Chapter 14
Reconstruction

Ruins of a railroad depot, Charleston, South Carolina

Who & When?

1860

1865
President Lincoln is assassinated

1870
Fifteenth Amendment extends voting rights

1877
Reconstruction ends

Members of Congress
The Big Ideas

Reconstruction Plans
Political ideas and major events shape how people form governments.
Northern politicians disagreed on how to bring the southern states back into the Union.

Radicals in Control
A constitution reflects the values and goals of the society that creates it.
The Radical Republicans in Congress worked to ensure the rights of the newly freed African Americans in the South.

The South During Reconstruction
Political ideas and major events shape how people form governments.
African Americans in the South made some gains in government and education, but many white Southerners attempted to limit their rights.

Change in the South
Economic, social, and political changes create new traditions, values, and beliefs. As Reconstruction ended, white Southerners attempted to make economic changes in the South, while restricting the rights of African Americans.

View the Chapter 14 video in the Glencoe Video Program.

Foldables Study Organizer
Comparison Make this foldable to help you compare and contrast Reconstruction in the Northern and Southern states.

Step 1 Mark the midpoint of the side edge of a sheet of paper.

Step 2 Turn the paper and fold the edges in to touch at the midpoint.

Step 3 Turn and label your foldable as shown.

Reading and Writing
As you read the chapter, write facts that show how Reconstruction differed and was the same in the Northern states and Southern states. Write the facts in the appropriate places inside your foldable.
Monitoring and Clarifying

Good readers monitor their understanding of text. When a portion of the reading is confusing, good readers use strategies to understand, such as looking up new words, rereading, and reading a bit farther to locate more information. This is called clarifying. As you read, stop and determine which parts were unclear. Identify unfamiliar words, and look on the page for supporting diagrams, maps, or pictures that might help you. Read the following paragraph using these techniques.

In the 1870s, Reconstruction governments began creating public school systems for both races, which had not existed in the South before the war. Within a few years, more than 50 percent of the white children and about 40 percent of African American children in the South were enrolled in public schools. Northern missionary societies also established academies offering advanced education for African Americans.

—from page 638

What is a reconstruction government? Was it explained earlier in the chapter?

What were the children doing who weren’t enrolled in public schools?

What is a missionary society? Is it defined in the glossary?

As you read, make a list of words you don’t know. Look them up in the dictionary. Practice using them and your vocabulary words in sentences.
More progress was made in helping freed African Americans. In March 1865, Congress and the president set up a new government agency to help former enslaved persons, or freedmen. It was known as the Freedmen’s Bureau.

After the war, the Freedmen’s Bureau helped African Americans adjust to freedom. The agency distributed food and clothing, and provided medical services that lowered the death rate among freed African Americans. It also set up schools staffed by Northern teachers such as Charlotte Forten and gave aid to new African American schools of high learning, such as Atlanta University, Howard University, and Fisk University. The bureau helped freed people acquire land or work with fair wages. Although the main goal of the bureau was to aid African Americans, it also helped pro-Union Southerners.

—from page 626

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Monitor</th>
<th>Clarify</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Were there any unfamiliar words?</td>
<td>Look in a glossary or dictionary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Do you know what the Freedmen’s Bureau was?</td>
<td>Reread selection</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As you read this chapter, identify one topic or event that you would like explained more fully. Then, do research to find answers to the questions you have. Use your answers to write a paragraph of explanation.
Looking Back, Looking Ahead
You learned that the Civil War ended in a Northern victory but at terrible costs to both sides. Northern politicians needed to figure out how to return the Southern states to the Union and what rights to allow the newly freed African Americans.

Focusing on the Main Ideas
• Differences over how Reconstruction after the Civil War should be carried out divided the government. (page 625)
• After Lincoln was assassinated, Johnson became president and announced his plan of “Restoration.” (page 626)

Meeting People
Thaddeus Stevens
Charlotte Forten
John Wilkes Booth
Andrew Johnson

Content Vocabulary
Reconstruction (REE•kuhn•STRUHK•shuhn)
amnesty (AM•nuh•stee)
radical (RA•dih•kuhl)
freedmen

Academic Vocabulary
period
approach (uh•PROHCH)
deny (dih•NY)
aid

Reading Strategy
Taking Notes As you read the section, re-create the diagram below and describe each of the Reconstruction plans.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Plan</th>
<th>Description</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ten Percent Plan</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Wade-Davis Plan</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Restoration</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Who & When?
1864
Nov. 1864 Lincoln is elected to second term
Lincoln’s second Inaugural Address

1865
March 1865 Freedmen’s Bureau is established
Apr. 9, 1865 Lee surrenders
Apr. 14, 1865 President Lincoln is assassinated
Freedmen’s School

History
Social Science
Standards
US8.11 Students analyze the character and lasting consequences of Reconstruction.
Reconstruction Debate

Main Idea Differences over how Reconstruction after the Civil War should be carried out divided the government.

Reading Connection How would you have established terms of peace and rebuilding following the Civil War? Read to find out how President Lincoln and the Republicans in Congress disagreed about the treatment of the Southern states as they returned to the Union.

An American Story

When Confederate soldiers—tired, ragged, and hungry—went home at the end of the war, they often returned to a ruined land. Mary Chesnut of South Carolina wrote about what she saw and felt when she traveled:

"CAMDEN, S. C., May 2, 1865.
Since we left Chester nothing but solitude, nothing but tall blackened chimneys, to show that any man has ever trod this road before. This is Sherman’s track. It is hard not to curse him. I wept incessantly at first. The roses of the gardens are already hiding the ruins."

—Mary Chesnut, A Diary From Dixie

Destruction in the South The war saved the Union but left the South devastated. Cities and plantations were in ruin, and roads, bridges and railroads were destroyed. More than 258,000 Confederate soldiers had died in the war, and illness and injuries weakened thousands more. Americans everywhere agreed that the South needed to be rebuilt, but they disagreed bitterly over how to accomplish it. This period of rebuilding is called Reconstruction (REE•kuhn•STRUHK•shuhn). This term also refers to the various plans for carrying out the rebuilding.

"We have turned. . . loose four million slaves without a hut to shelter them or a cent in their pockets."
—Thaddeus Stevens in a speech to Congress, December 1865

Lincoln’s Plan President Lincoln offered the first plan for accepting the South back into the Union. In December 1863, during the Civil War, the president announced the Ten Percent Plan. When 10 percent of the voters of a state took an oath of loyalty to the Union, the State could form a government and adopt a new constitution that banned slavery.

