

Reconstruction

1865–1877

Why It Matters

The nation faced difficult problems after the Civil War. The first issue was how to bring the South back into the Union. Lincoln had wanted to make reunion relatively easy. After he died, Congress designed a plan that focused on punishing the South and ensuring that African Americans had the right to vote. These policies increased hostility between the regions. Pressures on the South to reform eased with the Compromise of 1877.

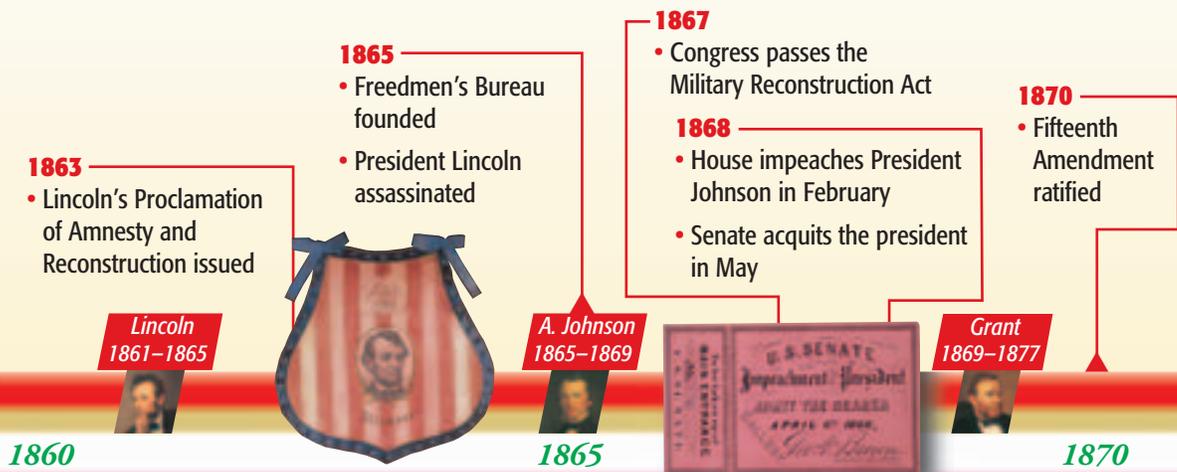
The Impact Today

The Reconstruction era has permanently affected American society.

- The Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments provide constitutional protections for all Americans.
- The Radical Republicans' rule so antagonized the South that the region remained solidly Democratic for nearly a century.



The American Vision Video The Chapter 12 video, "The Aftermath of War," chronicles the struggles of the nation to heal itself after the Civil War.





Upland Cotton by Winslow Homer shows that even after emancipation, many African Americans continued working long hours in the cotton fields.



1875
 • "Whiskey Ring" scandal breaks

1877
 • Compromise of 1877 ends Reconstruction efforts

Hayes
 1877–1881

1875

1880

1871
 • Unification of Germany completed; German Empire proclaimed

1874
 • First Impressionist art exhibit opens in Paris

HISTORY
Online

Chapter Overview
 Visit the *American Vision* Web site at tav.glencoe.com and click on **Chapter Overviews—Chapter 12** to preview chapter information.

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Guide to Reading

Main Idea

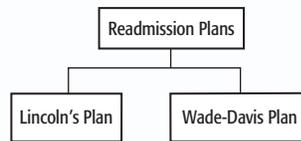
In the months after the Civil War, the nation began the effort to rebuild and reunite.

Key Terms and Names

Reconstruction, amnesty, Thaddeus Stevens, Radical Republicans, Wade-Davis Bill, pocket veto, freedmen, Freedmen's Bureau

Reading Strategy

Organizing As you read, complete a graphic organizer similar to the one below to compare plans for readmitting Southern states to the Union.

**Reading Objectives**

- **Contrast** Lincoln's plan to reunite the nation with that of the Radical Republicans
- **Discuss** life in the South immediately after the war.

Section Theme

Groups and Institutions Northerners disagreed on which policies would best rebuild the South and safeguard the rights of African Americans.

Preview of Events

1863

1863

Lincoln issues Proclamation of Amnesty and Reconstruction

1864

1864

Congress passes Wade-Davis Bill

1865

March 1865
Freedmen's Bureau founded

April 1865
Lincoln assassinated

1866

1866
Congress passes Fourteenth Amendment

★ *An American Story* ★

Artist's depiction of an emancipated African American

Houston Holloway was ready for freedom. By 1865 the 20-year-old enslaved man had toiled under three different slaveholders. President Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation, delivered in 1863, had freed him—but only in theory. The proclamation freed enslaved persons in the Confederacy, but because the Union could not enforce its laws in Confederate territory, many African Americans in the South continued to endure a life of bondage. Holloway knew that his only hope was a Northern victory in the Civil War.

Freedom finally came in the spring of 1865 when Union troops overran his community in Georgia. Holloway rejoiced upon being freed:

“I felt like a bird out of a cage. Amen. Amen. Amen. I could hardly ask to feel better than I did that day. . . . The week passed off in a blaze of glory.”

—quoted in *A Short History of Reconstruction*

The Reconstruction Battle Begins

Houston Holloway and millions like him faced freedom in a devastated South. By 1865 large areas of the former Confederacy lay in ruins. A traveler on a railroad journey through the South described the region as a “desolated land,” adding, “Every village and station we stopped at presented an array of ruined walls and chimneys standing useless and solitary.”

Union troops and cannons had left few Southern cities untouched. Describing Columbia, the capital of South Carolina, a Northern reporter noted, “Two-thirds of the

buildings in the place were burned, including . . . everything in the business portion. Not a store, office, or shop escaped.”

The devastation had left the South’s economy in a state of collapse. The value of land had fallen significantly. Confederate money was worthless. Roughly two-thirds of the transportation system lay in ruins, with dozens of bridges destroyed and miles of railroad twisted and rendered useless.

Most dramatically of all, the emancipation of African Americans had thrown the agricultural system into chaos. Until the South developed a new system to replace enslaved labor, it could not maintain its agricultural output.

The president and Congress grappled with the difficult task of **Reconstruction**, or rebuilding after the war. They had to decide under what terms and conditions the former Confederate states would rejoin the Union.

Lincoln’s Plan The problem of how to bring the Southern states back into the Union began shortly after the Civil War started. As Union forces advanced into Tennessee, Arkansas, and Louisiana in 1862, President Lincoln appointed military governors for the regions under Union control. He also began developing a plan for restoring a regular government in those states.

Lincoln wanted a moderate policy that would reconcile the South with the Union instead of punishing it for treason. In December 1863, he set forth his plan in the Proclamation of Amnesty and Reconstruction. He offered a general **amnesty**, or pardon, to all Southerners who took an oath of loyalty to the United States and accepted the Union’s proclamations concerning slavery. When 10 percent of a state’s voters in the 1860 presidential election had taken this oath, they could organize a new state government.

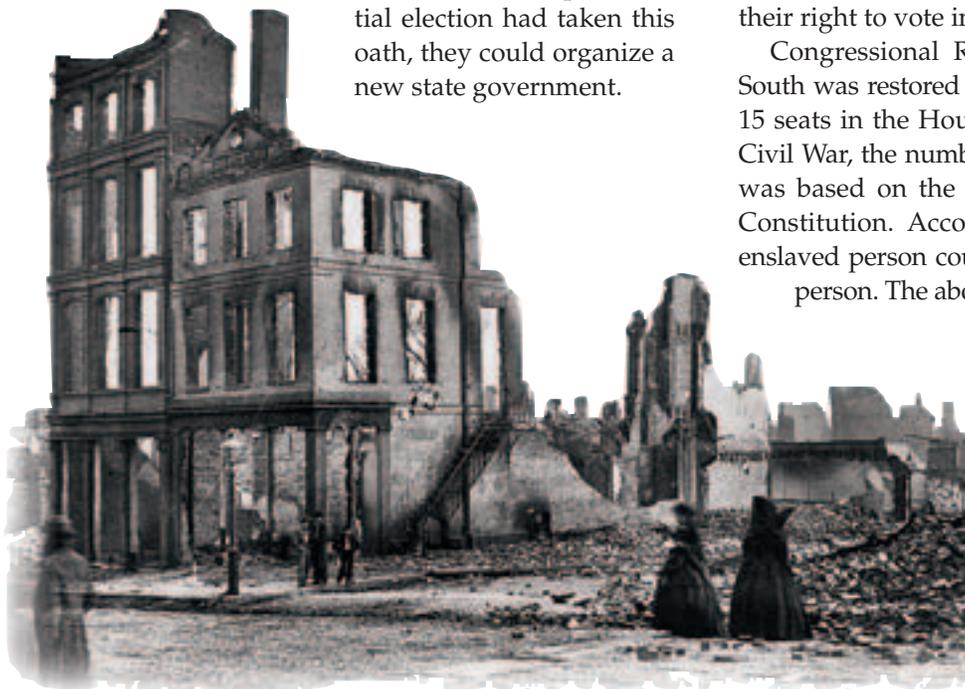


Thaddeus Stevens

The Radical Republicans Resistance to Lincoln’s plan surfaced at once among the more radical Republicans in Congress. Led by Representative **Thaddeus Stevens** of Pennsylvania and Senator Charles Sumner of Massachusetts, the radicals did not want to reconcile with the South. They wanted, in Stevens’s words, to “revolutionize Southern institutions, habits, and manners.”

