Civil War in Review
• Key Concept 5.3: The Union victory in the Civil War and the contested reconstruction of the South settled the issues of slavery and secession, but left unresolved many questions about the power of the federal government and citizenship rights.

I. The North’s greater manpower and industrial resources, the leadership of Abraham Lincoln and others, and the decision to emancipate slaves, eventually led to the Union military victory over the Confederacy in the devastating Civil War.
A. Both the union and the Confederacy mobilized their economies and societies to wage war even while facing considerable home front opposition.

B. Lincoln and most Union supporters began the Civil War to preserve the Union, but Lincoln’s decision to issue the Emancipation Proclamation reframed the purpose of the war and helped prevent the Confederacy from gaining full diplomatic support from European powers. Many African Americans fled southern plantations and enlisted in the Union Army.
C. Lincoln sought to reunify the country and used speeches such as the Gettysburg Address to portray the struggle against slavery as the fulfillment of America’s founding democratic ideals.

D. Although the Confederacy showed military initiative and daring early in the war, the Union ultimately succeeded due to improvements in leadership and strategy, key victories, greater resources, and the wartime destruction of the South’s infrastructure.
AP Correlations

• Thematic Learning Objectives
  • NAT-1.0: Explain how ideas about democracy, freedom, and individualism found expression in the development of cultural values, political institutions, and American identity.
  • WOR-2.0: Analyze the reasons for, and results of, U.S. diplomatic, economic, and military initiatives in North American and overseas.
### Statistics Concerning Union and Confederacy (1865)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>In 1865</th>
<th>Union</th>
<th>Confederacy</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Population</td>
<td>22,000,000</td>
<td>9,000,000; one-third were slaves</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of Soldiers</td>
<td>2,000,000 (50% of draft-age men)</td>
<td>1,000,000 (85% of draft-age white men)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Casualties</td>
<td>360,000 (110,000 in battle, rest disease or accidents)</td>
<td>258,000 (94,000 in battle and 164,000 from disease)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wounded Soldiers</td>
<td>275,515</td>
<td>200,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Costs</td>
<td>Less than 30% of wealth</td>
<td>60% of its wealth, 40% livestock; destroyed most railroads, bridges, industry</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average Worker’s Salary in Late 1865</td>
<td>$2.80-3.00 per day</td>
<td>$1.50-3.00 per day</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Army Private Soldier’s Salary</td>
<td>$16 per month ($2.00 withheld each month until end of term of enlistment; 12.5 cents deducted to support a home for old or wounded soldiers)</td>
<td>$20 per month</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Looking at the statistics of the Union and the Confederacy in the table on the previous page, in what ways was each side affected by the war?
The Remains of War

• The Civil war cost 600,000 soldiers their lives and many more were seriously wounded.
• Direct monetary costs of the conflict totaled about $15 billion, and indirect costs – such as pensions and interest on war debt – added much more.
• Beyond the staggering cost of the war in lives and money were questions of rebuilding land and property damaged by the war in lives and money were questions of rebuilding land and property damaged by the war and replacing economic, political, and social institutions destroyed in the South.
The Remains of War

- However, physical damage was only part of the challenge.
- Hostilities between regions continued to boil and millions of slaves had been liberated.
  - How would ex-slaves handle their new freedom, and what kind of help should the government provide?
  - How would the southern states be restored to the Union, and who should control the process of Reconstruction – the southern states themselves, the president, or Congress?
Reconstruction
Questions of Wartime Reconstruction

• Reconstruction of the Union had been an issue as early as 1863, well before the war ended. If the north succeeded...
  • How would the nation be restored?
  • How would southern states and leaders be treated? As errant brothers, or as traitors?
  • What was the constitutional basis for readmission of states to the Union and where, if anywhere, could American statesmen look for precedence or guidance?
Questions of Wartime Reconstruction

- Who would rule in the south once it was defeated?
- What were the dimensions of the *black freedom*, and what rights under law would the freedman enjoy?
- Would Reconstruction be a preservation of the *old* republic, or a second revolution, a re-invention of a *new* republic?
Wartime Reconstruction
Overview

• The biggest issue following the Civil War, and in some instances during the war, was how the Union would be put back together once the fighting ended. The answer to this question depended on one’s view of the nature of the conflict.

• President Abraham Lincoln viewed the Confederacy in terms of belligerents, not insurrectionists. He never recognized the legitimacy of the Confederate government, thus, for him, Reconstruction was a kind of restoration.
Members of the President’s party had different views on the war. The **Radical Republicans**, who opposed the president’s attitude toward the South, viewed the Confederacy as a hostile enemy. They believed that the South had declared war on the Union. The plan of the Republican Congress was one of punishment and retaliation as they sought to establish a new order in the South.
Reconstruction 1865-1877

• Four Plans of Reconstruction
  • The Ten Percent Plan (Lincoln)
  • The Wade-Davis Bill (Republican-controlled Congress)
  • The Presidential Plan (Johnson)
  • Military Reconstruction
Presidential Reconstruction 1863-1866
Analyze the effects of Reconstruction on the southern states and on the role of the federal government, including the impact of the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth amendments on opportunities for African Americans.
A Tale of Two Reconstructions

Presidential

Congressional
(aka, Radical)
“With malice toward none, with charity for all, with firmness in the right as God gives us to see the right, let us strive on to finish the work we are in, to bind up the nation’s wounds... to do all which may achieve and cherish a just and lasting peace among ourselves and with all nations.”

-- Abraham Lincoln

Second Inaugural Address
March 4, 1865
Abraham Lincoln

- During the war, Lincoln maintained the Confederate states had no right to secede and had never really left the Union.
- He insisted that it was the president’s responsibility to supervise the southern states’ return to the privileges and duties of the union - In that spirit, he named military governors for the three states occupied by the Union in 1862 – Louisiana, North Carolina, and Tennessee.
- Congress did not agree, arguing that readmission of rebellious states should be decided by legislative vote
- A battle between the executive and legislative branches for control of Reconstruction began even before the war was over.
THE "RAIL SPLITTER" AT WORK REPAIRING THE UNION.
10% of 1860 Voters

1. Oath to the U.S.
2. Accept Emancipation

YOU’RE IN!!!

Louisiana and Arkansas Re-admitted
Abraham Lincoln’s Ten Percent Plan

- Lincoln as wartime president, took the initiative in December 1863; by offering a general amnesty (pardon) to all but the highest ranking military and civilian officers in the Confederate government if they would take a pledge of loyalty to the Union.
- Once 10% of those who had voted in the election of 1860 in any southern state had taken the oath/pledge of allegiance, agreed to abide by emancipation, created a constitution which abolished slavery, and elected a state government, a state would be recognized, regaining its status as an equal member of the Union.
- This plan was known as the Ten Percent Plan.
Abraham Lincoln’s Ten Percent Plan

- The goal of this plan was to shorten the war and further the cause of emancipation.
- Considered too lenient; “a mere mockery of democracy”
- Republicans in Congress believed Lincoln’s plan would only further the cause of the planter aristocracy and return African Americans to the state they were in before the war.
- Congress would NEVER adopted this plan
- The Confederate states (except Louisiana and Tennessee, which were already under Union control) rejected Lincoln’s 10% Plan and instead choose to fight to the bitter end.
Wade-Davis Bill (1864)

**RADICAL (Anti-Lincoln) REPUBLICANS**

- **IRONCLAD OATH**
  - Never supported CSA
  - 50 Percent Swear

- **CSA DEBT REPUDIATION**

- **CONFEDERATE LEADERS DISENFRANCHISED**
The Republican-controlled Congress regarded Southern secession as a declaration of war and believed that there should be punishment instead of reconciliation.

- “conquered provinces theory” and “state suicide”
- Southerners had organized as a foreign nation to make war on the U.S. and by secession, had destroyed their status as states; must be treated as “conquered foreign lands” and reverted to status of “unorganized territories” before any process of readmission
Congress and the Wade-Davis Bill

- Congress insisted that the legislature and not the executive should supervise Reconstruction and in July 1864 it enacted its own much stricter plan.
- The initiative came in 1864 from Radical Republicans (Benjamin Wade (OH) and Henry Winter Davis (MD)), a wing of the party who opposed Lincoln’s plan as too lenient, instead supporting retribution for southern states and full rights for freedom.
- Most moderates also endorsed this plan.
- Fifty percent of Southerners must swear an Iron-Clad Oath of Loyalty to the Union in which they pledge that they never willingly took arms against the Union and did not participate in the rebellion; then the state could call a constitutional convention. Only those taking the oath could vote, and the constitution had to ban slavery.
The bill also stated that only those who had never voluntarily borne arms against the Union could vote which meant that all officers above the rank of lieutenant, as well as all civilian officials in the Confederacy would be disenfranchised.

Only whites would vote, although about a third of the Republicans favored allowing blacks to vote.

This plan passed both houses of Congress.