Lincoln wanted to encourage pro-Union Southerners to run the state governments. He believed that punishing the South would only delay healing the torn nation. The president offered amnesty (AM•nuh•stee)—immunity from prosecution—to all white Southerners, except Confederate leaders, who gave loyalty to the Union. In 1864 three states under Union occupation—Louisiana, Arkansas, and Tennessee—set up governments under Lincoln’s plan. Some Republicans considered Lincoln’s plan too mild. Favoring a more radical, or extreme, approach, they were called Radical Republicans.
The Radicals’ Plan A leading Radical Republican, Thaddeus Stevens, declared that the foundations of the South “must be broken up and relaid, or all our blood and treasure have been spent in vain.” Controlled by Radical Republicans, Congress voted to deny seats to representatives from any state reconstructed under Lincoln’s plan. Then it began to create its own more radical plan.

In July 1864, Congress passed the Wade-Davis Bill. First, most white males in a state had to swear loyalty to the Union. Second, only white males who swore they had not fought the Union could vote for delegates to a constitutional convention. Former Confederates were barred from public office. Finally, any new state constitution had to end slavery. Only then could a state rejoin the Union.

Lincoln refused to sign the bill into law. He did, however, want new state governments that would restore order quickly. He realized that he would have to compromise with the Radical Republicans.

The Freedmen’s Bureau More progress was made in helping freed African Americans. In March 1865, Congress and the president set up a new government agency to help former enslaved persons, or freedmen. It was known as the Freedmen’s Bureau.

After the war, the Freedmen’s Bureau helped African Americans adjust to freedom. The agency distributed food and clothing, and provided medical services that lowered the death rate among freed African Americans. It also set up schools staffed by Northern teachers such as Charlotte Forten and gave aid to new African American schools of higher learning, such as Atlanta University, Howard University, and Fisk University. The bureau helped freed people acquire land or work with fair wages. Although the main goal of the bureau was to aid African Americans, it also helped pro-Union Southerners.

Lincoln Is Assassinated

Main Idea After Lincoln was assassinated, Johnson became president and announced his plan of “Restoration.”

Reading Connection How do you think the loss of a strong leader might impact a nation during a difficult time? Read to find out how the death of Lincoln affected the course of Reconstruction.

A terrible event soon threw the debates over Reconstruction into confusion. On the evening of April 14, 1865, President and Mrs. Lincoln attended a play at Ford’s Theater in Washington, D.C. As the Lincolns watched the play from a private box in the balcony, John Wilkes Booth, a pro-Confederate actor, entered the box and shot the president in the head. He then leaped to the stage and escaped from the theater. The wounded president died a few hours later.

After fleeing Ford’s Theater, Booth rode on horseback to Virginia. There, Union troops tracked him down and cornered him in a barn. When Booth refused to give up, he was shot to death. Booth was part of a small group that had plotted to kill several government officials.

A Nation Mourns News of Lincoln’s death shocked the nation. African Americans mourned the death of the man who had helped them win their freedom. Northern whites grieved for the leader who had saved the Union.

A funeral train carried Lincoln’s body on a 1,700-mile journey from Washington, D.C., to his home town of Springfield, Illinois. Thousands of people lined the route. At night, bonfires and torches lit the way. By day, bells tolled and cannons fired.

Lincoln’s second Inaugural Address, read at the cemetery, reminded Americans of his plan “to do all which may achieve and cherish a just, and a lasting peace, among ourselves, and with all nations.” The future, however, was in the hands of those who favored harsher measures against the former Confederacy.
Charlotte Forten was the first northern African American schoolteacher to go south to teach former slaves. In late 1861, Union army forces captured a group of islands off the coast of South Carolina and Georgia. Thousands of enslaved people had been left there as their owners fled from the northern soldiers. Many government leaders and abolitionists saw this as a chance to show that former slaves could live successfully as free citizens. The Port Royal Experiment gave educational and medical aid to the freed slaves on the islands. Charlotte Forten was one of the teachers who volunteered to help. She taught there from 1862 to 1864.

Forten was born in Philadelphia. She studied in Salem, Massachusetts, from 1854 to 1856. For two years, she taught elementary school there. However, she wanted to be part of a larger cause. The Port Royal Experiment gave her the opportunity to help others.

Forten kept a journal of her years on the Sea Islands. In it she expressed her commitment to help the former slaves. She also revealed her own feelings as a young African American woman growing up in a mostly white country.

“This morning a large number—superintendents, teachers, and freed people, assembled in the little Baptist church. It was a sight that I shall not soon forget—that crowd of eager, happy black faces from which the shadow of slavery had forever passed. 'Forever free!' 'Forever free!' Those magical words were all the time singing themselves in my soul. . . .”

Later, she lived in Washington, D.C., and continued to support equal rights for African Americans.

“[T]he eyes of these freed children see no clouds in it.”
—from Life on the Sea Islands
by Charlotte Forten

Through her work in education, Charlotte Forten influenced many people. What teachers have influenced you and helped you learn?
**A New President** When Lincoln died, Vice President Andrew Johnson became president. Johnson was Southern born but pro Union. When Johnson’s state (Tennessee) seceded in 1861, Johnson rejected its action and remained in his Senate seat.

In 1864 the Republicans nominated him for vice president. As Lincoln’s running mate, Johnson had sharply attacked southern leaders. He once said:

“Treason, must be made odious [hateful] and Traitors punished.”

—as Tennessee war governor, 1862

The Radical Republicans were pleased with Johnson’s statements and expected him to be harsher than Lincoln toward the South. Johnson announced his own Reconstruction plan, which he called “Restoration,” in May 1865. Under his plan, most Southerners would be granted amnesty once they swore loyalty to the Union. High-ranking or wealthy Confederates could be pardoned by appealing to the president. This provision revealed Johnson’s desire to humiliate the wealthy leaders who he believed had tricked the South’s people into seceding.

Johnson also allowed only loyal, pardoned whites to vote for delegates to the state constitutional conventions. Stating that “white men alone must manage the South,” Johnson opposed African Americans having equal rights or the vote.

**The Thirteenth Amendment** Before entering the Union, a state had to denounce secession and end slavery. States also had to ratify the Thirteenth Amendment to the Constitution, which Congress had passed in January 1865. The amendment abolished slavery in all of the United States. By the end of 1865, all the former Confederate states except Texas had new governments and were ready to rejoin the Union.

**Reading Check** Compare How did President Johnson’s plan for Reconstruction differ from that of the Radical Republicans?

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**What Did You Learn?**

1. What did the Thirteenth Amendment provide?
2. What was the Freedmen’s Bureau, and what was its goal?
3. Comparing Re-create the diagram below and compare Lincoln’s Ten Percent Plan to the Radical Republicans’ Wade-Davis Bill.

