
CHAPTER 15 RECONSTRUCTION AND THE SOUTH

The American Nation:
A History of the United States, 13th edition
Carnes/Garraty

THE ASSASSINATION OF LINCOLN

LINCOLN'S LAST DAYS

- April 5: visited Richmond, Virginia, where warmly greeted by blacks
- A few days later delivered speech on Reconstruction, urging compassion and open-mindedness
- April 14: had a Cabinet meeting where discussed postwar plans
- Went to Ford Theater where he was shot by John Wilkes Booth
- Died April 15, 1865



PRESIDENTIAL RECONSTRUCTION

- While property damage was high, civilian population was treated relatively well
 - Jefferson Davis was captured in May 1865 and put in jail but in 1867 the military turned him over to civilian courts which released him on bail
 - A few other Confederate officials spent short times in jail
 - Only Major Henry Wirz, commander of Andersonville military prison, was hanged

PRESIDENTIAL RECONSTRUCTION

- Question of status of Southern states
 - Radical Republicans insisted they had to be readmitted
 - 1862: Lincoln appointed provisional governors for those parts of the South that had been occupied by federal troops
- December 8, 1863: Lincoln issued 10% Plan
 - With exception of high Confederate officials and a few other special groups, all Southerners could reinstate themselves by taking a simple loyalty oath
 - When, in any state, a number equal to 10% of those voting in 1860 election had taken this oath, they could set up state government
 - Government had to be republican in form, must recognize freedom of slaves, must provide for black education

PRESIDENTIAL RECONSTRUCTION

- Radicals in Congress disliked 10% Plan because too moderate and because it let Lincoln determine policy toward recaptured regions
- July 1864: Wade-Davis Bill
 - Provided for constitutional conventions only after a majority of the voters in a southern state had taken loyalty oath
 - Confederate officials and anyone who had “voluntarily borne arms against the United States” were barred from voting in the election or serving in the convention
 - Besides prohibiting slavery, new state constitutions would have to repudiate Confederate debts
- Lincoln pocket vetoed the bill

PRESIDENTIAL RECONSTRUCTION

Andrew Johnson (Democrat)

- Military governor of Tennessee
- Political strength came from poor whites and yeomen farmers of eastern Tennessee
- Enjoyed attacking “aristocrats”
- Free homesteads, public education and absolute social equality were his goals
- Despite early Republican willingness to work with him, he soon alienated them
- Had respect for states’ rights
- Had contempt for blacks

PRESIDENTIAL RECONSTRUCTION

Johnson's Reconstruction vision

- Assumed that with war over, most Southerners would take loyalty oath
- More classes of Confederates, including those with property in excess of \$20,000 were excluded from the general pardon
- By the time Congress convened in December 1865, all the southern states had organized governments, ratified the Thirteenth amendment abolishing slavery and elected senators and representatives

