

Name:

Date:

Class:

RECONSTRUCTION

AP 1

Eakin

Overview of principal Reconstruction proposals and plans:

- 1864-65: Lincoln's 10% plan
- 1865: **13th Amendment**
- 1865-66: Johnson's version of Lincoln's proposal – Presidential Reconstruction
- 1866-67: Congressional plan: 10% plan with 14th Amendment
- 1867-77: Military Reconstruction (Congress): **14th Amendment** plus black suffrage later established nationwide by **15th Amendment**.
- Compromise of 1876: ends Reconstruction

I. Context Setter: Four main questions vis-a-vis the post-Civil War South:

1. Rebuilding the South after its destruction and the emancipation of slavery
2. The condition of African Americans in the South
3. How would the South be reintegrated into the Union?
4. Who would control process of Reconstruction: Southern states, president, or Congress?

II. What should be done with the leaders of the Confederacy?

- A. Jefferson Davis imprisoned for two years (others as well); eventually released.
- B. President Johnson pardoned all rebel leaders in December 1868.
- C. Congress did not remove many civil disabilities until 30 years later.

III. **13th Amendment** (Ratified in December, 1865)

- A. Effective when 3/4 of states ratified it; had passed with required 2/3 vote in Congress.
- B. Slavery abolished: "Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as punishment for crime whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist within the U.S. or any place subject to their jurisdiction.
- C. "Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

IV. Rebuilding the South

- A. Richmond, Charleston, and Atlanta were destroyed
- B. Economically the South lay in ruins
 1. Banks ruined by runaway inflation
 2. Factories were closed or destroyed
 3. Transportation system was devastated.
- C. Agriculture
 1. Cotton fields now fields of weeds
 2. Livestock gone after northern invasion
 3. 1860-size crop not until 1870; much from new Southwest
- D. Planter aristocrats devastated
 1. Value in slaves disappeared
 2. Many mansions destroyed or ruined

V. African Americans in the immediate post-Civil War South

- A. **Freedmen's Bureau** (created in 1865 by Congress)
 1. Headed by **Gen. Oliver O. Howard** (later founded and served as president of Howard University in Washington D.C.)

- Members included many Northerners including former abolitionists who risked their lives to help the freedmen in the South; one of several northern groups called "**carpetbaggers**" by white southern Democrats.
- 2. Purpose: To help unskilled, uneducated, poverty-stricken ex-slaves to survive
- 3. Provided food, clothing, medicine & education to ex-slaves and poor whites
 - a. Taught about 200,000 blacks how to read; many eager to read the Bible
 - b. Negotiated labor agreements between freedmen and planters.
- 4. Authorized to provide "40 acres and a mule" from confiscated or abandoned land to black settlers.
 - a. In certain areas, the Bureau distributed no land.
 - b. Sometimes collaborated with planters in expelling blacks from towns and forcing them to sign labor contracts to work for their former masters.
- 5. Southern violence against "carpetbaggers" and blacks pronounced.
 - a. Anyone aiding African American rights in the South during Reconstruction risked being a victim of violence.
 - b. In Louisiana in summer and fall of 1868, white Democrats killed 1,081 people most of whom were either black or white Republicans.
- 6. Bureau expired in 1872
 - Johnson had tried to kill it repeatedly as he was a white-supremacist along with most white Southerners

VI. Presidential Reconstruction

A. Andrew Johnson

1. Champion of poor whites against planter aristocrats as a politician in TN.
 - Yet, owned a few slaves.
2. Refused to secede with Tennessee in April of 1861 and remained in the Senate.
 - Served as military governor of TN when Union armies reconquered the state.
3. Lincoln's vice presidential candidate for the Union party in 1864
 - Seen as attractive to War Democrats and other pro-Southern groups
4. Champion of states' rights and the Constitution.

