



Reconstructing a Failed Democracy

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This curriculum unit is recommended for:
8th Grade Social Studies

Keywords: Democracy, Civil War, Reconstruction, Historical Narrative, Analyze, Perspective, Debate, Conflict, Civil War Amendments

Teaching Standards: See [Appendix 1](#) for teaching standards addressed in this unit.

Synopsis: This Curriculum Unit is about democracy in America during the period of Reconstruction. This Unit will ask students to define the word democracy. Through their understanding of democracy, students will be able to analyze the government in America during Reconstruction. This unit of study will ask students to evaluate how democratic the nation was during Reconstruction. Students will look at primary and secondary sources to help them analyze the success of the country in rebuilding a democratic nation. The two foundational questions that students will need to answer by the end of the unit are: (1) What are the characteristics of a successful democracy? (2) Was the United States successful in rebuilding a democracy after the Civil War? Students will be able to develop their own arguments in response to these questions and utilize evidence from their research to help them support their claims. The unit will help scaffold students to a constructed response essay that will help develop their skills in evaluation and analysis.

I plan to teach this unit during the coming year to (140) students in 8th Grade Social Studies.

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Reconstructing a Failed Democracy

Arianna Bonner

Introduction

Student teaching at Providence High School in the fall of 2015 prepared me inadequately for my experience at Martin Luther King, Jr. Middle School. Undoubtedly, I knew the content and basic lesson planning, but I was ill-prepared to face a classroom full of students who were craving much more. My classes at Providence were predominantly white and affluent. Two weeks after graduating, I found myself in an entirely new environment with very different challenges. As a new teacher, I naively stepped into an abandoned classroom of students planning to transfer my experiences from student teaching to my new class. I quickly recognized that I would need to make adjustments if we were going to be successful. I reached out to as many professional educators as I could, and pleaded for advice. The people with whom I spoke seemed to agree on the following: “Make the content relevant,” and “If you can get them to think, then you can get them to pass a test.” My hope in this Curriculum Unit is to do just that. This Curriculum Unit will ask students to analyze sources from reconstruction and develop arguments surrounding the democratic nature of the country following the American Civil War. Through an in depth analysis of relevant sources, students will gain a broader understanding of their own unique historical narratives.

Demographics

As of 2015-2016 school year, Martin Luther King, Jr. Middle School’s demographics were predominantly Black and Hispanic. Out of 1108 students 26 were Asian, 557 were Black, 473 were Hispanic, 31 were white, and the remaining were considered multiracial or other, according to the Student Improvement plan from that year¹. This demographic continues to change and evolve daily, but consistently the student population has remained a majority minority school, which serves children from predominantly low socioeconomic backgrounds. The provided textbook does not reflect the general population at Martin Luther King, Jr. Middle School. When opening a standard textbook for middle grades social studies, the consensus can be that our history has been “white washed.” Minority groups find themselves left out of the narrative. Students need to be able to see themselves in history to understand the relevance of historical narratives to our lives today.

Rationale

The traditionally accepted definition of democracy is a government of the people, by the people, and for the people. If this is true, then was America truly a democracy before the American Civil War? It is important to explore this question to understand the democratization of America. The United States government excluded much of the American population from the democratic process prior to the American Civil War. To gain a greater understanding of the inclusivity of American Democracy, students need to develop an understanding of characteristics of a

democratic government. They must also apply this understanding to an analysis of the American government that develops after the American Civil War.

Upon the founding of the nation there were preexisting societal rifts (fundamental flaws in the society). The founding fathers argued over whether to abolish slavery. They struggled to define their experimental government. After the Revolutionary War, the political figureheads of American Government needed to outline principles that would govern the new nation. These principles needed to be sustainable and inclusive. However, when founding the nation many government officials did not consider all people truly equal. Equality was limited, defined by race and gender. Did the American Civil War allow a new democracy – a democracy that was more accepting and inclusive of all people regardless of race or ethnicity – to prevail?

The focus of this Unit directly relates to the diverse population at Martin Luther King, Jr. Middle School. There are many arguments claiming that the American Civil War was a failure of the founding government's democracy. Key to this argument is the realization that the pre-Civil War US government was far from inclusive of all people. Before the American Civil War, there were people in this country who were enslaved, socially ostracized, and not permitted to participate in government. If we claim the general understanding of democracy to be a government by the people and for the people, then should this not include all people? This leads students to question: was America a Democracy to begin with? Students will also determine whether the Civil War, and the period following the Civil War, were able to resolve any discriminatory alienation of certain persons from the democratic process.

The students of Martin Luther King, Jr. Middle School come from various races, religions, ethnicities, and socioeconomic statuses. Their ancestors often are forgotten in American History. Through the study of the American Civil war, their research will highlight a critical flaw in America's founding government: the fact that America's original democracy excluded entire populations from participation in government. Their research should lead them to question critically the democratic nature of their own government. This Unit will push students to analyze the American Civil War as more than just a historical event, but an event that brings to light certain questions about modern American Democracy.

I hope that this Unit will foster high levels of engagement among students and encourage students to question their own beliefs as well as arguments from historical narratives. Students will analyze the causes and effects of the American Civil War. Creating these arguments is necessary when fostering higher order thinking skills. Students will develop necessary skills through the analysis and evaluation of historical documents. Students will fine-tune these skills through the creation of their own arguments, supported by evidence gathered through research. Learning about a foundational crisis in our democracy will help to highlight the flaws in a democratic society, while also providing an opportunity for a better understanding of the strengths within that Government.

Goals

The goal is to challenge students to explore the ideology of democracy and more specifically to question America's democracy before, during, and after the American Civil War. Through their

research, students will be able to define democracy; students will be able to identify democratic ideals within complex texts; and students will be able to explain how the failure of the American democracy set up by the founding fathers led to the American Civil War.

Through this Unit, students will learn about events following the American Civil War. Students will dissect texts and research sources that will lead them to answer this question: Was American government a democracy before the Civil War. Students will then explore the events during American Civil War to help them form an argument surrounding this question: If American government was a Democracy before the Civil War, was the war a failure of that Democracy? After students have explored the two previous questions, they will then further investigate American Democracy by answering this question: During reconstruction, was America able to set up a successful democracy?

Students will be able to create an argument that focuses on the failure of the American Democracy before the American Civil War and the establishment of a new kind of democracy after the American Civil War. They will support their arguments with in-depth research and evaluation of the topic at hand. Students will utilize a variety of sources, through which they will work to develop their own arguments surrounding the topic. Students will recall facts and information from their research to develop a better understanding of the events surrounding the American Civil War.

