

Contents

<i>Introduction</i>	xxiii
PRESIDENTIAL RECONSTRUCTION, 1865–1866	I
Frederick Douglass: What the Black Man Wants, January 26, 1865 <i>“Do nothing with us!”: Massachusetts, January 1865</i>	5
Abraham Lincoln: Speech on Reconstruction, April 11, 1865 <i>Washington, D.C., April 1865</i>	14
<i>Springfield Republican</i> : Restoration of the Union, April 20, 1865 <i>Forgiving rebels: Massachusetts, April 1865</i>	19
Andrew Johnson: Interview with Pennsylvania Delegation, May 3, 1865 <i>“Treason is a crime”:</i> <i>Washington, D.C., May 1865</i>	21
Colored Men of North Carolina to Andrew Johnson, May 10, 1865 <i>Muskets and Ballots: North Carolina, May 1865</i>	24
Andrew Johnson: Reply to a Delegation of Colored Ministers, May 11, 1865 <i>“Liberty to work”:</i> <i>Washington, D.C., May 1865</i>	26
Salmon P. Chase to Andrew Johnson, May 12, 1865 <i>Three classes of white citizens: North Carolina, May 1865</i>	28
Joseph Noxon to Andrew Johnson, May 27, 1865 <i>The necessity of black suffrage: New York, May 1865</i>	32
Delegation of Kentucky Colored People to Andrew Johnson, June 9, 1865 <i>“Most inhuman laws”:</i> <i>Washington, D.C., June 1865</i>	33
Charles C. Soule and Oliver O. Howard: An Exchange, June 12 and 21, 1865 <i>False ideas of freedom: South Carolina, June 1865</i>	35

Richard Henry Dana: Speech at Boston, June 21, 1865 "The grasp of war": Massachusetts, June 1865	44
Charles Sumner to Gideon Welles, July 4, 1865 "Shame & disaster": Massachusetts, July 1865	56
Wendell Phillips to the <i>National Anti-Slavery Standard</i> , July 8, 1865 <i>The Danger of Rebels in Congress: Massachusetts,</i> <i>July 1865</i>	59
Francis Preston Blair to Andrew Johnson, August 1, 1865 "The white race alone": Maryland, August 1865	61
Colored People of Mobile to Andrew J. Smith, August 2, 1865 <i>Defending "pure freedom": Alabama, August 1865</i>	71
Jourdon Anderson to P. H. Anderson, August 7, 1865 "Send us our wages": Ohio, August 1865	74
Carl Schurz to Andrew Johnson, August 29, 1865 <i>Lawlessness and Disloyalty: Mississippi, August 1865</i>	76
Christopher Memminger to Andrew Johnson, September 4, 1865 "Indentures of apprenticeship": North Carolina, <i>September 1865</i>	87
Thaddeus Stevens: Speech at Lancaster, September 6, 1865 <i>Confiscating rebel estates: Pennsylvania,</i> <i>September 1865</i>	92
Georges Clemenceau to <i>Le Temps</i> , September 28, 1865 "The question of negro suffrage": New York, <i>September 1865</i>	108
George L. Stearns: Interview with President Johnson, October 3, 1865 "We must be patient": Washington, D.C., October 1865	113
Andrew Johnson: Speech to the 1st U.S. Colored Infantry, Washington, D.C., October 10, 1865 <i>Washington, D.C., October 1865</i>	117

Sarah Whittlesey to Andrew Johnson, October 12, 1865 <i>"A lying, lazy people": Virginia, October 1865</i>	122
Edisto Island Freedmen to Andrew Johnson, October 28, 1865 <i>"The only true and Loyal people": South Carolina, October 1865</i>	125
J. A. Williamson to Nathan A. M. Dudley, October 30, 1865 <i>Fear of armed freedmen: Tennessee, October 1865</i>	127
Address of the Colored State Convention to the People of South Carolina, November 24, 1865 <i>Claiming the rights of citizenship: South Carolina, November 1865</i>	129
Andrew J. Hamilton to Andrew Johnson, November 27, 1865 <i>Prospects for the State Convention: Texas, November 1865</i>	133
Sidney Andrews: from <i>The South Since the War Travels in the Carolinas and Georgia: September–December 1865</i>	138
Carl Schurz: from <i>Report on the Condition of the South "Submission to necessity": Washington, D.C., December 1865</i>	153
Ulysses S. Grant to Andrew Johnson, December 18, 1865 <i>"Such universal acquiescence": Washington, D.C., December 1865</i>	158
Lewis Hayden: from <i>Caste among Masons "The Pharaoh of our day": Massachusetts, December 1865</i>	162
Harriet Jacobs to <i>The Freedman</i> , January 9 and 19, 1866 <i>Destitution Among the Freed People: Georgia, January 1866</i>	165
Marcus S. Hopkins to James Johnson, January 15, 1866 <i>"Insane malice against the freedman": Virginia, January 1866</i>	167

