

3 Instead of large estates, widely scattered settlements, wasteful agriculture, popular ignorance,  
social degradation, the decline of manufactures, contempt for honest labor, and a pampered  
5 oligarchy, you want small farms, thrifty, tillage, free schools, social independence, flourishing  
manufactures and arts, respect for honest labor, and equality of political rights. You can lay  
hold of these blessings, on the one hand, or these corresponding curses on the other, just as  
you please. Those regions are in your plastic hands, to be cursed with evils or endowed with  
blessings for all coming time. Do your duty in this golden moment, and the hills and valleys  
10 of the South will lift up their voices in thankfulness to the Author of all good for their new  
birth and glorious transfiguration; and the people of the South and the people of the North  
will become again one people, united in patriotic aspirations for their common country.  
[Cheers.]

#### SOMETHING ABOUT NEGROES.

15 But suppose you have hung or exiled the leaders of the rebellion, and disposed of their  
great landed estates in the way indicated ; your work is then only half done. Without  
something else, you will fail after all to reap the full rewards of your sufferings and sacrifices.  
In order to complete your work of reconstruction, you must put the ballot into the hands of the  
loyal men of the South ; and this makes it necessary for me to talk about this negro question  
20 a little. I am sorry about this, for you know how gladly I would avoid that subject if I could. I  
hardly ever allude to it in my speeches unless it gets right in my way, and then I only take it  
up to remove it, so that I can get along. [Smiles and laughter.] I warn you, however, not to  
get excited at what I am going to say until you know what it is ; for maybe none of you will  
disagree with me, and it is not worthwhile to anticipate trouble. Let me say to you, too, by  
25 way of quieting your nerves, that I won't preach in favor of black suffrage tonight, nor white  
suffrage. All that I want is *loyal* suffrage, without regard to color. Now, that is a fair  
proposition. [Applause.] I will tell you another thing, by way of consolation ; I won't preach

any of my "radicalism" tonight; I won't urge any of my fanatical notions. The fact is, I have got to be a conservative lately. I wish simply to present some of the old conservative doctrines  
30 of the founders and framers of the republic — men whose memories you all revere, and whose counsels you will be glad to accept if you are loyal; and everybody is loyal now, or ought to be.

#### NEGRO VOTING IN THE PAST.

During the war of the Revolution, that primitive era of the nation's life, that golden age  
35 when public virtue and private, swayed all hearts, negroes voted in all the States, or colonies of the Union, except South Carolina, poor sin smitten, God forsaken spot, that might have been sunk in the sea forty years ago, without material detriment, and without, in my opinion, disturbing Divine Providence in His manner of governing the world. [Laughter.] In every one of the States, except South Carolina, the negroes had the right to vote, and in most of the  
40 States, exercised the right. Washington, and Jefferson, and Jay, and Hancock, and Hamilton every year went up to the polls, and deposited their ballots where the negroes did theirs, and I never heard that they were defiled, or the Union particularly endangered. They stood up for the equal rights of all free men at the ballot-box, without respect to color. And after the war of the Revolution was over, you remember that they had to go to work to reconstruct the Union,  
45 just as you propose to go to work to reconstruct your Union. Under the old articles of the Confederation there was no bond of Union except that of patriotic sympathy, and the dogma of State rights came near "playing the devil" with them.

#### *Dangers And Duties. Reconstruction and Suffrage.*

Speech of HON. GEORGE W. JULIAN,

Delivered In The Hall Of The House Of Representatives Indianapolis, Ind.,  
On Friday Evening, November 17, 1865.

In Response To An Invitation From That Body.

Cincinnati: Gazette Steam Print, 1865, p. 6-7.

EAE 0422 A

SUJET JURY

SUJET CANDIDAT N°

CODE SUJET : CCV 44

**Question du programme : Le Sud de l'après-guerre de Sécession : de la reconstruction à la re-ségrégation (1865-1896)**

**Hayes, Second Annual Message, December 2, 1878**

Fellow-Citizens of the Senate and House of Representatives:

5 . . . The permanent pacification of the country by the complete protection of all citizens in every civil and political right continues to be of paramount interest with the great body of our people. Every step in this direction is welcomed with public approval, and every interruption of steady and uniform progress to the desired consummation awakens general uneasiness and widespread condemnation. The recent Congressional elections have furnished a direct and trustworthy test of the advance thus far made in the practical establishment of the right of suffrage secured by the Constitution to the liberated race in the Southern States. All disturbing influences, real or imaginary, had been removed from all of these States.