B. Presidential Reconstruction

1. 1863, Lincoln gave his "10 percent" Reconstruction plan
 - a. 10% of ex-Confederate states' voters in 1860 election had to make a pledge of allegiance to the U.S. and abide by emancipation to be reintegrated into the Union.
 - b. Next step would be creation of a state gov't which Lincoln would then recognize.
 - c. Congressional Republicans sharply rejected the 10% plan claiming it was much too lenient and did not safeguard Union gains.
 - Fear of planter aristocracy regaining power and possible re-enslavement of African Americans.
2. **Wade-Davis Bill (1864)**
 - a. Passed by Republicans, required 50% of state's voters in 1860 election to take oath of allegiance and demanded stronger safeguards for emancipation than Lincoln for re-entering the Union.
 - i. States then would have a Constitutional convention that would require approval by Federal gov't
 - "Iron-clad Oath": "Never voluntarily aided the Confederacy"

- ii. **"State suicide theory"** --Claimed Confederate states had forfeited all their rights by seceding from the Union; "committed suicide" as Repub. states.
 - iii. States should be readmitted only as "conquered provinces" subject to the conditions and wishes of Congress.
- b. Lincoln "pocket vetoed" bill by refusing to sign it after Congress had adjourned.
- c. In response, Republicans refused to seat delegates from Louisiana after it had met the requirements of Lincoln's 10% plan in 1864.
- 3. Two congressional factions emerged among Republicans
 - a. Majority moderate group agreed with Lincoln that the Confederate states should be reintegrated ASAP but on Congress' terms, not Lincoln's.
 - b. Minority radical group wanted South's social structure uprooted, the planters punished, and blacks protected before states were restored.
- 4. Johnson recognized several of Lincoln's 10% governments while Congress was not in session.
 - a. Johnson agreed with Lincoln that states had never legally been outside the Union
 - b. May 29, 1865, issued his own Reconstruction proclamation.
 - i. Disenfranchised certain leading Confederates including those with more than \$20,000 in taxable property.
 - Yet, granted many pardons for ex-Confederates
 - ii. Called for special state conventions required to repeal ordinances of secession, repudiate all Confederate debts, and ratify the 13th Amendment.
 - He reluctantly agreed to include 13th Amendment as a condition
 - c. Pardons of planter aristocrats soon gave many of them the power to control the organization of their states in 2nd half of 1865
 - d. Republicans were outraged that planter elite once again controlled many areas of the South.

VII. Black Codes

- A. Designed to regulate affairs of emancipated blacks (as the slave statutes did pre-Civil War.)
 - 1. Purpose: Guarantee stable labor supply now that blacks were emancipated.
 - a. Severe penalties on blacks that "jumped" their labor contracts that committed them to work for the same employer for a year at very low wages.
 - b. Violators could be made to forfeit back wages or forcibly made to work by a paid "Negro catcher."
 - 2. Purpose: Restore pre-emancipation system of race relations (to furthest extent possible)
 - a. Freedom recognized and marital rights granted but few other rights given
 - b. Forbade blacks to serve on juries or testify against whites.
 - c. Some forbade blacks from renting or leasing land.
 - d. Blacks not allowed to vote
 - e. "Vagrancy" -- "Idle" blacks could be sentenced to work on a chain gang.
- B. Forced many blacks to become **sharecroppers** (tenant farmers).
 - 1. Result: Many blacks sank to level of pseudo-indentured servants where generations remained on one plot of land, indebted to the plantation owner.
 - 2. Many in the North angered