The **Radical Republicans** had three main goals. First, they wanted to prevent the leaders of the Confederacy from returning to power after the war. Second, they wanted the Republican Party to become a powerful institution in the South. Third, they wanted the federal government to help African Americans achieve political equality by guaranteeing their right to vote in the South.

Congressional Republicans knew that once the South was restored to the Union, it would gain about 15 seats in the House of Representatives. Before the Civil War, the number of Southern seats in the House was based on the Three-Fifths Compromise in the Constitution. According to this compromise, each enslaved person counted as only three-fifths of a free person. The abolition of slavery entitled the South to more seats in the House of



Picturing History

War-Shattered City The Civil War wreaked terrible devastation on Richmond, Virginia. **Why do you think the women pictured here are dressed in black?**

**MOMENT
in HISTORY**

WINDS OF CHANGE

Two formerly enslaved women in the rural, postwar South share a treasure that was once forbidden to them—a book. Before the Civil War, it was illegal in some states to teach an enslaved person to read and write. Despite the well-intentioned efforts of some federal officials during Reconstruction, the education of African Americans continued to be an issue after the war. In 1865 only about 10 percent of African Americans could read. By 1880 more than 25 percent were considered literate and around 40 percent of African American children were enrolled in school.



Representatives. This would endanger Republican control of Congress, unless Republicans could find a way to protect African Americans' voting rights.

Although Radical Republicans knew that giving African Americans in the South the right to vote would help their party win elections, most were not acting cynically. Many had been abolitionists before the Civil War and had pushed Lincoln into making emancipation a goal of the war. They believed in a right to political equality for all Americans, regardless of their race. Senator Henry Wilson of Massachusetts summarized their position by saying:

“[Congress] must see to it that the man made free by the Constitution is a freeman indeed; that he can go where he pleases, work when and for whom he pleases . . . go into schools and educate himself and his children; that the rights and guarantees of the common law are his, and that he walks the earth proud and erect in the conscious dignity of a free man.”

The Wade-Davis Bill Caught between Lincoln and the Radical Republicans was a large number of moderate Republicans. The moderates thought Lincoln was being too lenient, but they also thought the radicals were going too far in their support for African Americans.

By the summer of 1864, the moderates and radicals had come up with a Reconstruction plan that they could both support as an alternative to Lincoln's and introduced it in Congress as the **Wade-Davis Bill**. This bill required the majority of the adult white men in a former Confederate state to take an oath of allegiance to the Union. The state could then hold a constitutional convention to create a new state government. Each state's convention would then have to abolish slavery, reject all debts the state had acquired as part of the Confederacy, and deprive all former Confederate government officials and military officers of the right to vote or hold office.

Although Congress passed the Wade-Davis Bill, Lincoln blocked it with a **pocket veto**, that is, he let the session of Congress expire without signing the

legislation. Although Lincoln sympathized with some of the radical goals, he felt that imposing a harsh peace would be counterproductive. The president wanted “no persecution, no bloody work.”

Reading Check **Summarizing** Why did President Lincoln favor a generous policy toward the South after the end of the Civil War?

The Freedmen’s Bureau

Lincoln realized that harsh Reconstruction terms would only alienate many whites in the South. Also, the South was already in chaos. The devastation of the war and the collapse of the economy left hundreds of thousands of people unemployed, homeless, and hungry. At the same time, the victorious Union armies had to contend with the large numbers of African Americans who flocked to Union lines as the war progressed. As Sherman marched through Georgia and South Carolina, thousands of freed African Americans—now known as **freedmen**—began following his troops seeking food and shelter.

To help the freed people feed themselves, Sherman reserved all abandoned plantation land within 30 miles of the coast from Charleston, South Carolina, to Jacksonville, Florida, for use by freed African Americans. Over the next few months, Union troops settled more than 40,000 African Americans on roughly half a million acres of land in South Carolina and Georgia.

The refugee crisis prompted Congress to establish the Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands—better known as the **Freedmen’s Bureau**.

The Bureau was given the task of feeding and clothing war refugees in the South using surplus army supplies. Beginning in September 1865, the Bureau issued nearly 30,000 rations a day for the next year. It helped prevent mass starvation in the South.

The Bureau also helped formerly enslaved people find work on plantations. It negotiated labor contracts with planters, specifying the amount of pay workers would receive and the number of hours they had to work. It also established special courts to deal with grievances between workers and planters.

Although many Northerners backed the Bureau, some argued that those who were formerly enslaved should be given “forty acres and a mule” to support themselves. These people urged the federal government to seize Confederate land and distribute it to emancipated African Americans. To others, however, taking land from plantation owners violated individual property rights. Ultimately, Congress rejected land confiscation.

The Freedmen’s Bureau made a lasting and important contribution in the field of education. The Bureau worked closely with Northern charities to educate formerly enslaved African Americans. It also provided housing for schools, paid teachers, and helped to establish colleges for training African American teachers.

Many freed African Americans served in the U.S. Cavalry in units formed after 1866. Most were stationed in the southwestern United States, where they become known as “buffalo soldiers.”

Reading Check **Explaining** What were the purposes of the Freedmen’s Bureau?

SECTION 1 ASSESSMENT

Checking for Understanding

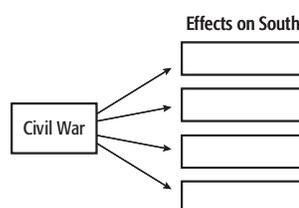
- Define:** Reconstruction, amnesty, pocket veto, freedmen.
- Identify:** Thaddeus Stevens, Radical Republicans, Wade-Davis Bill, Freedmen’s Bureau.
- Explain** why the efforts to provide African Americans with their own land failed.

Reviewing Themes

- Groups and Institutions** What services did the Freedmen’s Bureau provide to Southern refugees and to newly freed people?

Critical Thinking

- Analyzing** What are the benefits of a compromise such as the Wade-Davis Bill to a government? What are the drawbacks?
- Categorizing** Use a graphic organizer similar to the one below to list the effects of the Civil War on the South.



Analyzing Visuals

- Examining Photographs** Study the National Geographic photograph of formerly enslaved women on the previous page. How would you describe the women’s environment? Do you think there were other books in the house?

Writing About History

- Descriptive Writing** Take on the role of a Southerner after the Civil War. Write a journal entry describing the postwar South and what you hope the future will hold for the South.

Social Studies SKILLBUILDER

Interpreting Political Cartoons

Why Learn This Skill?

Do you enjoy reading the comics section in the newspaper? Many people enjoy reading comic strips. Cartoons also appear on the editorial page. These cartoons express opinions on political issues. Political cartoons are good sources of historical information because they reflect opinions on current events.

Learning the Skill

Political cartoonists rely mostly on images to communicate a message. By using *caricatures* and *symbols*, political cartoonists help readers see relationships and draw conclusions about events. A caricature exaggerates a detail, such as a subject's features, in a drawing. Cartoonists use caricature to create a positive or negative impression of a subject. For example, if a cartoon shows one figure three times larger than another, it implies that the larger figure is more powerful than the smaller one or perhaps is a bully.

A symbol is an image or object that represents something else. For example, a cartoonist may use a crown to represent a monarch. Symbols often represent nations or political parties. The bald eagle and Uncle Sam are common symbols for the

United States, a bear often stands for Russia, and a dragon might be used to represent China.

To analyze a political cartoon, first identify the topic and main characters. Then read labels and messages and note relationships between the figures and

symbols. Review your knowledge of the cartoon's topic to determine the cartoonist's viewpoint and message.

Practicing the Skill

The political cartoon on this page, published in an 1872 newspaper, makes a statement about the Reconstruction years. After the Civil War, Southerners gave the nickname "carpetbaggers" to Northerners who moved South. Southerners claimed Northerners came with nothing but a small bag made from carpet fabric, ready to gain wealth at Southerners' expense. Study the cartoon, and then answer the following questions.

- 1 The figure at the top is President Ulysses S. Grant. What symbols are surrounding him? What do these symbols represent? Why do you think Grant is placed among them?
- 2 In what symbol is Grant sitting? What might this object represent?
- 3 What symbols depict the North? How are they shown? What does this imply about the North's feelings about Reconstruction?
- 4 Summarize the cartoonist's opinion of Reconstruction and explain why you agree or disagree with this point of view.

Skills Assessment

Complete the Practicing Skills questions on page 409 and the Chapter 12 Skill Reinforcement Activity to assess your mastery of this skill.

Applying the Skill

Interpreting Political Cartoons Find a political cartoon in a newspaper or magazine. If an editorial appears with the cartoon, read that as well. Write a summary of the cartoon's message and explain whether or not you agree with this message.



Glencoe's **Skillbuilder Interactive Workbook CD-ROM, Level 2**, provides instruction and practice in key social studies skills.



Congressional Reconstruction

Guide to Reading

Main Idea

Dissatisfied with the president's lenient policies toward the South, Congress seized control of Reconstruction.

Key Terms and Names

black codes, Civil Rights Act, Fourteenth Amendment, Military Reconstruction Act, Tenure of Office Act, impeach

Reading Strategy

Categorizing As you read about Reconstruction, complete a graphic organizer like the one below to show how each piece of legislation listed affected African Americans.

