

Reconstruction

THE BIG PICTURE

Following the Civil War, Congress implemented a plan to reconstruct the South. After 12 years, and in response to fierce resistance from many white southerners, the federal government declared Reconstruction over.



North Carolina Standards

Social Studies Objectives

3.04 Analyze the political, economic, and social impact of Reconstruction on the nation and identify the reasons why Reconstruction came to an end.

3.05 Evaluate the degree to which the Civil War and Reconstruction proved to be a test of the supremacy of the national government.

Language Arts Objectives

3.01 Use language persuasively in addressing a particular issue by:

- establishing and defending a point of view.

3.03 Use argumentation for:

- establishing and defending a point of view.



READING LIKE A HISTORIAN

Much of Atlanta had been burned during the Civil War, but following the war it became Georgia's new state capital and a center of Reconstruction activity.

Interpreting Visuals What evidence of Atlanta's revival can you see in this Reconstruction-era painting?

See **Skills Handbook**, p. H30



U.S.



1865



World

1865

Upon Lincoln's death, Andrew Johnson becomes president. Johnson launches his own Reconstruction plan.

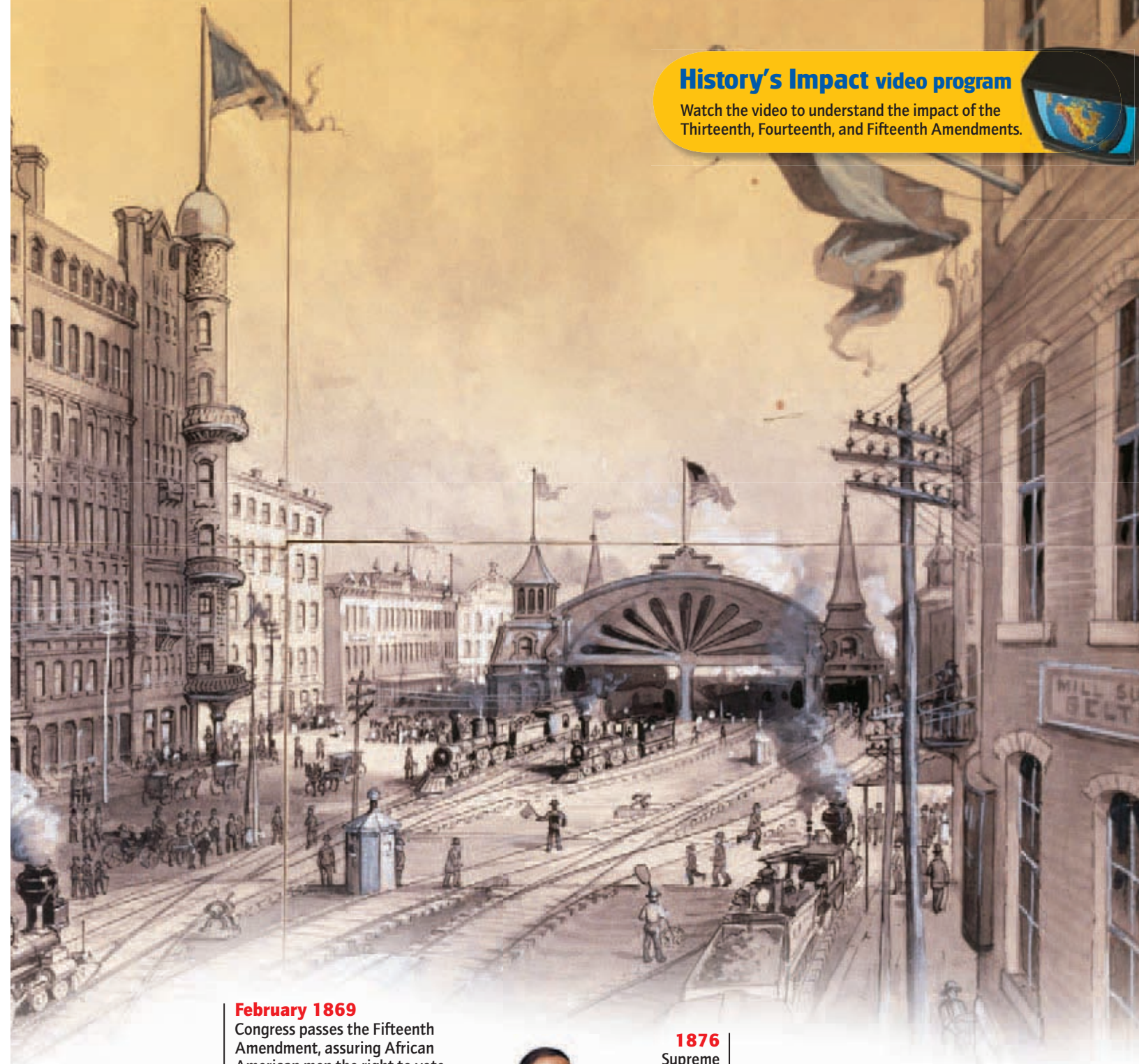
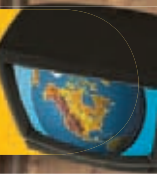


1866

Swedish chemist Alfred Nobel invents dynamite.

History's Impact video program

Watch the video to understand the impact of the Thirteenth, Fourteenth, and Fifteenth Amendments.



February 1869

Congress passes the Fifteenth Amendment, assuring African American men the right to vote.

February 1870

Hiram R. Revels becomes the first African American U.S. Senator.



1876

Supreme Court limits Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments, weakening Reconstruction.

1877

Compromise of 1877 gives Rutherford B. Hayes presidency, ending Reconstruction.

1870

1875

1880

1869

The Suez Canal is completed.



1871

German states, united under Prussia, defeat France in the Franco-Prussian War.

1873

Canada's famed Mounted Police force is established.

1877

The tenth Russo-Turkish War begins.



Plans for Reconstruction

BEFORE YOU READ

MAIN IDEA

Northern leaders had differing ideas for dealing with the many issues and challenges of restoring the southern states to the Union.

READING FOCUS

1. What challenges faced the South after the Civil War?
2. What actions did Union leaders take during wartime to reconstruct the nation after the war's end?
3. How did Lincoln's assassination affect the nation?
4. Why did President Johnson and Congress differ over Reconstruction?

KEY TERMS AND PEOPLE

Freedmen's Bureau
Ten Percent Plan
Thaddeus Stevens
Wade-Davis Bill
pocket veto
John Wilkes Booth
Andrew Johnson

TAKING NOTES

As you read, take notes on Lincoln's and Johnson's plans for reconstruction of the South. Record your notes in a graphic organizer like the one shown below.

Lincoln's Plan	Johnson's Plan

An Unexpected Visitor

THE INSIDE STORY

How welcome was Lincoln in the Confederate capital?

Less than 100 miles separate Richmond, Virginia, and Washington, D.C. In 1865, one city was the U.S. capital, the other the capital of the Confederacy. By early April, Richmond had been under siege for months. On April 3, Union forces finally captured the city. The next day, President Lincoln decided to pay a visit. Richmond lay in ruins. Skeletons of burned-out buildings lined the streets.

Lincoln reached the city on a navy ship with his son Tad. It was Tad's 12th birthday. They walked through the ruined streets with a small guard of soldiers. One witness said that Lincoln "was walking with his usual long, careless stride, and

looking about with an interested air and taking in everything." The president visited Jefferson Davis's house and was curious about everything in it. He met with Confederate officials who remained and then toured the city.

As Lincoln, in his trademark stovepipe hat, walked the streets, most of Richmond's white citizens kept an angry silence. The newly freed African Americans reacted very differently. Hundreds emerged from the ruins. Some fell on their knees as they recognized the president, crying "Glory, hallelujah!" An African American Union soldier wrote: "It was a great deliverer among the delivered. No wonder tears came into his eyes." Lincoln told the Union commander to treat all Richmonders with compassion. ■



In the late 1800s an artist painted a different version of Lincoln's visit to Richmond.



Richmond, Virginia, 1865

This view of Richmond shows the level of destruction from which parts of the South needed to recover.

The South after the War

President Lincoln's visit to Richmond showed him some of the challenges facing the nation at the end of the Civil War. Richmond was in ruins, as were many other southern cities and towns. Large parts of the countryside had been devastated by the fighting and by armies passing through them. The loss of farm buildings, machinery, work animals, and other livestock was widespread.

Furthermore, formerly enslaved African Americans faced an uncertain future. Although they were now free, they had very few job opportunities, and many were unable to make a living.

Property losses In the years after the war, farms and plantations in the South were worth only about half of what they were in 1860. Farms and plantations that did survive the war suffered from neglect. This was because many small farmers died fighting the war, leaving their farms without proper care. In total, more than one-fifth of the South's white male population perished.

Plantations suffered from the loss of workers. Some slaves escaped during the war; others left after the war's end. "All was lost, except my debts," one Confederate general complained about his once prosperous plantation.

Property losses were not limited to cities and farms, however. War damage or neglect also left the South's transportation network in poor shape. Long stretches of railroad lines

were useless. In Alabama, a government survey described the condition of one railroad.

HISTORY'S VOICES

“From Pocahontas to Decatur, one-hundred and fourteen miles, almost entirely destroyed, except the road-bed and iron rails, and they in very bad condition—every bridge and trestle destroyed, cross-ties rotten, buildings burned . . . and track grown up in weeds and bushes . . . About forty miles of the track was burned . . . and rails bent and twisted in such a manner as to require great labor to straighten.”

—House Report 34, 39th Congress, 1865

Challenges for African Americans The nearly 4 million African Americans living in the former Confederacy had won their freedom. But they faced other problems after the war. Most had no money or education. The condition of the South's economy made job prospects bleak. Former owners needed workers but often could not afford to pay them. The South needed to find a new labor system that would replace slavery, put people to work, and make the region productive again.

Many former slaves were no longer willing to work the long hours that been required under slavery. Some women resisted work in the fields and tried to enroll their children in school instead. They wanted an education, too, and to devote more time to their families. Ways had to be found to provide educational and economic opportunities for all formerly enslaved African Americans.

How to treat the South The nation also needed to answer many legal and political questions. What place would African Americans have in political life in the South? What was the status of the Confederate states? Were they conquered territories, or were they once again states in the Union? If they were not states, how could they become states? Should Confederates be forgiven? Or, should they be punished for seceding and starting the war?

READING CHECK **Identifying the Main Idea**
What were conditions like in the South in the aftermath of the Civil War?

Wartime Reconstruction

Union leaders began addressing these issues even before the South's formal surrender. For example, in March 1865 Congress created the **Freedmen's Bureau** to provide help to the thousands of black and white southerners uprooted by the fighting. The Bureau continued to function throughout the Reconstruction era, which lasted from 1865 to 1877.

Northerners disagreed over how to treat the conquered Confederacy. Many, including some members of Congress, shared the view of abolitionist Wendell Phillips. "We have a right to trample it [the South] under the heels of our boots," Phillips declared. "That is the meaning

of the war." Lincoln, however, stated in his second inaugural address in 1865 that he hoped to treat the South "with malice toward none, with charity for all."

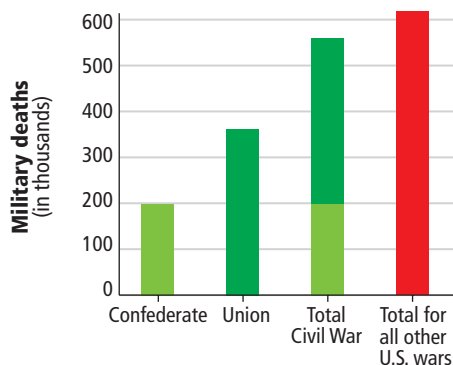
Reconstruction experiments Even before the war ended, northern leaders tested possible roles for freed African Americans in the South's economy. When planters fled regions that came under Union control, the army often seized their plantations. Sometimes, the army hired freed slaves to work on the plantations for pay. In a few cases, former slaves rented plantations. This allowed them to farm the land and to keep or sell the crops they raised. In this way, some former slaves saved enough money to buy land of their own.

The most famous wartime reconstruction experiment took place on the Sea Islands off the coast of South Carolina. When Union forces captured these islands early in the war, nearly all the white population fled to the mainland. The federal government seized their plantations, sold some of the land, and hired former slaves to farm the rest of it.

In January 1865 General Sherman divided this and other land along the South Carolina and Georgia coasts into 40-acre plots. He offered a plot to any formerly enslaved family who wanted land. By the end of the war more than 40,000 freedmen were farming in the region,

The Costs of the Civil War

HUMAN COST OF THE CIVIL WAR



Note: Total deaths for all other U.S. wars is limited to deaths through the Gulf War.

