



# 15

## Emancipation and Reconstruction, 1865–1877

### Chapter Objectives

Lincoln's Plan of Reconstruction

Johnson's Policy of Reconstruction

Congressional Radicals

Radical Reconstruction

The Fall of Radical Reconstruction

The Ku Klux Klan

Black Sharecroppers

Freedmen's Bureau



Johnson Versus the Radicals  
The Grant Administration  
The Collapse of Reconstruction  
Scandals Shake the Republican Party  
The Courts and the End of Reconstruction  
The Hayes-Tilden Election of 1876



## Lincoln's Plan of Reconstruction

The process of readmission to the Union for Southern states had begun as early as 1862 when Union troops began reclaiming Southern territory. Lincoln then appointed provisional governors for those parts of the Union controlled and occupied by federal troops. Although he had always opposed slavery on moral as well as political grounds, Lincoln was skeptical about the prospects for racial equality in the United States. The legacy of slavery and race prejudice, he believed, would prevent blacks from rising to the level of whites or prevent whites from allowing blacks to change their place in society. This was why Lincoln had supported the colonization abroad of freed slaves as a possible solution of the race problem.

By 1864, however, the president was convinced of the impracticality, if not the injustice, of this policy. The contribution of blacks to the Union war effort and the growing strength of Northern antislavery convictions also made him more hopeful about the chances for eventual black advancement and racial adjustment. On this question, though, Lincoln remained a moderate and a gradualist to the end of his life.

Lincoln and the Northern moderates also believed that victory in war could not really restore the Union. It could only prevent secession. After that, the Union would be restored only if the Southern people again accepted the Union and gave their loyalty to it. To bring them back, Lincoln wanted a conciliatory policy. So when in 1864 Congress adopted a measure known as the Wade-Davis Bill, imposing stringent terms for the restoration of the former Confederates and included a requirement that Southerners could only establish state governments after the majority in a state had sworn to a loyalty oath, Lincoln quickly disposed of the Wade-Davis Bill with the pocket veto. (The president did not sign the bill during the last ten days of a Congressional session, thus killing the bill through his inaction.)

When people raised technical questions about the legal status of the Confederate states (Were they still states, or conquered territories? Had they committed “state suicide?”), Lincoln was impatient about such “pernicious abstractions.” All that mattered was whether the states could be brought back into their proper relationship with the Union.

By 1864, the Union had regained enough control in Louisiana, Tennessee, and Arkansas to start a process of restoring these states to the Union, and Lincoln laid down generous terms on which this could be

done. He would grant amnesty to former Confederates who took an oath of allegiance; and when as many as one-tenth of the number who had been citizens in 1860 did so, he would permit them to form a new state government. When this government accepted the abolition of slavery and repudiated the principle of secession, Lincoln would receive it back into the Union. States did not have to recognize the rights of blacks or give a single black person the vote.

Louisiana was the first state reorganized on this basis. Despite its denial of black suffrage, Lincoln accepted Louisiana, though he did ask the governor “whether some of the colored



► Lincoln's tomb in Springfield, Illinois.



people may not be let in, as for instance, the very intelligent, and especially those who have fought gallantly in our ranks.” In Virginia, Tennessee, and Arkansas, also, Lincoln recognized state governments that did not enfranchise the black Americans.

It was clear, however, that Republicans in Congress were suspicious of these states—more because of their leniency toward the former Confederates than because of their treatment of the blacks. Secondly, the Radical Republicans favored a reconstruction policy that would punish the South; and they, therefore, opposed Lincoln’s plan because it was not punitive. Radical Republicans in Congress also disliked Lincoln’s conciliatory “10 percent plan” because it allowed the president, rather than Congress, to establish reconstruction policy. It was also clear that Congress might deny the re-established states recognition by refusing to seat their newly elected senators and representatives.

