

# Reconstruction

## 1865–1877

**SECTION 1** The Debate Over Reconstruction

**SECTION 2** Republican Rule

**SECTION 3** Reconstruction Collapses

*Richmond, Virginia, lays in ruins after the city falls to Union troops in April 1865.*

**1865**

- Freedmen's Bureau is founded
- Lincoln is assassinated

A. Johnson  
1865–1869



**1866**

- Congress passes the Fourteenth Amendment

**1867**

- Radical Republicans take control of Congress

Grant  
1869–1877



**1870**

- Fifteenth Amendment ratified

**1871**

- Congress passes the Ku Klux Klan Act

**U.S. PRESIDENTS**

**U.S. EVENTS**

**WORLD EVENTS**

1865

**1866**

- Transatlantic cable is completed

1867

**1868**

- Meiji Restoration begins Japanese modernization

1869

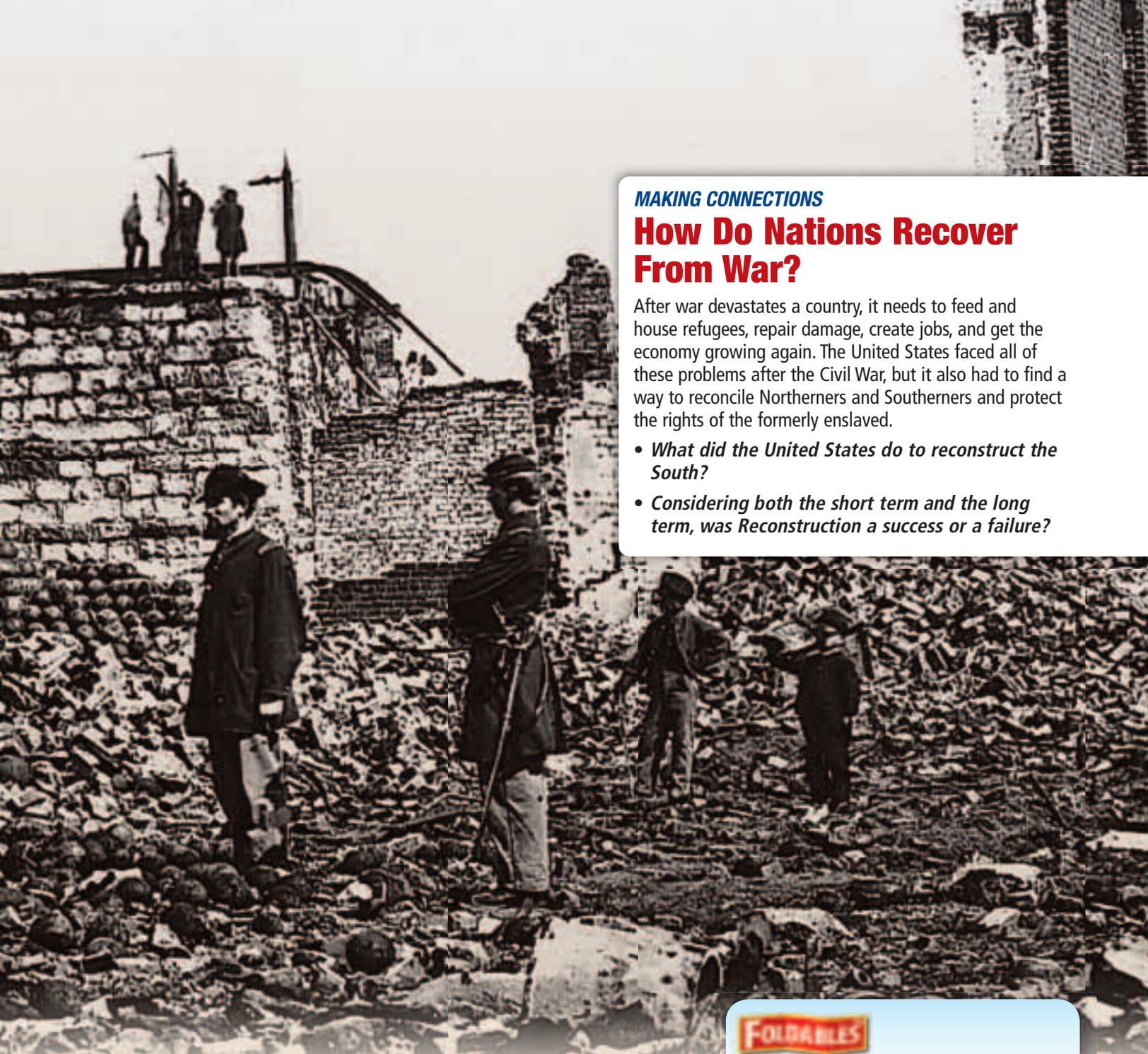
**1869**

- First ships pass through Suez Canal

1871

**1871**

- Germany is unified; German Empire is proclaimed



### MAKING CONNECTIONS

## How Do Nations Recover From War?

After war devastates a country, it needs to feed and house refugees, repair damage, create jobs, and get the economy growing again. The United States faced all of these problems after the Civil War, but it also had to find a way to reconcile Northerners and Southerners and protect the rights of the formerly enslaved.

- *What did the United States do to reconstruct the South?*
- *Considering both the short term and the long term, was Reconstruction a success or a failure?*

### FOLDABLES

**Contrasting Before and After** Collect information about life in the South before and after the Civil War. List the most important facts in a Two-Tab Foldable. Include information about all levels of Southern society—rich and poor, white and African American, native-born and immigrant—and how conditions changed for each group.



**History**  **ONLINE Chapter Overview**  
Visit [glencoe.com](http://glencoe.com) to preview Chapter 10.



**1875**  
• "Whiskey Ring" scandal breaks

Hayes  
1877–1881



**1877**  
• Compromise of 1877 ends Reconstruction efforts

1873

1875

1877

**1874**

- First Impressionist art exhibit opens in Paris



# Section 1

## The Debate Over Reconstruction

### Guide to Reading

#### Big Ideas

**Group Action** Northerners disagreed about which policies would best rebuild the South and safeguard the rights of African Americans.

#### Content Vocabulary

- amnesty (p. 356)
- pocket veto (p. 358)
- black codes (p. 360)
- impeach (p. 363)

#### Academic Vocabulary

- requirement (p. 362)
- precedent (p. 363)

#### People and Events to Identify

- Radical Republicans (p. 357)
- Wade-Davis Bill (p. 358)
- Freedmen's Bureau (p. 358)
- Civil Rights Act of 1866 (p. 361)
- Fourteenth Amendment (p. 361)
- Fifteenth Amendment (p. 363)

#### Reading Strategy

**Organizing** Complete a graphic organizer similar to the one below to explain how each listed piece of legislation affected African Americans.

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

In the months after the Civil War ended, the nation began to rebuild and reunite. Almost immediately, fierce struggles began over how long it should take to restore the Southern states to the Union and how punitive Reconstruction should be.

### The Reconstruction Battle Begins

**MAIN Idea** Presidents Lincoln and Johnson, as well as Radical Republicans in Congress, put forward different plans for reconstructing the Union.

**HISTORY AND YOU** Think of another war that you have studied. What were the peace terms, and who benefited? Read on to learn about different plans for peace following the American Civil War.

By 1865, large areas of the former Confederacy lay in ruins, and the South's economy was 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.

While some Southerners were bitter over the Union's military victory, for many the more important struggle was rebuilding their land and their lives. Meanwhile, 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 could rejoin the Union.

### Lincoln's Plan

President Lincoln wanted a moderate policy that would reconcile Southerners with the Union, instead of punishing them for treason. In December 1863 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. The only people not offered a pardon were officials of the former Confederate government, officers of the Confederate army, and former federal judges, members of Congress, and military officers who had left their posts to help the Confederacy.

## Three Plans for Reconstruction

After the Civil War, three plans were proposed to restore the South to the Union. The political struggle that resulted revealed that sectional tensions had not ended with the Civil War.

