's national assembly.

The Episcopalians debated slavery and reparations for years before reaching an agreement, said Jayne Oasin, social justice officer for the denomination, who will oversee its work on the issue. Historically, slavery was an uncomfortable topic for the church. Some Episcopal bishops owned slaves — and the Bible was used to justify the practice, Oasin said. "Why not (take these steps) 100 years ago?" she said. "Let's talk about the complicity of the Episcopal Church as one of the institutions of this country who, of course, benefited from slavery."

Also in June, a North Carolina commission urged the state government to repay the descendants of victims of a violent 1898 campaign by white supremacists to strip blacks of power in Wilmington, N.C. As many as 60 blacks died, and thousands were driven from the city. The commission also recommended state-funded programs to support local black businesses and homeownership. The report came weeks after the Organization of American States requested information from the U.S. government about a 1921 race riot in Tulsa, in which 1,200 homes were burned and as many as 300 blacks killed. An OAS official said the group might pursue the issue as a violation of international human rights.

The modern reparations movement revived an idea that's been around since emancipation, when black leaders argued that newly freed slaves deserved compensation. About six years ago, the issue started gaining momentum again. Randall Robinson's "The Debt: What America Owes to Blacks," was a best seller; reparations became a central issue at the World Conference on Racism in Durban, South Africa; and California legislators passed the nation's first law forcing insurance companies that do business with the state to disclose their slavery ties. Illinois passed a similar insurance law in 2003, and the next year Iowa legislators began requesting — but not forcing — the same disclosures.

Several cities — including Chicago, Detroit and Oakland — have laws requiring that all businesses make such disclosures. Reparations opponents insist that no living American should have to pay for a practice that ended more than 140 years ago. Plus, programs such as affirmative action and welfare already have compensated for past injustices, said John H. McWhorter, a senior fellow at the conservative Manhattan Institute. "The reparations movement is based on a fallacy that cripples the thinking on race — the fallacy that what ails black America is a cash problem," said McWhorter, who is black. "Giving people money will not solve the problems that we have."

#### **Student Reading #4 – For and Against Reparations**

Aug. 27, 2001 -- The U.S. government's first reparations plan to compensate African-Americans for the legacy of slavery was 40 acres and a mule apiece -- that was Gen. William Sherman's promise to former slaves shortly after the Civil War ended in 1865. His order set aside land on the Georgia and South Carolina coasts for the settlement of thousands of newly freed families. But the promise was quickly recanted and the land was taken back, with no other plans for reparations.

Since then, the issue has been revisited time and again by leading civil rights activists. In 1963, for example, Martin Luther King Jr., called Sherman's promise "a check which has come back marked 'insufficient funds.'" King called instead for "a check that will give (African-Americans) upon demand the riches of freedom and the security of justice."

Support from the White House and Congress still remains weak: President Bush is said to oppose paying slave compensation, and U.S. Rep. John Conyers' proposal to set up a commission to study the impact of slavery has languished for over a decade.

But the movement has been gaining momentum elsewhere, most notably in the courts. There is now an increased focus on getting compensation from corporations that once profited from slavery. And a major legal battle may be waged early next year when a group of Harvard University professors plans to file a class action lawsuit to seek restitution.

The supporters of reparations face many hurdles, however. Critics say it will be difficult to determine plaintiffs and defendants, arguing that non-black Americans living today are not responsible for slavery and that their tax dollars should not be used for compensation.

#### **Student Reading #5 – For and Against Reparations**

It has been more than a century since Gen. William Tecumseh Sherman ordered that the coastlands confiscated in the Civil War be divided into 40-acre plots and distributed to thousands of former slaves. After Abraham Lincoln's assassination, Andrew Johnson rescinded the order and took back the land that had been distributed. Since then, the idea of compensating African-Americans for the sins of two and a half centuries of slavery has hovered in the background, far from reality. But now the movement for reparations is gaining steam.

As a political matter, reparations has been a nonstarter: every year since 1989, Representative John Conyers Jr., Democrat of Michigan, has introduced legislation calling for a comprehensive study of reparations, and every year the legislation has stalled.

But as a social and legal movement, the call for reparations has taken on substantial force this year. Black professionals and scholars are taking up a cause that used to engage mostly working-class blacks. And beyond the longstanding efforts to seek government restitution, there is a new focus on winning reparations from corporate targets that once profited from slavery.

The new momentum is apparent on many fronts:

□ A California law that took effect this year requires every insurance company licensed in the state to research its past business, and that of its predecessor companies, and report to the state whether it ever sold policies insuring slave owners against the loss of their slave property, and if so to whom.

□ A team of prominent African-American lawyers has announced plans to file lawsuits early next year seeking damages from the federal government and companies that profited from slavery. The team is part of the Reparations Coordinating Committee, led by Charles Ogletree, a professor at Harvard Law School, and Randall N. Robinson, the founder of TransAfrica, a lobbying group.

□ In March, the Oklahoma Commission to Study the Race Riots of 1921 recommended that survivors and their descendants be paid reparations for the uprising in which thousands of whites stormed a prosperous black neighborhood, destroying homes and businesses and killing at least 40 people.

□ Aetna formally apologized in March 2000 for having written policies for slave owners on the lives of their slaves. Three months later The Hartford Courant, which had run a front-page article about Aetna's apology, made a front-page apology of its own, for having run advertisements for the sale and capture of slaves.

□ Advocates of reparations are fighting to make compensation for slavery an official theme of the United Nations World Conference Against Racism in August, and hoping to win a declaration that slavery is a crime against humanity for which reparations should be paid.

□ Last month, The Philadelphia Inquirer published two full-page editorials urging the creation of a national reparations commission.

The idea of reparations raises tangled questions about who should pay the money and who should receive it and, more profoundly, about the relative merits of affirmative action and restitution. The Reparations Coordinating Committee's litigation is unlikely to get into such particulars. The first task, lawyers say, is to establish a legal wrong that must be remedied. "The history of slavery in America has never been fully addressed in a public forum," Mr. Ogletree said. "Litigation will show what slavery meant, how it was profitable and how the issue of white privilege is still with us. Litigation is a place to start, because it focuses attention on the issue."

Some blacks still dismiss the reparations movement as a digression from the issues that matter. "If the government got the money from the tooth fairy or Santa Claus, that'd be great," said Walter E. Williams, chairman of the economics department at George Mason University. "But the government has to take the money from citizens, and there are no citizens alive today who were responsible for slavery. The problems that black people face are not going to be solved by white people, and they're not going to be solved by money. The resources that are going into the fight for reparations would be far more valuably spent making sure that black kids have a credible education."

Reparations remain a divisive idea, opposed by the vast majority of whites but widely supported by African-Americans. "There is now no major black organization that does not support reparations," said Mr. Robinson, whose book "The Debt: What America Owes to Blacks" is a steady seller in black bookstores.

The legal argument, he said, is compelling: "When government participates in a crime against humanity, and benefits from it, then that government is under the law obliged to make the victims whole. That's recognized as a principle of law."

