Why It Matters
We had survived our worst war, but the end of the Civil War left Americans to deal with a set of pressing issues. The status of some 3.5 million former enslaved people had yet to be decided. Nor had the terms by which the former Confederate states would rejoin the union been decided. How Americans would handle these issues would shape the future of our country.

The Impact Today
Debate over the rightful power of the federal government and the states continues to this day. Americans continue to wrestle with the problem of providing civil rights and equal opportunity to all citizens.

The American Republic to 1877 Video The chapter 17 video, “Life After the War,” tells the story of Reconstruction through the eyes of writers and artists of the period.
Arthur
1881–1885
Cleveland
1885–1889
B. Harrison
1889–1893
Cleveland
1893–1897

1882
• Beginning of British occupation of Egypt

1880
• Poll taxes and literacy test initiated in Mississippi

1890
• Plessy v. Ferguson rules segregation constitutional

1896
• Ethiopia defeats invading Italians

1896

Southerners faced the task of rebuilding cities, industries, and farms devastated by war.
Reconstruction Debate

The Civil War saved the Union but shook the nation to its roots. As Americans attempted to reunite their shattered nation, they faced many difficult questions. For example, should the slaveholding Southerners be punished or forgiven? What rights should be granted to the freed African Americans? How could the war-torn nation be brought back together?
The war had left the South with enormous problems. Most of the major fighting had taken place in the South. Towns and cities were in ruin, plantations had been burned, and roads, bridges, and railroads destroyed.

More than 258,000 Confederate soldiers had died in the war, and illness and wounds weakened thousands more. Many Southern families faced the task of rebuilding their lives with few resources and without the help of adult males.

People in all parts of the nation agreed that the devastated Southern economy and society needed rebuilding. They disagreed bitterly, however, over how to accomplish this. This period of rebuilding is called Reconstruction. This term also refers to the various plans for accomplishing the rebuilding.

**Lincoln’s Plan**

President Lincoln offered the first plan for accepting the Southern states back into the Union. In December 1863, during the Civil War, the president announced what came to be known as the Ten Percent Plan. When 10 percent of the voters of a state took an oath of loyalty to the Union, the state could form a new government and adopt a new constitution—a constitution banning slavery.

Lincoln wanted to encourage Southerners who supported the Union to take charge of the state governments. He believed that punishing the South would serve no useful purpose and would only delay healing the torn nation.

The president offered amnesty—a pardon—to all white Southerners, except Confederate leaders, who were willing to swear loyalty to the Union. Lincoln also supported granting the right to vote to African Americans who were educated or had served in the Union army. However, he would not force the Southern states to give rights held by white Americans to African Americans.

In 1864 three states that the Union army occupied—Louisiana, Arkansas, and Tennessee—established governments under Lincoln’s plan. These states then became caught in a struggle between the president and Congress when Congress refused to seat the states’ representatives.

**A Rival Plan**

A group of Republicans in Congress considered Lincoln’s plan too mild. They argued that Congress, not the president, should control Reconstruction policy. Because these Republicans favored a tougher and more radical, or extreme, approach to Reconstruction, they were called Radical Republicans. A leading Radical Republican, Thaddeus Stevens, declared that Southern institutions “must be broken up and relaid, or all our blood and treasure have been spent in vain.”

Controlled by the Radical Republicans, Congress voted to deny seats to representatives from any state reconstructed under Lincoln’s plan. Then Congress began to create its own plan.

**The Wade-Davis Bill**

In July 1864, Congress passed the Wade-Davis Bill. The bill offered a plan much harsher than Lincoln’s. First, a majority of white males in a state had to swear loyalty to the Union. Second, a state constitutional convention could be held,
but only white males who swore they had never taken up arms against the Union could vote for delegates to this convention. Former Confederates were also denied the right to hold public office. Finally, the convention had to adopt a new state constitution that abolished slavery. Only then could a state be readmitted to the Union.

Lincoln refused to sign the bill into law. He wanted to encourage the formation of new state governments so that order could be restored quickly. Lincoln realized that he would have to compromise with the Radical Republicans.

The Freedmen’s Bureau

More progress was made on the other great issue of Reconstruction—helping African Americans freed from slavery. In March 1865, during the final weeks of the war, Congress and the president established a new government agency to help former enslaved persons, or freedmen. Called the Freedmen’s Bureau, this agency was actually part of the war department.

In the years following the war, the Freedmen’s Bureau played an important role in helping African Americans make the transition to freedom. The agency distributed food and clothing, and also provided medical services that lowered the death rate among freed men and women.

The Freedmen’s Bureau achieved one of its greatest successes in the area of education. The bureau established schools, staffed mostly by teachers from the North. It also gave aid to new African American institutions of higher learning, such as Atlanta University, Howard University, and Fisk University.

The bureau helped freed people acquire land that had been abandoned by owners or seized by Union armies. It offered African Americans free transportation to the countryside where laborers were needed, and it helped them obtain fair wages. Although its main goal was to aid African Americans, the bureau also helped Southerners who had supported the Union.

Reading Check  Examining Why did Lincoln offer his plan for Reconstruction before the Civil War was over?
News of Lincoln’s assassination shocked the nation. African Americans mourned the death of the man who had helped them win their freedom. Northern whites grieved for the leader who had saved the Union.

A New President

When Lincoln died, Vice President Andrew Johnson became president. Formerly a Democratic senator from Tennessee, Johnson had been the only Southern senator to support the Union during the Civil War.

Soon after taking office, President Johnson revealed his plan for Reconstruction. He resented the slaveholders who had dominated the South and wished to punish them. As a result Radicals thought Johnson would create a harsh plan they could accept. Johnson, however, believed in giving the states control over many decisions, and he had no desire to help African Americans.