Legislation	Effect
black codes	
Civil Rights Act of 1866	
Fourteenth Amendment	
Fifteenth Amendment	

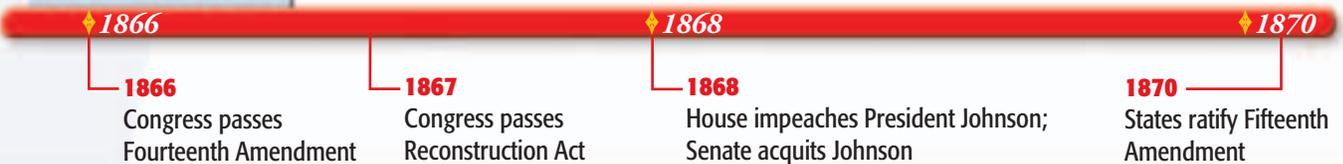
Reading Objectives

- **Analyze** the Reconstruction dispute between President Johnson and Congress.
- **Describe** the major features of congressional Reconstruction.

Section Theme

Civic Rights and Responsibilities
Congressional Reconstruction promoted civil rights for formerly enslaved persons.

Preview of Events



Charles Sumner

★ An American Story ★

Tensions ran high in the nation's capital as Congress reconvened in December 1865. President Andrew Johnson had implemented his Reconstruction plan, which was lenient toward the South, despite strong opposition by many members of Congress. One of the more vocal critics was Massachusetts senator Charles Sumner. Sumner advocated greater rights for formerly enslaved people and stronger punishment for the South. Just days before Christmas, Sumner expressed his distrust of the former Confederate states:

“They will continue to assert the inferiority of the African, and they would today, if possible, precipitate the United States into a foreign war, believing that they could then reassert and obtain their independence. . . . On the whole, looking at the affair from all sides, it amounts to just this: If the Northern people are content to be ruled over by the Southerners, they will continue in the Union, if not, the first chance they get they will rise again.”

—quoted in *Charles Sumner*

Johnson Takes Office

Lincoln's assassination dramatically changed the politics of Reconstruction. Lincoln's vice president, Andrew Johnson, now became president. Johnson had been a Democrat living in Tennessee before the Civil War. He had served as a mayor and state legislator before being elected to the United States Senate. When Tennessee seceded from the

Why It Matters

The Fourteenth Amendment

Key provisions of the Fourteenth Amendment (1868) made all persons born in the United States citizens of both the nation and the state where they resided. States were prohibited from abridging the rights of citizenship or depriving persons of due process and equal protection of the law. The Supreme Court has often cited the Fourteenth Amendment when reviewing whether state or federal laws and actions violate the Constitution. The Court continues to do so today.



1954

In *Brown v. Board of Education*, the Court found that segregated education denied minority schoolchildren like Linda Brown (far left) the equal protection of the laws provided by the Fourteenth Amendment. This decision partially reversed *Plessy v. Ferguson*.

Testing the Fourteenth Amendment

1896

1896

In *Plessy v. Ferguson*, the Supreme Court decided that Jim Crow laws—state-mandated segregation of public facilities such as railroad cars—did not violate the Fourteenth Amendment. The Court ruled that separate facilities could be equal and allowed segregation to continue.

1954



Union, Johnson remained loyal and stayed in the Senate, making him a hero in the North.

As Union troops advanced into Tennessee in 1862, Lincoln appointed Johnson military governor of the state. The president then approved Johnson's nomination as vice president in 1864, hoping to convince some Democrats to vote for the Republicans. Johnson was hot-tempered and stubborn at times, but, like Lincoln, he believed that a moderate policy was needed to bring the South back into the Union and to win Southern loyalty.

Johnson's Plan In the summer of 1865, with Congress in recess, Johnson began to implement what he called his restoration program, which closely resembled Lincoln's plan. In late May 1865, he issued a new Proclamation of Amnesty to supplement the one Lincoln had issued earlier. Johnson offered to pardon all former citizens of the Confederacy who took an oath of loyalty to the Union and to return their property. He excluded from the pardon former Confederate officers and officials as well as all former Confederates who owned property worth more than \$20,000. These were the people—the rich planter elite—who Johnson believed had caused the Civil War. Those who were excluded could apply to the president individually for a pardon for their acts during the war.

On the same day he issued the Proclamation of Amnesty, Johnson issued another proclamation for North Carolina. This became a model of how he wanted to restore the South to the Union. Under it, each former Confederate state had to call a constitutional convention to revoke its ordinance of secession and ratify the Thirteenth Amendment. The conventions also had to reject all Civil War debts.

The former Confederate states, for the most part, met Johnson's conditions. While the Southern states organized their new governments and elected people to Congress, Johnson began granting pardons to thousands of Southerners.

By the time Congress gathered for its next session in December 1865, Johnson's plan was well underway. Many members of Congress were astonished and angered when they realized that Southern voters had elected to Congress many former Confederate officers and political leaders, including Alexander Stephens, the former vice president of the Confederacy. Many Radical and moderate Republicans found this unacceptable and voted to reject the new Southern members of Congress.

Black Codes The election of former Confederates to Congress was not the only development that angered congressional Republicans. The new Southern state legislatures also passed a series of

1963

In *Gideon v. Wainright*, the Supreme Court ruled that the state of Florida had violated the due process clause when it refused to appoint a lawyer to represent Clarence Gideon (right). The ruling extended the Bill of Rights to state courts.



1963

2000

2000

In the disputed presidential race between George W. Bush and Al Gore, the Supreme Court decided a crucial case based on the Fourteenth Amendment. Justices argued that a lack of uniform standards for hand recounts of ballots in Florida would violate the equal protection of all the state's voters. The decision allowed Bush to claim a controversial victory.



laws known as **black codes**, which severely limited African Americans' rights in the South.

The black codes varied from state to state, but they all seemed intended to keep African Americans in a condition similar to slavery. African Americans were generally required to enter into annual labor contracts. African American children had to accept apprenticeships in some states and could be whipped or beaten while serving in these apprenticeships. Several state codes set specific work hours for African Americans and required them to get licenses to work in nonagricultural jobs.

The black codes enraged many Northerners. Gideon Welles, the secretary of the navy, warned, "The entire South seem to be stupid and vindictive, know not their friends, and are pursuing just the course which their opponents, the Radicals, desire."

Reading Check **Summarizing** Who did President Johnson blame for the Civil War?

Radical Republicans Take Control

The election of former Confederates to office and the introduction of the black codes convinced many moderate Republicans to join the Radicals in opposing Johnson's Reconstruction policies. In late 1865, House and Senate Republicans created the Joint

Committee on Reconstruction. Their goal was to develop their own program for rebuilding the Union.

The Fourteenth Amendment In March 1866, in an effort to override the black codes, Congress passed the **Civil Rights Act** of 1866. The act granted citizenship to all persons born in the United States except Native Americans. It allowed African Americans to own property and stated that they were to be treated equally in court. It also gave the federal government the power to sue people who violated those rights.

Fearing that the Civil Rights Act might be overturned in court, the Republicans introduced the

Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution. This amendment granted citizenship to all persons born or naturalized in the United States and declared that no state could deprive any person of life, liberty, or property "without due process of law." It also declared that no state could deny any person "equal protection of the laws."

Increasing violence in the South convinced moderate Republicans to support the amendment. The most dramatic incident occurred in Memphis, Tennessee, in May 1866. White mobs killed 46 African Americans, and burned hundreds of black homes, churches, and schools. Congress passed the amendment in June 1866 and sent it to the states for ratification.

The Election of 1866 President Johnson attacked the Fourteenth Amendment and made it the major issue of the 1866 congressional elections. He hoped Northern voters would turn against the Radical Republicans and elect a new majority in Congress that would support his plan for Reconstruction.

As the election campaign got under way, more violence erupted in the South. In July 1866, a white mob attacked delegates to a convention in New Orleans supporting voting rights for African Americans. As Johnson attacked Radical Republicans, Republicans responded by accusing Democrats of being traitors and starting the Civil War. When the votes were counted, the Republicans achieved an overwhelming victory, winning an approximate three-to-one majority in Congress.

CLICK HERE

HISTORY Online

Student Web Activity Visit the *American Vision* Web site at tav.glencoe.com and click on **Student Web Activities—Chapter 12** for an activity on Reconstruction.



Military District Commander

- General John Schofield
- General Daniel Sickles
- General John Pope
- General Edward Ord
- General Philip Sheridan

1870 Date of readmission to union



With military officers supervising the registration of voters, the Southern states began holding elections and organizing constitutional conventions. By the end of 1868, six former Confederate states—North Carolina, South Carolina, Florida, Alabama, Louisiana, and Arkansas—had met all of the requirements and were readmitted to the Union.

Impeachment The Republicans knew they had the votes to override any veto of their policies, but they also knew that President Johnson could still interfere with their plans by refusing to enforce the laws they passed. Although they distrusted Johnson, Republicans in Congress knew that Secretary of War Edwin M. Stanton agreed with their program and would enforce it. They also trusted General Ulysses S. Grant, the head of the army, to support the policies of Congress.

To prevent Johnson from bypassing Grant or firing Stanton, Congress passed the Command of the Army Act and the **Tenure of Office Act**. The Command of the Army Act required all orders from the president to go through the headquarters of the general of the army—Grant’s headquarters. The Tenure of Office Act required the Senate to approve the removal of any government official, including Stanton, whose appointment had required the Senate’s consent.

Determined to challenge the Tenure of Office Act, Johnson fired Stanton on February 21, 1868. Stanton barricaded himself inside his office and refused to leave. Three days later, the House of Representatives voted to **impeach** Johnson, meaning that they charged him with “high crimes and misdemeanors” in office. The main charge against Johnson was that he had broken the law by refusing to uphold the Tenure of Office Act. Also, because Johnson had removed four commanders in the Southern military districts who supported the Republicans, the House charged him with attempting to undermine the Reconstruction program.