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

4. **Drawing Conclusions** Do you think President Johnson’s early ties to the South influenced his Reconstruction plans? Explain your answer.
5. **The Big Ideas** How did Lincoln’s and the Radical Republicans’ ideas about Reconstruction differ?
6. **Reading and Clarifying** Reread the passage called “Lincoln’s Plan” on page 625. What words were new to you? List words you did not know and define them.
Looking Back, Looking Ahead
You learned that after Lincoln was assassinated, Andrew Johnson became president and proposed his own plan for restoring the Southern states into the Union. The Radical Republicans in Congress, however, had very different ideas about how the Southern states should be allowed to rejoin the North.

Focusing on the Main Ideas
- When Northerners realized that African Americans in the South were still being mistreated, Congress worked to find a solution. (page 630)
- Radical Republicans were able to put their version of Reconstruction into action. (page 631)

Meeting People
Edwin Stanton
Ulysses S. Grant

Content Vocabulary
- black codes
- override
- impeach (ihm • PEECH)

Academic Vocabulary
- prohibit (proh • HIH • buht)
- enable (ih • NAY • buhl)

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

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

Radical in Control
African Americans’ Rights

Main Idea When Northerners realized that African Americans in the South were still being mistreated, Congress worked to find a solution.

Reading Connection Do you know the requirements for being a United States citizen? Is being born in this country enough to make a person a citizen? Read to find out how Congress made sure that the African Americans freed after the Civil War became citizens.

In May 1866, white mobs in Memphis, Tennessee, burned African American churches, schools, and homes. Close to 50 people, nearly all of them African American, died. Many Northerners saw the violence as an attempt by whites to keep African Americans from exercising their rights. This and similar riots in the South made Radical Republicans realize that the Johnson Reconstruction plan was not strong enough.

Southern Representatives During the fall of 1865, Southerners created new state governments based on the Johnson plan. They also elected to Congress new representatives, some of whom had been leading Confederate officials. When the Southern representatives arrived in Washington, D.C., Congress refused to seat them. Many Republicans opposed readmitting the South on such easy terms.

To many Northerners, Johnson’s plan was robbing the Union of its hard-won victory. Northerners also realized that the treatment of African Americans in the South was not improving.

Black Codes By the spring of 1866, Southern states had passed black codes, or laws that aimed to control freed men and women. The black codes trampled the rights of African Americans. They permitted plantation owners to exploit African American workers and allowed officials to arrest and fine jobless African Americans. The black codes also banned African Americans from owning or renting farms. To freed men and women and many Northerners, the black codes brought back slavery in disguise.

Challenging the Codes In early 1866, Congress gave the Freedmen’s Bureau new powers. The agency now was able to set up special courts to try individuals charged with violating the rights of African Americans. African Americans could serve on juries in these courts. This gave them the opportunity to play a new role in pursuing justice.

Congress also passed a civil rights bill that overturned the black codes. This measure made African Americans full citizens and gave the federal government power to intervene in state affairs to protect African American rights.

President Johnson vetoed both bills, arguing that the federal government was going beyond its proper authority. He also said that the measures were unconstitutional because they were passed by a Congress that did not include representation from all the states. By raising the issue of representation, Johnson indirectly threatened to veto any bill passed by this Congress.

Republicans in Congress had enough votes to override, or defeat, both vetoes, and the bills became law. As the split between the president and Congress grew, the chances of them working together faded. The Radical Republicans rejected any compromise and drafted a new Reconstruction plan—one led by Congress.
The Fourteenth Amendment  Although the Thirteenth Amendment ensured the freedom of African Americans, it did not guarantee them full rights. After the Civil War, many Southern states passed laws that kept African Americans from holding certain jobs, limited their property rights, and restricted them in other ways.

To remedy this situation, Congress passed the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution in 1866. The Fourteenth Amendment was enacted in 1868. This new amendment gave full citizenship to all people born in the United States. Because most African Americans were American born, they became full citizens. The amendment also required every state to grant its citizens “equal protection of the laws.”

This clause has been extremely important. In recent years, it has been used to benefit women, people with disabilities, and other groups whose rights have not always been protected fairly. The amendment also stated that no state could take away a citizen’s life, liberty, and property “without due process of law.” States that kept any adult male citizen from voting could lose part of their representation in Congress. Finally, the amendment barred leading former Confederates from holding national or state office unless pardoned by Congress. *(See pages 263–264 for the entire text of the Fourteenth Amendment.)*

Congress declared that Southern states had to ratify the amendment to rejoin the Union. Of the 11 Southern states, the only state to ratify was Tennessee. The refusal of the other Southern states delayed the adoption of the amendment until 1868.

Republican Victory  In the congressional elections of 1866, President Johnson campaigned vigorously against the Fourteenth Amendment and its supporters. Many Northerners objected to the nasty tone of Johnson’s campaign. The Republicans won a solid victory, giving Congress the signal to take Reconstruction into its own hands.

Radical Reconstruction

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

Reading Connection  If you were a member of Congress during this time, what do you think would be most important to include in Reconstruction plans? Read to learn some of the plans that Congress passed.

The Republicans in Congress quickly took charge of Reconstruction. President Johnson could do little to stop them because Congress could easily override his vetoes. Thus began a period known as Radical Reconstruction.
In March 1867 Congress passed the Reconstruction Act. It called for the creation of new governments in the 10 Southern states that had not ratified the Fourteenth Amendment. Tennessee, which had ratified the amendment, kept its government, and the state rejoined the Union.

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

To rejoin the Union, the states had to ratify the Fourteenth Amendment and submit new state constitutions to Congress for approval. A Second Reconstruction Act required the military commanders to register voters and prepare for state constitutional conventions.

The Readmission of States Many white Southerners refused to take part in the elections for constitutional conventions and state governments. Thousands of newly registered African American voters did use their right to vote. In the elections, Republicans gained control of Southern state governments. By 1868 seven Southern states—Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, North Carolina, and South Carolina—had established new governments and met the conditions for readmission to the Union. By 1870 Mississippi, Virginia, and Texas were restored to the Union.
Challenge to Johnson  Strongly opposed to Radical Reconstruction, President Johnson had the power as commander in chief of the army to direct the actions of the military governors. For this reason, Congress passed several laws to limit the president’s power.

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

Impeaching the President  The conflict between Johnson and the Radicals grew more intense. In August 1867—when Congress was not in session—Johnson suspended Secretary of War Edwin Stanton without the Senate’s approval.