“Restoration”

Johnson announced his plan, which he preferred to call “Restoration,” in May of 1865. Under his plan, most Southerners would be granted amnesty once they swore an oath of loyalty to the Union. High-ranking Confederate officials and wealthy landowners, however, could be pardoned only by applying personally to the president. This provision was Johnson’s attack on the wealthy leaders who he believed had tricked the people of the South into seceding.

Johnson also appointed governors to Southern states and required them to hold elections for state constitutional conventions. Only whites who had sworn their loyalty and been pardoned would be allowed to vote. Johnson opposed granting all freed African Americans equal rights or letting them vote. He believed that each Southern state should decide what to do about freed people, saying, “White men alone must manage the South.”

Before a state could reenter the Union, its constitutional convention had to denounce secession and abolish slavery. States also had to ratify the Thirteenth Amendment to the Constitution, which Congress had passed in January 1865. This amendment abolished slavery in all parts of the United States. By the end of 1865, all the former Confederate states except Texas had formed new governments and were ready to rejoin the Union. President Johnson declared that “Restoration” was almost complete.

Reading Check

Comparing How did President Johnson’s plan for Reconstruction differ from that of the Radical Republicans?

TAKS Practice

Check for Understanding

1. Key Terms Use each of these terms in a sentence that will help explain its meaning: Reconstruction, amnesty, radical, freedmen.
2. Reviewing Facts What did the Thirteenth Amendment provide?

Reviewing Themes

3. Groups and Institutions Why do you think both Lincoln and the Radical Republicans excluded former Confederate officers from their Reconstruction plans?

Critical Thinking

4. Drawing Conclusions Do you think President Johnson’s early ties to the South influenced his treatment of African Americans in his Reconstruction plans? Explain your answer.
5. Comparing Re-create the diagram below and compare Lincoln’s Ten Percent Plan to the Radical Republicans’ Wade-Davis Bill.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reconstruction Plans</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ten Percent Plan</td>
<td>Wade-Davis Bill</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Analyzing Visuals

6. Picturing History Study the painting on page 501. What words would you use to describe the mood of the people?

Math Use the Statistical Abstract of the United States or another reference book to find information on the percentages of African American students enrolled in schools in 1860, 1870, and 1880. Use this information to create a bar graph.
Radicals in Control

Main Idea
Radical Republicans were able to put their version of Reconstruction into action.

Key Terms
black codes, override, impeach

Reading Strategy
Organizing Information  As you read the section, re-create the diagram below and provide information about impeachment.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Impeachment</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>What is it?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Who was impeached?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Outcome of the trial?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Read to Learn
• what some Southerners did to deprive freed people of their rights, and how Congress responded.
• what the main features of Radical Reconstruction were.

Section Theme
Civic Rights and Responsibilities
Southern states created new governments and elected new representatives.

Preview of Events

1865
First black codes passed

March 1867
Radical Reconstruction begins

November 1868
Ulysses S. Grant elected president

February 1870
Fifteenth Amendment extends voting rights

American Story
For three days in May 1866, white mobs in Memphis, Tennessee, burned African American churches, schools, and homes. Close to fifty people, nearly all of them African American, were killed in the rioting. Many Northerners saw the rampage as an attempt by whites to terrorize African Americans and keep them from exercising their new freedoms. This incident and similar riots in other Southern cities helped convince Radical Republicans that President Johnson’s Reconstruction plans were not strong enough.

African Americans’ Rights
During the fall of 1865, the Southern states created new governments that met the rules President Johnson laid down, and Southern voters elected new representatives to Congress. More than one dozen of these representatives had been high-ranking officials in the Confederacy—including the Confederacy’s vice president, Alexander H. Stephens. When the newly elected Southern
representatives arrived in Washington, D.C., Congress refused to seat them. Many Republicans refused to readmit the Southern states on such easy terms and rejected Johnson’s claim that Reconstruction was complete.

To many in the North, it seemed that Johnson’s plan for Reconstruction was robbing the Union of its hard-won victory. In addition Northerners realized that the treatment of African Americans in Southern states was not improving.

Black Codes

In 1865 and early 1866, the new Southern state legislatures passed a series of laws called black codes. Key parts of these laws aimed to control freed men and women and to enable plantation owners to exploit African American workers.

Modeled on laws that had regulated free African Americans before the Civil War, the black codes of each Southern state trampled the rights of African Americans. Some laws allowed local officials to arrest and fine unemployed African Americans and make them work for white employers to pay off their fines. Other laws banned African Americans from owning or renting farms. One law allowed whites to take orphaned African American children as unpaid apprentices. To freed men and women and many Northerners, the black codes reestablished slavery in disguise.

Challenging the Black Codes

In early 1866 Congress extended the life of the Freedmen’s Bureau and granted it new powers. The Freedmen’s Bureau now had authority to set up special courts to prosecute individuals charged with violating the rights of African Americans. These courts provided African Americans with a form of justice where they could serve on juries.

Congress also passed the Civil Rights Act of 1866. This act granted full citizenship to African Americans and gave the federal government the power to intervene in state affairs to protect their rights. The law overturned the black codes. It also contradicted the 1857 Dred Scott decision of the Supreme Court, which had ruled that African Americans were not citizens.

President Johnson vetoed both the Freedmen’s Bureau bill and the Civil Rights Act, arguing that the federal government was overstepping its proper authority. He also said that the laws were unconstitutional because they were passed by a Congress that did not include representatives from all the states. By raising the issue of representation, Johnson indirectly threatened to veto any law passed by this Congress.

Republicans in Congress had enough votes to override, or defeat, both vetoes, and the bills became law. As the split between Congress and the president grew, the possibility of their working together faded. The Radical Republicans abandoned the idea of compromise and drafted a new Reconstruction plan—one led by Congress.

Citizenship

The Fourteenth Amendment

Congress wanted to ensure that African Americans would not lose the rights that the Civil Rights Act granted. Fearing it might be
challenged and overturned in court, Congress in June 1866 passed a new amendment to the Constitution.