Certainly, reparations payments have become an increasingly familiar concept. The United States government has paid reparations to Japanese-Americans interned in World War II, and to several Indian tribes. Holocaust survivors who were used as forced laborers have won reparations from European countries. Mexican braceros who worked in the United States during World War II have filed a class-action lawsuit for reparations.

Stuart E. Eizenstat, who as a senior official in the Clinton administration negotiated settlements under which Holocaust victims would receive \$8 billion in reparations from the governments of Germany, France and Austria and from Swiss banks, said that he viewed those cases as different from the African-American claims, because Holocaust reparations are going largely to surviving victims, while slavery reparations would go to descendants generations removed.

"For slavery qua slavery, I think the appropriate remedy is affirmative government action in general, rather than reparations," said Mr. Eizenstat, who is now in private life. "And if 100 years from now the great-great-grandson of a Holocaust laborer asked for reparations, I don't think that would be appropriate, unless there was some specific property that had been confiscated that they wanted to recover."

### **Student Reading #6 – For and Against Slavery**

Descendants of U.S. slaves will not be receiving reparation checks any time soon. A federal judge served a blow to the modern slavery reparations movement by tossing out a lawsuit on Wednesday that asked corporations that reaped profits from slave labor to pay up. In a 104-page opinion, U.S. District Judge Charles R. Norgle said slavery has caused "tremendous suffering and ineliminable scars," but an attempt by slave descendants to seek reparations "more than a century after the end of the Civil War and the formal abolition of slavery fails."

"It is undisputed that Congress has taken the initiative to deal with issues arising from the slave trade in the decades after the Civil War. Congress has considered and rejected Representative Conyers' calls for the establishment of a commission to study the effects of slavery. . . . This district court will therefore not substitute its judgment for that of Congress on the matter of slave reparations." Judge Norgle wrote that the plaintiffs in the case had to prove they were personally injured by slavery, adding that a genealogical tie to slaves is not enough to show that injury. He also ruled the lawsuit was brought too late and, citing long-standing legal doctrine, Norgle argued that a decision over reparations isn't proper for the courts. It's an issue that should be decided by the president or Congress, he said.

Norgle said the plaintiffs failed to show that they had experienced any "concrete and particular" suffering that wasn't true of African Americans in general. He also said those suing failed to allege any conduct by the 17 defendants that personally affected any of the plaintiffs. Conrad Worrill, chairman of the National Black United Front, denounced the ruling as the product of "conservative, right-wing, judicial, political decision-making." He scoffed at Norgle's contention that plaintiffs had not proved personal injury from slavery. "Judge Norgle is just a liar; he is exercising his political ideology," Worrill said. "We did prove it. It is a question of whose eyes are interpreting the facts. His eyes are the eyes of a racist."

### **Student Reading #7 – Recent Reparation Talk**

On a March 1998 tour of Africa, then-President Bill Clinton offered a "semiapology" for America's participation in the transatlantic slave trade. The president expressed regret and contrition, admitting that America had not always "done the right thing by Africa,"<sup>1</sup> yet he stopped short of a formal apology, asserting that to do so might antagonize race relations in the United States.<sup>2</sup> Slavery was permitted by law in the southern United States from the era of British colonial rule in the seventeenth century until the surrender of the Confederate secessionists following the Civil War (1861–65). Legal in Washington, D.C., slave labor was used to build the U.S. Capitol and the White House. The U.S. government, however, had never apologized to the more than 30 million African Americans living in America whose ancestors had toiled as slaves, nor had an apology been offered to the West African nations from which millions of Africans had been captured and transported on a harrowing, and often deadly, trip across the Atlantic Ocean.

What went unspoken by Clinton was the fact that a formal apology could be interpreted in a court of law as an admission of guilt by the U.S. government for sanctioning the institution of slavery. Such an admission might mean that the U.S. government could be successfully sued for reparations payable to the descendants of slaves. Reparations are the means by which governments and corporations make restitution—typically in cash payments—to individuals who have suffered wrongful harm as a result of

negligent laws and actions. In 1988, for example, Congress passed legislation authorizing the payment of \$20,000 to each Japanese American who was forcibly interned in camps on the West Coast of the United States during World War II.

Clinton's tentative steps toward a formal apology for American slavery focused national attention on the growing campaign of African American activists who are seeking reparations from both the U.S. government and the still-intact corporations that profited from the slave trade. Demands for slavery reparations have been lodged since the Civil War, but the campaign's modern incarnation took root during the civil rights movement of the 1960s. Black Muslim leader Malcolm X demanded the "forty acres and a mule" that President Andrew Johnson (1865–69) was widely believed to have promised, but never delivered, to the freed slaves. According to historian Elazar Barkan in *The Guilt of Nations*, "During the urban riots of the 1960s [black] looters claimed their loot was their forty acres and promised to be back for the mule."<sup>3</sup> In 1969 an organized movement for reparations coalesced following a protest staged by black activist James Foreman. Interrupting a service at the predominantly white Riverside Church in New York City, Foreman read his "Black Manifesto," which demanded that white churches and synagogues pay reparations totaling \$500 million to African Americans for condoning and abetting slavery. Activist groups were formed throughout the 1970s and 1980s to study and promote the issue of slavery reparations.

By 1989, the payment of reparations to Japanese Americans had encouraged Michigan Congressman John Conyers Jr. to introduce bill H.R. 40—an allusion to "forty acres and a mule"—calling for federal acknowledgement of the cruelty and injustice of slavery and a study of slavery's effects on contemporary African Americans. Conyers's bill gave the reparations movement the imprimatur of mainstream backing, but it remains in congressional committee. In the meantime, other reparations advocates have sought redress through the judicial process. In March 2002 a lawsuit was filed by Deadria C. Farmer-Paellmann in Brooklyn, New York, seeking damages payable to slave descendants from insurance and rail companies that profited from the sale and transportation of slaves. Similar lawsuits have since been filed in several other states; the outcome of these cases is still pending as of spring 2003. In addition, the Reparations Coordinating Committee (RCC), a group of prominent African American lawyers and academics, has publicly stated that it plans to file a reparations lawsuit once a legal strategy has been determined.

The campaign for slavery reparations rests on the assertion that African Americans who were never slaves are owed damages from nonblack taxpayers, the majority of whose ancestors did not own slaves. Estimates of the amount of damages owed are generally based on the percentage of America's wealth thought to have been derived from slave labor. Reparations advocates have called for damages ranging from hundreds of billions of dollars to more than \$4 trillion. Depending on the terms of the settlement, African Americans might receive from \$50,000 per family to \$500,000 per person. As an alternative to cash payments, some activists propose that slavery reparations be used to establish a trust fund to distribute scholarships, housing and business loans, land grants, health services, and other empowerment initiatives within the African American community.

Many reparations activists address the ostensible unfairness of such a sizable transfer of wealth by arguing that the historical injustice of slavery cannot be viewed separately from the current plight of African Americans, who are still affected by the legacy of slavery and the decades of institutionalized racism that followed the Civil War.