### 1. Lincoln's Plan for Reconstruction

- Amnesty to all but a few Southerners who took an oath of loyalty to the United States and accepted its proclamations concerning slavery
- When 10 percent of a state's voters in the 1860 presidential election had taken the oath, they could organize a new state government
- Members of the former Confederate government, officers of the Confederate army, and former federal judges, members of Congress, and military officers who had left their posts to help the Confederacy would not receive amnesty



### Analyzing VISUALS

1. **Identifying** Which plan made the most provisions for formerly enslaved African Americans?
2. **Specifying** Which plan was most forgiving of former Confederate political and military leaders?

### 2. Congressional Reconstruction

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



▲ Thaddeus Stevens



▶ Charles Sumner

### 3. Johnson's Plan for Reconstruction

- Amnesty for those taking an oath of loyalty to the United States; excluded high-ranking Confederates and those with property over \$20,000, but they could apply for pardons individually
- Required states to ratify the Thirteenth Amendment abolishing slavery



## 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.

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, only three-fifths of the enslaved population counted toward representation. The abolition of slavery entitled the South to more seats in the House. 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 American men 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 men, regardless of race. Senator Henry Wilson of Massachusetts summarized their position:

### PRIMARY SOURCE

"[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 good old common law are his, and that he walks the earth, proud and erect in the conscious dignity of a free man."

—from the *Congressional Globe*, December 21, 1865

**History ONLINE**  
**Student Web Activity** Visit [glencoe.com](http://glencoe.com) and complete the activity on Southern Reconstruction.

## The Wade-Davis Bill

Caught between Lincoln and the Radical Republicans were a large number of moderate Republicans. The moderates thought Lincoln was too lenient but that the radicals were going too far in supporting African Americans.

By the summer of 1864, the moderates and radicals had agreed on an alternative plan to Lincoln's and introduced it in Congress as the **Wade-Davis Bill**. This bill required the majority of the adult white males 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. He thought that imposing a harsh peace would be counterproductive. The president wanted "no persecution, no bloody work."

 **Summarizing** Why did President Lincoln favor a lenient policy toward the South?

## Freedmen's Bureau

**MAIN Idea** The Freedmen's Bureau helped newly freed African Americans obtain food, find work, and get an education.

**HISTORY AND YOU** Do you remember the slave codes that denied African Americans basic rights, including an education? Read on to learn how the Freedmen's Bureau tried to help former slaves start their new lives.

After considering different approaches to restoring the Southern states to the Union, Lincoln decided that harsh terms would only alienate many whites in the South. The devastation of the war and the collapse of the economy had left hundreds of thousands of people unemployed, homeless, and hungry. At the same time, the victorious Union armies had to contend with the thousands of African Americans who had fled 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 freedmen feed themselves, Sherman reserved all abandoned plantation land within 30 miles of the coast from Charleston, South Carolina, to Jacksonville, Florida, for the use of 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 part of the War Department and General Oliver O. Howard was appointed its commissioner. With the army's support, the bureau played a key role in Reconstruction. It was given the task of feeding and clothing war refugees in the South using surplus army supplies. Beginning in September 1865, the bureau provided nearly 30,000 rations a day for the next year and 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 freedmen 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 slaves. To others, however, taking land from plantation owners was wrong because it violated individual property rights. Ultimately, Congress rejected land confiscation.

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

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

## PRIMARY SOURCE

### The Freedmen’s Bureau in Action

The Freedmen’s Bureau was established by the Union to help formerly enslaved people make new lives for themselves. Headed by Union General Oliver Otis Howard, the Bureau provided food, clothing, and medical care. It also helped African Americans to build and manage many schools, such as those pictured here, throughout the South.



▲ Formerly enslaved African Americans await the distribution of food at office of the Freedmen’s Bureau in South Carolina in 1865.

## Johnson Takes Office

**MAIN Idea** President Johnson wanted to readmit Southern states on generous terms; meanwhile, Southern states passed laws restricting the rights of African Americans.

**HISTORY AND YOU** Have you ever had a dispute with a longtime friend? After it was over, did the situation improve? Read to learn how Southern states passed laws to limit African Americans’ rights.

Lincoln’s assassination drastically changed the politics of Reconstruction. Lincoln’s vice president, Andrew Johnson, now became president. Johnson had been a Southern Democrat before the Civil War. A resident of Tennessee, he had served as a mayor and state legislator before being elected to the United States Senate. When Tennessee seceded, Johnson remained loyal and stayed in the Senate, making him a hero in the North.



▲ Schools funded by the Freedmen’s Bureau, such as the one above, led to a dramatic increase in literacy among African Americans. By 1870, more than 1,000 new schools had been established.

### Analyzing VISUALS

- 1. Specifying** Aside from basic relief efforts, what other services did the Freedmen’s Bureau provide?
- 2. Explaining** Why do you think education was a priority for formerly enslaved people?

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 Republican. 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 initiated what he called his restoration program, which closely resembled Lincoln's plan. In late May 1865, he issued an amnesty proclamation 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 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 individually for a pardon.

On the same day that he issued the pardon, 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, ratify the Thirteenth Amendment, and reject all Civil War debts.

The former Confederate states, for the most part, met Johnson's conditions. While they organized their new governments and elected members 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 under way. 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 Republicans found this unacceptable and voted to reject the new Southern members of Congress.

## Black Codes

The election of former Confederate leaders to Congress was not the only development that angered congressional Republicans. The new Southern state legislatures also passed a series of laws known as **black codes**, which severely limited African Americans' rights.

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. Their 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 Whom did President Johnson blame for the Civil War?

## Turning Point

### The Fourteenth Amendment

The passage of the Fourteenth Amendment was a turning point in American political and legal history. Since its ratification, the amendment has been used to expand federal power over the states and to extend civil rights through its equal protection clause. It also provided the foundation for the doctrine of incorporation—the concept that the rights and protections in the Bill of Rights apply to the states. This doctrine was first upheld by the Supreme Court in *Gitlow v. New York* in 1925. In the 1950s and 1960s, the Warren Court used the clause extensively to extend civil rights in cases such as *Brown v. Board of Education*, *Gideon v. Wainwright*, and *Reynolds v. Sims*, among others.

**ANALYZING HISTORY** What is significant about the ratification of the Fourteenth Amendment? Write a brief essay to explain your answer.

# Radical Republicans Take Control

**MAIN Idea** Radical Republicans, angered by President Johnson's actions, designed their own policies to reconstruct the South.

**HISTORY AND YOU** If you disagree with a political decision, what can you do to change it? Read how Republicans responded to Johnson's plan.

The election of former Confederate leaders to Congress and the introduction of the black codes convinced many moderate Republicans to join the Radicals. In late 1865, House and Senate Republicans created a Joint Committee on Reconstruction. Their goal was to develop their own program for rebuilding the Union.

## The Fourteenth Amendment

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.

Worried that the Supreme Court might overturn the Civil Rights Act, the Republicans then 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 moderates to support the amendment. The most dramatic incident occurred in Memphis, Tennessee, in May 1866, when white mobs killed 46 African Americans and burned hundreds of their homes, churches, and schools. Congress passed the amendment in June and sent it to the states for ratification.

President Johnson attacked the amendment and made it the major issue of the 1866 congressional elections. He hoped voters would reject the Radical Republicans and elect a new majority in Congress that would support his plan for Reconstruction instead.

### The Fourteenth Amendment

"No State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States; nor shall any State deprive any person of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws."

▶ In 1925, in *Gitlow v. New York*, the Supreme Court began using the Fourteenth Amendment to apply the Bill of Rights to the states. In this case, it held that state laws had to protect free speech.



▲ Benjamin Gitlow



▲ In 1964, in *Reynolds v. Sims*, the Court used the Fourteenth Amendment's equal protection clause to ensure that state voting districts were of equal size.



◀ Clarence Gideon



▶ Ernesto Miranda

▲ In two major cases, Gideon v. Wainwright in 1963 and *Miranda v. Arizona* in 1966, the Court clarified that the Fifth and Sixth Amendments of the Bill of Rights had to be upheld by the states.

◀ In 1954 the Supreme Court based its decision ending school segregation, *Brown v. Board of Education*, on the Fourteenth Amendment's equal protection clause.



## What Are the Provisions of the Reconstruction Amendments?

### The 13th Amendment (1865)

- Slavery is illegal.