When the Senate met again and refused to approve the suspension, Johnson removed Stanton from office—a deliberate violation of the Tenure of Office Act. Johnson angered the Republicans further by appointing some generals the Radicals opposed as commanders of Southern military districts.

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

The Constitution allows Congress to remove from office any federal official who has committed serious wrongdoing. If a majority of the House votes to impeach a public official, the Senate acts as jury and decides by a two-thirds vote whether to convict and remove the person from office.

The Impeachment Trial  The trial began in March 1868 and lasted almost three months. Johnson’s defenders claimed that the president was exercising his right to challenge laws he considered unconstitutional. The impeachment, they argued, was politically motivated and thus contrary to the spirit of the Constitution.

President Johnson’s attempt to dismiss his secretary of war gave Radical Republicans the opportunity to impeach him. **Who can impeach the president?**

Samuel J. Tilden, a Democrat from New York, claimed that Congress was trying to remove the president from office without accusing him of a crime “or anything more than a mere difference of opinion.”

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

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

—Charles Sumner, speech at Johnson’s impeachment trial

In May the senators cast two votes. In both instances, the result was 35 to 19 votes to convict the president—one vote short of the two-thirds majority required by the Constitution for conviction. Several moderate Republicans voted for a verdict of not guilty because they did not believe a president should be removed from office for political differences. As a result, Johnson stayed in office until the end of his term in March 1869.
Only two presidents have been impeached: Johnson in 1868 and Bill Clinton in 1998. Both presidents were tried by the Senate and acquitted (they were not removed from office).

**Election of 1868** By the presidential election of 1868, most Southern states had rejoined the Union. Many Americans hoped that conflicts over Reconstruction and sectional divisions were behind them.

Abandoning Johnson, the Republicans chose General Ulysses S. Grant, the Civil War hero, as their presidential candidate. The Democrats nominated Horatio Seymour, a former governor of New York.

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

**The Fifteenth Amendment** The election of 1868 made some Republicans realize that if African Americans could vote throughout the country, they could help Republicans win elections. After the election, Republicans developed their last major piece of Reconstruction legislation. In February 1869, Congress passed the Fifteenth Amendment. It prohibited the state and federal governments from denying the right to vote to any male citizen because of “race, color, or previous condition of servitude.”

African American men won the right to vote when the Fifteenth Amendment was ratified and became law in February 1870. Republicans thought that the power of the ballot would enable African Americans to protect themselves. That belief, it turned out, was too optimistic. *(See page 264 for the entire text of the Fifteenth Amendment.)*

**Reading Check** Explain What two presidents have been impeached by Congress?
Looking Back, Looking Ahead
You learned that Congress passed the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments to help African Americans gain equal rights. Although African Americans made some gains, most white Southerners refused to recognize their rights.

Focusing on the Main Ideas
• Violence against African Americans and their white supporters took place during Reconstruction. (page 636)
• After the Civil War, the South had to rebuild not only its farms and roads, but its social and political structures as well. (page 638)

Meeting People
Hiram Revels
Frederick Douglass
Blanche K. Bruce

Content Vocabulary
scalawag (SKA•lih•WAG)
carpetbagger (KAHR•puht•BA•guhr)
corruption (kuh•RUHP•shuhn)
integrate (IN•tuh•GRAYT)
sharecropping (SHEHR•KRAHP•ihng)

Academic Vocabulary
dominate (DAH•muh•NAYT)
brief (BREEF)
region (REE•juhn)
create (kree•AYT)

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

History
Social Science Standards
US8.11 Students analyze the character and lasting consequences of Reconstruction.

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

Hiram Revels
New Groups Take Charge

Main Idea Violence against African Americans and their white supporters took place during Reconstruction.

Reading Connection How might you feel if someone tried to take away your rights through threats and violence? Read to find out how some white Southerners attempted to intimidate African Americans and keep them from voting and exercising their rights.

An American Story

“The dust of our fathers mingles with yours in the same graveyards. . . . This is your country, but it is ours too.” So spoke an emancipated African American after the Civil War. Most formerly enslaved people did not seek revenge or power over whites, only respect and equality. The petition of an African American convention in 1865 stated:

“... We simply desire that we shall be recognized as men; . . . that the same laws which govern white men shall direct colored men; . . . that we be dealt with as others, in equity [fairness] and justice.”

—Address of the Colored State Convention to the People of the State of South Carolina

Republicans Take Charge During Reconstruction, the Republicans came to dominate Southern politics. Support for the Republican party came from African Americans, white Southerners who backed Republican goals, and white settlers from the North. These groups ran state governments.

African Americans in Government

African Americans played an important role both as voters and as officials. In some states, they contributed heavily to Republican victories. African Americans did not control the government of any state, although they briefly had a majority in the lower house of the South Carolina legislature. In other Southern states, they held major positions but never in proportion to their numbers.

At the national level, 16 African Americans served in the House of Representatives and 2 in the Senate between 1869 and 1880. Hiram Revels, one of the African American senators, was an ordained minister who had recruited African Americans for the Union army. He also started a school for freed African Americans in Missouri and served as a chaplain of an African American regiment in Mississippi. Revels remained in Mississippi after the war and was elected to the Senate in 1870. Frederick Douglass was also an important leader who insisted on full equality for African Americans.

Blanche K. Bruce, the other African American senator, also came from Mississippi. A former runaway slave, Bruce taught in an African American school in Missouri when the war began. In 1869 he went to Mississippi and entered politics. He was elected to the Senate in 1874.
Frederick Douglass lived as a slave for 21 years before he escaped to the North in 1838. He was born on a Maryland plantation in 1817, and his early years were characterized by beatings, poor living conditions, and constant shuffling from one plantation to another. The wife of one of his masters, Sophia Auld, took a liking to Douglass and began to teach him to read and write. Her efforts stopped after her husband learned of her teachings, and Douglass took it upon himself to continue where she had left off.

The more Douglass read, the more he felt the injustice of slavery. In 1838 Douglass made his way north by disguising himself as a free African American sailor. In Massachusetts, he quickly emerged as a leader of the movement for liberty for African Americans. In 1841 Douglass became a well-known speaker for the American Anti-Slavery Society. Douglass traveled through the Northern states speaking against slavery and for the equality of African Americans. When the Civil War began, Douglass urged President Lincoln to free the enslaved people, and he helped organize African American troops to fight for freedom.

After Lincoln was assassinated, Douglass opposed President Johnson’s Reconstruction program. Instead he supported the Radical Republican plan. A skilled and powerful speaker, Douglass traveled throughout the nation insisting on full equality for African Americans. He was particularly outspoken in support of the Fifteenth Amendment, guaranteeing African American men the right to vote.