The proposal was much harsher than Lincoln’s plan - Confederate states would be “conquered enemies” and readmission would be harsh and slow.
Congress and the Wade-Davis Bill

• Radicals saw this as an opportunity for the long-term transformation of the political and racial order of the country.

• Lincoln killed the Wade-Davis Bill with a pocket veto, a constitutional provision that allows a bill to die if the president does not sign it within ten days after the adjournment of Congress.

• Radical Republicans in Congress responded to Lincoln’s Proclamation with the “Wade-Davis Manifesto” believing that Lincoln was exercising unconstitutional authority and that it was the role of Congress to oversee reconstruction.

"... If any Bill shall not be returned by the President within ten Days (Sundays excepted) after it shall have been presented to him, the Same shall be a Law, in like Manner as if he had signed it, unless the Congress by their Adjournment prevent its Return, in which Case it shall not be a Law."

-- U.S. Constitution
POCKET VETO

NOT LAW

Because Congress Adjourned
Congress and the Wade-Davis Bill

- They authors of the bill denounced Lincoln’s action in the Manifesto, warning him that “the authority of Congress is paramount and must be respected.”
- Congress refused to seat the delegates from states (Tennessee, Louisiana, and Arkansas - dubbed “loyal” assemblies/“Lincoln’s governments” - occupied by north/weak/dependent on north for survival) that had pledged loyalty and applied for readmission under Lincoln’s plan.
- Had he lived, would Lincoln have worked with Congress to form a unified compromise program? In his last speech, Lincoln suggested he might support freedmen’s suffrage, as R. Republicans argued, but whether or not he could have avoided conflict is one of the unanswered questions.
Redefining Freedom for Black Americans
African Americans during Presidential Reconstruction

- Thirteenth Amendment
- Freedmen’s Bureau
- Sharecropping
- Black Codes
Thirteenth Amendment and the Freedmen’s Bureau

• In early 1865, Congress and Lincoln passed two measures that recognized slavery’s centrality to the war:

  • **Thirteenth Amendment:** abolished involuntary servitude everywhere in the United States; declared that Congress shall have the power to enforce this outcome by “appropriate legislation”

  • **Freedmen’s Bureau (Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands)**: Established to help free whites, free African Americans, and slaves cope with their new situation
Thirteenth Amendment

Ratified December 6, 1865
Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist within the United States, or any place subject to their jurisdiction.

RECONSTRUCTION AMENDMENTS:
The destruction of slavery called for a redefinition of freedom for black Americans.
Did emancipation imply other rights for former slaves? Should they be allowed to vote and hold public office? How should emancipation be enforced? In many parts of the South, Union forces freed slaves as they marched through, but as soon as the soldiers left, former masters re-enslaved them. Some planters argued that slavery was lawful until state legislatures or the Supreme Court declared otherwise. Man slaves resisted emancipation out of loyalty to their masters, but others joined Union soldiers in pillaging their master’s lands. Throughout the South, blacks held mass meetings and religious services free of white supervision, and they left plantations in search of better jobs or family members, often traveling to towns and cities where opportunities were greater.
Redefining Freedom for Black Americans

• Whole communities sometimes moved together in search of opportunity, such as the 25,000 blacks from Louisiana, Texas, and Mississippi who migrated to Kansas in search of land to farm.
• Freedom allowed many former slaves to locate loved ones from whom they had been separated under slavery, and so the reunion of families stabilized or even strengthened family life.
• Emancipation increased the ability of black men to be a presence in their families, and some black families embraced the 19th century custom of separating the “spheres” of men and women.
• However, sheer economic necessity limited this trend, since black women often worked outside of the home.
• The new social order also allowed black churches to strengthen and expand.
• As slaves, blacks had worshipped with whites, but during Reconstruction blacks formed their own churches led by their own ministers.
Redefining Freedom for Black Americans

- The black Baptist Church had 500,000 members by 1870, and the African Methodist Episcopal Church quadrupled in size from 100,000 to 400,000 by 1875.
- The goal of protecting newly won freedom was central to most black churches, which soon spawned the founding of other benevolent, fraternal, and mutual aid societies.
The Meaning of Freedom

• Essentially, for America’s former slaves, Reconstruction was a chance to explore freedom. Some confronted their former owners. Many reacted with caution.

• In evaluating potential employers, those with “good owners” often stayed, others wandered in search of better circumstances. A majority eventually settled as agricultural workers back on former farms of plantations. But they relocated their houses and did their best to control the condition of their labor.

• Focused on improving daily lives, they devoted themselves to reuniting their families which had been separated by sale, hardship, dislocation and the emancipation process.
African Americans’ Search for Independence

- Husbands and wives who belonged to different masters established homes together for the first time
- Parents asserted their right to raise their own children
- Many African Americans wanted to minimize contact with whites. To avoid contact, many abandoned slave quarters and fanned out to distant corners of the land
- Some rural dwellers established all-black settlements
- Even once-privileged slaves desired independence and social separation
Freedmen’s Bureau
The Freedmen’s Bureau

- In the antebellum South, most states passed laws making it illegal for slaves to learn to read and write, and so many blacks lacked these necessary skills for surviving as a free people.
  - To cope with this problem, Congress created the Freedman’s Bureau (Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands) - help free whites, free African Americans, and slaves cope with their new situation
  - Distributed clothes, food, fuel
  - Provided medical services and built hospitals
  - Built schools, colleges, and provided education
  - Negotiated several hundred thousand employment contracts between freedmen and their former masters
  - Tried to manage confiscated land
Freedmen’s Bureau

- Bureau’s task: social reform through military occupation
- Central question: What are the social welfare obligations of the state toward its people, and what do people owe their governments in return?
- Controversial aspect of Reconstruction
  - Hated by Southern whites
  - Federal government divided over constitutionality
  - Some Bureau agents devoted to freedmen’s rights, while others were opportunists who exploited the chaos of the postwar South
Freedmen’s Bureau

- Blacks of all ages attended agency-coordinated schools, where an estimated 200,000 blacks learned how to read.
  - Many schools were financed by the Freedmen’s Bureau but run by northern missionary societies, and in some cases, ex-slaves themselves organized to teach others to read and write.
  - Although the Freedmen’s Bureau only operated for a few years, the desire of former slaves to break from the past through learning led to the formation of public school systems in each southern state. By 1877, over 600,000 black children were attending elementary school.
  - Bureau agents also assumed control of hospitals established by the army during the war and expanded the system into new communities where they provided medical care and drugs to both black and white southerners.
The Embrace of Education

• Ex-slaves reached out for valuable things that had been denied to them, including education.
• Despite poverty, many African Americans paid tuition, these small amounts constituted major portions of a person’s agricultural wages.
• The federal government and northern reformers of both races assisted this pursuit of education.
• Freedmen’s Bureau founded over 4,000 schools; private northern groups founded and staffed additional schools – rise of the Yankee schoolmarm (dedicated, selfless, and religious) became an agent of progress and the public school system rose in each southern state
Freedmen’s Bureau

**UNDERFUNDED**

Met with resistance in both North and South

Re-chartered annually until it was abolished in 1872.

Northern Cartoon (Pennsylvania, 1866)
THE FREEDMAN'S BUREAU!
AN AGENCY TO KEEP THE NEGRO IN IDLENESS AT THE EXPENSE OF THE WHITE MAN.
TWICE VETOED BY THE PRESIDENT, AND MADE A LAW BY CONGRESS.
SUPPORT CONGRESS & YOU SUPPORT THE NEGRO. SUSTAIN THE PRESIDENT & YOU PROTECT THE WHITE MAN

IN THE SWEAT OF THY FACE SHALT THOU EAT THY BREAD
Freedman's Bureau! Negro Estimate of Freedom!

NEGRO TROOPS $300
Each as a Bounty
Negro Estimate of Freedom!

WHITE VETERANS
$100
Each as a Bounty
To Support its Freedman's Bureau
$6,944,500

For 1864 and 1865, the FREEDMAN'S BUREAU cost the Tax-payers of the Nation, at least, TWENTY-FIVE MILLIONS OF DOLLARS.

For 1866, THE SHARE of the Tax-payers of Pennsylvania will be about ONE MILLION OF DOLLARS. GEARY is FOR the Freedman's Bureau. CLYMER is OPPOSED to it.
"THE POPULAR IDEA OF THE FREEDMEN'S BUREAU—PLENTY TO EAT AND NOTHING TO DO."
Failure of Land Redistribution

- Freed men and women most wanted ownership of land. Land represented their chance to farm for themselves, to enjoy independence that self-sufficient farmers value.
- However, most members of both political parties opposed genuine land redistribution to freedmen.
- Northern soldiers, officials, and missionaries of both races brought education, and aid to the freedmen but also insisted that they grow cotton. They emphasized profit, cash crops, and the values of competition cotton.
- 90 percent of redistributed land in the Sea Islands went to wealthy investors from the North.
Johnson’s Plan
Sic Semper Tyrannis!
Mary Surratt was the first woman executed by the U.S. government.