## Johnson’s Policy of Reconstruction

Although a Southerner, and the only Senator from a Southern state to remain loyal to the Union, Andrew Johnson was expected to be more severe in his Reconstruction policy than Lincoln. Johnson was the son of poor, illiterate parents in Raleigh, North Carolina, who could not afford to send their son to school. Instead, Johnson’s mother apprenticed him to a tailor after his father died, and Johnson later worked as a tailor in Tennessee. The ambitious Johnson, who had been illiterate until his wife taught him to write, not only became a successful tailor but also accumulated a fortune in land and at one time even owned five slaves. Johnson was a man of strong emotions. As a Southerner with the roots of a common man, he hated both aristocrats, whom he blamed for secession, and secessionists in general; but when his policy developed, it turned out that he disliked abolitionists and radicals even more. In the end, Johnson proved even more lenient toward former Confederates than Lincoln had been. Johnson



son was a strong states’ rights advocate, who as a Senator had voted against everything that smacked of increased federal power. He even once voted against a bill to pave the streets of Washington, D.C.

Johnson was a defender of slavery and accepted emancipation only grudgingly. Johnson’s eventual opposition to slavery developed more out of his dislike for the planter class than out of any moral outrage against slavery or sympathy for blacks. Johnson believed blacks to be intellectually inferior and naturally more suited to manual labor.

On May 29, 1865, he issued a broad amnesty to all who would take an oath of allegiance, including ex-Confederate government officials and military officers, although men with property valued at more than \$20,000 (in other words, planters) were required to ask for special pardon, which was freely given. In the six weeks after May 29, he appointed provisional governors in each of the remaining Southern states to reorganize governments for these states. Only men who had been voters in 1860 and who had taken the oath of allegiance could participate in these reorganizations. This meant, of course, that blacks were excluded. When the new governments disavowed secession, accepted the abolition of slavery, and repudiated the Confed-

erate debt, Johnson would accept them. As to what policy should be followed toward the freed men—that was to be determined by the states themselves.

The Southern states moved swiftly under this easy formula. Before the end of the year, every state except Texas, which followed soon after, had set up a new government that met the president's terms. Two conspicuous features of these governments, however, were deeply disturbing to many Republicans.

First, these Southern states had adopted a series of laws known as “Black Codes” that denied blacks many of the rights of citizenship—including the right to vote and to serve on juries. Blacks could not testify against whites, and laws were passed against interracial marriage. Of course, blacks were also denied the right to bear arms. Other laws were passed that excluded them from certain types of property ownership and certain occupations. In some cases, black employment was limited to agriculture and domestic servitude. Unemployed Negroes might be arrested as vagrants and bound out to labor in a new form of in-

voluntary servitude. Black workers truant from jobs were forced to do public service until they returned to their former employer to whom they were contractually bound.

Second, the former Confederates were in complete control. By December 1865, all former Confederate states had organized new governments, ratified the Thirteenth Amendment abolishing slavery, and elected Congressmen. Between them, the newly organized states elected to Congress no fewer than nine Confederate congressmen, seven Confederate state officials, four generals, four colonels, and Confederate Vice-President Alexander Stephens.



► Portrait of Confederate Vice-President Alexander Stephens

## Congressional Radicals

Presidential Reconstruction, as a *fait accompli*, confronted Congress when it met at the end of 1865. At this point, the Republicans were far from ready for the kind of all-out fight against Johnson that later developed, but they were not willing to accept the reorganized states. They were especially resentful because these states could now claim a larger representation in Congress

with the free black population (only three fifths of the blacks had been counted when they were slaves), without actually allowing the blacks any voice in the government. It would be ironic, indeed, if the overthrow of slavery should increase the representation of the South in Congress and if the Rebels should come back into the Union stronger politically than when they seceded.

For some months, the Republicans in Congress moved slowly, unwilling to face a break with a president of their own party and far from ready to make a vigorous stand for the rights of blacks. However, they would not seat the Southern congressmen-elect, and they set up a Joint Committee of the Senate and the House to assert their claim to a voice in the formulation of Reconstruction policy. They also passed a bill to extend the life and increase the activities of the Freedmen's Bureau—an agency created to aid blacks in their transition from slavery to freedom. The new duties Congress wanted to grant to the Freedmen's Bureau were to expand its responsibilities to include federal protection of blacks against white oppression in the South.