Historical Context

Defining Democracy

What is a democracy? In the 8th grade social studies textbook if you flip to the index, you can find the definition of democracy in five different places.² If you wish for your students to define democracy in terms of the ancient Greeks, have them turn to page 24, where it defines democracy as “a form of government in which people rule themselves.”³ If you wish for them to understand democracy in Jacksonian terms then have them turn to pages 328-330, where they can find a summary that reads, “An expanding democracy that advocated for more people’s right to vote and a drastic change in American Politics.” If you wish for them to compare Jeffersonian versus Jacksonian, have them turn to page 331. Here they will find a detailed chart that provides a comparison of the differing Jeffersonian democratic characteristics with that of the Jacksonian era. If that is not enough, then they can further investigate democracy by reading about the democratic practices in Latin America found on page 737. Then there is an entirely different understanding, according to the Alexis de Tocqueville, which they can find in the index under “Democracy in America,” found on page 449.⁴ So what exactly is democracy?

In the glossary of this same textbook, the authors define democracy as, “a government in which people rule themselves.”⁵ The agreed upon definition by the authors of this text then seems to be from the ancient Greek definition on page 24. This begs the question, in the American democratic system do people really rule themselves or are they governed by another entity? If we are to focus on the 19th century, especially the time surrounding the American Civil War (1820-1870), then the American democratic system arguably does not meet the

requirements of a democracy, according to the simplified definition found in the 8th grade Social Studies Textbook.

North Carolina Essential Standards for 8th grade social studies directly outline democratic principles that the state has identified as necessary for a basic understanding of United States democracy. These principles can be found in standard 8.C&G.1 (8th grade civics and government standard 1), which states “Analyze how democratic ideals shaped government in North Carolina and the United States.”⁶ The standard further identifies six democratic ideals in standard 8.C&G.1.1, which states a clarifying objective for students to be, “Summarize democratic ideals expressed in local, state, and national government (e.g. limited government, popular sovereignty, separation of powers, republicanism, federalism, and individual rights.)”⁷ The state has identified these principles as being the main characteristics of a democratic nation. If the nation has these six qualifiers, then it is arguably a democracy. Limited government is a system that does not allow the government to do as it pleases. Popular sovereignty, refers to the right to vote. Separation of powers, especially in the United States, is a delegation of powers of authority kept under control through a system of checks and balances. Republicanism is when people elect government officials to represent them in political decisions. Federalism is the separation of state and federal governments. Individual rights refers to the understanding that people within a country (citizens) have certain rights that cannot be taken away.⁸ If the standards are correct, then democracy is much more than a government by the people. A democracy encompasses a complicated system that is difficult to form, especially when forming a new government that overthrew a previous government without any democratic principles’ whatsoever.

Applying the definition of Democracy to the US

In order to determine the legitimacy of the American Democratic system pre and post American Civil War there must first be a list of qualifying characteristics of a democracy. Second, there must be a greater understanding of the economy, society, and political atmosphere of the time. To have a successful democracy implies that there is some form of accountability, the society is free, and people have a choice. If it is a government run by the people, then that government must have a system of self-governance. In the United States of America (USA), a constitution holds people in positions of political authority accountable for their actions. The constitution, however, is only a piece of paper. All members of society must accept and respect this governing document for it to hold authority. The system and governing document depends on constant, relentless, and intentional change. However, the American Civil War erupted into an abrupt change. The democratic system failed when it did not meet the needs and wants of those in the society.

For centuries, people have argued about the qualifying characteristics of a democratic society. There are many different forms that evolve from a democratic system. In some parts of the world, governments rely on a parliamentary system. Some governments evolved into more of a republican system of democracy. If a democracy is a government ruled by the people, then each society will form a democracy that fits its own needs. The American political system continues to evolve as new needs arise in its society. To meet the qualifying characteristics of a democracy the system must be reflective of the peoples’ voice.

According to Samuel Huntington's book, *The Third Wave*, modern democracies must meet certain criteria to qualify as democratic nations. His analysis of the initial wave of democratization, when democracies form, creates a set explanation for how the democracies form. It all depends upon the original government. The first option for democratization, Replacement, is an overthrow of the original government typically by violent means. There is little to no structure and the opposition to the original governmental system wins; arguably, that is what happened with the American Civil War. The second option for democratizing nations is Transformation. Transformation is more of a controlled democratization; this could be a tool for oppression. This cycle of oppression continues through means of a slower democratization processes. The opposition does not necessarily get what it wants: "give a little and they want more."⁹ The period of reconstruction following the American Civil War fits the description of transformation. The third and final option for democratization, Trans-placement, is a combination of the two previous modes of transition. Trans-placement is where both opposition and power-holders come together and make decisions about the nation's future status. This requires the government to acknowledge that the status quo is not sustainable.¹⁰ In the case of the Civil War: Slavery must go! Did this happen with reconstruction or did American democracy miss the target?

New democracies struggle with a variety of obstacles. They must create new institutions to replace the old order. There is a period of instability in this process. There are economic issues that arise from periods of insurrection and transition. Democracies in their infancy must make decisions about military regimes, creation of new policy, implementation of this new policy, and delivering promises made during the transitory period. The society and culture must learn how to adapt to a new form of governance. Suddenly people who were once voiceless have a sliver of power. The oppressed and oppressors also must deal with their shared history. They must restore order to a lawless nation and acknowledge the wrong doings of the previous regime. The rest of the world affects how successful this democracy will be as well. External and internal conflicts will affect the success of a new democratic nation. In addition, social issues do not disappear with the passage of new laws. The society must heal and take the arduous and necessary steps to do so. Was the United States able to take these arduous and necessary steps after the Civil war?

American Democracy before the American Civil War

The founding of the American democratic system dealt with all of the obstacles that most democratizing nations must face. The revolution against Great Britain overthrew an authoritarian regime and replaced it with a system of government that was striving to achieve a nation of liberty and freedom. The British-American Colonies revolted against a system that was already going through the processes of democratization. The British government created an English Bill of Rights, had a governing body (parliament) that worked with the King, and limited the power of the Monarch. The revolutionaries only had to turn to their previous government to inspire a new democracy. However, there were still many issues surrounding the ideologies of various governing leaders within the new American government. Creating a society that boasted civil liberties and freedoms would be especially difficult when much of your economy depended upon the enslavement of an entire population. This ostracizes entire groups of people from society,

prior to the founding of a new nation. When they were working to create a new nation, these ostracized groups of people had hopes for the consideration of their rights.

Fast-forward about a hundred years from the American Revolution and the United States has found itself in yet another conflict, this time an internal one. In the nation's beginnings, slavery was already a point of contention. The men who forged this new nation had to address the reality of slavery in their new nation; however, in their final draft of their governing document from Constitutional Convention of 1787 they never directly addressed the issue of slavery.¹¹ Within the original Constitution, the only mention of slavery refers to the enslaved as "other persons." The document states, "Representatives and direct Taxes shall be apportioned among the several States which may be included within this Union, according to their respective Numbers, which shall be determined by adding to the whole Number of free Persons, including those bound to Service for a Term of Years, and excluding Indians not taxed, three fifths of all other Persons."¹² This spark ignited the fire of war in later years.

In the decades leading up to the American Civil War, the nation divided itself politically, socially, and economically. The Northern and Southern economies, societies, and political environments relied on very different influences. As the nation grew and expanded these differences became more evident. The addition of each new territory brought about the question of equal representation for both regions in government. With the annexation of each new territory, the balance of power shifted to either north or south, depending upon the political opinions that governed those states. This struck fear in the elite southern aristocracy. If the nation brought a state into the fold as a free state, then the southern economy became threatened.

