

#### **Grant Takes Command**

Student Name	 Date _	

**Directions**: After reading "Grant Takes Command", answer the following question in the space provided.

"Grant Takes Command" (March 1864-March 1865): [http://www.digitalhistory.uh.edu/database/article\_display.cfm?HHID=122]

In March 1864, Lincoln gave Ulysses S. Grant command of all Union armies. Vowing to end the war within a year, Grant launched three major offenses. General Philip H. Sheridan's task was to lay waste to farm land in Virginia's Shenandoah Valley, a mission he completed by October. Meanwhile, General William Tecumseh Sherman advanced southeastward from Chattanooga and seized Atlanta, a major southern rail center, while Grant himself pursued Lee's army and sought to capture Richmond, the Confederate capital.

Grant started his offensive with 118,000 men; by early June, half of his men were casualties. But Lee's army had been reduced by a third to 40,000 men. In a month of fighting in northern and eastern Virginia, Grant lost almost 40,000 men, leading Peace Democrats to call him a "butcher." But Confederate losses were also heavy—and southern troops could not be replaced. At the Battle of the Wilderness, in northern Virginia, Lee's army suffered 11,000 casualties; at Spotsylvania Court House, Lee lost another 10,000 men. After suffering terrible casualties at Cold Harbor—12,000 men killed or wounded—Grant advanced to Petersburg, a rail center south of Richmond, and began a nine-month siege of the city.

At the same time that Grant was pursuing Lee's army, Sherman, with a force of 100,000 men, marched toward Atlanta from Chattanooga, and captured the rail center on September 2, 1864. After leaving Atlanta in flames, Sherman's men marched across Georgia toward Savannah. In order to break the South's will to fight, Sherman had his men destroy railroad tracks, loot houses, and burn factories. Sherman seized Savannah December 21, and then drove northward, capturing Charleston and Columbia, South Carolina, then heading through North Carolina to Virginia. Sherman summed up the goal of his military maneuvers in grim terms: "We cannot change the hearts of those people, but we can make war so terrible...[and] make them so sick of war that generations would pass away before they would again appeal to it."

Question	Answer
What evidence do you find in this article that the Union is winning in late 1864 and early 1865 and that the South is collapsing?	



### **Letter to John Bright**

Student Name	 Date
	 Date

**Directions**: Read the following document and answer the questions that follow.

Charles Sumner, Excerpt from a Letter to John Bright (March 13, 1865): [http://teachingamericanhistory.org/library/index.asp?document=1750]

Charles Sumner was a U.S. Senator from Massachusetts and leading member of the Radical Republicans during the Civil War. Throughout the Civil War, Sumner corresponded with fellow abolitionist John Bright (1811-1889), a progressive member of the British Parliament and a Quaker who advocated universal suffrage and the abolition of slavery.

I have yr good & most suggestive letter. I concur in it substantially. A practical difficulty is this; can Emancipation be carried out without using the lands of the slave-masters. We must see that the freedmen are established on the soil & that they may become proprietors.

From the beginning I have regarded confiscation only as ancillary to Emancipation. The great plantations, which have been so many nurseries of the rebellion, must be broken up, & the freedmen must share the pieces.

It looks as if we were on the eve of another agitation. I insist that the rebel States shall not come back except on the footing of the Decltn of Indep. with all persons equal before the law, & govt. founded on the consent of the governed. In other words, there shall be no discrimination on account of color. If *all* whites vote, then must all blacks; but there shall be no limitation of suffrage for one more than the other.

It is sometimes said "what—let the freedmen yesterday a slave vote?" I am inclined to think that there is more harm in refusing than in conceding the franchise [i.e., the vote]. It is said that they are as intelligent as the Irish just arrived.