Source: *The United States Civil War Center*

FINANCIAL COST OF THE CIVIL WAR

Southern livestock killed: 40 percent

Southern farm machinery destroyed: 50 percent

Drop in South's total property wealth: 66 percent

Total national wealth held by the South, 1860: 30 percent

Total national wealth held by the South, 1870: 12 percent

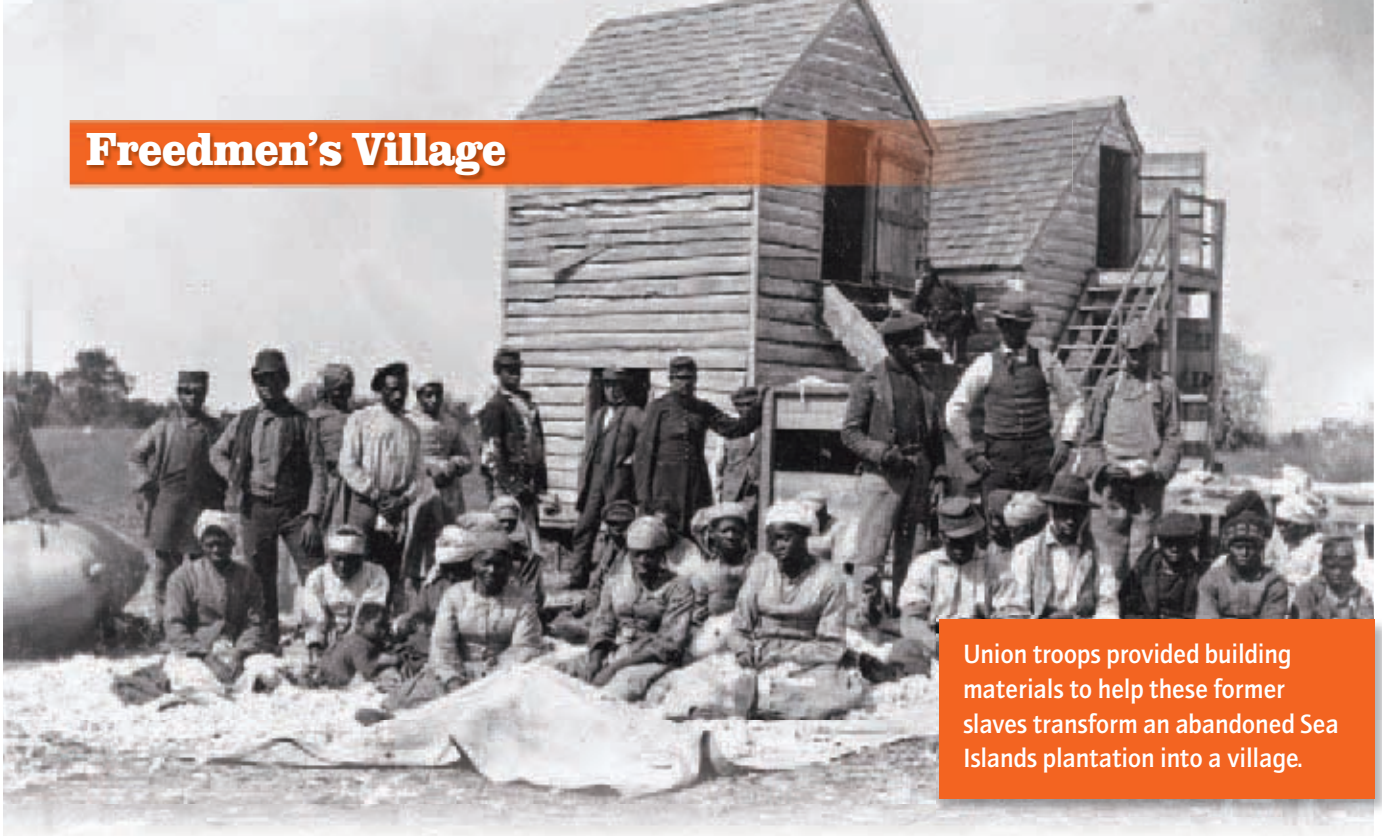


INTERPRETING GRAPHS

1. According to the chart, what was the South's worst financial loss of the war?
2. According to the graph, how do Civil War deaths compare with the total for all other U.S. wars?

See **Skills Handbook**, pp. H15, H16

Freedmen's Village



Union troops provided building materials to help these former slaves transform an abandoned Sea Islands plantation into a village.

on land they considered their own. Northern religious groups and other organizations sent teachers to coastal Georgia and South Carolina to start schools for the former slaves.

In Louisiana another large reconstruction experiment provided former slaves as paid workers to planters who took Lincoln's loyalty oath. The freedmen signed a contract to work for a year. In return, the planter agreed to provide housing, food, and medical care in addition to wages. But the planter sometimes deducted these basic items from the freedmen's wages. Little money was left over, so many freedmen could not afford to leave the plantation when their contracts ended.

Lincoln's Reconstruction plans In 1862 Lincoln appointed military governors temporarily to rule parts of the Confederacy that were already in Union hands. To prepare these and other conquered regions for rejoining the Union, he issued a Proclamation of Amnesty and Reconstruction in December 1863.

Lincoln's proclamation offered forgiveness for the rebellion to all southerners (except high-ranking Confederate leaders) who pledged loyalty to the Union and support for emancipation. When 10 percent of a state's voters had taken this oath, they could organize a new state government. The new government was then required to ban slavery. Once these steps

were complete, Lincoln would recognize it as the state's legal government, even if the state's Confederate government was still functioning.

This procedure for readmitting seceded states became known as the **Ten Percent Plan**. Before the war ended, Lincoln had accepted three southern states back into the Union. By early 1865, Arkansas, Louisiana, and Tennessee had formed pro-Union governments and sent senators and representatives to take seats in Congress.

Opposition to Lincoln's plan Lincoln's actions set off a great debate in Congress over who would control Reconstruction. Some members noted that admitting states to the Union was a power of Congress. They claimed it was not up to the president to make the rebel states part of the Union again. Lincoln's supporters pointed out that since secession was unlawful, the Confederate states had never legally left the Union in the first place. Therefore, Congress did not need to readmit them.

Many members of Congress did not support readmitting southern states. Massachusetts senator Charles Sumner argued that the southern states had given up their status as states when they seceded. Other members claimed that the parts of the Confederacy controlled by Union armies were conquered

ACADEMIC VOCABULARY

contract an official legal agreement between two parties

territories. According to this reasoning, Congress would decide on their admission to the Union as it did with all territories that became states.

Some members of Congress objected to the Ten Percent Plan as much too lenient. Republican **Thaddeus Stevens** of Pennsylvania noted that allowing just 10 percent of a state's voters to form a government violated the nation's principles. "The democratic doctrine that the majority shall rule is discarded and dangerously ignored," he observed. "When the doctrine that the *quality* and not the *number* of voters is to decide the right to govern, then we no longer have a republic."

For these reasons and others, Congress refused to allow senators and representatives from states organized under Lincoln's plan to take their seats. Instead, Congress responded with its own Reconstruction plan in 1864 by passing the **Wade-Davis Bill**. The bill required a majority of a state's white male citizens to pledge loyalty before elections could be held.

Lincoln, however, thought this tougher requirement would make southerners more

committed to continuing the war. He killed the Wade-Davis Bill with a **pocket veto**. This is a presidential power to prevent a bill passed in the last 10 days of a legislative session from becoming law by simply ignoring it. The bill's outraged Republican sponsors, Benjamin Wade and Henry Davis, wrote a stinging criticism of Lincoln's action.

HISTORY'S VOICES

“[The president] must understand that our support is of a cause and not of a man; that the authority of Congress is paramount and must be respected; . . . and if he wishes our support, he must confine himself to his executive duties—to obey and execute, not make the laws—to suppress by arms armed rebellion, and leave political reorganization to Congress.”

—The Wade-Davis Manifesto, August 5, 1864

This attack by members of his own party hurt Lincoln deeply. It was just the first indicator, however, of the struggle that was to come.

READING CHECK

Contrasting

How did Lincoln's views on Reconstruction differ from the views of some members of Congress?

COUNTERPOINTS

Views on Reconstruction

Representative Thaddeus Stevens, a Radical Republican leader, insisted that the South be treated as a conquered territory.

“[W]e hold it the duty of the Government to inflict . . . punishment on the rebel belligerents, and so weaken their hands that they can never again endanger the Union . . . This can be done only by treating and holding them as a conquered people.”

Thaddeus Stevens, 1865



President Andrew Johnson, a southerner, argued that the southern states should not be denied their rights.

“[T]he policy of military rule over a conquered territory [implies] that the States [who took] part in the rebellion had by the act . . . ceased to exist. But the true theory is that all pretended acts of secession were from the beginning null and void.”

Andrew Johnson, 1865

Skills Focus

READING LIKE A HISTORIAN

Recognizing Bias Why might President Johnson have been biased in favor of the South?

See **Skills Handbook**, p. H33

Lincoln's Assassination

Lincoln's popularity as a victorious wartime leader might have allowed him to win the battle with Congress for control of Reconstruction. But the president did not live long enough.

Less than a week after General Lee's surrender in Virginia, **John Wilkes Booth** shot Lincoln while the president watched a play at Ford's Theater in Washington, D.C. on April 14, 1865. Lincoln died the next morning.

Booth, a southerner, strongly supported secession and the Confederacy. His first plan had been to kidnap the president and exchange him for Confederate prisoners of war. Booth organized a group to help carry out the kidnapping. The plot failed when Lincoln's schedule changed and he did not appear at the place Booth intended to seize him. Booth decided to kill Lincoln instead.

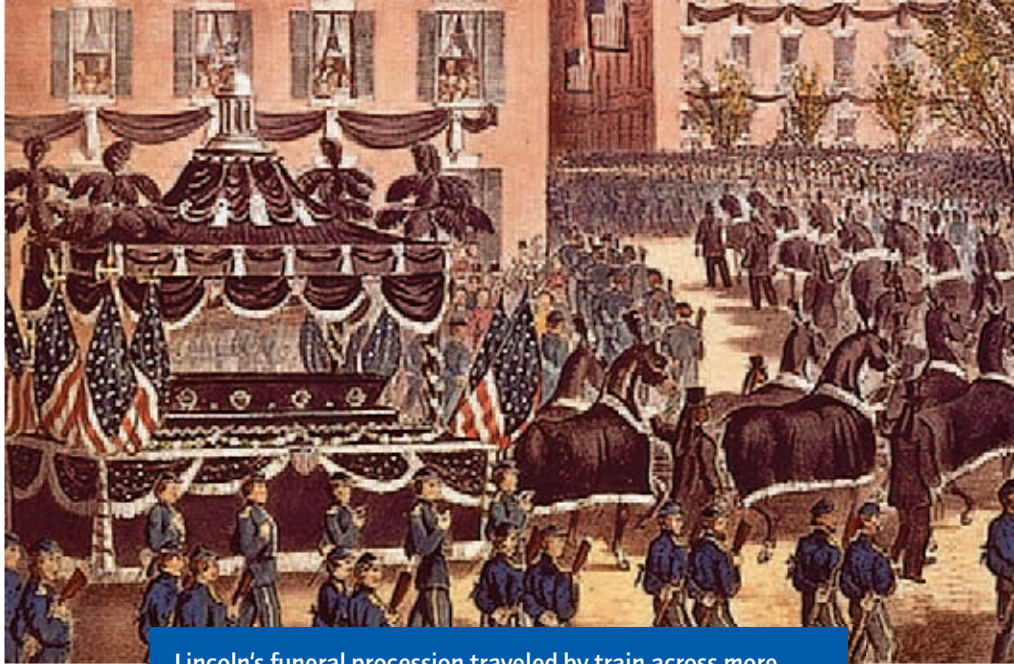
Other plotters were assigned to assassinate Secretary of State William Seward and Vice President **Andrew Johnson** the same night. Booth hoped this would create chaos within the government and help the Confederacy win the war. Only Booth carried out his assignment successfully, however. He escaped into Virginia where he was located by Union troops and killed when he refused to surrender.

Lincoln's death produced one of the greatest outpourings of grief in the nation's history. A train carried his body back to Illinois for burial. Huge crowds gathered to pay respects at stops along the train's nearly two-week journey.

White southerners reacted to Lincoln's death with more concern than grief. They feared the effect the assassination might have on the Reconstruction program. Some southern leaders disliked Andrew Johnson even more than they disliked Lincoln. The vice president was a southerner who had sided with the Union during the war. In the eyes of many white southerners, this made him a traitor. Now this traitor to their cause would become president of the United States.

READING CHECK

Sequencing Trace the events that led to Lincoln's assassination.



Lincoln's funeral procession traveled by train across more than 1,600 miles of countryside, making stops in major cities such as New York (above). "Now he belongs to the ages," Secretary of War Edwin Stanton said upon Lincoln's death. **Why do you think so many people were given an opportunity to participate in the funeral?**

ANNE S.K. BROWN MILITARY COLLECTION, BROWN UNIVERSITY LIBRARY

Johnson and Congress Differ over Reconstruction

Andrew Johnson was sworn in as president a few hours after Lincoln's death. The two men shared a common background. Both had been raised in poverty without much formal schooling. Both men overcame their humble beginnings to achieve success. Johnson had been governor of Tennessee and a U.S. senator. When Lincoln sought re-election in 1864, the Republicans picked Johnson to run for vice president. Like Lincoln, Johnson never forgot his roots.

Early relations with Congress Even though Johnson was a Democrat, Republican leaders in Congress at first thought they could work with him. "Treason is a crime and crime must be punished," Johnson told Senator Wade. Senator Sumner also met with Johnson and described his attitude as excellent. "There is no difference between us," Sumner reported.

Wade, Sumner, and other Republican leaders failed to understand Johnson's views. The new president held no ill will toward the South or toward southerners. He merely despised the wealthy planter class. In addition, although Johnson opposed secession, he had always supported states' rights and limits on

THE IMPACT TODAY

Government

When Johnson took office in April 1865, Congress was in recess for most of the remainder of the year. Congress today is in session for much longer. In 2004 the Senate convened for 133 days and the House for 110 days, passing a total of more than 1,400 bills.

the power of the national government. He was not about to give Congress the control it sought over the affairs of the rebel states.