### The 14th Amendment (1868)

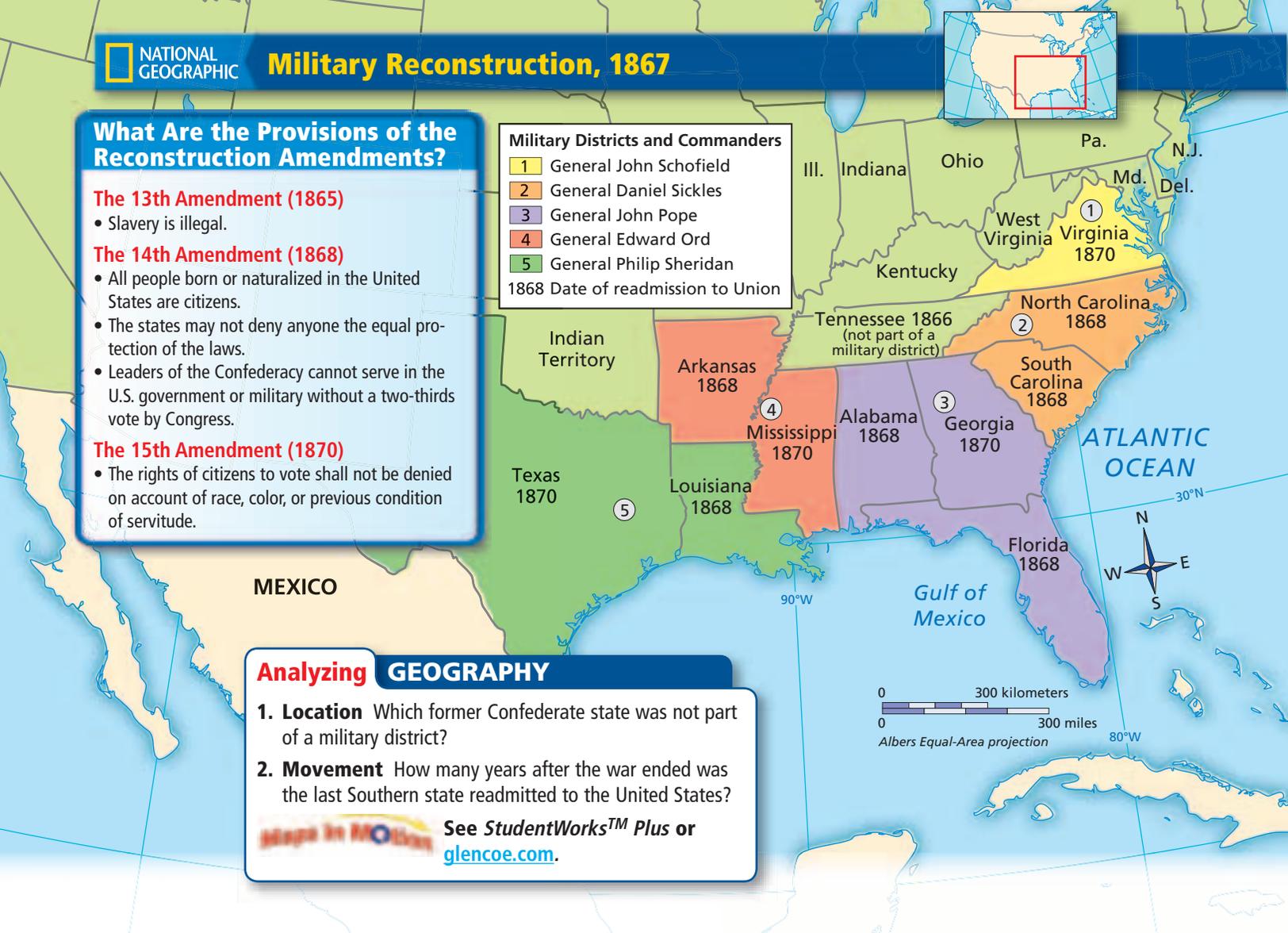
- All people born or naturalized in the United States are citizens.
- The states may not deny anyone the equal protection of the laws.
- Leaders of the Confederacy cannot serve in the U.S. government or military without a two-thirds vote by Congress.

### The 15th Amendment (1870)

- The rights of citizens to vote shall not be denied on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude.

### Military Districts and Commanders

- |   |                         |
|---|-------------------------|
| 1 | General John Schofield  |
| 2 | General Daniel Sickles  |
| 3 | General John Pope       |
| 4 | General Edward Ord      |
| 5 | General Philip Sheridan |
- 1868 Date of readmission to Union



## Analyzing GEOGRAPHY

- Location** Which former Confederate state was not part of a military district?
- Movement** How many years after the war ended was the last Southern state readmitted to the United States?

See *StudentWorks™ Plus* or [glencoe.com](http://glencoe.com).

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 that supported African American voting rights. 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 a roughly three-to-one majority in Congress.

## 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. 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 members to Congress.

With military officers supervising voter registration, 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 the **requirements** and were readmitted to the Union.

**Johnson Is Impeached** The Republicans knew that they had the votes to override any veto of their policies, but they also knew that President Johnson could interfere with their plans by refusing to enforce the laws they

# Section 1 REVIEW

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 their policies.

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 whose appointment had required the Senate’s consent.

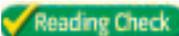
Determined to challenge the Tenure of Office Act, Johnson fired Stanton on February 21, 1868. Stanton barricaded himself inside his office and refused to leave. Three days later, the House of Representatives voted to **impeach** Johnson, meaning that they charged him with “high crimes and misdemeanors” in office. The main charge against Johnson was that he had broken the law by refusing to uphold the Tenure of Office Act.

As provided in the Constitution, the Senate put the president on trial. If two-thirds of the senators found the president guilty, he would be removed from office. On May 16, 1868, the Senate voted 35 to 19 that Johnson was guilty—one vote short of conviction. Seven Republicans joined 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.

Although Johnson remained in office, he finished his term quietly and did not run for reelection in 1868. That year the Republicans nominated General Grant to run for president. During the campaign, ongoing violence in the South convinced many Northern voters that the Southern states could not be trusted to reorganize their 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 secure and a trusted president in office, Republicans moved to expand their Reconstruction program. Realizing the importance of African American voters, 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. This angered many white Southerners, who began to fight back against the federal government’s policies.

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

## Vocabulary

- 1. Explain** the significance of: amnesty, Radical Republicans, Wade-Davis Bill, pocket veto, freedman, Freedmen’s Bureau, black codes, Civil Rights Act of 1866, Fourteenth Amendment, impeach, Fifteenth Amendment.

## Main Ideas

- 2. Identifying** What were the three main goals of the Radical Republicans?
- 3. Specifying** In what area did the Freedmen’s Bureau have the most impact?
- 4. Explaining** Under what circumstances, did Andrew Johnson become president?
- 5. Listing** What were the main provisions of the Military Reconstruction Act?

## Critical Thinking

- 6. Big Ideas** What services did the Freedmen’s Bureau provide?
- 7. Listing** Use a graphic organizer to list the effects of the Civil War on the South.

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

- 8. Analyzing Visuals** Review the images on page 361. How has the Fourteenth Amendment changed over time?

## Writing About History

- 9. 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 region.



**Study Central** To review this section, go to [glencoe.com](http://glencoe.com) and click on Study Central.



## 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, 1870. 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.



MIPHILTON GETTY PICTURE LIBRARY/LALSON

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.

## 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 in 1870, 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

## CRITICAL THINKING

- Theorizing** Do you think the quote from *Appleton's Journal* can be applied to events in America today? Explain your thinking.
- Comparing** What do the quotes by Felix Haywood and Houston Hartsfield Holloway reveal about the views of African Americans during Reconstruction?

## Section 2

# Republican Rule

### Guide to Reading

#### Big Ideas

**Group Action** Despite opposition, African Americans took active roles in politics during Reconstruction.

#### Content Vocabulary

- carpetbagger (p. 366)
- scalawag (p. 366)
- graft (p. 368)

#### Academic Vocabulary

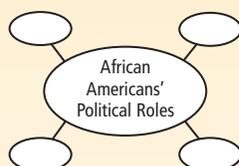
- commissioner (p. 368)
- comprehensive (p. 369)

#### People and Events to Identify

- Ku Klux Klan Act (p. 371)

#### Reading Strategy

**Organizing** Complete a graphic organizer similar to the one below to identify how African Americans helped to govern the South during Reconstruction.