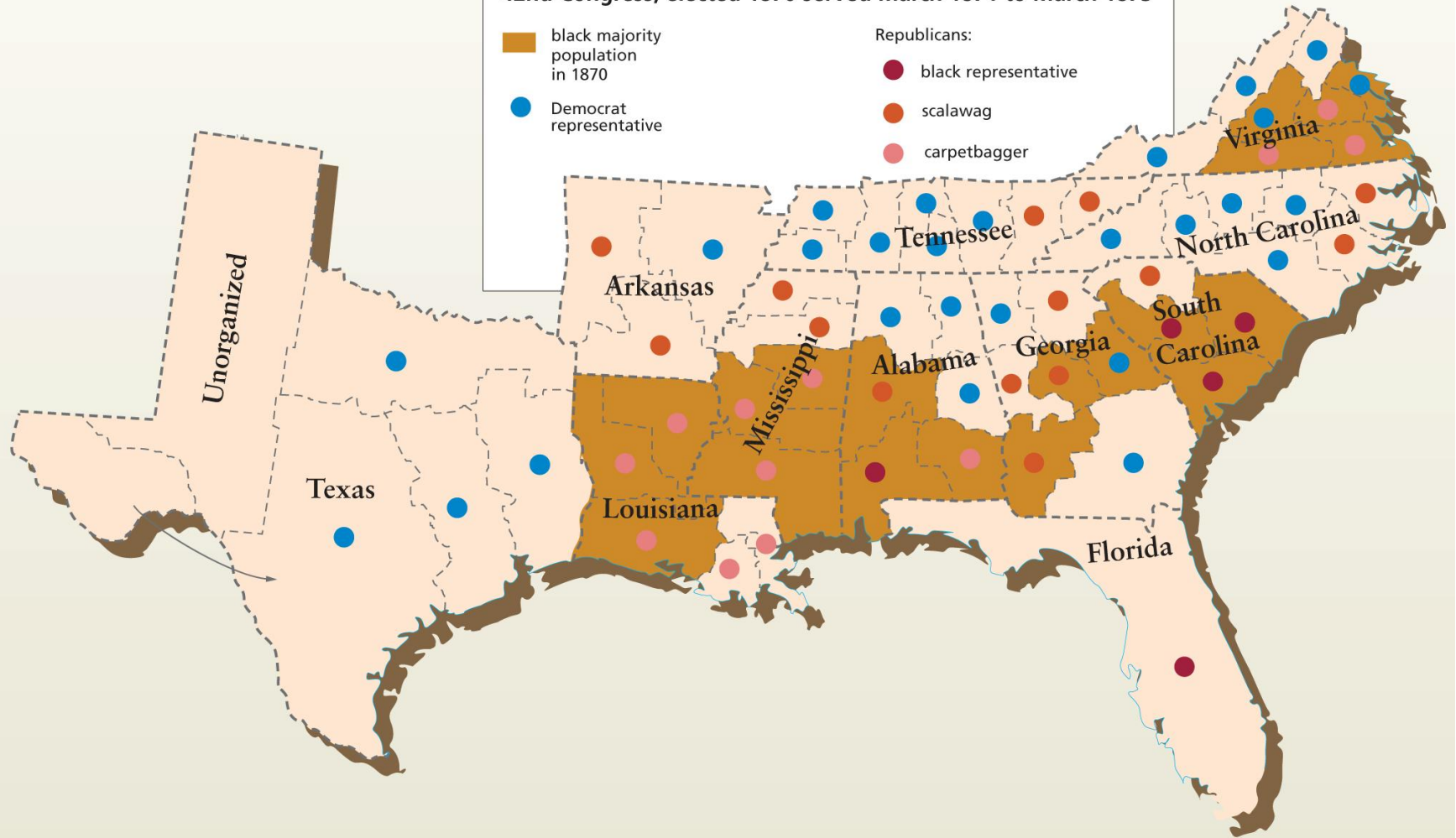
REPUBLICAN RADICALS

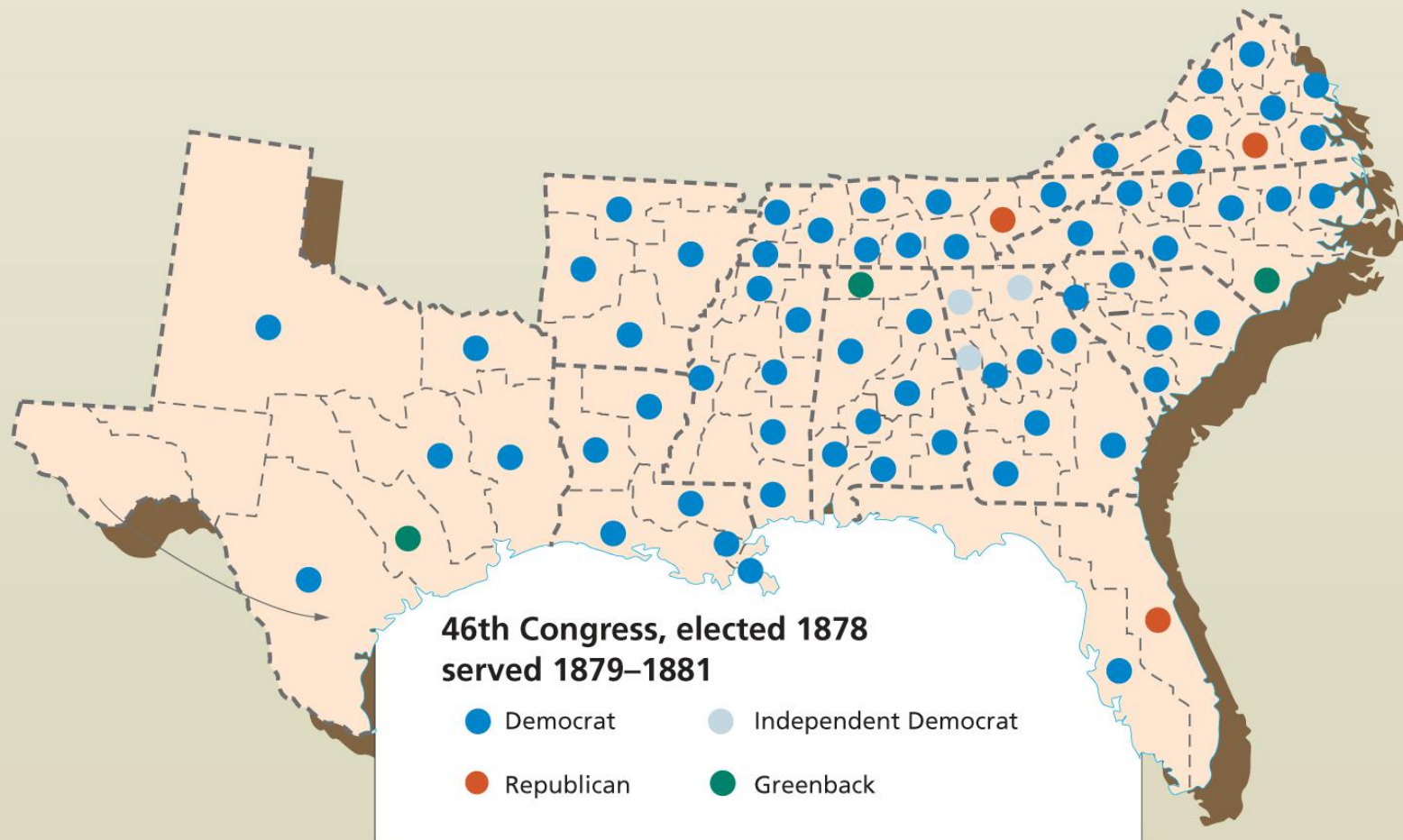
- Ultra radicals in Congress (led by Sumner) demanded immediate and absolute civil and political equality for blacks
 - Should be given the vote, a plot of land, and access to decent education
- Radicals (led by Thaddeus Stevens in House and Ben Wade in Senate) agreed with ultras' objectives but were willing to forgo actual social equality
- Moderate Republicans wanted to protect former slaves from exploitation and guarantee their basic rights but were not willing to push for full political equality