Andrew Johnson and Frederick Douglass: An Exchange, and Reply of the Colored Delegation to President Johnson, February 7, 1866 <i>Debating Suffrage: Washington, D.C., February 1866</i>	169
Joseph S. Fullerton to Andrew Johnson, February 9, 1866 <i>Objections to the Freedmen's Bureau: Washington, D.C., February 1866</i>	181
Andrew Johnson: Veto of the Freedmen's Bureau Bill, February 19, 1866 <i>Washington, D.C., February 1866</i>	188
Andrew Johnson: Speech on Washington's Birthday, February 22, 1866 <i>Washington, D.C., February 1866</i>	198
Andrew Johnson: Veto of the Civil Rights Bill, March 27, 1866 <i>Washington, D.C., March 1866</i>	214
CONGRESSIONAL RECONSTRUCTION, 1866–1869	225
Maria F. Chandler to Thaddeus Stephens, April 1, 1866 <i>Suffrage for Women: West Virginia, April 1866</i>	229
<i>Harper's Weekly</i> : Radicalism and Conservatism, April 21, 1866 <i>Defining Radicalism: New York, April 1866</i>	231
Thaddeus Stevens: Speech in Congress on the Fourteenth Amendment, May 8, 1866 <i>"Accept what is possible": Washington, D.C., May 1866</i>	235
Frances Ellen Watkins Harper: Speech at the National Woman's Rights Convention, May 10, 1866 <i>"We are all bound up together": New York, May 1866</i>	242
George Stoneman to Ulysses S. Grant, May 12, 1866 <i>The Memphis Riot: Tennessee, May 1866</i>	246
<i>The New York Times</i> : An Hour With Gen. Grant, May 24, 1866 <i>Southern "Rights": Washington, D.C., May 1866</i>	249

Elihu B. Washburne to Thaddeus Stevens, May 24, 1866 <i>"Butcheries and Atrocities": Tennessee, May 1866</i>	252
Cynthia Townsend: Testimony to House Select Committee, May 30, 1866 <i>"They all fired at her": Tennessee, May 1866</i>	253
Joint Resolution Proposing the Fourteenth Amendment, June 13, 1866 <i>Washington, D.C., June 1866</i>	258
Oliver P. Morton: from Speech at Indianapolis, June 20, 1866 <i>Treason and the Democrats: Indiana, June 1866</i>	260
Philip H. Sheridan to Ulysses S. Grant, August 1 and 2, 1866 <i>The New Orleans Riot: Louisiana, August 1866</i>	270
<i>Harper's Weekly</i> : The Massacre in New Orleans <i>The President's Responsibility: New York, August 1866</i>	272
Andrew Johnson: Speech at St. Louis, September 8, 1866 <i>Missouri, September 1866</i>	276
Thaddeus Stevens: Speech at Lancaster, September 27, 1866 <i>"Congress is the sovereign power": Pennsylvania, September 1866</i>	288
Frederick Douglass: Reconstruction, December 1866 <i>"Let there be no hesitation": December 1866</i>	294
Thaddeus Stevens: Speech in Congress on Reconstruction, January 3, 1867 <i>"No nearer to a true Republic": Washington, D.C., January 1867.</i>	301
<i>Mobile Daily Advertiser and Register</i> : No Amendment— Stand Firm, January 9, 1867 <i>"Spurning self-degradation": Alabama, January 1867</i>	313
Albion W. Tourgée: To the Voters of Guilford, October 21, 1867 <i>"An Oligarchy or a Republic?": North Carolina, October 1867</i>	315
<i>Harper's Weekly</i> : Impeachment, December 14, 1867 <i>"Doubtful grounds": New York, December 1867</i>	318