10 The three constitutional amendments which conferred freedom and equality of civil and political rights upon the colored people of the South were adopted by the concurrent action of the great body of good citizens who maintained the authority of the National Government and the integrity and perpetuity of the Union at such a cost of treasure and life, as a wise and necessary embodiment in the organic law of the just results of the war. The people of the former slaveholding States accepted these results, and gave in every practicable form assurances that the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth amendments, and laws passed in pursuance thereof, should in good faith be enforced, rigidly and impartially, in letter and spirit, to the end that the humblest citizen, without  
15 distinction of race or color, should under them receive full and equal protection in person and property and in political rights and privileges. By these constitutional amendments the southern section of the Union obtained a large increase of political power in Congress and in the electoral college, and the country justly expected that elections would proceed, as to the enfranchised race, upon the same circumstances of legal and constitutional freedom and protection which obtained in all the other States of the Union. The friends of law and order looked  
20 forward to the conduct of these elections as offering to the general judgment of the country an important opportunity to measure the degree in which the right of suffrage could be exercised by the colored people and would be respected by their fellow-citizens; but a more general enjoyment of freedom of suffrage by the colored people and a more just and generous protection of that freedom by the communities of which they form a part were generally anticipated than the record of the elections discloses. In some of those States in which the colored  
25 people have been unable to make their opinions felt in the elections the result is mainly due to influences not easily measured or remedied by legal protection; but in the States of Louisiana and South Carolina at large, and in some particular Congressional districts outside of those States, the records of the elections seem to compel the conclusion that the rights of the colored voters have been overridden and their participation in the elections not permitted to be either general or free.

30 It will be for the Congress for which these elections were held to make such examinations into their conduct as may be appropriate to determine the validity of the claims of members to their seats. In the meanwhile it becomes the duty of the executive and judicial departments of the Government, each in its province, to inquire into and punish violations of the laws of the United States which have occurred. I can but repeat what I said in this connection in my last message, that whatever authority rests with me to this end I shall not hesitate to put  
35 forth; and I am unwilling to forego a renewed appeal to the legislatures, the courts, the executive authorities, and the people of the States where these wrongs have been perpetrated to give their assistance toward bringing to justice the offenders and preventing a repetition of the crimes. No means within my power will be spared to obtain a full and fair investigation of the alleged crimes and to secure the conviction and just punishment of the guilty.

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SUJET JURY

SUJET CANDIDAT N°

CODE SUJET : CCV 41

**Question du programme : Le Sud de l'après-guerre de Sécession : de la reconstruction à la re-ségrégation (1865-1896)**

George Washington Cable, *The Negro Question* (New York: Scribner, 1890), pp. 19-20.

5 It has always been hard for the North to understand the alacrity with which the ex-slaveholder learned to condemn as a moral and economic error that slavery in defense of which he endured four years of desolating war. But it was genuine, and here is the explanation: He believed personal enslavement essential to subjugation. Emancipation at one stroke proved it was not. But it proved no more. Unfortunately for the whole nation there was already before emancipation came, a defined status, a peculiar niche, waiting for freed negroes. They were nothing new. Nor was it new to lose personal ownership in one's slave. When, under emancipation, no one else could own him, we quickly saw he was not lost at all. There he stood, beggar to us for room for the sole of his foot, the land and all its appliances ours, and he, by the stress of his daily needs, captive to the land. The moment he fell to work of his own free will, we saw that emancipation was even more ours than his; public order stood 10 fast, our homes were safe, our firesides uninvaded; he still served, we still ruled; all need of holding him in private bondage was disproved, and when the notion of necessity vanished the notion of right vanished with it. Emancipation had destroyed private, but it had hardly disturbed public subjugation. The ex-slave was not a free man; he was only a free negro.

15 Then the winners of the war saw that the great issue which had jeopardized the Union was not settled. The Government's foundation principle was not re-established, and could not be while millions in the country's population were without a voice as to who should rule, who should judge and what should be law. But, as we have seen, the absolute civil equality of privately and socially unequal men was not the whole American idea. It was counterbalanced by an enlarged application of the same principle in the absolute equality of unequal States in the Federal Union, one of the greatest willing concessions ever made by stronger political bodies to weaker 20 ones in the history of government. Now manifestly this great concession of equality among the unequal States becomes inordinate, unjust and dangerous when millions of the people in one geographical section, native to the soil, of native parentage, having ties of interest and sympathy with no other land, are arbitrarily denied that political equality within the States which obtains elsewhere throughout the Union. This would make us two countries. But we cannot be two merely federated countries without changing our whole plan of government; and 25 we cannot be one without a common foundation. Hence the freedman's enfranchisement. It was given him not only because enfranchisement was his only true emancipation, but also because it was, and is, impossible to withhold it and carry on American government on American ground principles. Neither the Nation's honor nor its safety could allow the restoration of revolted States to their autonomy with their populations divided by lines of status abhorrent to the whole National structure.