VIII. Congressional Reconstruction

- A. Many ex-Confederates became part of state congressional representatives.
 - 1. Angry Republicans did not allow Democrats in on first day of congressional session on Dec. 4, 1865.
 - a. Feared loss of political advantage that had yielded Homestead Act, Morrill Tariff, and the Pacific Railroad Act.
 - i. Blacks now worth one person for representation
 - ii. Black population would increase southern representation and presidential electoral votes by 12.
 - b. Feared southerners might win control of Congress by uniting with northern Democrats, perhaps even the presidency.
 - i. Black codes could then be implemented at federal level or even re-enslavement of blacks.
 - ii. Also concerned about re-routing of federal railroad, rescinding of Homestead Act, and possible repudiation of national debt.
- B. Johnson clashes with Congress
 - 1. On Dec. 6, 1865, Johnson declared that the ex-Confederate states had met his conditions and that the Union was now officially restored; Republicans outraged
 - 2. February, 1866, vetoed extension of Freedmen's Bureau; bill later repassed.
 - 3. In response, Congress passed the **Civil Rights Bill** in March, 1866.
 - a. Gave blacks citizenship and aimed to destroy the Black Codes.
 - b. Johnson vetoed it but Congress overturned his veto in April.
 - c. From then on, Congress frequently overturned Johnson's vetoes and assumed effective control on the gov't.
- C. **14th Amendment** (Approved by Congress and sent to states in June 1866)
 - 1. Purpose: Republicans sought to place principles of Civil Rights Bill into a constitutional amendment as protection against a future southern takeover of Congress and subsequent removal of Civil Rights Bill with simple majority.
 - 2. Provisions:
 - a. Gave civil rights inc. citizenship (but not inc. voting rights) to blacks.
 - b. Reduced proportionately the representation of a state in Congress and in the Electoral College if it denied blacks voting rights.
 - c. Disqualified from federal and state office former Confederates who had once held office and had sworn to "support the Constitution of the United States."
 - d. Guaranteed the federal debt while repudiating all Confederate debts.
 - e. Congress given power to enforce the amendment.
 - 3. Johnson instructed Southern states to reject it
 - All Southern states except TN rejected it putting it in temporary limbo.
 - 4. Republicans won 2/3 majority in House & Senate in Congressional elections of 1866
 - a. Significance: Republicans now had control of Reconstruction policy.
 - i. Radicals led in the Senate by **Charles Sumner**
 - ii. Radicals led in House by **Thaddeus Stevens** from PA.
 - b. **Radical Republicans**
 - Sought to keep out Southern states from the Union as long as possible & use federal power to effectuate drastic social & economic change in the South.
 - c. **Moderate Republicans** (consisted of the majority)
 - Preferred policies that kept states from infringing on citizens'

rights rather than direct federal intervention in people's lives.

D. Military Reconstruction (see Bailey p. 469 for map)

1. Military Reconstruction Act (March, 2, 1867)

- a. South divided into five military districts, each commanded by a Union general and policed by the Union army (about 20,000 total)
- b. Disenfranchised 10s of 1000s of former Confederates.
- c. Congress also required seceded states to ratify the 14th Amendment before being allowed back into the Union.
- d. States had to guarantee in their state constitutions full suffrage for blacks
-- Paved the way for easy ratification of the 15th Amendment

2. Stopped short of giving freedmen land or education at federal expense

- a. Military rule ended by 1868 in all but three Southern states.
- b. Did not want to make federal gov't directly responsible for protection of black rights.
- c. Short-sighted policy led to a century of institutional discrimination against blacks.

3. Fifteenth Amendment (Passed by Congress in 1869; Ratified in 1870 during Grant's presidency)

a. Purposes:

- i. To ensure state guarantees of suffrage would not be rescinded if southerners came to dominate Congress in the future.
- ii. To strengthen Republican control of southern states

b. Provisions: Suffrage for black males

c. Loopholes

- i. Said nothing about holding office
- ii. Voting requirements not uniform throughout the country.
- iii. Poll taxes, literacy tests, and property requirements not addressed
-- Literacy tests administered unfairly to favor illiterate whites.
- iv. "**grandfather clauses**" aimed to reduce number of black voters
-- Required citizenship prior to 14th Amendment
- v. Gerrymandering (especially in Virginia)
- vi. Intimidation
-- Lynchings in 1892 (230) all-time high followed by 1884 (211).
- vii. Women were excluded
-- Female leaders of the abolitionist movement split from the males.
- viii. Poor whites also disenfranchised

d. Result:

- i. Democratic dominance in the South assured due to circumvention of 14th and 15th Amendments.
-- Many southern Republican voters denied suffrage.
- ii. Full suffrage for blacks not realized until 1965.