But the question has become immensely practical in this respect. Without their votes, we cannot establish stable govts. in the rebel states. Their votes are as necessary as their musquets. Of this I am satisfied. Without them, the old enemy will reappear &, under the forms of law, take possession of the govts.—choose magistrates & officers—&, in alliance with the Northern democracy [i.e., "Peace" Democrats in the Northern States], put us all in peril again, postpone the day of tranquility, & menace the national credit by assailing the national debt. To my mind, the nation is now bound by self-interest—aye, *self-defence*—to be thoroughly just.

The Declaration of Indep. has pledges which have never been redeemed. We must redeem them, as least as regards the rebel states which have fallen under our jurisdiction.

Mr Lincoln is slow in accepting truths. I have reminded him that if he would say the word we might settle this question promptly & rightly. He hesitates.

. . .

That has been much misunderstood in Europe. It has been supposed sometimes as a menace of subjugation. Nothing further from my mind—at least in any offensive sense. I felt that the rebel region must for a while pass under the *jurisdiction of Congress*, in order to set up the necessary safeguards for the future; & I have labored to this end.

Nothing has been heard of Sherman for weeks,—but Mr Stanton has no anxiety about him. He will re-appear in North Carolina. Grant is very cheerful. But for the moment the curtain is down. It may lift any day.

. . .

Congress has separated in good humor, without anxiety for the future, & indeed confident that we are on the verge of peace. My desire is that England should do something to take out the bitterness from the American heart—before the war closes . . .

Questions	Answers
What does Sumner propose should be done with the land of former slave-owners in the South?	
What reasons does Sumner give for securing "suffrage" or the vote to the freedmen? What ultimate benefit does this bestow upon the United States?	
What other proposals that Sumner offers in his letter would be seen as hostile by white southerners?	
Describe the attitude Sumner has toward "the rebel states" and provide evidence for your answer?	



## Jefferson Davis, "African Church Speech"

Student Name	 Date _	

**Directions**: After reading Confederate President Jefferson Davis's "African Church Speech" (February 6, 1865), answer the following questions in the space provided.

Jefferson Davis, "African Church Speech" (February 6, 1865): [http://teachingamericanhistory.org/library/index.asp?document=1749]

Jefferson Davis, President of the Confederate States of America, delivered one of his last public speeches of the Civil War in the African Church of Richmond. Although it had housed a black Baptist congregation since the 1840s, it was the largest auditorium in the Confederate capital and was used by whites during the week for social and political events. The following is a transcript of the speech as recorded by the Richmond Sentinel (February 8, 1865).

The President [Jefferson Davis] said that if he were there to assist in celebrating some great and decisive victory to our arms, or in hailing the establishment of peace, he should have been most happy. But, in times like those which are now upon us—when dangers confront us and our path is beside the lee-shore and the breakers—to witness the manifestation of such a spirit on the part of his countrymen as was there displayed, was more than happiness—it was ecstatic joy! He had always looked with pride upon his countrymen. He had rejoiced in their patriotism and their courage. But he was prouder still when he contemplated the fortitude which plucks flowers from reverses, and beats high with hope in the presence of fresh calls upon its courage and endurance.

The President said it was meet [i.e., fitting] that the spirit which inspired this meeting, should find its first utterance in Richmond. Here every day were heard the cannons of the enemy. Innumerable hillocks in the neighboring cemeteries, tell of the brave men from every State in the Confederacy who have given their lives for their country. On one of the hills of this city stands that sacred building, in which Patrick Henry and his compatriots, pledged life for liberty. Here, too, was the capitol of the Confederacy, and of that proud old State, which had been truly termed "the mother of statesmen." If the spirit which has been here indicated shall meet with a general response, and prove to be the universal sentiment of the land, of which he did not doubt, then, indeed, would he feel that we are on the very verge of success.—[Loud cheers.] We should not again be insulted by such terms of peace as the arrogance of the enemy has lately proposed\*; but ere many months had elapsed, our successes would cause them to feel that when talking to us they were talking to their masters.—[Great applause.]