Explains John Conyers Jr., "African Americans are still victims of slavery as surely as those who lived under its confinement. . . . Just as white Americans have benefited from education, life experiences, and wealth that was handed down to them by their ancestors, so too have African Americans been harmed by the institution of slavery."<sup>4</sup> By this reasoning, slavery was simply replaced, in the words of Columbia University Professor Manning Marable, by a "pattern of white privilege and Black inequality that is at the core of American history and continues to this day."<sup>5</sup>

In the view of Conyers, Marable, and other reparations proponents, the U.S. government is directly responsible for the persistent inequality experienced by African Americans. Not only did the government condone slavery for eighty-nine years (1776–1865), it also compounded slavery's harmful legacy through its misdeeds both during and after the post-Civil War Reconstruction period. The 4 million freed slaves, who were destitute and largely illiterate, were not provided with the relief assistance and civil rights protections necessary to begin successful lives as free people following emancipation. Government proposals to provide them with abandoned and confiscated Southern lands—the "forty acres and a mule" that would have enabled economic independence from former slave masters—were scuttled by President Lincoln's successor, former vice president Andrew Johnson. With land ownership out of reach, the majority of freed people were left at the mercy of white landowners who instituted a system of sharecropping and peonage, under which freed people were forced to work off unemployment "fines" to avoid jail sentences. As black intellectual W.E.B. Du Bois maintains in "Back Toward Slavery," a chapter from his 1935 book *Black Reconstruction*, "It was the policy of the [Southern] state to keep the Negro laborer poor, to confine him as far as possible to menial occupations, . . . and to force him into peonage and unpaid toil."<sup>6</sup> Educational opportunities were also severely limited. Describes Du Bois, "The schools were separate but the colored schools were controlled by white officials who decided how much or rather how little should be spent upon them."<sup>7</sup> Southern states deprived African Americans of their basic civil rights by passing "Jim Crow" laws—named for a popular character in a minstrel show (minstrel shows were degrading performances in which whites impersonated blacks). For nearly one hundred years (1865–1964), Jim Crow laws enforced segregation in schools and places of

public accommodation, denied blacks the right to vote through literacy and property ownership litmus tests, and subjected them to lynchings and other forms of mob violence that went unpunished by southern law enforcement.

According to reparations proponents, the historic disdain exhibited by the U.S. government for the civil rights of African Americans has done lasting damage to their social and economic well-being. Federal civil rights legislation, introduced in the mid-1960s, came too late to close the enormous income and personal wealth gap that arose between blacks and whites in the segregated economy of the South, where most blacks resided and where simply earning a subsistence living was difficult until the late 1960s. Beginning at this time, antipoverty programs like welfare and affirmative action—the program that gives blacks, women, and other minorities preferential treatment in some hiring, contracting, and university admissions decisions—were introduced. But reparations proponents contend that neither welfare nor affirmative action was intended for the exclusive use of African Americans, and both programs have been undermined by legislation and court decisions that limit their applicability and efficacy. The result: Contemporary African Americans inherited far fewer assets from their parents and grandparents than did their white counterparts, and they are still playing economic catch-up. Sociologists Joe R. Feagin and Eileen O'Brien explain: "African American families on average have less than one-tenth the wealth of whites. Even middle-class African Americans . . . have only fifteen cents to every middle-class white's dollar."<sup>8</sup>

In addition, reparations advocate Earl Ofari Hutchinson argues that racial discrimination remains a powerful hindrance to the economic success of blacks, who face rates of unemployment and poverty double those of whites. Says Hutchinson, "Slavery ended in 1865 but the legacy of slavery still remains. . . . [B]lacks are still the major economic and social vic- AI Reparations for Slavery INT 10/28/03 12:02 PM Page 6 tims of racial discrimination. They are far more likely to live in underserved segregated neighborhoods, be refused business and housing loans, be denied promotions in corporations and attend cash-starved, failing public schools than whites."<sup>9</sup> Hutchinson estimates that discrimination continues to cost blacks \$10 billion annually in assets that are wrongly transferred to whites through the "the black-white wage gap, denial of capital access, inadequate public services, and reduced Social Security and other government benefits."<sup>10</sup> Racial discrimination and concomitant economic inequality are also cited by Randall Robinson, author of *The Debt: What America Owes to Blacks*, as the leading factors behind the disproportionately high infant mortality rate, below-average life span, and high incarceration rate of African Americans.<sup>11</sup> Robinson maintains that the economic gap between blacks and whites has been "resolutely nurtured" by law and public policy since the end of slavery.<sup>12</sup>

Based on these troubling social and economic indicators, a large transfer of wealth to African Americans is the only way that fundamental equality in American society can be achieved, according to many reparations advocates. Observes University of Maryland professor Ronald Walters, "Slavery is responsible for having robbed black people of the economic resources necessary to acquire the cultural tools and institutions of the dominant group. . . . [B]lacks are the only group expected to come all the way up the rough side of the mountain—in the most economically competitive society in the world—without the requisite resources to do so."<sup>13</sup>

The historical injustices committed against African Americans are undeniable, but critics of the reparations campaign do not see a connection between the wrongs of past centuries and the present economic status of black America. Conservative commentator David Horowitz strongly disagrees with Randall Robinson's assertion that since the end of slavery, public policy has done little to help blacks reach economic parity with whites. Wonders Horowitz, "After billions were spent on affirmative action programs, federal anti-discrimination laws and extensive social programs aimed at addressing racial barriers and deficits, how is it possible to say that the [economic] gap between blacks and whites has been 'resolutely nurtured' for the past 136 years?"<sup>14</sup> To Horowitz, Robinson conveniently ignores the irresponsible behavior that is to blame for the social pathologies besetting the black underclass. In fact, conservative critics charge that something-for-nothing programs like welfare and affirmative action—which, they argue, reparations payments would merely replicate—undermine personal responsibility and initiative and have fostered a culture of economic dependency, out-of-wedlock childbirths, and intellectual laziness that has nothing to do with the legacy of slavery. Argues conservative black commentator Shelby Steele, "I believe the greatest problem black America has had over the past 30 years has been precisely a faith in reparational uplift. . . . We fought for welfare programs that only subsidized human inertia, for cultural approaches to education that stagnated skill development in our young and for affirmative-action programs that removed the incentive to excellence in our best and brightest."<sup>15</sup> More handouts, this time under the banner of "slavery reparations," would only create more social and economic distress, in Steele's view.

The debate over reparations for American slavery brings to the forefront much of the racial division and resentment that has vexed America since the end of the Civil War. Proponents strongly believe that a public apology and the payment of reparations are a meaningful step toward healing the lingering damage that slavery and decades of societal discrimination have done to African Americans. However, in asking white Americans to pay for the sins of their ancestors, opponents contend, reparations advocates run the risk of driving a further wedge of racial resentment between blacks and whites, creating more problems than they solve. After all, they point out some African Americans have achieved great wealth and status and many are solidly middle class, while millions of working-class whites and recent immigrants remain on the bottom rung of the economic ladder. Contends African

American journalist Deroy Murdock, “If it is wrong for a cop to eye a black man and consider him a criminal, it is equally wrong for a Treasury official to see that same man and regard him as disadvantaged and deserving of a check. . . . Ultimately, the cost in anti-black ill will that reparations would engender would outstrip any benefit from ‘gaining justice’ for slavery.”<sup>16</sup>

As the movement for slavery reparations gains momentum, Americans of all races may soon have to confront this complex, controversial issue. The following articles in *At Issue: Reparations for American Slavery* offer a diverse array of opinions from leading proponents and critics engaged in the slavery reparations debate.