REPUBLICAN RADICALS

- Johnson's plan had no chance in Congress
 - Politically would be difficult for Republicans because threatened to return power to Democrats
 - Southern voters provoked Congress by their choice of congressmen
 - Black codes, aimed at keeping blacks in "as near a state of bondage as possible" alarmed Northerners

Republican Party in the South 1871–1873
42nd Congress, elected 1870 served March 1871 to March 1873





REPUBLICAN RADICALS

Black Codes

- Most permitted blacks to sue and testify in court, at least against others of their own race
- Could own certain types of property and other rights were guaranteed
- Could not bear arms
- Could not be employed in an occupation other than farming or domestic service
- Could not leave their jobs without forfeiting back pay
- Mississippi code required them to sign year long labor contracts
- Drunkards and “vagrants” could be hired out to white persons who would pay fine

CONGRESS REJECTS JOHNSONIAN RECONSTRUCTION

- Congress formed joint committee on Reconstruction headed by Senator William Fessenden
 - Held public hearing that produced much evidence of mistreatment of blacks
 - Strengthened Radicals
- Congress passed bill extending and strengthening the Freedman's Bureau which had been established in March 1865 to care for refugees
 - Johnson vetoed it arguing it was an unconstitutional extension of military authority in peacetime

CONGRESS REJECTS JOHNSONIAN RECONSTRUCTION

- Congress responded by passing a Civil Rights Act
 - Declared specifically that blacks were citizens
 - Denied states the power to restrict their rights to testify in court, to make contracts for their labor, and to hold property
- April 9, 1866: Congress overrode presidential veto of Civil Rights Act and obtained upper hand in Reconstruction

CONGRESS REJECTS JOHNSONIAN RECONSTRUCTION

- Johnson expected southern yeomen to share his prejudices against elite, voting suggested they did not
- Johnson himself pardoned many of these “aristocrats” after they applied personally
- Believed Congress could not legislate for South without Southern representatives but did not understand effect of southern intransigence on northern public opinion

CONGRESS REJECTS JOHNSONIAN RECONSTRUCTION

- Yet Radicals faced problems:
 - Few Northerners believed in black equality
 - Between 1866 and 1868, Wisconsin, Minnesota, Connecticut, Nebraska, New Jersey, Ohio, Michigan and Pennsylvania rejected bills granting blacks the vote
- Radicals were demanding not merely equal rights for freedmen but extra rights; not merely the vote but special protection for it, which flew in the face of conventional American belief in equality before the law and individual self-reliance

THE FOURTEENTH AMENDMENT

- June 1866: 14th Amendment submitted to states
 - Never before had newly freed slaves been granted substantial political rights
 - When British Caribbean sugar islands had emancipated slaves in 1830s, property qualifications and poll taxes kept freedmen from voting
 - Reduced the power of all the states