Albion W. Tourgée: The Reaction, January 4, 1868 <i>Republican timidity: North Carolina, January 1868</i>	321
<i>New-York Tribune</i> : The President Must Be Impeached, February 24, 1868 “Absolute and despotic power”: <i>New York, February 1868</i>	329
Thaddeus Stevens: Speech in Congress on Impeachment, February 24, 1868 “His wicked determination”: <i>Washington, D.C., February 1868</i>	337
<i>Bossier Banner</i> : White Men to the Rescue! <i>The New State Constitution: Louisiana, March 1868</i>	343
<i>The Nation</i> : The Result of the Trial, May 21, 1868 <i>The President’s Acquittal: New York, May 1868</i>	344
Frank P. Blair to James O. Broadhead, June 30, 1868 <i>Overthrowing Reconstruction: Washington, D.C., June 1868</i>	350
Frederick Douglass: The Work Before Us, August 27, 1868 <i>Electing Grant: August 1868</i>	352
Elizabeth Cady Stanton: Gerrit Smith on Petitions, January 14, 1869 “Universal Suffrage”: <i>New York, January 1869</i>	357
Joint Resolution Proposing the Fifteenth Amendment, February 27, 1869 <i>Washington, D.C., February 1869</i>	364
“LET US HAVE PEACE,” 1869–1873	365
Ulysses S. Grant: First Inaugural Address, March 4, 1869 <i>Washington, D.C., March 1869</i>	369
Frederick Douglass and Susan B. Anthony: Exchange on Suffrage, May 12, 1869 “The question of precedence”: <i>New York, May 1869</i>	372
Mark Twain: Only a Nigger. <i>The Buffalo Express</i> , August 26, 1869 <i>A Lynching in Tennessee: New York, August 1869</i>	376
Georges Clemenceau to <i>Le Temps</i> , November 3, 1869 “Struggle for their existence”: <i>France, November 1869</i>	377

<i>The New York Times</i> : Reconstruction Nationalized, February 21, 1870	
“ <i>It secures political equality</i> ”: <i>New York, February 1870</i>	379
William W. Holden to Ulysses S. Grant, March 10, 1870	
<i>A Klan Insurrection: North Carolina, March 1870</i>	381
Ulysses S. Grant: Message to Congress on the Fifteenth Amendment, March 30, 1870	
“ <i>The greatest civil change</i> ”: <i>Washington, D.C., March 1870</i>	383
Albion W. Tourgée to Joseph C. Abbott, May 24, 1870	
<i>Klan Terrorism: North Carolina, May 1870</i>	385
Robert K. Scott to Ulysses S. Grant, October 22, 1870	
“ <i>Inhuman and brutal outrages</i> ”: <i>South Carolina, October 1870</i>	391
Horace Greeley and Robert Brown Elliott: Exchange on Amnesty, March 16–17, 1871	
“ <i>Their evil example</i> ”: <i>New York and Washington, D.C., March 1871</i>	394
Joseph H. Rainey: Speech in Congress on the Enforcement Bill, April 1, 1871	
<i>Protecting Rights: Washington, D.C., April 1871</i>	400
James A. Garfield: from Speech in Congress on the Enforcement Bill, April 4, 1871	
<i>Preserving Local Government: Washington, D.C., April 1871</i>	409
Maria Carter: Testimony to the Joint Select Committee, Atlanta, Georgia, October 21, 1871	
<i>The Murder of John Walthall: Georgia, April 1871</i>	419
Horace Greeley: Reply to Committee of the Liberal Republican Convention, May 20, 1872	
<i>Accepting a Nomination: New York, May 1872</i>	425
Frederick Douglass: Speech at New York City, September 25, 1872	
<i>Grant Over Greeley: New York, September 1872</i>	428

James S. Pike: South Carolina Prostrate, March 29, 1873
"A descent into barbarism": South Carolina,
February 1873 435

Ulysses S. Grant: Second Inaugural Address, March 4, 1873
Washington, D.C., March 1873 440

THE END OF RECONSTRUCTION, 1873-1877 445

Levi Nelson and Benjamin Brim: Testimony in the
 Colfax Massacre Trial, New Orleans, February 27 and
 March 3, 1874
"Dead men all around me": Louisiana, April 1873 449

Robert Brown Elliott: Speech in Congress on the
 Civil Rights Bill, January 6, 1874
"Perfect equality before the law": Washington, D.C.,
January 1874 456

New York Herald: General Grant's New Departure,
 January 20, 1874
"I am tired of this nonsense": Washington, D.C.,
January 1874 475

Richard Harvey Cain: Speech in Congress on the
 Civil Rights Bill, January 24, 1874
"A nation of croakers": Washington, D.C.,
January 1874 479

James T. Rapier: Speech in Congress on the
 Civil Rights Bill, June 9, 1874
"I am treated as a pariah": Washington, D.C.,
June 1874 490

William Lloyd Garrison to the *Boston Journal*,
 September 3, 1874
"A reign of terror": Massachusetts, September 1874 509