Note the presence of the Catholic priest in the foreground (Nativism).
O Captain! My Captain!

O CAPTAIN! my Captain!
our fearful trip is done;
The ship has weather’d every rack,
the prize we sought is won;
The port is near, the bells I hear,
the people all exulting,
While follow eyes the steady keel,
the vessel grim and daring:

But O heart! heart! heart!
O the bleeding drops of red,
Where on the deck my Captain lies,
Fallen cold and dead.
Andrew Johnson
(D-TN) 1865-1869
Seventeenth President of the U.S.

• Tennessee Unionist & strong defender of Union
• Only senator from a seceding state to remain at his post
• VP on “Union Party” Ticket
• Opposition President
  • Jacksonian Democrat vs. Republican Congress
• Sought to continue Presidential Reconstruction
• 1st PRESIDENT TO BE IMPEACHED
Who was President Andrew Johnson?

- Lincoln killed 5 days after South’s surrender
- Had been used by Republicans to keep support of Border States
- No one thought he would be president
- (Former) Slaveholder
- Suspected by northerners due to his status as a southerner
- As a Democrat, he had no large group of allies within the ruling Republican Party
- Believed that Executive should guide Reconstruction
Who was President Andrew Johnson?

• Demanded new Southern Govt. accept 13\textsuperscript{th} Amend.
• Offered Amnesty – Forgiveness for committing war against the Union
Johnson’s Reconstruction Plan

• 1865; known as the Presidential Reconstruction Plan
• Johnson agreed with Lincoln about the inability of the South to secede from the Union.
• Johnson was a Union man and the only Southerner from the Senate not to resign upon the secession of Tennessee.
• Johnson was as much opposed to slavery as he was to the aristocracy that owned slaves, he championed middle-class working whites, and he believed it was the slave-owning aristocrats who caused the Civil War, so they were to be punished after the war ended. In that respect, he agreed with the Radical Republicans.
Johnson’s Reconstruction Plan

• On becoming president, Johnson proceeded with much of the program that Lincoln had outlined.
• Although Confederate leaders had lost their voting rights, most white southerners were given the right to organize their own state governments.
• To be accepted back into the Union, they were required to renounce secession/declare ordinances of secession illegal, repudiate/forget debts to the Confederate government, and ratify the new Thirteenth Amendment to the Constitution that outlawed slavery.
Johnson’s Reconstruction Plan

• Johnson also appointed provisional governors (loyal to the union) and ordered them to call state conventions – elected by whites alone who had taken the oath of loyalty – that would establish loyal governments in the South.

• Confederate officers above the rank of lieutenant and those possessing taxable property exceeding $20,000 were not permitted to vote.
Johnson’s Reconstruction Plan

- Republicans believed Johnson’s plan was too lenient, and by abolishing the three-fifths compromise, it would add substantial political power to the Southern states; any policy to do this must also enfranchise blocks to counter this addition to political power.
- Congress never adopted this plan, and in the mid-term elections of 1866, congressmen believed they earned a mandate from the voters to implement their own plan of Reconstruction.
Black Codes

Passed in many Southern states to restrict the activities of freedmen
Rebuilding

- Southern States resisted the 13th Amendment
- **Black Codes: Southern states enacted laws that brought back the old institutions**
  - Ex.: Mississippi-Blacks must have written proof of employment or be placed on a plantation
- 1865-(Republican dominated) Congress meets and refuses to seat Southern congressmen
  - Open commission to investigate Southern governments
- **Radical Republicans demanded direct role in Southern governments and full equality for blacks**
The Black Codes

• At first, many northerners supported Johnson’s policy, but the conduct of the southern governments elected under his program turned many against the president.

• Most new southern governments passed **Black Codes**, laws that attempted to regulate the lives of former slaves.
  • For example, blacks were kept from buying or renting property, and they were fined when they quit jobs or violated curfew laws that required them to be in their homes after dark.
  • Other codes forbid them to own firearms, legally marry, or testify in court against whites.
  • To pay these fines, blacks were hired out to white planters and businessmen. In this way, many were forced to work without pay – a new form of slavery.
The Black Codes

- The Black Codes so blatantly violated free labor principles that freedmen and northern Republicans protested vigorously. At conventions held across the South, delegates demanded the right to vote and the abolition of the Black Codes.
What rights were African-Americans deprived of in the South immediately after the Civil War?
Sec. 1....It shall be the duty of all sheriffs, justices of the peace, and other civil officers of the several counties in this State, to report to the probate courts of their respective counties semi-annually, at the January and July terms of said courts, all freedmen, free negroes, and mulattoes, under the age of eighteen, in their respective counties, beats or districts, who are orphans, or whose parent or parents have not the means or who refuse to provide for and support said minors; and thereupon it shall be the duty of said probate court to order the clerk of said court to apprentice said minors to some competent and suitable person, on such terms as the court may direct, having a particular care to the interest of said minor: Provided, that the former owner of said minors shall have the preference when, in the opinion of the court, he or she shall be a suitable person for that purpose.
Mississippi Black Code

Sec. 3....In the management and control of said apprentice, said master or mistress shall have the power to inflict such moderate corporal chastisement as a father or guardian is allowed to inflict on his or her child or ward at common law: Provided, that in no case shall cruel or inhuman punishment be inflicted.

Sec. 2....All freedmen, free negroes and mulattoes in this State, over the age of eighteen years, found on the second Monday in January, 1866, or thereafter, with no lawful employment or business, or found unlawfully assembling themselves together, either in the day or night time, and all white persons so assembling themselves with freedmen, free negroes or mulattoes, or usually associating with freedmen, free negroes or mulattoes, on terms of equality, or living in adultery or fornication with a freed woman, free negro or mulatto, shall be deemed vagrants, and on conviction thereof shall be fined in a sum not exceeding, in the case of a freedman, free negro or mulatto, fifty dollars, and a white man two hundred dollars, and imprisoned at the discretion of the court, the free negro not exceeding ten days, and the white man not
Sec. 7....Every civil officer shall, and every person may, arrest and carry back to his or her legal employer any freedman, free negro, or mulatto who shall have quit the service of his or her employer before the expiration of his or her term of service without good cause; and said officer and person shall be entitled to receive for arresting and carrying back every deserting employee aforesaid the sum of five dollars, and ten cents per mile from the place of arrest to the place of delivery; and the same shall be paid by the employer, and held as a set-off for so much against the wages of said deserting employee: Provided, that said arrested party, after being so returned, may appeal to the justice of the peace or member of the board of police of the county, who, on notice to the alleged employer, shall try summarily whether said appellant is legally employed by the alleged employer, and has good cause to quit said employer; either party shall have the right of appeal to the county court, pending which the alleged deserter shall be remanded to the alleged employer or otherwise disposed of, as shall be right and just; and the decision of the county court shall be final....
Sec. 7....If any freedman, free negro, or mulatto shall fail or refuse to pay any tax levied according to the provisions of the sixth section of this act, it shall be prima facie evidence of vagrancy, and it shall be the duty of the sheriff to arrest such freedman, free negro, or mulatto or such person refusing or neglecting to pay such tax, and proceed at once to hire for the shortest time such delinquent tax-payer to any one who will pay the said tax, with accruing costs, giving preference to the employer, if there be one....

Sec. 1. Be it enacted,...That no freedman, free negro or mulatto, not in the military service of the United States government, and not licensed so to do by the board of police of his or her county, shall keep or carry fire-arms of any kind, or any ammunition, dirk or bowie knife, and on conviction thereof in the county court shall be punished by fine, not exceeding ten dollars, and pay the costs of such proceedings, and all such arms or ammunition shall be forfeited to the informer; and it shall be the duty of every civil and military officer to arrest any freedman, free negro, or mulatto found with any such arms or ammunition, and cause him or her to be committed to trial in default of bail.

http://www.blackpast.org/primary/1866-mississippi-black-codes
DEBT: The New Slavery

Sharecropping  Tenant Farming
Radical Reconstruction 1867-1877
Congressional Reconstruction

• By December 1865, all Confederate states except Texas had met Johnson’s requirements for readmission.
• However, when Congress reconvened, Republicans were angered to find that several prominent Confederate leaders, elected by their peers, returned to their seats in both the Senate and the House.
• Even more disturbing was the fact that the South had more representation since each black was now counted as a whole person instead of three-fifths of a person.
  • As a result, southern states gained twelve seats – all Democratic – in the House of Representatives, posing a serious threat to Republican control of the government.
Congressional Reconstruction

• While the South had not been represented during the war, the Republicans in Congress had enjoyed a relatively free hand in passing legislation, and now they saw the possibility of southerners joining with northern Democrats to win control of Congress or maybe even the White House.