4. Civil Rights Act of 1875

- a. Crime for any individual to deny full and equal use of public conveyances and public places e.g. hotels, trains, railroads, theaters, and restaurants.
- b. Prohibited discrimination in jury selection
- c. Shortcoming: Lacked a strong enforcement mechanism
- d. Dismayed northerners didn't attempt another civil rights act for 90 years!

5. The end of reconstruction

- a. By 1870, all former Confederate states had reorganized their state gov't's and

reintegrated into the Union, having adopted the 14th and 15th Amendments.

- i. Once state gov't's ("radical regimes") seemed on solid footing in the South, Union forces were removed.
 - ii. By 1876, whites again dominated southern politics
 - b. Northerners now became concerned with other moral issues rather than helping the freedmen.
 - c. Panic of 1873-1879 focused politics on economic issues
 - d. **Compromise of 1877**
 - i. Election between Republican **Rutherford B. Hayes** and Dem. **Sam Tilden** inconclusive.
 - Tilden led pop. vote and 184-165 in electoral college; 187 votes needed to win.
 - Fraud and violence in SC, FL, and LA and questions of voter eligibility in OR left 20 electoral votes in question.
 - 15 member commission eventually gave Hayes all 20 votes but Democrats filibustered.
 - ii. Compromise: North was allowed to have Hayes as president while last remaining federal troops to be removed from SC FL & LA
6. Military Reconstruction meant Presidential powers had been usurped by Congress and a martial regime had been established.
- a. Supreme Court had ruled in case **Ex parte Milligan (1866)** that military tribunals could not try civilians if civil courts nearby.
 - b. Since desperate times call for desperate measures, the Court avoided confronting Congress about its imposition of martial law.
 - c. During subsequent Gilded Age presidents will be weak and faceless while Congress will dominate.

IX. Radical Reconstruction in the South

- A. Suffrage policy somewhat hypocritical on the part of the North.
 1. Lincoln and Johnson both had suggested gradual suffrage for certain blacks who qualified for it through education, property ownership, or military service.
 2. In fact, most northern states denied suffrage to blacks until 15th Amendment
- B. African American suffrage saw temporary gains
 1. Blacks made up the majority of voters in AL, FL, LA, MI, and SC but only in SC did they make up majority in the lower house.
 2. No senate had a black majority nor were there any black governors during the period coined by white southerners as "black reconstruction."
 3. Nevertheless, many black representatives served with distinction; some well-educated.
 - Two black senators from MI: **Hiram R. Revels** and **Blanche K. Bruce**.
- C. Corruption in state legislatures
 1. "**Scalawags**" (term coined by white Southern Democrats)
 - a. Southern men, formerly Unionists and Whigs, who supported Reconstruction.
 - b. Hated by former Confederates who exaggerated their corruption and plundering of Southern treasuries through their political influence.
 2. "**Carpetbaggers**"
 - a. Mainly Northern Republicans who supposedly had packed all their possessions into a single carpet-bag suitcase and came to the South to seek their fortune.
 - b. Consisted of Union soldiers, teachers, and businessmen who arrived in

the South before 1867.

-- Reaped benefits during military reconstruction

c. Resented by the white South as federal interference; significant violence occurred.

D. Positives from Reconstruction

1. Steps taken to est. adequate public schools.
2. Tax systems were improved
3. Public works projects were launched esp. in transpiration
4. Property rights for women guaranteed.
5. Apportionment made more equal in state legislatures
6. Property requirements eliminated for holding office

X. Rise of the **Ku Klux Klan**

A. Essentially a rebellion against "radical" rule; in effect, terror wing of Democratic party.

1. Goal: Overthrow Reconstruction governments in the South and replace them with white supremacy oriented Democratic government.
2. Many whites resented success and efficacy of black legislators as they did the alleged corruption of Carpetbaggers and Scalawags.
3. KKK, the "Invisible Empire of the South," founded in TN in 1866
4. Consisted of whites from all classes in the South

B. Used terrorism while clad in white sheets to intimidate blacks and Carpetbaggers.

1. Flogging, mutilation, or murder common against black and white Republicans.
2. Became effective in many areas for discouraging blacks from attaining their rights.