Does any one, he inquired, who has seen the Confederate soldiers, believe they are willing to fail? If so, the suspicion is most unjust! Go to our camps; go to our guarded lines; go where our pickets hold their dangerous watch, and to the posts where our sentinels tread their weary rounds, and you will find in none of those the place for grumblings and complaints. The resolutions of our soldiers exclaim with Patrick Henry, "Victory or death!" It is in the crowded mart, where these are found whose pockets are stuffed with ill-gotten gains, that you find the persons who grumble and complain. [Applause] The

progress of events had, however, brought a pressure even upon these which would urge them to their duty. Their treasure is in danger, and their only security for it is in performing their duty to their country.

The time for argument, said the President, is passed. The duty that remains is to stand to our arms. He had just made an effort to secure peace, as he has done several times before. He had made it in the cause of humanity and the country. At the very organization of our Government, in Montgomery, his first care was to send Commissioners to Washington. They were rejected. At a later period, he had requested the second officer under the Government (Vice President Stephens,) to seek a conference; the avowed object being to make arrangements for the proper treatment and exchange of prisoners, but in addition to, and behind that, it was the object to institute, if possible, negotiations for peace. But our Vice President was refused an audience; not even allowed to approach the throne. Since that time he had in various ways, and on every proper occasion, proclaimed the desire of this country for peace, and his own anxiety to secure it, but until lately, no opening had presented for an advance toward negotiation. This recent opportunity he had embraced. He did it in the hope that some plan of accommodation might be agreed upon. He would be less than man if he had not felt an earnest desire, a yearning anxiety, to relieve the country from the sufferings of the war, and to send our soldiers to their homes. Anything honorable, and recognizing our independence as a basis, would have been gladly acceded to. The person did not know him who might suppose that, under any circumstance, he would consent to reconstruct the late Union.

We had now learned the terms on which the enemy are willing to accord peace. We are required to make an unconditional surrender. We are not even allowed to go back to them as we came out, but are required to take just what a conqueror may choose to give the conquered.

Man proposes, but God disposes. Relying on the courage and devotion of his countrymen and reverently appealing to Heaven for its aid to our cause, the President said his confidence was firm, that God would abase the arrogance of our enemies, and crown our exertions with triumph.

. . .

. . . History affords no parallel, the President continued, to the struggle which our country is making—to the cheerfulness with which our people have borne sacrifices, and the courage with which our armies have marched to the harvest of death. It was this magnanimous spirit which sustained him in the confidence that we should triumph in the end. We have been chastened, and may be again. Let us profit by the lesson reverses are designed to teach, that we are not to serve a friend merely because he is such, or strike an enemy when we might serve the country.

The President here said that his failing strength admonished him to close his remarks; but he yielded to loud requests to "go on." We must, he said, lock shields together and go forward to save our country, or sink together to honorable graves. [Loud applause.] He was not of those who had expected no discord and no parties, but if our disagreements result from passion we must exorcise it, and make the good of our country our sole aim. If we will all do our duty, we shall reap a brilliant reward. If the absentees, from our armies will return, and if the local assistance be rendered which may be readily afforded, the noble Army of Northern Virginia will read General Grant a yet severer lesson than it taught him from the Rapidan to the James; while the gallant Beauregard will cause Sherman's march across Georgia to be his last.

In conclusion, the President said, he had gratifying proofs of the spirit which animated the people whom he addressed. He had seen even the old men upon duty, careless alike of the piercing blast and whistling

bullet; and your women have declared that they will fight the battle if you should recoil! God bless your proud spirit and manly fortitude! History will delight to dwell upon your praise!

\* At the Hampton Roads Conference (February 3, 1865) with Confederate commissioners, including Vice President Alexander Stephens, President Lincoln and Secretary of State William H. Seward met to discuss terms of peace. During the four-hour meeting, Lincoln was inflexible on the following terms: a "restoration of the National authority throughout all the States"; "No receding . . . on the Slavery question," including the Emancipation Proclamation; and "No cessation of hostilities short of an end of the war [e.g., no armistice], and the disbanding of all forces hostile to the government."