• If this happened, they could dismantle the economic program of the Republican Party – such as tariff laws, plans for the transcontinental railroad, and the Homestead Act – and perpetuate the Black Codes.
“Radical” Republicans

Thaddeus Stevens
(PA)
HOUSE

Charles Sumner
(MA)
SENATE
<table>
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<tr>
<th>CONSERVATIVE</th>
<th>MODERATE</th>
<th>RADICAL</th>
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<td><strong>BALANCE</strong></td>
<td><strong>ADVANCE AGENDA</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>Gradual Change</td>
<td></td>
<td>Immediate Change</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Reluctant)</td>
<td></td>
<td>(Enthusiastic)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>REFORM</td>
<td></td>
<td>REFORM</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To improve and</td>
<td></td>
<td>To maintain, modify,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>strengthen institutions</td>
<td></td>
<td>destroy, or replace</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>institutions in order to</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>advance agenda</td>
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</table>
Radical Republicans – the group in Congress most wary of Southern reentry – had varying motives for their stand.

- Some like Charles Sumner of Massachusetts, were idealists who wanted to make sure that the freed slaves remained free.
- For this reason, they wanted a Constitutional Amendment that granted blacks the right to vote.
- Others, however, wanted the black vote only as a way of strengthening the Republican Party since they assumed that freed slaves would support Republican initiatives.
- Still others wanted the industrial growth of the North to continue, and they feared that southern representatives and senators would oppose the protectionist policies favored by northern industrialists.
Congress vs. the President

• A clash between President Johnson and Congress was inevitable.
• The Radicals began to assert their authority in Congress in December 1865 by refusing the newly elected southern representatives their seats in Congress.
• Then they established a Joint House-Senate Committee on Reconstruction to investigate Johnson’s program.
• Tensions openly erupted in February 1866 when Johnson vetoed a bill (later passed) that extended the life of the Freedmen’s Bureau.
• The President argued that Congress could not pass laws while the representatives of eleven states were not seated.
• The Republicans retaliated by passing the Civil Rights Bill, which granted blacks the privileges of American citizenship and struck at the Black Codes.
Civil Rights Act of 1866

- Radical Republicans force passage of Civil Rights Act
- Declared all persons born in the U.S. are citizens
  - Accept Native Americans
- Andrew Johnson vetoed bill
- House and Senate both pass with 2/3 majority
Congress vs. the President

• Johnson vetoed the bill - calling it unconstitutional - and Congress overrode his veto.

• To guard against court rulings that might strike down the law, the Radicals prepared a Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution that would guarantee civil rights to blacks.

• The amendment also disqualified ex-Confederates from holding state or federal positions and imposed heavy penalties on states that denied blacks the right to vote.

• The radical faction wanted to include the right to vote in the new amendment, but feared that this provision would doom its passage.

• They did insist, however, that no state could return to the Union without first ratifying the Fourteenth Amendment.
Radical Republicans wanted equality as part of the Constitution

All people born in U.S. are citizens with equal rights

Johnson and Southern States refused to recognize

Enraged Radicals

Radical and Moderate Republicans pass the Reconstruction Act of 1867 as vengeance

1. Divided South into military districts 2. Approve new state constitutions granting blacks the right to vote 3. Must ratify the 14th Amendment
Section 1. All persons born or naturalized in the United States... are citizens of the United States and of the State wherein they reside. **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**.

**RECONSTRUCTION AMENDMENTS:**

Fourteenth Amendment

Ratified July 9, 1868
Section 2. ...when the right to vote at any election for the choice of electors for President and Vice President of the United States... is denied to any of the male inhabitants of such State, being twenty-one years of age, and citizens of the United States, or in any way abridged, except for participation in rebellion, or other crime, the basis of representation therein shall be reduced in the proportion ...
Section 3. No one shall be a Senator or Representative in Congress, or elector of President and Vice President, or hold any office, civil or military, under the United States, or under any State, who, having previously taken an oath, as a member of Congress, or as an officer of the United States, or as a member of any State legislature, or as an executive or judicial officer of any State, to support the Constitution of the United States, shall have engaged in insurrection or rebellion against the same, or given aid or comfort to the enemies thereof. But Congress may by a vote of two-thirds of each House, remove such disability.
Section 4. The validity of the public debt of the United States, authorized by law, including debts incurred for payment of pensions and bounties for services in suppressing insurrection or rebellion, shall not be questioned. But neither the United States nor any State shall assume or pay any debt or obligation incurred in aid of insurrection or rebellion against the United States, or any claim for the loss or emancipation of any slave; but all such debts, obligations and claims shall be held illegal and void.
Section 1. The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude.
Reconstruction Amendments

THIRTEENTH
Abolition of Slavery

FOURTEENTH
1. Birthright Citizenship
2. Equal Protection
3. Punish Confederates

FIFTEENTH
Black [Male] Suffrage

RECONSTRUCTION AMENDMENTS:
Congress vs. the President

• Johnson was enraged at this attempt by Congress to gain control of Reconstruction plans, and he urged the Southern states to reject the amendment.
• All except his home state of Tennessee followed the president’s advice, and he hoped that congressional elections in the fall of 1866 would turn out enough Radicals to make the House and the Senate more cooperative.
• Johnson even campaigned in person for moderate candidates and delivered a series of speeches in which he accused the radicals in Congress of supporting anti-black riots and murder in the South.
• When the election results came in, the victory of Radical candidates humiliated Johnson and invigorated Congress to push radical policies.
Congress vs. the President

- Voters returned enough Radicals to give Republicans a \( \frac{2}{3} \) vote in both the House and the Senate, ensuring them the ability to override any of Johnson’s vetoes.
- Congressional control of Reconstruction was assured, and the Radicals set out to destroy the president’s authority.
- The Radical’s plan would be outlined in the **Reconstruction Act of 1867**.
Reconstruction Act of 1867
Reconstruction Goes South
1867-1877
 Acts
1867-1868

1
Military
Occupation
of the
South

2
IMMEDIATE
Suffrage
for
African
Americans

3
Forced
Ratification
of the
Fourteenth
Amendment
Reconstruction Amendments

13th – Slavery is illegal
   * Today this applies to illegal activity such as human trafficking

14th – 1) African Americans are citizens of the U.S. 2) States cannot limit your life, liberty or property without due process of law 3) All citizens must be granted equal protection under the law

15th – African Americans are allowed to vote (suffrage)
Military Reconstruction 1867-1868

• Congress viewed the successes in the 1866 elections as a mandate for congressional Reconstruction, but there was no enforcement power.
• The republican-controlled Congress regarded Southern secession as a war; believed that there should be punishment instead of reconciliation.
• Declared that “no legal government” existed in the South.
• It eliminated state governments and state boundary lines in the South, dividing the former Confederacy into five military districts.
• In 1867, the plan divided the ten unreconstructed states into five military districts. Tennessee had already ratified the Fourteenth Amendment.
The Radicals proposed dividing the former Confederate states (minus Tennessee) into five **military districts**.
Military Reconstruction

- Each district was commanded by a Union general and policed by about 20,000 blue-uniformed soldiers.
- The existing governments were provisional and subject to the overriding authority of the occupation forces, which would call constitutional conventions.
- The new constitution must include black male suffrage and ratify the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Amendment.
- Those barred by the amendment could not vote in the election but could vote in the future. Once states did this, they would be readmitted into the Union.
- The 1868 plan required generals of each military district to register eligible voters for election of the delegates to the constitutional convention.
Military Reconstruction

• Congress would readmit a state to the Union if voters ratified a constitution that was acceptable to Congress, and if the new state legislatures approved the Fourteenth Amendment.
• Johnson vetoed the Reconstruction Act, but Congress overrode the veto.
• Under the new act, six states - North Carolina, South Carolina, Florida, Alabama, Louisiana, and Arkansas - meet the requirement and were readmitted.
• Military occupation of the South usurped constitutional functions of the president as commander in chief; it also set up a martial regime of questionable legitimacy.
  • In the 1866 case of Ex parte Milligan, the Supreme Court had already declared Lincoln’s suspension of baeus corpus to be unconstitutional. Military courts could not try civilians, even in wartime.
An Exercise in Futility

Congress overrode all of Johnson’s vetoes of the Reconstruction Acts.
Military Reconstruction

- Peacetime military rule was even more constitutionally dubious than Lincoln’s suspension of habeas corpus, but the Supreme Court did not question the Republican Congress for legislating military occupation of the South.
- The Compromise of 1877 will later end Military Reconstruction and allowed the Redeemer Southern governments to restore many of the prewar social, political, and economic policies.
Johnson is Impeached

- Johnson’s Pro South attitude brought him into conflict with Congress
- 1867-**Tenure in Office Act**
  - Could not fire without Congress’ approval
- Johnson fires Sec. of War Edwin Stanton
- House votes to impeach
- Senate trial=Acquitted by 1 vote
In March 1867, Congress passed the Tenure of Office Act, which required Senate consent for the removal of any official whose appointment had required Senate confirmation. The law also required the president to issue all orders to the army through its commanding general, Ulysses S. Grant. President Johnson considered both of these provisions to be unconstitutional restrictions on his authority, but he initially complied by appointing generals recommended by Grant and Secretary of War Edwin M. Stanton to command the five military districts in the South. However, in August 1867, after Congress adjourned, he “suspended Stanton (an ally of the Radicals) and replaced four of the commanding generals. When Congress reconvened, it overruled Stanton’s suspension, and in 1868 Johnson formally dismissed him without the consent of the Senate, violating the Tenure in Office Act.
Impeachment of Johnson

• The House responded by approving articles of impeachment, exercising for the first time the House’s power to charge high federal officials with “Treason, Bribery, or other high Crimes and Misdemeanors.”
• The impeachment was next tried by the Senate, which would have to convict the president with “the concurrence of two-thirds of the members present.”
• With Chief Justice Salmon P. Chase presiding, the trial lasted for 11 weeks and resulted in 35 senators voting for conviction, one vote short of the ⅔ majority required.
• 7 moderate Republicans voted for acquittal along with 12 Democrats, either because they believed the OTA to be unconstitutional (the Supreme Court later ruled it so) or because they thought that removing a president for defying Congress was too extreme.
• Johnson was a lame duck for the rest of the term while Congress controlled Reconstruction.
Johnson issued a blanket pardon to Confederates as a lame duck.