Under the Republican-controlled Congress, the South began to rebuild. During this time, African Americans gained some new opportunities, particularly in politics, while some white Southerners organized to resist the changes that were occurring.

## Republican Rule in the South

**MAIN Idea** During Reconstruction, African Americans organized politically and took part in governing the South.

**HISTORY AND YOU** What are the factors that help you decide to support a political party? Read on to learn why the Republican Party won the support of African Americans during Reconstruction.

By late 1870, all the former Confederate states had rejoined the Union under the congressional Reconstruction plan. Throughout the South, the Republican Party took power and introduced major reforms. Most white Southerners scorned the Republicans, however, partly because the party included Northerners and African Americans. Southerners also believed that 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, and corruption plagued parts of the South. Others, however, hoped to find more opportunities than existed for them in the North or the 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

## African Americans Enter Politics

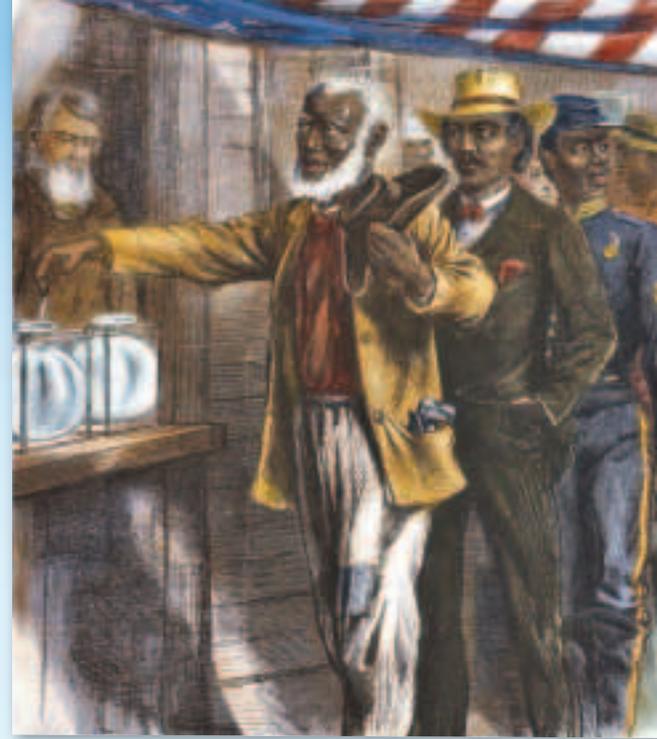
Reconstruction provided African Americans with new opportunities to participate in politics. Many took part in the state constitutional conventions and were elected to state legislatures—achieving a majority in South Carolina’s state assembly—and to local offices.



▲ This sketch from 1868 shows African Americans campaigning. African Americans were excited to participate in politics. The sketch shows women and children as well, suggesting that the entire community regarded political issues as important, even though only adult males could vote.

### Analyzing VISUALS

- Identifying Central Issues** Why do you think African Americans were so enthusiastic about participating in politics?
- Explaining** What about the illustration above indicates the political position of women?



▲ This drawing from 1867 depicts the primary groups that became political leaders of the South’s African American community—artisans (shown with tools), the middle class, and Union soldiers.



▲ The sketch above from the 1870s shows South Carolina’s legislature—the only state legislature with an African American majority during Reconstruction.

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

## African Americans in Politics

The Fifteenth Amendment allowed many freedmen to take part in governing the South. With the right to vote, African American men could organize 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, the leadership of the African American community came from among those individuals 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. Aided by the Republican Party, these leaders delivered speeches to former plantation workers, drawing them into politics. Within a few remarkable years, many African Americans went from enslaved laborers to legislators and administrators working in nearly all levels of government.

Hundreds of formerly enslaved men 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 African Americans served in Southern state legislatures, while 14 were elected to the U.S. House of Representatives, and two to the Senate.

## Republican Reforms

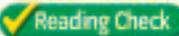
With formerly enslaved men making such political gains, many Southerners claimed that “Black Republicanism” ruled the South. Such claims, however, were greatly exaggerated. No African American was ever elected governor. In South Carolina, where African Americans were a majority of the population, they did gain control of the legislature, but were able to hold power for only one term.

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.

The newly elected Republican governments 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 mentally ill, and the hearing and visually impaired. They rebuilt roads, railways, and bridges, and funded the construction of 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.

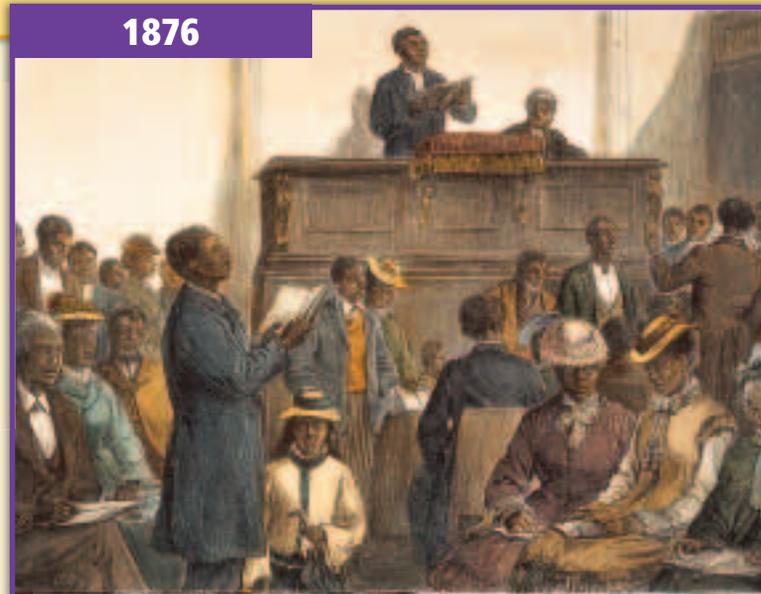
Although many Republicans wanted to help the South, others were corrupt. One Republican governor accepted more than \$40,000 in bribes. **Graft**, or gaining money illegally through politics, was common in the South, just as it was in the North at the time, but it gave Democrats another issue that would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

 **Reading Check** **Summarizing** Which groups helped elect Republicans in the South during Reconstruction?

## PAST & PRESENT

### The African American Church

Since colonial times, churches have been important to African Americans as both religious and social institutions. After Reconstruction ended, churches became the only institution that remained under their control once they lost voting rights and segregation was imposed. African American ministers were community leaders in places where political leaders did not exist. Later, during the civil rights struggles of the 1950s and 1960s, the churches and their ministers took the lead in organizing the community for political action. For example, Martin Luther King, Jr., was one of a long line of pastors who worked to help protect and advance their communities. His Dexter Avenue Baptist Church in Montgomery, Alabama, became the headquarters for the famous bus boycott in that city in 1955.



*An African American congregation (above) listens as their minister preaches in a Washington, D.C. church in 1876. Henry Turner (left) was a bishop of the African Methodist Episcopalian (AME) Church. He and others helped make black churches places of social and religious leadership.*

# African American Communities

**MAIN Idea** Reconstruction governments expanded public education to all children, and African Americans built their own churches.

**HISTORY AND YOU** Do you remember how Horace Mann started a movement for public education? Read on to learn how new schools were built in the South during Reconstruction.

In addition to entering politics, African Americans worked to improve their lives in other ways during Reconstruction. Many sought to establish their own thriving communities and to gain an education.

## African American Churches

Religion had long played a central role in the lives of many African Americans, and with the shackles of slavery now gone; formerly enslaved people across the South began building their own churches. Churches

frequently became the center of 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 acted as unofficial courts by promoting social values, settling disputes among residents, and disciplining individuals for improper behavior.

## A Desire to Learn

Once freed, many African Americans immediately sought 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—roughly 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.