Johnson vetoed this measure as an unnecessary and unconstitutional use of the military during peacetime, and he also vetoed a Civil Rights bill that declared blacks to be U.S. citizens and denied Southern states the ability to withhold property rights on the basis of race. Tensions increased; and in April 1866, Congress re-passed the Civil Rights Act of 1866 over Johnson's veto, the first Congressional over-ride of a presidential veto in American history. The over-ride of the president's veto shifted the political upper hand to Congress, which would, henceforth, assume the lead in Reconstruction policy.

In June 1866, Congress voted a proposed Fourteenth Amendment. This amendment clearly asserted the citizenship of blacks by stating, "All persons born or naturalized in the U. S. are citizens", thus effectively overturning the Dred Scott decision that held that blacks were not citizens and did not have standing to sue. It also asserted that blacks were entitled to the "privileges and immunities of citizens," to the "equal protection of the laws," and to protection against being deprived of "life, liberty, and property without due process of law." In effect, the Fourteenth Amendment was designed to overturn the Black Codes.

Lawyers have been kept busy for more than a century determining exactly what these terms meant, but one thing was clear. The amendment did not specify a right of black suffrage. It did, however, provide that states that disfranchised a part of their adult male population would have their representation in Congress proportionately reduced. It almost seemed that Congress was offering the Southerners a choice: They might disfranchise the blacks if they were willing to pay the price of reduced representation, or they might have increased representation if they were willing to pay the price of black suffrage. This might not help the blacks, but it was certain to help the Republicans. It would either reduce the strength of Southern white Democrats or give the Republicans black political allies in the South.

The Fourteenth Amendment, also, provisionally excluded from federal office any person who had held any important public office before the Civil War and had then gone over to the Confederacy. This sweeping move to disqualify almost the entire leadership of the South led the Southern states to make the serious mistake of following President Johnson's advice to reject the amendment. During the latter half of 1866 and the first months of 1867, ten Southern states voted not to ratify the Fourteenth Amendment. By March 1867, Tennessee was the only Southern state that had ratified the Fourteenth Amendment.

## Radical Reconstruction

Southern rejection of the Fourteenth Amendment precipitated the bitter fight that had been brewing for almost two years. Congressional elections of 1866, however, gave Radical Republicans a two thirds majority in Congress, thus solidifying their power to over-ride presidential vetoes and take the lead in Reconstruction. Congress now moved to replace the Johnson governments in the South with new governments of its own creation. Between March and July 1867, it adopted a series of Reconstruction Acts that divided ten Southern states into five military districts under five military governors. The governors were vested with “all powers necessary” to protect the civil rights of all persons, maintain order, and supervise the administration of justice. These governors were to hold elections for conventions to frame new state constitutions. In these elections adult males, including blacks, were to vote, but many whites, disqualified by their support of the Confederacy, were not to vote. The constitutions these conventions adopted must establish black suffrage, and the governments they established must ratify the Fourteenth Amendment. Then, and only then, might they be readmitted to the Union.

Congress followed with a second Reconstruction Act that required military authorities in the South to register voters and supervise the election of the delegates to state constitutional conventions. Furthermore, new constitutions had to be ratified by a majority of voters. Thus, two years after the war was over, when the South supposed that the postwar adjustment had been completed, the process of Reconstruction actually began.