THE FOURTEENTH AMENDMENT

- Supplied broad definition of citizenship
- Struck at discriminatory legislation like Black Codes
- Attempted to force Southern states to let blacks vote by threatening to reduce their Congressional representation
- Former federal officials who had served under the Confederacy were barred from state or federal office unless specifically pardoned by two-thirds vote of Congress
- Repudiated Confederate debt

THE FOURTEENTH AMENDMENT

- Johnson made his disagreement with 14th Amendment the focus of 1866 Congressional elections
 - Did “swing around the circle” to rally the public
 - Failed dismally
 - Northern women objected to “man” in amendment but most Northerners were determined to see African Americans have formal legal equality
 - Republicans won more than two-thirds of seats in both houses and control of all northern state governments

THE RECONSTRUCTION ACTS

March 2, 1867: First Reconstruction Act

- Divided former Confederacy (except Tennessee) into five military districts, each controlled by a major general
- Gave these officers almost dictatorial power to protect the civil rights of all persons, maintain order, and supervise the administration of justice
- To rejoin union, states had to adopt new state constitutions guaranteeing blacks the right to vote and disenfranchising broad classes of ex-Confederates
- If new constitutions satisfactory and if new governments ratified 14th amendment, would be admitted to Congress and military rule ended

Overrode Johnson's veto

THE RECONSTRUCTION ACTS

- Southerners ignored act, refusing to make required changes
- Second Reconstruction Act required military authorities to register voters and supervise the election of delegates to constitutional conventions
- Third Act further clarified procedures
- Whites prevented ratification by refusing to vote thus failing to provide the required majority of registered voters
- March 1868: Congress allowed constitutions to be approved by majority of voters
 - June 1868: Arkansas was readmitted to the Union
 - By July, 14th Amendment had passed
 - Final southern state (Georgia) qualified July 1870

CONGRESS SUPREME

- In an attempt to defeat Johnson and bring southerners to heel, Republicans passed a series of legislation that increased Congressional control over the army, over the process of amending the Constitution, and over Cabinet members and lesser appointed officials
- They also reduced the size of Supreme Court and limited its jurisdiction over civil rights cases
- Finally they tried to impeach Johnson

CONGRESS SUPREME

- Tenure of Office Act of 1867: prohibited the President from removing officials who had been appointed with the consent of the Senate without first obtaining Senate approval
 - February 1868: Johnson dismissed Secretary of War Edwin Stanton without Senate approval
- The House impeached Johnson
 - Johnson's lawyers argued Stanton had been removed to prove Tenure of Office Act was unconstitutional
- May 16, 1868: Senate failed by single vote to convict

THE FIFTEENTH AMENDMENT

- Election of 1868
 - Republicans nominated Ulysses S. Grant
 - Democrats nominated Horatio Seymour
 - Grant won with 214 electoral votes to 80 and 3 million popular votes to 2.7 million
 - Margin of victory provided by southern blacks
- Importance of black vote made Republicans decide that amendment needed to guarantee black votes in all states, not just in the South

THE FIFTEENTH AMENDMENT

- 15th Amendment sent to states in February 1869
 - Forbade all states to deny the vote to anyone “on account of race, color or previous condition of servitude”
 - Absence of clause about discrimination on basis of sex outraged many women
 - Most southern states, states in New England and some western states ratified the amendment swiftly
 - Bitter battles were waged in Connecticut, New York, Pennsylvania, and states immediately north of the Ohio River
 - March 1870 amendment ratified
- Passed because of unfairness of double standard of voting, contribution of black soldiers during the war and the hope of ending the strife of Reconstruction

“BLACK REPUBLICAN” RECONSTRUCTION: Scalawags & Carpetbaggers

- Former slaves in the South voted and held office
 - Almost unanimously voted Republican
- Real rulers of “black Republican” governments were white
 - Scalawags: Southerners willing to cooperate with the Republicans because they accepted the results of the war and wished to advance their own interests
 - Carpetbaggers: Northerners who went South as idealists to help the freed slaves, as employees of the federal government, or more commonly as settlers hoping to improve themselves

“BLACK REPUBLICAN” RECONSTRUCTION: Scalawags & Carpetbaggers

- Scalawags
 - More numerous
 - A few were prewar politicians or well-to-do planters
 - Most were people who had supported the Whigs
- Carpetbaggers were extremely varied with differing motives
 - Many northern blacks: former Union soldiers, missionaries from northern black churches, teachers, lawyers, other members of small northern professional class