Questions	Answers
Is Jefferson Davis hopeful or pessimistic about the Confederate war effort? Give evidence for your answer.	
What does Jefferson Davis believe is required for the Confederate cause to succeed at this stage of the conflict? What does he call upon the citizens of the Confederacy to do?	
What can you infer from the "African Church Speech" about the status or morale of the Confederate military? Cite an example or two to support your answer.	
Is Jefferson Davis open to having the Confederate states rejoin the American union? Explain.	
Describe the attitude Davis has towards "the enemy" and provide evidence for your answer.	



## A Brief History of the Inaugural Address

Student Name [	Date	- <del></del>
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"Inaugural Address"—A Brief History of the Inaugural Address: [http://inaugural.senate.gov/history/daysevents/inauguraladdress.htm]

The custom of delivering an address on Inauguration Day started with the very first Inauguration—George Washington's—on April 30, 1789. After taking his oath of office on the balcony of Federal Hall in New York City, Washington proceeded to the Senate chamber where he read a speech before members of Congress and other dignitaries. His second Inauguration took place in Philadelphia on March 4, 1793, in the Senate chamber of Congress Hall. There, Washington gave the shortest Inaugural address on record—just 135 words—before repeating the oath of office.

Every President since Washington has delivered an Inaugural address. While many of the early Presidents read their addresses before taking the oath, current custom dictates that the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court administer the oath first, followed by the President's speech.

William Henry Harrison delivered the longest Inaugural address, at 8,445 words, on March 4, 1841—a bitterly cold, wet day. He died one month later of pneumonia, believed to have been brought on by prolonged exposure to the elements on his Inauguration Day. John Adams' Inaugural address, which totaled 2,308 words, contained the longest sentence, at 737 words. After Washington's second Inaugural address, the next shortest was Franklin D. Roosevelt's fourth address on January 20, 1945, at just 559 words. Roosevelt had chosen to have a simple Inauguration at the White House in light of the nation's involvement in World War II.

In 1921, Warren G. Harding became the first President to take his oath and deliver his Inaugural address through loud speakers. In 1925, Calvin Coolidge's Inaugural address was the first to be broadcast nationally by radio. And in 1949, Harry S. Truman became the first President to deliver his Inaugural address over television airwayes.

Most Presidents use their Inaugural address to present their vision of America and to set forth their goals for the nation. Some of the most eloquent and powerful speeches are still quoted today. In 1865, in the waning days of the Civil War, Abraham Lincoln stated, "With malice toward none, with charity for all, with firmness in the right as God gives us to see the right, let us strive on to finish the work we are in, to bind up the nation's wounds, to care for him who shall have borne the battle and for his widow and his orphan, to do all which may achieve and cherish a just and lasting peace among ourselves and with all nations." In 1933, Franklin D. Roosevelt avowed, "we have nothing to fear but fear itself." And in 1961, John F. Kennedy declared, "And so my fellow Americans: ask not what your country can do for you—ask what you can do for your country."

Today, Presidents deliver their Inaugural address on the west front of the Capitol, but this has not always been the case. Until Andrew Jackson's first Inauguration in 1829, most Presidents spoke in either the House or Senate chambers. Jackson became the first President to take his oath of office and deliver his address on the east front portico of the U.S. Capitol in 1829. With few exceptions, the next 37 Inaugurations took place there, until 1981, when Ronald Reagan's swearing-in ceremony and Inaugural address occurred on the west front terrace of the Capitol. The west front has been used ever since.



## A Brief History of the Inaugural Address

Student Name	 Date	
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**Directions**: After reading Abraham Lincoln's Second Inaugural Address, answer the following questions in the space provided.