Johnson's Reconstruction plan Practical matters also convinced Johnson to keep Reconstruction under presidential control. Congress was in recess when he took office as president. Its new session did not begin until December. Johnson believed it was important to have a program to reunite the nation in place before that time.

Johnson launched his Reconstruction plan in late May. Like Lincoln's plan, it restored the rights of white southerners who took an oath of loyalty to the United States.

Johnson added to Lincoln's list of exceptions, however. Southerners who owned property worth more than \$20,000 would also have to apply to the president for a pardon, just like former Confederate military and political leaders. This added measure allowed President Johnson to decide personally the punishment the planters would receive.

Unlike the Wade-Davis Bill and Lincoln's plan, the Johnson plan did not set a percentage of loyal voters that was needed to form a state government. It merely required that pledge-takers call a convention to repeal secession, amend the state constitution to abolish slavery,

and refuse to pay the debts of the Confederate government. When these steps were complete, the state could elect a governor and legislature and send representatives to Congress.

Concern over Johnson's plan Sumner, Stevens, and other leading Republicans in Congress were troubled by the president's plan. One concern was that it contained no provisions for giving freedmen a role in southern state government. Another was that once a state had qualified under Johnson's plan to hold elections, any voter could take part.

Stevens wrote Johnson in July to request that he suspend his plan. "Can you not hold your hand and wait the action of Congress?" Steven asked the president. Johnson did not even bother to answer Stevens's letter. The new president ignored one of the most powerful members of Congress and continued to push forward on his own.

When Congress met in December, Johnson told it that every former Confederate state except Texas had met his conditions for Reconstruction and had been restored to the Union. Many members of Congress were far from satisfied. A battle for control of Reconstruction was about to begin.

READING CHECK

Identifying the Main Idea

What was President Johnson's plan for Reconstruction?

SECTION 1 ASSESSMENT

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Online Quiz

Keyword: SD7 HP12

Reviewing Ideas, Terms, and People

1. **a. Recall** What happened to southern farms and plantations during the Civil War?
b. Contrast How did conditions differ for African Americans before and after the Civil War?
c. Evaluate Do you think it was necessary to punish the former Confederate states for seceding?
2. **a. Identify** State the importance of each of the following: Freedmen's Bureau, Thaddeus Stevens.
b. Interpret How well did wartime Reconstruction experiments work in employing freed African Americans?
c. Elaborate Why did Congress feel that Reconstruction was a congressional task and not a presidential task?
3. **a. Recall** Who was John Wilkes Booth?
b. Predict What effect do you think Lincoln's assassination had on Reconstruction?
4. **a. Describe** For what reasons did Congress oppose the Reconstruction plan put forward by Andrew Johnson?

- b. Compare and Contrast** In what ways were Lincoln and Johnson similar?

Critical Thinking

5. **Evaluating** Fill in the chart below, listing the major aspects of the three different Reconstruction plans. Which do you think was the best Reconstruction plan? Why?

Ten Percent Plan	Wade-Davis Bill	Johnson's Plan

FOCUS ON WRITING

6. **Expository** Write a letter to the Freedmen's Bureau in which you explain your opinion about work contracts between freed African Americans and planters. Use details from the section to support your position.

LANDMARK SUPREME COURT CASES

Constitutional Issue: Civil Liberties

Ex Parte Milligan (1866)

Why It Matters Criminal defendants have fewer constitutional protections in military courts than in civil courts. In 1866 the Supreme Court limited the power of military courts to try civilians for violating criminal law.

Background of the Case

An army court found Lambden Milligan guilty of disloyal activities during the Civil War and sentenced him to death. Milligan was not in the military and he lived in Indiana, which was not part of the Confederacy. Because his trial was run under the direction of the Indiana military commander, he did not receive some constitutional protections, such as a public trial and a trial by jury, that would have been available to him in a civilian court. On appeal, Milligan argued that the military court had no authority to try him.

The Decision

The Supreme Court held that the Constitution is not suspended during times of emergency. Even in wartime, citizens are entitled to civil trials. If a wartime commander had the right to suspend all civil rights of citizens and substitute military law for civilian law, then military law would be superior to civilian law. This was not what the Constitution intended, the justices said.

During wartime the government must have more flexibility to protect the country, the justices agreed. Martial law can be declared when the courts and civil authorities of a community no longer function. However, the Court observed that the Civil War was not being fought in Indiana, and that civil courts were available to try alleged wrongdoers. The military court, therefore, had no authority over civilians like Milligan, and the Supreme Court granted his request for discharge from confinement.



THE IMPACT TODAY

After the terrorist attacks on America on September 11, 2001, the U.S. military began imprisoning suspected terrorists at a military base at Guantánamo Bay, Cuba. They were held indefinitely and interrogated without access to lawyers or courts. In 2004 the U.S. Supreme Court ruled that American-born Yaser Esam Hamdi could challenge his treatment at Guantánamo in a U.S. court.

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Research Online

Keyword: SS Court

CRITICAL THINKING

- 1. Analyze the Impact** Milligan wanted legal protections he could not get in a military court. Other Court cases have defined what protections are required in a civil trial. Using the keyword above, study *Gideon v. Wainwright*. What rule did that case create to protect the rights of criminal defendants?
- 2. You Be the Judge** Should foreigners accused of terrorism be tried in civil courts or in military tribunals? What parts of *Milligan* suggest a right to trial in civil courts? In what ways is *Milligan* different, so that military tribunals might be allowed?

SECTION
2

Congressional Reconstruction

BEFORE YOU READ

MAIN IDEA

Congress took control of Reconstruction as a new, radical branch of the Republican Party was emerging.

READING FOCUS

1. How did the South respond to Reconstruction under President Johnson?
2. Why did Congress take control of Reconstruction, and what changes did it make?
3. How did Radical Reconstruction differ from earlier Reconstruction plans, and what were its effects?

KEY TERMS AND PEOPLE

Black Codes
Ku Klux Klan
Radical Republicans
Civil Rights Act
Fourteenth Amendment
Reconstruction Acts
impeachment
Fifteenth Amendment

TAKING NOTES

As you read, take notes on the major acts passed under Congressional Reconstruction. Record your notes in a graphic organizer like the one shown here. You may need to add more rows.

Act	Date

Clashing over Reconstruction

THE INSIDE STORY

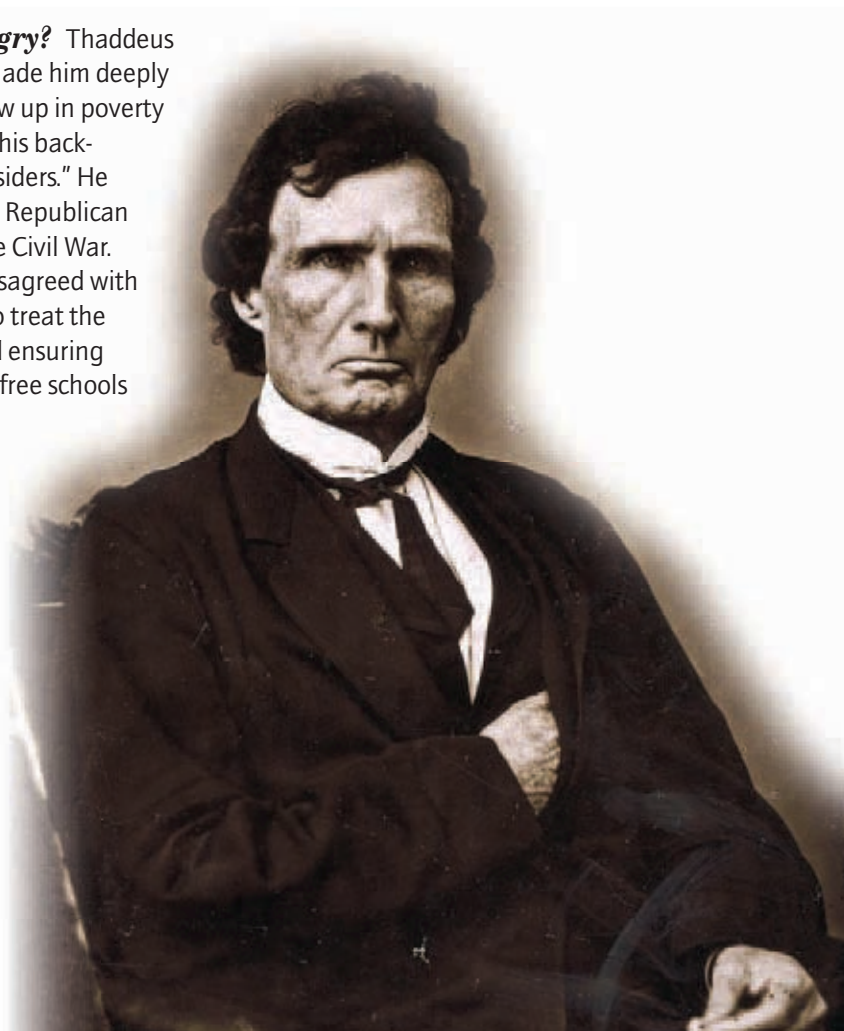
Why was Thaddeus Stevens so angry? Thaddeus

Stevens's strong, controversial opinions made him deeply hated—and deeply admired. Stevens grew up in poverty and had a deformed foot, which he hid with a special boot. This background helped give him deep sympathy for other social “outsiders.” He hated slavery and, as a lawyer, defended fugitive slaves. As a Republican member of Congress, he became one of its leaders during the Civil War.

Although a wartime ally of President Lincoln, Stevens disagreed with Lincoln's plans for the South after the war. Stevens wanted to treat the South like a defeated nation, punishing the planter class and ensuring the rights of freed slaves. His ideas were radical for the time: free schools for everyone and universal suffrage for African Americans. Until those rights were secure, he did not want to allow the southern states to rejoin the Union.

When President Andrew Johnson adopted Lincoln's forgiving approach to Reconstruction after Lincoln's death, Stevens was outraged. In September 1865 he lashed out at Johnson's gentle handling of the South: “The foundation of their institutions—political, municipal, and social—must be broken up and relaid or all our blood and treasure have been spent in vain. This can only be done by treating and holding them as conquered people.”

► Stevens viewed white southerners as “conquered rebels.”



Reconstruction under President Johnson

Representative Thaddeus Stevens may have been unhappy with Johnson's handling of the Reconstruction program, but most white southerners welcomed Johnson's approach. They were relieved that he did not intend to punish them for the rebellion. In particular, they were pleased that his plan let them form new governments on their own terms.

Many white southerners wanted their society and government to remain much as they were before the war. They wanted to rebuild their society with all the advantages they had enjoyed before the war. Although the fighting had stopped, deep-rooted prejudice against African Americans did not simply vanish. Most white southerners did not intend to concede equality to the former slaves.

Johnson himself made it clear that while African Americans had rights, those rights did not include a role in government. "White men alone must manage the South," he declared.

State governments President Johnson pardoned nearly every planter and former Confederate leader who applied. So the states he restored to the Union generally restored to power their prewar leaders. They sent to Washington nine Confederate generals, two Confederate cabinet members, and Alexander Stephens, the vice president of the Confederacy. Not surprisingly, Congress refused to seat these former Confederates.

The Black Codes Southern state leaders could not restore slavery after the ratification of the Thirteenth Amendment in December 1865. But they wanted to preserve the unequal relationship between white and black southerners. Southern state legislatures passed **Black Codes**, which were laws designed to keep freedmen in a slavelike condition and to give planters a supply of cheap labor. However, these laws did allow freedmen certain rights, such as the right to marry or own property.

The Black Codes varied from state to state. In most states, former slaves were required to sign contracts requiring the freedman, and sometimes his family, to work for his employer for one year. If a freedman quit before the end of his contract, he forfeited his wages. Further-

PRIMARY SOURCES

Speech

In 1866 Congress refused to seat southern members until their states had been restored to the Union through the acceptance of federal Reconstruction laws. Thaddeus Stevens explained why he thought this should be so.

"[The southern states] are not out of the Union, but are only dead carcasses lying within the Union . . . Nobody, I believe, pretends that with their old constitutions and frames of government they can be permitted to claim their old rights under the Constitution. They have torn their constitutional states into atoms, and built on their foundations fabrics of a totally different character. Dead men cannot raise themselves. Dead states cannot restore their existence 'as it was' . . . Congress must create states and declare when they are entitled to be represented."

**Skills
FOCUS**

READING LIKE A HISTORIAN

Analyzing Primary Sources How does Stevens imply that the southern states brought their condition upon themselves?

See **Skills Handbook**, pp. H28–H29

more, it was illegal for any employer to hire a freedman while he was under contract with another employer.

To discourage freedmen from starting businesses, the Black Codes forbade them from renting property in cities or towns. In some states, freedmen who worked at a job other than field hand or servant had to pay a tax.

Any freedman refusing to sign a labor contract or who left his job during his contract could be arrested for being jobless. Such offenses were punished by fines. If a freedman could not pay the fine, he or she had to perform forced labor for up to a year.

