

CHAPTER  
**18**

# Reconstruction

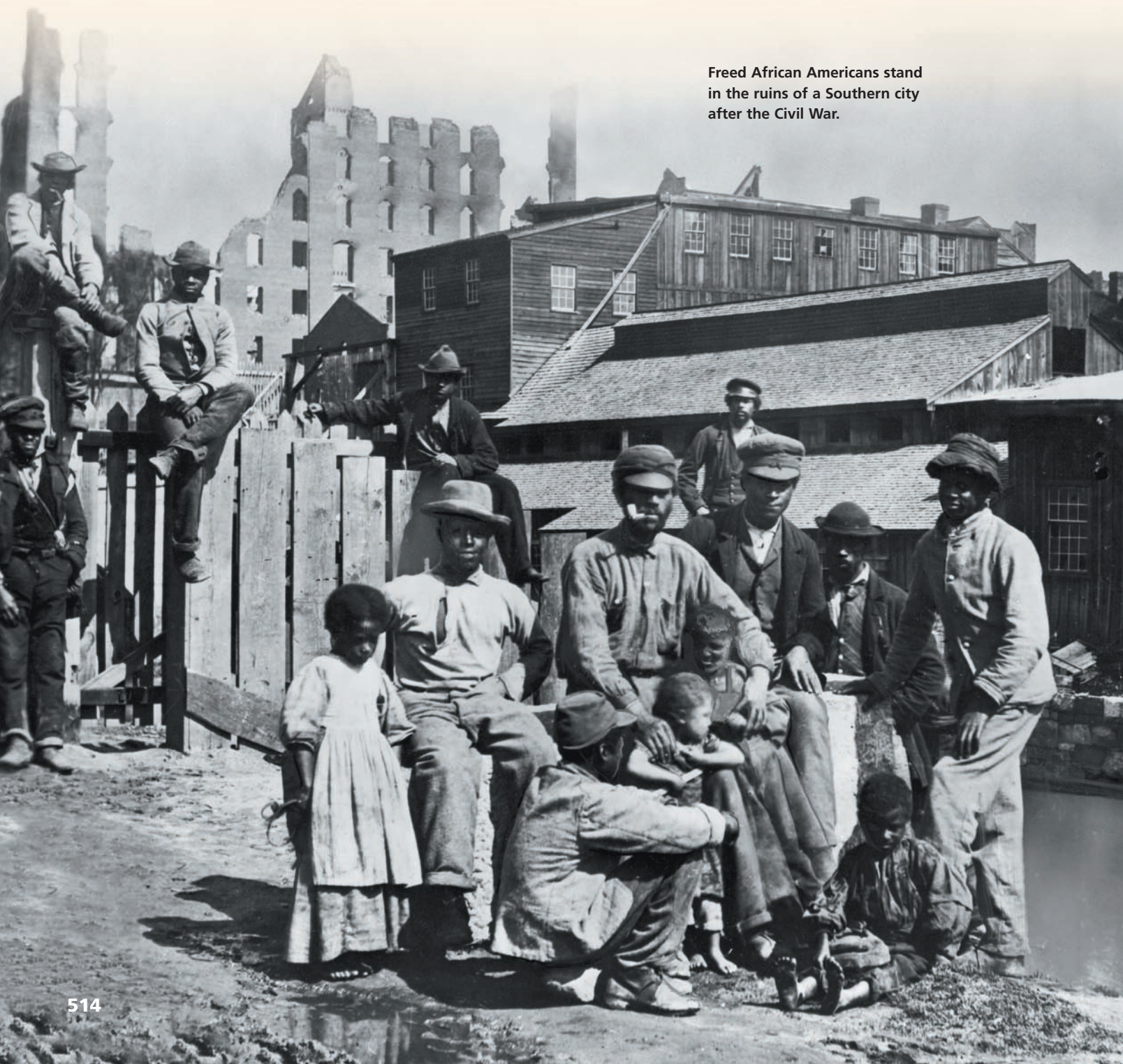
## 1865-1877

*Section 1* **Rebuilding the Union**

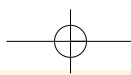
*Section 2* **Reconstruction and Daily Life**

*Section 3* **End of Reconstruction**

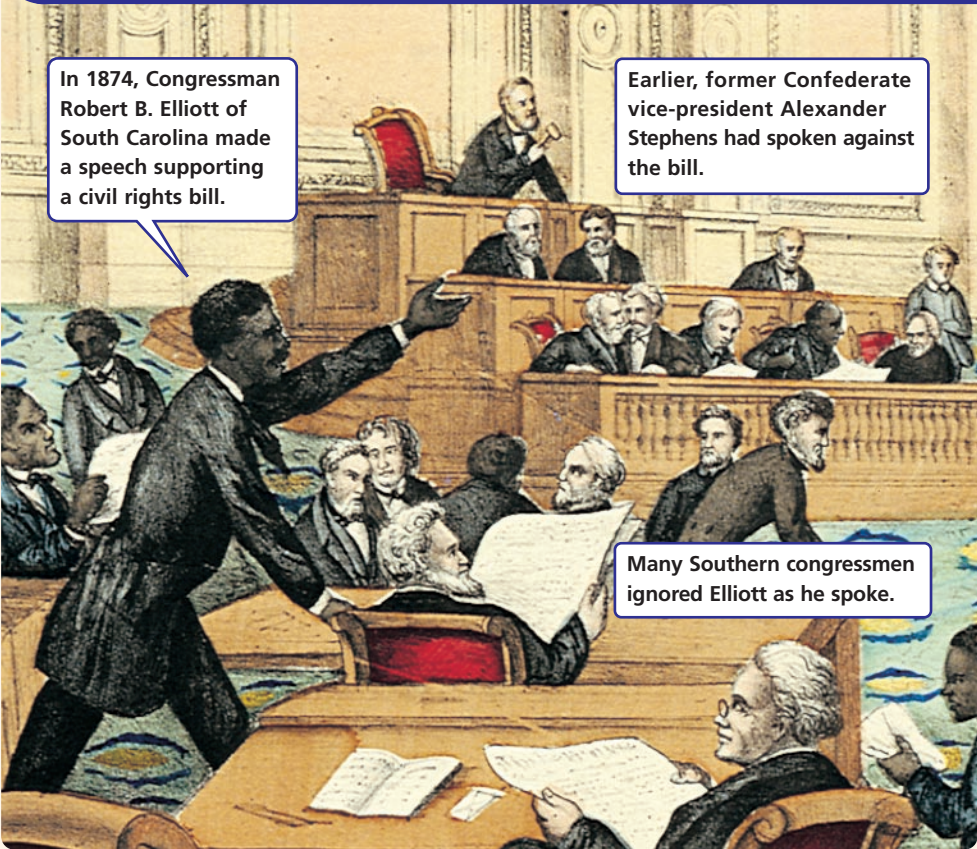
Freed African Americans stand in the ruins of a Southern city after the Civil War.