## House Bill 2009A: Reparations

**Issue:** The US Congress will be holding hearings this coming spring on bill introduced to the House calling for reparation payments to be made to the descendants of former slaves. If passed, the bill will require the US Government to begin dispersing payments totaling in excess of \$1 billion dollars to verified descendants of former slaves held in bondage in the United States between the years of 1607 and 1865.

**Students:** Based upon your knowledge of the reparation debate that has been argued for over one hundred years, and your personal opinion of whether or not payments are justified and owed to the descendants of former slaves, complete the following assignments:

1. Your first assignment is to write a persuasive letter to your state's congressional representatives, stating your opinion on the issue of reparations. Should the US Congress pass the bill requiring payments to be made, or reject the bill and continue to debate the issue? Your congressional representatives need to read the opinions of their constituents in order to make a better informed choice on the matter this coming spring.

### Letter Format:

- a. Your opening paragraph should state your opinion. In a clear voice, yet in a professional manner (remember, your audience is a member of Congress), state your opinion on the matter of reparation payments.
- b. Your second, third, and fourth paragraphs need to present facts that support your opinion. If you support the bill, you need to explain three reasons why the bill should pass. If you don't support the bill, you need to explain three reasons why the bill shouldn't pass. Your reasons need to be based on facts that you collected from your readings, though mixed with your own impassioned pleas for a "yes" or "no" vote". It's not enough to simply rely on emotions, name-calling, and/or hysterical statements of outrage or support. Your supporting reasons for your overall opinion need to be stated using a mixture of solid fact and mature critique.
- c. Your concluding paragraph should once again state your opinion on the issue of reparation payments, and leave no doubt as to your support or non-support of the proposed bill.



2. In addition to participating in the letter writing campaign either supporting or not supporting the proposed house bill regarding reparation payments, you have been recruited to take part in a planned march on Washington during the spring session debates on the issue. For this march, your class will be split into two groups; those supporting reparation, and those who do not support reparations. As a group, you will need to create a banner/placard to hold while you march through Washington, culminating in a mass rally at the steps of the Capitol building.
  - a. Your banner needs to be on a piece of poster board, roughly 24"x30" or larger.
  - b. You need to come up with a slogan, a catch phrase, an easy to spot and easy to remember (amongst the thousands of banners) statement of your feelings on the issue of reparation payments. Be creative. Your slogan should be no longer than a

sentence. It can rhyme, be a play on words, and it may even incorporate names, phrases, or other historical information from your readings. You will want to add color to your banner. Write neatly and clearly.

- c. You will also need to add a graphic to your banner. The graphic should help to convey your feelings about reparations. The graphic should help to elaborate your point. The graphic should be hand-drawn, not photocopied or traced from a separate source. It needs to be original. You may, however, create an original work by cutting out pictures from other sources and arranging them in a new and original way.



***The Evolution of the Slave Reparation Debate***

***Purpose:***

The purpose of this chart is to allow you to organize and analyze the progress of the reparation movement from 1865 to the present. In the first column, as you complete each reading, take note of which individuals, groups, organizations, politicians, scholars, nations, etc. have supported the reparation movement as the years have passed. Which groups have added support, or removed support, as the fight for reparations has proceeded to the present day? In the second column make note of the successes and setbacks of the reparation movement, including any acknowledgments, apologies, legislative measures, or monetary payments made. The third column is to allow you to chart the progress of the opposition to the reparation movement. In it, make a chronological list of those individuals, groups, organizations, politicians, scholars, nations, etc. that have opposed reparation payments since 1865 until the present day.

Supporters of Reparations	Successes and Setbacks of the Reparation Movement	Growth of the Opposition to Reparations

**Analysis Questions:**

1. Since the initial push for reparations began in 1865, has its membership grown or decreased? Is there more support for reparations today than there was in the past, or has the movement fallen out of favor?

2. In your opinion, what more could be done to bring attention to this issue? What more could its supporters do to bring a successful resolution to this matter, namely a monetary payment to those descendants of former slaves in the United States?
3. Have there been more successes or failures over the years towards the reparationsists ultimate goal of the United States government both recognizing its failures on the slave issue, and compensating the descendants of those directly affected during the more than 200 years of slavery in the US? What have those successes and failures been?
4. If the reparationsists were to claim victory in this debate and secure financial payments for the descendants of former slaves, how could the lives of those descendants change, either positively or negatively? How could their future generations (children, grandchildren, etc.) be affected as well? Their communities, educational opportunities, personal finances?
5. Looking at column three, has the opposition to the reparations movement grown stronger or weaker since 1865? If the ultimate goal of the reparationsists is the gain both an apology and monetary compensation from the US government has the opposition been successful, or failed, in stopping those efforts?
6. In your opinion, what more could the opposition do to prevent an apology or payments being made to the descendants of former slaves? Or, have they done enough already?
7. If the opposition was to claim victory in this debate, and the Supreme Court of the US ultimately decided against any type of reparations, how would it affect the lives of the descendants of the former slaves? What type of effect, if any, would it have on the status of those in society that may have been forced to pay for the reparations?
8. Lastly, what is your opinion on the issue of reparations? Should the current US Government and our modern culture be held responsible for its past actions, and should any compensation, whether it be a verbal apology, monetary payments, or otherwise, be offered? Explain.