In some states, freedmen could not own guns. In others, their guns and dogs were taxed. This was to prevent freedmen from hunting as a source of food. All these laws were designed keep freedmen dependent on the plantations for their existence.

ACADEMIC VOCABULARY

prejudice a judgment or opinion about a person or group that is formed in ignorance

Southern defiance Because the Black Codes helped retain a familiar way of life, local sheriffs and Civil War veterans supported and enforced these laws. They invaded African Americans' homes and seized guns and other property. They also abused freedmen who refused to sign labor contracts.

These activities inspired white citizens to form their own private groups, supposedly to help keep order in the South. Among these groups was the **Ku Klux Klan**. This group began as a social club in Tennessee in 1866 but soon began terrorizing African Americans and whites who were loyal to the U.S. government. Similar groups sprang up in other southern states. Local officials rarely prosecuted whites who committed violence against blacks.

READING CHECK **Summarizing** What was the purpose of the Black Codes?

Congress Takes Control of Reconstruction

At first, most northerners supported President Johnson's Reconstruction plan. They were eager to put the Civil War behind them and reunite the nation. Johnson's program seemed the easiest way to do that.

Northern opposition grows As time passed, however, northerners became disturbed by what was happening in the South. "Public sentiment [there] is still as bitter and unloyal as in 1861," the *New York Times* reported. The return of former Confederates to power seemed to confirm this view. "[The] reptile spirit of secession is still alive," a New Jersey newspaper warned, "and ready to display its fangs at any moment."

Northerners were even more troubled by the Black Codes. Most white northerners still cared little about African American rights. Many believed, however, that if southern states were allowed to abuse freedmen, the North's victory would be diminished.

Congress fights back Northern response to the Black Codes strengthened a group of senators and representatives who wanted a more thorough Reconstruction program for the South. The so-called **Radical Republicans** favored much tougher requirements for restoring the southern states' governments and wanted to reshape southern society.

Radical Republicans had pushed Lincoln to make the end of slavery a Union goal during the war. They now wanted freed slaves to have economic opportunity and political equality after the war.

The Freedmen's Bureau

The Freedmen's Bureau aided former slaves in many ways. It was most successful in founding schools, like this one in Virginia. The Freedmen's Bureau also built hospitals and provided medical assistance to freedmen.



The Right to Vote

The Thirteenth Amendment ended slavery, and the Fourteenth Amendment granted citizenship to former slaves. Voting, however, remained under the control of the states. Although southern states had to grant African Americans voting rights in order to rejoin the Union, many whites objected. Many northern states also avoided granting voting rights to blacks.

In 1870 the Fifteenth Amendment established that “the right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States

or by any State on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude.”

Still, states set other requirements that kept many African Americans from voting. Also, the Fifteenth Amendment did not give the vote to women. Native Americans could not vote because they were not considered citizens. Women were not granted the vote nationwide for another 50 years, and Native Americans did not have the right to vote until after World War II.

Making Generalizations Why was the Fifteenth Amendment necessary?



Freedmen cast their votes, 1867

“The whole fabric of southern society must be changed,” proclaimed Stevens, a leader of the Radical Republicans in the House.

HISTORY'S VOICES

“We have turned loose . . . four million slaves without . . . a cent in their pockets. The infernal laws of slavery have prevented them from acquiring an education . . . This Congress is [determined] to provide for them until they can take care of themselves . . . If we leave them to the legislation of their late masters, we had better had left them in bondage.”

—Thaddeus Stevens, September 18, 1865

When Congress reconvened in December 1865, it ignored Johnson’s announcement that Reconstruction was complete. Instead, moderate Republicans, who still controlled both the House and Senate, decided to continue but improve Johnson’s Reconstruction program.

Johnson versus Congress The moderates did not share the Radicals’ desire to force a social revolution on the South. Yet they did see a need to help the freedmen and protect their civil rights. With this in mind, the moderates proposed two bills in January 1866.

The first bill extended the life and expanded its duties of the Freedmen’s Bureau, which was about to close. The bill allowed the Bureau to

continue building schools, finding land, and providing other aid to freedmen. It also gave the Bureau authority in legal disputes between whites and African Americans. The intent of this change was to remove such cases from southern state courts.

The second bill was an attack on the Black Codes. The **Civil Rights Act** gave African Americans citizenship and “equal benefit of all laws and proceedings for the security of person and property, as is enjoyed by white citizens.” Anyone who denied freedmen these rights would be tried in federal courts.

Both bills easily passed Congress. President Johnson vetoed them, however, claiming they were unnecessary and unconstitutional. When Congress modified the Freedmen’s Bureau Bill in response to Johnson’s objections, he vetoed it again. Congressional Republicans then united to pass both bills over the president’s veto.

Johnson’s rigid actions in the fight over the Freedmen’s Bureau and the Civil Rights Act ended all attempts by moderate Republicans to work with him. They decided instead to help the Radical Republicans to take control of Reconstruction.

READING CHECK **Identifying Cause and Effect** What developments led Congress to take control of Reconstruction?

Radical Reconstruction

Johnson claimed that the Civil Rights Act threatened the constitutional rights of the states. Congressional Republicans worried that the Supreme Court might agree and overturn the law or that a future Congress might weaken or repeal it. To prevent this, Congress passed the **Fourteenth Amendment** in June 1866 and submitted it to the states for approval.

The amendment required states to grant citizenship to “all persons born or naturalized in the United States.” It promised citizens “equal protection of the laws” and barred states from depriving anyone of “life, liberty, or property without due process of law.” In effect, it wrote the Civil Rights Act into the Constitution.

by making control of Reconstruction an issue in the 1866 congressional elections. He toured the North, campaigning for candidates who supported his policies.

Johnson’s views were discredited, however, by riots that took place in Memphis, Tennessee, and New Orleans, Louisiana, in 1866. In both cities, white mobs attacked African American soldiers and freedmen, killing dozens of people and injuring hundreds more. “You may judge [Johnson] by the terrible massacre at New Orleans,” proclaimed Charles Sumner, a Radical Republican leader in the Senate. The Republicans won an overwhelming victory over the candidates favored by Johnson.

The Reconstruction Acts The election of 1866 gave the Radicals the votes in Congress to take control of Reconstruction. They quickly passed, over Johnson’s veto, the first of four **Reconstruction Acts** in March 1867. This law divided the South into five military districts under the control of the U.S. Army. Only Tennessee, which Congress had readmitted to the Union in 1866, was exempt from the law.

The act required the remaining states to ratify the Fourteenth Amendment, to write new state constitutions that guaranteed freedmen the right to vote, and to form new state governments elected by all male citizens, including African Americans. A state would not be eligible for readmission to the Union until these three conditions were met.

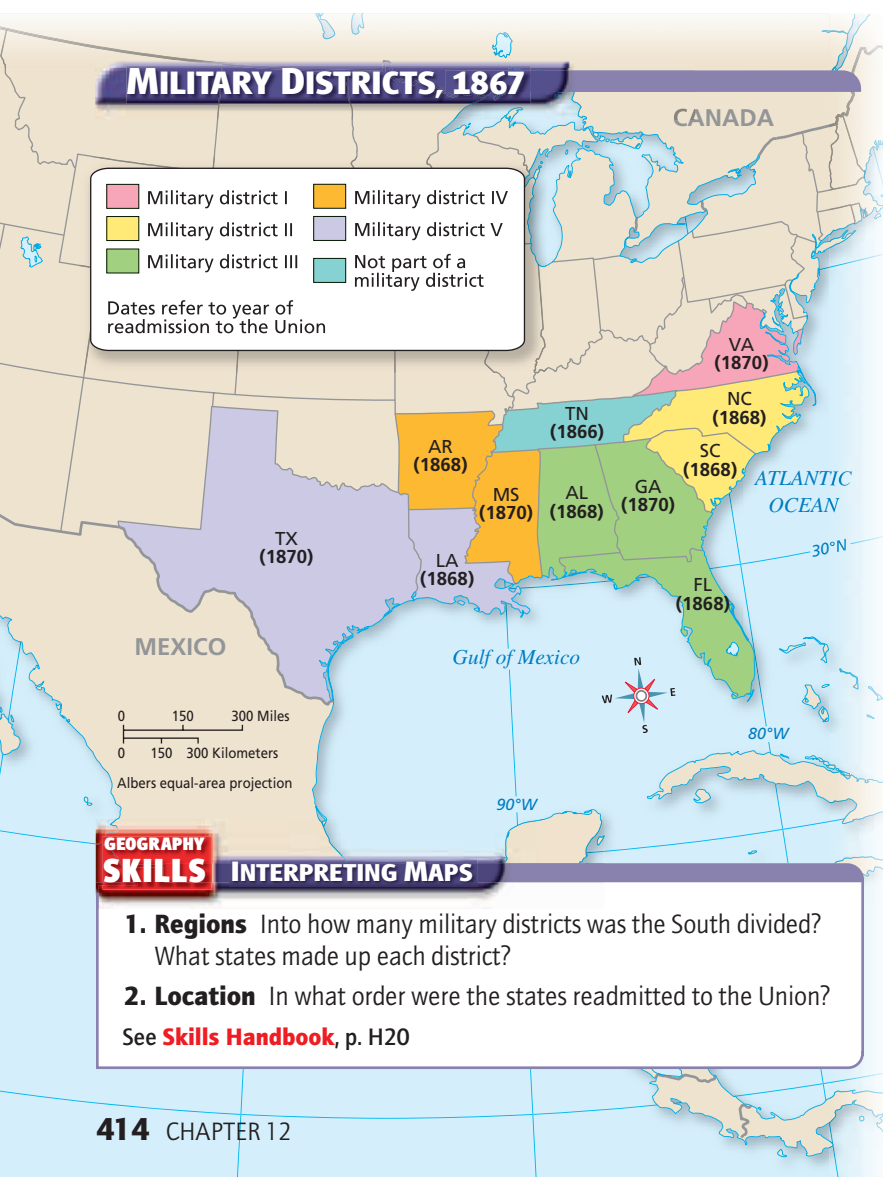
Congress passed three more Reconstruction Acts in 1867 and 1868. These laws authorized the army to register African Americans to vote. Military commanders could also remove any elected official who did not cooperate.

Since these laws placed much of Congress’s program in the hands of the army, Republican leaders worried that President Johnson might utilize his power as commander in chief to interfere with Reconstruction. To prevent this, Congress passed the Tenure of Office Act in March 1867. This law required Senate permission to remove any official whose appointment had required Senate approval.

President Johnson’s impeachment The Tenure of Office Act set off the final battle between Johnson and the Republicans. The dispute centered around Lincoln’s secretary of war, Edwin Stanton, who had stayed on in

**ACADEMIC
VOCABULARY**
utilize use

The election of 1866 Some northerners thought the Fourteenth Amendment went too far. Johnson saw the chance to block Congress



the Johnson cabinet. Stanton was a strong supporter of congressional Republicans. It was difficult for Johnson to undermine Congress's program with Stanton in charge of the army.

When Johnson fired Stanton, the House of Representatives voted in February 1868 to impeach the president for violating the Tenure of Office Act. **Impeachment** is the process set forth in the Constitution for charging the president or another federal official with a crime. Once impeached by the House, the president is tried by the Senate, where a two-thirds vote is needed for conviction.

After a two-month trial, the Senate fell just one vote short of convicting President Johnson and removing him from office. The verdict allowed Johnson to remain in office.

Although his control of Reconstruction had ended, Johnson continued to issue pardons. By the end of 1868 the rights of almost all Confederate leaders had been restored.

The Fifteenth Amendment While the Senate was deciding Johnson's fate, Republicans nominated General Ulysses Grant as their presidential candidate. The election in November 1868 was close, but a half million African American votes in the South gave Grant a comfortable victory in the electoral college.

When Republicans realized that most white southern voters had supported Grant's Democratic opponent, Horatio Seymour, they pushed the **Fifteenth Amendment** through Congress. The amendment, which stated that people could not be denied the right to vote because of their race, became part of the Constitution in March 1870. Many white northerners opposed the amendment because it applied to their states as well. Women also criticized the amendment because it did not give them voting rights.

Still, by extending suffrage to all African American males, the Fifteenth Amendment brought millions of potential new voters to the Republican Party. It also aimed to protect freedmen from the growing political power of pardoned former Confederates. This protection turned out to be temporary, however, because the amendment did not ban denial of suffrage for reasons other than race.

READING CHECK **Making Inferences** Why was President Johnson impeached?

DEFYING THE TENURE OF OFFICE ACT



THE LITTLE BOY WOULD PERSIST IN HANDLING BOOKS ABOVE HIS CAPACITY.



AND THIS WAS THE DISASTROUS RESULT.

THE GRANGER COLLECTION, NEW YORK

**Skills
FOCUS**

READING LIKE A HISTORIAN

Johnson ignored the Tenure of Office Act, arguing that the law was unconstitutional.

Identifying Points of View What outcome did the cartoonist predict for the impeachment trial? What was the actual outcome?

SECTION 2 ASSESSMENT

go.hrw.com

Online Quiz

Keyword: SD7 HP12

Reviewing Ideas, Terms, and People

- a. Recall** What events showed continuing prejudice against African Americans?

b. Interpret Why were violent acts against African Americans often not punished?

c. Predict What were some possible social effects of the **Black Codes**?
- a. Define** Write a brief definition of **Radical Republicans**.

b. Analyze Why did President Johnson think the **Civil Rights Act** was unconstitutional?
- a. Recall** What did the four **Reconstruction Acts** do?

b. Predict How do you think women might have used the **Fifteenth Amendment** to fight for their own voting rights?