The pre-war economy depended upon resources grown in the southern economy and manufactured in the north. The pre-war economy in the south was heavily dependent upon the slave trade and the use of slaves to grow and harvest cash crops. The economy in the north was dependent upon different things than the southern economy. After the Civil War, Americans had to deal with the transition from relying on resources produced through a slave economy, to an economy recovering from war and newly lost economic system.

It is pertinent to recognize American society pre-civil war to understand the difficult task of rebuilding that society post-war. Groups excluded from public life included women, slaves, and Native Americans. Women in American society before the civil war had limited social mobility. Women had not gained any rights as far as participation in government or the public sphere of life. Regarded as second-class citizens and women were not equal to men in society.

Howard Zinn expresses this sentiment by saying:

Societies based on private property and competition, in which monogamous families became practical units for work and socialization, found it especially useful to establish this special status of women. Something akin to a house slave in the matter of intimacy and oppression, and yet requiring, because of that intimacy, and long-term connection with children, a special patronization, which on occasion, especially in the face of a show of

strength, could slip over into treatment as an equal. An oppression so private would turn out hard to uproot.”¹³

Enslaved persons were not regarded as people, but as property instead. Not counted as whole persons in the census, slaves did not receive the same societal benefits as white persons.¹⁴ Slaves did not have a say in the public realm, either. Removed from their native lands, Native Americans were required to make room for an ever-present and growing society. Pre-Civil War American society did not recognize people who did not fit the mold of a Euro-centric world. This is reflective of the political society of the time as well.

Prior to the eruption of war, the political atmosphere of the United States was hostile and divided. The election of Abraham Lincoln was the spark that ignited the flame. The southern states feared losing their source of economic wealth, which relied heavily on slavery. The southern elite were not willing to negotiate about their economy, especially in the political realm. The election of a Republican threatened the “southern way of life,” and their hand was forced by the perception of this threat.

American Democracy during the Civil War

Wartime democracy is a flexible state of affairs. People tend to prefer security to liberty when faced with death and an onslaught of fear for the loss of their livelihood. Leaders take the steps necessary to ensure that their side will advance. This often leads to an abuse of power and a loss of trust from the people. Citizens appreciate protection, while also hoping to maintain the liberties enjoyed before war. The human aspect of war twists the defining characteristics of democracy so that the once understood democratic government has an authoritarian undertone. The civil war lays out a stage for which abuse of power could easily occur. The hatred for the other side runs so deeply among the citizens of each nation that leaders can pause democratic steps.

The general feeling of southerners for their northern counterparts was one of disdain and distrust. Reflections of these sentiments are in diaries and journals of the time. Mary Boykin Chesnut was a prominent socialite in the south during the war. She oft expresses in her diary how she feels about, “...these awful Yankees!”¹⁵ Chesnut and her fellow southern citizens enjoyed a life of luxury before the war. During the war, they watched those luxuries dwindle. After the war, they had to cope with a loss of their lifestyle, which was enjoyed on the backs of free labor. Southern elites, like Chesnut, adhered to a democracy that excluded those without means. Pre-war democracy proved to be favorable for those in power; it could not establish liberty for all. During the war, leaders took necessary steps to advance personal agendas, and perpetuate their cause. Personal accounts, like that of Chesnut, help to bring insight to the human perspective of the time.

People’s personal accounts allow for a deeper insight into the world of war and fear of the outsiders. The American Civil War highlights a deep flaw in the society. People did not see each other as equals. Race played a crucial role in the division of societal class. The white southern elite enjoyed a lifestyle that perpetuated this inequality. The fear of losing this lifestyle ensured

their hatred toward northern states and their citizens. This also perpetuated their rationalization of the enslavement of people of African descent.

James W. Loewen addresses the oversimplification of the Civil War period in American history in his book *Lies My Teacher Told Me*. He looks into the traditional teaching of different periods. The following quote summarizes his analysis of the Civil War and reconstruction:

“In this struggle, our history textbooks offer little help. Just as they underplay white racism, they also neglect racial idealism. In so doing, they deprive students of potential role models to call upon as they try to bridge the new fault lines that will spread out in the future from the great rift in our past.”¹⁶

A deeper investigation of people’s idealism and understanding helps to gain better insight into a period. Being reflective about how the past is viewed from the present gives a person greater ability to empathize with the subject at hand. “Just as textbooks treat slavery without racism, they treat abolitionism without much idealism.”¹⁷ In this chapter, Loewen takes an in-depth look into how general history overlooks much of the facts. With time, these facts become fluid; Loewen addresses this when he looks into how American history textbooks’ coverage of topics such as John Brown’s revolt, slavery, and Reconstruction, has evolved over time. Students must be able to analyze multiple perspectives to understand the realities of the time and analyze the events that affect the continuing historical narrative of a country.

The true democratic nature of a country is best seen through the eyes of the oppressed. If the oppressed are not allowed to participate in government, then that government’s democratic nature can be called into question. The idea that there needs to be a different definition of “American Democracy” aligns with the ideology of American Exceptionalism. Alexis de Tocqueville’s analysis of democracy in America can help us understand this exceptionalism mentality.¹⁸ Democracy was failing in other parts of the world. So, why was it succeeding in America? A deeper look into the American democratic system during the Civil War exposes a fundamental flaw in its governing idealism. The success of democracy can be called into question when there is a vivid history of oppression and denial of rights.

Democracy during Reconstruction

Once students understand the democratic nature of the country prior to and during the American Civil War, they can move on to evaluate the effectiveness of reconstruction post-war. Students should have a solid foundation in the defining principles of democracy as well as the historical narrative leading up to reconstruction. The task at hand for leaders of a war torn nation is much different from a nation in times of peace. A country that has been in the midst of internal conflict must heal differently than a country that is at war with another nation. Healing the wounds of conflict between countrymen is a difficult and sensitive task.

Reconstruction was an opportunity to rejuvenate a democracy that had seemingly lost a majority of its ideals. The lack of liberties and freedoms for women, slaves, and indigenous people provide evidence against the democratic nature of the country pre-war. However, we find

that through the muddled experiences of slaves, former confederate soldiers, and Republican politicians that coming to an agreement about how to address the re-admission of the south into to union would prove to be a more complicated task.

The reconstruction of the south in the United States after the Civil War was a controversial task. Before the war's end, President Abraham Lincoln devised a plan for the readmission of the south to the United States. Lincoln's Ten Percent Plan "offered southerners amnesty, or official pardon, for all illegal acts supporting the rebellion."¹⁹ This plan's leniency did not seem to fit the severity of the actions taken by the southern rebellion during the civil war. "To receive amnesty, southerners had to do two things. They had to swear an oath of loyalty to the United States. They also had to agree that slavery was illegal. Once ten percent of the voters in a state made these pledges, they could form a new government."²⁰ These contingencies allowed for a state's re-admittance to the union. Because this was the President's plan, it was called into question. Some people believed that a state's admittance should be contingent upon a greater governing body's decision, like congress.