Geography Skills

1. **Interpreting Maps** Only one former Confederate state was not part of a military district. What was it?
2. **Applying Geography Skills** How many years after the war was the last Southern state readmitted to the Union?

Military Reconstruction In March 1867, Congressional Republicans passed the **Military Reconstruction Act**, which essentially wiped out Johnson’s programs. The act divided the former Confederacy, except for Tennessee—which had ratified the Fourteenth Amendment in 1866—into five military districts. A Union general was placed in charge of each district.

In the meantime, each former Confederate state had to hold another constitutional convention to design a constitution acceptable to Congress. The new state constitutions had to give the right to vote to all adult male citizens, regardless of their race. After a state had ratified its new constitution, it had to ratify the Fourteenth Amendment before it would be allowed to elect people to Congress.

As provided in the Constitution, the Senate then put the president on trial. If two-thirds of the senators found the president guilty, he would be removed from office. For more than two months the Senate debated the president's fate. On May 16, 1868, the Senate voted 35 to 19 that Johnson was guilty of high crimes and misdemeanors—just one vote short of what was needed for conviction. Seven Republican senators joined with the Democrats in refusing to convict Johnson. These senators believed that it would set a dangerous precedent to impeach a president simply because he did not agree with congressional policies.

The Election of 1868 Although Johnson remained in office, the impeachment stripped him of what little power he had left. Demoralized, he finished his term quietly and did not run for election in 1868. The logical candidate for the Republicans was General Grant, the most popular war hero in the North. In 1868 the Republican convention unanimously nominated Grant to run for president.

During the campaign, ongoing violence in the South convinced many Northern voters that the South could not be trusted to reorganize its state governments without military supervision. At the same time, the presence of Union troops in the South enabled African Americans to vote in large numbers. As a result, Grant won six Southern states and most of the Northern states. The Republicans retained large majorities in both houses of Congress.

The Fifteenth Amendment With their majority securely established and a trusted president in office, congressional Republicans moved rapidly to continue

Fact

Fiction

Folklore

Expanding the Nation An important diplomatic achievement during President Andrew Johnson's administration was the purchase of Alaska in 1867. Secretary of State William H. Seward orchestrated the deal, buying the vast expanse of wilderness from Russia for \$7.2 million. Initially, the public ridiculed the purchase. Critics labeled the newly acquired territory "Seward's Icebox." Eventually, Americans recognized the value of the region, which turned out to be rich in such resources as oil and gold.



their Reconstruction program. Recognizing the importance of African American suffrage, the Republican-led Congress passed the **Fifteenth Amendment** to the Constitution. This amendment declared that the right to vote "shall not be denied . . . on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude." By March 1870, enough states had ratified the amendment to make it part of the Constitution.

Radical Reconstruction had a dramatic impact on the South, particularly in the short term. It changed Southern politics by bringing hundreds of thousands of African Americans into the political process for the first time. It also began to change Southern society. As it did so, it angered many white Southerners, who began to fight back against the federal government's policies.

Reading Check Identifying What two laws did the Radical Republicans pass to reduce presidential power?

SECTION 2 ASSESSMENT

Checking for Understanding

- Define:** **black codes**, **impeach**.
- Identify:** Civil Rights Act, Fourteenth Amendment, Military Reconstruction Act, Tenure of Office Act.
- Evaluate** why the congressional election of 1866 was significant to the Radical Republicans.

Reviewing Themes

- Civic Rights and Responsibilities** What actions by the Radical Republicans were intended to protect the civil rights of African Americans?

Critical Thinking

- Evaluating** Do you think Presidents Lincoln and Johnson were wise in not seeking harsh treatment of the Southern states? Why or why not?
- Taking Notes** Use an outline similar to the one below to list the major events of congressional Reconstruction.

I. Johnson Takes Office
 A.
 B.
 C.
 II.
 A.
 B.
 C.

Analyzing Visuals

- Analyzing Maps** Study the map of Military Districts on page 394. Then list the Confederate states that were readmitted to the Union in 1868, the earliest year for any such state to gain readmission.

Writing About History

- Persuasive Writing** Imagine that you are a citizen during Andrew Johnson's administration. Write a letter to a member of Congress urging him to vote either for or against Johnson's impeachment. Include reasons for your position.



Eyewitness

WILLIAM H. CROOKE served as a bodyguard for President Andrew Johnson and witnessed the decisive vote by Edmund Ross during the impeachment trial in the Senate on Saturday, May 16, 1868. Here, Crooke recalls the scene:

The tension grew. There was a weary number of names before that of Ross was reached. When the clerk called it, and Ross [senator from Kansas] stood forth, the crowd held its breath.

‘Not guilty,’ called the senator from Kansas. It was like the babbling [sic] over of a caldron. The Radical Senators, who had been laboring with Ross only a short time before, turned to him in rage; all over the house people began to stir. The rest of the roll-call was listened to with lessened interest. . . . When it was over, and the result—35 to 19—was announced, there was a wild outburst, chiefly groans of anger and disappointment, for the friends of the president were in the minority.

It was all over in a moment, and Mr. Johnson was ordering some whiskey from the cellar. [President Johnson was not convicted.]

VERBATIM

“If the South is ever to be made a safe Republic, let her lands be cultivated by the toil of the owners, or the free labor of intelligent citizens.”

THADDEUS STEVENS,
arguing for land redistribution in
the South during Reconstruction

“In the South, the [Civil] war is what A.D. is elsewhere; they date from it.”

MARK TWAIN,
from *Life on the Mississippi*

“For we colored people did not know how to be free and the white people did not know how to have a free colored person about them.”

HOUSTON HARTSFIELD HOLLOWAY,
freedman, on the problem of
Reconstruction

“As in the war, freedom was the keynote of victory, so now is universal suffrage the keynote of Reconstruction.”

ELIZABETH CADY STANTON,
arguing for universal suffrage, 1867

“We thought we was goin’ to be richer than the white folks, ’cause we was stronger and knowed how to work, and the whites didn’t and they didn’t have us to work for them anymore. But it didn’t turn out that way. We soon found out that freedom could make folks proud but it didn’t make ’em rich.”

FELIX HAYWOOD,
former slave

PRESIDENTIAL SUPERLATIVES



Andrew Johnson

While he was neither “first in war, first in peace” nor “first in the hearts of his countrymen,” President Andrew Johnson left his mark on history:

- First to have never attended school
- First to be impeached
- First to be elected to the Senate both before and after being president
- First to host a queen at the White House
- First tailor/president who made his own clothes
- Last not to attend successor’s inauguration
- Most vetoes overridden
- Father of the Homestead Act

(Re)inventing America

Patents awarded to African American inventors during the Reconstruction period:

ALEXANDER ASHBOURNE biscuit cutter

LANDROW BELL locomotive smokestack

LEWIS HOWARD LATIMER water closets (toilets) for railway cars, electric lamp with cotton filament, dough kneader

THOMAS ELKINS refrigerator with cooling coils

THOMAS J. MARTIN fire extinguisher

ELIJAH McCOY automatic oil cup and 57 other devices and machine parts, including an ironing board and lawn sprinkler



BETTMANN/COORBIS

Refrigerators keep foods cool.

Milestones

REEXAMINED. THE ROMANTIC STORY OF POCAHONTAS, based on the written account of Captain John Smith. The *London Spectator*, reporting on the work of Mr. E. Neils, debunks Smith's tale of the young Pocahontas flinging herself between him and her father's club. The young girl was captured and held prisoner on board a British ship and then forcibly married to Mr. John Rolfe. Comments *Appleton's Journal* in 1870: "All that is heroic, picturesque, or romantic in history seems to be rapidly disappearing under the microscopic scrutiny of modern critics."

FOUNDED, 1877. NICODEMUS, KANSAS, by six African American and two white Kansans. On the high, arid plains of Graham County, the founders hope to establish a community of homesteading former slaves.

TOPPED, 1875. THE ONE MILLION MARK FOR POPULATION, by New York City. New York is the ninth city in the history of the world to achieve a population level of more than one million. The first was Rome in 133 B.C.



MPI/HULTON GETTY PICTURE LIBRARY/ALANSON

Pocahontas

EXTINGUISHED, 1871. THE PESHTIGO FOREST FIRE in Wisconsin. The conflagration caused 2,682 deaths. The Peshtigo tragedy has been overshadowed by the Great Chicago Fire of the same year, which killed 300.

PUBLISHED, 1865. DRUM TAPS, by Walt Whitman. Based on his experiences as a hospital volunteer, Whitman's new poems chronicle the horrors of the Civil War.

THROWN, 1867. FIRST CURVEBALL, by William A. "Candy" Cummings of the Brooklyn Excelsiors. In a game against Harvard, pitcher Cummings put a spin on the ball to make it swerve downward. Most spectators thought the ball's curved path was an illusion.

NUMBERS

\$7,200,000

Purchase price paid by U.S. to Russia for Alaska in 1867

2¢ Price paid per acre for Alaska

\$30 Boarding and tuition, per quarter, at Saint Frances Academy, boarding school for African American girls in Baltimore, Maryland. Students come from states as distant as Florida and Missouri for an education "productive of the happiest effects among individuals and in society."