## Interact *with* History

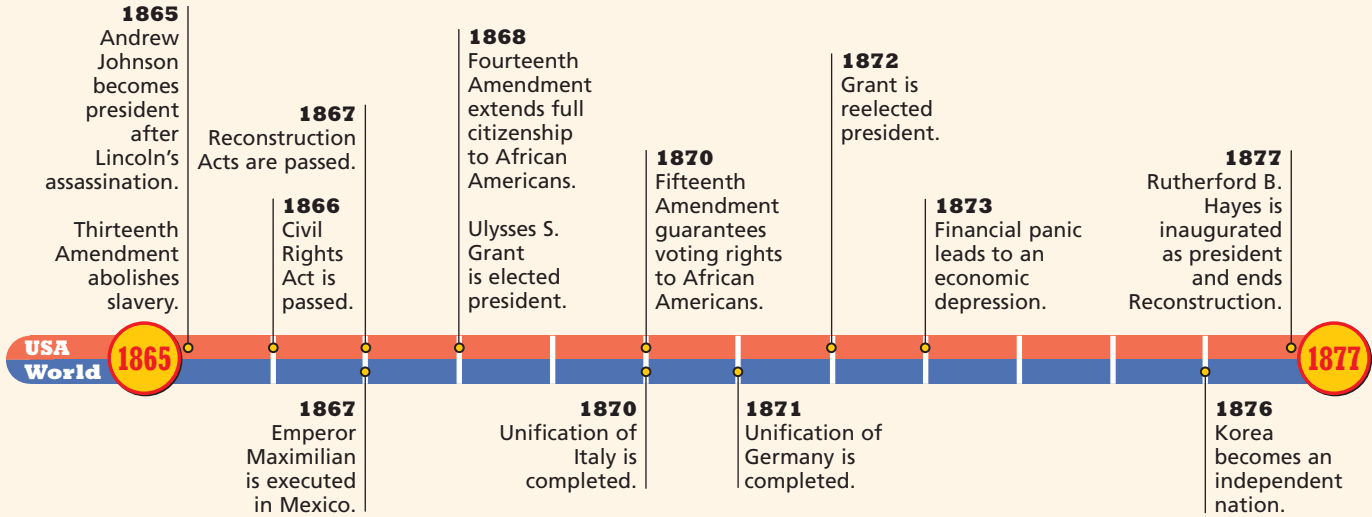


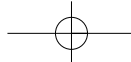
The Civil War has just ended, and the Southern economy is in ruins. Slavery has been abolished. Northerners and Southerners feel deep anger toward one another. As a member of Congress, you must help rebuild the nation.

### What Do You Think?

- What problems would you face in rebuilding the nation?
- How would you ease tensions between North and South?
- How would you help freed African Americans?

# How would you rebuild the Union?





# Chapter 18 SETTING THE STAGE

## BEFORE YOU READ



### Previewing the Theme

**Democratic Ideals** After the Union won the war, the nation faced the question of how a democratic government should treat the people who rebelled against it. The Union also faced the question of how to include the millions of freed African Americans in the political process. In this chapter, you will learn how the country struggled to move toward the ideal of equality during Reconstruction.


### What Do You Know?

What do you think it means to reconstruct something? What kinds of things did the U.S. government need to reconstruct after the Civil War? Which of these issues do you think was most important?

### THINK ABOUT

- what you learned about the Civil War in the last two chapters
- what you've learned about civil rights in the United States from television and movies

### What Do You Want to Know?


 What questions do you have about Reconstruction? Record those questions in your notebook before you read this chapter.

## READ AND TAKE NOTES

### Reading Strategy: Identifying and Solving Problems

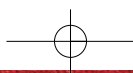
Sometimes, to understand what you read, you must learn to identify problems and solutions. As you read through this chapter, use a diagram like the

one below to take notes on the problems the United States faced during Reconstruction and the actions the nation took to solve them.

 See Skillbuilder Handbook, page R18.

Problems	Solutions
Black codes	
President Johnson	
Education	
Economy	
Ku Klux Klan	
Voting	





# 1 Rebuilding the Union

## TERMS & NAMES

Radical  
Republicans  
Reconstruction  
Freedmen's Bureau  
Andrew Johnson  
black codes  
civil rights  
Fourteenth  
Amendment

### MAIN IDEA

During Reconstruction, the president and Congress fought over how to rebuild the South.

### WHY IT MATTERS NOW

Reconstruction was an important step in the African-American struggle for civil rights.

## ONE AMERICAN'S STORY

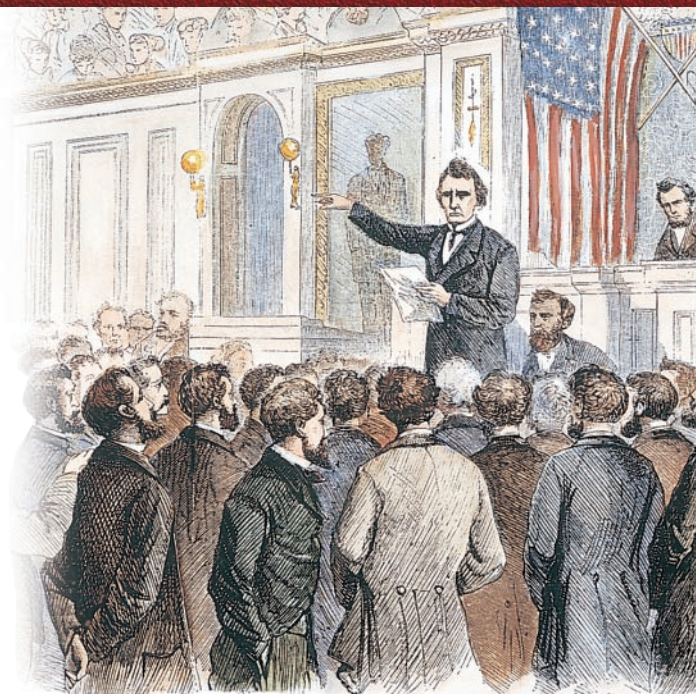
After the Civil War, Pennsylvania congressman Thaddeus Stevens became a leader of the **Radical Republicans**. This group of congressmen favored using federal power to create a new order in the South and to promote full citizenship for freed African Americans.

### A VOICE FROM THE PAST

The whole fabric of southern society *must* be changed. . . . 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, quoted in *The Era of Reconstruction* by Kenneth Stampp

In this section, you will learn how political leaders battled over how to bring the Southern states back into the Union.



Thaddeus Stevens addresses Congress.

## Reconstruction Begins

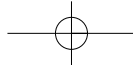
After the Civil War ended in 1865, the South faced the challenge of building a new society not based on slavery. The process the federal government used to readmit the Confederate states to the Union is known as **Reconstruction**. Reconstruction lasted from 1865 to 1877.

In his Second Inaugural Address, in March 1865, Lincoln promised to reunify the nation “with malice [harm] toward none, with charity for all.” Lincoln’s plan included pardoning Confederate officials. It also called for allowing the Confederate states to quickly form new governments and send representatives to Congress.

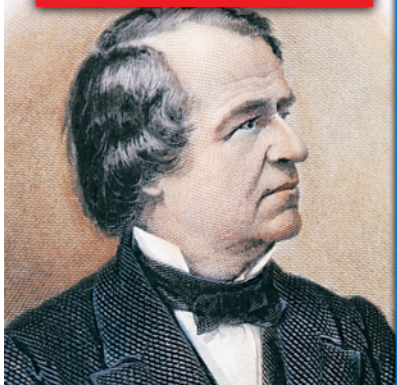
To assist former slaves, the president established the **Freedmen’s Bureau**. This federal agency set up schools and hospitals for African Americans and distributed clothes, food, and fuel throughout the South.

When Lincoln was killed in April 1865, Vice-President **Andrew Johnson** became president. Johnson was a Democrat. The Republicans





## AMERICA'S HISTORY MAKERS



**ANDREW JOHNSON**

1808–1875

Andrew Johnson was a self-educated man whose strong will led to trouble with Congress.

As a former slaveholder from Tennessee, Johnson called for a mild program for bringing the South back into the Union. In particular, he let states decide whether to give voting rights to freed African Americans.

Johnson's policies led to a break with the Radical Republicans in Congress and, finally, to his impeachment trial (see page 521).

**Why might Johnson have chosen not to punish the South?**

had put him on the ticket in 1864 to help win support in the nation's border states. Johnson was a former slaveholder and, unlike Lincoln, a stubborn, unyielding man.

Johnson believed that Reconstruction was the job of the president, not Congress. His policies were based on Lincoln's goals. He insisted that the new state governments ratify the Thirteenth Amendment, which prohibited slavery. He also insisted that they accept the supreme power of the federal government.

Johnson offered amnesty, or official pardon, to most white Southerners. He promised to return their property. In return, they had to pledge loyalty to the United States. At first, the large plantation owners, top military officers, and ex-Confederate leaders were not included in this offer. But they, too, eventually won amnesty.

### Rebuilding Brings Conflict

As the Southern states rebuilt, they set up new state governments that seemed very much like the old ones. Some states flatly refused to ratify the Thirteenth Amendment. "This is a white man's government," said the governor of South Carolina, "and intended for white men only."