MAP 15.1 Reconstruction





The period that followed has been the subject of more bitter feeling and more controversy than perhaps any other period in American history, and the intensity of the bitterness has made it hard to get at the realities. During 1867 the military governors conducted elections, and in late 1867 and early 1868 the new constitutional conventions met in the Southern states. They complied with the terms that Congress had laid down, including enfranchisement of the black men; however, many Southerners resisted. Military authorities in many places found that they could not get a majority of voters to the polls, as Congress had required. In essence, the former Confederates protested their new constitutions, which they viewed as externally imposed, by staying home and not voting. In March 1868, Congress altered the rules to allow state constitutions to be ratified by the majority of those who voted in an election. Three months later, Arkansas fulfilled the requirements necessary for readmission to the Union; and within a year after the third Reconstruction Act (of July 1867), seven states had adopted new constitutions, organized new governments, ratified the Fourteenth Amendment, and been readmitted to the Union. In Virginia, Mississippi, Georgia, and Texas, however, the process was for one reason or another not completed until 1870. In July 1870, Georgia became the last Southern state to be readmitted to the Union.

All of these new governments, except the one in Virginia, began under Republican control, with more or less black representation in the legislatures. In one state after another, however, the Democrats, supporting a policy of white supremacy, soon gained the ascendancy. Military and “Radical” rule lasted for three years in North Carolina; four years in Tennessee (never under military government) and Georgia; six years in Texas; seven years in Alabama and Arkansas; eight years in Mississippi; and ten years in Florida, Louisiana, and South Carolina.

Historians of the past and those of the present have interpreted the experience of this so-called “carpetbag” rule (so-named in reference to a popular nineteenth-century suitcase literally made from carpet and carried by many Northerners who moved South in search of economic opportunity) in completely different terms. The earlier interpretation reflected the feelings of the Southern whites that resented this regime bitterly, seeing it as one of “military despotism” and “Negro rule.” According to this version, later elaborated by a pro-Southern school of historians, the South was at the outset the victim of military occupation in which a brutal soldiery maintained bayonet rule. Then came the “carpetbaggers”—unscrupulous Northern adventurers whose only purpose was to enrich themselves by plundering the prostrate South. Southerners used the term “carpetbagger” disparagingly in reference to Northerners who moved south and became involved in Southern politics.

In the view of Southerners, in order to maintain their ascendancy, the carpetbaggers incited the blacks, who were essentially well disposed, to assert themselves in swaggering insolence. Thereupon, majorities made up of illiterate blacks swarmed into the legislatures, where the carpetbaggers manipulated them. A carnival of riotous corruption and looting followed until at last the outraged whites, excluded from all voice in public affairs, could endure these conditions no longer and arose to drive the vandals away and to redeem their dishonored states.

This picture of Reconstruction has a very real importance because it has undoubtedly influenced subsequent Southern attitudes, but it is an extreme distortion of the realities. Historical treatments since 1950 have presented quite a different version, stressing the brief nature of the military rule and the constructive measures of the “carpetbag” governments. As



for bayonet rule, the number of troops in the “Army of Occupation” was absurdly small. In November 1869, there were 1000 federal soldiers scattered over the state of Virginia and 716 over Mississippi with hardly more than a corporal’s guard in any one place.

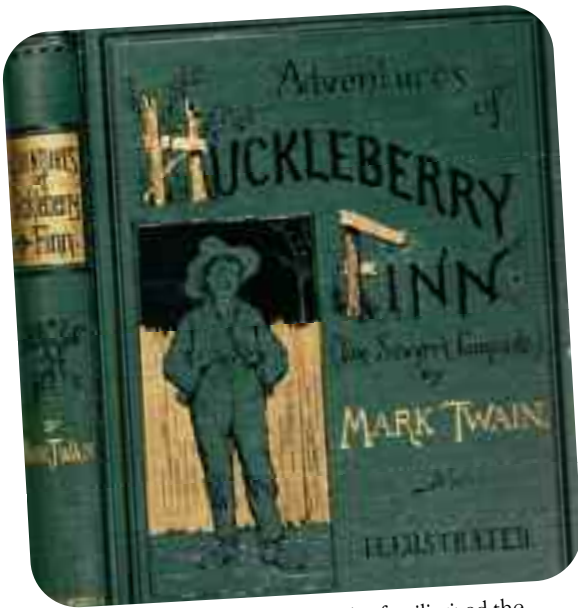
For certain, Southern politics during Reconstruction was fraught with factionalism and corruption, and some of the blame must be placed at the feet of the “carpetbaggers.” For example, Illinois native Henry Clay Warmoth was elected governor of Louisiana in 1868 with an annual salary of \$8,000. Four years later, Warmoth had a net worth of over \$1 million. A full 50 percent of the state budget in Louisiana during Warmoth’s tenure went for the salaries and “mileage” of state representatives and their staff members. This, however, was not the only incident of overpaid public officials. One year, South Carolina’s legisla-