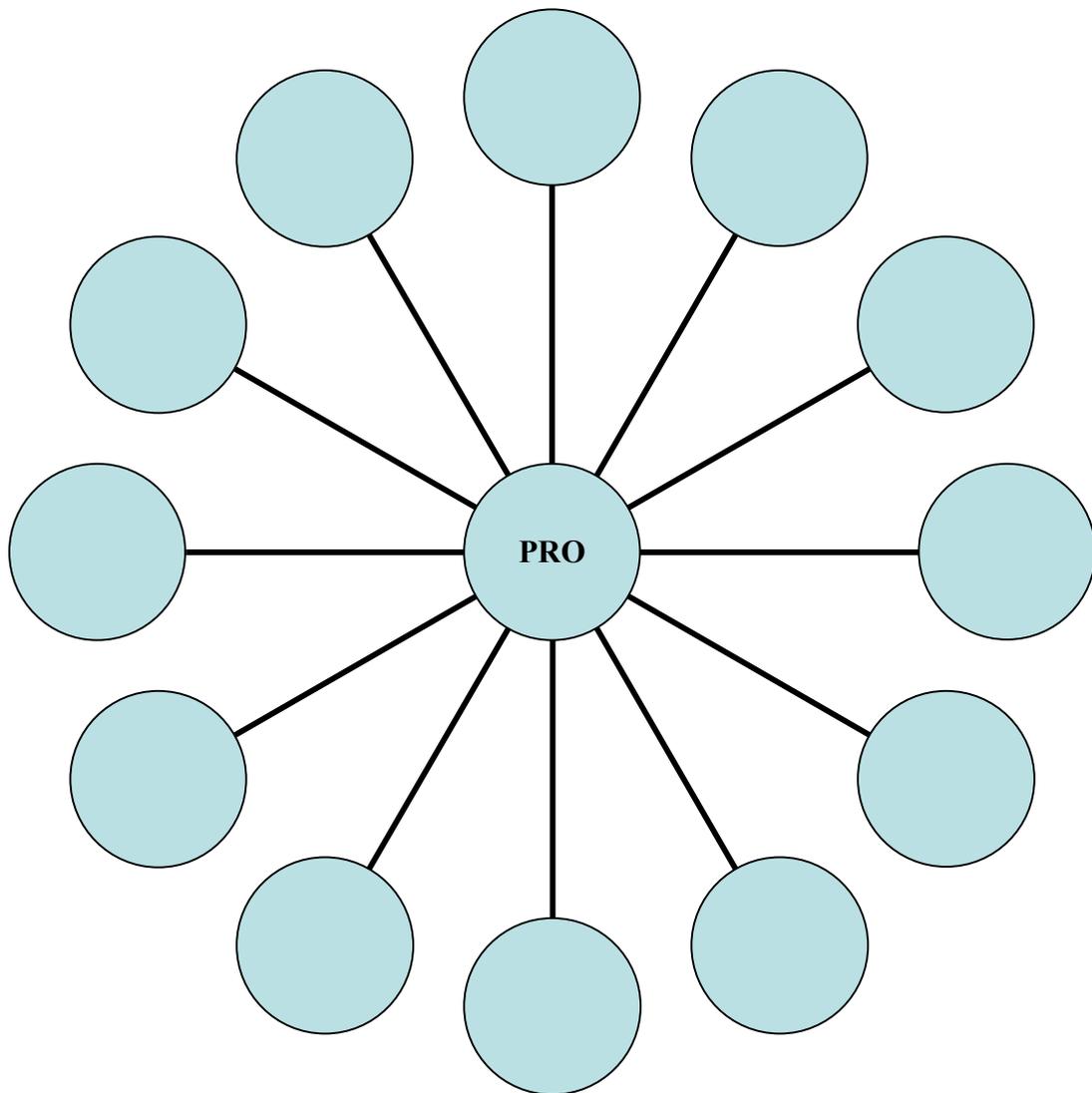
**Define Reparations:**

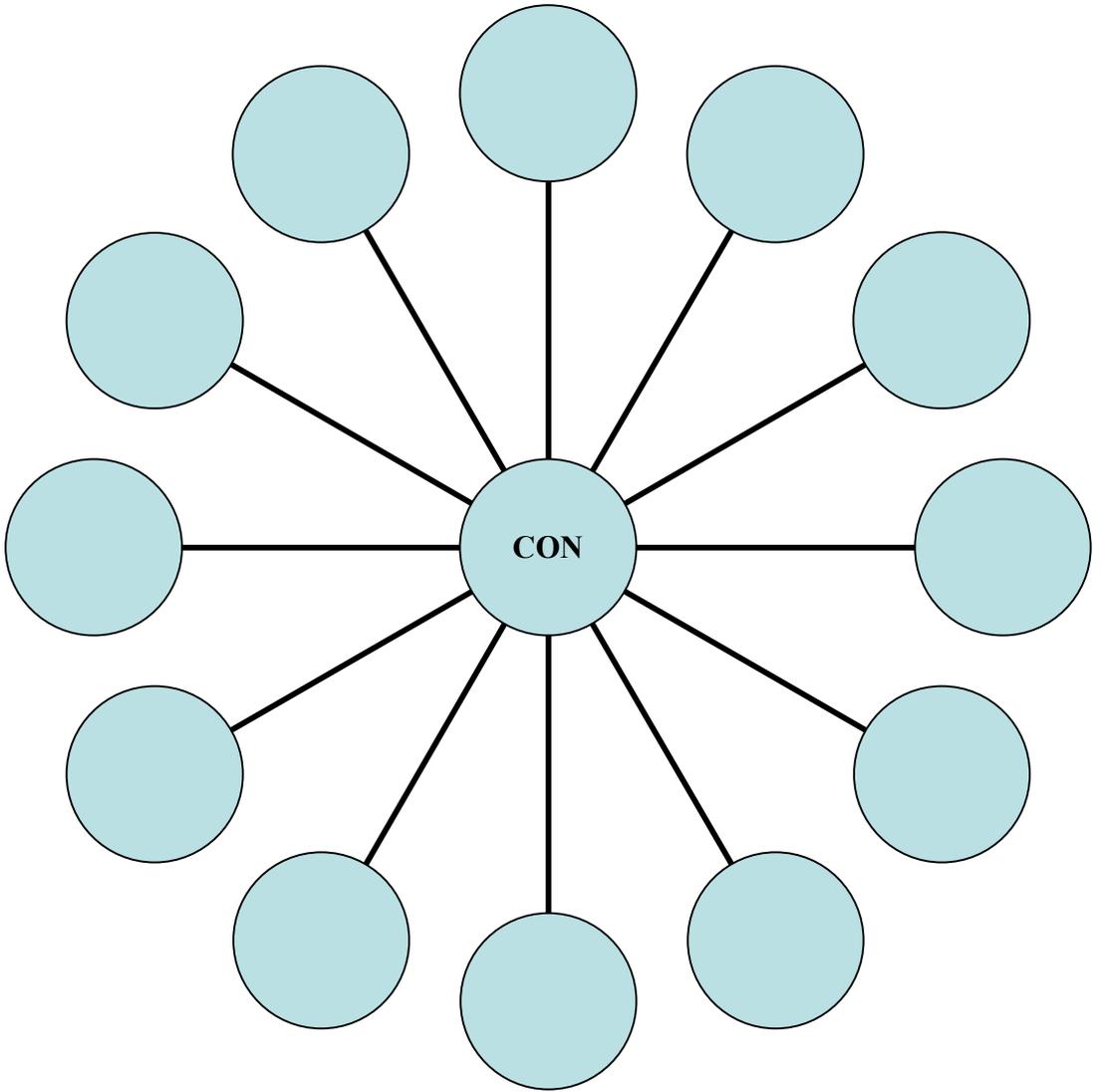
**Pro Reparations**

In this diagram, use the information from the readings to create a summary of the major points presented that support reparation payments to the descendants of former slaves. List the reason why the US government *should* be held responsible for its past actions.

**Con Reparations**

In this diagram, use the information from the readings to create a summary of the major points presented that opposes the payment of reparations to the descendants of former slaves. List the reasons why reparations *shouldn't* be paid to today's descendants?