2000s

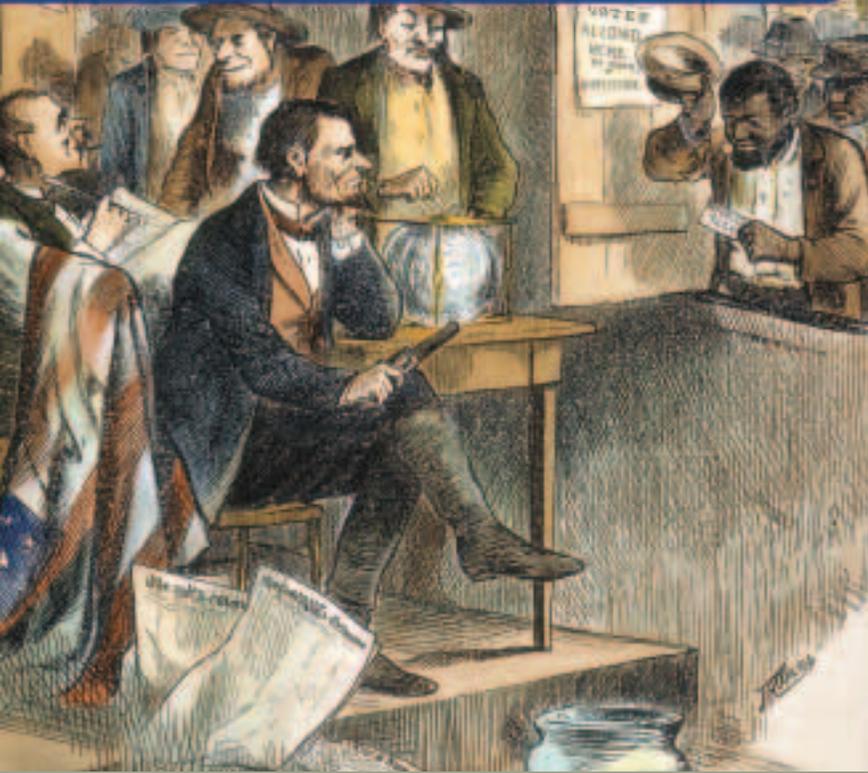
▼ Churches played a key role in the struggle for civil rights and have produced many prominent African American leaders. They still play an important role in the African American community today.

### MAKING CONNECTIONS

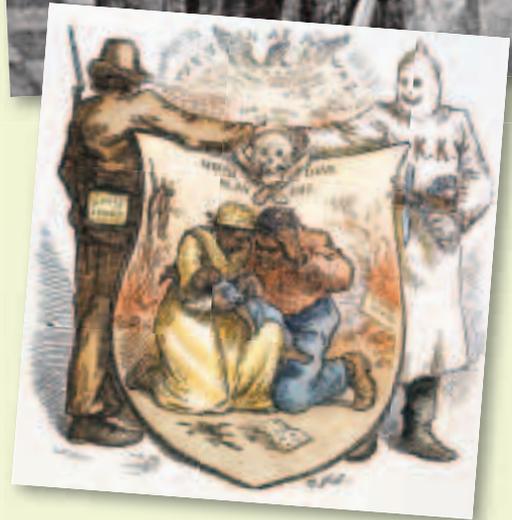
- 1. Describing** What role did churches take in the lives of African Americans after Reconstruction?
- 2. Explaining** How have African American churches expanded their role in modern times?



## The White League and Ku Klux Klan



▲ This cartoon from 1874 reads “Everything points to a Democratic victory this fall” and shows members of the White League—a group similar to the Ku Klux Klan—denying African Americans the right to vote.



▲ Ku Klux Klansmen (top) disguised their identities. The cartoon says that White Leagues and the KKK made life worse for African Americans than it had been under slavery.

### Analyzing VISUALS

- Summarizing** What methods did the White League and the Ku Klux Klan use to deny African Americans their civil rights?
- Expressing** Do you think the cartoon on the right is correct in its assumption? Why or why not?

Several African American academies were established 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. The institution that would become Howard University was founded in 1867 in Washington, D.C., by a group of Congregationalists who wanted to establish a seminary for African American ministers. Soon the idea expanded to the creation of an entire university, named for one of the founders and head of the Freedmen’s Bureau, General Oliver Howard. Howard University quickly expanded to include the first law school, established in 1869, for African Americans.

The Hampton Institute was started in 1868 in Virginia to teach African Americans a trade or agricultural techniques. In 1881, after Reconstruction, Spelman College—the first college for African American women—and the Tuskegee Institute, now Tuskegee University, were founded. The first teacher at Tuskegee was Booker T. Washington, who later became an important African American leader.

African Americans also established thousands of other organizations to 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?

# The Ku Klux Klan Forms

**MAIN Idea** Some Southerners hated the “Black Republican” governments and started groups such as the Ku Klux Klan that terrorized African Americans.

**HISTORY AND YOU** Have you heard of recent activities of the Ku Klux Klan? Read on to learn when and why the organization was founded.

At the same time as 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.

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 grew rapidly throughout the South. Its goal was to drive out the carpetbaggers and Union troops and to 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.

Some 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:

## PRIMARY SOURCE

“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, compelling colored people to break the ice and bathe in the chilly waters of the Kentucky River. . . . We pray you will take some steps to remedy these evils.”

—from a petition to Congress, March 25, 1871, National Archives

The Ku Klux Klan’s activities outraged President Ulysses S. Grant and congressional Republicans. In 1870 and 1871, Congress passed three Enforcement Acts to combat the acts of 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 2 REVIEW

### Vocabulary

1. **Explain** the significance of: carpetbagger, scalawag, graft, Ku Klux Klan Act.

### Main Ideas

2. **Identifying** In what state did African Americans gain control of the legislature for a time, and why did this occur?
3. **Specifying** Where and when was the first law school for African Americans established?
4. **Explaining** What were the three main provisions of the Enforcement Acts?

### Critical Thinking

5. **Big Idea** How did the establishment of schools, churches, and social organizations benefit African Americans during Reconstruction?
6. **Categorizing** Use a graphic organizer to identify both the negative and positive aspects of carpetbagger rule.

Carpetbagger Rule	
Positives	Negatives

7. **Analyzing Visuals** Study the images on page 367. What do they suggest about the African American community in the South after the Civil War?

### Writing About History

8. **Descriptive Writing** Suppose you are a Northerner who has recently moved to the Reconstruction South. Write a letter to a friend describing your life in the South at this time.



**Study Central** To review this section, go to [glencoe.com](http://glencoe.com) and click on Study Central.

## Section 3

# Reconstruction Collapses

### Guide to Reading

#### Big Ideas

**Economics and Society** After Reconstruction the South tried to build a new economy but problems lingered.

#### Content Vocabulary

- "sin tax" (p. 372)
- tenant farmer (p. 377)
- sharecropper (p. 377)
- crop lien (p. 377)
- debt peonage (p. 377)

#### Academic Vocabulary

- outcome (p. 375)
- circumstance (p. 377)

#### People and Events to Identify

- Horace Greeley (p. 373)
- "Whiskey Ring" (p. 373)
- Panic of 1873 (p. 374)
- Compromise of 1877 (p. 375)
- "New South" (p. 377)

#### Reading Strategy

**Taking Notes** Use the major headings of Section 3 to create an outline listing the major events of the Grant administration and the end of Reconstruction.

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

As Reconstruction came to an end in the late 1870s, the gains made by African Americans after the Civil War were steadily eroded by Southern whites as they reclaimed control of state legislatures. In the meantime, Southerners were developing strategies for a rebirth of the region's economy.

## The Grant Administration

**MAIN Idea** Political scandals and an economic depression tarnished Grant's presidency.

**HISTORY AND YOU** Can you think of any recent political scandals? Read on to learn how bribery and corruption hurt 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 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, it 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—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 that 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.

## The Scandals of the Grant Administration

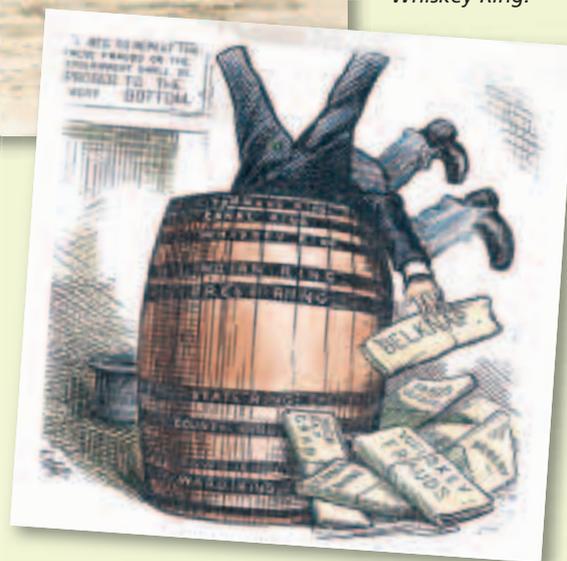


▲ In this cartoon, Grant, the Civil War hero of Vicksburg and Appomattox Courthouse, is “dogged” by the men in his administration who have been involved in various scandals.