Douglass continued to support civil rights causes late into his life. He also wrote, started his own newspaper, and gave lectures. On January 20, 1895, he gave a speech at a meeting of women’s rights advocates in Washington, D.C. Later that night, he died of a heart attack.

“Whenever my condition was improved, instead of its increasing my contentment, it only increased my desire to be free.”
— from Narrative of the Life of Frederick Douglass, an American Slave

Then and Now
Frederick Douglass overcame many obstacles to be a leader in the fight for freedom. Can you think of any present-day individuals who overcame obstacles to excel at something? Explain.
Scalawags and Carpetbaggers Some Southern whites—for example, non-slaveholding farmers and pro-Union business leaders—backed the Republicans. Former Confederates called them scalawags (SKA•lih•wac•z), a term meaning “worthless rascals.” Also, many Northern whites living in the South, such as Union army veterans and Freedmen’s Bureau members, were Republican supporters. Critics called them carpetbaggers (KAHR•puht•BA•guhrz) because some arrived with their belongings in cheap suitcases made of carpet fabric.

Many Southerners accused Reconstruction governments of corruption (kuh•RUHP•shuhn), or dishonest or illegal actions. Although some officials made money illegally, probably less corruption occurred in the South than in the North.

Resistance to Reconstruction Most Southern whites opposed efforts to expand African Americans’ rights. Life soon became difficult for African Americans. Most white landowners refused to rent land to freedmen. Store owners refused African Americans credit, and employers would not hire them.

Secret societies, such as the Ku Klux Klan, used fear and violence to deny rights to freed men and women. Wearing white sheets and hoods, Klan members killed many African Americans and their white friends. They beat and wounded many more and burned African American homes, schools, and churches. Many Southerners, especially planters and Democrats, backed the Klan and other violent groups. These Southerners, who had the most to gain from the return of white supremacy, saw violence as a defense against Republican rule.

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

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

The Freedmen’s Bureau and private charities played a major role in spreading education. Northern women and free African Americans came South to teach in these schools. By 1870 about 4,000 schools had been established, with 200,000 students. More than half the teachers in these schools were African American.

Public Schools In the 1870s, Reconstruction governments began creating public school systems for both races, which had not existed in the South before the war. Within a few years, more than 50 percent of the white children and about 40 percent of African American children in the South were enrolled in public schools. Northern missionary societies also established academies offering advanced education for African Americans. Some academies developed into colleges and universities, such as Morehouse College and Atlanta University.

Generally, African American and white students attended different schools. Only Louisiana, South Carolina, and Florida required that schools be integrated (IN•tuh•GRAYt•ihd)—include both whites and African Americans—but the laws were not enforced.
Farming the Land  Along with education, most freed people wanted land. Some African Americans were able to buy land with the assistance of the Freedmen’s Bank, established in 1865. Most, however, failed to get their own land.

The most common form of farmwork for freed individuals was sharecropping (SHehr• KRAHP• ihng). In this system, a landowner rented a plot of land to a sharecropper, or farmer, along with a crude shack, some seeds and tools, and perhaps a mule. Sharecroppers did not pay their rent in cash. Instead, they paid a share of their crops—often as much as one-half to two-thirds—to cover their rent as well as the cost of the seed, fertilizer, tools, and animals they needed.

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

Explain  How did sharecroppers get land to farm?
Looking Back, Looking Ahead
You read earlier that Reconstruction met resistance in the South, and African Americans made few real economic gains there. By the mid-1870s, Reconstruction was coming to an end, and the South was undergoing even more changes.

Focusing on the Main Ideas
- Democrats steadily regained control of Southern governments as support for Radical Reconstruction policies decreased. (page 641)
- When Reconstruction ended, many changes took place in the South including a political shift and growth in industry. (page 645)
- As Reconstruction ended, true freedom for African Americans became a distant dream. (page 647)

Meeting People
Horace Greeley
Rutherford B. Hayes
Samuel Tilden
Henry Grady
James Duke
W.E.B. Du Bois (doo BAWIHS)

Content Vocabulary
reconciliation (REH • kuhn • SIH • lee • AY • shuhn)
commission
cash crop
poll tax
literacy test (LIH • tuh • ruh • see)
grandfather clause
segregation (SEH • grih • GAY • shuhn)
lynching (LIHNCH • ihng)

Academic Vocabulary
exploit (EHK • SPLOYT)
enforce (ihn • FOHRS)
eliminate (ih • LIH • muh • NAYT)
commit

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

Agricultural Economy

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

1870
- Hayes wins presidency; Reconstruction ends

1877
- Hayes wins presidency; Reconstruction ends

1885
- Poll taxes and literacy tests begin in Mississippi

1890
- Poll taxes and literacy tests begin in Mississippi

1896
- Plessy v. Ferguson rules segregation constitutional

Who & When?

Rutherford B. Hayes

White House Historical Association
Reconstruction Ends

**Main Idea**  Democrats steadily regained control of Southern governments as support for Radical Reconstruction policies decreased.

**Reading Connection** How does politics affect your local community? Do you think issues like equality and fair treatment for African Americans should be influenced by politics? Read on to see how the changing political landscape dramatically affected Reconstruction in the 1870s.

Before and during Reconstruction, freed African Americans began moving to Northern cities and to the West in hopes of a better life. Often they faced hostility. One example is the Cox family. Freed by slaveholder John Randolph in Virginia, the Cox family purchased a tract of land in Mercer County, Ohio. When they arrived in their new home, white settlers “came out in force, with their muskets patrolled the banks of the canal and refused to let them settle on their own purchased land.” Yet many freed families continued to try to find a new life for themselves.

These reasons for leaving one area and going to another are called push-pull factors. Push factors (racial segregation, Jim Crow laws) drive people away from an area. Pull factors (the opportunity to own land) attract people towards an area.

**Loss of Support** During the Grant administration, Northerners began losing interest in Reconstruction. Many believed it was time for the South to solve its own problems. Reconstruction declined for other reasons. The old Radical leaders began to disappear from the political scene. Thaddeus Stevens died in 1868, and others retired or lost elections.

Another factor that weakened enthusiasm for Reconstruction was racial prejudice in the North. This prejudice was exploited by opponents of Reconstruction. They argued that only Southerners really knew how to deal with African Americans and that the fate of the freed people should be left to the South. Southerners protested what they called “bayonet rule”—the use of federal troops to support Reconstruction governments. President Grant had sent federal troops to the South to stop violence or to enforce the law only when absolutely necessary. Generally, though, he tried to avoid any clashes with the South.