“BLACK REPUBLICAN” RECONSTRUCTION: Scalawags & Carpetbaggers

- Blacks did not dominate southern governments
 - Mainly poor and uneducated
 - Nearly everywhere a minority
- Blacks that held office:
 - Tended to be better educated and more prosperous than most southern blacks
 - Disproportionate number had been free before the war
 - Of those who had been slaves, most had been house servants and artisans
 - Mulatto politicians were also disproportionately numerous and (as a group) more conservative and economically better off than other black leaders

“BLACK REPUBLICAN” RECONSTRUCTION: Scalwags & Carpetbaggers

- Many blacks were able and conscientious public servants, though not all
- Many northern commentators exaggerated the immorality and incompetence of blacks, but waste and corruption were common
 - Big thieves were nearly always white
 - Graft and callous disregard of the public interest characterized government in every section and at every level during time period—New York Tweed Ring probably made off with more than all southern graft

“BLACK REPUBLICAN” RECONSTRUCTION: Scalawags & Carpetbaggers

- Republican southern governments accomplished a great deal
 - Taxes went up but money financed repair and expansion of South’s railroads, rebuilt levees, and expanded social services
 - Money came in part from Freedman’s Bureau and from Northern religious and philanthropic organizations
 - State governments established and supported hospitals, asylums, and systems of free public education
 - Money also spent on land reclamation, repairing and expanding war-ravaged railroads, and maintaining levees

THE RAVAGED LAND

- South desperately poor
- Blacks sought land of their own and Thaddeus Stevens supported the goal, recommending redistributing land from planters
 - Problem: would still need seed, tools and other necessities
 - Congress did open 46 million acres of poor quality federal land under Homestead Act but few settled on it
- Whites upset because blacks were producing less than under slavery
 - Whites saw blacks as lazy and shiftless
 - Blacks chose to use time and resources differently than under slavery

THE RAVAGED LAND

- Whites felt only way to get blacks to work was compulsion
 - Labor contracts
 - Complaints that black women refused to work
- Changes in black family life
 - Male authority increased
 - Now true head of family
 - As citizens, acquired rights and powers denied women
 - Black women became more like white women, devoting themselves to separate spheres

SHARECROPPING AND THE CROP-LIEN SYSTEM

- Originally, plantation owners tried to farm land with gang labor
 - Blacks did not like working for wages or in gangs as it was reminiscent of slave labor
 - They wanted to manage their own lives
- Result was new labor system: sharecropping

SHARECROPPING AND THE CROP-LIEN SYSTEM

Sharecropping

- Planters broke up their estates into small units and established a black family on each
- Planter provided housing, agricultural implements, draft animals, seed and other supplies and family provided labor
- Crop was divided between them (usually 50-50 basis)
- If landlord supplied only land and housing, laborer got a larger share—share tenancy