The Southern states passed laws, known as **black codes**, which limited the freedom of former slaves. In Mississippi, for instance, one law said that African Americans had to have written proof of employment. Anyone without such proof could be put to work on a plantation. African Americans were forbidden to meet in unsupervised groups or carry guns. Because of such

laws, many people in the North suspected that white Southerners were trying to bring back the "old South."

When Congress met in December 1865, its members refused to seat representatives from the South. Many of these Southern representatives had been Confederate leaders only months before.

Under the Constitution, Congress has the right to decide whether its members are qualified to hold office. So instead of admitting the Southerners, Congress set up a committee to study conditions in the South and decide whether the Southern states should be represented. By taking such action, Congress let the president know that it planned to play a role in Reconstruction.

Republicans outnumbered Democrats in both houses of Congress. Most Republicans were moderates who believed that the federal government should stay out of the affairs of individuals and the states.

The Radical Republicans, however, wanted the federal government to play an active role in remaking Southern politics and society. Led by Thaddeus Stevens and Massachusetts senator Charles Sumner, the

#### Background

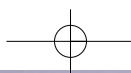
Not all Confederate leaders were pardoned. Former Confederate president Jefferson Davis, for example, was imprisoned for two years awaiting trial for treason. But he was never tried.

#### Reading History

**A. Analyzing Causes** What was the main reason Southern states passed black codes?

#### Vocabulary

**moderates:** people opposed to extreme views



group also demanded full and equal citizenship for African Americans. Their aim was to destroy the South's old ruling class and turn the region into a place of small farms, free schools, respect for labor, and political equality for all citizens.

## The Civil Rights Act

Urged on by the Radicals, Congress passed a bill promoting **civil rights**—those rights granted to all citizens. The Civil Rights Act of 1866 declared that all persons born in the United States (except Native Americans) were citizens. It also stated that all citizens were entitled to equal rights regardless of their race.

Republicans were shocked when President Johnson vetoed the bill. Johnson argued that federal protection of civil rights would lead “towards centralization” of the national government. He also insisted that making African Americans full citizens would “operate against the white race.” Congress voted to override Johnson's veto. That is, two-thirds of the House and two-thirds of the Senate voted for the bill after the president's veto, and the bill became law.

## The Fourteenth Amendment

Republicans were not satisfied with passing laws that ensured equal rights. They wanted equality to be protected by the Constitution itself. To achieve this goal, Congress proposed the **Fourteenth Amendment** in 1866. It stated that all people born in the United States were citizens and had the same rights. All citizens were to be granted “equal protection of the laws.” However, the amendment did not establish black suffrage. Instead, it declared that any state that kept African Americans from voting would lose representatives in Congress. This meant that the Southern states would have less power if they did not grant black men the vote.

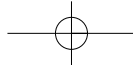
Johnson refused to support the amendment. So did every former Confederate state except Tennessee. This rejection outraged both moderate and Radical Republicans. As a result, the two groups agreed to join forces and passed the Reconstruction Acts of 1867. The passage of these

Radical Republicans pose for a formal portrait. Standing (left to right): James F. Wilson, George S. Boutwell, and John A. Logan. Seated: Benjamin F. Butler, Thaddeus Stevens, Thomas Williams, and John A. Bingham.

### ReadingHistory

**B. Making Inferences** How did the Fourteenth Amendment encourage states to give African Americans the vote?





acts began a period known as Radical Reconstruction. From this point on, Congress controlled Reconstruction.

One of the Reconstruction Acts of 1867 divided the South into five military districts, each run by an army commander. Members of the ruling class before the war lost their voting rights. The law also stated that before the Southern states could reenter the Union, they would have to do two things:

1. They must approve new state constitutions that gave the vote to all adult men, including African Americans.
2. They must ratify the Fourteenth Amendment.

## The New Southern Governments

In 1867, Southern voters chose delegates to draft their new state constitutions. About three-fourths of the delegates were Republicans. About half of the Republicans were poor white farmers. Angry at planters for starting what they called the “rich man’s war,” these delegates were called scalawags (scoundrels) for going along with Radical Reconstruction.

Another one-fourth of the Republican delegates were known as carpetbaggers—white Northerners who had rushed to the South after the war. Many Southerners accused them, often unfairly, of seeking only to get rich or gain political power.

African Americans made up the rest of the Republican delegates. Of these, half had been free before the war. Most were ministers, teachers, or skilled workers. About 80 percent of them could read.

The new constitutions written by these delegates set up public schools and gave the vote to all adult males. By 1870, voters in all the Southern states had approved their new constitutions. As a result, the former Confederate states were let back into the Union and allowed to send representatives to Congress.

During Reconstruction, more than 600 African Americans served in state legislatures throughout the South, and 14 of the new U.S. congressmen from the South were African Americans. Two African Americans served as U.S. senators during this time. One was Hiram Revels of Mississippi, a minister in the African Methodist Episcopal Church. He had recruited African Americans to fight for the Union during the Civil War.

### Background

Attempts to secure voting rights for African Americans applied only to men. Women were not allowed to vote until 1919.

### Background

Carpetbaggers were said to have headed south carrying only a cheap suitcase, known as a carpetbag.

### ReadingHistory

#### C. Finding Main Ideas

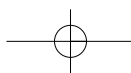
What political gains did African Americans make during Reconstruction?

## HISTORY through ART

*His First Vote*, an 1868 oil painting by Thomas Waterman Wood, shows a new African-American voter.

**How do you think the man felt about voting?**





## Johnson Is Impeached

President Johnson fought against many of Congress's reform efforts during Radical Reconstruction. For instance, he chose people friendly to ex-Confederates to serve as military commanders in the South. The conflict between Johnson and Congress soon brought a showdown.

In 1867, Congress passed the Tenure of Office Act, which prohibited the president from firing government officials without the Senate's approval. In February 1868, Johnson fired his secretary of war, Edwin Stanton, over disagreements about Reconstruction. Three days later, the House of Representatives voted to impeach the president. This means that the House formally accused him of improper conduct while in office. By removing Johnson from office, they hoped to strengthen Congress's role in Reconstruction.

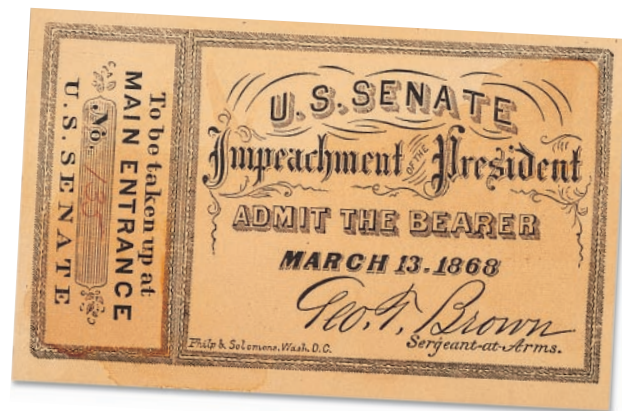
The case moved to the Senate for a trial. After several weeks of testimony, the senators prepared to vote. George Julian, a 20-year congressman from Indiana, recalled the tension in the air.

### A VOICE FROM THE PAST

The galleries were packed, and an indescribable anxiety was written on every face. Some of the members of the House near me grew pale and sick under the burden of suspense. Such stillness prevailed that the breathing in the galleries could be heard at the announcement of each Senator's voice.

George Julian, quoted in *Grand Inquests*

In the end, President Johnson was acquitted by a single vote. But much work remained to be done in rebuilding the South. In the next section, you will learn how African Americans in the South worked to improve their lives.



This is a ticket to the 1868 impeachment trial of President Johnson.

### ReadingHistory

#### D. Drawing

**Conclusions** Why did Congress decide to impeach President Johnson?

### Vocabulary

**acquitted:** cleared of a charge

## Section 1 Assessment

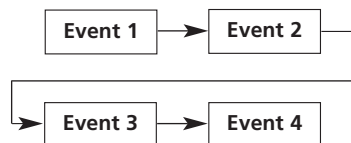
### 1. Terms & Names

**Explain the significance of:**

- Radical Republicans
- Reconstruction
- Freedmen's Bureau
- Andrew Johnson
- black codes
- civil rights
- Fourteenth Amendment

### 2. Taking Notes

Use a diagram to review the events that led to Johnson's impeachment.