The **Fourteenth Amendment** granted full citizenship to all individuals born in the United States. Because most African Americans in the United States had been born there, they became full citizens. The amendment also stated that no state could take away a citizen’s life, liberty, and property “without due process of law,” and that every citizen was entitled to “equal protection of the laws.” States that prevented any adult male citizen from voting could lose part of their representation in Congress. (See pages 247–248 for the entire text of the Fourteenth Amendment.)

The amendment barred prominent former Confederates from holding national or state office unless pardoned by a vote of two-thirds of Congress. The Fourteenth Amendment was interpreted as not including members of the Native American tribes. Not until 1924 did Congress make all Native Americans citizens of the United States.

Congress declared that Southern states had to ratify the amendment to be readmitted to the Union. Of the 11 Southern states, only Tennessee ratified the Fourteenth Amendment. The refusal of the other states to ratify the amendment delayed its adoption until 1868.

**Radical Reconstruction**

The Republican Victory

The Fourteenth Amendment became a major issue in the congressional elections of 1866. Johnson urged Northern and Southern state legislatures to reject it. He also campaigned vigorously against Republican candidates. Many Northerners were disturbed by the nastiness of Johnson’s campaign. They also worried about violent clashes between whites and African Americans, such as the riots that erupted in Memphis, Tennessee, and New Orleans, Louisiana.

The Republicans won a decisive victory, increasing their majorities in both houses of Congress. The Republicans also gained control of the governments in every Northern state. The election gave Congress the signal to take Reconstruction into its own hands.

**Reading Check** Describing What does the Fourteenth Amendment provide?

**Radical Reconstruction**

The Republicans in Congress quickly took charge of Reconstruction. Most Radicals agreed with Congressman James Garfield of Ohio that

“we must compel obedience to the Union, and demand protection for its humblest citizen.”

President Johnson could do little to stop them because Congress could easily override his vetoes. Thus began a period known as Radical Reconstruction.

**Reconstruction Act of 1867**

On March 2, 1867, Congress passed the First Reconstruction Act. The act called for the creation of new governments in the 10 Southern states that had not ratified the Fourteenth Amendment. Tennessee, which had ratified the amendment, kept its government, and the state was quickly readmitted to the Union.

The act divided the 10 Southern states into five military districts and placed each under the authority of a military commander until new governments were formed. The act also guaranteed African American males the right to vote in state elections, and it prevented former Confederate leaders from holding political office.

To gain readmission to the Union, the states had to ratify the Fourteenth Amendment and submit their new state constitutions to Congress for approval. A Second Reconstruction Act, passed a few weeks later, required the military commanders to begin registering voters and to prepare for new state constitutional conventions.

**Readmission of States**

Many white Southerners refused to take part in the elections for constitutional conventions and state governments. Thousands of newly registered African American voters did use their right to vote. In the elections, Republicans gained control of Southern state governments. By 1868, seven Southern states—Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, North Carolina, and South Carolina—had established new governments and met the conditions for readmission to the Union. By 1870, Mississippi, Virginia, and Texas were restored to the Union.
Challenge to Johnson

Strongly opposed to Radical Reconstruction, President Johnson had the power as commander in chief of the army to direct the actions of the military governors. For this reason Congress passed several laws to limit the president’s power.

One of these laws, the Tenure of Office Act of March 1867, was a deliberate challenge. It prohibited the president from removing government officials, including members of his own cabinet, without the Senate’s approval. The act violated the tradition that presidents controlled their cabinets, and it threatened presidential power.

Impeaching the President

The conflict between Johnson and the Radicals grew more intense. In August 1867—when Congress was not in session—Johnson suspended Secretary of War Edwin Stanton without the Senate’s approval. When the Senate met again and refused to approve the suspension, Johnson removed Stanton from office—a deliberate violation of the Tenure of Office Act. Johnson angered the Republicans further by appointing some generals the Radicals opposed as commanders of Southern military districts.

Outraged by Johnson’s actions, the House of Representatives voted to impeach—formally charge with wrongdoing—the president. The House accused Johnson of misconduct and sent the case to the Senate for trial.

The trial began in March 1868 and lasted almost three months. Johnson’s defenders claimed that the president was exercising his right to challenge laws he considered unconstitutional. The impeachment, they argued, was politically motivated and thus contrary to the
spirit of the Constitution. Samuel J. Tilden, a Democrat from New York, claimed that Congress was trying to remove the president from office without accusing him of a crime “or anything more than a mere difference of opinion.”

Johnson’s accusers argued that Congress should retain the supreme power to make the laws. Senator Charles Sumner of Massachusetts declared that Johnson had turned

“the veto power conferred by the Constitution as a remedy for ill-considered legislation . . . into a weapon of offense against Congress.”

In May the senators cast two votes. In both instances the result was 35 to 19 votes to convict the president—one vote short of the two-thirds majority required by the Constitution for conviction. Several moderate Republicans voted for a verdict of not guilty because they did not believe a president should be removed from office for political differences. As a result, Johnson stayed in office until the end of his term in March 1869.

Election of 1868

By the presidential election of 1868, most Southern states had rejoined the Union. Many Americans hoped that conflicts over Reconstruction and sectional divisions were behind them. Abandoning Johnson, the Republicans chose General Ulysses S. Grant, the Civil War hero, as their presidential candidate. The Democrats nominated Horatio Seymour, a former governor of New York.

Grant won the election, gaining 214 of 294 electoral votes. He also received most of the votes of African Americans in the South. The 1868 election was a vote on Reconstruction, and the voters supported the Republican approach to the issue.

The Fifteenth Amendment

After the election Republicans developed their last major piece of Reconstruction legislation. In February 1869, Congress passed the Fifteenth Amendment. It prohibited the state and federal governments from denying the right to vote to any male citizen because of “race, color, or previous condition of servitude.”