Using the information you have collected today and other knowledge you have discovered throughout this unit, write an article for Delaware Today magazine titled:  
“Change and Continuity: How Delaware has changed and remained the same since the Civil War”.

Your article should focus not just on African-American integration into mainstream society but also white Delawarean treatment of African-Americans from the end of the Civil War to the present. Make sure to include specific details such as events, laws, dates and people. Your article will be graded according the following rubric.

CATEGORY	10-6	5-4	3-2	1-0
<b>Organization</b>	N/A	The story is very well organized. One idea or scene follows another in a logical sequence with clear transitions.	The story is pretty well organized but at times hard to follow. One idea or scene may seem out of place. transitions are sometimes not clear.	Ideas and scenes seem to be randomly arranged.
<b>Focus on Assigned Topic (how well does the article show change and/or continuity over time)</b>	The entire story is related to the assigned topic and allows the reader to understand much more about the topic. <b>Clearly shows change/continuity over time.</b>	Much of the story is related to the assigned topic. Change over time is evident but incomplete.	Some of the story is related to the assigned topic, but a reader learns very little about the topic.	No attempt has been made to relate the story to the assigned topic.
<b>Accuracy and amount of Facts</b>	N/A	All facts presented in the story are accurate. A great deal of factual knowledge was presented.	Most facts presented in the story are accurate (at least 70%).. Several facts given but more needed.	There are several factual errors in the story. And few to none specific facts given.
<b>Spelling and Punctuation</b>	N/A	There are no spelling or punctuation errors in the final draft. Character and place names that the author invented are spelled consistently throughout.	There are 2-3 spelling and punctuation errors in the final draft.	The final draft has more than 5 spelling and punctuation errors.

TOTAL POSSIBLE POINTS 25      \_\_\_\_\_/10      \_\_\_\_\_/15      \_\_\_\_\_/9      \_\_\_\_\_/0  
**TOTAL**      \_\_\_\_\_/25

## Teacher Worksheet

After the end of the Civil War, Radical Republican leaders worked to safeguard rights granted to ex-slaves, but also worked to find ways to punish the South for the war. In order to assure the intent of the Radicals regarding freedmen was followed, three new Constitutional Amendments were added.

1. Assign students to mixed ability groups. If possible, groups of 3 or 4.
  2. Give each student a copy of the Student Worksheet.
  3. Assign each group either the 13<sup>th</sup>, 14<sup>th</sup> or 15<sup>th</sup> amendment. Depending on class size, the 14<sup>th</sup> amendment can be broken into four (4) sections. If necessary, you can assign another group to create a poster on the Freedman's Bureau (Attached to the Amendments document)
  4. Have the groups create a poster on paper you provide (for appropriate size reasons) that must contain the following information.
    - a. **Title of the amendment (i.e. – Fourteenth Amendment; Section III)**
    - b. **Brief summary of amendment**
    - c. **Image that reflects your summary – imagine that the viewer of your poster cannot read (like most freedman). Can they understand the purpose of the amendment from your image?**
- 
3. When finished, have groups present posters to the class and hang it somewhere in the room (per the teacher's direction) for the class to see throughout the rest of the unit.
  4. As groups present, students should be answering questions on the bottom of the Student Worksheet.

Note – students will use the posters tomorrow

## Student Worksheet

After the end of the Civil War, Radical Republican leaders worked to safeguard rights granted to ex-slaves, but also worked to find ways to punish the South for the war. In order to assure the intent of the Radicals regarding freedmen was followed, three new Constitutional Amendments were added.

5. You will be assigned a group and an amendment (or amendment section) by your teacher.

6. Within your group, create a poster on the provided paper that contains the following information.

a. **Title of the amendment (i.e. – Fourteenth Amendment; Section III)**

b. **Brief summary of amendment**

c. **Image that reflects your summary – imagine that the viewer of your poster cannot read (like most freedman). Can they understand the purpose of the amendment from your image?**

5. As a group, present your poster to the class and hang it somewhere in the room (per the teacher's direction) for the class to see throughout the rest of the unit. Be prepared to answer questions about the amendment that students might have below...

6. **Answer the following questions as the groups present:**

a. what exception was made in the 13<sup>th</sup> Amendment where slavery *might* be allowed?

b. In your view, is there a "loophole" in the 13<sup>th</sup> Amendment that might have allowed Southerners to "get around" the primary goal of the amendment? Explain

c. How did creators of the 14<sup>th</sup> Amendment wish to achieve "equal protection under law"?

d. Give three examples of how the 14<sup>th</sup> Amendment tried to "punish" the former Confederates.

e. Did the creators of the 14<sup>th</sup> Amendment provide any method to "forgive" those who might have engaged in rebellion" against the United States?

f. According to the 15<sup>th</sup> amendment, under what conditions were the states and federal government not allowed to deny a person the right to vote?

## **The 13th Amendment to the U.S. Constitution**

### **Article XIII.**

**Section 1.** Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist within the United States, or any place subject to their jurisdiction.

**Section 2.** Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.  
Ratified December 6, 1865

## **The 14th Amendment to the U.S. Constitution**

### **Article XIV.**

**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.

**Section 3.** No person shall be a Senator or Representative in Congress, or elector of President and Vice-President, or hold any office, civil or military, under the United States, or under any State, who, having previously taken an oath, as a member of Congress, or as an officer of the United States, or as a member of any State legislature, or as an executive or judicial officer of any State, to support the Constitution of the United States, shall have engaged in insurrection or rebellion against the same, or given aid or comfort to the enemies thereof. But Congress may by a vote of two-thirds of each House, remove such disability.

**Section 4.** The validity of the public debt of the United States, authorized by law, including debts incurred for payment of pensions and bounties for services in suppressing insurrection or rebellion, shall not be questioned. But neither the United States nor any State shall assume or pay any debt or obligation incurred in aid of insurrection or rebellion against the United States, or any claim for the loss or emancipation of any slave; but all such debts, obligations and claims shall be held illegal and void.

**Section 5.** The Congress shall have power to enforce, by appropriate legislation, the provisions of this article.  
Ratified July 9, 1868

## **The 15th Amendment to the U.S. Constitution**

**Section 1.** 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.

**Section 2.** The Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

Ratified February 3, 1870

## **Freedmen's Bureau Bill**

3 March 1865

An Act to establish a Bureau for the Relief of Freedmen and Refugees

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That there is hereby established in the War Department, to continue during the present war of rebellion, and for one year thereafter, a bureau of refugees, freedmen, and abandoned lands, to which shall be committed, as hereinafter provided, the supervision and management of all abandoned lands, and the control of all subjects relating to freedmen from rebel states, or from any district of country within the territory embraced in the operations of the army, under such rules and regulations as may be prescribed by the head of the bureau and approved by the President. The said bureau shall be under the management and control of a commissioner to be appointed by the President, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, whose compensation shall be three thousand dollars per annum, and such number of clerks as may be assigned to him by the Secretary of War, not exceeding one chief clerk, two of the fourth class, two of the third class, and five of the first class. And the commissioner and all persons appointed under this act, shall, before entering upon their duties, take the oath of office prescribed in an act entitled "An act to prescribe an oath of office, and for other purposes," approved July second, eighteen hundred and sixty-two, and the commissioner and the chief clerk shall, before entering upon their duties, give bonds to the treasurer of the United States, the former in the sum of fifty thousand dollars, and the latter in the sum of ten thousand dollars, conditioned for the faithful discharge of their duties respectively, with securities to be approved as sufficient by the Attorney-General, which bonds shall be filed in the office of the first comptroller of the treasury, to be by him put in suit for the benefit of any injured party upon any breach of the conditions thereof.