Which event seems most important and why?

### 3. Main Ideas

- What was Lincoln's Reconstruction plan?
- How did white Southerners plan to restore the "old South"?
- What impact did the Reconstruction Acts of 1867 have on the South?

### 4. Critical Thinking

**Evaluating** Do you think the House was justified in impeaching President Johnson? Why or why not?

#### THINK ABOUT

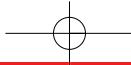
- the clash over Reconstruction policies
- Congress's motives for impeaching Johnson

### ACTIVITY OPTIONS

#### TECHNOLOGY SPEECH

Research an African American who served in Congress during Reconstruction. Design his Internet **home page**, or make a **speech** about his accomplishments.





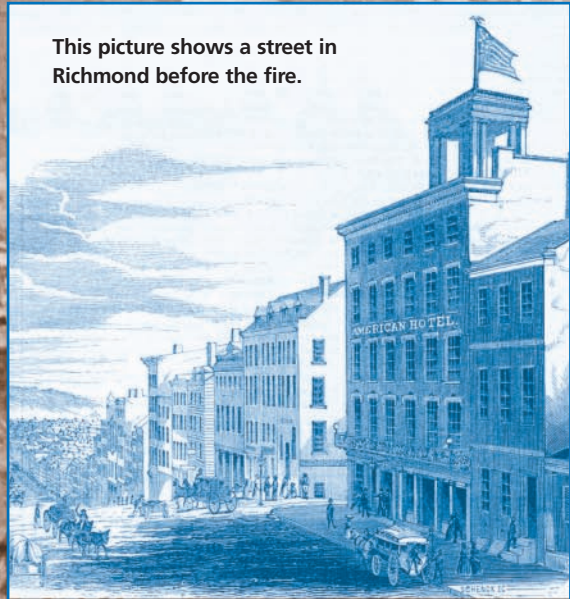
## Interdisciplinary CHALLENGE

### Rebuilding Richmond

You live in Richmond, Virginia, the capital of the Confederacy. It is 1865, and the South faces defeat in the Civil War. On April 2, Confederate officials set fire to supplies in Richmond to prevent the approaching Union army from using them. The fire spreads out of control and destroys downtown Richmond. The next day, Union troops march into the city and take command. You must now help rebuild the city.

**COOPERATIVE LEARNING** On this page are two challenges you face as a resident of Richmond. Working with a small group, decide how to solve one of these problems. Divide the work among the group members. You will find useful information in the Data File. Be prepared to present your solutions to the class.

This picture shows a street in Richmond before the fire.



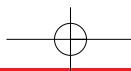
#### ARTS CHALLENGE

*“We want the burnt district of Richmond to . . . sit proudly again.”*

The smell of charred wood still floats in the breeze. However, spirit and determination fill the air. Warehouses are opening. Newly cleared streets bustle with activity. The rebuilding of Richmond has begun. How would you design one block of Richmond’s new downtown business district? Use the Data File for help. Then present your plan using one of these options:

- Make a model of your new city block.
- Create a written proposal with a rough sketch to illustrate.





## DATA FILE

### THE BURNT DISTRICT

- about \$30 million damage
- 20 city blocks destroyed, including 900 buildings

#### Destroyed Property

all banks, 20 law offices, 24 grocery stores, 36 merchant shops, 2 carriage factories, 2 paper mills, 7 book and stationery stores, 2 train depots, 3 bridges, a church, a machine shop, a tin shop, a pottery factory, several flour mills and printing offices

#### Surviving Property

capitol and city hall, residential areas, ironworks

### EMERGENCY SERVICES

#### Union Army

- distributes 13,000 food rations
- provides medical help
- guards homes; patrols streets

#### American Union Commission

- hands out food tickets
- distributes 80,000 pounds of flour; feeds soup to 800 people a day
- provides garden seeds and sells shovels at cost to farmers

### REBUILDING

#### April 1865

- rubble is cleared
- markets sell meat, fish, produce
- hotels and bakeries open
- one bridge is rebuilt

#### May 1865

- two banks open
- gas and telegraph service is restored
- river opens to steamboat traffic

#### Summer 1865

- horse-drawn buses operate
- city government is reinstated

#### Fall 1865

- ironworks reopens
- 100 buildings are now under construction

For more about Reconstruction . . .



**RESEARCH LINKS**  
CLASSZONE.COM

### CIVICS CHALLENGE

*“Open robberies have been perpetrated.”*

Robberies and assaults are commonplace, especially in the burnt area of the downtown. Groups of orphaned children also roam the city, picking pockets to support themselves. Union military police supposedly protect the public. However, soldiers sometimes commit crimes themselves. What would you do to improve public safety? Use the Data File for help. Present your ideas using one of these options:

- Hold a town meeting to explore possible solutions.
- Create a set of emergency laws, with plans for publicizing them.

### ACTIVITY WRAP-UP

Meet as a group to review your responses to rebuilding Richmond. Pick your most creative solution and present it to the class.





## 2 Reconstruction and Daily Life

### TERMS & NAMES

freedmen's school  
sharecropping  
Ku Klux Klan  
lynch

### MAIN IDEA

As the South rebuilt, millions of newly freed African Americans worked to improve their lives.

### WHY IT MATTERS NOW

Many important African-American institutions, including colleges, began during Reconstruction.

### ONE AMERICAN'S STORY

One day, as the Civil War came to a close, two enslaved women named Mill and Jule saw a fleet of Union gunboats coming up the Mississippi River. Yankee soldiers came ashore and offered them and other slaves passage aboard their boats. On that day, Mill and Jule left the plantation where they had toiled for so long.

#### A VOICE FROM THE PAST

An' we all got on the boat in a hurry . . . we all give three times three cheers for the gunboat boys, and three times three cheers for big Yankee [soldiers], an' three times three cheers for gov'ment; an' I tell you every one of us, big and little, cheered loud and long and strong, an' made the old river just ring ag'in.

Mill and Jule, quoted in *We Are Your Sisters*

The Union's victory in the Civil War spelled the end of slavery in America and a new beginning for the nation's millions of newly freed African Americans. In this section, you will learn about the gains and setbacks of former slaves during Reconstruction.



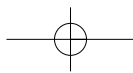
Freed people and a federal soldier pose on a South Carolina plantation.

### Responding to Freedom

African Americans' first reaction to freedom was to leave the plantations. No longer needing passes to travel, they journeyed throughout the region. "Right off colored folks started on the move," recalled one freedman. "They seemed to want to get closer to freedom, so they'd know what it was—like it was a place or a city." Some former slaves returned to the places where they were born. Others went looking for more economic opportunity. Still others traveled just because they could.

African Americans also traveled in search of family members separated from them during slavery. One man walked 600 miles from Georgia to North Carolina to find his family. To locate relatives, people placed advertisements in newspapers. The Freedmen's Bureau helped many families reunite. A Union officer wrote in 1865, "Men are taking





### ReadingHistory

#### A. Analyzing

**Causes** For what reasons did former slaves move?

their wives and children, families which had been for a long time broken up are united and oh! such happiness.”

Freedom allowed African Americans to strengthen their family ties. Former slaves could marry legally. They could raise families without fearing that their children might be sold. Many families adopted children of dead relatives and friends to keep family ties strong.

## Starting Schools

With freedom, African Americans no longer had to work for an owner's benefit. They could now work to provide for their families. To reach their goal of economic independence, however, most had to learn to read and write. As a result, children and adults flocked to **freedmen's schools** set up to educate newly freed African Americans. Such schools were started by the Freedmen's Bureau, Northern missionary groups, and African-American organizations. Freed people in cities held classes in warehouses, billiard rooms, and former slave markets. In rural areas, classes were held in churches and houses. Children who went to school often taught their parents to read at home.

In the years after the war, African-American groups raised more than \$1 million for education. However, the federal government and private groups in the North paid most of the cost of building schools and hiring teachers. Between 1865 and 1870, the Freedmen's Bureau spent \$5 million for this purpose.