ture voted an additional \$1,000 in salary for one member who had recently lost the same amount on a horse race. Inflated and corrupt government contracts were also rampant. For example, the state of Arkansas constructed a bridge one year at a cost of \$500 and then repaired the bridge the next year at a cost of \$9,000. To be sure, not all of the corruption was due to “carpetbaggers” in government; but for Southerners, the transplanted Northerners made easy targets. Among the American writers who familiarized the country with the looters and scoundrels was Mark Twain, whose fictional writings presented unscrupulous characters with which Southerners became all too familiar.

Although there were indeed looters and scoundrels among the carpetbaggers, there were also idealists that did all they could to improve conditions in the South. Many Northern women came to teach the freed slaves. Many men came to develop needed industry, which even if it enriched the Northern carpetbagger in the process, was also good

for the South as a whole. Many others worked with integrity and self-sacrifice to find a constructive solution for the problems of a society devastated by war and left with a huge population of former slaves to absorb and support. Many native Southerners, who joined with the “carpetbaggers” in their programs and who were therefore denounced as “scalawags,” were equally public-spirited and high-minded.

As for “Negro rule,” the fact is that the blacks were in a majority only at the convention and the first three legislatures of South Carolina. Elsewhere they were a minority, even in Mississippi and Louisiana where they constituted a majority of the population. In view of their illiteracy and their political inexperience, the blacks handled their new responsibilities well and they tended to choose educated men for public office. Thus many of the black legislators, congressmen, and state officials they chose were well qualified. They were, on the whole, moderate and self-restrained in their demands; and they gave major support to certain policies of long-range value, including notably the establishment of public school systems, which the South had not had, in any broad sense, before the Civil War.



► Among the American writers who familiarized the country with the looters and scoundrels known as carpet baggers, was Mark Twain, author of the American classic, *Huckleberry Finn*.



► African Americans moved from the plantations to the state legislatures during the Reconstruction of the South. Of the conditions in which the Southern states had to meet in order to be readmitted into the Union, the enfranchisement of black men was one of the most unpopular.

As for the “carnival of corruption,” the post-Civil War era was marked by corruption throughout the country. All the Southern states combined did not manage to steal as much money from the public treasury as did the Tweed Ring in New York City, led by William Marcy Tweed, commonly known as “Boss Tweed.” New York was also famous for fraudulent elections, and the corruption in government spearheaded by Tweed would become a major issue in national politics in the 1870s. It was true, however, that the impoverished South could ill afford dishonesty in government. Nevertheless, much that was charged to “corruption” really stemmed from increased costs necessary to provide new social services, such as public schools, and to rebuild the Southern economy laid waste by war.

Finally, it should be noted that the Southern whites were never reduced to abject helplessness as is sometimes imagined. From the outset they were present in all of the Reconstruction conventions and legislatures—always vocal, frequently aggressive, and sometimes dominating the proceedings.

## The Fall of Radical Reconstruction

For an average of six years, then, the regimes of Radical Republican Reconstruction continued. After that they gave way to the Democratic Redeemers—those who wanted to “redeem” the South to white rule—delaying until the twentieth century further progress toward equal rights for blacks.

When one considers that the South had just been badly defeated in war, that Radical Reconstruction was the policy of the dominant party in Washington, and that black and white Republicans constituted a majority of the voters in a half-dozen Southern states, it is difficult to understand why the Radical regimes were so promptly—almost easily—overthrown. Several contributing factors must be recognized.