Christmas, 1868
Election of Grant
1868 Presidential Election

Democratic Platform

1868
1872
1876

Republican Platform
The Republican Coalition in the South

"Carpetbaggers"

"Scalawags"

Freedmen
Election of Grant

- After the Senate vote, Republicans nominated Ulysses S. Grant as their candidate for president in 1868.
- The Democrats ran Horatio Seymour, the former governor of New York, who almost turned down the nomination since the Democrats had little hope of winning.
- The campaign focused on Reconstruction, and the Republicans "waved the bloody shirt" by calling on old wartime emotions that identified the Democrats with secession and treason.
- Democrats condemned Radical Reconstruction as unconstitutional and declared that black suffrage violated American political traditions.
- As expected, Grant won with 214 electoral votes to 80 for Seymour, but the popular vote was much closer: 3,013,421 to 2,706,829.
- Many white voters supported Seymour, and the ballots of three southern states (Mississippi, Texas, and Virginia were still unreconstructed) were not counted at all.
- Grant’s margin of victory came with the votes of 500,000 former slaves
The election of Grant ended the tension between the President and Congress over Reconstruction policy.
Ulysses S. Grant (R-OH)  
Eighteenth President of the U.S.  
1869-1877

Civil War Hero

Administration’s Legacy:

• CORRUPTION
  • Grant Administration Scandals

• Supported Radical Reconstruction Policies

Click for Bio
The Fifteenth Amendment

- The Radicals feared that once southern states were readmitted, they would amend their constitutions so as to withdraw the ballot from blacks, so the solution was to incorporate black suffrage in the federal Constitution.
- This goal was finally achieved by the Fifteenth Amendment, passed by Congress in 1869 and ratified in 1870.
- This amendment stated, “The rights of the citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude.”
- Although the Fifteenth Amendment did not prevent restrictions on black suffrage that lasted for decades to follow, it marked the fulfillment of a major goal of the abolitionist movement.
- William Lloyd Garrison proclaimed, “Nothing in all history [equaled] this wonderful, quiet, sudden transformation of four million human beings from... the auction-block to the ballot-box.”
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Women’s Rights

• To many women activists, the Fifteenth Amendment provided the perfect opportunity to extend the vote to women, but they found few sympathetic male listeners.
• Even Radical Republicans insisted that Reconstruction was the “Negro’s hour” and that women would have to wait for a more appropriate time.
• Prominent black abolitionists disagreed on this issue.
  • On one hand, Frederick Douglass argued, “When women, because they are women, are hunted down... dragged from their homes and hung upon lamp post... when their children are not allowed to enter schools; then they will have an urgency to obtain the ballot equal to our own.”
  • Sojourner Truth countered, “If colored men get their rights, and not colored women theirs, you see the colored men will be masters over the women, and it will be just as bad as it was before.”
Women’s Rights

• The priority of black suffrage created a serious rift in the women’s movement.
• The majority, led by Lucy Stone and Julia Ward Howard, accepted that woman would have to wait, and they organized the American Woman Suffrage Association, known for its moderate points of view and its allegiance to the Republican Party.
• Other leaders, such as Susan B. Anthony and Elizabeth Cady Stanton, opposed the Fifteenth Amendment because it did not give women the right to vote.
  • Stanton went as far as to argue that giving the vote to “Patrick and Sambo and Hans and Yung Tung, who do not know the difference between a monarchy and a republic” was unfair, since well-educated women would remain voteless.
• Stanton formed the National Woman Suffrage Association, which accepted only women, focused exclusively on women’s rights, and pushed for a constitutional amendment for women’s suffrage.
Women’s Rights

• The two organizations would not reunite until the 1890s and women would not gain the vote until 1920.
Republican Rule in the South
Southern Government

- 1867 Southern states choose delegates for new state constitutions
  - 3/4 Republicans and poor whites angry about fighting a “rich man’s war”
  - **Carpetbaggers** = Northerners that flocked South to gain political and economic advantage
  - African Americans = 80% literate ministers and teachers
- 1870 - All Southern states had approved new constitutions and allowed back into the Union
Republican Rule in the South

- Between 1868 and 1871 all southern states met the requirements to rejoin the Union.
- The new state governments were protected by federal troops and dominated by Republicans, and they remained in power for periods ranging from a few months in Virginia to nine years in South Carolina, Louisiana, and Florida.
- Along with many newly elected black officials, two white groups, called by opponents scalawags and carpetbaggers, organized the new black vote and ruled the South.
- The scalawags - native white southerners who supported the Republicans - were thought to be traitors by many other white southerners.
  - Some were former slave owners, but most were yeomen farmers from the backcountry who wanted to rid the South of its slaveholding aristocracy.
  - Many had fought against, or at least not supported, the South during the Civil War.
Republican Rule in the South

- The carpetbaggers - northern white Republicans - were a group composed of both idealists and opportunists.
  - Some tried to help blacks and rebuild the South
  - Others went south for purely selfish reasons and became involved in schemes to get rich at the expense of southern taxpayers.
  - Many were former Union soldiers who decided to remain in the South when the war ended because of the climate, personal relations, or economic opportunities.
“Carpetbaggers”

Nickname applied by Southern whites to people who migrated South after the Civil War
The “Carpetbagger” Stereotype

Click to play!
The Motives of the Carpetbaggers

Power
Opportunity
Wealth
Service
Although many carpetbaggers went South to seek fortune and political office, many went South to educate freedmen and women.
Republican Rule in the South

• Throughout Reconstruction, black voters provided the basis of the Republican Party’s support, but blacks did not control Reconstruction politics.
  - Whites held most of the highest offices, and only in South Carolina, where blacks make up 60% of the population, did they form the majority in the state legislature.
  - Still, about 2,000 blacks occupied public offices during Reconstruction (fundamental shift of power in the South)
• Among the elected blacks, some lacked the education and experience to succeed in their new governmental roles, but many served ably in state legislatures and some were elected to the national Congress.
• The first African American leaders in the South came from a group of elite free blacks from the North.
• Like their white allies, many were former Union soldiers, and some were employed by the Freedmen’s Bureau or northern missionary societies.
Republican Rule in the South

• Others had escaped from slavery and returned home.
• The racially integrated Reconstruction governments achieved a number of reforms including the abolition of slavery and black suffrage.
• Most of the Reconstruction governments did away with property qualifications for voting and holding office.
• Several sought to eliminate racial and sexual distinctions in property-holding.
• Perhaps their greatest achievement lay in establishing the South’s first state-supported public schools, which served both black and white children, although generally the schools were segregated by race.
• The new government also passed civil rights legislation that made it illegal for railroads, hotels, and other institutions to discriminate on the basis of race, although enforcement varied from state to state.
Reconstruction’s Pinnacle

- Black Political Power
- 600 African Americans served in state legislatures
- 14 U.S. Congressmen
- 2 U.S. Senators
Land and Labor

• Despite early signs of hope when General Sherman issued his order for “40 acres and a mule,” Republican regimes did little to help the freedmen become independent farmers.

• An exception was South Carolina’s establishment of a land commission in 1869 that had the power to buy property and resell it on easy terms to the landless.
  • The commission enabled about 14,000 black families to acquire farms but not other state had such a success story.

• The federal government passed the Southern Homestead Act of 1866, which offered 80-acre grants to settlers, limited for the first year to freedmen and southern Unionists.

• However, the land was in swampy, infertile parts of the lower South, so few families succeeded in their farming efforts.
The most important reason that few freedmen became independent farmers was President Johnson’s order to restore confiscated lands to ex-Confederates.

As a result, most land stayed in the hands of the propertied elite, leaving few opportunities for freedmen to acquire their own farms. Instead, many had few options but to work for their former masters or to wander somewhere else to farm as tenants.