African American men won the right to vote when the Fifteenth Amendment was ratified and became law in February 1870. Republicans thought that the power of the ballot would enable African Americans to protect themselves. That belief, it turned out, was too optimistic.

(See page 248 for the entire text of the Fifteenth Amendment.)

Reading Check Explaining What was the outcome of the impeachment trial of President Johnson?
Main Idea
After the Civil War the South had to rebuild not only its farms and roads, but its social and political structures as well.

Key Terms
scalawag, carpetbagger, corruption, integrate, sharecropping

Reading Strategy
Organizing Information As you read the section, re-create the diagram below and describe improvements in the South in the field of education.

Read to Learn
• what groups participated in Reconstruction in the South.
• how Southern life changed during Reconstruction.

Section Theme
Continuity and Change The Republican Party dominated Southern politics during Reconstruction.

Preview of Events

1865 Freedmen’s Bank is established
1866 Ku Klux Klan is formed
1869 African Americans serve in House of Representatives
1870 First African American is elected to the Senate

AN American Story
“The dust of our fathers mingles with yours in the same graveyards. . . . This is your country, but it is ours too.” So spoke an emancipated African American after the Civil War. Most formerly enslaved people did not seek revenge or power over whites, only respect and equality. The petition of an African American convention in 1865 stated: “We simply ask that we shall be recognized as men; . . . that the same laws which govern white men shall govern black men; . . . that, in short, we be dealt with as others are—in equity and justice.”

New Groups Take Charge
During Reconstruction the Republican Party came to dominate Southern politics. Support for the Republican Party came mainly from three groups. One group was African Americans who were overwhelmingly Republican. Support also came from white Southerners who supported Republican policies, and white settlers from the North. These groups dominated the state constitutional conventions and state governments.
African Americans in Government

African Americans played an important role in Reconstruction politics both as voters and as elected officials. In states where African American voters were the majority, they contributed heavily to Republican victories.

African Americans did not control the government of any state, although they briefly held a majority in the lower house of the South Carolina legislature. In other Southern states they held important positions, but never in proportion to their numbers.

At the national level, 16 African Americans served in the House of Representatives and 2 in the Senate between 1869 and 1880. Hiram Revels, one of the African American senators, was an ordained minister. During the Civil War he had recruited African Americans for the Union army, started a school for freed African Americans in St. Louis, Missouri, and served as chaplain of an African American regiment in Mississippi. Revels remained in Mississippi after the war and was elected to the Senate in 1870. He served a year in the Senate, where he declared he received “fair treatment.”

Blanche K. Bruce, the other African American senator, also came from Mississippi. A former runaway slave, Bruce had taught in a school for freed African Americans in Missouri when the war began. In 1869 he went to Mississippi, entered politics, and became a superintendent of schools. He was elected to the Senate in 1874, serving there for six years.

Scalawags and Carpetbaggers

Some Southern whites supported Republican policy throughout Reconstruction. Many were nonslaveholding farmers or business leaders who had opposed secession in the first place. Former Confederates despised them for siding with the Republicans and called them scalawags, a term meaning “scoundrel” or “worthless rascal.”

Many Northern whites who moved to the South after the war also supported the Republicans and served as Republican leaders during Reconstruction. Critics called these Northerners carpetbaggers because they arrived with all their belongings in cheap suitcases made of carpet fabric. Although some of the carpetbaggers were greedy and took advantage of the situation in the South, most did not. Many carpetbaggers were former Union army soldiers or members of the Freedmen’s Bureau who liked the South and wanted to settle there. Others were reformers from the North—including lawyers, doctors, and teachers—who wanted to help reshape Southern society.

Many Southerners ridiculed the Reconstruction governments and accused them of corruption—dishonest or illegal actions—and financial mismanagement. While some officials made money illegally, the practice was hardly widespread. Indeed, there was probably less corruption in the South than in the North.

Resistance to Reconstruction

Most white Southerners opposed efforts to expand African Americans’ rights. Carl Schurz, a Republican from Missouri who toured the South right after the war, reported:

“Wherever I go—the street, the shop, the house, the hotel, or the steamboat—I hear the people talk in such a way as to indicate that they are yet unable to conceive of the Negro as possessing any rights at all.”

Plantation owners tried to maintain control over freed people in any way they could. Many told African Americans they could not leave the plantations. Most white land owners refused to rent land to freedmen.

Other white Southerners also made life difficult for African Americans. Store owners refused them credit, and employers refused to give them work. Some whites also used fear and force to keep freedmen in line.

The Ku Klux Klan

Violence against African Americans and their white supporters became commonplace during Reconstruction. Much of this violence
was committed by secret societies organized to prevent freed men and women from exercising their rights and to help whites regain power.

The most terrifying of these societies, the Ku Klux Klan, was formed in 1866. Wearing white sheets and hoods, members of the Klan launched “midnight rides” against African Americans, burning their homes, churches, and schools. The Klan killed as well. In Jackson County, Florida, the Klan murdered more than 150 people over a three-year period. Klan violence often increased before elections, as the group tried to scare African Americans to keep them from voting. The Klan also attacked white supporters of Reconstruction.

The tactics of the Klan and other violent groups had the support of many Southerners, especially planters and Democrats. These Southerners, who had the most to gain from the reestablishment of white supremacy, saw violence as a defense against Republican rule.

**Taking Action Against Violence**

Southerners opposed to terrorism appealed to the federal government to do something. In 1870 and 1871, Congress passed several laws to try to stop the growing violence of the Klan. These laws had limited success. Most white Southerners refused to testify against those who attacked African Americans and their white supporters. Still, enough arrests were made to restore order for the 1872 presidential election.

*Reading Check Explaining* Why did laws to control the Ku Klux Klan have little effect?

**Some Improvements**

Despite the violence, Reconstruction brought important changes throughout the South. This was especially true in education.

Education improved for both African Americans and whites. African Americans saw education as an important step to a better life. In many regions they created their own schools, contributing both labor and money to build the schools.