C. Succeeded in decimating Republican organization in many localities.

-- In response, new southern governments looked to Washington for survival.

D. **Force Acts of 1870 and 1871** (also called **Enforcement Acts**) -- 1871 law also called "KKK Act"

1. Federal troops were sent to quell the KKK's intimidation while terrorist groups were outlawed.
-- Significance: 1st time federal gov't protected individuals, not local authorities
2. Moderately successful in destroying the KKK yet much KKK intimidation had already had an effect.
3. By 1872, Klan no longer a major political force in the South.
4. Yet, acts repealed by Democrats over 20 years later

XI. **Johnson is impeached**

A. Radical Republicans, rather than curbing his authority, wanted him removed altogether.

B. Congress passed the **Tenure of Office Act** in 1867 over Johnson's veto.

1. Required the president to secure the consent of the Senate before he could remove his appointees once they had been approved by the Senate.

2. Purposes:

- a. Keep Sec. of War Edwin Stanton in the cabinet who was secretly serving as a spy for the radicals.
- b. Provoke Johnson into breaking the law thus laying the foundation for impeachment.

C. Johnson, believing the act unconstitutional and depending on support from the Court, fired Stanton in early 1868 to initiate the court case that the Court would supposedly decide in his favor.

-- Johnson did not believe the law applied to Lincoln's holdovers.

- D. In response, House voted 126 to 47 to impeach Johnson for "high crimes and misdemeanors," as called for in the Constitution.
 - Main issue was Johnson's violation of the Tenure of Office Act.
- E. Case tried in the Senate between March 5 and May 26 with the House prosecuting
 1. May 16, 1868, Radicals failed to remove Johnson by one vote (2/3 needed).
 2. Seven Republicans voted "not guilty"
- F. Outcome probably beneficial for the country
 - Johnson's removal may have set a destructive precedent, severely weakening the executive branch.

XII. Rise of the **Solid South**

- A. White supremacist **Solid South** dominated by Democrats in each state.
 1. Remaining Republican govt's in South collapsed
 2. Republican party dead in South for about 100 years.
 3. Southern resentment and humiliation would last generations.
 4. Beginning increased violence and discrimination toward blacks
- B. **Redeemers**: coalition of prewar Democrats, Union Whigs,
 1. Confederate army veterans, and individuals interested in industrial development.
 - Rise of many ex-plantation owners (sometimes called "**Bourbons**")
 2. Sought to undo changes brought about by the Civil War.
 3. Committed to strict economic & political control of blacks and reduce scope of state gov't.
 4. Won many local elections in 1870s vowing to dismantle the "corrupt" Reconstruction system.
 5. Policies affected blacks and poor whites alike
 - Exacerbated class strife and racial violence that followed the Civil War.

XIII. **Purchase of Alaska** (1867)

- A. Russia overextended in North America; realized another war with Britain would probably mean British takeover of Alaska.
 - Fur supply exhausted; Alaska a financial liability
- B. Russia preferred U.S. since they wanted a stronger U.S. to thwart Britain, Russia's ancient enemy.
- C. Sec. of State Seward signed treaty w/ Russia to purchase Alaska for \$7.2 million, an area approx. 600,000 square miles.
 1. Many criticized him for purchasing what seemed to be a wasteland: "Seward's Folly," "Seward's Icebox," "Frigidia," "Walrussia"
 - U.S. in midst of Reconstruction: antiexpansionist; economic matters more important.
 2. Gov't felt obligated not to shun Russia's offer since Russia had been very friendly to the North during the Civil War.
 - In addition, area rumored to be abundant in furs, fish and gold.
- D. Alaska was to become a major source of oil for U.S. and a sizable fishery.

XIV **Post-Reconstruction Civil Rights**: Road to institutional discrimination

- A. Reconstruction failed to empower blacks politically
 - The white South openly disregarded the 14th & 15th Amendments for several generations.