Black men were largely consigned to farm work, unskilled labor, and service jobs.

Black women were confined to positions in private homes as cooks and maids.

Their wages remained too low to allow for any accumulation of wealth.

In place of the antebellum plantation system, a labor system sprang up based on sharecropping, in which freedmen worked as renters, exchanging their labor for the use of the land, house, tools, and sometimes seeds and fertilizer.
Land and Labor

- At the end of the season they typically tuned over $\frac{1}{2}$ to $\frac{2}{3}$ of their crops to the landlord.
- By the turn of the century, some southern African-Americans had managed to acquire small parcels of land, but the failure of land reform kept many in an unequal relationship with white landowners.
- With much of their property destroyed during the war, they were forced to take “crop liens,” or a part of the crop in exchange for supplies to do their next planting.
- Once into this cycle, they had no choice but to continue to plant cotton to obtain new loans.
- The sharecropping system ultimately served neither blacks nor whites well, since it kept them committed to raining cotton, a crop that depleted the soil and offered little incentive to consider agricultural innovations that might have stimulated the economy.
Land and Labor

• Yeomen who were independent farmers before the war also were caught in the sharecropping system.
• Whereas the economy of the rural South stagnated during Reconstruction, southern cities grew rapidly.
• As rail lines were rebuilt and new track laid, cities like Atlanta became market centers that traded directly with the North.
• A new middle class of merchants, railroad promoters, and bankers prospered while the prospects for farmers in the hinterlands remained dim, and for many, desperate.
Resistance to Reconstruction
Summarize the end of Reconstruction, including the role of anti–African American factions and competing national interests in undermining support for Reconstruction; the impact of the removal of federal protection for freedmen; and the impact of Jim Crow laws and voter restrictions on African American rights in the post-Reconstruction era.
Reconstruction Undone

• From the start, Reconstruction encountered strong resistance from white southerners.
• In the Black Codes and in private attitudes, many whites opposed emancipation, and the former plantation owners proved especially resistant.
• President Johnson’s encouragement of the South to resist Congressional Reconstruction spurred white conservatives to work hard to capture the new state governments.
• Their efforts were thwarted by the Reconstruction Act of 1867 and the Thirteenth, Fourteenth, and Fifteenth Amendments, which paved the way for large black voter turnouts that put the Republican Party to power throughout the South.
• Under the new state constitutions, biracial state legislatures emerged and Radical Reconstruction seemed to be working.
Reconstruction Undone

- However, in most states, whites still controlled the best land and other sources of economic power, so white southerners maintained an important power base for regaining control.
- Reconstruction governments also suffered from a lack of a tax base since so much southern property had been destroyed during the Civil War.
- Corruption also damaged these governments, with carpetbaggers, scalawags, and black politicians engaged in fraudulent schemes, such as selling votes and padding expenses - practices that ran rampant in all regions of the country during this era.
- Both parties had a hand in this corruption, but in the South, the Democrats successfully pinned the blame on Republicans - unqualified blacks, greedy carpetbaggers, and scalawags.
The Ku Klux Klan
The Ku Klux Klan

• Some southerners resorted to violence to resist reconstruction, and a number of secret organizations were founded to regain control of the South through force.
• Most famously, the **Ku Klux Klan** began in 1866 in Tennessee and rapidly spread throughout the South as it evolved into a terrorist organization.
• Klansmen, disguised in hooded sheets, met and rode at night to frustrate Reconstruction and keep the freedmen in subjugation.
• The Klan murdered and whipped Republican politicians, burned black schools and churches, and attacked gatherings of their opponents.
• Some blacks and whites were seized in nighttime raids and lynched in public ceremonies, and their bodies were often left to hang in a warning to others who might thwart the Kan’s goal of white supremacy.
• Such terrorist attacks allowed Democrats to seize power in Georgia and North Carolina in 1870 and gain strong support elsewhere.
Unable to suppress the Klan, southern governments turned to Washington for help. In 1870 and 1871, Congress responded to the Klan’s violent campaign by passing two Enforcement Acts and an anti-Klan law. These laws continued the expansion of national authority and defined actions that deprived citizens of civil and political rights as federal, not state, crimes. President Grant sent federal marshals and troops to arrest accused Klansmen, forcing many to flee the South. The laws also provided for election of supervisors and permitted martial law and suspension of the writ of habeas corpus to control the Klan’s terror. Although the laws were effective in many parts of the South, in other areas, the Ku Klux Klan successfully intimidated the black and white Republicans so that Klan supporters gained the upper hand.
The Ku Klux Klan

- Many outlawed groups continued their activities through other organizations - such as hobby clubs and missionary societies - that disguised their secret loyalty to the “Invisible Empire.”
The (First) Ku Klux Klan
1865-1874

Gen. Nathan Bedford Forrest, CSA

Vigilantism
## The Two Klans

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<th>The First Ku Klux Klan</th>
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Birth of a Nation (1915)

- Highest grossing silent film EVER
- Glamorized the KKK
  - Responsible for rise of Second KKK?
“The white men were roused by a mere instinct of self-preservation...until at last there had sprung into existence a great Ku Klux Klan, a veritable empire of the South, to protect the Southern country.”

WOODROW WILSON
The End of Reconstruction
By 1872, it was clear that many Americans were turning away from the issues of Reconstruction and the endless bloodshed it seemed to produce.

Prosecuting Klansmen was an uphill battle, since U.S. attorneys usually faced all-white juries who often sympathized with the accused.

The nation was approaching its 100th anniversary, and many northerners wanted to get on with their own lives rather than focus on problems in the South.

The North was flooded with reports of corrupt southern Republican rule, and many wished to return to the practical politics of earlier days.

In most states, a new generation took over the party, and many of these leaders were concerned with benefitting the party or lining their own pockets.

Northerners increasingly felt that the South should solve its own problems without the interference from Washington and that blacks should make their way.
The End of Reconstruction

• In 1872, an influential group of Republicans banded together to combat corruption within the Grant administration.
• They formed their own Liberal Republican Party with a platform that sought to purify Washington and curtail the power of the federal government.
• At first, the Liberal’s alienation from the Grant administration had little to do with reconstruction, however, they listened to Democratic criticism of Reconstruction and came to believe that corrupt and inept officials ran the new southern governments.
• The Liberal Republicans urged that power return to the region’s “natural leaders.”
• They nominated Horace Greeley, editor of the New York Tribune as their presidential candidate to challenge Ulysses S. Grant in 1872, and during the campaign he asked Americans to “clasp hands across the bloody chasm” by putting Civil war and reconstruction behind them.
1872 Presidential Election

- Republican Split
  - Radicals vs. Moderates

- Horace Greeley
  - Liberal Republican party
    - Opposed Radical Reconstruction and government corruption
    - Democrats Back Greeley
The End of Reconstruction

- Greeley had denounced the Democratic Party for years, but Democratic leaders saw the Republican split as an opportunity to revive their party, so they endorsed Greeley.
- However, many Democrat refused to vote for their old nemesis, so they stayed home on election day, sealing a victory for Grant.
- Though Grant beat Greeley easily, with a popular majority twice as great as the one he had in 1868, it was clear that the country was losing interest in the “old” issues of slavery and Reconstruction.
1872 Presidential Election

[Map showing the 1872 presidential election results. The map highlights states won by various candidates with different colors. The electoral and popular votes are also indicated.]
You Win.  You Die.
Restoration of Southern “Home Rule”
1869-1877

- 1869: Readmission to the Union
- 1870: Readmission to the Union
- 1871: Date of reestablishment of conservative government
- 1873: Date of reestablishment of conservative government
- 1874: Date of reestablishment of conservative government
- 1876: Date of reestablishment of conservative government
- 1877: Date of reestablishment of conservative government

Legend:
- Union states
- Former Confederate states

Note: Many states had radical governments at the time of readmission.
The End of Reconstruction

- Once all southern states were returned to full statehood, military governors were gradually removed, and whites began reasserting their power on election day.
- By the mid-1870s, Democrats had regained control of Tennessee, North Carolina, and Texas, calling themselves “redeemers,” since they had “redeemed” the South from corruption and misgovernment by northerners and blacks.
- In 1874, Democrats regained control of the House, and in 1876, the radicals lost control of the last three state governments - Louisiana, South Carolina, and Florida.
- In 1875 and 1876, violence spread as white supremacists openly assaulted and murdered Republicans, but this time President Grant refused to send federal assistance.
  - In Mississippi, armed Democrats destroyed ballot boxes and drove former slaves from the polls. The result was a Democratic landslide and the end of Reconstruction in Mississippi. Similar events took place in South Carolina.
Northern public opinion turns against Radical Reconstruction.