More than 150,000 African-American students were attending 3,000 schools by 1869. About 10 percent of the South's African-American adults could read. A number of them became teachers. Northern teachers, black and white, also went South to teach freed people. Many white Southerners, however, worked against these teachers' efforts. White racists even killed teachers and burned freedmen's schools in some parts of the South. Despite these setbacks, African Americans kept working toward an education.

### ReadingHistory

#### B. Finding Main

**Ideas** Why did freed people desire an education?

### Background

Most African Americans were illiterate because teaching slaves to read and write had been illegal.

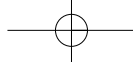
## America's HERITAGE

### BLACK COLLEGES

Some of today's African-American colleges and universities date back to Reconstruction. The Freedmen's Bureau and other societies raised funds to build many of the schools. Howard University, shown in this photograph, opened in 1867. It was named for General Oliver Otis Howard, head of the Freedmen's Bureau. During Reconstruction, these colleges offered courses ranging from basic reading and writing to medicine and law. They also trained much-needed teachers.







African-American families hoped to own land but were often disappointed.

## 40 Acres and a Mule

More than anything else, freed people wanted to own land. As one freedman said, “Give us our own land and we take care of ourselves, but without land, the old masters can hire us or starve us, as they please.”

As the Civil War ended, General William T. Sherman suggested that abandoned land in coastal South Carolina be split into 40-acre parcels and given to freedmen. The rumor then spread that all freedmen would get 40 acres and a mule. Most African Americans thought they deserved at least that much. In the end, however, most freedmen never received land. Those who did often had to return it to its former owners after the owners were pardoned by President Johnson. One freedman, Bayley Wyat, protested.

### A VOICE FROM THE PAST

Our wives, our children, our husbands, [have] been sold over and over again to purchase the lands we now [locate] upon; for that reason we have a divine right to the land. . . . And then didn't we clear the land, and raise the crops of corn, of cotton, of tobacco, of rice, of sugar, of everything.

Bayley Wyat, quoted in *Reconstruction: America's Unfinished Revolution*

Radical Republican leaders Thaddeus Stevens and Charles Sumner pushed to make land reform part of the Reconstruction Acts of 1867. Stevens proposed a plan to Congress that would have taken land from plantation owners and given it to freed people.

Many moderate Republicans and even some Radicals were against the plan. They believed that new civil and voting rights were enough to give African Americans a better life.

Supporters of the plan argued that civil rights meant little without economic independence. Land could provide that independence, they claimed. However, Congress did not pass the land-reform plan.

## The Contract System

Without their own property, many African Americans returned to work on plantations. They returned not as slaves but as wage earners. They and the planters both had trouble getting used to this new relationship. “It seems humiliating to be compelled to bargain and haggle with our own servants about wages,” wrote the daughter of a Georgia plantation owner. For their part, many freed workers assumed that wages were extra. They thought that the planters still had to house and feed them.

After the Civil War, planters desperately needed workers to raise cotton, still the South's main cash crop. African Americans reacted to this demand for labor by choosing the best contract offers. The contract system was far better than slavery. African Americans could decide whom to work for, and planters could not abuse them or split up families.

The contract system still had drawbacks, however. Even the best contracts paid very low wages. Workers often could not leave the plantations

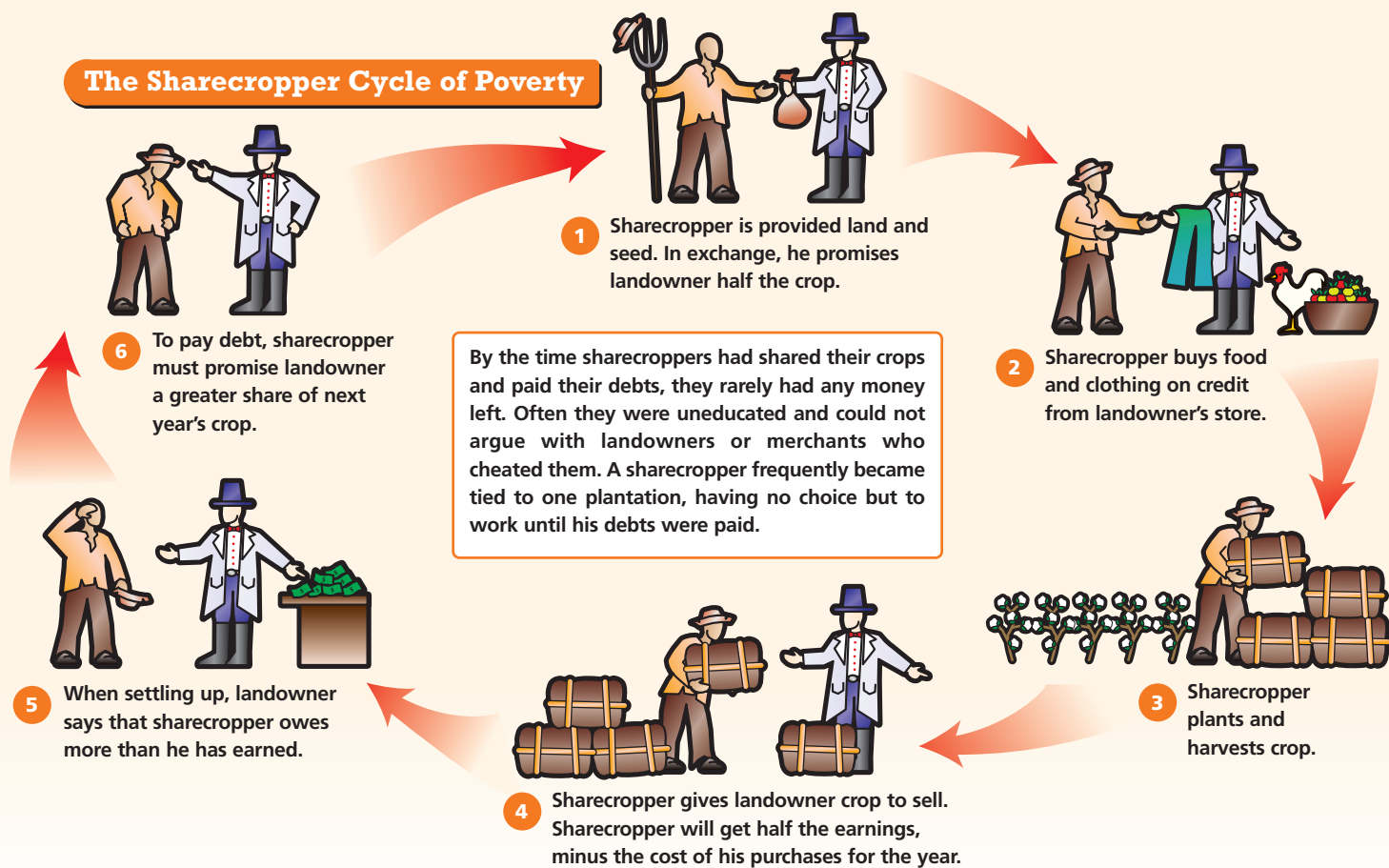
### ReadingHistory

#### C. Analyzing Points of View

What were some arguments in favor of giving land to freed people?

### Background

Civil War deaths and the departure of slaves from plantations created a labor shortage in the South.



without permission. Many owners cheated workers out of wages and other benefits. Worse yet, laws punished workers for breaking their contracts, even if the plantation owners were abusing or cheating them. These drawbacks made many African Americans turn to sharecropping.

## Sharecropping and Debt

Under the **sharecropping** system, a worker rented a plot of land to farm. The landowner provided the tools, seed, and housing. When harvest time came, the sharecropper gave the landowner a share of the crop. This system gave families without land a place to farm and gave landowners cheap labor.

But problems soon arose with the sharecropping system. One cause of these problems was that farmers and landowners had opposite goals. Farmers wanted to grow food to feed their families, but landowners forced them to grow cash crops, such as cotton. As a result, farmers had to buy food from the local store—which was usually owned by the landlord. Most farmers did not have the money to pay for goods. As a result, many were caught in a cycle of debt, as shown in the diagram above. Often farmers had to use one year's harvest to pay the previous year's bills.