The Freedmen’s Bureau and private charities played a major role in spreading education. Northern women and free African Americans came South to teach in these schools. By 1870 about 4,000 schools had been established, with 200,000 students. More than half the teachers in these schools were African American.
Public Schools
In the 1870s Reconstruction governments began creating public school systems for both races, which had not existed in the South before the war. Within a few years, more than 50 percent of the white children and about 40 percent of African American children in the South were enrolled in public schools. Northern missionary societies also established academies offering advanced education for African Americans. Some academies developed into colleges and universities, such as Morehouse College and Atlanta University.

Generally, African American and white students attended different schools. Only Louisiana, South Carolina, and Florida required that schools be integrated—including both whites and African Americans—but the laws were not enforced.

Farming the Land
Along with education, most freed people wanted land. Some African Americans were able to buy land with the assistance of the Freedmen’s Bank, established in 1865. Most, however, failed to get their own land.

The most common form of farmwork for freed individuals was sharecropping. In this system a landowner rented a plot of land to a sharecropper, or farmer, along with a crude shack, some seeds and tools, and perhaps a mule. In return sharecroppers shared a percentage of their crop with the landowner.

After paying the landowners, sharecroppers often had little left to sell. Sometimes there was barely enough to feed their families. For many, sharecropping was little better than slavery.

Reading Check Explain how did sharecroppers get land to farm?

TAKS Practice

Checking for Understanding
1. **Key Terms** Define each term using a complete sentence: scalawag, carpetbagger, corruption, integrate, sharecropping.
2. **Reviewing Facts** How did some Southerners try to maintain control over freed people?

Reviewing Themes
3. **Continuity and Change** How did the state governments under Reconstruction reform education?

Critical Thinking
4. **Drawing Conclusions** Why was voting and owning land so important to newly freed African Americans?
5. **Organizing Information** Re-create the diagram below and identify the three groups that made up the Southern Republican Party.

Analyzing Visuals
6. **Picturing History** Study the picture above. Write a paragraph that explains who the people are and why reading is important to them.

Interdisciplinary Activity

Reading Bring newspapers to class and search for stories that show groups of people struggling for their rights throughout the world. After reading the articles aloud in class, post the items on the bulletin board with the heading “Let Freedom Ring.”
Main Idea
Democrats steadily regained control of Southern governments as support for Radical Reconstruction policies decreased.

Key Terms
reconciliation, commission, cash crop, poll tax, literacy test, grandfather clause, segregation, lynching

Reading Strategy
Comparing As you read the section, re-create the diagram below and list the advantages and disadvantages of an agricultural economy.

Agricultural Economy

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Advantages</th>
<th>Disadvantages</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Read to Learn
• what changes occurred in the South during the last years of Reconstruction.
• how African Americans were denied their rights.

Section Theme
Continuity and Change The Democratic Party began to regain control of Southern politics.

Preview of Events

1870

1877
Hayes wins presidency; Reconstruction ends

1885

1890
Poll taxes and literacy tests begin in Mississippi

1896
Plessy v. Ferguson rules segregation constitutional

AN American Story

In 1875 the carpetbag governor of Mississippi faced growing violence between whites and African Americans in his state. He appealed to President Grant for troops to restore order. The president’s attorney general responded: “The whole public are tired out with these . . . outbreaks in the South, and the great majority are now ready to condemn any interference on the part of the government. . . . Preserve the peace by the forces in your own state. . . .” Sharp in tone, the attorney general’s letter reflected the government’s desire to end Reconstruction.

Reconstruction Declines

During the Grant administration, Northerners began losing interest in Reconstruction. Many believed it was time for the South to solve its own problems. By 1876 Southern Democrats were regaining political and economic control in the South. Some freed men and women went back to work for landholders because they had no other way to make a living.
Reconstruction declined for other reasons. The old Radical leaders began to disappear from the political scene. Thaddeus Stevens died in 1868, and others retired or lost elections.

Another factor that weakened enthusiasm for Reconstruction was racial prejudice in the North. This prejudice was exploited by opponents of Reconstruction. They argued that only Southerners really knew how to deal with African Americans and that the fate of the freed people should be left to the South.

Southerners protested what they called “bayonet rule”—the use of federal troops to support Reconstruction governments. President Grant had sent federal troops to the South to stop violence or to enforce the law only when absolutely necessary. Generally, though, he tried to avoid any clashes with the South.

**Republican Revolt**

In the early 1870s, reports of corruption in Grant’s administration and in Reconstruction governments spread throughout the nation. Some Republicans split with the party over the issue of corruption. Another group of Republicans broke with the party over Reconstruction, proposing peaceful *reconciliation*—coming together again—with Southern whites. Calling themselves Liberal Republicans, these two groups nominated Horace Greeley, a newspaper editor from New York, to run against Grant in the 1872 presidential election.

The Democrats also supported Greeley for president because he offered a chance to defeat the Republicans. Despite the division in the Republican ranks, however, Grant was reelected.

**The Amnesty Act**

During the 1872 election campaign, Liberal Republicans called for expanded amnesty for white Southerners. In May 1872, Congress passed the *Amnesty Act*, which pardoned most former Confederates. Nearly all white Southerners could vote and hold office again. The amnesty changed the political balance in the South by restoring full rights to people who supported the Democratic Party.

**Democrats Regain Power**

In Southern states such as Virginia and North Carolina, where a majority of voters were white, Democrats soon regained control of state governments. In states where African Americans held a majority or where white and African American populations were nearly equal, the Ku Klux Klan and other violent groups helped the Democrats take power by terrorizing Republican voters.

In an election in Mississippi in 1875, Democrats won by a 30,000 majority, although the Republicans had held a 30,000 majority in the previous election. The Democrats used threats to pressure white Republicans to become Democrats. As one Republican put it:

“No white man can live in the South in the future and act with any other than the Democratic Party unless he is willing and prepared to live a life of social isolation.”