Perception of “Colored Rule” and corruption in the South under Carpetbag state governments = upsurge of racism

http://blackhistory.harpweek.com/illustrations/reconstruction/coloredrule.htm
1874 Congressional Elections

VOTERS REACT TO:

- Bad Economy
- Political Corruption
- Reconstruction Policy

U.S. House of Representatives

Republican vs Democrats

1872

1874
The Election of 1876 & the Bargain of 1877
In 1876, both parties recognized the new mood of the electorate by nominating presidential candidates who were moderates.
• The Republican candidate, Rutherford B. Hayes of Ohio, advocated civil service reform.
• The Democratic candidate, Samuel J. Tilden, was a New York lawyer who had opposed corrupt political machines in his hometown.
• By this time, Democrats controlled most southern states, with only South Carolina, Florida, and Louisiana remaining under Republican control.
• The election turned out to be so close that whoever captured these states - in which both parties claimed a victory - would become president.
• Tilden won the popular vote by 250,000 but disputes immediately rose in the three republican-controlled states in the South and Oregon.
Election of 1876

- Without one of these disputed electoral votes, Tilden would have only 184 votes in the electoral college - one short of the required majority.
- In January 1877, a special commission - made up of 5 representatives, 5 senators, and 5 supreme court justices - was created to decide the question.
  - Republicans had an 8-7 majority on the commission
  - The members voted along party lines to decide the Republican candidate, Hayes had carried the disputed southern states and been elected president
  - At the same time that the commission was deliberating, party leaders met behind-the-scenes to forge another agreement - known as the **Bargain of 1877** - to placate Democrats
A NATIONAL GAME THAT IS PLAYED OUT.
Compromise of 1877
Disputed Election

Samuel Tilden (D-NY) 185
Rutherford B. Hayes (R-OH) 184

“Rutherfraud”
A Truce—Not a Compromise, but a Chance for High-Poised Gentlemen to Retire Gracefully from Their Very Civil Declarations of War.
Bargain of 1877

- Rutherford B. Hayes had already promised that he would remove the last of the federal troops from the South if he became president.
- Haye’s representatives agreed to recognize Democratic control of the South.
- They also promised that the federal government would no longer intervene in local affairs.
- Republicans also agreed that a southerner would be chosen for postmaster general (a cabinet position) and that the South would be consulted on patronage appointments.
- Northern Republicans also pledged federal subsidiaries for new railroad lines in the South.
- In return, Democrats agreed to let Hayes be inaugurated without protest, and they promised to vote for a Republican, James Garfield, as Speaker of the House of Representatives (where they had the majority).
- Democrats also pledged to respect the civil and political rights of blacks, although they did not live up to the promise.
The Formal End of Reconstruction

- Hayes became president in 1877, and he appointed David M. Key of Tennessee as postmaster general.
- Hayes ordered federal troops to return to their barracks, although he did not remove the last soldiers from the South.
- However, no land grants for southern railroads were granted.
- The withdrawal of troops from the Confederacy marked the formal end of Reconstruction, and the other agreements of the Bargain of 1877 marked the beginning of an era in which the South would try to rebuild its share of economic and political power in national affairs (the New South).
- Although the Reconstruction era ended in 1877, its legacy has lived on.
  - Negative results/failure due to over-zealous Radical Republicans, corrupt carpetbaggers, and incompetent black officials?
  - Loss of northern will to reform?
  - Many successes and ultimately directed country toward greater equality and justice?
The New South
The New South

• Just as railroads, migrations, and new economic opportunities transformed the West, the South also experienced tremendous change in the last decades of the 19th century.
• Southern rail lines were rebuilt and supplemented with new branch lines that improved transportation and connections to other regions.
• Although the South was not a frontier in the literal sense of the term, proponents of the “New South” asserted that the region must abandon its single-minded preoccupation with plantation-based agriculture and move toward a new society of small farmers, thriving industries, and busy cities.
• This movement was led by energetic southern newspaper editors such as **Henry W. Grady** of the *Atlanta Constitution* and Henry Watterson of the *Louisville Courier Journal*, who proclaimed the South had boundless industrial potential.
The New South

- The South’s natural resources and cheap labor, they argued, made it ideal for economic development.
- By the late 1870s, with Reconstruction over, optimism prevailed, and the movement to industrialize the South gained momentum in the 1880s.
- According to Grady: “The Old South rested everything on Slavery and agriculture, unconscious that these could neither give nor maintain healthy growth. The New South presents a perfect Democracy... a social system compact and closely knitted, less splendid on the surface, but stronger at the core - a hundred farms for every plantation, fifty homes for every palace - and a diversified industry that meets the complex needs of this complex age.”
But the South was still primarily agricultural.
Economic Growth

• The South’s two major staple crops - tobacco and cotton - were the basis of economic growth during the late 19th and early 20th centuries.
• Although important iron and steel industries developed around Birmingham, Alabama, and Chattanooga, Tennessee, northern capitalists were largely responsible for the growth of foundries, furnaces, and machine shops in these areas.
• However, the tobacco and textile industries were organized by southerners, and so they developed distinctly southern characteristics.
• The production of tobacco had long centered in the upper-South states of Virginia and North Carolina, but during the late 19th century, tobacco became one of the largest industries in America.
• By 1872, the Duke family of Durham, North Carolina, had a factory that produced 125,000 pounds of tobacco annually and expanded rapidly over the next decades.
In 1876, James Bonsack of Virginia invented a machine for rolling cigarettes and sales soared when James B. Duke began marketing cigarettes in the North with free samples, trading cards, and billboards.

Tobacco growth increased significantly with the development of new types that would grow in a variety of soils.

By 1890, Duke brought most of his competitors into the American Tobacco Company, which controlled the vast majority of the nation’s cigarette production and eventually became a major American corporation.

The early textile centers in the United States were located in the North, but during this era, new textile mills mushroomed in the South.

Unlike the urban-based factories and mills in the North, the southern textile industry blossomed in the countryside and sometimes spurred the growth of new towns and villages (although this pattern occurred in rural New England in the 1820s).
The Textile Industry Moves South
Economic Growth

- Many of the new southern cotton-mills grew largely in the piedmont, an area that stretched from central Virginia to northern Georgia and Alabama (the South’s backcountry until the 1850s, far from the prosperous coastal plantations).
- During Reconstruction, most of the piedmont’s white farmers and freed blacks had become impoverished sharecroppers, but when rail lines connected the region to outside markets, textile-mills were built.
- Many left their farms to work in the mills, where they provided cheap labor that supported the growing profits of mill owners.
- The chief cotton-mill promoters were merchants, professionals, and bankers who had profited from the commercialization of southern agricultures, and so life as a mill worker was seldom an improvement over that of a sharecropper.
- By the 1880s, when mills were earning their investors from 30% to 70% profit, the superintendents were paying young mill workers 12-18 years of age from 7 to 11 cents an hour (30%-50% less than New England).
Economic Growth

- The mill dominated most piedmont textile communities, with the mill operator building and owning the worker’s housing and the company store.
- He also supported the village church and financed the local elementary school and usually dominated town politics.
- Workers were usually paid in **scrip** - a certificate redeemable only in goods supplied by the company store, and they often fell behind in their payments since their wages were so low.
- In these cases, the charges were deducted from the workers’ wages the following month, and many were drawn into a cycle of indebtedness very much like that faced by sharecroppers and tenant farmers.
- Unlike northern mill workers, who were predominantly female and single, southern mill employees were married and unmarried men and women, and many were children.
- All worked long hours, usually putting in 12-hour days with time off on Sundays and many worked night shifts instead of day shifts.
Economic Growth

• Like New England cotton mills before the Civil War, southern textile companies exploited cheap rural labor around them settling former farm workers in a company town controlled by the mill owner.

• Between 1860 and 1900, the industry steadily grew, and by 1920 the South was the nation’s leading textile-mill center.
Industrial Lag

- Despite economic growth in tobacco and textiles, industrialization in the South occurred on a smaller scale and at a slower rate than industrialization in the North and depended more on outside financing and expertise.
- Except for the American Tobacco Company, southern industry was dominated by northern companies and northern bankers.
- U.S. Steel, for example, controlled the foundries in Birmingham, and in 1900 its executives began to price Birmingham steel according to a formula developed in Pittsburgh plus the shipping cost from Pittsburgh.
- As a result, southerners paid higher prices for steel, even though southern production was less expensive.
- Northern investors controlled ¾ of the southern railroads as well.
- Industrial workers in the South (almost all were white) earned much less than workers in the North, and they worked longer hours.
Likewise, southerners of both races earned bare subsistence livings from sharecropping and tenant farming. Many factors contributed to this industrial lage in the South. Despite their efforts, southerners fell behind partly because of difficulties that resulted from the Civil War and Reconstruction. War debts were staggering, and northern opportunists had already gained control of many businesses before Reconstruction ended. Much of the southern workforce was poorly educated, including poor piedmont whites and blacks who had been denied education while they were slaves. The South not only had to recover from devastating effects of the war, but also had to catch up with the rapidly industrializing North, and by 1900, economic growth in the South lagged behind other parts of the country.
Bourbon Redeemers
“Redeemer” Governments

Southern White “Bourbon” Democrats re-assert authority

“Solid South”