Abraham Lincoln, Original Manuscript of the Second Inaugural Address (March 4, 1865): [http://www.ourdocuments.gov/doc.php?flash=true&doc=38&page=transcript]

#### Fellow Countrymen:

At this second appearing to take the oath of the presidential office, there is less occasion for an extended address than there was at the first. Then a statement, somewhat in detail, of a course to be pursued, seemed fitting and proper. Now, at the expiration of four years, during which public declarations have been constantly called forth on every point and phase of the great contest which still absorbs the attention, and engrosses the energies of the nation, little that is new could be presented. The progress of our arms, upon which all else chiefly depends, is as well known to the public as to myself; and it is, I trust, reasonably satisfactory and encouraging to all. With high hope for the future, no prediction in regard to it is ventured.

On the occasion corresponding to this four years ago, all thoughts were anxiously directed to an impending civil-war. All dreaded it — all sought to avert it. While the inaugural address was being delivered from this place, devoted altogether to <u>saving</u> the Union without war, insurgent agents were in the city seeking to <u>destroy</u> it without war — seeking to dissol[v]e the Union, and divide effects, by negotiation. Both parties deprecated war; but one of them would <u>make</u> war rather than let the nation survive; and the other would <u>accept</u> war rather than let it perish. And the war came.

One eighth of the whole population were colored slaves, not distributed generally over the Union, but localized in the Southern half part of it. These slaves constituted a peculiar and powerful interest. All knew that this interest was, somehow, the cause of the war. To strengthen, perpetuate, and extend this interest was the object for which the insurgents would rend the Union, even by war; while the government claimed no right to do more than to restrict the territorial enlargement of it. Neither party expected for the war, the magnitude, or the duration, which it has already attained. Neither anticipated that the cause of the conflict might cease with, or even before, the conflict itself should cease. Each looked for an easier triumph, and a result less fundamental and astounding. Both read the same Bible, and pray to the same God; and each invokes His aid against the other. It may seem strange that any men should dare to ask a just God's assistance in wringing their bread from the sweat of other men's faces; but let us judge not that we be not judged. The prayers of both could not be answered; that of neither has been answered fully. The Almighty has His own purposes. "Woe unto the world because of offences! for it must needs be that offences come; but woe to that man by whom the offence cometh!" If we shall suppose that American Slavery is one of those offences which, in the providence of God, must needs come, but which, having continued through His appointed time, He now wills to remove, and that He gives to both North and South, this terrible war, as the woe due to those by whom the offence came, shall we discern therein any departure from those divine attributes which the believers in a Living God

always ascribe to Him? Fondly do we hope — fervently do we pray — that this mighty scourge of war may speedily pass away. Yet, if God wills that it continue, until all the wealth piled by the bond-man's two hundred and fifty years of unrequited toil shall be sunk, and until every drop of blood drawn with the lash, shall be paid by another drawn with the sword, as was said f[our] three thousand years ago, so still it must be said "the judgments of the Lord, are true and righteous altogether"

With malice toward none; with charity for all; with firmness in the right, as God gives us to see the right, let us strive on to finish the work we are in; to bind up the nation's wounds; to care for him who shall have borne the battle, and for his widow, and his orphan — to achieve and cherish a lasting peace among ourselves and with the world. to do all which may achieve and cherish a just, and a lasting peace, among ourselves, and with the world. all nations.

Questions	Answers
In the second paragraph, what does Lincoln say that Americans (North and South) believed about the "impending civil-war"? Why does he not identify the South as responsible for starting the war?	
What connection does Lincoln make between slavery and the Civil War?	
What two or three things about the Civil War does Lincoln say the American people did not expect?	

What does Lincoln "suppose" God may be accomplishing with the Civil War?	
How does Lincoln's interpretation of the war humble both victorious Northerners and defeated Southerners? Why is this useful given the historical context in March 1865?	
In terms of both the war and slavery, how do Lincoln's references to God and the Bible help him to explain what has happened to the country since his first presidential inauguration?	