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Analyzing Political Cartoons

Problems in the Grant administration hurt the Republican Party. **Who does the woman at the far right represent? Why is she turning away?**

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CHAPTER 17  Reconstruction and Its Aftermath
The Democrats also used violence to persuade African Americans not to vote. By 1876 Republicans held a majority in Congress in only three Southern states—Florida, South Carolina, and Louisiana.

During these years the Republicans had other problems they could not blame on the Democrats. In 1873 a series of political scandals came to light. Investigations uncovered top government officials making unfair business deals, scheming to withhold public tax money, and accepting bribes. One scandal involved the vice president, and another the secretary of war. These scandals further damaged the Grant administration and the Republicans. At the same time, the nation suffered an economic depression. Blame for the hard times fell on the Republicans.

By the time of the congressional elections in 1874, charges of corruption and economic mismanagement had badly weakened the Republican Party. Democrats gained seats in the Senate and won control of the House. For the first time since the Civil War, the Democratic Party controlled a part of the federal government. This situation further weakened Congress’s commitment to Reconstruction and protecting the rights of newly freed African Americans.

**Disputed Election of 1876**

Because of some conflicting results, a committee of 15 members from Congress and the Supreme Court decided the final count in the 1876 election.

1. **Location** Which Southern states sent in election returns that were disputed?

2. **Analyzing Information** By how many electoral votes did Hayes finally win?

**The End of Reconstruction**

President Grant considered running for a third term in 1876. Most Republican leaders preferred a new candidate—one who could win back the Liberal Republicans and unite the party.
The Election of 1876

The Republicans nominated Rutherford B. Hayes, governor of Ohio, for president. A champion of political reform, Hayes had a reputation for honesty, and he held moderate views on Reconstruction. The Democrats nominated New York governor Samuel Tilden. Tilden had gained national fame for fighting political corruption in New York City.

After the election, Tilden appeared to be the winner, receiving almost 250,000 more votes than Hayes. However, disputed returns from Florida, Louisiana, South Carolina, and Oregon—representing 20 electoral votes—kept the outcome in doubt. Tilden had 184 electoral votes, only one short of what he needed to win. Yet if Hayes received all 20 of the disputed votes, he would have the 185 electoral votes required for victory.

In January Congress created a special commission, or group, of seven Republicans, seven Democrats, and one independent to review the election results. But the independent resigned, and a Republican took his place. After examining the reports of state review boards, the commission voted 8 to 7 to award all 20 disputed votes, and the election, to Hayes. The vote followed party lines.

Democrats in Congress threatened to fight the verdict. Republican and Southern Democratic leaders met secretly to work out an agreement that would allow the Democrats to accept Hayes as president. On March 2, 1877—almost four months after the election—Congress confirmed the verdict of the commission and declared Hayes the winner. He was inaugurated president two days later.

Compromise of 1877

The deal congressional leaders made to settle the election dispute, the Compromise of 1877, included various favors to the South. The new government would give more aid to the region

Lincoln Had Survived?

Andrew Johnson, who succeeded to the presidency, attempted to carry out Lincoln’s Reconstruction policies. He was hampered in this effort because as an unelected president he had little popular following. In addition, as a former Democrat, he could not command the support of the Republican majority in Congress. As a Tennessean and former slaveholder, he offended the Radicals. If these handicaps were not enough, his critics viewed Johnson as self-righteous, hot-tempered, stubborn, and crude.

In March 1868 the House adopted 11 articles of impeachment against Johnson. Although Johnson was acquitted and served out his term, any influence he might have had on Reconstruction was lost.

President Lincoln did not live to carry out his plan. On April 14, 1865, just five days after Lee’s surrender, he was assassinated.
and withdraw all remaining troops from Southern states. The Democrats, in turn, promised to maintain African Americans’ rights.

In his Inaugural Address, Hayes declared that what the South needed most was the restoration of “wise, honest, and peaceful local self-government.” During a goodwill trip to the South, Hayes announced his intention of letting Southerners handle racial issues. In Atlanta he told an African American audience:

“...your rights and interests would be safer if this great mass of intelligent white men were left alone by the general government.”

Hayes’s message was clear. The federal government would no longer attempt to reshape Southern society or help Southern African Americans. Reconstruction was over.

**Reading Check Summarizing** What effect did the Compromise of 1877 have on Reconstruction?

**Lincoln’s funeral carriage**

**Change in the South**

“I am treated not as an American citizen, but as a brute. ... [A]nd for what? Not that I am unable to or unwilling to pay my way; not that I am obnoxious in my personal appearance or disrespectful in my conduct; but simply because I happen to be of a darker complexion.”

John Lynch, a member of Congress who had once been enslaved, spoke these words. At the end of Reconstruction, many African Americans faced lives of poverty, indignity, and despair.

**A New Ruling Party**

Many Southern whites hated Republicans because of their role in the Civil War and in Reconstruction. When Reconstruction ended, political power in the South shifted from the Republicans to the Democrats.

In some regions, the ruling Democrats were the large landowners and other groups that had held power before the Civil War. In most areas, however, a new ruling class took charge. Among their ranks were merchants, bankers, industrialists, and other business leaders who supported economic development and opposed Northern interference. These Democrats called themselves “Redeemers” because they had “redeemed,” or saved, the South from Republican rule.

The Redeemers adopted conservative policies such as lower taxes, less public spending, and reduced government services. They drastically, or even eliminated, many social services started during Reconstruction, including public education. Their one-party rule and conservative policies dominated Southern politics well into the 1900s.