▼ This cartoonist shows the Grant administration looking for those guilty of fraud in a whiskey barrel—symbol of the “Whiskey Ring.”

## Analyzing VISUALS

- 1. Interpreting** What is Uncle Sam’s mood in the cartoon above, and why do you think he has this attitude?
- 2. Making Inferences** In the cartoon on the right, how far does the cartoonist suggest that the corruption in government has spread?



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’s renomination in 1872. When that failed, they left the Republican Party 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 and Greeley’s passionate campaigning, Grant won the election easily.

During Grant’s second term, a series of scandals hurt the reputation of his administration. Grant’s secretary of war, William Belknap, had 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, Missouri, cheated the government out of millions of dollars by filing false tax reports. Reportedly, Orville E. Babcock, Grant’s private secretary, was involved, although this was never proved.

## The Panic of 1873

In addition to the political scandals of Grant's second term, the nation endured a severe economic crisis. 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 through the financial community. Dozens of smaller banks closed, and the stock market plummeted. Thousands of businesses shut down, and unemployment soared.

The scandals in the Grant administration and the deepening economic depression hurt the Republicans politically. In the 1874 mid-term elections, the Democrats won control of the House of Representatives and made gains in the Senate.

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

## Reconstruction Ends

**MAIN Idea** After Republican Rutherford B. Hayes became president in a disputed election, he removed the last federal troops from the South.

**HISTORY AND YOU** What is the process by which presidents are elected? Read on to learn how contested returns in three states created a political crisis in 1876.

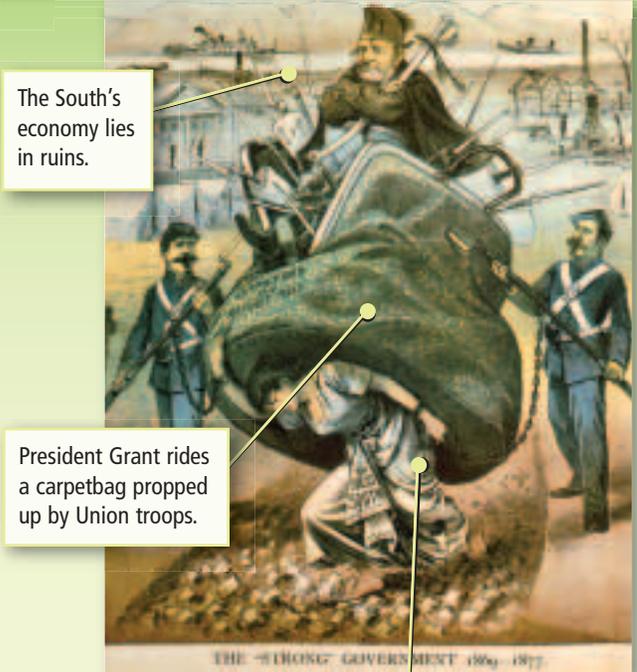
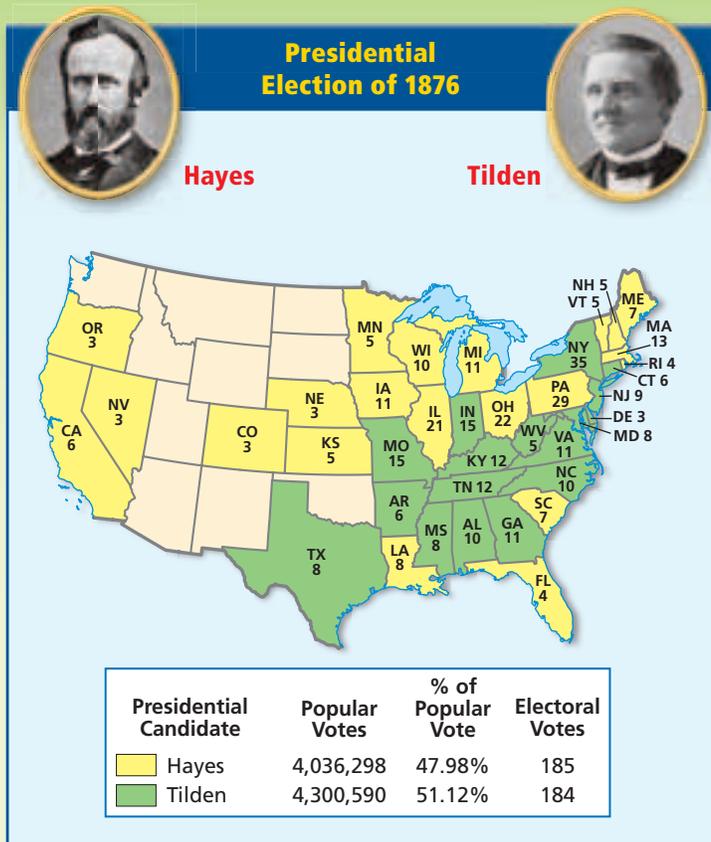
The rising power of the Democrats made enforcing Reconstruction more difficult. At the same time, many Northerners were more concerned with their own economic problems than the political situation in the South.

## “Redeeming” the South

In the 1870s, Southern Democrats had worked to regain control of their state and local governments from Republicans. Southern

### POLITICAL CARTOONS PRIMARY SOURCE

## The Compromise of 1877



The South's economy lies in ruins.

President Grant rides a carpetbag propped up by Union troops.

The South struggles under the weight of the carpetbag.

▲ In the 1876 presidential election, 20 electoral votes were in dispute. They were eventually awarded to Hayes, and many believed he made a deal with Southern Democrats in Congress to win the presidency. Whether or not this was true, Hayes's election signified the end of Reconstruction.

terrorist groups, such as the Ku Klux Klan and Knights of the White Camellia, 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 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 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.

## The Compromise of 1877

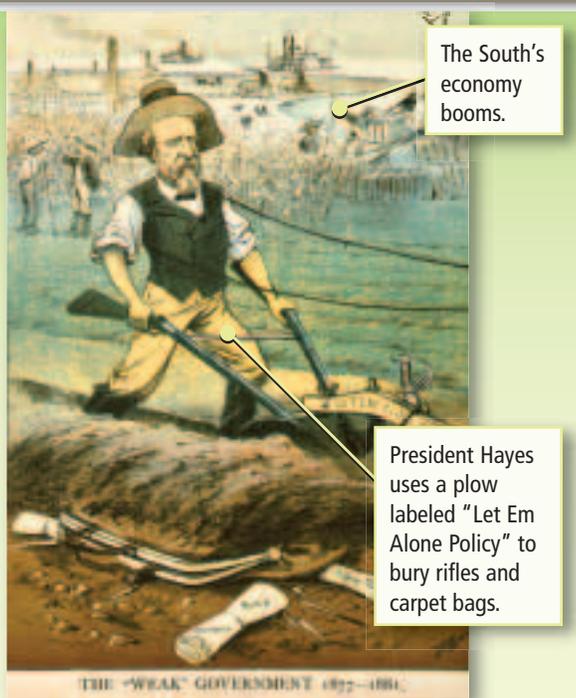
With Grant’s reputation damaged by scandals, the Republicans decided not to nominate him for a third term in 1876. Instead, they nominated Rutherford B. Hayes, a former governor of Ohio. Many Americans regarded Hayes as a moral man untainted by scandal. Hayes wanted to end Radical Reconstruction.

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 which candidate had won.