Other plans were created and presented before the country. The Wade-Davis Bill and President Johnson's Reconstruction plan looked to provide an alternative to the seemingly lenient ten percent plan. Whether or not these plans succeeded is arguable through perspective analysis. Both alternatives sought to provide a better balance of power post-war.

The Wade- Davis Bill was intended to require more from the states that had participated in rebellion. Many Republican senators felt that the south needed to do much more than what the ten percent plan was asking of them. The Wade-Davis Bill added a requirement that southern states had to ban slavery to be re-admitted. Though this would bring further equality to the nation, Lincoln doubted southern states would accept re-admittance with the requirements of the Wade-Davis Bill. Lincoln did not sign the bill.²¹

The task of bringing a nation back together after a civil war is hard to fathom. The nation went to war because it could not compromise. Following the war, the south was forced to compromise. Both sides had to make sacrifices to accomplish their goals.

The restoration of liberty took precedence over other goals. Previously enslaved persons now become participating members of the new government. Slavery needed to be abolished, and the economic transition that would follow needed to be prepared for. Though African Americans gained their immediate freedom, it would be years before equality was written into law.

The Constitutional amendments that were adopted after the war provided written authority on citizenship and freedom. The "Civil War" amendments are a direct result of political leaders' efforts to compromise on equality and defining people's rights in the new "America," post-war. The thirteenth amendment outlawed slavery. It released a group of people from systemic oppression, and allowed them to become a part of the political process. (*To Be a Slave* is a novel that does an eloquent job highlighting the feeling from a slave's perspective of being someone else's property.) The fourteenth amendment defined citizenship. This gave people with newly acquired citizenship an outline for their rights. The fifteenth amendment gave black men

the right to vote. This amendment gave previously enslaved people the right to participate in American Democracy. Did this make America a true democracy?

Abraham Lincoln's perseverance in the restoration of the union was a driving force in the resolution to the war. Lincoln worked to ensure that the south would want to come back and that they would adhere to the laws of a more accepting democracy. Did the death of Abraham Lincoln cause political leaders to agree to unnecessarily generous compromises? Arguably so. Leaders following the death of Abraham Lincoln had a new cause for concern. The loss of a moral beacon denied citizens of a model to look to.

President Andrew Johnson took office following the death of Abraham Lincoln. Johnson had a reconstruction plan of his own. His plan was similar to Lincoln's ten percent plan. The plan allowed Johnson to have the power to pardon southerners and former confederate officials. The democratic nature of this plan wavered with Johnson's use of his authority. The reconstruction of the south led to a mistrust of government officials and the push for African American equality.²²

There was an attempt made to provide previously enslaved persons with equality. The Civil Rights Act of 1866 is an example of this attempt. Even though President Johnson vetoed the bill, the act passed in congress; it would have provided all persons born in the United States rights of citizenship.²³ Johnson proved to be a weak source of leadership during a time of rebuilding. His vetoes became persistent, and he lost his authority as the government continued to operate around him.

The nation was divided before the war, but a reluctant northern society hesitated to enforce harsh punishment on a region that had actively rebelled against a government unwilling to compromise. According to one historian, "In the crisis of Reconstruction the future of the nation lay in the balance."²⁴ The attempt to get the south to acclimate to the union, while also providing ample resources for previously enslaved persons' assimilation became an impossible task with a veto-heavy executive. Johnson was notorious for his approval of limited government. If he felt that the government overreached in its authority, he would voice his disapproval. His personal relationship to politics is what brought him to impeachment.²⁵

A country in post-war shambles had lost Lincoln's vision and gained a president who called himself a democrat, but often sided with Republican politics. Johnson managed to disconnect himself from many in both parties. A successful reconstruction needed a strong leader; however the United States found itself without one.

As a result, the divide between state and national governments continued to grow. The federal government continued to waiver in its determination to enforce reconstruction laws on the south. The government abolished slavery, but struggled to rebuild an economy and society that had relied heavily on that institution. How can the government force people to live together in a community when both sides feel wronged?

The option to force confederate leaders to adhere to a new order produced bitter resentment on all sides. Some believed the federal government was not doing enough to punish

the south, while the south believed their way of life deserved restoration. The Military Reconstruction act divided the south into military zones. This militaristic enforcement of federal law caused further resentment in the south. Johnson appointed new governments for each state and required revision of their constitutions, intensifying the feeling of resentment toward the federal government in the south.²⁶

The government struggled to reestablish order in the south, while also struggling to provide equality to newly freed persons. Systems such as sharecropping kept black people poor and uneducated. Systematic oppression is not much better than the system of slavery. Sharecropping became a way for white oppressors to continue keeping previously enslaved persons in a cycle of debt that they could never repay. Though slaves were no longer considered property, the institution of sharecropping kept previously enslaved persons under a system of oppression where they owe more than they could pay off in a lifetime.²⁷

Economic oppression did not hinder the surge of new voters taking political power. African American leaders took advantage of the newfound freedoms. The support of the Republican Party helped to give African Americans a voice in the political world. However, whites resisted their entry into the public social sphere. The political liberties temporarily enjoyed by African American's were hindered by a group of radical southerners who began to form resistance to African Americans' desire for protected and established rights in their own society.

Those who sought equality in a recently restored country found themselves faced with strong resentment. White southern democrats strongly opposed the new order. They felt the new governments were corrupt. They did not approve of African American participation in government, especially suffrage, and "In 1866 a group of white southerners in Tennessee created the Ku Klux Klan."²⁸ Their tactics aimed to evoke fear in African Americans to prevent their participation in government. The Klan rapidly spread from Tennessee to other southern states. This secret society allowed for the old order to remain influential in southern politics.

Other institutions worked to counter act the atrocities still occurring in the south. The 13th, 14th, and 15th amendments were passed to ensure equal rights are had by all. The Freedmans Bureau was established to provide relief for freed people.²⁹ Though there was an effort to establish equality in the nation, people continued to resist moves toward a more equal society. A brief expression of the difficult challenges of reconstruction does not accurately express its impact on current American society, especially when black codes in the South were hindering the African Americans' fight for equality in a country where they previously considered property. Even today, African Americans experience higher arrest rates and live as second-class citizens. Certain restrictions placed on African Americans exempt them from the liberties that white citizens enjoy. There are exceptions to their newly acquired citizenship. Reconstruction worked to rebuild a democracy, but the reconstruction of the south provided opportunities for white southerners' continued aggression toward African American citizens.

General Teaching Strategies

This year Charlotte Mecklenburg Schools has challenged the academic community with improving writing skills district wide. The instructional leadership team is doing a study of

Content-Area Writing, by Harvey Daniels, Steven Zemelman and Nancy Steineke. To help in this initiative, the teaching practices for this curriculum unit will involve written and oral presentations of student thought processes.