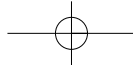
White farmers also became sharecroppers. Many had lost their land in the war. Others had lost it to taxes. By 1880, one-third of the white farmers in the Deep South worked someone else's land.

No matter who worked the plantations, much of what they grew was cotton. After the war, the value of cotton dropped. Southern planters responded by trying to produce more of the cash crop—a move that

### Reading History

**D. Recognizing Effects** What were some problems with the sharecropping system?





drove down prices even further. Growing cotton exhausted the soil and reduced the amount of land available for food crops. As a result, the South had to import half its food. Relying on cotton was one reason the Deep South experienced years of rural poverty.

## The Ku Klux Klan

African Americans in the South faced other problems besides poverty. They also faced violent racism. Many planters and former Confederate soldiers did not want African Americans to have more rights. In 1866, such feelings spurred the rise of a secret group called the **Ku Klux Klan**. The Klan's goals were to restore Democratic control of the South and keep former slaves powerless.



These Ku Klux Klan members were arrested after an 1868 riot in Alabama.

The Klan attacked African Americans. Often it targeted those who owned land or had become prosperous. Klansmen rode on horseback and dressed in white robes and hoods. They beat people and burned homes. They even **lynched** some victims, killing them on the spot without a trial as punishment for a supposed crime. The Klan also attacked white Republicans.

Klan victims had little protection. Military authorities in the South often ignored the violence. President Johnson had appointed most of these authorities, and they were against Reconstruction.

The Klan's terrorism served the Democratic Party. As gun-toting Klansmen kept Republicans away from the polls, the Democrats increased their power.

In the next section you will see how planters took back control of the South. You also will learn how they blocked African Americans' attempts to win more rights.

### ReadingHistory

**E. Finding Main Ideas** What were the goals of the Ku Klux Klan?

## Section 2 Assessment

### 1. Terms & Names

**Explain the significance of:**

- freedmen's school
- sharecropping
- Ku Klux Klan
- lynch

### 2. Taking Notes

Use a cluster diagram like the one below to review details about sharecropping.



For farmers, what were the advantages and disadvantages of sharecropping?

### 3. Main Ideas

- How did freedom help strengthen African-American families?
- How were African Americans educated during Reconstruction?
- What were the main reasons African Americans wanted their own land?

### 4. Critical Thinking

#### Analyzing Causes

Despite greater civil rights, why did African Americans still face difficulty in improving their lives?

#### THINK ABOUT

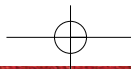
- the defeat of the land-reform bill
- the Ku Klux Klan's rise
- the attitude of military authorities in the South

### ACTIVITY OPTIONS

#### SPEECH

#### ART

Make a **speech** to President Johnson or design a **mural** explaining why land should be given to newly freed African Americans.



# 3 End of Reconstruction

## TERMS & NAMES

Fifteenth Amendment  
Panic of 1873  
Compromise of 1877

### MAIN IDEA

As white Southerners regained power, Reconstruction ended, as did black advances toward equality.

### WHY IT MATTERS NOW

Reforms made during Reconstruction made later civil rights gains possible.

## ONE AMERICAN'S STORY

Robert B. Elliott was a U.S. congressman from South Carolina during Reconstruction. In 1874, he made a stirring speech supporting a civil rights bill that would outlaw racial discrimination in public services. (See Interact with History, page 515.)

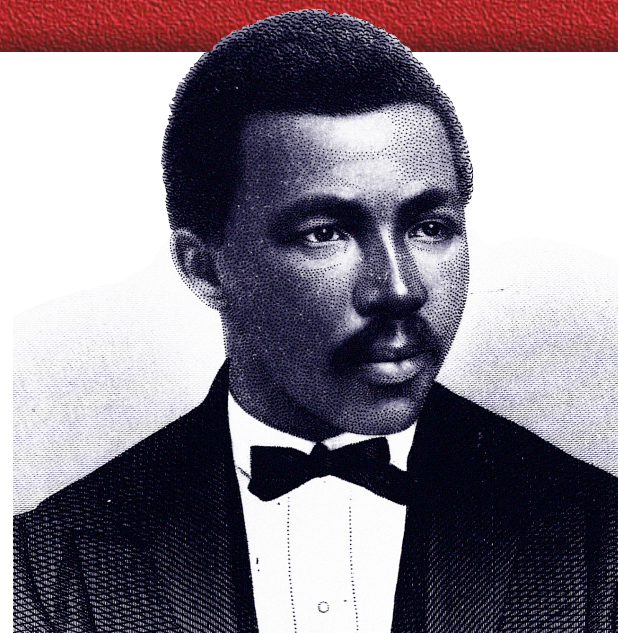
### A VOICE FROM THE PAST

The passage of this bill will determine the civil status, not only of the negro but of any other class of citizens who may feel themselves discriminated against. It will form the capstone of that temple of liberty begun on this continent.

Robert B. Elliott, quoted in *The Glorious Failure*

Elliott was elected South Carolina's attorney general in 1876. He began his term in 1877, just as Reconstruction was ending. That year, federal troops left the South. White Southerners took back control of the region. Quickly, they forced African Americans, including Elliott, out of office.

In this section, you will learn about the events that ended Reconstruction. You will also see how Reconstruction's end meant setbacks in the fight for civil rights and equality.



Robert B. Elliott lost his political office when Reconstruction ended.

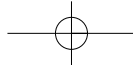
## The Election of Grant

The Republican Party seemed stronger than ever in 1868. That year, its candidate, General Ulysses S. Grant, won the presidency. During the campaign, the Democrats attacked the Republicans' Reconstruction policies. They blamed the party for granting rights to African Americans.

On Election Day, however, the Republicans won. Grant received 214 electoral votes. His Democratic opponent received only 80. The popular count was much closer. Grant had a majority of only 306,000 votes.

Grant would not have had such a majority without the freedmen's vote. Despite attacks by the Ku Klux Klan, about 500,000 African Americans voted in the South. Most cast their ballots for Grant.



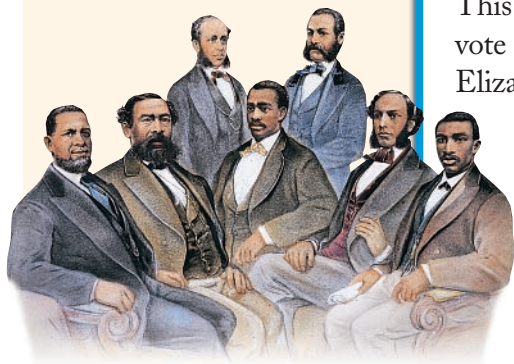


## Now and then

### AFRICAN AMERICANS IN CONGRESS

Between 1870 and 1877, 16 African Americans served in Congress. Seven are shown in the picture below. Two were senators: Hiram R. Revels and Blanche K. Bruce, both of whom were from Mississippi.

In 1999, there were 38 African Americans in Congress. The longest-serving member was John Conyers, a representative from Michigan elected in 1964. Only two African-American senators were elected in the 20th century. Massachusetts senator Edward W. Brooke served from 1967 to 1979. Illinois senator Carol Moseley-Braun served from 1993 to 1999.



## The Fifteenth Amendment

After Grant's victory, Radical Republicans worried that the Southern states might try to keep African Americans from voting in future elections. To prevent this, Radical leaders proposed a new constitutional amendment.

The **Fifteenth Amendment** stated that citizens could not be stopped from voting "on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude." (This amendment, like the Fourteenth Amendment, did not apply to Native Americans on tribal lands.) The amendment was ratified in 1870.

The Fifteenth Amendment was not aimed only at the South. African-American men could not vote in 16 states. "We have no moral right to impose an obligation on one part of the land which the rest will not accept," one Radical wrote. With the Fifteenth Amendment, the nation again turned toward democracy.