To resolve the situation, Congress appointed a 15-person commission made up equally of members of the House, the Senate, and the Supreme Court. The commission had 8 Republicans and 7 Democrats, and eventually voted along party lines, 8 to 7, to give the 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. This gave the election to Hayes. Noting that Hayes could not have won without the support of Southern Democrats, many people 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 was actually made or, if so, what its exact terms were. The Compromise of 1877 reportedly included a promise by the Republicans to pull federal troops out of the South if Hayes were elected, and that is, in fact, what happened within a month of Hayes taking office. It is also true, however, that the nation was tired of the politics of Reconstruction and that even Republican leaders were ready to put an end to it. Indeed, President Grant pulled troops out of Florida even before Hayes took office, so it is possible that no deal was actually made.



### Analyzing VISUALS

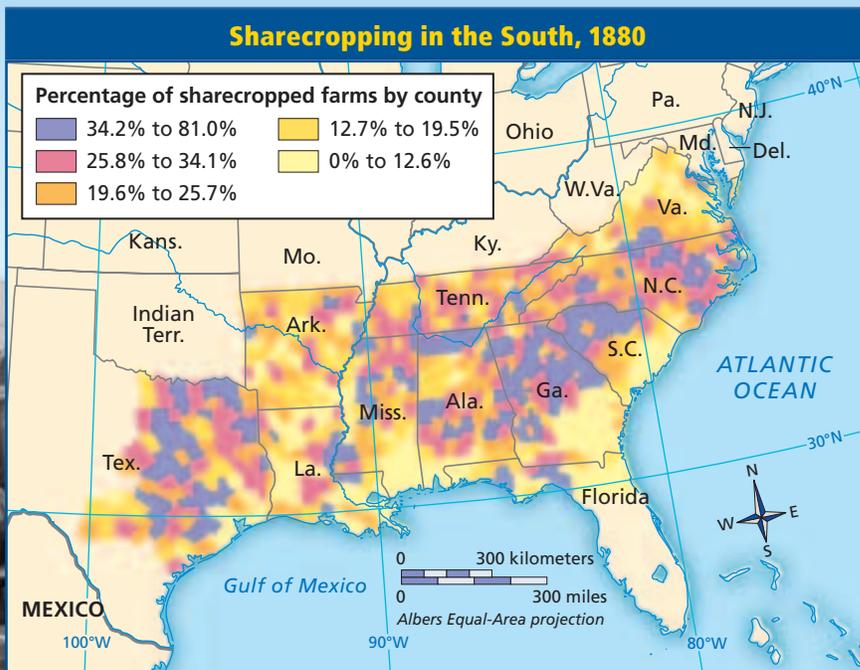
- 1. Identifying Points of View** Which government did the cartoonist approve of most? How can you tell?
- 2. Identifying Central Issues** What criticism of Hayes is the cartoonist responding to with this cartoon?

## The New South

The New South was a blend of the old and the new. Industry began to develop, but agriculture remained vital to the economy. By the 1890s, the South was exporting more cotton, rice, and tobacco than before the Civil War. Although slavery had ended, many African Americans were poor sharecroppers who harvested crops for landowners.



▲ The industry of the “New South” was still driven by agricultural products, such as tobacco. The workers shown above are processing tobacco in a Richmond tobacco factory in 1899.



▲ Sharecroppers harvest cotton in Georgia in 1898.

### Analyzing VISUALS

- Specifying** In which three states was sharecropping most common?
- Explaining** Why do you think the South’s economy remained so dependent on agriculture after Reconstruction?

During his inaugural speech on March 5, 1877, President Hayes expressed his desire to move the country beyond the quarrelsome years of Reconstruction:

### PRIMARY SOURCE

“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*

Whether the speech expressed Hayes’s real thoughts is unknown, but in April 1877 he pulled federal troops out of the South. Without soldiers to support them, the last Republican governments in South Carolina and Louisiana collapsed. The 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

**MAIN Idea** The postwar South developed more industry, but most people still worked in agriculture.

**HISTORY AND YOU** What do you recall about the disadvantages of the South during the Civil War? Read on to learn how the region tried to industrialize in the postwar period.

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

Powerful white Southerners and Northern financiers brought great economic changes to parts of the South. Northern capital helped to build railroads, and by 1890 almost 40,000 miles of track crisscrossed the South. 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, the South changed little. Despite its industrial growth, the region remained agrarian. As late as 1900, only 6 percent of the Southern labor force worked in manufacturing. For many African Americans, 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.

The collapse of Reconstruction ended African Americans’ 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.

Many sharecroppers also needed more seed and other supplies than their landlords could provide. As a result, country stores and local suppliers provided them with the supplies they needed on credit and at interest rates often as high as 40 percent. To make sure that sharecroppers paid their debts, laws allowed merchants to put liens on their crops. These **crop liens** meant that the merchants could take crops to cover the debts.

The crop-lien system and high interest rates led many sharecroppers 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 trapped many African Americans in economic **circumstances** that severely limited their newly gained freedom.

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

## Section 3 REVIEW

### Vocabulary

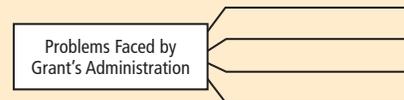
1. **Explain** the significance of: “sin tax,” Horace Greeley, “Whiskey Ring,” Panic of 1873, Compromise of 1877, “New South,” tenant farmer, sharecropper, crop lien, debt peonage.

### Main Ideas

2. **Analyzing** What caused the Panic of 1873?
3. **Explaining** How did Reconstruction end?
4. **Describing** How did conditions for African Americans in the post-Reconstruction South resemble conditions before the Civil War?

### Critical Thinking

5. **Big Ideas** What factors contributed to the improving economy of the South after Reconstruction?
6. **Organizing** Use a graphic organizer to identify the problems faced by Grant’s administration.



7. **Analyzing Visuals** Study the map of the election of 1876 on page 374. Which candidate won the popular vote?

### Writing About History

8. **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 those events.

**History ONLINE**

**Study Central** To review this section, go to [glencoe.com](http://glencoe.com) and click on Study Central.



You can study anywhere, anytime by downloading quizzes and flashcards to your PDA from [glencoe.com](http://glencoe.com).

## Plans for Reconstruction

### Lincoln's Plan

- Amnesty for all Southerners who take an oath of loyalty and accept the end of slavery, excluding former Confederate officials
- Once 10 percent had taken the oath, new state governments could be formed

### Congressional Plan—The Wade-Davis Bill

- A majority of southerners must take an oath of loyalty in order for new state governments to form
- Each state must hold a convention to abolish slavery, reject Confederate debts, and deprive former Confederate officials and officers of the right to vote or hold office

### Johnson's Plan

- Amnesty for all Southerners who take an oath of loyalty, excluding former Confederate officers and owners of large amounts of property
- Confederate states must hold a convention to revoke secession and ratify the 13th Amendment



▲ During Reconstruction, many African American men held elected offices, some as state senators and representatives.



▲ After the Civil War, the South's agricultural economy revived, and many African Americans found themselves doing much the same work they had when enslaved. Many became sharecroppers, trapped on the land because of the high debts they were forced to accumulate.

## The Events of Reconstruction

### The White Southern Response

- South elects many former Confederate officials to Congress.
- Southern states introduce black codes to restrict African American freedom and force them into labor contracts.
- White mobs riot and attack African Americans.
- Militant groups, such as the Ku Klux Klan, organize to oppose reconstruction and prevent African Americans from voting.
- Southern Democrats slowly regain power by using racism to bring poor white voters back to the Democratic party.

### Congress

- Congress passes the Civil Rights Act of 1866 and the Fourteenth Amendment.
- Congress imposes Military Reconstruction, requiring former Confederate states to give the right to vote to all adult males.
- Congress passes the Fifteenth Amendment.

### African Americans

- Freedman's Bureau and Reconstruction governments build schools enabling formerly enslaved African Americans to get an education.
- During Reconstruction, African Americans enter politics in large numbers, holding many political offices in the South.
- As Reconstruction ends and the South's agrarian economy revives, and many African Americans become sharecroppers.

## STANDARDIZED TEST PRACTICE

### TEST-TAKING TIP

Be sure to evaluate each possible answer before you make your final choice. Do not just choose the first one that you think is correct.

### Reviewing Vocabulary

Directions: Choose the word or words that best complete the sentence.