Students will question the legitimacy of American Democracy before, during, and after the American Civil War. For a successful introduction of this topic, students must understand the foundation of a democratic system. Students must be able to define and describe democracy, especially as it pertains to the American political system in the 19th century. The students and teacher together will decide upon defining characteristics of a democracy to look for when analyzing these different times. The teacher will write these defining characteristics on an anchor chart (a poster created by the instructor) for reference throughout the unit. Students will recreate this anchor chart in their own notes to help provide them with an “anchor” for analyzing the legitimacy of a democracy.

Before analyzing whether or not the American Civil War as a failure of American Democracy, students will create a KWL chart to determine what they already know about the topic of democracy. This chart will ask students what they already know about democracy, this is the “K” portion of the chart. Students will answer the question of what they want to know about democracy in the “W” portion of the chart. Once, the lesson about democracy is complete students will respond in the final section of the chart, this is the “L.” The “L” provides students with a space to revisit what they learned about democracy. They must respond to the chart by recognizing if anything that they learned challenged things they thought they already knew about democracy.

Once these defining characteristics have been determined, students will begin their investigation into democracy as it applies to key people and events following the American Civil War. Provided with different sources, students will analyze varying perspectives of American society and politics post-war. Students should already understand expansion through the perspectives of Lewis and Clark, Manifest Destiny, Mexican-American War, and other conflicts that arise from the expansion of the United States. As the government expanded westward, students will gain knowledge about the decisions made by the government.

One strategy to teach democracy during reconstruction would be having the students participate in a “written conversation.”³⁰ Daniels et al. refer to written debates as “Carousel Brainstorming.”³¹ Carousel Brainstorming begins with students in groups around the classroom. Students cannot talk, they can only write responses to the prompt and their peers’ thoughts. There is a prompt in the center of each paper, students are given 5 minutes to respond to this prompt on a large sheet of paper in the center of the table. Each group has a different prompt. Within the groups, the students are participating in a silent dialogue about the text in front of them. The texts could be statistics, a diary entry, a scholarly article, or an excerpt from their textbook. As they write, back and forth, opinions evolve and discussion occurs without ever having to open their mouths. Once they finish within their groups, the large papers are placed on the wall. Students will have sticky notes and walk around the classroom responding to one another’s opinions. Once this part of the task is over students will be required to create a written

response forming their own argument that evaluates how democratic American government was after the American Civil War.³²

Once students have determined whether the American Government was democratic after the Civil War, students will analyze certain post-war events. The events should probe the question, “Did American democracy fail with the Civil War?” Students will look into the actions taken on both sides to determine how democratic characteristics were present following wartimes. Students will evaluate certain promises made during the war, like emancipation. Students will analyze decisions made by leaders on both sides. Did those leaders’ decisions align with democratic principles? Why or why not? Students will have to explain how the American Government was able to restore the union and what steps it took to uphold the ideals of democracy.

From analyzing wartime documents students should understand the foundation of the society, economy, and political environment once the war ended. Did reconstruction work to restore American Democracy? Did it improve upon American Democracy? Students will look at examples of how restoring the union inspired more conflict among certain groups within American Society, while also providing newfound liberties and freedoms to others. Students will work to answer document-based questions that summarize the process of reconstruction from a multitude of perspectives. Students should be working with documents from the perspectives of soldiers, previously enslaved people, women, politicians, southern aristocrats, and other persons who fit different facets of the society of the time.

To summarize the processes of written reflection, students will use the compilation of materials to debate the issue of democracy in America before, during, and after the American Civil War. Through a very structured debate forum, students will work in groups and use the resources gathered from the unit to debate issues of slavery in a democracy, wartime democracy, and the success of reconstruction. Students will be assigned to a side and use their knowledge to support their answers.

Unit: Was Reconstruction after the American Civil War Successful in establishing a Democracy?

Unit Overview

Title	Reconstructing a Failed Democracy
Unit Essential Question	Was the United States successful in establishing a democracy after the American Civil War?
Big Idea	After the American Civil War, the United States worked to reconstruct the southern states and rebuild the relationship between the south and the union. The reestablishment of the government was a difficult and controversial task. The leaders had to make decisions that could prove to hinder equality for all persons under the law, and potentially place into power people who had a direct influence on the southern rebellion.
Lesson Essential Questions	<ol style="list-style-type: none">1. What is a democracy?2. How can I use my vocabulary to make connections?3. What challenges faced the leaders of the nation during reconstruction?4. How can I debate the democratic nature of the nation during reconstructions?

Lesson One: Democracy

Defining Democracy “Do Now”

Students will use prior knowledge to help them define democracy in their own words.

KWL

Students will complete a KWL Chart throughout the lesson:

- What do you already know about democracy?
- What do you want to know about democracy?
- What have you learned about democracy?

K What do you already know?	W What do you want to know?	L What have you learned?

Democracy Anchor Chart

As a class, the students and teacher will create an anchor chart to be used throughout the unit. This anchor chart should embody a well-constructed definition of democracy. Students will copy this anchor chart into their notebooks. Students will write their thoughts about the anchor chart on the back of the page.

Exit Ticket

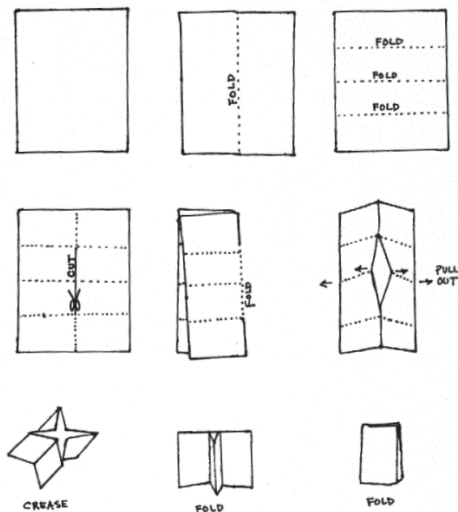
To check for understanding, students will answer the following question: How can you tell if a country's government meets all of the requirements of a democracy?

Lesson Two: Vocab

Teacher will lecture to introduce reconstruction and the major terms, people, and events of this unit. Students should take notes during the lecture for accurate completion of the activity. Students will then create a foldable booklet reflecting the information gained from the lecture. Each page of the booklet should have a significant term, person, or event from the lecture. On that same page, students should use their notes to help them describe said term, person, or event. Students should also provide an illustration or graphic that shows understanding of the significant term, person, or event on that page.

These booklets show that students can describe significant terms, people, and events from reconstruction.

1. Start by folding your paper in half hotdog style.
2. Unfold your paper.
3. Fold your paper in half hamburger style.
4. Fold it in half again.
5. Unfold your paper half way.
6. Cut your paper to the center of the fold.
7. Unfold your paper all the way.
8. Fold your paper in half hotdog style again.
9. Push your paper from the corners so that the folds make a star.
10. The fold the paper into a book.



Concept Bundles

Students will use their newly acquired vocabulary to complete the concept bundle. Students will be able to make connections between significant terms, people, and events during reconstruction.