## **Proclamation of Amnesty and Reconstruction**

Student Name	Date	

Abraham Lincoln, Proclamation of Amnesty and Reconstruction (December 8, 1863): [http://www.historyplace.com/lincoln/proc-4.htm]

Whereas, in and by the Constitution of the United States, it is provided that the President "shall have power to grant reprieves and pardons for offences against the United States, except in cases of impeachment;" and

Whereas a rebellion now exists whereby the loyal State governments of several States have for a long time been subverted, and many persons have committed and are now guilty of treason against the United States; and

Whereas, with reference to said rebellion and treason, laws have been enacted by Congress declaring forfeitures and confiscation of property and liberation of slaves, all upon terms and conditions therein stated, and also declaring that the President was thereby authorized at any time thereafter, by proclamation, to extend to persons who may have participated in the existing rebellion, in any State or part thereof, pardon and amnesty, with such exceptions and at such times and on such conditions as he may deem expedient for the public welfare; and

Whereas the congressional declaration for limited and conditional pardon accords with well-established judicial exposition of the pardoning power; and

Whereas, with reference to said rebellion, the President of the United States has issued several proclamations, with provisions in regard to the liberation of slaves; and

Whereas it is now desired by some persons heretofore engaged in said rebellion to resume their allegiance to the United States, and to reinaugurate loyal State governments within and for their respective States; therefore,

I, Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States, do proclaim, declare, and make known to all persons who have, directly or by implication, participated in the existing rebellion, except as hereinafter excepted, that a full pardon is hereby granted to them and each of them, with restoration of all rights of property, except as to slaves, and in property cases where rights of third parties shall have intervened, and upon the condition that every such person shall take and subscribe an oath, and thenceforward keep and maintain said oath inviolate; and which oath shall be registered for permanent preservation, and shall be of the tenor and effect following, to wit:

"I, -----, do solemnly swear, in presence of Almighty God, that I will henceforth faithfully support, protect and defend the Constitution of the United States, and the union of the States thereunder; and that I will, in like manner, abide by and faithfully support all acts of Congress passed during the existing rebellion with reference to slaves, so long and so far as not repealed, modified or held void by Congress,

or by decision of the Supreme Court; and that I will, in like manner, abide by and faithfully support all proclamations of the President made during the existing rebellion having reference to slaves, so long and so far as not modified or declared void by decision of the Supreme Court. So help me God."

The persons excepted from the benefits of the foregoing provisions are all who are, or shall have been, civil or diplomatic officers or agents of the so-called confederate government; all who have left judicial stations under the United States to aid the rebellion; all who are, or shall have been, military or naval officers of said so-called confederate government above the rank of colonel in the army, or of lieutenant in the navy; all who left seats in the United States Congress to aid the rebellion; all who resigned commissions in the army or navy of the United States, and afterwards aided the rebellion; and all who have engaged in any way in treating colored persons or white persons, in charge of such, otherwise than lawfully as prisoners of war, and which persons may have been found in the United States service, as soldiers, seamen, or in any other capacity.

And I do further proclaim, declare, and make known, that whenever, in any of the States of Arkansas, Texas, Louisiana, Mississippi, Tennessee, Alabama, Georgia, Florida, South Carolina, and North Carolina, a number of persons, not less than one-tenth in number of the votes cast in such State at the Presidential election of the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty, each having taken the oath aforesaid and not having since violated it, and being a qualified voter by the election law of the State existing immediately before the so-called act of secession, and excluding all others, shall reestablish a State government which shall be republican, and in no wise contravening said oath, such shall be recognized as the true government of the State, and the State shall receive thereunder the benefits of the constitutional provision which declares that "The United States shall guaranty to every State in this union a republican form of government, and shall protect each of them against invasion; and, on application of the legislature, or the executive, (when the legislature cannot be convened,) against domestic violence."