**Republican Revolt** In the early 1870s, reports of corruption in Grant’s administration and in Reconstruction governments spread throughout the nation. Some Republicans split with the party over the issue of corruption. Another group of Republicans broke with the party over Reconstruction, proposing peaceful reconciliation (reh-kuhn-sih-lee-ay-shuhn)—coming together again—with Southern whites. Calling themselves Liberal Republicans, these two groups nominated Horace Greeley, a newspaper editor from New York, to run against Grant in the 1872 presidential election.
The Democrats also supported Greeley for president because he offered a chance to defeat the Republicans. Despite the division in the Republican ranks, however, Grant was reelected.

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

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

By the election of 1875, Republican political power in Mississippi was quickly eroding. African American leaders urged voters to go to the polls on election day in spite of threats of violence by Democrats. In a Mississippi newspaper, fourteen African American leaders claimed:

> “The success of the Democratic Party will, to all intents and purposes, sound the death knell of all the hopes that the colored man has indulged of educating, elevating and improving his race in this State . . .”

—from the *Jackson Pilot*, October 4, 1875

**What If...**

**Lincoln Had Survived?**

Lincoln’s main goal had been to preserve the Union. In his second Inaugural Address, he indicated that he would deal compassionately with the South after the war ended:

> “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 care for him who shall have borne the battle and for his widow and his orphan. . . .”

—Abraham Lincoln, Second Inaugural Address, March 1865

President Lincoln did not live to carry out his plan. On April 14, 1865, just five days after Lee’s surrender, he was assassinated.

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

In March 1868, the House adopted 11 articles of impeachment against Johnson. Although Johnson was acquitted and served out his term, any influence he might have had on Reconstruction was lost.
By 1876 Republicans held a majority in Congress in only three Southern states—Florida, South Carolina, and Louisiana. During these years, the Republicans had other problems they could not blame on the Democrats. In 1873 a series of political scandals came to light. Investigations uncovered top government officials making unfair business deals, scheming to withhold public tax money, and accepting bribes. One scandal involved the vice president, and another the secretary of war. These scandals further damaged the Grant administration and the Republicans. At the same time, the nation suffered an economic depression. Blame for the hard times fell on the Republicans.

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

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

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

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

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

Democrats in Congress threatened to fight the decision to award the presidency to Hayes. Inauguration Day approached, yet the country still had no new president. Finally, Republican and Southern Democratic leaders met secretly to work out an agreement.
Compromise of 1877

Southern Democratic leaders agreed to accept Hayes as president. On March 2, 1877—almost four months after the election—Congress confirmed the verdict of the commission and declared Hayes the winner. He was inaugurated president two days later.

The deal congressional leaders made to settle the election dispute, the Compromise of 1877, included various favors to the South. The new government would give more aid to the region and withdraw all remaining troops from Southern states. The Democrats, in turn, promised to maintain African Americans’ rights.

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

“... [your] rights and interests would be safer if this great mass of intelligent white men were let alone by the general Government.”

Hayes’s message was clear. The federal government would no longer attempt to reshape Southern society or help Southern African Americans. Reconstruction was over.
**US8.11.1** List the original aims of Reconstruction and describe its effects on the political and social structures of different regions.

**The South After Reconstruction**

*Main Idea* When Reconstruction ended, many changes took place in the South including a political shift and growth in industry.

*Reading Connection* How difficult do you think it would be for an area to change its economy from agricultural to industrial? Read to find out how Southern leaders attempted to create a “New South” with strong industries that could compete with those in the North.

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**An American Story**

John Lynch, a member of Congress who had once been enslaved, spoke these words:

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

—quoted in “John Roy Lynch”

At the end of Reconstruction, many African Americans faced lives of poverty, indignity, and despair.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

More railroads aided the rise of industry. By 1870 the South’s war-damaged railroads were largely rebuilt and expanded. Still, the South was not as industrialized as the North. It remained primarily agricultural.

**Rural Economy** Supporters of the New South also hoped to change Southern agriculture. Their goal was small, profitable farms raising many crops rather than plantations devoted to cotton. A different economy emerged, however. Some plantations were broken up, but large landowners held on to their land. When estates were divided, much of the land went to sharecropping and tenant farming, neither of which was profitable.

Debt also caused problems. Poor farmers used credit to get food and supplies. Merchants who sold on credit charged high prices, and farmers’ debts rose. To repay debts, farmers grew **cash crops**—crops that could be sold for money.

Too much cotton, a major cash crop, forced prices down, however. Farmers then had to grow even more cotton to recover their losses. Sharecropping and reliance on one cash crop kept Southern agriculture from advancing. The rural South sank deeper into poverty and debt.

**Reading Check** Describe What happened to prices when too much cotton was produced?
A Divided Society

**Main Idea** As Reconstruction ended, true freedom for African Americans became a distant dream.

**Reading Connection** What might it be like to be forced to pass an impossibly difficult test in order to earn a basic right, when others do not have to take the test at all? Read to find out how white Southerners attempted to prevent African Americans from voting.

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

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

Many Southern states required a poll tax, a fee that people had to pay before voting. Because many African Americans could not afford the tax, they could not vote. The tax also prevented many poor whites from voting.

**What Is a Literacy Test?** Another approach was to make prospective voters take a literacy test (LIH • tuh • ruh • see) in which they had to read and explain difficult parts of state constitutions or the federal Constitution. Because most African Americans had little education, literacy tests prevented many from voting.

**Jim Crow Laws**

Southern communities and states passed laws that enforced segregation between the black and white races.

**Railroads** The conductor of each passenger train is authorized and required to assign each passenger to the car or the division of the car, when it is divided by a partition, designated for the race to which such passenger belongs. (Alabama)

**Restaurants** All persons licensed to conduct a restaurant, shall serve either white people exclusively or colored people exclusively and shall not sell to the two races within the same room or serve the two races anywhere under the same license. (Georgia)

**Education** The schools for white children and the schools for Negro children shall be conducted separately. (Florida)

△ Business sign of the era

**Libraries** The state librarian is directed to fit up and maintain a separate place for the use of the colored people who may come to the library for the purpose of reading books or periodicals. (North Carolina)

— *Race, Racism, and the Law*

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

**Jim Crow Laws** Another set of laws hurt African Americans. By the 1890s, segregation (SEH•grih•GAY•shuhn), or the separation of the races, was a prominent feature of life in the South.