First, the former slaves lacked experience in political participation and leadership. Largely illiterate and conditioned for many decades to defer to white people, they grasped the new opportunities with uncertain hands. Very often they seemed to wish, quite realistically, for security of land tenure and for education more than for political rights. At the same time, however, a number of articulate and able blacks, some of them former slaves, came to the fore and might have provided effective leadership for their race if Reconstruction had not been abandoned so soon.

Second, and more importantly, one must recognize the importance of the grim resistance offered by the Southern whites. With their deep belief in the superiority of their own race,

these Southerners were convinced that civilization itself was at stake. They fought with proportionate desperation, not hesitating to resort to violence and terror.

## The Ku Klux Klan

On Christmas Eve 1865, six Confederate army veterans, who were simply bored and restless after the war and sought something for their own amusement, formed a half-whimsical secret society known as the Ku Klux Klan (KKK) in Tennessee. The name “Ku Klux Klan” was derived from the Greek word “Kuklos,” the root of the English word “circle.” Since the six founding members were of Scotch-Irish ancestry, they added the word “Klan” and then

added the made-up word “Klux” to add “mystery and baffle,” as well as something “secret-sounding” and “nonsensically inscrutable.” With nothing sinister in mind, Jon C. Lester reportedly said to his other listless, five founding members, “Boys, let’s start something to break the monotony and cheer up our mothers and girls. Let’s start a club of some kind.” The original purpose of the young men, evidently, was merely to play practical jokes and serenade women and had nothing to do with racism or terror.

In furtherance of their playful goals, however, the men donned white regalia and rode through the Tennessee countryside in search of adventure. Accidentally, the men discovered that their midnight marauding frightened the black refugees who were aimlessly wandering the Tennessee countryside in large numbers. The accident then began to take on a more purposeful character, and the Klansmen began a campaign of scare tactics against the wandering black refugees. An unforeseen consequence was that blacks quickly tended to avoid the roadways in the area where Klansmen were playing their games. Word of the KKK fun and games spread across the South. People in surrounding areas contacted the Klan wanting to know how they, too, could set up KKK dens

of their own for the express purpose of scaring vagrant blacks away from the roadways. Soon every Southern state had its organization of masked and robed riders, either as part of the Klan or under some other name. Klan tactics quickly escalated from jokes and scare tactics to naked violence, contrary to the original intentions of the Klan’s founders. By use of threat, horsewhip, and even rope, gun, and fire, they spread fear not only among blacks but also perhaps, even more so, among the Republican leaders. By 1868, the Klan claimed to have five hundred thousand members, and their expressed purpose had grown from playful mischief to overt resistance to the Congressional Reconstruction Act of 1867.

Klan members were sworn to secrecy and had to swear that they were opposed to negro equality and in favor of a white man’s government, including the “restoration of the civil rights to Southern White men.” The Klan stated, in its bylaws, a reverence for the “majesty and supremacy of the Divine Being” and recognized the supremacy of the U.S. Constitution. The Klan claimed that it was an institution of chivalry, humanity, mercy, and patriotism that existed to protect the weak, defend the Constitution, and execute all Constitutional laws.



► The scare tactics of the Ku Klux Klan eventually escalated to extreme violence.



In 1870, KKK violence had increased to such an extent that it drew the attention of the Radical Republicans in Congress, who passed “An Act to Enforce the Provisions of the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States, and for Other Purposes,” more generally known as the First Ku Klux Klan Act. The Act imposed heavy penalties for violations of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments and gave the state governments the authority to take whatever action they deemed necessary against the Klan. In furtherance of the execution of the Act, Union troops and state militiamen arrested Klansmen and tried them for their crimes, sending many to prison. Under this pressure from the federal and state governments, the KKK was no longer a force by the end of 1872.