**Rise of the “New South”**

By the 1880s forward-looking Southerners were convinced that their region must develop a strong industrial economy. They argued that the South had lost the Civil War because its industry and manufacturing did not match the North’s. Henry Grady, editor of the *Atlanta Constitution*, headed a group that urged Southerners to “out-
Yankee the Yankees” and build a “New South.” This New South would have industries based on coal, iron, tobacco, cotton, lumber, and the region’s other abundant resources. Southerners would create this new economy by embracing a spirit of hard work and regional pride. In 1886 Grady told a Boston audience that industrial development would allow the New South to match the North in a peaceful competition.

**Southern Industries**

Industry in the South made dramatic gains after Reconstruction. Some of the strongest advances were in the textile industry. Before the Civil War, Southern planters had shipped cotton to textile mills in the North or in Europe. In the 1880s textile mills sprang up throughout the South. Many Northern mills would later close as companies built new plants in the South.

Other important industries were lumbering and tobacco processing. The tobacco industry was developed largely through the efforts of James Duke of North Carolina. Duke’s American Tobacco Company eventually controlled almost all tobacco manufacturing in the nation.

The iron and steel industry also grew rapidly. In the mid-1800s William Kelly, an American ironworker, and Henry Bessemer, a British engineer, had developed methods—called the Bessemer process—to inexpensively produce steel from iron. Steel answered industry’s need for a sturdy, workable metal. By 1890 Southern mills produced nearly 20 percent of the nation’s iron and steel. Much of the industry was in Alabama near deposits of iron ore.

**Factors in Growth**

A cheap and reliable workforce helped Southern industry grow. Most factory workers put in long hours for low wages. Sometimes whole families, including children, worked in factories. African Americans got few opportunities in industry except in the lowest-paying jobs.

A railroad-building boom also aided industrial development. By 1870 the Southern railroad system, which had been destroyed during the war, was largely rebuilt. The miles of track more than doubled between 1880 and 1890.

Still, the South did not develop an industrial economy as strong as the North’s. The North was still industrializing more rapidly. The South remained primarily agricultural.

**Economics**

**Rural Economy**

Supporters of the New South hoped to change Southern agriculture as well as industry. They pictured small, profitable farms raising a variety of crops rather than large plantations devoted to growing cotton.

A different economy emerged, however. Some plantations were broken up, but many large landowners kept control of their property. When estates were divided, much of the land went to sharecropping and tenant farming, neither of which was profitable.

Debt caused problems as well. Poor farmers had to buy on credit to get the food and supplies they needed. The merchants who sold on credit charged high prices for their goods, increasing the farmers’ debt. The quickest way for farmers to repay that debt, they thought, was to grow cash crops—crops that could be sold for money. As in the past, the biggest cash crop was cotton. An oversupply of cotton forced prices down, however. The farmers then had to grow even more cotton to try to recover their losses.

Sharecropping and reliance on a single cash crop hampered the development of a more modern agricultural economy. Instead, the rural South sank deeper into poverty and debt.

**Reading Check**

What happened to prices when more cotton was produced than could be sold?
A Divided Society

As Reconstruction ended, African Americans’ dreams for justice faded. In the last 20 years of the 1800s, racism became firmly entrenched, and individuals took steps to keep African Americans separated from whites and to deny them basic rights.

Voting Restrictions

The Fifteenth Amendment prohibited any state from denying an individual the right to vote because of race. Southern leaders, however, found ways to get around the amendment and prevent African Americans from voting.

Many Southern states required a poll tax, a fee that people had to pay before voting. Because many African Americans could not afford the tax, they could not vote. The tax also prevented many poor whites from voting. Another approach was to make prospective voters take a literacy test in which they had to read and explain difficult parts of state constitutions or the federal Constitution. Because most African Americans had little education, literacy tests prevented many from voting.

Literacy tests could also keep some whites from voting. For this reason some states passed grandfather clauses. These laws allowed individuals who did not pass the literacy test to vote if their fathers or grandfathers had voted before Reconstruction. Because African Americans could not vote until 1867, they were excluded. Georgia enacted a poll tax and other limits as early as 1870. Such laws, however, did not become widespread until after 1889. African Americans continued to vote in some states until the end of the 1800s. Then, voting laws and the constant threat of violence caused African American voting to drastically decline.

Jim Crow Laws

Another set of laws hurt African Americans. By the 1890s segregation, or the separation of the races, was a prominent feature of life in the South.

The Southern states formed a segregated society by passing so-called Jim Crow laws. Taking their name from a character in a song, Jim Crow laws required African Americans and whites to be separated in almost every public place where they might come in contact with each other.

In 1896 the Supreme Court upheld Jim Crow laws and segregation in Plessy v. Ferguson. The case involved a Louisiana law requiring separate sections on trains for African Americans. The Court ruled that segregation was legal as long as African Americans had access to public facilities or accommodations equal to those of whites. (See page 626 of the Appendix for a summary of Plessy v. Ferguson.)

The problem, however, was that the facilities were separate but in no way equal. Southern states spent much more money on schools and other facilities for whites than on those for African Americans. This “separate but equal” doctrine provided a legal foundation for segregation in the South that lasted for more than 50 years.
Checking for Understanding

1. Key Terms Define the following terms: reconciliation, commission, cash crop, poll tax, literacy test, grandfather clause, segregation, lynching.

2. Reviewing Facts How did the Bessemer process affect Southern industry?

Reviewing Themes

3. Continuity and Change In what industries did the South make great gains after Reconstruction?

Reconstruction’s Impact

Reconstruction was both a success and a failure. It helped the South recover from the war and begin rebuilding its economy. Yet economic recovery was far from complete. Although Southern agriculture took a new form, the South was still a rural economy, and that economy was still very poor.

Under Reconstruction African Americans gained greater equality and began creating their own institutions. They joined with whites in new governments, fairer and more democratic than the South had ever seen. This improvement for African Americans did not last long, however. In the words of African American writer and civil rights leader W.E.B. Du Bois,

“The slave went free; stood a brief moment in the sun; then moved back again toward slavery.”

The biggest disappointment of Reconstruction was that it did not make good on the promise of true freedom for freed African Americans. The South soon created a segregated society.