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

In 1896 the Supreme Court upheld Jim Crow laws and segregation in *Plessy v. Ferguson*. The case involved a Louisiana law requiring separate sections on trains for African Americans. The Court ruled that segregation was legal as long as African Americans had access to public facilities or accommodations equal to those of whites. (See page 849 of the Appendix for a summary of *Plessy v. Ferguson*.)

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

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

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

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

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

—from Black Reconstruction

The biggest disappointment of Reconstruction was that it did not make good on the promise of true freedom for freed African Americans. With troop withdrawals and the end of Reconstruction, African Americans lost most of the gains they had made. The South soon created a segregated society.

The Civil War had ended slavery, but the failure of Reconstruction left many African Americans trapped in economic, political, and social circumstances whereby they lost most of their newly gained freedom.

Describe What is segregation? How was segregation carried out?

What Did You Learn?

1. Why was the presidential election of 1876 controversial?
2. Who was reelected president in 1872?

Critical Thinking

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

   Poll tax
   Literacy tests

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

5. The Big Ideas
   What ideas led to political changes in the South beginning in the early 1870s?

6. Analyze
   Find two secondary sources that discuss Reconstruction—one from the 1800s and one written in the past 20 years. Identify how the views expressed in the later source are based on new historical information or research.
Citizenship

Why It Matters Today, most people are citizens of the country in which they live. They are community members who owe loyalty to that country. They also expect to be protected by it. Citizens may share a common history, common customs, or common values. They agree to follow the laws and to accept the government’s authority.

Who Are U.S. Citizens? Every country has rules about how people gain citizenship. In the United States, a citizen is a person who by birth or by choice owes loyalty to this nation. In the Fourteenth Amendment, the U.S. Constitution states that anyone “born or naturalized in the United States” is a citizen. If you were born in the United States and its territories, you automatically are an American citizen by birth. Foreigners who choose to become U.S. citizens do so through naturalization. Naturalization is the legal process by which a person becomes a citizen. Naturalized citizens have all the rights and duties of citizens by birth except the right to be president or vice president.

National and State Citizenship

Over the years, the basis of citizenship has changed greatly in the United States. Today, citizenship relates both to the nation as a whole and to the states. This was not always so, however.

The Articles of the Constitution mention citizenship only as a qualification for holding office in the federal government. The Constitution’s writers assumed that the states would decide who was or was not a citizen. Their citizens were also citizens of the United States. The exceptions were African Americans and immigrants who became citizens through naturalization.

“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.”

—Justice John Marshall Harlan, 1896

New American citizens pledging allegiance
The basis of state citizenship became an issue in the *Dred Scott v. Sandford* case in 1857. The Supreme Court, led by Chief Justice Roger Taney, ruled that Dred Scott, an enslaved African American, could not bring a legal suit in a federal court. Taney reasoned that African Americans, whether enslaved or free, were not United States citizens at the time the Constitution was adopted. Therefore, they could not claim citizenship. Only descendants of people who were state citizens at that time, or immigrants who became citizens through naturalization, were U.S. citizens.

**The Fourteenth Amendment** The *Dred Scott* decision caused great outrage and protest in the North. It added to the tensions that led to the Civil War. After the war ended, many Southern states passed laws that kept African Americans from holding certain jobs, limited their property rights, and restricted them in other ways. To remedy this situation, the Fourteenth Amendment was enacted in 1868.

The new amendment clearly stated what citizenship is at both the national and state levels of government. Overruling the *Dred Scott* decision, the Fourteenth Amendment stated that a United States citizen is anyone “born or naturalized in the United States.” This definition included most African Americans. It guaranteed that people of all races born in the United States are citizens, making state citizenship an automatic result of national citizenship.

**Denial of Citizens’ Rights** The Fourteenth Amendment granted citizenship to former enslaved African Americans and their descendants. It also guaranteed their rights as citizens. The amendment did this by requiring every state to grant citizens equal protection under the laws.

Despite this guarantee, African Americans routinely faced discrimination, or unfair treatment based on prejudice against a certain group. In the late 1800s, Southern states, for example, passed so-called Jim Crow laws requiring African Americans and whites to be separated in most public places, such as schools. Later, African Americans had to ride in the back of buses and sit in separate sections of restaurants and theaters.

The Supreme Court supported Jim Crow laws in *Plessy v. Ferguson* (1896). The Court said the Fourteenth Amendment allowed separate facilities for different races as long as those facilities were equal. For the next 50 years, this decision was used to justify segregation in the United States.

**Extension of Citizens’ Rights** By the 1950s, society’s views on racial segregation were beginning to change. In 1954 in the case of *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka*, the Court overturned the ruling of “separate but equal.” The justices ruled that racially separate schools are unequal simply because they are separate. The unanimous opinion of the Court found that segregation was a violation of the Fourteenth Amendment’s principle of equal protection under the law.

**Checking for Understanding**

1. How do people become citizens in the United States?
2. Why did the Supreme Court overturn the “separate but equal” idea in *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka*?

**Critical Thinking**

3. Why do you think the writers of the Constitution assumed that the states would decide who was or who was not a citizen?
4. How was the promise of the Fourteenth Amendment fulfilled in the mid-twentieth century?
Reconstruction

Most of the Civil War was waged in the South. After the war, the South faced the huge task of rebuilding. In addition, freed African Americans had to make a new life for themselves. There was also the difficult problem of how to make the former Confederacy and the Union into one nation again.

Read the passages on pages 652 and 653 and answer the questions that follow.

The head of the Freedmen’s Bureau (seated at the far right) is pictured with students in a Freedmen’s school.

**Reader’s Dictionary**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>word</th>
<th>definition</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>charge</td>
<td>blame</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>exterminating</td>
<td>(ihk • STUHR • muh • NAYT • ihng): getting rid of completely</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>emerged</td>
<td>have risen from a low condition</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bondage</td>
<td>(BAHN • dihj): slavery</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>plea</td>
<td>(PLEE): serious or sincere call for help</td>
</tr>
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<td>quarters</td>
<td>places</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

**The South in Ruins**

Newspaper reporter Sidney Andrews toured major Southern cities in the fall of 1865. He wrote the following account about Columbia, South Carolina.

Columbia was doubtless once the gem of the state. . . . What with its broad streets, beautiful shade trees, handsome lawns . . . I can easily see that it must have been a delightful place of residence. No South Carolinian with whom I have spoken hesitates an instant in declaring that [Columbia] was the most beautiful city on the continent; and, as already mentioned, they charge its destruction directly to General Sherman.

[Columbia] is now a wilderness of ruins. Its heart is but a mass of blackened chimneys and crumbling walls. Two thirds of the buildings in the place were burned, including, without exception, everything in the business portion. Not a store, office, or shop escaped; and for a distance of three fourths of a mile on each of twelve streets there was not a building left . . .