Sec. 2. And be it further enacted, That the Secretary of War may direct such issues of provisions, clothing, and fuel, as he may deem needful for the immediate and temporary shelter and supply of destitute and suffering refugees and freedmen and their wives and children, under such rules and regulations as he may direct.

Sec. 3. And be it further enacted, That the President may, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, appoint an assistant commissioner for each of the states declared to be in insurrection, not exceeding ten in number, who shall, under the direction of the commissioner, aid in the execution of the provisions of this act; and he shall give a bond to the Treasurer of the United States, in the sum of twenty thousand dollars, in the form and manner prescribed in the first section of this act. Each of said commissioners shall receive an annual salary of two thousand five hundred dollars in full compensation for all his services. And any military officer may be detailed and assigned to duty under this act without increase of pay or allowances. The commissioner shall, before the commencement of each regular session of congress, make full report of his proceedings with exhibits of the state of his accounts to the President, who shall communicate the same to congress, and shall also make special reports whenever required to do so by the President or either house of congress; and the assistant commissioners shall make quarterly reports of their proceedings to the commissioner, and also such other special reports as from time to time may be required.

Sec. 4. And be it further enacted, That the commissioner, under the direction of the President, shall have authority to set apart, for the use of loyal refugees and freedmen, such tracts of land within the insurrectionary states as shall have been abandoned, or to which the United States shall have acquired title by confiscation or sale, or otherwise, and to every male citizen, whether refugee or freedman, as aforesaid, there shall be assigned not more than forty acres of such land, and the person to whom it was so assigned shall be protected in the use and enjoyment of the land for the term of three years at an annual rent not exceeding six per centum upon the value of such land, as it was appraised by the state authorities in the year eighteen hundred and sixty, for the purpose of taxation, and in case no such appraisal can be found, then the rental shall be based upon the estimated value of the land in said year, to be ascertained in such manner as the commissioner may by regulation prescribe. At the end of said term, or at any time during said term, the occupants of any parcels so assigned may purchase the land and receive such title thereto as the United States can convey, upon paying therefor the value of the land, as ascertained and fixed for the purpose of determining the annual rent aforesaid.

Sec. 5. And be it further enacted, That all acts and parts of acts inconsistent with the provisions of this act, are hereby repealed.

SOURCE: United States Statues At Large, vol. 13 (Washington, D. C.), pages 507-509.

## Delaware, Middletown and Slavery

Much of Delaware, particularly southern Delaware, had a long tradition of acceptance of the institution of slavery. This was despite the fact that farmers increasingly had such little use for slaves that by the 1860 census there were only about 1,800 slaves in a state of 90,000 people, including nearly 20,000 free African Americans. The smallest ratio of slaves to freedman of any slaveholding state.

Much of Northern Delaware relied on “free black” labor and many Delawareans held strong abolitionist views. Indeed, the Underground Railroad’s last stop in the slave-holding state of Delaware was located on Shipley Street in Wilmington at the home of a Quaker merchant named Thomas Garrett. Over 2,700 runaway slaves were given safe harbor there before making their way to the free states of Pennsylvania and New Jersey.



Thomas Garrett



John Hunn

In 1848 Garrett and fellow abolitionist John Hunn of Middletown were convicted of aiding the Hawkins family in their escape from slavery in Maryland. The sentence, a bank-breaking fine that would leave both men virtually penniless, was handed down in the New Castle, Delaware courthouse by US Chief Justice Roger Taney. Hunn’s farm, a stop on the Underground Railroad was located at the site of the present day Middletown High School. After the conviction, Hunn “vowed never to withhold a helping hand from the down-trodden in their hour of distress.” His land holdings and all his possessions were sold at sheriff’s sale and his family was left utterly destitute, but he continued his efforts to abolish slavery. Following eviction from his home in Middletown, he lived with family in Camden, Delaware. During the Civil War he worked with the

Freedmen’s Bureau in Port Royal, South Carolina.

During the American Civil War, Delaware was a slave state that remained in the Union (Delaware voted not to secede on January 3, 1861). Delaware had been the first state to embrace the Union by ratifying the constitution and would be the last to leave it, according to Delaware’s governor at the time. While most Delaware citizens who fought in the war served in the regiments of the state, some served in companies on the Confederate side in Maryland and Virginia Regiments.

Two months before the end of the Civil War, however, Delaware voted on February 18, 1865 to reject the 13th Amendment to the United States Constitution and so voted unsuccessfully to continue slavery beyond the Civil War. Delaware symbolically ratified the amendment on February 12, 1901—40 years after Lincoln’s Emancipation Proclamation. Slavery ended in Delaware only when the Thirteenth Amendment took effect in December of 1865. Delaware also rejected the 14th and 15<sup>th</sup> amendments during the Reconstruction Era.

31 years after they became law the Delaware General Assembly finally ratified the Thirteenth Amendment, Fourteenth Amendment, and Fifteenth Amendment to the U.S. Constitution, under the guidance of Governor John Hunn, son of the Middletown abolitionist by the same name.



John Hunn, Jr

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#### Thirteenth Amendment

1. Illinois (February 1, 1865)
2. Rhode Island (February 2, 1865)
3. Michigan (February 3, 1865)
4. Maryland (February 3, 1865)
5. New York (February 3, 1865)
6. Pennsylvania (February 3, 1865)
7. West Virginia (February 3, 1865)
8. Missouri (February 6, 1865)
9. Maine (February 7, 1865)
10. Kansas (February 7, 1865)
11. Massachusetts (February 7, 1865)
12. Virginia (February 9, 1865)
13. Ohio (February 10, 1865)
14. Indiana (February 13, 1865)
15. Nevada (February 16, 1865)
16. Louisiana (February 17, 1865)
17. Minnesota (February 23, 1865)
18. Wisconsin (February 24, 1865)
19. Vermont (March 8, 1865)
20. Tennessee (April 7, 1865)
21. Arkansas (April 14, 1865)
22. Connecticut (May 4, 1865)
23. New Hampshire (July 1, 1865)
24. South Carolina (November 13, 1865)
25. Alabama (December 2, 1865)
26. North Carolina (December 4, 1865)
27. Georgia (December 6, 1865)

Ratification was completed on December 6, 1865.