Critical Thinking

- 4. Recognizing Cause and Effect** Copy the chart below and record the events that led to the passage of the Fifteenth Amendment.

Passage of
the Fifteenth
Amendment

FOCUS ON SPEAKING

- 5. Persuasive** Present a speech that Thaddeus Stevens might have given in the House of Representatives. Argue for or against President Johnson's approach to Reconstruction, using supporting details from the section.

SECTION 3

Republicans in Charge

BEFORE YOU READ

MAIN IDEA

Republican Reconstruction had a significant impact on life in the South.

READING FOCUS

1. What changes did Republican government bring to the South?
2. What was life after slavery like for African Americans?
3. How did Reconstruction affect patterns of land ownership and land use in the South?

KEY TERMS AND PEOPLE

scalawag
carpetbagger
Hiram Revels
Southern Homestead Act
sharecropping
tenant farming

TAKING NOTES

As you read, take notes on ways life changed for newly freed African Americans under Reconstruction. Record your notes in a graphic organizer like the one shown here.

Changes under Reconstruction	
Political	
Economic	
Educational	

Civil War Hero—and Scalawag



General James Longstreet suffered because of the choices he made after the Civil War.

THE INSIDE STORY

Why did southerners turn against General Longstreet? At first, James Longstreet was a war hero in the South. He had been an important aide to General Lee, who called him “my old war horse.” Although seriously wounded and paralyzed in one arm, he served with Lee until the Confederate surrender at Appomattox.

After the war Longstreet quickly became wealthy as a cotton broker and head of an insurance company. But his hero status—and his economic fortunes—soon changed. A practical businessperson, he supported Reconstruction, believing that the best way for the South to rebuild was to cooperate with the victors. In addition, he joined the Republican Party and backed General Grant, an old friend and his wife’s cousin, for president in 1868.

To many white southerners, Longstreet went from a war hero to a **scalawag**—a scoundrel and a traitor in the eyes of former Confederates. His businesses failed, and he was forced to turn to the Republican Party in order to make a living. President Grant gave Longstreet a government job in New Orleans. He later held other federal posts, including U.S. ambassador to Turkey and U.S. marshal for Georgia. 🚩

Republican Government Brings Change to the South

As Congress and the army took control of Reconstruction, political power shifted in the South. General Longstreet and other white “scalawags” chose to support this change. For Longstreet, becoming a scalawag changed his life dramatically. He had to rely on the Republican Party for government jobs until he died in 1904.

Scalawags and carpetbaggers Many scalawags were farmers who had never owned slaves and had opposed secession and the war. Many also lived in areas where the population was mostly white. They joined the Republicans to prevent the old planter class from returning to power. In addition, some scalawags were planters and other formerly wealthy southerners who had been financially ruined by the war. They hoped that the new state governments would pass laws to protect them from their debts. Still others were business leaders who wanted to end the South's long dependence on plantation agriculture.

The scalawags allied with northern Republicans who came south to take part in the region's political and economic rebirth. Southern critics called these northerners **carpetbaggers**, a reference to a type of cheap suitcase made of carpet. The newcomers were scorned as low-class persons who could carry everything they owned in a carpetbag.

In fact, many carpetbaggers were educated people. Like the scalawags, they came from a variety of backgrounds, ranging from political and business leaders to teachers, Freedmen's Bureau officers, and former soldiers. Some were African American. Many carpetbaggers

PRIMARY SOURCES

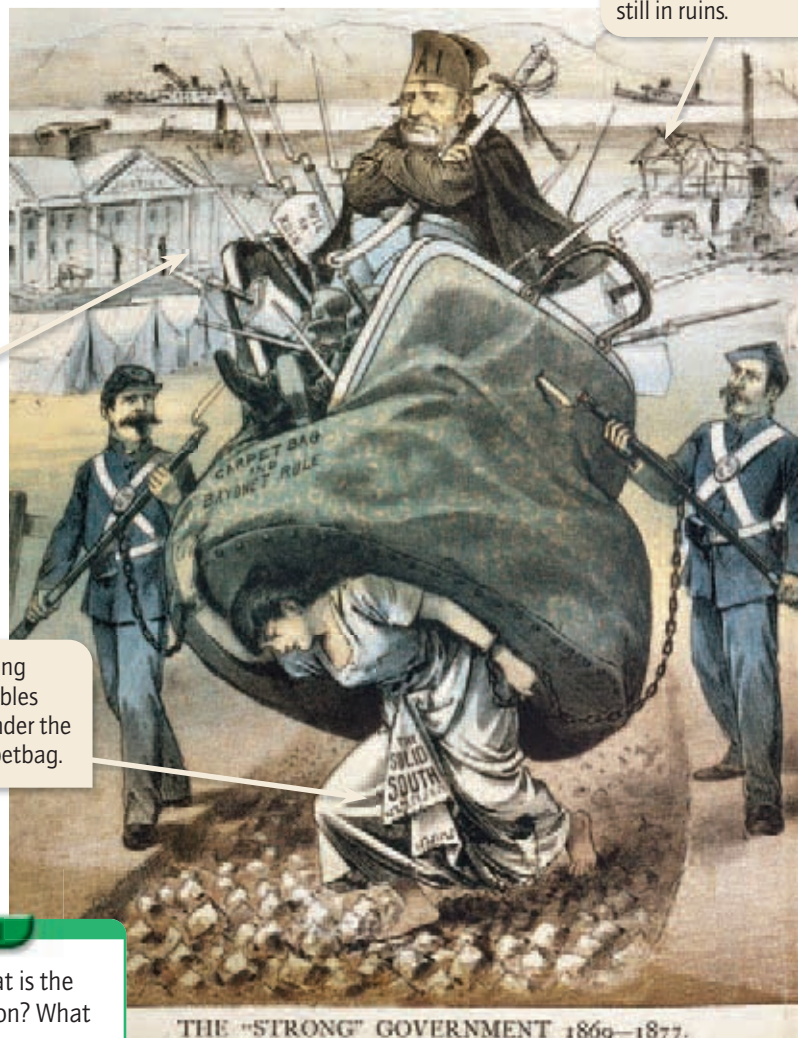
Political Cartoon

A bitter war of political cartoons raged throughout the Reconstruction era. In this 1880 cartoon in the magazine *Puck*, James Albert Wales depicts the view of many traditional southern whites toward Radical Reconstruction under President Ulysses S. Grant.

President Grant rides atop a carpetbag stuffed with guns and bayonets, carried along by federal soldiers.

The woman representing "the Solid South" stumbles along a rough path, under the weight of a heavy carpetbag.

Grant presides over a South that is clearly still in ruins.



**Skills
Focus**

READING LIKE A HISTORIAN

Interpreting Political Cartoons What is the cartoonist's message about Reconstruction? What details does he use to convey it?

See **Skills Handbook**, p. H31

FACES OF HISTORY

Hiram REVELS

1822–1901



Born free as the son of former slaves in North Carolina, Hiram Revels attended seminaries (schools for the training of ministers) in the

North. He recruited African American soldiers and served as a Union army chaplain during the Civil War. After the war, Revels moved to Mississippi to help establish new churches and schools. He became involved in politics and in 1868 became the first African American to serve in the U.S. Senate. After a year in office, he returned to Mississippi, where he continued his ministry and educational work.

Summarize What contributions did Revels make to Mississippi?

bought abandoned land cheaply or formed partnerships with planters and helped rebuild the South's economy.

African Americans in government The carpetbaggers and scalawags allied to control southern state governments. They were joined by freedmen, who were eager to exercise the rights they had gained from the Civil Rights Act and the Fourteenth Amendment. In South Carolina and Louisiana, African American delegates outnumbered whites in the constitutional conventions that the Reconstruction Acts required. In other states, about 25 percent of the delegates were African American.

African Americans formed the largest group of Republican voters in the South. As a result, nearly 700 African Americans served in southern state legislatures during Reconstruction. Sixteen African Americans served in Congress. They included **Hiram Revels**, who took the Senate seat held by Confederate president Jefferson Davis before the war. In all, more than 1,500 African Americans held state and local offices during Radical Reconstruction.

New state governments The state governments established under Radical Reconstruction brought many changes to the South. New state constitutions guaranteed male freedmen the right to vote. Republican governments created the region's first public school systems. They also built many hospitals as well as institutions for orphans and people with mental

disabilities. These schools and other facilities were open to all southerners, although they were usually segregated by race.

The new governments eliminated property requirements for voting and officeholding. They modernized divorce laws and expanded the rights of married women. State legislatures in the Lower South enacted laws making it illegal for railroads, hotels, and other public facilities to discriminate against African Americans. The Black Codes were repealed in every state.

To help the South's economy grow, the Republicans built thousands of miles of new railroads. Railroad companies got grants of land and money from state governments. The government raised this money by increasing taxes on large landowners. At the same time, they reduced taxes on poor farmers.

Many of these changes angered the planters and Democratic Party politicians who had controlled the South for so long. Some of the freedmen were unhappy too, because the Republican governments did little to help them obtain their own land.

READING CHECK

Identifying the Main Idea

Who were scalawags and carpetbaggers? What did they join together to do?

Life after Slavery for African Americans

Freedom meant a variety of things to formerly enslaved African Americans in the South. For some, it meant the chance to search for long-lost relatives who had been sold during slavery. Many freedmen traveled thousands of miles to reunite with family members.

Seeking economic opportunity Other freedmen searched for employment, often by moving to urban areas. The African American population of the South's 10 largest cities doubled by 1870. A smaller number of freedmen moved to the North. Cities in both North and South usually offered only segregation, poor housing, and low-paying jobs.

Some former slaves went west, where they started businesses or worked as miners, soldiers, and cowboys. Most freedmen remained in the rural South, however. Whether they continued to work for their former slaveholders

THE IMPACT TODAY

Government

The 109th Congress included 42 African Americans in the House and 1 in the Senate. Only 5 African Americans, including Hiram Revels, have served in the Senate.

HISTORY CLOSE-UP

African Americans and Reconstruction

During the early days of Reconstruction, new doors opened for African Americans in the South. Not only did they gain political power in state legislatures and in Congress, but they were also able to enjoy the simple human privileges and joys of daily life unknown to them under slavery.

Economic Freedom A store owner (in the apron) celebrates Emancipation Day—and his economic freedom—in 1888.



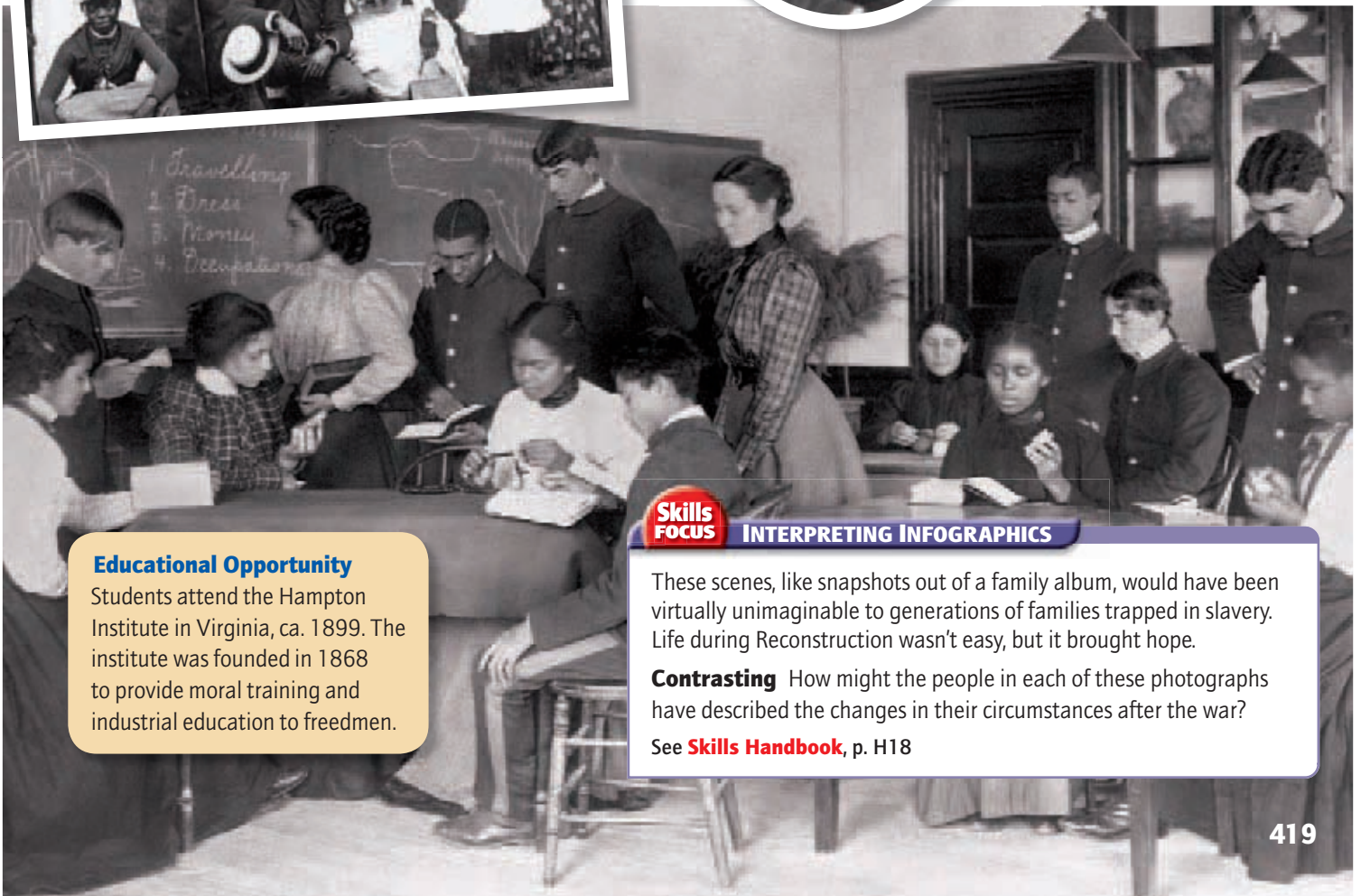
Freedom of Worship

African American families pose for a photograph at a church picnic.