SHARECROPPING AND THE CROP-LIEN SYSTEM

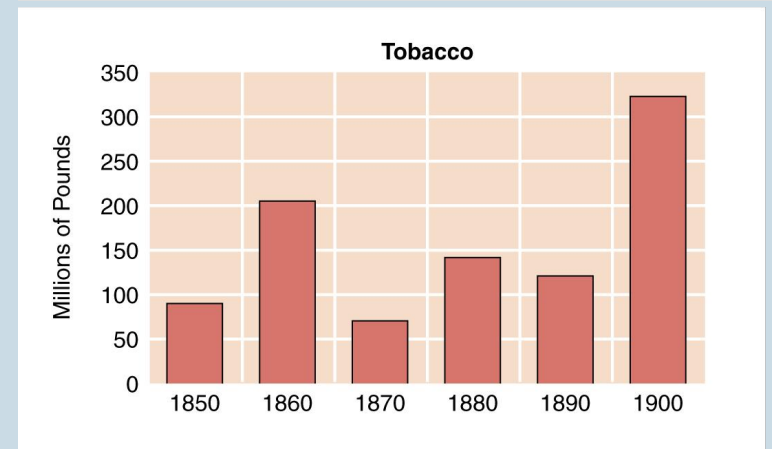
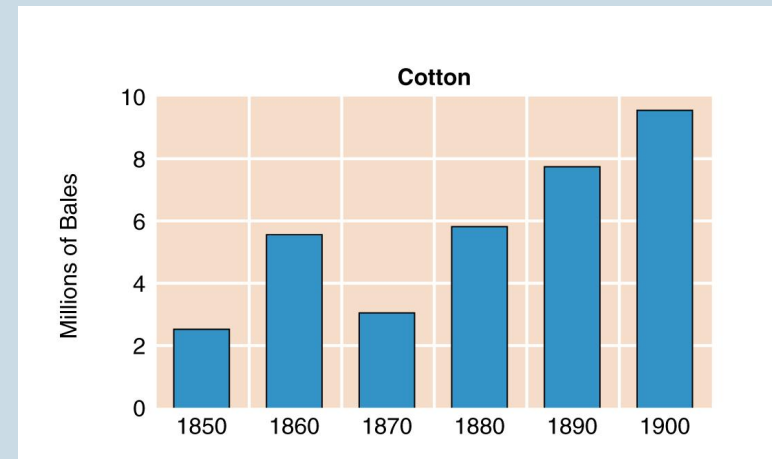
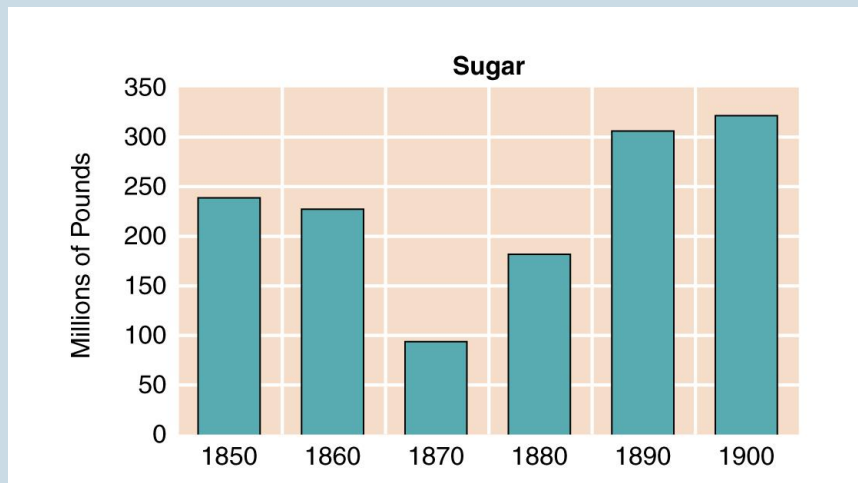
- As late as 1880 blacks owned less than 10 percent of the agricultural land of the South though equaled more than 50 percent of farm population
- Many white farmers were also trapped by sharecropping system and by white efforts to keep blacks in subordinate position
 - Fencing laws kept them from grazing livestock on undeveloped land
- Biggest problem for South was lack of capital

SHARECROPPING AND THE CROP-LIEN SYSTEM

- Crop lien system
 - Both landowner and sharecropper depended on credit supplied by local bankers, merchants, and storekeepers for everything
 - Prices of goods sold on credit were high
- Progress in South slow compared to rest of nation
 - Before Civil War, South averaged 4 million bales a year, a figure they did not reach again until 1870
 - National wheat production went from 175 million bushels in 1859 to 449 million in 1878
 - 7,000 miles of railroad were built in South from 1865 to 1879, 45,000 miles in rest of country

SHARECROPPING AND THE CROP-LIEN SYSTEM

- Cotton production revived in 1870s and once again ruled the South



SHARECROPPING AND THE CROP-LIEN SYSTEM

- Manufacturing grew
 - Tobacco industry expanded rapidly
 - Exploitation of coal and iron products in northeastern Alabama in the early 1870s
 - Productive capacity for the manufacture of cotton cloth doubled between 1865 and 1880
 - Mills of Massachusetts alone still had 8 times the capacity of the entire South in 1880
 - Southern percentage of national manufacturing output declined

THE WHITE BACKLASH

- Radical southern governments needed white support (especially wealthy merchants and planters) because blacks were in the majority only in South Carolina and Louisiana
 - Southern white republicans used the Union League of America to control the black vote
 - Dissident southerners established secret terrorist societies (Ku Klux Klan, Knights of the White Camelia, Pale Faces) to counter League
- Klan, originally a social club, founded in Tennessee in 1866
 - Was controlled by vigilantes by 1868 and was spreading across South
 - When intimidation failed, resorted to force and often murder

THE WHITE BACKLASH

- Congress struck at Klan with three Force Acts (1870-1871)
 - Placed elections under federal jurisdiction
 - Imposed fines and prison sentences on persons convicted of interfering with any citizen's exercise of the franchise
 - Troops were dispatched to areas where the Klan was strong
 - By 1872 federal authorities had broken up the Klan

THE WHITE BACKLASH

- But Klan had undermined radical regimes throughout South
 - Weakened will of white Republicans
 - Intimidated many blacks
- Became respectable to intimidate blacks
 - Starting in 1874 in Mississippi terrorism spread throughout South
 - Created increasing cycle of violence where any sign of resistance seen as start of race war
- Conservative Democrats “redeemed” southern governments