- DEMOCRATIC STRONGHOLD
  - Republican Party a non-entity in Southern politics until the 1960s

Gov. Wade Hampton (SC)
The “Solid South”

Almost 50 Years Later
Bourbon Redeemers

• During the 1870s the Republican rule collapsed in the South as ex-Confederate officials regained office, carpetbaggers returned home, and errant southerners returned to the folds of the Democratic Party.
• Democrats did not always share common goals, with businessmen who envisioned an industrialized New South clashing with the old planter elites, who called themselves “Redeemers” of the South from Yankee domination.
• Their opponents labeled them “Bourbons” after the French royal family which, Napoleon said, forgot nothing and learning nothing in the ordeal of the French Revolution.
• However, all Democrats shared a common goal: to oust the Republicans from office.
• Once this happened, these Bourbons of the New South allied with northern and southern conservative capitalists to form frugal governments, slashing expenditures and avoiding political initiatives while offering favors to business.
Bourbon Redeemers

- This austerity meant that public services were cut, including money for school systems started during Reconstruction, and literacy rates in the South suffered as a result.
- Many southern states resorted to convict labor as a way to avoid expenses and generate revenue, and many railroads, mines, and lumber camps were built by “chain gangs” of prisoners supervised by the lash of a whip.
- These state governments did not remain completely idle.
- For example, they established boards of agriculture and public health, mechanical colleges, teacher-training schools and women’s colleges, and some state colleges for African Americans.
- Bourbon leaders were not all ex-plantation owners, but instead were a mix of Old Whigs, Unionists, businessmen, secessionists, small farmers, and planters.
- In general, they did not act quickly to eliminate black voices in politics or to segregate the races in public places or private housing.
Bourbon Redeemers

- Blacks sat at state legislatures in Virginia until 1890, South Carolina until 1900, and Georgia until 1908.
- Under the Bourbons, the disenfranchisement of black voters remained inconsistent, with some localities intimidating blacks into staying home from the polls, but interfering very little in other areas.
- However, by the 1890s, these patterns changed, and segregation of the races and disenfranchisement of black voters became commonplace.
Disenfranchisement of Blacks and Segregation
The “New South”

“Jim Crow” Laws
Racial Segregation

Literacy Tests
Poll Tax
Designed to keep
Black citizens from voting

Grandfather Clause
Disenfranchisement & Segregation

- In the Old South, races were generally not geographically segregated, with black slaves living on the same farms of plantations as their masters, and in the years just after Reconstruction this pattern did not change significantly.
- Black sharecroppers often farmed next to white sharecroppers and segregated facilities did not commonly exist in towns and cities.
- Likewise, many southern politicians found it necessary to appeal to black voters as well as to white, so they had few incentives to disenfranchise blacks.
- The pattern began to change during the 1880s, when an agricultural depression hit the region, and white Democrats revived racial issues to prevent poor white farmers from allying with blacks against the economic and political establishment of the South.
Disenfranchisement & Segregation

• During the 1890s, some Bourbon leaders began to demand that the black vote be eliminated completely, especially those who feared “Negro domination” in areas where white voters were divided politically and economically.
• Since the Fifteenth Amendment made it illegal to simply deny blacks the vote whites found clever and roundabout ways to keep blacks “in their place.”
• When black men were not driven from the polls by violence, literacy tests and other requirements were used to disqualify them as voters.
• One such provision was the poll tax, a fee levied on all voters, but in effect kept many blacks from voting because they were more often unable to afford to pay it.
• Literacy tests discriminated against black voters, since registrars - all white - could decide whether or not individuals met literacy requirements.
Disenfranchisement & Segregation

- In 1898, Louisiana invented the “grandfather clause,” which limited the privilege of casting a ballot to men whose fathers or grandfathers who had been able to vote.
- Since most blacks’ grandfathers had been slaves, they were automatically excluded from voting.
If this guy could vote...
Grandfather Clause, The (1898–1915) The Grandfather Clause was a statute enacted by many American southern states in the wake of Reconstruction (1865-1877) that allowed potential white voters to circumvent literacy tests, **poll taxes**, and other tactics designed to disenfranchise southern blacks.
Jim Crow
Segregation

Photo by Universal Pops
In the late 19th century, the Supreme Court upheld Jim Crow, as well as restrictions on voting (since these restrictions did not explicitly discriminate based on race).
Disenfranchisement & Segregation

- As disenfranchisement spread across the southern states, **Jim Crow legislation** enforced segregation of the races.
- From 1875 to 1883, any racial segregation violated a federal Civil Rights Act, which forbade discrimination in public places.
- However, in 1883 the Supreme Court ruled that the force of federal law could not extend to individual action because the Fourteenth Amendment only prohibits state, not individual, action.
- The Court then ruled that it was unconstitutional for Congress to prohibit racial discrimination in public accommodations such as hotels.
- This left open the question of whether or not “**separate but equal**” public facilities actually violated constitutional principles.
- Jim Crow laws proliferated as hundreds of state and local ordinances created separate public facilities like restaurants, hotels, restrooms, and water fountains, as well as separate school systems.
• The key phrase of the Fourteenth Amendment was “equal protection of the laws.”
• The courts of the late 19th century interpreted equal protection narrowly, ruling that it meant only that blacks and whites had certain fundamental legal rights in common, such as the right to sign contracts, to serve on juries, or to buy and sell property.
• The most important late 19th-century case based on the equal protection clause was **Plessy v. Ferguson** in 1896.
• Homer Plessy was arrested for violating a Louisiana state law that required “equal but separate accommodations for the white and colored races” in railroad cars.
• Plessy, who was \( \frac{7}{8} \) white, refused to leave a railway car reserved for whites and appealed his case to the Supreme Court, claiming that the law violated the equal protection clause of the Fourteenth Amendment.
Disenfranchisement & Segregation

• The Court upheld the law, saying that segregation was not unconstitutional as long as the facilities were substantially equal.
• Only one justice, John Marshall Harlan, disagreed, arguing that “Our Constitution is color-blind, and neither knows nor tolerates classes among citizens. In respect of civil rights, all citizens are equal before the law.”
• However, Harlan’s point of view did not prevail, and the separate but equal doctrine created by *Plessy v. Ferguson* and upheld by later court decisions set in place the legal precedent that segregation is constitutional.
• The result was that Jim Crow laws, and thus segregation enforced by law (“de jure” segregation) stayed in place until the mid-1950s, when the Court finally declared it unconstitutional.
Plessy v. Ferguson (1896)

- Louisiana Racial Segregation Case
- “Separate But Equal”
- Overturned by *Brown v. Board* (1954)
The Reality

1904 political cartoon by John T. McCutcheon
Reconstruction Part 1
Reconstruction Part 2
Aftershock: Beyond the Civil War
Rise and Fall of Jim Crow Ep 1 1865-1896
Key Concept 5.3: The Union victory in the Civil War and the contested reconstruction of the South settled the issues of slavery and secession, but left unresolved many questions about the power of the federal government and citizenship rights.

II. Reconstruction and the Civil War ended slavery, altered relationships between the states and the federal government, and led to debates over new definitions of citizenship, particularly regarding the rights of African Americans, women, and other minorities.
A. The 13th amendment abolished slavery, while the 14th and 15th amendments granted African Americans citizenship, equal protection under the laws, and voting rights.

B. The women’s rights movement was both emboldened and divided over the 14th and 15th amendments to the Constitution.

C. Efforts by radical and moderate Republicans to change the balance of power between Congress and the presidency and to reorder race relations in the defeated South yielded some short-term successes.
C. Reconstruction opened up political opportunities and other leadership roles to former slaves, but it ultimately failed, due both to Southern resistance and the North’s waning resolve.

D. Southern plantation owners continued to own the majority of the region’s land even after Reconstruction. Former slaves sought land ownership but generally fell short of self-sufficiency, as an exploitative and soil-intensive sharecropping system limited blacks’ and poor whites’ access to land in the South.
E. Segregation, violence, Supreme Court decisions, and local political tactics progressively stripped away African American rights, but the 14\textsuperscript{th} and 15\textsuperscript{th} amendments eventually became the basis for court decisions upholding civil rights in the 20\textsuperscript{th} century.
AP Correlations

• Thematic Learning Objectives
  • NAT-2.0: Explain how interpretations of the Constitution and debates over rights, liberties, and definitions of citizenship have affected American values, politics, and society.
  • POL-3.0: Explain how different beliefs about the federal government’s role in U.S. social and economic life have affected political debates and policies.
  • WXT-1.0: Explain how different labor systems developed in North America and the United States, and explain their effects on workers’ lives.
AP Correlations

• Thematic Learning Objectives
  • CUL-3.0: Explain how ideas about women’s rights and gender roles have affected society and politics.
  • POL-6.0: Analyze how debates over political values (such as democracy, freedom, and citizenship, and the extension of American ideals abroad contributed to the ideological clashes and military conflicts of the 19th century and the early 20th century.