- Part of President Lincoln's plan for Reconstruction was to offer \_\_\_\_\_ to Southerners who would take an oath of loyalty to the United States.
  - imprisonment
  - amnesty
  - debt peonage
  - exile
- A Northerner who came to the South during Reconstruction, or a \_\_\_\_\_, was often there to exploit the South's misfortune.
  - scalawag
  - sharecropper
  - carpetbagger
  - furnishing merchant
- During Reconstruction, the Republican Congress maintained \_\_\_\_\_ to pay its debts.
  - sin taxes
  - crop liens
  - debt peonage
  - black codes
- A type of corruption called \_\_\_\_\_ among the Republicans in Congress gave the Democrats an issue to help them regain power in the 1870s.
  - scandal mongering
  - graft
  - welching
  - thievery

### Reviewing Main Ideas

Directions: Choose the best answer for each of the following questions.

#### Section 1 (pp. 356–363)

- Which provision was part of the Wade-Davis Bill?
  - The majority of white men in the state had to take an oath of allegiance to the United States.
  - States could not hold a constitutional convention.
  - All former Confederate political and military leaders would be given the right to vote.
  - Freed African Americans had to be provided with "forty acres and a mule."
- The Freedmen's Bureau made the most lasting impact in
  - education.
  - land redistribution.
  - voter registration.
  - labor negotiations.

#### Section 2 (pp. 366–371)

- The first African American leaders who emerged during Reconstruction came from which group?
  - scalawags who wanted to strengthen the Republican Party
  - those who had been educated before the Civil War
  - those who had just been freed from enslavement
  - former Confederate political leaders
- The third Enforcement Act was passed by Congress in 1871 to
  - divide the Confederacy into five military districts.
  - provide all adult males with the right to vote.
  - outlaw the activities of the Ku Klux Klan.
  - establish the Freedmen's Bureau.

#### Need Extra Help?

If You Missed Questions . . .	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Go to Page . . .	356	366	372	368	359	359	367	371

**GO ON** 

# Chapter 10

9. Which of the following groups was among the scalawags during Reconstruction?
- A formerly enslaved African Americans
  - B Southern whites who owned small farms
  - C Northern Radical Republicans
  - D members of the Ku Klux Klan

### Section 3 (pp. 372–377)

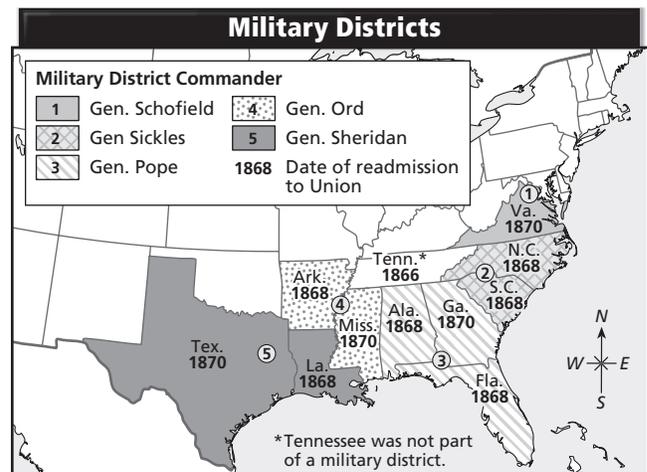
10. The concept of “redeeming” the South was an appeal to
- A Northern capitalists to help rebuild the Southern economy.
  - B white racists to rid the region of “Black Republican” governments.
  - C Radical Republicans to bring an end to Reconstruction.
  - D former Confederates to officially apologize for starting the Civil War.
11. One way in which Reconstruction failed was that, in the end, it
- A did not reunite the Confederate states with the Union.
  - B led to much corruption in the Grant administration.
  - C gave the Democrats complete control of every level of government.
  - D allowed African Americans to lose many of their new rights.
12. In the Compromise of 1877, what did Rutherford B. Hayes supposedly promise to do as president?
- A free all enslaved African Americans in the Southern states
  - B ensure the passage of the Enforcement Acts
  - C pardon members of President Grant’s administration
  - D remove all federal troops from the Southern states

## Critical Thinking

Directions: Choose the best answers to the following questions.

13. Following the Civil War, many Southern states enacted black codes to
- A provide free farmland for African Americans.
  - B guarantee equal civil rights for African Americans.
  - C restrict the rights of formerly enslaved persons.
  - D support the creation of the Freedmen’s Bureau.

Base your answers to questions 14 and 15 on the map below and your knowledge of Chapter 10.



14. Which general commanded a district comprised only of states that had been readmitted to the Union in 1868?
- A General Sickles
  - B General Pope
  - C General Ord
  - D General Sheridan
15. What were the last states to be readmitted to the Union?
- A Arkansas, Louisiana, Alabama
  - B Texas, Mississippi, Georgia
  - C North Carolina, South Carolina, Virginia
  - D Virginia, Texas, Arkansas

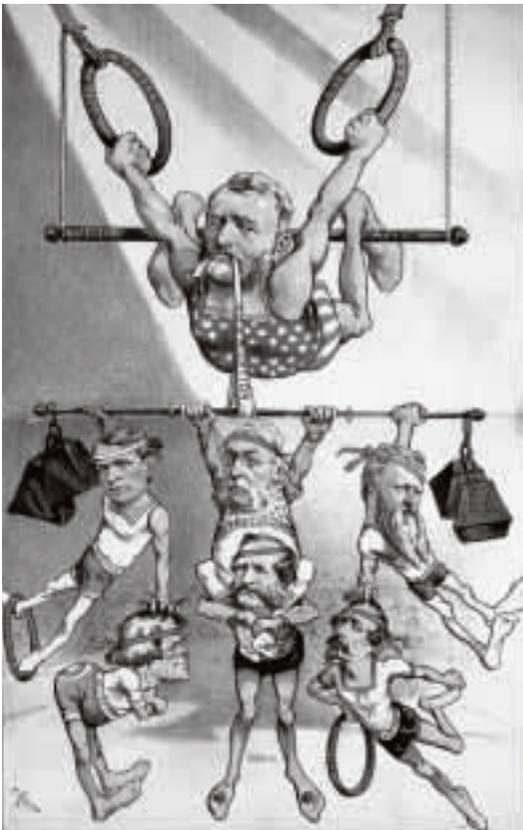
### Need Extra Help?

If You Missed Questions . . .	9	10	11	12	13	14	15
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**GO ON**

16. What effect did the system of sharecropping have on the South after the Civil War?
- A It kept formerly enslaved persons economically dependent.
  - B It brought investment capital to the South.
  - C It encouraged Northerners to migrate South.
  - D It provided for a fairer distribution of farm profits.

Analyze the cartoon and answer the question that follows. Base your answer on the cartoon and on your knowledge of Chapter 10.



17. What does the trapeze act that Ulysses S. Grant is performing represent?
- A economic hardship
  - B a split Republican party
  - C a scandal-ridden administration
  - D controversial sin taxes

## Document-Based Questions

Directions: Analyze the document and answer the short-answer questions that follow the document.

In 1867, a speech was read for Radical Republican Thaddeus Stevens who was ill. He argued in favor of confiscating the land of former Confederates and putting it to a new use.

*“Four million of persons [former slaves] have just been freed from a condition of dependence, . . . Make them independent of their old masters, so that they may not be compelled to work for them upon unfair terms, which can only be done by giving them a small tract of land to cultivate for themselves, . . . Nothing is so likely to make a man a good citizen as to make him a freeholder. Nothing will so multiply the productions of the South as to divide it into small farms. Nothing will make men so industrious and moral as to let them feel that they are above want and are the owners of the soil which they till. . . . How is it possible for them to cultivate their lands if these people were expelled? If Moses should lead or drive them into exile, or carry out the absurd idea of colonizing them, the South would become a barren waste.”*

—from *The Thaddeus Stevens Papers*, speech to House of Representatives, March 19, 1867

- 18. What was Stevens arguing the federal government to do?
- 19. What does Stevens suggest would happen to the South if all the formerly enslaved African Americans left the region?

## Extended Response

20. In your opinion, who had the best plan for Reconstruction—Lincoln, Johnson, or Congress? Write a persuasive essay that includes an introduction and at least three paragraphs that explains and supports your position.

**STOP**

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For additional test practice, use Self-Check Quizzes—Chapter 10 at [glencoe.com](http://glencoe.com).

### Need Extra Help?

If You Missed Questions . . .	16	17	18	19	20
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