\$5 Extra charge for instruction in embroidery

\$25 Extra charge for instruction in making wax fruit

\$3 Tuition, per quarter, for local "day scholars"

5,407 Number of pupils in Mississippi Freedmen's schools in 1866

50 Number of schools established for freed African Americans in Mississippi in 1866

20% Percentage of state income of Mississippi spent on artificial arms and legs for war veterans in 1866



LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

Freedmen's classroom

SECTION 3 Republican Rule

Guide to Reading

Main Idea

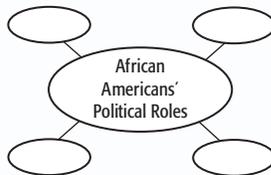
Under Republican rule, the South began to rebuild. African Americans gained new opportunities, and some Southerners organized to resist the Republicans.

Key Terms and Names

carpetbagger, scalawag, Joseph Rainey, Hiram Revels, graft, Ku Klux Klan Act

Reading Strategy

Organizing As you read about Southern attempts to rebuild, complete a graphic organizer to identify how African Americans helped govern the Reconstruction South.



Reading Objectives

- **Discuss** Republican rule in the South during Reconstruction.
- **Describe** how African Americans worked to improve their lives.

Section Theme

Groups and Institutions Despite opposition, African Americans took active roles in politics during Reconstruction.

Preview of Events



Early KKK robe and hood

★ An American Story ★

On a moonlit December night in the late 1860s, Essie Harris, a formerly enslaved man, woke suddenly after hearing loud noises outside his small home in Chatham County, North Carolina. He peered out his bedroom window and a wave of terror rushed over him. Thirty men in white robes and hoods stood around the house. Many held shotguns. They were members of the Ku Klux Klan, an organization that used violence and intimidation to force African Americans and white Republicans out of Southern politics. They had come to harass Harris, who was active in local politics.

As Klan members began firing shotgun blasts at his home, Harris pushed his family into a corner and grabbed his own shotgun. He rushed to the front door and fired back, then shouted to one of his children, "Boy, bring my five-shooter!" Harris had no such gun, but his bluff worked. The Klan members cursed Harris and rode off, but they would return. They continued harassing Harris until he abandoned his home and moved to another county.

—adapted from *The Fiery Cross*

Republican Rule in the South

By late 1870, all of the former Confederate states had rejoined the Union under the congressional Reconstruction plan. Throughout the South, the Republican Party took power and introduced several major reforms. Most white Southerners scorned the Republicans, however, partly because the party included Northerners and African Americans. Southerners also believed the Union army had forced the new Republican governments on them.

Carpetbaggers and Scalawags As Reconstruction began many Northerners moved to the South. Quite a few were eventually elected or appointed to positions in the South's new state governments. Southerners, particularly Democratic Party supporters, referred to these newcomers as **carpetbaggers** because some arrived with suitcases made of carpet fabric. Many local residents viewed the Northerners as intruders seeking to exploit the South.

Some carpetbaggers did seek to take advantage of the war-torn region. Others, however, hoped to find more opportunities than existed for them in the North and West. Some simply wanted to help. Many Northern schoolteachers, for example, moved south to help educate whites and African Americans.

While many Southerners despised carpetbaggers, they also disliked white Southerners who worked with the Republicans and supported Reconstruction. They called these people **scalawags**—an old Scotch-Irish term for weak, underfed, worthless animals.

The scalawags were a diverse group. Some were former Whigs who had grudgingly joined the Democratic Party before the war. Many were owners of small farms who did not want the wealthy

planters to regain power. Still others were business people who favored Republican plans for developing the South's economy.

African Americans Enter Politics Thousands of formerly enslaved people also took part in governing the South. Having gained the right to vote, African Americans quickly began organizing politically. "You never saw a people more excited on the subject of politics than are the [African Americans] of the South," wrote one plantation manager.

At first, African American leaders in the South came from those who had been educated before the war. These included artisans, shopkeepers, and ministers. Many had lived in the North and fought in the Union army. Helped by the Republican Party, these African

Americans delivered speeches to former plantation workers, drawing them into politics.

Within a few remarkable years, African Americans went from enslaved workers to legislators and administrators on nearly all levels of government. Hundreds of formerly enslaved people served as delegates to state constitutional conventions. They also won election to numerous local offices, from mayor to police chief to school commissioner. Dozens of



Carpetbag

Profiles IN HISTORY

Hiram Revels 1822–1901

For a man reluctant to enter politics, Hiram Revels went a long way—becoming the first African American in the United States Senate. Revels was born to free parents in Fayetteville, North Carolina. In 1845 he became a minister in the African Methodist Church. Soon after, Revels settled in Baltimore, where he worked as a church pastor and as the principal of an African American school.

After the Civil War, Revels settled in Natchez, Mississippi, where he continued his religious work. At first, Revels expressed reluctance to wade too deeply into politics, but he overcame this concern and won the respect of both whites and African Americans. In 1870 Revels was elected to the Senate. The first African American senator, he served in a subdued manner, speaking much less than other African American members of Congress. Upon his retirement from the Senate, Revels served twice as president of Alcorn University, an African American college in Mississippi.



Joseph Rainey 1832–1887

At the outbreak of the Civil War, Joseph Rainey was working as a barber in Georgetown, South Carolina. Less than 10 years later, he became the first African American elected to the U.S. House of Representatives.

Rainey was born to enslaved parents who bought their freedom in the 1840s. They opened a barbershop, where Rainey worked until the war broke out. After the war, Rainey entered politics, and in 1870 he was elected to the House of Representatives, serving in Congress until 1879.

As the body's first African American, Rainey found himself the object of intense scrutiny. During this time, he showed considerable knowledge of politics and made impressive speeches in favor of legislation to enforce the Fourteenth Amendment and the Ku Klux Klan Act. Throughout his tenure in Congress, Rainey worked tirelessly—both in and out of the House chamber—to advance African American civil rights.



African Americans served in Southern state legislatures, while 14 were elected to the House of Representatives and 2 to the Senate.

With formerly enslaved people making such political gains, many Southerners claimed that “Black Republicanism” ruled the South. Such claims, however, were greatly exaggerated. No African American was ever elected governor. In South Carolina, where African Americans made up a majority of the population, they did achieve a majority in the legislature, but it lasted for only one legislative term. African Americans participated in government, but they did not control it.

The Republican Party took power in the South because it also had the support of a large number of white Southerners. Poor white farmers, who resented the planters and the Democratic Party that dominated the South before the Civil War, often joined with African American voters to elect Republicans.

Republican Reforms in the South The newly elected Republican governments in the South quickly instituted a number of reforms. They repealed the black codes and made many more state offices elective. They established state hospitals and institutions for orphans, the hearing and visually impaired, and the mentally ill. They rebuilt roads, railways, and bridges and provided funds for the construction of

Schools for African Americans O.O. Howard, head of the Freedmen’s Bureau, is pictured here (seated, far right) with the students of a Freedmen’s school.



new railroads and industries in the South. They also established a system of public schools.

The Republican reforms did not come without cost. Many state governments were forced to borrow money and to impose high property taxes to pay for the repairs and new programs. Many property owners, unable to pay these new taxes, lost their land.

Although many Republicans wanted to help the South, others were corrupt. One Republican governor admitted accepting more than \$40,000 in bribes. **Graft**, or gaining money illegally through politics, was common in the South, just as it was in the North at the time, but it gave Southern Democrats another issue that would help them regain power in the 1870s.

Reading Check Summarizing What three groups helped elect Republicans in the South during Reconstruction?

African American Communities

In addition to their efforts on the political stage, African Americans worked to improve their lives in other ways during Reconstruction. Many sought to gain an education and establish their own thriving communities.

A Desire to Learn Once they were freed, many African Americans wanted to get an education. In the first years of Reconstruction, the Freedmen’s Bureau, with the help of Northern charities, established schools for African Americans across the South. By 1870 some 4,000 schools and 9,000 teachers—half of them African American—taught 200,000 formerly enslaved people of all ages. In the 1870s, Reconstruction governments built a comprehensive public school system in the South, and by 1876 about 40 percent of all African American children (roughly 600,000 students) attended school in the region.

Several African American academies offering advanced education also began operating in the South. These academies grew into an important network of African American colleges and universities, including Fisk University in Tennessee and Atlanta University and Morehouse College in Georgia.

Churches and Social Organizations

With the same determination they showed in pursuing an education, formerly enslaved people across the South worked to

Different Viewpoints

Carpetbaggers: Corrupt or Well-Intentioned?

According to Southerners, many carpetbaggers were corrupt Northerners who came south to get rich or to get elected. Films like *Gone with the Wind* influenced many generations to accept this view. The opposing interpretation argues that Northerners were not necessarily corrupt but often simply wanted to make new lives or aid African Americans.

In 1871 Oliver Morton, a Radical Republican senator from Indiana, defended Northerners who relocated to the South, claiming they were beneficial to that region:

“When the war ended many men who had been in the Union army remained in the South, intending to make it their home. . . . Others emigrated from the North, taking with them large capital, believing that the South presented fine prospects for business. . . . It so happened, and was, in fact, necessary, that many of these men should be elected to office. This was their right and the natural result of the circumstances by which they were surrounded. . . . Emigration is a part of the genius of the American people. . . . it is an odious and anti-American doctrine that a man has no right to be elected to an office in a State because he was not born in it. . . . What the South needs is emigrants with carpet bags well filled with capital to revive industry. . . .”