The amendment was subsequently ratified by the following states:

1. Oregon (December 8, 1865)
2. California (December 19, 1865)
3. Florida (December 28, 1865, reaffirmed on June 9, 1869)
4. Iowa (January 15, 1866)
5. New Jersey (January 23, 1866, after having rejected it on March 16, 1865)
6. Texas (February 18, 1870)
7. Delaware (February 12, 1901, after having rejected it on February 8, 1865)
8. Kentucky (March 18, 1976, after having rejected it on February 24, 1865)
9. Mississippi (March 16, 1995, after having rejected it on December 5, 1865)

#### Fourteenth Amendment

1. Connecticut (June 25, 1866)
2. New Hampshire (July 6, 1866)
3. Tennessee (July 19, 1866)
4. New Jersey (September 11, 1866)
5. Oregon (September 19, 1866)
6. Vermont (October 30, 1866)
7. Ohio (January 4, 1867)\*
8. New York (January 10, 1867)
9. Kansas (January 11, 1867)
10. Illinois (January 15, 1867)
11. West Virginia (January 16, 1867)
12. Michigan (January 16, 1867)
13. Minnesota (January 16, 1867)
14. Maine (January 19, 1867)
15. Nevada (January 22, 1867)
16. Indiana (January 23, 1867)
17. Missouri (January 25, 1867)
18. Rhode Island (February 7, 1867)
19. Wisconsin (February 7, 1867)
20. Pennsylvania (February 12, 1867)

21. Massachusetts (March 20, 1867)
22. Nebraska (June 15, 1867)
23. Iowa (March 16, 1868)
24. Arkansas (April 6, 1868)
25. Florida (June 9, 1868)
26. North Carolina (July 4, 1868, after having rejected it on December 14, 1866)
27. Louisiana (July 9, 1868, after having rejected it on February 6, 1867)
28. South Carolina (July 9, 1868, after having rejected it on December 20, 1866)
29. Alabama (July 13, 1868, the date the ratification was "approved" by the governor)
30. Georgia (July 21, 1868, after having rejected it on November 9, 1866)

Ratification was completed on July 28, 1868. The amendment was subsequently ratified by the following states:

1. Oregon (withdrew October 15, 1868)
2. Virginia (October 8, 1869, after having rejected it on January 9, 1867)
3. Mississippi (January 17, 1870)
4. Texas (February 18, 1870, after having rejected it on October 27, 1866)
5. Delaware (February 12, 1901, after having rejected it on February 7, 1867)
6. Maryland (1959)
7. California (1959)
8. Oregon (1973)
9. Kentucky (1976, after having rejected it on January 8, 1867)
10. New Jersey (2003, after having rescinded on February 20, 1868)
11. Ohio (2003, after having rescinded on January 15, 1868)

#### Fifteenth Amendment

1. Nevada (March 1, 1869)
2. West Virginia (March 3, 1869)
3. Illinois (March 5, 1869)
4. Louisiana (March 5, 1869)
5. Michigan (March 5, 1869)
6. North Carolina (March 5, 1869)
7. Wisconsin (March 5, 1869)
8. Maine (March 11, 1869)
9. Massachusetts (March 12, 1869)
10. Arkansas (March 15, 1869)
11. South Carolina (March 15, 1869)
12. Pennsylvania (March 25, 1869)
13. New York (April 14, 1869, rescinded on January 5, 1870, rescinded the rescission on March 30, 1870)
14. Indiana (May 14, 1869)
15. Connecticut (May 19, 1869)
16. Florida (June 14, 1869)
17. New Hampshire (July 1, 1869)
18. Virginia (October 8, 1869)
19. Vermont (October 20, 1869)
20. Alabama (November 16, 1869)
21. Missouri (January 7, 1870)
22. Minnesota (January 13, 1870)
23. Mississippi (January 17, 1870)
24. Rhode Island (January 18, 1870)
25. Kansas (January 19, 1870)
26. Ohio (January 27, 1870, after having rejected it on April 30, 1869)
27. Georgia (February 2, 1870)
28. Iowa (February 3, 1870)

Ratification was completed on February 3, 1870.

The amendment was subsequently ratified by the following states:

1. Nebraska (February 17, 1870)
2. Texas (February 18, 1870)
3. New Jersey (February 15, 1871, after having rejected it on February 7, 1870)
4. Delaware (February 12, 1901, after having rejected it on March 18, 1869)
5. Oregon (February 24, 1959)
6. California (April 3, 1962, after having rejected it on January 28, 1870)
7. Maryland (May 7, 1973, after having rejected it on February 26, 1870)
8. Kentucky (March 18, 1976, after having rejected it on March 12, 1869)
9. Tennessee (April 2, 1997, after having rejected it on November 16, 1869)

Now that you have been given information about the Reconstruction Amendments (in our poster creation activity) and some background on Delaware:  
 A – Look at the Amendment posters posted around the room. Summarize each amendment in your own words.  
 B - Write when each amendment became part of the Constitution  
 C -Write when each amendment was ratified by Delaware  
 D - Answer the Questions below

	<b>Thirteenth Amendment</b>	<b>Fourteenth Amendment</b>	<b>Fifteenth Amendment</b>
<b>Summary of Amendment</b>			
<b>Date Ratified by enough states to become part of the U.S. Constitution</b>			
<b>Date Ratified by Delaware</b>			

1. How many years passed between the addition of the 13<sup>th</sup> amendment to the Constitution and Delaware’s ratification of the amendment?
2. Why do you think it took so many years?

3. Did the ratification of these three amendments mean African-Americans were now treated equally in the United States? Give examples to support your answer.
4. Do you think the ratification of these three amendments in 1901 meant equal treatment to African-Americans in Delaware?
5. The John Hunn farm in Middletown Delaware was a stop on the Underground Railroad. Do you feel that the site should be recognized today with a historical marker? Why or why not?

Look carefully at each of the documents. Use the chart below to record your perceptions of each document. Be specific, you will use this information for a future assignment. Use a separate sheet of paper if you run out of room.

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<b>A</b>	Newspaper Letter Patent Memorandum Map Telegram Report Advertisement Congressional Record Photo Audio Recording Other (Describe)	Any dates or other important clues as to when this document was created	<p>A. List three things the author said that you think are important:</p> <p>B. Why do you think this document was written?</p> <p>C. List two things the document tells you about life in Delaware at the time it was written.</p>	<p>A. Describe at least 3 objects or people you see in the photo.</p> <p>B. What can you infer is happening in this photograph?</p> <p>C. List two things the photo tells you about life in Delaware at the time it was taken.</p>
			<p>In what way does this document show change?</p> <p>In what way does this document show continuity?</p>	

<b>B</b>	Newspaper Letter Patent Memorandum Map Telegram Report Advertisement Congressional Record Photo Audio Recording Other (Describe)	Any dates or other important clues as to when this document was created	<p>A. List three things the author said that you think are important:</p> <p>B. Why do you think this document was written?</p> <p>C. List two things the document tells you about life in Delaware at the time it was written.</p>	<p>A. Describe at least 3 objects or people you see in the photo.</p> <p>B. What can you infer is happening in this photograph?</p> <p>C. List two things the photo tells you about life in Delaware at the time it was taken.</p>
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