Eugene Lawrence to *Harper's Weekly*, October 31, 1874
"A war of intimidation": Louisiana, October 1874 515

Isaac Loveless to Ulysses S. Grant, November 9, 1874
A Black Veteran's Appeal: Tennessee, November 1874 519

Ulysses S. Grant: from Annual Message to Congress,
 December 7, 1874
Washington, D.C., December 1874. 520

Philip H. Sheridan to William W. Belknap, January 4 and 5, 1875 <i>Suppressing Terrorism: Louisiana, January 1875</i>	525
Carl Schurz: from Speech in the Senate on Louisiana, January 11, 1875 "A gross and manifest violation": Washington, D.C., January 1875.	526
William Lloyd Garrison to the <i>Boston Journal</i> , January 12, 1875 <i>Defending Grant and Sheridan: Massachusetts,</i> January 1875.	535
Ulysses S. Grant: Message to the Senate on Louisiana, January 13, 1875 <i>Washington, D.C., January 1875</i>	540
John R. Lynch: from Speech in Congress on the Civil Rights Bill, February 3, 1875 <i>Social Rights and Public Rights: Washington, D.C.,</i> February 1875	553
Thomas Whitehead: from Speech in Congress on the Civil Rights Bill, February 3, 1875 "His condition cannot be altered": Washington, D.C., February 1875	561
Charles A. Eldredge: Speech in Congress on the Civil Rights Bill, February 4, 1875 "The pride of blood and race": Washington, D.C., February 1875	574
James A. Garfield: from Speech in Congress on the Civil Rights Bill, February 4, 1875 "This act of plain justice": Washington, D.C., February 1875	586
<i>Hinds County Gazette</i> : How to Meet the Case, August 4, 1875 <i>An Election Plan: Mississippi, August 1875.</i>	589
Ulysses S. Grant to Edwards Pierrepont, September 13, 1875 "The whole public are tired out": New Jersey, September 1875	591

Edwards Pierrepont to Adelbert Ames, September 14, 1875 <i>Refusing an Appeal for Aid: Washington, D.C., September 1875</i>	593
Sarah A. Dickey to Ulysses S. Grant, September 23, 1875 <i>"A kind of guerrilla war": Mississippi, September 1875</i>	595
Margaret Ann Caldwell: Testimony to the Select Senate Committee, June 20, 1876 <i>Murder in Hinds County: Mississippi, September–December 1875</i>	597
Albion W. Tourgée: Root, Hog, or Die, c. 1876 <i>The Failure of Reconstruction: North Carolina, 1876</i>	606
John R. Lynch: Speech in Congress on Mississippi, February 10, 1876 <i>Defending Republican Rule: Washington, D.C., February 1876</i>	611
Ulysses S. Grant to Daniel H. Chamberlain, July 26, 1876 <i>The "Barbarous" Hamburg Massacre: Washington, D.C., July 1876</i>	619
<i>The Nation: The South in the Canvass. The Nation,</i> July 27, 1876 <i>Republican Corruption: New York, July 1876</i>	621
Robert G. Ingersoll: from Speech at Indianapolis, September 21, 1876 <i>"Every one was a Democrat": Indiana, September 1876</i>	626
David Brundage to Ulysses S. Grant, October 14, 1876 <i>Intimidation at the Polls: Georgia, October 1876</i>	632
Rutherford B. Hayes: Diary, November 12, 1876 <i>The Election Results: Ohio, November 1876</i>	634
Abram Hewitt: Memorandum of Conversation with Ulysses S. Grant, December 3, 1876 <i>The Electoral Crisis: Washington, D.C., December 1876</i>	636
<i>Chicago Tribune: The Court of Arbitration, January 21, 1877</i> <i>"The public demand peace": Illinois, January 1877</i>	642

<i>St. Louis Globe Democrat</i> : The Warning, March 31, 1877	
“Let us not delude ourselves”: Missouri, March 1877	645
<i>The Nation</i> : The Political South Hereafter, April 5, 1877	
“Nothing more to do with him”: New York, April 1877	647

CODA, 1879

John Russell Young: from <i>Around the World With General Grant</i>	
<i>Reflecting on Reconstruction: China, Spring 1879</i>	655
Joseph H. Rainey: From Remarks in Congress on South Carolina Elections, March 3, 1879	
“The destruction of a free ballot”: Washington, D.C., March 1879.	658
<i>Chronology</i>	665
<i>Biographical Notes</i>	674
<i>Note on the Texts</i>	688
<i>Notes</i>	699
<i>Index</i>	758