Violence Against African Americans

Along with restrictions on voting rights and laws passed to segregate society, white violence against African Americans increased. This violence took many terrible forms, including lynching, in which an angry mob killed a person by hanging. African Americans were lynched because they were suspected of committing crimes—or because they did not behave as whites thought they should.

Analyzing Visuals

Study the election map on page 515. Which candidate received the greater number of popular votes? Who won the election?

TAKS Practice

SECTION 4 ASSESSMENT

Checking for Understanding

1. Key Terms Define the following terms: reconciliation, commission, cash crop, poll tax, literacy test, grandfather clause, segregation, lynching.

2. Reviewing Facts How did the Bessemer process affect Southern industry?

Reviewing Themes

3. Continuity and Change In what industries did the South make great gains after Reconstruction?

Critical Thinking

4. Determining Cause and Effect Explain how the Amnesty Act helped the Democratic Party regain its strength.

5. Organizing Information Re-create the diagram below and describe how the poll tax and literacy tests restricted voting rights.

Analyzing Visuals

Government Research to find out how many African Americans hold seats in Congress today. Make a list of their names and states of residence. Be sure to include members of both the House of Representatives and the Senate.
Identifying the Main Idea

Why Learn This Skill?
Historical details, such as names, dates, and events, are easier to remember when they are connected to a main idea. Understanding the main idea allows you to grasp the whole picture or story.

Learning the Skill
Follow these steps to identify a main idea:
• Before you read the material, find out the setting of the article or document: the time, the place, and who the writer is.
• Read the material and ask, “What is the purpose of this information?”
• Identify supporting details.
• Identify the main idea or central issue.

Practicing the Skill
In the passage below, W.E.B. Du Bois, an African American scholar, describes the attitudes of people in Charleston, South Carolina, just after the Civil War. Read the passage and answer the questions that follow.

“'The economic loss which came through war was great, but not nearly as influential as the psychological change, the change in habit and thought....

The hatred of the Yankees was increased.
The defeated Southern leaders were popular heroes. Numbers of Southerners planned to leave the country and go to South America or Mexico....

The labor situation, the prospect of free Negroes, caused great apprehension. It was accepted as absolutely true by most planters that the Negro could not work without a white master.’”

1. Du Bois begins by naming two kinds of losses from the war. What are they? Which does he say was greater?
2. What is the main idea of the passage?
3. What details support the main idea?
4. Does the painting support or negate Du Bois’s main idea?

Applying the Skill
Identifying the Main Idea Bring a news article about a current event to class. Identify the main idea and supporting details in the article.

Glencoe’s Skillbuilder Interactive Workbook CD-ROM, Level 1, provides instruction and practice in key social studies skills.
Reviewing Key Terms
Explain why each of these terms is used in a chapter about Reconstruction.
1. amnesty
2. black codes
3. poll tax
4. freedmen
5. impeach
6. segregation

Reviewing Key Facts
7. What services did the Freedmen’s Bureau provide?
8. Who succeeded Lincoln as president?
9. How was the Fourteenth Amendment supposed to help African Americans?
10. What verdict did the Senate reach in the trial of President Johnson?
11. What right does the Fifteenth Amendment protect?
12. What role did African Americans play in early Reconstruction politics in the South?
13. What tactic did the Ku Klux Klan use to influence elections in the South?
14. Why was a special commission needed to decide the presidential election of 1876?
15. What Supreme Court decision upheld the legality of segregation so long as “separate but equal” facilities were provided?

Critical Thinking
16. Analyzing Themes: Civic Rights and Responsibilities How did the black codes deny rights?
17. Analyzing Primary Sources Explain the following quote as it applies to Reconstruction: “The slave went free; stood a brief moment in the sun; then moved back again toward slavery.”
18. Analyzing Themes: Economic Factors Why did growing cotton after the Civil War send many Southern farmers into debt?
19. Organizing Information Re-create the diagram below and explain two important concessions that were made in the Compromise of 1877.
Alternative Assessment

27. Portfolio Writing Activity  Review the chapter to make a list of specific ways that Southern states tried to deny equal rights to African Americans after the war. Then decide which amendment(s)—Thirteenth, Fourteenth, or Fifteenth—should have prevented each action. Put this information in an essay using standard grammar and spelling.

Self-Check Quiz
Visit tx.tarvol1.glencoe.com and click on Chapter 17—Self-Check Quizzes to prepare for the chapter test.

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Practicing Skills
The excerpt below was written by Charlotte Forten, one of many African American teachers who went South to teach freed individuals during the period of Reconstruction. Read the excerpt, which describes her first days of teaching school. Then answer the questions that follow.

“...I never before saw children so eager to learn, although I had had several years’ experience in New England schools. Coming to school is a constant delight and recreation to them. They come here as other children go to play. The older ones, during the summer, work in the fields from early morning until eleven or twelve o’clock, and then come to school, after their hard toil in the hot sun, as bright and as anxious to learn as ever.”

20. What is the main idea of this passage?
21. What details support the main idea of this passage?

Citizenship Cooperative Activity

22. Registering to Vote  Laws about voter registration vary from place to place. Working with a partner, contact your local election board to find out what the requirements for voter registration are in your community. Then design a brochure that encourages citizens to register to vote.

Economics Activity

23. What happened to the price of cotton when an oversupply of cotton was on the market? How do you think prices would change if the demand for cotton were greater than the supply? Explain.

Geography and History Activity

Turn to the map on page 515 to answer the following questions.

24. Location  Electoral votes are based on population. What were the six most populous states in 1876?
25. Region  Which political party gained the most votes in the western states?
26. Place  How many electoral votes were in dispute?

Test-Taking Tip

This question asks for the main idea of the passage—in this case, of the Fifteenth Amendment. Read through all the answer choices before choosing the best one. Make sure you look for information in the passage to support your answer.