The work of clearing away the ruins is going on, not rapidly or extensively, to be sure, but something is doing, and many small houses of the cheaper sort are going up. Yet, at the best, this generation will not ever again see the beautiful city of a year ago.

— from The South Since the War
On the Plight of African Americans

In 1867 Frederick Douglass appealed to Congress on behalf of African Americans.

Yet the negroes have marvelously survived all the exterminating forces of slavery, and have emerged at the end of two hundred and fifty years of bondage, not [sad and hatefull], but cheerful, hopeful, and forgiving. They now stand before Congress and the country, not complaining of the past, but simply asking for a better future.

It is true that a strong plea for equal suffrage might be addressed to the national sense of honor. Something, too, might be said of national gratitude. A nation might well hesitate before the temptation to betray its allies. There is something . . . mean, to say nothing of the cruelty, in placing the loyal negroes of the South under the political power of their Rebel masters. . . . We asked the negroes to [support] our cause, to be our friends, to fight for us, and against their masters; and now, after they have done all that we asked them to do, . . . it is proposed in some quarters to turn them over to the political control of the common enemy of the government and of the negro. . . .

What, then, is the work before Congress? . . . In a word, it must [allow African Americans to vote], and by means of the loyal negroes and the loyal white men of the South build up a national party there, and in time bridge the [gap] between North and South, so that our country may have a common liberty and a common civilization.

—An Appeal to Congress for Impartial Suffrage

The South in Ruins

1. To what does Andrews compare Columbia? Why?
2. What does Andrews mean when he writes that “Not a store, office, or shop escaped”?

On the Plight of African Americans

3. According to Douglass, why does the United States owe a debt of gratitude to African Americans?
4. How did Douglass think that Congress could ensure the nation a common liberty and civilization for whites and African Americans?

Read to Write

5. During Reconstruction, some people worked to get African Americans the same rights as whites. List the rights that these primary sources include and others that you know about. Then research the civil rights movement of the 1960s. What right or rights were African Americans seeking at that time? Compare and contrast the rights and the methods used to gain them in the two time periods.
**Review Content Vocabulary**

Each of the following statements is false. Replace each word in italics with a content vocabulary word that makes the statement true. Write the correct words on a separate sheet of paper.

1. The reorganization of the Southern states after the war was called integration.
2. Carpetbaggers were Southern whites who sided with Republicans.
3. To grant amnesty is to formally charge with a crime.
4. Fees called grandfather clauses were often required before voters could cast their ballots in the south.

**Critical Thinking**

13. **Analyze** How did the black codes deny rights?

14. **Evaluate** Explain the following quote as it applies to Reconstruction: “The slave went free; stood a brief moment in the sun; then moved back again toward slavery.”

**Geography Skills**

Study the map below and answer the question that follows.

15. **Summarize** Write a paragraph summarizing the changes in congressional representation during and after Reconstruction.
Read to Write

16. Expository Writing
Review the chapter to make a list of specific ways that Southern states tried to deny equal rights to African Americans after the war. Then decide which amendment(s)—Thirteenth, Fourteenth, or Fifteenth—should have prevented each action. Include this information in an essay.

17. Using Your Foldables
Use the information you wrote in your foldable to create a fill-in-the-blank quiz for a classmate. Write a paragraph about one of the sections, leaving blanks for your classmate to fill in. Leave blanks for vocabulary words or significant places and people.

Using Academic Vocabulary
Choose the academic vocabulary word that best completes each sentence. You may need to change the form of the word to provide the best answer (for example, “create” becomes “creating”).

create enable dominate
exploit eliminate

18. Many Americans thought the poll tax was unfair and sought to _____ it.
19. Republicans in the South thought that the power of the ballot would _____ African Americans to protect themselves.
20. In the 1870s, Reconstruction governments began _____ public school systems.
21. The Radical Republicans began to _____ the Reconstruction process.

Building Citizenship

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

Reviewing Skills

23. Monitoring and Clarifying
Turn to pages 263–264 and read the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments to the U.S. Constitution. Write down concepts that are unfamiliar to you and what you will do to understand them. Then, write a paragraph summarizing the amendments in your own words.

24. Sequencing Events
Review this chapter and draw a time line of key events during Reconstruction. Identify the event that you believe had the most impact and write a short essay justifying your conclusions.

Standards Practice

Read the passage below and answer the following question.

The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or any State on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude.

—excerpt from the Fifteenth Amendment to the Constitution

25. The main idea of the Fifteenth Amendment is that

A enslaved people convicted of crimes had the right to a fair trial.
B slavery was made illegal in every state of the Union.
C the government was not allowed to deny a person’s right to vote on the basis of race.
D Congress had the right to set voting restrictions in whatever state it chose.
In Unit 5 you learned how social, economic, and political differences between the North and South grew. As compromises failed, the country plunged into civil war. Following the North’s victory, bringing the country back together also proved challenging.
Major Events

• 1820 Missouri Compromise
• 1857 Dred Scott decision
• 1860 Lincoln elected
• 1861 Confederate States of America formed
• 1861 Fort Sumter attacked

Some Important People

• Henry Clay
• Stephen Douglas
• Harriet Beecher Stowe
• Abraham Lincoln
• John Brown
• Dred Scott
• Jefferson Davis
• Abraham Lincoln
• “Stonewall” Jackson
• Ulysses S. Grant
• Robert E. Lee
• John Wilkes Booth
• Andrew Johnson
• Frederick Douglass
• Rutherford B. Hayes

How do these events and ideas affect our lives today?

• The events discussed in this chapter led up to the Civil War, which forever changed relations within our country.
• The Union victory established the power of the federal government over the states.
• The passage of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments established rights for all citizens.

What was happening in California at this time?

• 1821 Mexico wins independence from Spain; gains control of California
• 1846 Bear Flag Revolt
• 1848 U.S. gains California Territory
• 1848 Gold Rush begins
• 1861 First telegram sent from California to the East
• 1862 Leland Stanford becomes governor
• 1863 Work begins on Central Pacific Railroad
• 1869 Rail service links California to the rest of the nation
• 1869 State capitol built
• 1877 Reconstruction ends

1864 Wade-Davis Bill
1865 Thirteenth Amendment passes
1865 Lincoln assassinated
1866–1870 Southern states readmitted to Union
1866 Ku Klux Klan formed
1868 President Andrew Johnson impeached
1877 Reconstruction ends
1896 Plessy v. Ferguson

1820 Missouri Compromise
1857 Dred Scott decision
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