And I do further proclaim, declare, and make known that any provision which may be adopted by such State government in relation to the freed people of such State, which shall recognize and declare their permanent freedom, provide for their education, and which may yet be consistent, as a temporary arrangement, with their present condition as a laboring, landless, and homeless class, will not be objected to by the national Executive. And it is suggested as not improper, that, in constructing a loyal State government in any State, the name of the State, the boundary, the subdivisions, the constitution, and the general code of laws, as before the rebellion, be maintained, subject only to the modifications made necessary by the conditions hereinbefore stated, and such others, if any, not contravening said conditions, and which may be deemed expedient by those framing the new State government.

To avoid misunderstanding, it may be proper to say that this proclamation, so far as it relates to State governments, has no reference to States wherein loyal State governments have all the while been maintained. And for the same reason, it may be proper to further say that whether members sent to Congress from any State shall be admitted to seats, constitutionally rests exclusively with the respective Houses, and not to any extent with the Executive. And still further, that this proclamation is intended to present the people of the States wherein the national authority has been suspended, and loyal State governments have been subverted, a mode in and by which the national authority and loyal State governments may be re-established within said States, or in any of them; and, while the mode presented is the best the Executive can suggest with his present impressions, it must not be understood that no other possible mode would be acceptable.



# **Proclamation of Amnesty and Reconstruction**

Student Name		Date		
<b>Directions</b> : After reading Abraham Lincoln's "Proclamation of Amnesty and Reconstruction," answer the following questions in the space provided.				
Questions	Answers			
What must someone who "participated in the existing rebellion" do to receive a presidential pardon? Be specific in your answer.				
What persons do not qualify for pardon and amnesty?				
What minimum percentage of qualified persons need to take the oath in order to re-establish a state government loyal to the United States?				
What does Lincoln encourage re- established state government to do with regard to former slaves?				



#### Wade-Davis bill

Student Name Date	
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Excerpts from the Wade-Davis bill (July 2, 1864):

 $[\underline{http://www.ourdocuments.gov/print\_friendly.php?page=transcript\&doc=37\&title=Transcript+of+Wade-Davis+Bill+\&281864\&29]}$ 

Wade-Davis Bill (July 2, 1864)

A Bill to guarantee to certain States whose Governments have been usurped or overthrown a Republican Form of Government.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That in the states declared in rebellion against the United States, the President shall, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, appoint for each a provisional governor, . . . who shall be charged with the civil administration of such state until a state government therein shall be recognized as hereinafter provided.

SEC. 2. And be it further enacted, That so soon as the military resistance to the United States shall have been suppressed in any such state, and the people thereof shall have sufficiently returned to their obedience to the constitution and the laws of the United States, the provisional governor shall direct the marshal of the United States, as speedily as may be, to name a sufficient number of deputies, and to enroll all white male citizens of the United States, resident in the state in their respective counties, and to request each one to take the oath to support the constitution of the United States, and in his enrolment to designate those who take and those who refuse to take that oath, which rolls shall be forthwith returned to the provisional governor; and if the persons taking that oath shall amount to a majority of the persons enrolled in the state, he shall, by proclamation, invite the loyal people of the state to elect delegates to a convention charged to declare the will of the people of the state relative to the reestablishment of a state government subject to, and in conformity with, the constitution of the United States.

. . .

SEC. 4. And be it further enacted, That the delegates shall be elected by the loyal white male citizens of the United States of the age of twenty-one years, and resident at the time in the county, parish, or district in which they shall offer to vote, and enrolled as aforesaid, or absent in the military service of the United States, and who shall take and subscribe the oath of allegiance\* to the United States in the form contained in the act of congress of July two, eighteen hundred and sixty-two; . . . but no person who has held or exercised any office, civil or military, state or confederate, under the rebel usurpation, or who has voluntarily borne arms against the United States, shall vote, or be eligible to be elected as delegate, at such election.