The dramatic quality of the Klan has given it a prominent place in the public’s mental picture of the Reconstruction. Though violence played a prominent role, the white South had other, less spectacular weapons that were no less powerful. Southern whites owned almost all of the land. Whites controlled virtually all employment, and they dominated the small supply of money and credit that was to be found in the South. Also they dominated the legal system. In unspectacular ways they could make life very hard for individuals who did not comply with the system. These factors, perhaps more than the acts of nightriders and violent men, made the pressure against Radical rule almost irresistible.

Another important reason for the downfall of “Radical” Reconstruction was that it was not, really, very radical. It did not confiscate the land of plantation owners and distribute that land



► The Ku Klux Klan’s expressed purpose had grown from playful mischief to overt resistance to the Congressional Reconstruction Act of 1867. Klan members were sworn to secrecy and had to swear that they were opposed to negro equality and in favor of a white man’s government, including the “restoration of the civil rights to Southern White men.”

among the freed slaves, as radicals and abolitionists such as Thaddeus Stevens and Wendell Phillips had urged. It also did not reduce the former Confederate states to the status of territories for a probationary period as many Radicals also advocated. Furthermore, it did not permanently disfranchise the South's former ruling class, nor did it permanently disqualify more than a handful of ex-Confederate leaders from holding office. It did not enact Charles Sumner's bill to require universal public education in the South and to provide federal aid for schools there; hence, the former slaves were to remain largely uneducated. These would have been genuinely radical measures; but they went beyond what a majority of Northern voters were willing to support; and perhaps these measures would have even risked the renewal of revolt in the South.

Indeed, even the limited radicalism of the Fourteenth Amendment and the Reconstruction Acts strained the convictions of most Northerners to the utmost. The North was not a racially equalitarian society. Black men did not have the right to vote in most Northern states at the time the Reconstruction Acts of 1867 enfranchised them in the South. The enactment of Negro suffrage in the South was accomplished by the Radical Republicans, not because of a widespread conviction that it was right in principle but because it seemed to be the only alternative to Confederate rule.

Later, Republicans found that many Northern voters cared little about black suffrage in the South. They also found that the white South would not consent to a real reunion on this basis and that the restoration of former Confederates to political power did not threaten Northern or national interests. As a result, the Republicans let the existing forces in the South find their own resolution, which was one of white supremacy.

Yet Reconstruction was far from a total failure. It established public schools in the South that gradually brought literacy to the children of freed slaves. By 1900, illiteracy among blacks had dropped from 90 percent after the Civil War to an estimated 48 percent by 1900. It brought abolitionists and missionaries from the North to found such colleges as Howard, Fisk, Morehouse, Talladega, and many others. These colleges trained future generations of black leaders,

who in turn led the black protest movements of the twentieth century. Furthermore, though Reconstruction did not confiscate and redistribute land, many freed slaves became landowners through their own hard work and savings. In 1865 scarcely any black farmers owned their farms; by 1880, one fifth of them did.

## Black Sharecroppers

A full 80 percent of black farmers, however, were not landowners, even of small plots; however, they became sharecroppers, often working on the same plantation for the same landowner that had once owned them. Sharecropping was a



► Sharecropping was a wage-labor system where blacks worked the land for the white owners and paid them a percentage of their harvest. Sharecropping helped open the doors for blacks to finally achieve economic freedom.

wage-labor system where blacks worked the land for the white owners and paid them a percentage of their harvest (normally 25 percent of the cotton crop and one third of other crops) for the privilege of working on the owner's land. Planters generally divided their plantations into small twenty-five to thirty acre plots and signed contracts with individual black sharecroppers to work each plot. Landowners supplied the sharecroppers with the necessary mules, seed, plows, and tools, while blacks were responsible for their own food and necessities. A system of credit developed where local merchants would advance goods to black sharecroppers with payment due at the time of harvest.

Sharecropping allowed blacks the beginnings of economic freedom, and also the freedom to decide which family members would work the land, how long they would work each day, and how the labor would be divided. Blacks also typically moved out of the slave cottages and into their own dwellings. On some plantations, however, blacks worked for wages in gangs as they had under slavery, complete with white overseers, and, in some instances, even whippings.