Lesson Three: Reading

Group Read

Students will work in groups of 2-3. Each student will take turns reading a paragraph of the text to his or her group members. Students will be working together to annotate and read the text. Intentional grouping helps to encourage student participation and understanding. The teacher will be circling the room listening for discussions and reading of the text.

Step One: Students will highlight the title of the article and work with their group to make a prediction about the text.

Step two: Students will number their paragraphs (this helps with students citing information later in the lesson).

Step three: Students will read with each other, paragraph by paragraph.

Step Four: As students read they will need to annotate the text. Students will circle names, dates, and places. Students will highlight or underline important information and evidence from the text.

Step Five: When students finish the text, they will need to collaborate to come up with a brief summary of the text.

Independent Practice

Students will complete a metacognitive log to better understand the text. On the left side of the log they will write a minimum of five important facts from the text. Students must cite where they get the information from in the text. On the right students will state what they think, feel, or question about each fact. This provides students with information from the text to help them understand comprehension questions and construct essays.

Lesson Four: Debate

Once students have gained the necessary background knowledge and understand the vocabulary it is important to get them to form their own opinions about historical events. The design of this debate forum helps students discuss difficult issues with their peers through a scaffolded structure. This structure guides them to an argument that they will support in immense detail. Students do not even begin debating until the last fifteen minutes of class. However, before they even begin talking they have developed skills for research and discussed issues through a written forum that is inclusive for all students regardless of level.

Do Now

Students will answer the following question: What are key components of a good debate?

Opening Activity

“I couldn’t disagree more”³³

Students will practice disagreeing with each other on simple arguments. Example: Student A, “The sky is blue.” Student B must respond by saying, “I couldn’t disagree more...” followed by an explanation of why they disagree.

Direct Instruction

Teacher will instruct students about what constitutes a good debate. Teacher will explain how to create an argument using evidence. Teacher will explain how to construct an opening statement. Teacher will explain how to create a closing statement. All arguments must have a claim, warrant, and impact. Claim being their argumentative statement. Warrant being the evidence to supports their claim. Impact being their closing argument; this must express why their argument matters.

Silent Debate

“Carousel Brainstorming” is where students are in groups around the classroom. Students cannot talk, they can only write responses to the prompt and their peers’ thoughts. There is a prompt in the center of each paper, students are given 5 minutes to respond to this prompt on a large sheet of paper in the center of the table. Each group has a different prompt. Within the groups, the students are participating in a silent dialogue about the text in front of them. The texts could be statistics, a diary entry, a scholarly article, or an excerpt from their textbook. As they write, back and forth, opinions evolve and discussion occurs without ever having to open their mouths. Once they finish within their groups, the large papers are place on the wall. Students will have sticky notes and walk around the classroom responding to one another’s opinions. Once this part of the task is over students will be required to create a written response forming their own argument that evaluates how democratic American government was after the American Civil War. ³⁴

Debate and Debate preparation³⁵

Brainstorm

Students will have 2 minutes to brainstorm silently on a post-it note about democracy during reconstruction. Their goal during the brainstorm is to come up with a concise statement to support their assigned argument. Each group has a preassigned argument (e.g., Reconstruction was successful in establishing a democracy in the United States.) Then they will write down their arguments on a blank sheet of paper. Students will then have 15- 20 minutes to use their notes, chrome books, and textbooks to find evidence to support their group members' arguments about the topic.

Opening and Closing Statements

Students will come up with an opening and closing statement that they will present during the debate.

Question

Students will work together to write questions for the opposition.

Debate

Each team will have 1 minute to present their opening statements. After each team has presented their opening statement, the debate will convene. The teacher will act as the moderator, and will direct the first question to the "house" (the team that sides with the success of reconstruction.) The house will have one minute to respond to the question. The opposition will have 30 seconds to rebut. Actual debate time should only be 5-10 minutes, alternating between the house and opposition. Students will have one minute to present closing statements.

Exit Ticket

This determines the "winner" of the debate. Students should write a response to the following question: Who won the debate? What evidence did they use to win the debate? Explain your answer in complete sentences.

Assessment: Argumentative Essay

Students will write an argumentative essay that utilizes all of the skills gained throughout the unit. Students will write a thesis statement in response to the following prompt:

Evaluate the degree to which the United States was able to rebuild a democracy following the Civil War.

Conclusion

I hope that from this unit students will be able to gain the skills necessary to develop the skills necessary to create arguments and opinions supported by detailed evidence gathered through research. Students will be challenged in their beliefs and understanding of democracy. Students should be able to see how American Democracy has developed over time. Students will be able to reflect upon their own opinions of democracy, and its functions. Students will develop their own thoughts supported through research and scholarly information. It is important to guide students to educated understanding of their countries past in order to help them better understand the reasons for societies

Appendix 1: Implementing Teaching Standards

This unit will address the following standards from the North Carolina Essential Standards for eighth grade social studies. The objectives from each of the standards, as well as a summary of their application to this unit is found below. These objectives directly address the issues and events discussed in a unit about Reconstruction.

The following objectives analyze democracy in the United States. This is applicable to a unit of study about reshaping a democracy post-war.

- 8.C&G.1 Analyze how democratic ideals shaped government in North Carolina and the United States
- 8.C&G.1.1 Summarize democratic ideals expressed in local, state, and national government (e.g. limited government, popular sovereignty, separation of powers, republicanism, federalism and individual rights).
- 8.C&G.1.2 Evaluate the degree to which democratic ideals are evident in historical documents from North Carolina and the United States (e.g. the Mecklenburg Resolves, the Halifax Resolves, the Declaration of Independence, the Articles of Confederation, the Bill of Rights and the principles outlined in the US Constitution and North Carolina Constitutions of 1776, 1868 and 1971).
- 8.C&G.1.3 Analyze differing viewpoints on the scope and power of the state and national governments (e.g. Federalists and anti-Federalists, education, immigration and healthcare).
- 8.C&G.1.4 Analyze access to democratic rights and freedoms among various groups in North Carolina and the United States (e.g. enslaved people, women, wage earners, landless farmers, American Indians, African Americans and other ethnic groups).

The following objectives evaluate the effectiveness of citizen action in the United States. This directly links to a unit of study about reconstruction, due to the vital role citizenry played in the advancement of change in the government.

- 8.C&G.2 Understand the role that citizen participation plays in societal change.
- 8.C&G.2.1 Evaluate the effectiveness of various approaches used to effect change in North Carolina and the United States (e.g. picketing, boycotts, sit-ins, voting, marches, holding elected office and lobbying).
- 8.C&G.2.2 Analyze issues pursued through active citizen campaigns for changes (e.g. voting rights and access to education, housing and employment).
- 8.C&G.2.3 Explain the impact of human and civil rights issues throughout North Carolina and United States history.