Political Representation

Blanche Bruce fled slavery. After the war, he became the first African American to serve a full term in the U.S. Senate.



Educational Opportunity

Students attend the Hampton Institute in Virginia, ca. 1899. The institute was founded in 1868 to provide moral training and industrial education to freedmen.

**Skills
FOCUS**

INTERPRETING INFOGRAPHICS

These scenes, like snapshots out of a family album, would have been virtually unimaginable to generations of families trapped in slavery. Life during Reconstruction wasn't easy, but it brought hope.

Contrasting How might the people in each of these photographs have described the changes in their circumstances after the war?

See **Skills Handbook**, p. H18

depended on how they had been treated as slaves. If the slaveholder had been violent, few of his workers were likely to remain.

One such slaveholder tried to convince a former slave family who had moved to Ohio to return to the plantation. The husband wrote back with this reply:

HISTORY'S VOICES

“We have concluded to trust your sincerity by asking you to send us our wages for the time we served you. This will make us forget and forgive old scores, and rely on your justice and friendship in the future.”

—Jourdan Anderson, August 7, 1865

Education and religion Denied schooling under slavery, freed African American slaves eagerly sought education. By 1877 more than 600,000 African Americans had enrolled in elementary schools in the South. The Freedmen's Bureau alone started more than 4,000 schools.

Many northern groups, both black and white, sponsored schools. A general who had commanded black troops during the war started Hampton Institute in Virginia in 1868. Hampton's system of vocational education became the model for most black colleges in the South. The American Missionary Association founded seven colleges, including Fisk University in Nashville, Tennessee. Fisk was unique at the time because it stressed higher education for freedmen instead of job training.

African Americans established other institutions themselves, especially churches. Under slavery they had been forced to worship in their slaveholders' churches. During Reconstruction freedmen founded their own churches. These churches became centers of community life for African Americans, and ministers became community leaders.

Some black churches also started schools. Morehouse College was founded in 1867 by Springfield Baptist Church in Augusta, Georgia, to prepare African Americans for careers as ministers and teachers. Morehouse moved to Atlanta in 1879. It became best known for educating Dr. Martin Luther King Jr.

The meaning of freedom Freedmen created a wide variety of other organizations to help themselves and one another. These included debating clubs, drama societies, trade

associations, fire companies, and mutual aid societies. African Americans in Nashville, Atlanta, New Orleans, and other southern cities raised money to establish orphanages, soup kitchens, employment agencies, and funds to aid the poor.

Robert Fitzgerald, a black carpetbagger in Virginia, was encouraged to see freedmen taking the lead to improve themselves and gain control of their lives.

HISTORY'S VOICES

“They tell me before Mr. Lincoln made them free they had nothing to work for, to look up to, now they have everything, and will, by God's help, make the best of it.”

—Robert Fitzgerald, diary entry

READING CHECK

Summarizing What were some new educational opportunities for African Americans in the 1860s and 1870s?

Reconstruction and Land Ownership

The main symbol of personal freedom and economic independence to many former enslaved African Americans was their own land. At first former slaves often claimed a right to plantation land because of the years of unpaid labor they had provided. For some freedmen, the redistribution of the planters' land seemed a logical step after emancipation.

Hopes for land fade In Section 1 you read about land redistribution in Georgia and South Carolina. Freedmen hoped this would be repeated elsewhere. But President Johnson soon returned land in the South to its original white owners.

Although some Radical Republicans wanted to give the planters' land to their former slaves, most considered this proposal too extreme. Instead, Congress passed the **Southern Homestead Act** in June 1866. This law set aside 45 million acres of government-owned land in southern states to provide free farms for African Americans. Few freedmen had the means to buy seed, animals, and equipment, however. As a result, only about 4,000 families took advantage of the offer, and the law was repealed in 1872.

Sharecropping and Poverty

Sharecropping for many turned out to be little better than slavery, as farmers found themselves trapped in a never-ending cycle of debt.

QUICK
FACTS

HOPES RAISED AND DENIED

Slavery

- No rights
- Forced labor
- No freedom of movement without permission
- Family members sold away from one another
- No representation in government

Freedom

- Slavery banned
- Free to work for wages
- Could move and live anywhere
- Many families reunited
- Could serve in political office

Rights Denied

- Sharecropping system created cycle of debt
- Ability to vote and hold office restricted
- White leadership regained control of southern state governments

Freedmen who did have money to buy land often found landowners unwilling to sell to them. In part, this was because white southerners did not want to lose their supply of cheap labor. Land ownership would give former slaves economic independence. “Freedom and independence are different things,” a Mississippi planter wrote in his diary. “A man may be free and yet not independent.”

Still, some freedmen found ways to buy farms and other land. In Mississippi, for example, 1 in every 12 African American families owned land by 1870.

Sharecroppers and tenant farmers

Most freedmen were not content to work for the low wages planters were willing—and in many cases able—to pay. They also disliked working in supervised groups as they had under slavery. As a result, a new system gradually arose to replace the wage labor system. Instead of working for wages, freedmen began receiving a share of their employer’s crop. This arrangement was known as **sharecropping**. By the end of the 1870s most freedmen and many poor white southerners were sharecroppers.

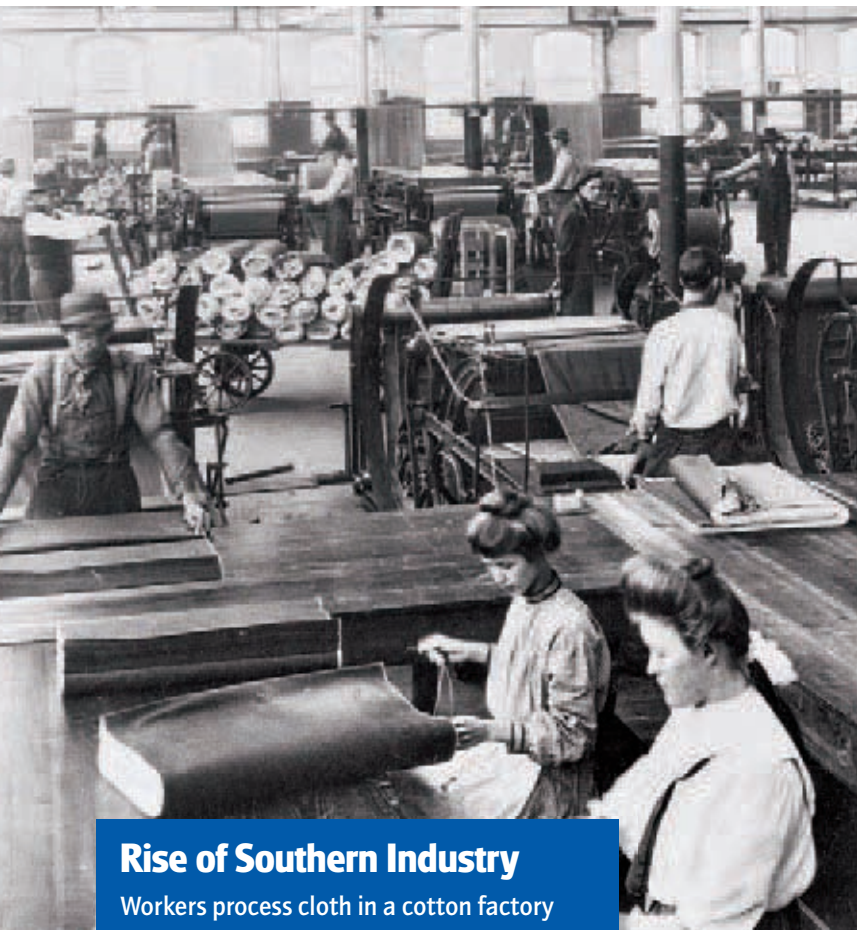
Under the sharecropping system, the employer provided land, seed, tools, a mule, and a cabin. The sharecropper provided the labor. Employers benefited because they no

longer had to pay their workers. In turn, sharecroppers benefited by having a specific plot of land to farm.

A sharecropper who did well and saved some money might switch to **tenant farming**. Tenant farmers rented the land they farmed from the landowner. This arrangement allowed tenant farmers to grow whatever crops they chose. Many preferred growing food crops to cotton. Food crops increased freedmen’s independence by providing not only a source of income but also food for their families as well.

Several factors combined to keep most sharecroppers and tenant farmers in poverty, however. Neither group had any income until harvest time. To meet their everyday needs, they had to promise their crop to local merchants, who then sold them other goods on credit. If the sale of the crop did not produce enough money to pay for their purchases, the merchant added the remaining debt to the next year’s bill.

This system made it difficult for many sharecroppers and tenant farmers to get out of poverty and gain true independence. It also helped keep the South’s economy tied to one-crop agriculture. Merchants generally gave credit only to farmers who grew certain crops. Most often they were only interested in extending credit to farmers who grew cotton.



Rise of Southern Industry

Workers process cloth in a cotton factory in North Carolina. In 1860 about 324,000 spindles turned in southern cotton mills. By 1900 that number rose to nearly 4.4 million.

A nationwide depression caused cotton prices to fall steeply in the 1870s. This prompted southern farmers to grow more cotton in an attempt to raise their incomes. Crop surpluses drove prices even lower, plunging sharecroppers and tenant farmers deeper into debt.

Industrial growth in the South Even as the rural South suffered economically, southern cities grew rapidly. As Radical Republican governments improved the South's railroad system and linked it to northern lines, Atlanta and other cities gradually became important business centers. Southern business leaders joined with northern investors to build textile mills and other manufacturing ventures.

Most of the South's industrial growth occurred after Reconstruction ended. The growth did not greatly benefit African Americans or other poor southerners. Industrial workers in the South earned far lower wages than northern workers. Most southern African Americans could not find factory work at all.

In some industries, workers lived in houses provided by their employer and bought goods on credit at the company store. Like sharecroppers and tenant farmers, they often found themselves locked in a cycle of debt.

READING CHECK

Contrasting How did sharecropping and tenant farming differ?

SECTION

3

ASSESSMENT

go.hrw.com

Online Quiz

Keyword: SD7 HP12

Reviewing Ideas, Terms, and People

1. **a. Identify** Who was Hiram Revels?
b. Explain What did the new state governments accomplish under Radical Reconstruction?
c. Rate Do you think the new governments were successful in bringing change to the South?
2. **a. Describe** What organizations were created in the 1860s and 1870s to help African Americans take advantage of their freedom?
b. Analyze Among formerly enslaved African Americans, why did freedom mean different things to different people?
3. **a. Recall** What was the Southern Homestead Act?
b. Explain Why did the system of sharecropping make it difficult for freedmen to become economically independent?
c. Evaluate Why was land ownership a key issue for African Americans at this time?

Critical Thinking

4. **Comparing and Contrasting** Copy the chart below and fill in some details about African American workers as sharecroppers, tenant farmers, and industrial workers. Use details from Section 3 to fill in the chart. What does your completed chart tell you about opportunities for African American workers during this time?

African Americans as sharecroppers	African Americans as tenant farmers	African Americans as industrial workers

FOCUS ON WRITING

5. **Descriptive** Write a letter from a freedman to a planter looking for workers. Describe the conditions under which you will return to work for the planter. Use details from this section in your letter.

Reconstruction Collapses

BEFORE YOU READ

MAIN IDEA

A variety of events and forces led to the end of Reconstruction, which left a mixed legacy for the nation.

READING FOCUS

1. What problems caused support for Reconstruction to decline?
2. What events brought Reconstruction to an end?
3. What was Reconstruction's legacy for the South and for the rest of the nation?

KEY TERMS AND PEOPLE

Enforcement Acts
Liberal Republicans
Redeemers
Rutherford B. Hayes
Compromise of 1877
New South
Solid South

TAKING NOTES

As you read, take notes on the challenges of the Reconstruction era. Record your notes in a graphic organizer like the one shown here.



In the Shadow of Slavery

THE INSIDE STORY

What was life like for African Americans in the South after the Civil War? Violence erupted in much

of the Reconstruction-era South. Some angry southerners attacked newly freed African Americans and the white Americans who supported the freedmen's right to equality.

Violence was both personal and political. The Ku Klux Klan began as a social group but soon became a terrorist organization. It was the most widespread white supremacist group, but not the only one. Others included the White Liners, the White League, and the Knights of the White Camelia. These groups all used tactics such as threats, beatings, whippings, and even torture and murder. They burned down schools and churches. Race riots broke out in cities and towns.