The Fifteenth Amendment did not apply to women. This made many white women angry. Why couldn't they vote when black men—former slaves—could? Suffragist Elizabeth Cady Stanton protested the idea of uneducated immigrants and freedmen "who never read the Declaration of Independence" making laws for educated white women. Most African-American women were not as angry. To Frances E. W. Harper, a black suffragist and writer, it was important for African Americans to gain voting rights, even if that meant only men at first.

### ReadingHistory

#### A. Comparing

How was the Fifteenth Amendment a step beyond the Fourteenth Amendment?

**A. Answer** While the Fourteenth Amendment broadly granted equal rights, the Fifteenth Amendment guaranteed voting rights.

### Vocabulary

**suffragist:** someone who favors equal voting rights, especially for women

## Grant Fights the Klan

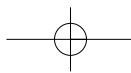
Despite gaining the vote, African Americans in the South continued to be terrorized by the Ku Klux Klan. In 1871, to stop the terror, President Grant asked Congress to pass a tough law against the Klan. Joseph Rainey, a black congressman from South Carolina, had received death threats from the Klan. He urged his fellow lawmakers to support the bill.

### A VOICE FROM THE PAST

When myself and colleagues shall leave these Halls and turn our footsteps toward our southern home we know not but that the assassin may await our coming. Be it as it may we have resolved to be loyal and firm, and if we perish, we perish! I earnestly hope the bill will pass.

**Joseph Rainey**, quoted in *The Trouble They Seen*

Congress approved the anti-Klan bill. Federal marshals then arrested thousands of Klansmen. Klan attacks on African-American voters declined. As a result, the 1872 presidential election was both fair and peaceful in the South. Grant won a second term.



## Scandal and Panic Weaken Republicans

Under the Grant administration, support for the Republicans and Reconstruction weakened. Scandals hurt the administration and caused divisions in the Republican Party. A financial panic further hurt the Republicans and turned the country's attention away from Reconstruction.

President Grant did not choose his advisers well. He put his former army friends and his wife's relatives in government positions. Many of these people were unqualified. Some Grant appointees took bribes. Grant's private secretary, for instance, took money from whiskey distillers who wanted to avoid paying taxes. Grant's secretary of war, General William Belknap, left office after people accused him of taking bribes.

Such scandals deeply outraged many Republicans. In 1872, some Republican officials broke away and formed the new Liberal Republican Party. The Republicans, no longer unified, became less willing to impose tough Reconstruction policies on the South.

In 1873, political corruption and Republican quarreling gave way to a more serious problem. When several powerful Eastern banks ran out of money after making bad loans, a financial panic swept the country. In the **Panic of 1873**, banks across the land closed. The stock market temporarily collapsed. The panic caused an economic depression, a time of low business activity and high unemployment. The railroad industry, which relied on banks for loans, suffered. Within a year, 89 of the country's 364 railroads went broke. Railroad failures left Midwestern farmers with no way to move their crops, and many farmers were ruined.

The depression, which lasted about five years, touched nearly all parts of the economy. By 1875, more than 18,000 companies had folded. Hundreds of workers had lost their jobs. Many Americans blamed the crisis on the Republicans—the party in power. As a result, Democrats won victories in the 1874 congressional and state elections. In the middle of the depression, Americans grew tired of hearing about the South's problems. The nation was losing interest in Reconstruction.

### ReadingHistory

#### B. Making

**Inferences** How did Republican scandals hurt Reconstruction?

#### B. Possible

**Responses** They made the party and its policies seem less moral; they distracted Republican politicians from Reconstruction goals.

#### C. Answer

economic depression, bankrupt railroads, ruined farmers, folded companies, lost jobs, and less interest in Reconstruction

### ReadingHistory

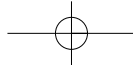
#### C. Recognizing

**Effects** What resulted from the Panic of 1873?



This cartoon from *Puck* magazine shows President Grant weighed down by corruption in his administration.





## Supreme Court Reversals

To make matters worse for the Republicans, the Supreme Court began to undo some of the changes that had been made in the South. In an 1876 case, *U.S. v. Cruikshank*, the Court ruled that the federal government could not punish individuals who violated the civil rights of African Americans. Only the states had that power, the Court declared. Southern state officials often would not punish those who attacked African Americans. As a result, violence against them increased.

In the 1876 case *U.S. v. Reese*, the Court ruled in favor of white Southerners who barred African Americans from voting. The Court stated that the Fifteenth Amendment did not give everyone the right to vote—it merely listed the grounds on which states could not deny the vote. In other words, states could prevent African Americans from voting for other reasons. States later imposed poll taxes and literacy tests to restrict the vote. These Court decisions weakened Reconstruction and blocked African-American efforts to gain full equality.

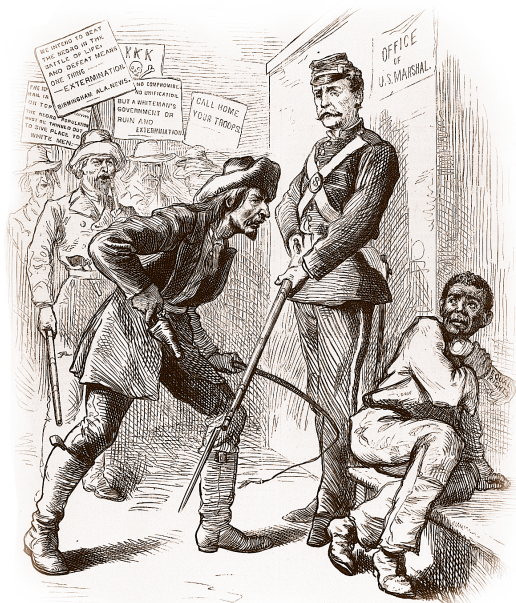
## Reconstruction Ends

The final blow to Reconstruction came with the 1876 presidential election. The Democrats nominated Samuel J. Tilden, governor of New York. The Republicans chose Rutherford B. Hayes, governor of Ohio. The race was very close. Victory depended on the electoral votes of South Carolina, Louisiana, and Florida. The votes in those states were so close that both the Democrats and the Republicans claimed victory. A special commission of eight Republicans and seven Democrats made a deal. Under the **Compromise of 1877**, Hayes became president. In return, the Republicans compromised with the Southern Democrats on several issues.

1. The government would remove federal troops from the South.
2. The government would provide land grants and loans for the construction of railroads linking the South to the West Coast.
3. Southern officials would receive federal funds for construction and improvement projects.
4. Hayes would appoint a Democrat to his cabinet.
5. The Democrats promised to respect African Americans' civil and political rights.

Abolitionist Wendell Phillips was against the compromise. He doubted that the South would respect black rights. "The whole soil of the South is hidden by successive layers of broken promises," he said. "To trust a Southern promise would be fair evidence of insanity."

After the 1876 presidential election, the Reconstruction governments in the South collapsed. The Democrats returned to power, believing that they were the redeemers, or rescuers, of the South.



This cartoon from *Harper's Weekly* shows a federal soldier as the freedman's only defense against white Southerners.

### ReadingHistory

#### D. Recognizing Effects

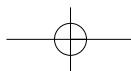
How did the Reese and Cruikshank rulings affect African Americans' efforts to gain civil rights?

**D. Answer** One ruling made it easier for attacks against African Americans to go unpunished. The other made it easier to keep them from voting.

**E. Answer** scandals that split the Republican Party, the Panic of 1873, the Reese and Cruikshank Supreme Court rulings, and the Compromise of 1877

### ReadingHistory

**E. Summarizing** What events led to a weakening of support for Reconstruction?



## Reconstruction: Civil Rights Amendments and Laws

Civil Rights Act of 1866	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Granted citizenship and equal rights to all persons born in the United States (except Native Americans)</li> </ul>
Fourteenth Amendment (1868)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Granted citizenship and equal protection of the laws to all persons born in the United States (except Native Americans)</li> </ul>
Fifteenth Amendment (1870)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Protected the voting rights of African Americans</li> </ul>
Civil Rights Act of 1875	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Outlawed racial segregation in public services</li> <li>Ensured the right of African Americans to serve as jurors</li> </ul>

### SKILLBUILDER Interpreting Charts

- Which amendment and law are most similar?
- Which amendment specifically protects voting rights?