30 Northern men often ask perplexedly if the freedman's enfranchisement was not, as to the South, premature and inexpedient; while Southern men as often call it the one vindictive act of the conqueror, as foolish as it was cruel. It was cruel. Not by intention, and, it may be, unavoidably, but certainly it was not cruel for its haste, but for its tardiness. Had enfranchisement come into effect, as emancipation did, while the smoke of the war's last shot was still in the air, when force still ruled unquestioned and civil order and system had not yet 35 superseded martial law, the agonies, the shame, and the incalculable losses of the Reconstruction period that followed might have been spared the South and the Nation. Instead there came two unlucky postponements, the slow doling out of re-enfranchisement of the best intelligence of Southern white society and the delay of the freedman's enfranchisement—his civil emancipation—until the "Old South," instead of reorganizing public society in harmony with the national idea, largely returned to its entrenchments in the notion of exclusive white 40 rule.

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SUJET JURY

SUJET CANDIDAT N°

CODE SUJET : LCV42

Question au programme :

Le Sud de l'après-guerre de Sécession : de la reconstruction à la re-ségrégation  
(1865-1896)

Sujet de leçon :

Discuss the following statement by W. E. B. Du Bois:

“One reads the truer deeper facts of Reconstruction with a great despair. It is at once so simple and human, and yet so futile. There is no villain, no idiot, no saint. There are just men.”

*Black Reconstruction in America* (New York: S. A. Russell, 1935), p. 728.

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**EAE 0422 A**

SUJET JURY

SUJET CANDIDAT N°

CODE SUJET : LCV 43

**Question au programme :**

**Le Sud de l'après-guerre de Sécession : de la reconstruction à la re-ségrégation  
(1865-1896)**

Sujet de leçon :

The solid South, myth or reality?

**Question au programme:**

**Le Sud de l'après-guerre de Sécession : de la reconstruction à la re-ségrégation (1865-1896)**

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**Sujet de leçon :**

Comment on the following statement.

“Much currency has been accorded the notion that the South and its landed elite “lost the war but won the peace”. And, insofar as the notion speaks to the limits of federal reconstruction – defined in terms of its most far-reaching possibilities – and to the conservative drift of the Republican party after 1867, particularly the attempts to align with whiggish Southern whites at the expense of freedmen and small producers generally, it is compelling.”

Steven HAHN, “Class and State in Postemancipation Societies: Southern Planters in Comparative Perspective”, *The American Historical Review*, vol. 95, n°1 (Feb. 1990), p. 92.

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**SUJET JURY**

**SUJET CANDIDAT N°**

**CODE SUJET : LCV 45**

**Question au programme:**

**Le Sud de l'après-guerre de Sécession : de la reconstruction à la re-ségrégation  
(1865-1896)**

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**Sujet de leçon :**

Violence in the South after the Civil War.

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**SUJET JURY**

**SUJET CANDIDAT N°**

**CODE SUJET : LCV 41**

**Question au programme:**

**Le Sud de l'après-guerre de Sécession : de la reconstruction à la re-ségrégation  
(1865-1896)**

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**Sujet de leçon :**

Land in the South after the Civil War.

**Question au programme:**

**Le Sud de l'après-guerre de Sécession : de la reconstruction à la re-ségrégation  
(1865-1896)**

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**Sujet de leçon :**

Comment on the following statement.

“As champions of past, present, and future, the New South’s proponents were in an all but impregnable position while anyone who challenged them could readily be cast as the opponent of both progress, tradition, and for good measure, the status quo as well. Despite their ultimate failure to deliver the surging prosperity they promised, by serving up a potent mixture of myths about the past, illusions about the present, and fantasies about the future, New South spokesmen succeeded in constructing a remarkable durable and resilient regional identity.”

James C. COBB. *Away Down South. A History of Southern Identity*. Oxford, University Press, 2005, p. 98.

**EAE 0422 A**

SUJET ~~JURY~~

SUJET CANDIDAT N°

CODE SUJET : LCV 44

**Question au programme :**

**Le Sud de l'après-guerre de Sécession : de la reconstruction à la re-ségrégation  
(1865-1896)**

Discuss the following statement by Joel Williamson:

“It is, indeed, one of the great ironies of American history that when the nation freed the slaves, it also freed racism.”

*The Crucible of Race: Black-White Relations in the American South Since Emancipation* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1984), p. 109.