—quoted in *Reconstruction: Opposing Viewpoints*

In an 1871 question-and-answer session before Congress, William Manning Lowe, a former Confederate colonel and Alabama lawyer, criticized his state’s U.S. senators, Willard Warner and George Spencer. Both were originally from Northern states:

“[A] carpet-bagger is generally understood to be a man who comes here for office sake, of an ignorant or bad character, and who seeks to array the Negroes against the whites . . . in order to get office through them. . . . (The term) does not apply to all northern men who come here. . . . We regard any republican or any man as a man of bad character, whether he is native or foreign born, who seeks to obtain office from the Negroes by exciting their passions and prejudices against the whites. We think that a very great evil—very great. We are intimately associated with the Negro race; we have a large number in the country, and we think it essential that we shall live in peace together. . . . No, sir; the term is never applied to a democrat under any circumstances. . . .”

—quoted in *Reconstruction: Opposing Viewpoints*

Learning From History

- 1. Evaluating** Which of these two viewpoints most accurately describes carpetbaggers? Why?
- 2. Analyzing** Choose one of the viewpoints above. Write three questions you would like to ask your chosen speaker.

establish their own churches. Religion had long played a central role in the lives of many African Americans, and with the shackles of slavery now gone, the building of churches quickly began.

Churches served as the center of many African American communities, as they housed schools and hosted social events and political gatherings. In rural areas, church picnics, festivals, and other activities provided residents with many of their recreational and social opportunities. In many communities, churches often acted as unofficial courts by promoting social values, settling disputes among residents, and disciplining individuals for improper behavior.

African Americans also established thousands of other organizations to help and support each other. These organizations ranged from burial societies and debating clubs to drama societies and trade associations.

 **Reading Check** **Examining** How did education for African Americans change during Reconstruction?

Southern Resistance

At the same time these changes were taking place, African Americans faced intense resentment from many Southern whites. Many Southerners also

despised the “Black Republican” governments, which they believed vindictive Northerners had forced upon them.

The Ku Klux Klan Unable to strike openly at the Republicans running their states, some Southerners organized secret societies. The largest of these groups was the Ku Klux Klan. Started in 1866 by former Confederate soldiers in Pulaski, Tennessee, the Klan spread rapidly throughout the South. Its goal was to drive out the Union troops and carpetbaggers and regain control of the South for the Democratic Party.

Hooded, white-robed Klan members rode in bands at night terrorizing supporters of the Republican governments. They broke up Republican meetings, drove Freedmen’s Bureau officials out of their communities, burned African American homes, schools, and churches, and attempted to keep African Americans and white Republicans from voting.

Republicans and African Americans formed their own militia groups and fought back. As the violence perpetrated by both sides increased, one African American organization sent a report to the federal government asking for help:

“We believe you are not familiar with the description of the Ku Klux Klan’s riding nightly over the country, going from county to county, and in the county towns spreading terror wherever they go by robbing, whipping, ravishing, and killing our people without provocation. . . . We pray you will take some steps to remedy these evils.”

—from the Records of the U.S. Senate, 42nd Congress



Picturing History

Enforcement Efforts In 1871 President Grant signed an anti-Ku Klux Klan Bill. **What actions did the Klan take to interfere with African American voting rights?**

The Enforcement Acts The Ku Klux Klan’s activities outraged President Grant and congressional Republicans. In 1870 and 1871, Congress passed three Enforcement Acts to combat the violence in the South. The first act made it a federal crime to interfere with a citizen’s right to vote. The second put federal elections under the supervision of federal marshals. The third act, also known as the **Ku Klux Klan Act**, outlawed the activities of the Klan. Local authorities and federal agents, acting under the Enforcement Acts, arrested more than 3,000 Klan members throughout the South. Southern juries, however, convicted only about 600, and fewer still served any time in prison.

Reading Check **Describing** Why did Congress pass the Enforcement Acts?

SECTION 3 ASSESSMENT

Checking for Understanding

- Define:** *carpetbagger, scalawag, graft.*
- Identify:** Joseph Rainey, Hiram Revels, Ku Klux Klan Act.
- Describe** how some white Southerners reacted to the Republican Party gaining power in the South.

Reviewing Themes

- Groups and Institutions** How did the establishment of schools, churches, and social organizations benefit African Americans during Reconstruction?

Critical Thinking

- Analyzing** Why did white Southerners resent both carpetbaggers and scalawags?
- Categorizing** Use a graphic organizer similar to the one below to identify both the negative and positive aspects of carpetbag rule.

Carpetbag Rule	
Positives	Negatives

Analyzing Visuals

- Analyzing Photographs** Study the photograph of the Freedmen’s school on page 400. By 1876, around how many children attended schools such as the one pictured here?

Writing About History

- Descriptive Writing** Imagine you are living in the postwar South. You are either a Northerner who has recently moved there or a longtime Southern resident. Write a friend and describe Southern life as you see it.



Reconstruction Collapses

Guide to Reading

Main Idea

After a little more than a decade, Reconstruction ended shortly after the election of 1876.

Key Terms and Names

"sin tax," Horace Greeley, "Whiskey Ring," Panic of 1873, Compromise of 1877, tenant farmer, sharecropper, furnishing merchant, crop lien, debt peonage

Reading Strategy

Taking Notes As you read about the Grant administration and the end of Reconstruction, use the major headings of the section to create an outline similar to the one below.

I. The Grant Administration
 A.
 B.
 C.
 II.
 A.
 B.

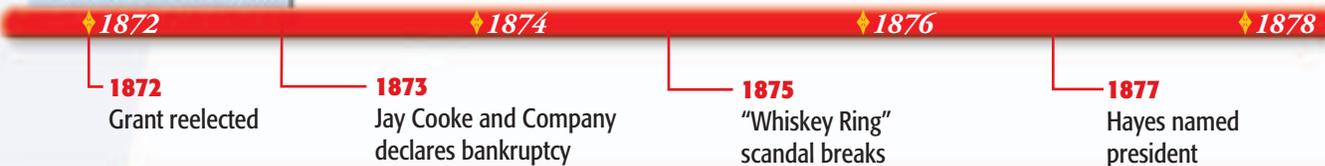
Reading Objectives

- **Discuss** the policies and problems of Grant's administration.
- **Explain** how Reconstruction ended, and contrast the New South and the Old South.

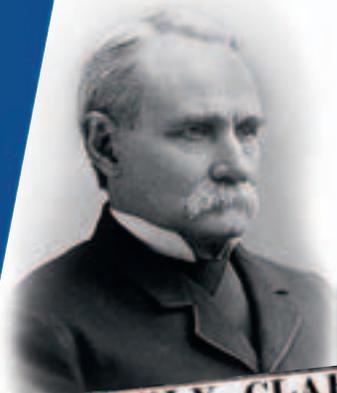
Section Theme

Economic Factors After Reconstruction the South tried to build a new economy, but many problems remained.

Preview of Events



★ An American Story ★



THE WEEKLY CLARION

Ethelbert Barksdale

Ethelbert Barksdale could hardly contain his excitement as the 1875 election campaign in Mississippi wound down. For the past several years, Democrats had steadily regained power throughout the South, winning back various local and state offices from Republicans through political organizing and through intimidation and harassment of African Americans and other Republican supporters.

Barksdale, the editor of the *Weekly Clarion*, a Democratic Mississippi newspaper, now watched with joy and anticipation as Democrats prepared to recapture numerous political offices in his state. To Barksdale and many other white Southerners, the efforts by the Democrats to regain political control was nothing less than a revolution to free the South from despised Republican rule. "When a government is oppressed with very bad rulers, and national affairs are tending toward corruption, the people . . . bear these grievances for a long time hoping that a reformation may come," he wrote on the eve of Election Day.

—adapted from *Reconstruction and Redemption in the South*

The Grant Administration

As commander of the Union forces, Ulysses S. Grant had led the North to victory in the Civil War. His reputation had then carried him into the White House in the election of 1868. Unfortunately, Grant had little experience in politics. He believed that the



Analyzing Political Cartoons

Political Corruption A cartoonist shows the Grant administration looking for those guilty of fraud in a whiskey barrel—symbol of the “Whiskey Ring.” [How far does the cartoonist believe the corruption goes?](#)

president’s role was to carry out the laws and leave the development of policy to Congress. This approach pleased the Radical Republicans in Congress, but it left the president weak and ineffective when dealing with other issues. Eventually, Grant’s lack of political experience helped to divide the Republican Party and to undermine public support for Reconstruction.

The Republicans Split During Grant’s first term in office, the Republican-controlled Congress continued to enforce Reconstruction. At the same time, Congress expanded the programs it had introduced during the Civil War to promote commerce and industry. It kept tariffs high, tightened banking regulations, promised to repay its debts with gold and not paper money, and increased federal spending on railroads, port facilities, and the national postal system.

The Republican Congress also kept in place the taxes on alcohol and tobacco that had been introduced as emergency measures during the war. These taxes, nicknamed “sin taxes,” helped the government pay off the bonds that had been issued to pay for the Civil War.

Democrats attacked these Republican economic policies, arguing they benefited the wealthy, such as government bondholders, at the expense of the poor,

who paid most of the sin taxes. They argued that wealthy Americans were gaining too much influence in Grant’s administration.

Some Republicans, known as Liberal Republicans, agreed with the Democrats. They were concerned that men who were in office to make money and sell influence were beginning to dominate the Republican Party. The Liberal Republicans tried to prevent Grant from being nominated for a second term. When that failed, they left the Republican Party in 1872 and nominated their own candidate, **Horace Greeley**, the influential newspaper publisher.