THE WHITE BACKLASH

- Northerners were losing interest in the South though reminders of Democratic role in Civil War could still stir voters
- But no longer willing to support army
 - In 1869, occupying force reduced to 11,000
 - Washington refused to act after terrorism made a farce of 1874 Mississippi elections
 - Once Northerners were assured blacks would not be re-enslaved, lost interest
- With rise of industrial enterprises in 1870s, Northerners also more sympathetic to Southern insistence on a disciplined labor force

GRANT AS PRESIDENT

- Beginning in 1873, economic difficulties plagued the country
- Heated controversy over tariff policy with western interests seeking a reduction
- Disputes over paper money, with debtor groups and many manufacturers favoring further expansion and conservative merchants and bankers wanting to retire greenbacks
- Grant failed to live up to expectations as president
- Major corruption problems
 - Whiskey Ring Affair
 - Indian Ring

GRANT AS PRESIDENT

- 1872 Republican reformers formed Liberal Republican party and nominated Horace Greeley
 - Members were mostly well-educated, socially prominent types
 - Laissez-faire liberals for low tariffs, sound money and against any measure benefiting specific groups (including blacks)
- Democrats also nominated Greeley
- Grant triumphed but Democrats carried House of Representatives in 1874 interim elections
- By the end of 1875 only South Carolina, Louisiana, and Florida were still under Republican control

THE DISPUTED ELECTION OF 1876

■ 1876 Election

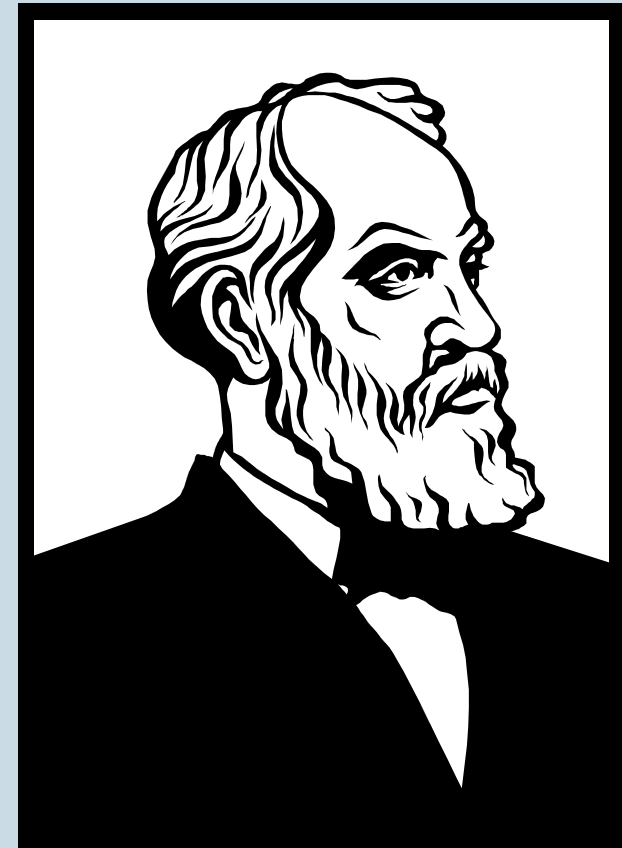
- Republicans nominated Rutherford B. Hayes, Governor of Ohio
- Democrats nominated Samuel J. Tilden, Governor of New York, who had helped break up Tweed Ring

■ Results

- Early returns suggested Tilden carried New York, New Jersey, Connecticut, Indiana and all southern states including South Carolina, Louisiana, and Florida
- Would give Tilden 203 electoral votes to 165 and popular plurality of 250,000 out of 8 million votes cast
- Republican regimes in three southern states under their control staged recounts that determined Hayes was the winner

THE DISPUTED ELECTION OF 1876

- An electoral commission was established to determine the results
- What was determined was vast corruption by everyone involved
- Commission gave all disputed electoral votes to Hayes
- Democrats were furious