George Houston, a tailor born in slavery, was a political activist in Alabama and a member of the state legislature. In August 1869, members of the Klan paid him a visit. A Klansman wounded his son, broke down the door, and shot him in the leg.

Houston put up a fight. He had only a gun for shooting squirrels, but "[I] cocked the barrel and shot at his head at fifteen steps . . . My wife jumped and fastened the window. Then they shot the window full of holes and the side of the house beside that. As she shut the window the balls came in the house like rain. They shot the whole side of the house."

Unlike many unfortunate victims, the Houstons were rescued eventually. After the terrifying incident, they moved away, but George Houston remained defiant: "I say the Republican party freed me, and I will die on top of it. I don't care who is pleased. I vote every time." ■



▲ Many African Americans after the Civil War met with violence and oppression from whites.

Problems with Reconstruction

Despite the efforts to control it, violent opposition to Reconstruction plagued the South through much of the Reconstruction era.

Terrorist groups in the South The hooded and disguised night riders of the Ku Klux Klan were the most active terrorists, but many similar organizations existed. Their members included planters, merchants, and poor white farmers and laborers. They were united by a common desire to undo the South's new hierarchy and restore the old political and social order. Although only a small minority of white southerners were members of these groups, many others supported their goals.

The groups' main target was African Americans, especially local leaders. But both blacks and whites were terrorized by threats, house burnings, and much worse. Members of these groups beat Freedmen's Bureau

teachers, women as well as men. They murdered an Arkansas member of Congress and three members of the Georgia legislature, along with thousands of other people. Many state and local officials resigned in fear. A carpetbagger in North Carolina described the situation.

HISTORY'S VOICES

“Of the slain, there were enough to furnish forth a battlefield, and all from those three classes, the negro, the scalawag, and the carpet-bagger—all killed with deliberation . . . shot, stabbed, hanged, drowned . . . And almost always by an unknown hand . . . execution without warning, mercy, or appeal . . . in the treachery which made a neighbor a disguised assassin.”

—Albion Tourgée, *A Fool's Errand*, 1879

The groups did not limit their attacks to white Republicans and politically active African Americans, however. They also assaulted and killed African Americans whom they regarded as too economically successful.

ACADEMIC VOCABULARY

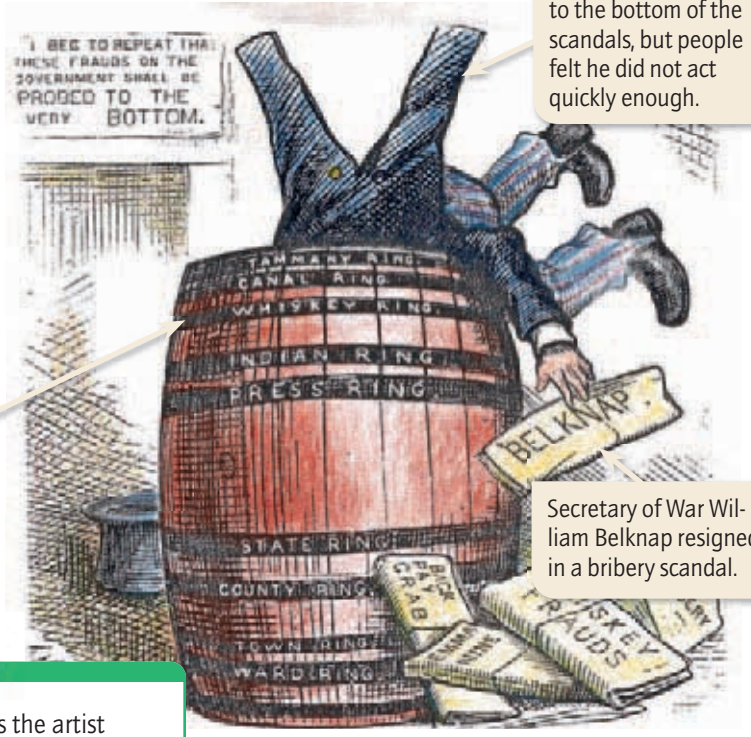
hierarchy an order of persons in authority

PRIMARY SOURCES

Political Cartoon

During the Grant administration, corruption plagued the federal government. Many politicians used their offices for financial gain. Grant was not directly involved in any scandals, but many people felt that they reflected his lack of leadership.

The rings that hold the barrel together are named for political gangs, or “rings,” that stole public money.



The body falling into the barrel is Grant. He promised to get to the bottom of the scandals, but people felt he did not act quickly enough.

Secretary of War William Belknap resigned in a bribery scandal.

Skills FOCUS

READING LIKE A HISTORIAN

- Analyzing Primary Sources** How does the artist combine images and text that have multiple meanings?
- Interpreting Political Cartoons** What is the meaning of this cartoon?

See **Skills Handbook**, pp. H28–H29, H31

When state governments proved unable to control this violence, Congress passed three **Enforcement Acts** in 1870 and 1871. These laws set heavy penalties, including imprisonment, for anyone attempting to prevent a qualified citizen from voting. They also banned the use of disguises to deprive any person of rights. The laws empowered the army and federal courts to capture and punish Ku Klux Klan members. Although the Klan's power was soon broken, many similar groups continued to operate.

Support for Reconstruction declines

White southerners claimed the Enforcement Acts threatened individual freedom. The laws also caused support for Reconstruction to decline in the North. Many northerners were dismayed that after so many years the army was still needed to keep peace in the South and that the Republican state governments were so ineffective. This reaction was exactly what the terrorist groups wanted.

Even southern Republicans began losing faith in Reconstruction. African Americans remained unhappy about their widespread poverty and the lack of land reform. Southerners of both races were discouraged by the region's poor overall economic condition, despite the Republicans' costly building programs and other reforms. These programs raised taxes and plunged the states into debt. Some programs, especially railroad building, also raised charges that the Reconstruction governments were inefficient and corrupt.

Conditions in the South strengthened the **Liberal Republicans**. This group broke with the party over the Enforcement Acts and the scandals that plagued the Grant administration. Although they could not block Grant's reelection in 1872, Liberal Republicans helped Democrats regain control of the House of Representatives in 1874. The Republican majority in the Senate was cut almost in half.

Economic factors also weakened support for Reconstruction. A severe five-year depression began in 1873, taking a toll on the South's economy as it was struggling to rebuild. The depression's impact in the North caused Republican leaders to pay less attention to Reconstruction and more to economic issues.

READING CHECK **Summarizing** What caused support for Reconstruction to decline?

The End of Reconstruction

By the mid-1870s it was clear to northerners and southerners alike that Reconstruction was on the decline. The most determined leaders of Reconstruction, Representative Thaddeus Stevens and Senator Charles Sumner, had died, and decisions of the Supreme Court were weakening key provisions of Reconstruction.

In 1873 the Supreme Court ruled in the *Slaughterhouse Cases* that most civil rights and freedoms remained under state control and were therefore not protected by the Fourteenth Amendment. Three years later, in *United States v. Cruikshank*, the Court ruled that the Fourteenth Amendment did not empower the federal government to punish whites who suppressed African Americans.

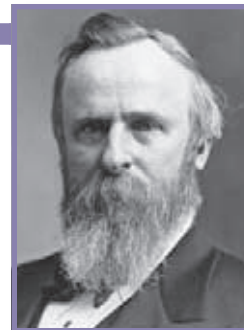
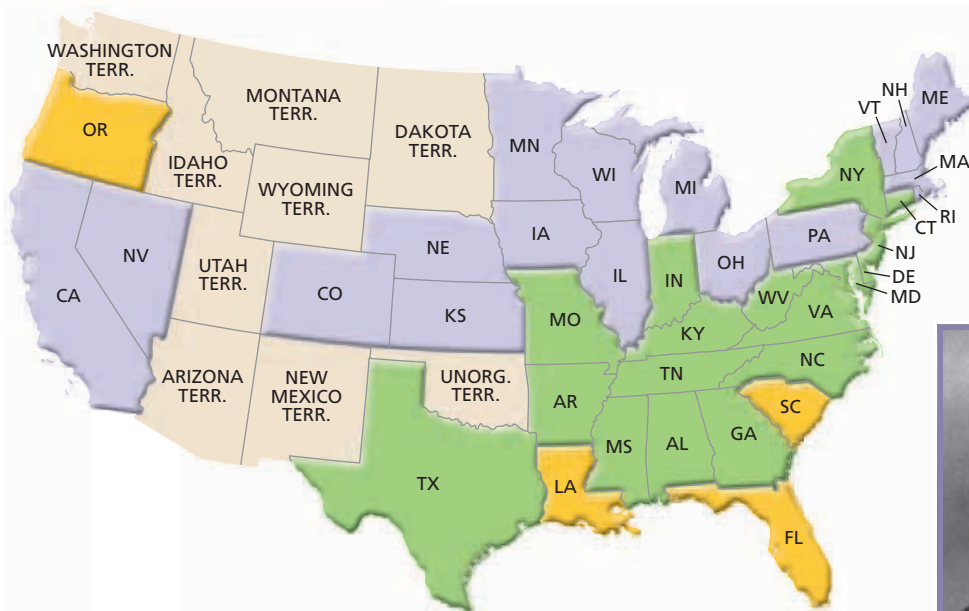
In *United States v. Reese* (1876), the Court determined that the Fifteenth Amendment did not protect voting rights if they were denied for some other reason than race. These three Supreme Court decisions combined to seriously weaken the goals and operations of Reconstruction.

"Redeeming" the South As support for Reconstruction declined in both the North and the South, southern Democratic leaders and their supporters grew stronger and bolder. Lawlessness and terrorism increased as they tried to regain control of their governments.

Terrorists publicly threatened, beat, and even murdered Republican candidates and their supporters in broad daylight. On election days armed Democrats stole or destroyed ballot boxes and drove African American voters from the polls. When Mississippi's governor asked for federal help to solve these problems in 1875, President Grant refused, saying that the northern public was "tired out" by the South's continuing problems.

By 1876 only South Carolina, Louisiana, and Florida remained under Republican rule. The Democrats who controlled the other southern states called themselves the **Redeemers** for having redeemed, or won back, their states from the Republicans. Many Redeemers were former Confederate leaders. Inspired by the Redeemers, Democrats in South Carolina, Louisiana, and Florida were determined to regain control of their states from the Republican leaders of Reconstruction, too.

THE ELECTION OF 1876



Rutherford B. Hayes



Samuel J. Tilden

Candidate	Political Affiliation	Electoral Votes	Popular Votes
Rutherford B. Hayes	Republican	165	4,036,298
Samuel J. Tilden	Democratic	184	4,300,590
Disputed		20	

GEOGRAPHY SKILLS

INTERPRETING MAPS

- 1. Region** What regional voting patterns can you identify on the map?
- 2. Location** In which states were the electoral votes disputed?
See **Skills Handbook**, p. H20

THE IMPACT TODAY

Government

Close presidential election results in 2000 and 2004 resulted in claims of fraud, including alleged efforts to prevent African Americans from voting or to exclude their votes from the count. No fraud prosecutions resulted, but various federal, state, and private commissions formed to recommend election reforms.

The election of 1876 Southern Democrats' efforts in South Carolina, Louisiana, and Florida had a direct effect on the presidential election of 1876. The election pitted Ohio's Republican governor, **Rutherford B. Hayes**, against Democrat Samuel J. Tilden, the governor of New York.

Tilden narrowly won the popular vote. He also finished ahead in the electoral college vote, 184–165. Yet he was still one vote short of the majority he needed to win the election. This was because 20 electoral votes were disputed. All but one of the disputed votes were from the three southern states the Republicans still controlled. Tilden needed only one more electoral vote to win the majority and become president. Hayes, the Republican candidate, needed all 20 of the disputed votes.

Charges flew that massive voting fraud had taken place in Louisiana, South Carolina, and Florida. Republicans claimed that Democrats in those states had prevented African Americans from voting. Democrats complained that

election officials appointed by the Republican governments in Louisiana, South Carolina, and Florida had thrown out large numbers of votes cast by Democrats.

Nearly everyone agreed that Oregon's disputed electoral vote should go to Hayes. But each side claimed the 19 votes from Louisiana, South Carolina, and Florida. Democrats threatened to put Tilden in the White House by force if necessary. "Tilden or War," Democratic newspapers proclaimed.

Congress could not resolve the crisis on its own. In January 1877 it established an Electoral Commission to decide which candidate deserved each vote. After some political maneuvering, the Republicans gained an 8–7 majority on the 15-member commission. Not surprisingly, this commission awarded all 20 of the disputed votes to the Republican candidate, Hayes.

To get the Democratic-controlled House of Representatives to accept the Electoral Commission's decision, Democratic and Republican

leaders negotiated the **Compromise of 1877**. In return for Hayes becoming president, Republicans agreed to withdraw the remaining federal troops from the South. Without the protection of the federal government, the last of the Republican state governments collapsed and Reconstruction came to an end.

READING CHECK **Identifying Cause and Effect** How did the election of 1876 contribute to the end of Reconstruction?

Reconstruction's Legacy

Reconstruction and its collapse deeply affected the nation's future development. The Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments began permanent change in both the South and the North. These amendments, which were part of the Radicals' program to make former slaves citizens and guarantee them the right to vote, established citizenship and voting rights for northern African Americans as well. Passage of the Fifteenth Amendment also increased calls for women to have the right to vote, too.