To attract Southern support, the Liberal Republicans promised to pardon nearly all former Confederates and to remove Union troops from the South. As a result, the Democratic Party, believing that only a united effort would defeat Grant, also nominated Greeley. Despite the split in his own party, Grant won the election easily.

Scandals Mar Grant’s Second Term During Grant’s second term, a series of scandals badly hurt his administration’s reputation. In one scandal, Grant’s secretary of war, **William Belknap**, was found to have accepted bribes from merchants operating at army posts in the West. He was impeached but resigned before the Senate could try him. Then, in 1875, the “**Whiskey Ring**” scandal broke. A group of government officials and distillers in St. Louis cheated the government out of millions of dollars by filing false tax reports. It was reported that Orville E. Babcock, Grant’s private secretary, was in this group, although the charges were never proven.

The Panic of 1873 In addition to dealing with political scandals, Grant and the nation endured a severe economic crisis that began during Grant’s second term. The turmoil started in 1873 when a series of bad railroad investments forced the powerful banking firm of Jay Cooke and Company to declare bankruptcy. A wave of fear known as the **Panic of 1873** quickly spread though the nation’s financial community. The panic prompted scores of smaller banks to close and the stock market to plummet. Thousands of businesses shut down, and tens of thousands of Americans were thrown out of work.

The scandals in the Grant administration and the deepening economic depression hurt the Republicans politically. In the 1874 midterm elections, the Democrats won control of the House of Representatives and made gains in the Senate. These newly elected Democrats immediately

launched investigations into the scandals, further embarrassing Grant and the Republicans.

Reading Check Explaining Why did the Liberal Republicans oppose President Grant?

Reconstruction Ends

The rising power of the Democrats in Congress meant that enforcing Reconstruction policies became more difficult. At the same time, many Northerners were weary of the decade-long struggle to impose a new society on the South. They were more concerned with their own economic problems than with the political situation in the South.

Democrats “Redeem” the South Throughout the 1870s, Southern Democrats had worked to regain control of their state and local governments from Republicans. Southern militia groups intimidated African American and white Republican voters, while some Democrats resorted to various forms of election fraud, such as stuffing ballot boxes, bribing vote counters, and stealing ballot boxes in Republican precincts. Southern Democrats also called on all whites to help “redeem”—or save—the South from “Black Republican” rule.

By appealing to white racism and defining the elections as a struggle between whites and African Americans, Democrats were able to win back the support of white owners of small farms who had supported the Republicans. By 1876 the Democrats had taken control of all Southern state legislatures except those of Louisiana, South Carolina, and Florida. In those states, the large number of African American voters, protected by Union troops, were able to keep the Republicans in power.

TURNING POINT

The Compromise of 1877

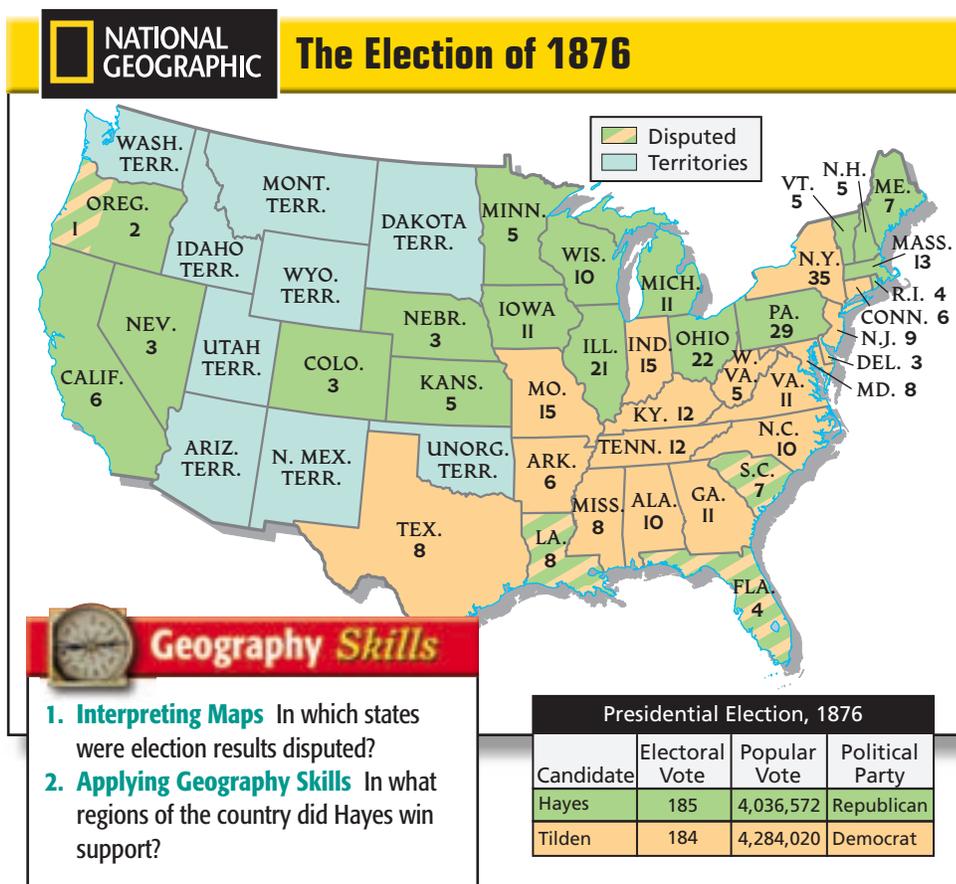
With Grant’s reputation damaged by scandals, the Republicans decided not to nominate him for a third term in 1876. Instead, they nominated **Rutherford B. Hayes**, a

former governor of Ohio. Many Americans regarded Hayes as a moral man untainted by scandal or corruption. Hayes wanted to end Radical Reconstruction.

The Democrats responded by nominating **Samuel Tilden**, a wealthy corporate lawyer and former governor of New York who had tried to end the corruption in New York City’s government. On Election Day, Tilden clearly won 184 electoral votes, 1 short of a majority. Hayes clearly won 165 electoral votes, leaving 20 votes in dispute. Nineteen of the votes were in the three Southern states Republicans still controlled: Louisiana, South Carolina, and Florida. There had been so much election fraud on both sides that no one could tell who had won.

To resolve the situation, Congress appointed a commission of 15 persons made up equally of members of the House, Senate, and Supreme Court. The commission had 8 Republicans and 7 Democrats and eventually voted along party lines—voting 8 to 7 to give the electoral votes to Hayes. The commission’s recommendations, however, were not binding if both houses of Congress rejected them.

After much debate, several Southern Democrats joined with Republicans in the Democrat-controlled House of Representatives and voted to accept the commission’s findings, giving the election to Hayes,





History Through Art

Atlanta Pride The war devastated Georgia's capital, but this painting by Horace James Bradley portrays the city's revival. Bradley called his painting *Commercial Center of Atlanta*. [What elements of the painting show that Atlanta was indeed a commercial center again?](#)

the Republican. Noting that Hayes could not have won without the support of Southern Democrats, many concluded that a deal had been made. This is why the outcome of the election is known as the **Compromise of 1877**. Historians are not sure if a deal really took place or what its exact terms were. The compromise reportedly included a promise by the Republicans to pull federal troops out of the South, if Hayes was elected.

In April 1877, after assuming the presidency, Hayes did pull federal troops out of the South. Without soldiers to support them, the two remaining Republican governments in South Carolina and Louisiana quickly collapsed. The Southern Democrats had “redeemed” the South. Reconstruction was now over.

 **Reading Check** **Explaining** What major issue was settled by the Compromise of 1877?

A “New South” Arises

During his inaugural speech in March 1877, President Hayes expressed his desire to move the country beyond the quarrelsome years of Reconstruction, in

part by putting an end to the nation's regional distinctions. He hoped to narrow the divisions of sectionalism that had long plagued the nation:

“Let me assure my countrymen of the Southern States that it is my earnest desire to regard and promote their truest interests—the interests of the white and colored people both equally—and to put forth my best efforts in behalf of a civil policy which will forever wipe out . . . the distinction between North and South, . . . that we may have not merely a united North or a united South, but a united country.”

—quoted in *Rutherford B. Hayes*

Many Southern leaders realized the South could never return to the pre-Civil War agricultural economy dominated by the planter elite. Instead, these Southerners called for the creation of a “**New South**”—a phrase coined by Henry Grady, editor of the *Atlanta Constitution*. They were convinced that the region had to develop a strong industrial economy.

New Industries An alliance between powerful white Southerners and Northern financiers brought great economic changes to some parts of the South. Northern capital helped to build railroads, and by 1890, almost 40,000 miles of railroad track crisscrossed the South—nearly four times the amount there in 1860. Southern industry also grew. A thriving iron and steel industry developed around Birmingham, Alabama. In North Carolina, tobacco processing became big business, and cotton mills appeared in numerous small towns.

In other ways, however, the South changed little. Despite its industrial growth, the region remained largely agrarian. As late as 1900, only 6 percent of the Southern labor force worked in manufacturing. For many African Americans in particular, the end of Reconstruction meant a return to the “Old South,” where they had little political power and were forced to labor under difficult and unfair conditions.

Sharecropping The collapse of Reconstruction ended African American hopes of being granted their own land in the South. Instead, many returned to plantations owned by whites, where they either worked for wages or became **tenant farmers**, paying rent for the land they farmed. Most tenant farmers eventually became **sharecroppers**. Sharecroppers did not pay their rent in cash. Instead, they paid a share of their crops—often as much as one-half to two-thirds—to cover their rent as well as the cost of the seed, fertilizer, tools, and animals they needed.