THE COMPROMISE OF 1877

Positions

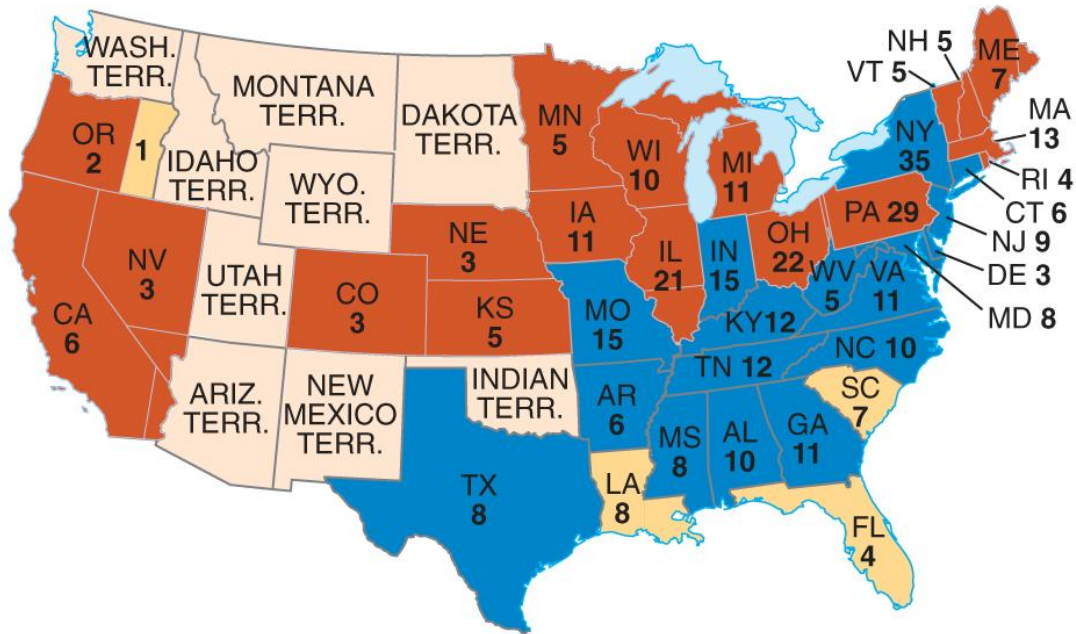
- Northern Democrats vowed to fight the results
- Southern Democrats were willing to settle if Hayes would remove remaining troops and allow South to manage its own affairs
- Ex-Whig planters and merchants who had abandoned carpetbag governments and who sympathized with Republican economic policies hoped that by supporting Hayes they might contribute to the restoration of a two party system in the South

THE COMPROMISE OF 1877

- Hayes was declared winner on March 2, 1877, 185 electoral votes to 184
 - He recalled the last troops from South Carolina and Louisiana in April
 - Appointed former Confederate general David M. Key of Tennessee, postmaster general and asked him to find Southerners to serve in government
 - South remained solidly Democrat
 - Reconstruction was over

	Electoral Total	Popular Vote
REPUBLICAN <i>Rutherford Hayes</i>	185	4,036,572
Disputed*		
DEMOCRATIC <i>Samuel Tilden</i>	184	4,284,020
TOTALS	369	8,320,592

* Assigned to Hayes by Congressional Commission



★ **The Compromise of 1877**

MILESTONES

- 1863 Lincoln announces "Ten Percent Plan" for Reconstruction
- 1865 Federal government sets up Freedmen's Bureau to ease transition from slavery to freedom
- General Lee surrenders at Appomattox Court House
- Abraham Lincoln is assassinated;
- Andrew Johnson becomes president
- Johnson issues amnesty proclamation
- States ratify Thirteenth Amendment abolishing slavery
- 1865–1866 Southern states enact Black Codes
- 1866 Civil Rights Act passes over Johnson's veto
- Johnson campaigns for his Reconstruction policy
- 1867 First Reconstruction Act puts former Confederacy under military rule
- Tenure of Office Act protects Senate appointees
- 1868 House of Representatives impeaches Johnson

- 1868 Fourth Reconstruction Act requires a majority of Southern voters to ratify state constitutions
- Senate acquits Johnson
- States ratify Fourteenth Amendment extending rights to freed slaves
- Ulysses S. Grant is elected president
- Ku Klux Klan uses intimidation and force throughout South
- 1870 States ratify Fifteenth Amendment granting black suffrage
- 1870–1871 Force (Ku Klux Klan) Act destroys Klan
- 1872 Liberal Republican party nominates Horace Greeley for president
- Grant is reelected president
- 1876 Rutherford B. Hayes runs against Samuel Tilden in disputed presidential election
- 1877 Electoral Commission awards disputed votes to Rutherford B. Hayes who becomes president
- Hayes agrees to Compromise of 1877 ending Reconstruction

WEBSITES

- The Impeachment of Andrew Johnson
<http://www.impeach-andrewjohnson.com>
- Diary and Letters of Rutherford B. Hayes
<http://www.ohiohistory.org/onlinedoc/hayes/index.cfm>
- Rutherford B. Hayes
<http://www.ipl.org/ref/POTUS/rbhayes.html>
- Images of African Americans from the Nineteenth Century
http://digital.nypl.org/schomburg/images_aa19
- Freedman and Southern Society Project (University of Maryland, College Park)
<http://www.history.umd.edu/Freedmen/>