After Reconstruction, some southerners referred to their region as the **New South**. This was because the late 1800s and early 1900s were a time of industrialization and economic change in the South. In other ways, however, the South remained as it had been before

the Civil War. The Supreme Court's decisions weakening the protections of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments encouraged those who preferred the old southern way of life.

The Redeemers, for example, found ways to return African Americans to what one white southerner called "an era of second slavery." You will learn more about the Redeemers' actions in a later chapter.

If the Civil War was fought to settle the issue of states' rights, the experience of Reconstruction showed that it failed to do so. White southerners deeply resented that the federal government controlled their states for more than a decade after the war. This resentment continued in the South for much of the next century.

Reconstruction also intensified the hostility that many white southerners had felt toward the Republican Party before and during the Civil War. For a century after Reconstruction ended, the South was so strongly Democratic that it was known as the **Solid South**. Not until the 1970s did the Republican Party begin to regain the level of support in the South that it enjoys today.

READING CHECK **Comparing and Contrasting** What changes did Reconstruction bring to the South? In what ways did the South remain unchanged?

SECTION 4 ASSESSMENT

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Online Quiz

Keyword: SD7 HP12

Reviewing Ideas, Terms, and People

- a. Recall** What terrorist groups operated in the South after the Civil War? What kinds of actions did they take to oppose Reconstruction?
b. Analyze Did the **Enforcement Acts** help to carry out Reconstruction? Why or why not?
c. Evaluate Do you think northerners were right to stop supporting Reconstruction? Why or why not?
- a. Identify** Which leaders of Reconstruction had died by 1877?
b. Summarize What did the Supreme Court decide in the *Slaughterhouse Cases*, *United States v. Cruikshank*, and *United States v. Reese*?
c. Evaluate Do you think the **Compromise of 1877** was a good idea? Why or why not?
- a. Define** Write a brief definition for the following terms: **New South**, **Solid South**.

b. Analyze Why did Reconstruction bring back issues of states' rights?

c. Predict What do you think happened in the South after the end of Reconstruction?

Critical Thinking

- Sequencing** Copy the chart below and fill in the events in the North, South, and entire nation that contributed to the end of Reconstruction.

Reconstruction
ends

FOCUS ON SPEAKING

- Persuasive** Suppose you are a member of the House of Representatives in 1877. Present a speech urging your fellow House members to accept or reject the **Compromise of 1877**.

Changed Lives during Reconstruction

Historical Context The documents below provide different information on how Reconstruction changed people's lives in the South.

Task Examine the documents and answer the questions that follow. Then you will be asked to write an essay about how Reconstruction changed people's lives, using facts from the documents and from the chapter to support the position you take in your thesis statement.

DOCUMENT 1

Many southerners fully expected their former slaves to continue to work for them and were shocked when they left to seek opportunities elsewhere. In this letter, freedman Jourdan Anderson, living in Dayton, Ohio, responds to a request from his former master to come back to Tennessee and work on the plantation.

"I am doing tolerably well here; I get \$25 a month, with [food] and clothing; have a comfortable home for [my wife] Mandy (the folks here call her Mrs. Anderson), and the children, Milly, Jane, and Grundy, go to school and are learning well . . . We are kindly treated . . . Now, if you will write and say what wages you will give me, I will be better able to decide whether it will be to my advantage to move back again . . .

Mandy says she would be afraid to go back without some proof that you are sincerely disposed to treat us just and kindly—and we have concluded to test your sincerity by asking you to send us our wages for the time we served you . . . I served you faithfully for thirty-two years and Mandy twenty years. At \$25 a month for me, and \$2 a week for Mandy, our earnings would amount to \$11,680. Add to this the interest for the time our wages has been kept back and deduct what you paid for our clothing and three doctor's visits to me, and pulling a tooth for Mandy, and the balance will show what we are in justice entitled to . . . If you fail to pay us for faithful labors in the past we can have little faith in your promises in the future."

DOCUMENT 2

The Reconstruction era saw many new opportunities for poor whites as well as for black southerners. The use of slaves had limited the amount of work for wages that was needed and available in the South. Now, African Americans and poor whites often competed for similar work. In the following article, a newspaper in Petersburg, Virginia, noted the changes Reconstruction brought to service employment in the city.

"Formerly a white drayman [hauler of heavy goods] or cartman or hack [buggy] driver was a sight unknown in our streets, now they share these employments with the blacks, and eventually will monopolize them . . . Formerly most, if not all, of our bars were tended by colored men, though owned by whites, now the [drinks] are mixed, as well as the rent paid, and the stock kept up by white men in many instances. Formerly, the restaurants of Petersburg were almost exclusively in the hands of the colored people; now, we believe, there is but one establishment of the sort in the city. Formerly we had only colored barbers; now, the native whites seek, generally, barbers of their own color, and eventually they will do so exclusively."

DOCUMENT 3

Former slaves were often eager to seek new lives for themselves and their families. The photograph on the left shows enslaved people and their living quarters on

a Georgia plantation around 1860. The photograph on the right shows a family of formerly enslaved people in Mississippi around 1870.



[NEG. #50473] COLLECTION OF THE NEW-YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY



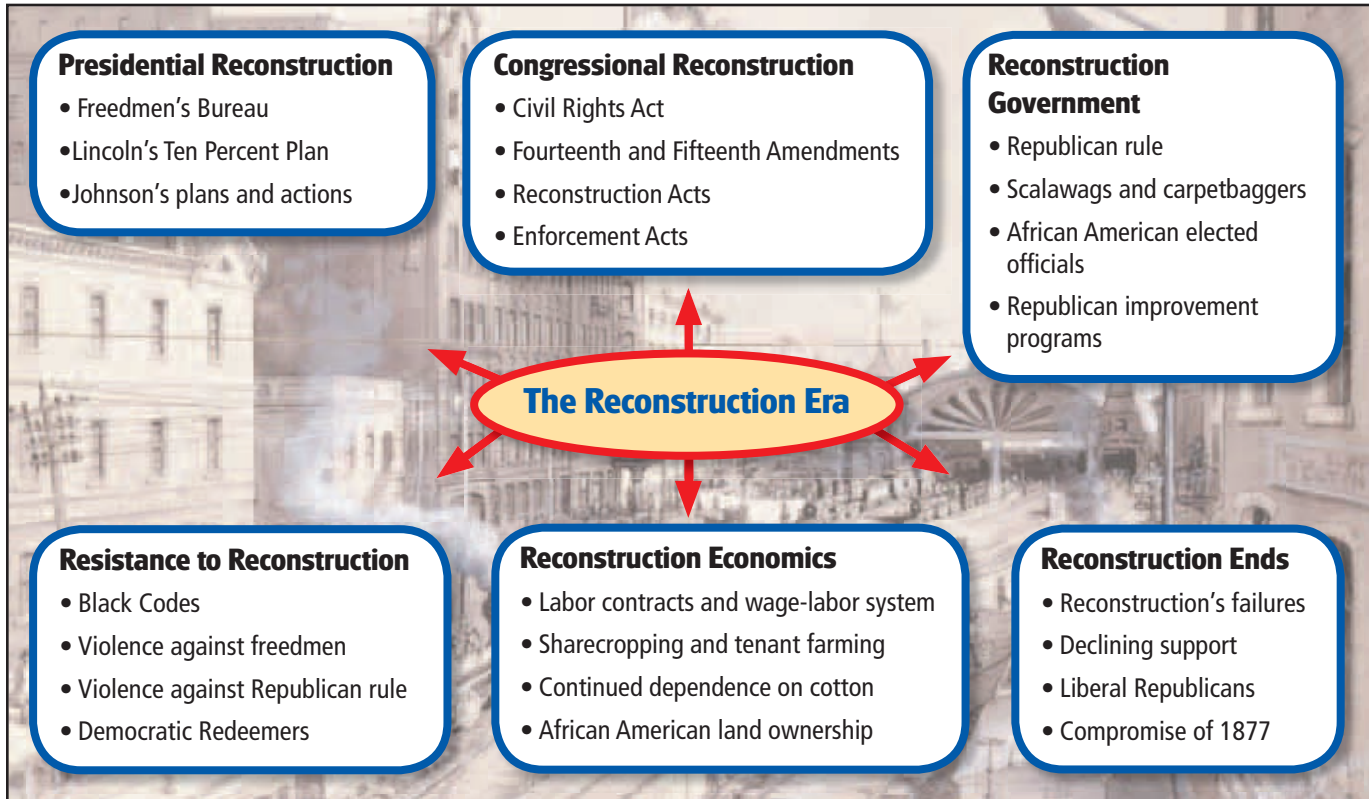
Skills FOCUS

READING LIKE A HISTORIAN

1. **a. Describe** Refer to Document 1. What does Anderson ask his former master to do to prove that his offer of a job is sincere?
b. Analyze How does Anderson's letter reflect the changing expectations that former slaves had about their treatment by whites?
2. **a. Identify** Refer to Document 2. What had changed in Petersburg?
b. Interpret How might some whites use this information to try to convince former slaves to remain on their old plantations?
3. **a. Describe** Refer to Document 3. Describe the scenes in the two photographs.
b. Compare How do these two photographs reflect changes in dignity for African Americans under slavery and during Reconstruction?
4. **Document-Based Essay Question** Consider the question below and form a thesis statement. Using examples from Documents 1, 2, and 3, create an outline and write a short essay supporting your position. How did Reconstruction change the lives of African American and white southerners?

See **Skills Handbook**, pp. H28–29

Visual Summary: Reconstruction



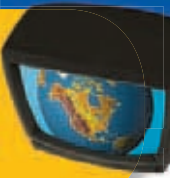
Reviewing Key Terms and People

Match each lettered definition with the correct numbered item at right.

- a. Leader of the Radical Republicans
- b. White citizens that terrorized African Americans
- c. Organization to assist uprooted southerners after the Civil War
- d. Man who became president after Lincoln's death
- e. Southerners who supported changes brought by Reconstruction
- f. Northern Republicans who came to the South to take part in the region's rebirth
- g. African American who became a senator
- h. An attempt to provide land ownership to freed African Americans
- i. A farming system that replaced the wage labor system
- j. Agreement that brought Reconstruction to an end

1. sharecropping
2. Hiram Revels
3. scalawags
4. Southern Homestead Act
5. Andrew Johnson
6. carpetbaggers
7. Compromise of 1877
8. Freedmen's Bureau
9. Ku Klux Klan
10. Thaddeus Stevens

Review the video to answer the closing question: How did the three amendments passed after the Civil War help the civil rights movement a century later?



Comprehension and Critical Thinking

SECTION 1 (pp. 402–408)

11. **a. Describe** What major problems did the South face after the Civil War?
b. Analyze Why did some members of Congress oppose Lincoln's Ten Percent Plan?
c. Predict Why was Johnson's Reconstruction plan likely to provoke problems with Congress?

SECTION 2 (pp. 410–415)

12. **a. Recall** Why did the South welcome Johnson's Reconstruction plan?
b. Draw Conclusions How did Johnson's views help lead to Radical Reconstruction efforts?
c. Evaluate What were some shortcomings of the Fifteenth Amendment?

SECTION 3 (pp. 416–422)

13. **a. Identify** What changes did the new state governments make under Radical Reconstruction?
b. Analyze How did freedom change the lives of African Americans in the South?
c. Elaborate How did the sharecropping system limit the freedom of African Americans?

SECTION 4 (pp. 423–427)

14. **a. Describe** How did legal challenges contribute to the decline of Reconstruction?
b. Drawing Conclusions In what ways was the election of 1876 a victory for the Democrats?
c. Evaluate How much better off were African Americans after Reconstruction than they had been before the Civil War?

Using the Internet

15. A main goal of freed African Americans after the Civil War was to get an education. Using the keyword above, do research to find out more about schools started by the Freedmen's Bureau for African Americans in the South. Then create a report analyzing the impact of these schools.

go.hrw.com

Practice Online

Keyword: SD7 CH12

Analyzing Primary Sources

Reading Like a Historian The damage and destruction of property in the South that resulted from the Civil War was severe. In addition, many places had been neglected as people went to war or fled from areas where fighting was taking place. Re-read the History's Voices passage in Section 1 that begins, "From Pocahontas to Decatur, one hundred and fourteen miles . . ."

16. **Identify** What does this primary source describe?
17. **Predict** How would these conditions likely affect the economy of the South?

Critical Reading

Re-read the passage in Section 4 that begins with the heading "Terrorist groups in the South." Then answer the question that follows.

18. When this passage states, "The hooded and disguised night riders of the Ku Klux Klan were the most active terrorists," the term *terrorists* means
A people who favor enslaving African Americans.
B people who use violence to further their goals.
C people who are the targets of attacks.
D people who use disguises and ride at night.

WRITING FOR THE SAT



Think about the following issue:

Three constitutional amendments—the Thirteenth, Fourteenth, and Fifteenth—were passed during Reconstruction. Under Johnson's Reconstruction program, however, the southern states passed Black Codes restricting the rights of African Americans. Subsequent laws passed by the Redeemers and rulings by the Supreme Court continued to weaken the impact of the Reconstruction amendments.

19. **Assignment** Did Reconstruction ultimately help African Americans gain more rights? Write a short essay in which you develop your position on this issue. Support your point of view with reasoning and examples from your reading and studies.