Many sharecroppers also needed more seed and other supplies than their landlords could provide. As a result, country stores and local suppliers, known as **furnishing merchants**, provided sharecroppers with the supplies they needed on credit but at interest rates



Picturing History

Sharecroppers at Work This family of formerly enslaved laborers still faced a difficult existence in the postwar South. Unable to purchase their own farmland, sharecroppers often amassed large amounts of debt. **To whom did the sharecroppers owe the most money?**

often as high as 40 percent. To make sure sharecroppers paid their debts, laws allowed merchants to put liens on their crops. These **crop liens** meant that the merchant could take some of the crops to cover the debts.

The crop lien system and high interest rates led many into a financial condition called debt peonage. **Debt peonage** trapped sharecroppers on the land because they could not make enough money to pay off their debts and leave, nor could they declare bankruptcy. Failure to pay off debts could lead to imprisonment or forced labor. The Civil War had ended slavery, but the failure of Reconstruction left many African Americans trapped in economic circumstances where they lost much of their newly gained freedom.

Reading Check **Summarizing** What alliance brought about an economic rebuilding of the South?

SECTION 4 ASSESSMENT

Checking for Understanding

- Define:** “sin tax,” tenant farmer, sharecropper, furnishing merchant, crop lien, debt peonage.
- Identify:** Horace Greeley, “Whiskey Ring,” Panic of 1873, Compromise of 1877.

Reviewing Themes

- Economic Factors** What factors contributed to improving the economy of the South after Reconstruction?

Critical Thinking

- Analyzing** How did the disputed election of 1876 affect Reconstruction policy?
- Organizing** Use a graphic organizer similar to the one below to identify the problems that President Grant’s administration faced.



Analyzing Visuals

- Interpreting Art** Study the Horace Bradley painting on page 406. What details did the artist include in this painting to suggest dynamic activity?

Writing About History

- Expository Writing** Write a short essay explaining what you consider to be the three most important events of the Reconstruction period. Explain why you chose these events.

Reviewing Key Terms

On a sheet of paper, use each of these terms in a sentence.

- | | | |
|-------------------|-----------------|-------------------------|
| 1. Reconstruction | 6. impeach | 11. sharecropper |
| 2. amnesty | 7. carpetbagger | 12. furnishing merchant |
| 3. pocket veto | 8. scalawag | 13. crop lien |
| 4. freedmen | 9. graft | 14. debt peonage |
| 5. black codes | 10. "sin tax" | |

Chapter Summary

Needs of the Postwar South

- Land, infrastructure, and economy needed to be rebuilt
- Refugees and freed African Americans needed assistance

Plans

Wade-Davis Bill

- Required majority of adult white men in the South to pledge loyalty to the Union
- Each state's new constitution had to abolish slavery and deprive former Confederate leaders of voting and public service rights
- Killed by Lincoln's pocket veto

Johnson's Plan

- Amnesty for those taking an oath of loyalty to the Union
- Required states to abolish slavery

Congressional Reconstruction

- Passed the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments
- Military Reconstruction Act divided South into five military districts
- New state constitutions had to guarantee voting rights
- Military rule protected voting rights for African Americans
- Empowered African Americans in government and supported their education

Opposition

Southern Reactions to Federal Reconstruction

- Southerners believed Northern Republicans were taking advantage of the weakened South
- Some Southerners were barred from government service; others refused to participate
- Formed secret societies to undermine Republican rule
- Intimidated African American voters

End

Reconstruction Comes to a Close

- Scandals and economic problems weakened Republican Party
- Disputed election of 1876 brought an end to Reconstruction

Reviewing Key Facts

15. **Identify:** Wade-Davis Bill, Freedmen's Bureau, Military Reconstruction Act, Tenure of Office Act, Panic of 1873.
16. What was the main conflict between Presidents Lincoln and Johnson and Congress over Reconstruction?
17. How did the Civil War affect the South's economy?
18. How did the black codes prevent African Americans from achieving equality?
19. How did African Americans seek to improve their lives once they gained their freedom?
20. What supposedly were the provisions of the Compromise of 1877?
21. What motivated Radical Republicans to pass civil rights legislation on behalf of African Americans?
22. Who was Thaddeus Stevens, and what role did he play in Reconstruction?
23. When was the Ku Klux Klan formed, and what was its goal?
24. What did President Johnson do that convinced Congress that he was not carrying out the laws Congress had passed for Reconstruction?
25. What was the goal of the Tenure of Office Act?
26. What constitutional amendments were Southern states asked to ratify before they could reenter the Union?
27. What tactics did Southern Democrats use to try to regain political power?

Critical Thinking

28. **Analyzing Themes: Civic Rights and Responsibilities** Why did the end of slavery not bring about equality for African Americans?
29. **Forming an Opinion** In your opinion, whose approach to Reconstruction was more appropriate—that of Presidents Lincoln and Johnson or that of Congress? Why do you think so?
30. **Synthesizing** Why did African Americans in the 1870s lose some of the political power that they had gained during Reconstruction?
31. **Making Inferences** Who were the "Black Republicans," and what did this name imply?
32. **Evaluating** What were the main features of Lincoln's plan for Reconstruction? Do you think his plan would have worked? Why or why not?
33. **Analyzing** Some leaders, both Northern and Southern, argued that the South should develop a different kind of economy after the Civil War. What kind of economy did they mean?



Self-Check Quiz

Visit the *American Vision* Web site at tav.glencoe.com and click on **Self-Check Quizzes—Chapter 12** to assess your knowledge of chapter content.

34. **Categorizing** Use a graphic organizer similar to the one below to list the positive and negative aspects of Reconstruction.



Practicing Skills

35. **Interpreting Political Cartoons** Study the political cartoon on page 404. Then use the steps you learned on page 390 to answer the following questions:
- What well-known symbol appears here, and to whom does it refer during this period?
 - What attitude do you think the cartoonist has about promises of reform? Why do you think so?

Geography and History

36. The graph on this page shows agricultural production in the South from 1860 to 1900. Study the graph and answer the questions below.
- Interpreting Graphs** Which crops surpassed pre-Civil War levels of production by 1890?
 - Applying Geography Skills** What factors do you think might have contributed to increased production in the late 1800s?

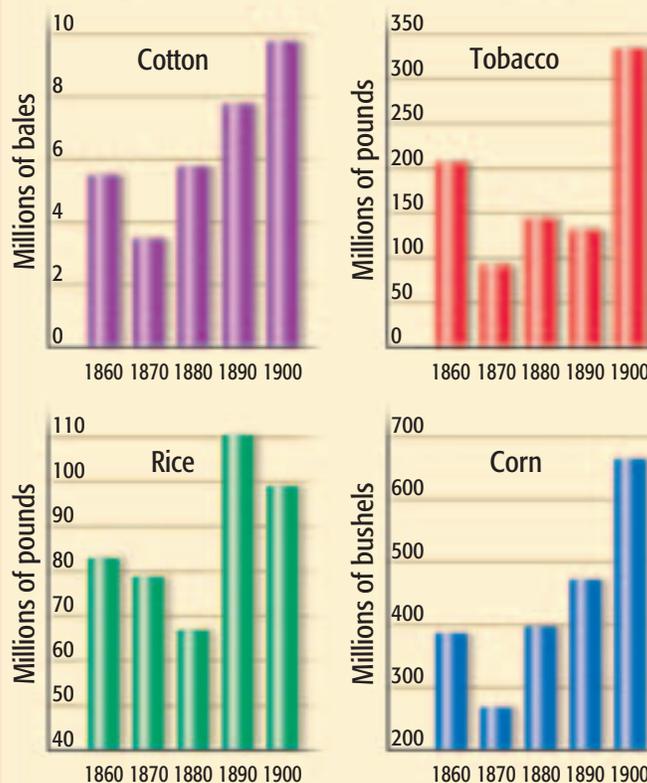
Writing Activity

37. **Portfolio Writing** Choose one of the events of the Reconstruction period discussed in the chapter. Imagine that the radio had been invented at that time. Write a radio news segment in which you provide information about the event and your view of it. Include the script for the radio segment in your portfolio.

Chapter Activities

38. **Research Project** Use library sources to find examples of political cartoons from the Reconstruction era. Create a display of these cartoons, and write a summary of how they illustrate the major issues of the time period.
39. **Technology Activity: Using the Internet** Search the Internet to find information on an aspect of the Reconstruction era, such as Johnson's impeachment or the role of carpetbaggers. Use the information to write a report to present to your class. In your report, be sure to identify the authors or sources of your Web sites.

Agricultural Production in the South, 1860–1900



Source: *Historical Statistics of the South, 1790–1970*



Standardized Test Practice

Directions: Choose the best answer to the following question.

Which of the following statements about the period of Reconstruction after the Civil War is not true?

- To maintain their strength in Congress, Radical Republicans wanted to be certain African Americans voted.
- Some Northern teachers wanted to help newly emancipated African Americans get education and jobs.
- President Johnson was eager to punish the South and insisted on strict control of the region through the Military Reconstruction Act.
- Southern state legislatures often passed black codes to limit the rights of African Americans in the South.

Test-Taking Tip: Pay careful attention to the wording of the question. This question asks you to select the answer that is NOT true. That means three of the four statements must be true, and you should find the one that is not.