- B. Sharecropping** became a wide-scale practice keeping blacks tied to plantation owners w/ **crop lien laws**, which facilitated the binding of blacks unable to pay their debts.
- C. Slaughterhouse Cases, 1873** (still during Reconstruction)
1. 14th Amendment protected against *federal infringements* of abridged "privileges and immunities," not state infringements.
-- Thus, in effect the states were able to discriminate against their citizens.
 2. Molded interpretation of 14th Amendment for decades.
- D. Civil Rights Cases, 1883**
1. Court claimed 14th Amendment protected individuals from state action, not individual action.
-- Overturned Civil Rights Act of 1875 which protected individuals in states.
 2. Significance: a discouraged Congress didn't pass another Civil Rights law until 1957.
- E. Wholesale disenfranchisement** began in 1890 -- achieved by intimidation, fraud, and trickery.
1. **Poll taxes** & property requirements; **literacy tests** admin. unfairly to favor illiterate whites.
 2. **"grandfather clauses"** aimed to reduce number of black voters while enfranchising white voters who did not meet #1 & #2
-- Required citizenship prior to establishment of 14th Amendment
 3. **Gerrymandering**
 4. **"Jim Crow" laws** in 1890s (beginning in 1881) intended to segregate blacks in public facilities: e.g., public schools, railroad cars, restaurants
- F. Lynchings** as a form of intimidation
1. During 1890s, 200 blacks were lynched per year; 4/5 in the South.
 2. **Lynchings** in 1892 (230) all-time high followed by 1884 (211).
 3. Lynch law and mob rule competed with justice in many areas.
 4. **Ida B. Wells-Barnett**: Black journalist who launched an international antilynching movement whose goal was a federal antilynching law.
- G. Booker T. Washington** and education for African Americans
- a. 44% of non-whites illiterate in 1900; most from the South.
 - b. Became head of the black normal and industrial school at **Tuskegee**, AL in 1881
-- Taught useful trades as a means toward self-respect and economic equality, rather than a classical, education.
-- Started with only 40 students who literally built the school.
 - c. Advocated policy of **accommodation** in which he grudgingly accepted segregation in return for the right to develop economic and educational resources of the black community.
 - i. Urged blacks to adopt white middle-class standards in speech, dress, and habits so blacks would gain respect of whites.
 - ii. Established in the **"Atlanta Compromise"**, 1895 (paves way for *Plessy v. Ferguson*)
 - d. Ironically, Washington labored secretly against Jim Crow laws and racial violence, writing letters in code names and protecting blacks from lynch mobs.
-- His efforts, however, were little known in his time.
- H. *Plessy v. Ferguson* (1896)** capped the failure of Reconstruction by making it constitutional to segregate the black and white races: **"Separate but equal"**
1. Court ruled that separation was legal so long as facilities were equal.

2. This ruling henceforth applied to schools and other public places.

3. Remained intact until ***Brown v. Board of Education*** in 1954:

I. **W.E.B. DuBois opposed Washington and demanded immediate social and economic equality for blacks.**

1. His opposition to Washington as well as other blacks led to the formation of the **Niagara Movement** (1905-1909)

a. Demanded immediate end to segregation and to discrimination in the unions, courts, and public facilities.

b. Demanded equality of economic and educational opportunity.

c. Laid the groundwork for creation of the NAACP.

2. DuBois demanded that the "**talented tenth**" of the black community be given full and immediate access to the mainstream of American life.

J. **NAACP (National Association for the Advancement of Colored People)**

1. After **Springfield Race Riots** in 1909, a group of white progressives inc. Jane Addams, John Dewey, William Dean Howells, and editor Oswald Garrison Villard formed the **NAACP** (1910)

2. Adopted many of the goals of the Niagara movement

3. DuBois as director of publicity and research, and editor of their journal, ***Crisis***.

4. Goal: attainment of equal rights for blacks through the use of lawsuits in federal courts.

5. Opposed political and economic subordination of blacks for promoting the leadership of a trained, black elite.

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