SEC. 5. And be it further enacted, That the said commissioners, or either of them, shall hold the election in conformity with this act, and, so far as may be consistent therewith, shall proceed in the manner used in the state prior to the rebellion. The oath of allegiance shall be taken and subscribed on the poll-book by every voter in the form above prescribed, but every person known by or proved to, the commissioners to have held or exercised any office, civil or military, state or confederate, under the rebel usurpation, or to have voluntarily borne arms against the United States, shall be excluded, though

he offer to take the oath; and in case any person who shall have borne arms against the United States shall offer to vote he shall be deemed to have borne arms voluntarily unless he shall prove the contrary by the testimony of a qualified voter. . . . [T]he provisional governor shall canvass such returns, and declare the person having the highest number of votes elected.

. . .

SEC. 7. And be it further enacted, That the convention shall declare, on behalf of the people of the state, their submission to the constitution and laws of the United States, and shall adopt the following provisions, hereby prescribed by the United States in the execution of the constitutional duty to guarantee a republican form of government to every state, and incorporate them in the constitution of the state, that is to say:

First. No person who has held or exercised any office, civil or military, except offices merely ministerial, and military offices below the grade of colonel, state or confederate, under the usurping power, shall vote for or be a member of the legislature, or governor.

Second. Involuntary servitude is forever prohibited, and the freedom of all persons is guaranteed in said state.

Third. No debt, state or confederate, created by or under the sanction of the usurping power, shall be recognized or paid by the state.

SEC. 8. And be it further enacted, That when the convention shall have adopted those provisions, it shall proceed to re-establish a republican form of government, and ordain a constitution containing those provisions, which, when adopted the convention shall by ordinance provide for submitting to the people of the state, entitled to vote under this law, at an election to be held in the manner prescribed by the act for the election of delegates; . . . and if a majority of the votes cast shall be for the constitution and form of government, he shall certify the same, with a copy thereof, to the President of the United States, who, after obtaining the assent of congress, shall, by proclamation, recognize the government so established, and none other, as the constitutional government of the state, and from the date of such recognition, and not before, Senators and Representatives, and electors for President and Vice President may be elected in such state, according to the laws of the state and of the United States.

. . .

SEC. 10. And be it further enacted, That, until the United States shall have recognized a republican form of state government, the provisional governor in each of said states shall see that this act, and the laws of the United States, and the laws of the state in force when the state government was overthrown by the rebellion, are faithfully executed within the state; but no law or usage whereby any person was heretofore held in involuntary servitude shall be recognized or enforced by any court or officer in such state, and the laws for the trial and punishment of white persons shall extend to all persons, and jurors shall have the qualifications of voters under this law for delegates to the convention. . . .

. . .

SEC. 12. And be it further enacted, that all persons held to involuntary servitude or labor in the states aforesaid are hereby emancipated and discharged therefrom, and they and their posterity shall be forever free. . . .

. . .

- SEC. 14. And be it further enacted, That every person who shall hereafter hold or exercise any office, civil or military, except offices merely ministerial, and military offices below the grade of colonel, in the rebel service, state or confederate, is hereby declared not to be a citizen of the United States.
- \* Known as the "Ironclad Test Oath," it required government officials, both military and civilian, to swear (or affirm) that they "have never voluntarily borne arms against the United States" and "voluntarily given no aid, countenance, counsel, or encouragement to persons engaged in armed hostility," and pledge to "support and defend the Constitution of the United States, against all enemies, foreign and domestic."



## Wade-Davis bill

**Directions**: After reading the Wade-Davis bill, answer the following questions in the space provided.

Questions	Answers
Who does Congress say will govern a state whose citizens wish to be restored to the federal Union? Who appoints this person?	
What minimum percentage of white male voters need to take the oath before those citizens could begin the process of reestablishing a new state government?	
What must citizens do to restore their state to the federal Union?	
Who are considered to be citizens of a restored state, and what categories of persons are left out?	
What three requirements does Congress impose upon the re- established state constitutions?	