Appendix 2: Lesson 1

Vocabulary

Students will need to define the following word:

- Democracy

Appendix 3: Lesson 2

Vocabulary

Students will need to define the following words:

- Reconstruction
- Thirteenth Amendment
- Fourteenth Amendment
- Fifteenth Amendment
- Freedmans Bureau
- Black Codes
- Ku Klux Klan
- President Andrew Johnson
- President Abraham Lincoln
- Civil Rights Act of 1866
- Ten Percent Plan
- Impeachment
- Sharecropping
- Jim Crow Laws

Concept Bundle Worksheet

Concept Bundle

Directions:

1. Take one minute to think about vocabulary/topics learned in this Unit
2. Right down words/terms, one in each square
3. Pick 1 square to start your activity
4. Write a description of the word/topic in the square
5. Pick a second square that touches the first square, draw an arrow connecting the squares
6. Describe the second word/topic and how the two topics are connected or similar
7. Continue this process until all squares are complete and connections made.
8. Remember to include arrows so you can following connections

Appendix 4: Lesson 3

Reading

Students will read “Reconstruction and the Battle for Women’s Suffrage” by Ellen DuBois.³⁶ This Article will provide them with the evidence necessary to form opinions about those people left out of the political process in the reconstructing to the American Democracy post war.

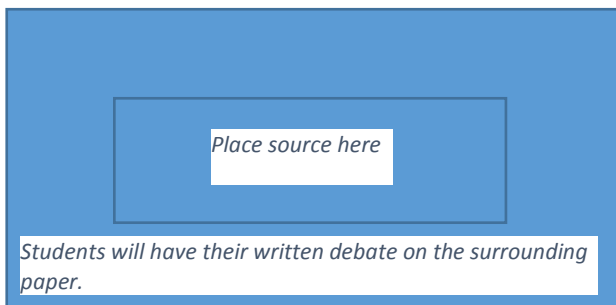
Metacognitive Log

Important Facts and Details from the Text	Thoughts, Feelings or Questions about the Text

Appendix 5: Lesson 4

Silent Debate Sources

Paste sources in the center of a large piece of poster paper, as displayed below:



Paste Amendments 13, 14, and 15 on three of the posters for this activity from the national archives (<https://www.archives.gov/founding-docs/amendments-11-27>).

Teacher can also access relevant primary sources found in the library of congress archives.

Debate Materials

Name:

Date:

Block:

Debate Graphic Organizer

Definition of " Debate "	
Which side are you and your team arguing? Reconstruction was a failed attempt to rebuild democracy or Reconstruction successfully rebuilt a democracy?	
Who is on your team and what are their roles?	Speaker: Writer: Researcher: Coach: Coach 2:

Debate Preparation:	What did your team members brainstorm? What are your 5 arguments? Sources did you use for your research?
During the Debate:	What is the “house” trying to accomplish? Who spoke first? What was their opening statement about? What evidence did they use to support their argument? Write down as much as you can about what you hear from the debate:
Exit Ticket	

Appendix 6: Assessment Rubric

	1	2	3	4
Spelling and Grammar	Numerous spelling and grammatical errors.	Some spelling or grammatical errors.	A few spelling or grammatical errors.	Little to no spelling or grammatical errors.
Thesis	Poorly constructed argument that does not answer the question.	Somewhat developed argument that answers the question.	Good argument that accurately answers the question.	Excellent argument that answers the question in detail.
Organization	Paper does not answer the question. Paper does not use evidence appropriately.	Paper has a weak response to the question and lacks appropriate evidentiary support.	Paper sufficiently answers the question and uses supporting details.	Paper logically answers the question. Using supporting details and evidence appropriately.
Research	There is little evidence of research to support the claim. Little to no citations used.	There is some evidence of research to support the claim. Citation use is lacking.	There is decent evidence of research to support the claim. Citation use is adequate.	There is substantial evidence of research to support the claim. Citation use is appropriate.
Evidentiary Support	There is little to no evidentiary support for the thesis.	There is some evidentiary support for the thesis.	There is good evidentiary support for the thesis.	There is substantial evidentiary support for the thesis.

Total Grade: _____/20

Resources

List of Classroom Supplies Needed

Successful implementation of this unit requires the following supplies:

- 8x11 inch blank copy paper for creating vocabulary foldable
- Scissors for creating vocabulary foldable
- Highlighters for annotations
- Post-it notes for debate preparation
- Lined paper for debate preparation
- Chromebooks or technology for debate preparation
- Post-it chart paper for democracy anchor chart

Students Resources

- Primary and secondary sources for analysis
- Article for group read
- Metacognitive log to help students “deep read” the text.
- Graphic Organizer for debate.
- Access to technology for essay.

Teacher Resources

- 8th grade social studies North Carolina essential standards
- Textbook (found in citation). This is useful for background information and grade level readings.
- Worksheets and sources found in Appendices

Annotated Bibliography, Resources for Teachers and Students

Benedict, Michael Les. *The Impeachment and trial of Andrew Johnson*. New York: W.W. Norton and Company, Inc., 1999.

This is a great source for **teachers** looking to implement a unit that covers the impeachment of Andrew Johnson.

Chesnut, Mary Boykin. *A Diary from Dixie. 1823-1886*. Edited by Ben Ames Williams. Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1980.

This primary source has relevant information about the Civil War and Reconstruction. Excerpts from this text are great for use in the **classroom**, as well as background knowledge for teacher use.

Charlotte Mecklenburg Schools. *2015-2016 MLK, Jr. Middle School Improvement Plan Report*. October 26, 2015.

<http://schools.cms.k12.nc.us/martinlutherkingjrMS/Documents/MLK%20SIP%20%202015-2016%20updated%2010%2027%2015.pdf#search=demographics>.

This source supports the rationale for teaching a unit about reconstruction in a diverse middle school classroom.

Daniels, Harvey and Zimmelman, Steve and Steineke, Nancy. *Content Area Writing: Every Teacher's Guide*. New Hampshire: Heinemann, 2007.

This source provides useful tools and strategies for **teachers** working to improve students' writing. This source was used in this unit to help structure a written debate that would evolve into an oral debate.

Diamond, Jared. *Collapse: How Societies Choose to Fail or Succeed*. New York: Penguin Group (USA) Inc., 2005.

This source provides detailed research about why societies fail or succeed. A lot of Diamonds research aligns with general anthropological understandings of why societies fail or succeed. This helps to support an understanding of why a democracy might fail or succeed.

DuBois, Ellen. "Reconstruction and the Battle for Woman Suffrage." *Civil War and Reconstruction 1861-1877*: Accessed November 18, 2017.

<https://www.gilderlehrman.org/history-by-era/reconstruction/essays/reconstruction-and-battle-for-woman-suffrage>.

This article is great for use in a **classroom** to help challenge students understanding of who was allowed to participate in government during Reconstruction.

ESU teaching resource, "I couldn't disagree more."

https://www.esu.org/__data/assets/pdf_file/0020/13583/I-couldnt-disagree-more.pdf

This game helps students to understand the benefits of a good argument. Students will work to strengthen their debate skills before they begin preparing for their written and oral classroom debates.