#### Skillbuilder Answers

- Civil Rights Act of 1866; Fourteenth Amendment
- Fifteenth Amendment

## The Legacy of Reconstruction

Historians still argue about the success of Reconstruction. The nation did rebuild and reunite. However, Reconstruction did not achieve equality for African Americans.

After Reconstruction, most African Americans still lived in poverty. Legally, they could vote and hold public office. But few took part in politics. They continued to face widespread violence and prejudice.

During this period, however, African Americans did make lasting gains. Protection of civil rights became part of the U.S. Constitution. The Fourteenth and Fifteenth amendments would provide a legal basis for civil rights laws of the 20th century. Black schools and churches begun during Reconstruction also endured. Reconstruction changed society, putting African Americans on the path toward full equality. In the next unit, you will learn about other changes in American society after the Civil War.

### Section 3 Assessment

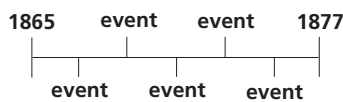
#### 1. Terms & Names

Explain the significance of:

- Fifteenth Amendment
- Panic of 1873
- Compromise of 1877

#### 2. Taking Notes

Review the chapter and find five significant individuals and events to place on a time line as shown.



Which event or person was most important and why?

#### 3. Main Ideas

- What did the Fifteenth Amendment declare?
- What effect did scandals in the Grant administration have on the Republican Party?
- What demands did Southern Democrats make in the Compromise of 1877?

#### 4. Critical Thinking

##### Drawing Conclusions

Why do you think the Republicans were willing to agree to the Compromise of 1877 and end Reconstruction?

##### THINK ABOUT

- the election of 1876
- the Panic of 1873
- the Supreme Court rulings

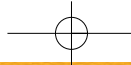
#### ACTIVITY OPTIONS

#### LANGUAGE ARTS

#### CIVICS

Research Ku Klux Klan activities barring African Americans from voting. Then write a protest **letter to the editor** or propose a **law** to protect voting rights.





## Chapter 18 ASSESSMENT

### TERMS & NAMES

Briefly explain the significance of each of the following.

1. Reconstruction
2. Andrew Johnson
3. black codes
4. civil rights
5. Fourteenth Amendment
6. sharecropping
7. lynch
8. Fifteenth Amendment
9. Panic of 1873
10. Compromise of 1877

### REVIEW QUESTIONS

#### Rebuilding the Union (pages 517–523)

1. What was the Freedmen's Bureau?
2. What were the main parts of President Johnson's Reconstruction plan?
3. Who were scalawags and carpetbaggers?
4. What reason did the House give for impeaching President Johnson?

#### Reconstruction and Daily Life (pages 524–528)

5. Why did Congress not pass a land-reform plan?
6. What new systems of labor developed in the South after the Civil War?
7. How did the Ku Klux Klan serve the Democratic Party?

#### End of Reconstruction (pages 529–533)

8. Why did the Fifteenth Amendment arouse anger in many women?
9. What caused an economic depression in the 1870s?
10. How did Supreme Court rulings during Reconstruction help weaken African Americans' civil rights?

### VISUAL

### SUMMARY

## Reconstruction



### CRITICAL THINKING

#### 1. USING YOUR NOTES

Problems	Solutions
Black codes	
President Johnson	
Education	
Economy	
Ku Klux Klan	
Voting	

Using your diagram, answer the following questions.

- a. What was the solution to the problem of educating African Americans?
- b. What was the solution to the problem of Ku Klux Klan violence?

#### 2. ANALYZING LEADERSHIP

Why might Reconstruction be considered a time in which the presidency was weak?

#### 3. THEME: DEMOCRATIC IDEALS

How did the Fourteenth and Fifteenth amendments promote greater equality for African Americans? How were the amendments limited?

#### 4. APPLYING CITIZENSHIP SKILLS

What were the different viewpoints of Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Frances E. W. Harper regarding the Fifteenth Amendment's failure to give women an important right of citizenship—the right to vote?

#### 5. ANALYZING CAUSES

What aspect of the Compromise of 1877 likely played the greatest role in ending Reconstruction?

### Interact *with* History

How did your solutions to rebuilding the nation compare with the actual solutions carried out?

#### Rebuilding the Union

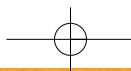
During Reconstruction, Congress decided how the Southern states would be readmitted to the Union and passed laws to improve conditions for freed people.

#### Reconstruction and Daily Life

After slavery ended, freed African Americans reunited their families, attended school, and began working for pay. Racist violence and lack of land slowed their progress.

#### End of Reconstruction

In the 1870s, hostile Supreme Court decisions, the Southern Democrats' return to power, and the withdrawal of federal troops from the South ended Reconstruction.

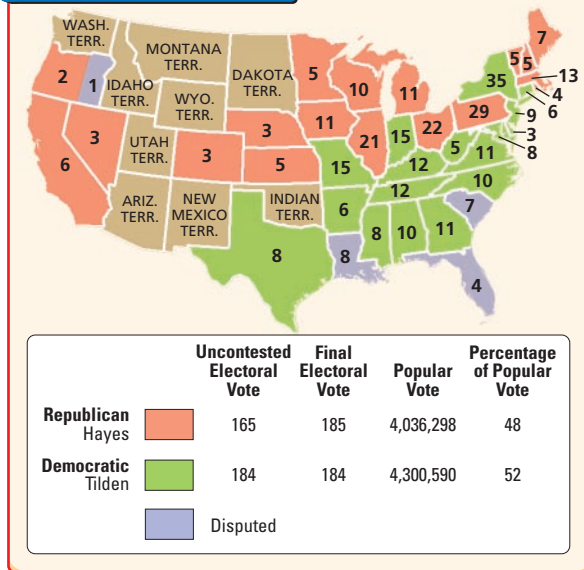


## HISTORY SKILLS

### 1. INTERPRETING MAPS: Region

Study the map and then answer the questions.

#### Election of 1876



#### Basic Map Elements

- What is the subject of the map?

#### Interpreting the Map

- In what region of the country were most of the disputed votes located?
- What regions voted mostly Republican?

### 2. INTERPRETING PRIMARY SOURCES

This political cartoon shows the effect of the Ku Klux Klan on African-American families in the South. Study the cartoon carefully and then answer the questions.

- Based on the cartoon, what were the goals of the Ku Klux Klan?
- Does the image reflect any bias on the part of the artist? Explain.



## ALTERNATIVE ASSESSMENT

### 1. INTERDISCIPLINARY ACTIVITY: Language Arts

**Writing Letters** Write letters that you imagine the following three people would write about Reconstruction: 1) a member of the old Southern upper class; 2) a newly freed African American; and 3) a white Northern carpetbagger. Be sure to use standard grammar, spelling, sentence structure, and punctuation in your letters.

### 2. COOPERATIVE LEARNING ACTIVITY

**Conducting an Impeachment Trial** The impeachment trial of Andrew Johnson was a dramatic and colorful event. Many officials pleaded their case either for or against the president.

Working in a small group, research the trial using resources such as diaries, journals, autobiographies, letters, and books. Each group member should choose an official who spoke at the trial and collect some of his quotes. The group should then perform its own trial in front of the class, with each member portraying the official he or she chose. Some possible officials include Thaddeus Stevens, Edmund G. Ross, James W. Grimes, Benjamin Butler, and Chief Justice Samuel Chase.

### 3. TECHNOLOGY ACTIVITY

**Making an Electronic Presentation** Life under the sharecropping system was not easy. Information about sharecropping comes from a variety of sources. Using the library or the Internet, find diaries, memoirs, images, and news articles about life as a sharecropper.

For more about sharecropping . . .



Use presentation software to share your information about sharecropping. Consider the suggestions below to get started.

- images or descriptions of a sharecropper's shack
- examples of the crops that were grown by a sharecropper
- facts and quotations about a sharecropper's life

### 4. HISTORY PORTFOLIO

Identify the dates that you consider to be the era of Reconstruction. Then identify previous eras in American history and place them all in chronological sequence on a time line. Add your time line to your portfolio.

Additional Test Practice, pp. S1-S33