Goodwin, Doris Kearns. *Team of Rivals: The Political Genius of Abraham Lincoln*. New York: Simon and Schuster, Inc., 2006.

This source was used in study prior to writing this curriculum unit. Goodwin gives a detailed account of Lincoln's presidency and the significance of leadership during the Civil War. This is helpful for **teachers** preparing for a unit of study about reconstruction to understand the background of the political atmosphere of the time.

Huntington, Samuel P. *The Third Wave: Democratization in the Late Twentieth Century*. Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press, 1991.

This text has a great explanation of democratic governments. This text will help an instructor guide discussions on democracy and the democratic nature of a nation's government.

Loewen, James W. *Lies My Teacher Told Me: Everything Your American History Textbook Got Wrong*. New York: Simon and Schuster, Inc., 2007.

This text provides alternative narratives to counter traditional thinking. This provoking perspective is important in a unit of study, which has a goal of getting **students** to question their traditional understanding of democracy in America.

Myrick, Pamela and Pearson, Sharon. *Debates in the Middle School Classroom*. North Carolina: UNC school of Education. <http://www.learnnc.org/lp/pages/636>.

This source is used to help structure the debate forum from the unit. The source provides accurate assessment and organization strategies for teaching students how to debate.

Public Schools of North Carolina. *North Carolina Essential Standards 8th Grade Social Studies*. December 2, 2010. <http://www.dpi.state.nc.us/docs/curriculum/socialstudies/scos/8.pdf>.

The standards are useful to help anchor teaching methods. Ensuring that there is a focus to this unit, the standards are helpful for knowing what to teach.

Shallus, Jacob. *The Constitution of the United States: A Transcription*. Washington, D.C.: National Archives. <https://www.archives.gov/founding-docs/constitution-transcript>.

This is a great resource for **students** to better access the U.S. Constitution.

United States History. Florida: Houghton Mifflin Harcourt Publishing Company, 2018.

This is the 8th grade supplementary text provided by Charlotte Mecklenburg Schools. This and other appropriate textbook are useful when designing a unit for instruction.

Zinn, Howard. *A People's History of the United States*. New York: HarperCollins Publishers, 2003.

This text has relevant excerpts and information regarding the treatment and experiences of certain ethnic and racial groups in United States history that are useful for both **teachers and students**.

End Notes

¹ Charlotte Mecklenburg Schools. *2015-2016 MLK, Jr. Middle School Improvement Plan Report*. October 26, 2015.

² *United States History*, ed. Houghton Mifflin Harcourt Publishing Company, R88.

³ *United States History*, ed. Houghton Mifflin Harcourt Publishing Company, 24.

⁴ *United States History*, ed. Houghton Mifflin Harcourt Publishing Company.

⁵ *United States History*, ed. Houghton Mifflin Harcourt Publishing Company, R50.

⁶ Public Schools of North Carolina, *North Carolina Essential Standards 8th Grade Social Studies*, 2010.

⁷ Public Schools of North Carolina, *North Carolina Essential Standards 8th Grade Social Studies*, 2010.

⁸ Public Schools of North Carolina, *North Carolina Essential Standards 8th Grade Social Studies*, 2010.

⁹ Samuel P. Huntington, *The Third Wave: Democratization in the Late Twentieth Century*, (Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press, 1991.)

¹⁰¹⁰ Samuel P. Huntington, *The Third Wave: Democratization in the Late Twentieth Century*, (Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press, 1991.)

¹¹ *United States History*, ed. Houghton Mifflin Harcourt Publishing Company, 164.

¹² Jacob Shallus, *The Constitution of the United States: A Transcription*, (Washington, D.C.: National Archives).

¹³ Howard Zinn, *A People's History of the United States*, (New York: HarperCollins Publishers, 2003), Chapter 6.

¹⁴ U.S. Constitution, art. I, § 2.

¹⁵ Mary Boykin Chesnut, *A Diary from Dixie: 1823-1886*, Ed. by Ben Ames Williams, (Massachusetts: Harvard University Press), 1980.

¹⁶ James W. Loewen, *John Brown and Abraham Lincoln: The Invisibility of Antiracism in American History Textbooks*, (New York: Simon and Schuster, Inc., 2007), 173, Chapter 6.

¹⁷ James W. Loewen, *John Brown and Abraham Lincoln: The Invisibility of Antiracism in American History Textbooks*, (New York: Simon and Schuster, Inc., 2007).

¹⁸ Alexis de Tocqueville, "American Exceptionalism." *United States History*, ed. Houghton Mifflin Harcourt Publishing Company.

¹⁹ *United States History*, ed. Houghton Mifflin Harcourt Publishing Company, 615.

²⁰ *United States History*, ed. Houghton Mifflin Harcourt Publishing Company, 615.

²¹ *United States History*, ed. Houghton Mifflin Harcourt Publishing Company, 615.

²² *United States History*, ed. Houghton Mifflin Harcourt Publishing Company, 619.

²³ *Compelling Arbitration of Claims under the Civil Rights Act of 1866: What Congress Could Not Have Intended*, 47 U. Kan. L. Rev. 273 (1998-1999).

²⁴ Michael Les Benedict, *The Impeachment and trial of Andrew Johnson*, (New York: W.W. Norton and Company, Inc.), 2 chapter 1.

²⁵ Michael Les Benedict, *The Impeachment and trial of Andrew Johnson*, (New York: W.W. Norton and Company, Inc.), 6 chapter 1.

²⁶ *United States History*, ed. Houghton Mifflin Harcourt Publishing Company, 619.

²⁷ *United States History*, ed. Houghton Mifflin Harcourt Publishing Company, 632.

²⁸ *United States History*, ed. Houghton Mifflin Harcourt Publishing Company, 629.

²⁹ *United States History*, ed. Houghton Mifflin Harcourt Publishing Company, 617.

³⁰ Harvey Daniels and Steve Zemmelman and Nancy Steineke, *Content Area Writing: Every Teacher's Guide*, (New Hampshire: Heinemann, 2007), 68.

³¹ Harvey Daniels and Steve Zemmelman and Nancy Steineke, *Content Area Writing: Every Teacher's Guide*, (New Hampshire: Heinemann, 2007), 81.

³² Harvey Daniels and Steve Zemmelman and Nancy Steineke, *Content Area Writing: Every Teacher's Guide*, (New Hampshire: Heinemann, 2007).

³³ ESU teaching resource, "I couldn't disagree more."

³⁴ Harvey Daniels and Steve Zemmelman and Nancy Steineke, *Content Area Writing: Every Teacher's Guide*, (New Hampshire: Heinemann, 2007).

³⁵ Pamela Myrick and Sharon Pearson, *Debates in the Middle School Classroom*, North Carolina: UNC school of Education. <http://www.learnnc.org/lp/pages/636>.

³⁶ Ellen DuBois, "Reconstruction and the Battle for Woman Suffrage" *Civil War and Reconstruction 1861-1877*: Accessed November 18, 2017, <https://www.gilderlehrman.org/history-by-era/reconstruction/essays/reconstruction-and-battle-for-woman-suffrage>.