Still, change did come with emancipation in that a full third of the black women that had worked in the fields abandoned fieldwork either to tend to the home and child rearing or for paid domestic servitude. Indoor work, even if it consisted of cleaning and laundry, was much preferable to working in the field in the hot southern sun.

## Freedmen's Bureau

Reconstruction also created the Freedmen's Bureau, which was perhaps charged with more responsibility than any federal agency in history. The Freedmen's Bureau was created for the



► An illustration from *Harper's Weekly*, 1868; a Bureau agent stands between armed groups of Southern whites and Freedmen. The freedmen's Bureau was created for the purpose of aiding the former slaves in their transition to freedom.





► Sojourner Truth and President Abraham Lincoln.

purpose of aiding the former slaves in their transition to freedom. Though woefully undermanned and underfunded, the Freedmen's Bureau provided food, clothing, medical care, and shelter for former slaves. In the first two years after the War, the Freedmen's Bureau issued over \$20 million to needy black Americans and treated 450,000 illnesses. The Bureau also constructed forty hospitals across the South to help meet the medical needs of the former slave population.

After the Civil War, the Southern roadways were literally clogged with refugees as Southern plantation owners, who had no money with which to hire their labor, released thousands of free blacks. With nowhere to go, thousands of blacks wandered aimlessly across the South. Many of these refugees would be among those terrorized by the night rides of the KKK since they made easy targets without shelter on the roadways. The Freedmen's Bureau helped transport the dislocated refugees to shelter, helped blacks find family members from whom they had become separated either before or after the War, and performed formal marriage ceremonies for the many blacks who wanted legal sanction for the de facto marriages they had lived within under slavery. In the first two years after the war, the Freedmen's Bureau helped resettled thirty thousand displaced black Americans.

The Freedmen's Bureau also attempted to ensure fair trials for blacks in the South, to provide for black education, and serve as an employment agency for the thousands of unemployed black refugees. In total, the Freedmen's Bureau constructed over 4,300 schools in the first two years following the Civil War.

Finally, Reconstruction also left as a permanent legacy the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments, which formed the constitutional basis for the civil-rights movements of the post-World War II generation.

## Johnson Versus the Radicals

The Republicans did not abandon their program all at once. Rather, it faded out gradually although the Radicals remained militant while Johnson remained president. Johnson had used his administrative powers to evade or modify the enforcement of some Republican Reconstruction measures. This convinced most Republicans that his removal was necessary if their policy was to be carried out in the South; and in 1868, they tried to remove him by impeachment. The immediate pretext for impeachment was Johnson's dismissal of Secretary of War Stanton in February 1868.

A year earlier Congress had passed a series of laws designed to strengthen the legislative branch at the expense of the executive. Among these laws was the Tenure of Office Act, which forbade removal of public officials who had been confirmed by the Senate without first obtaining Senate approval. Later, the Supreme Court would deem the Tenure of Office Act unconstitutional. However, at the time that Johnson removed Stanton, who was reporting to the Radicals what went on in administration councils, there had been no judicial ruling; and the House of Representatives voted to impeach Johnson, which meant that he must be tried by the Senate on the articles of impeachment.

The trial was conducted in a tense atmosphere and scarcely in a judicial way. Immense pressure was put on all Republican senators to vote for conviction. When a vote was finally taken on May 16, 1868, conviction failed by one vote of the two-thirds required. Seven Republicans had stood out against their Party. Johnson was permitted to serve out his term, and the balance between executive and legislative power in the American political system, which had almost been destroyed, was preserved. Johnson, however, would fail to win the Democratic Party's nomination for president at their national convention two months later.



► The impeachment of Andrew Johnson.

The determination of Republicans to achieve congressional domination of the Reconstruction process also manifested itself in restrictions on the judiciary. When a Mississippi editor named *McCardle* appealed to the Supreme Court to rule on the constitutionality of one of the Reconstruction acts under which he had been arrested by the military, Congress, in March 1868, passed an act changing the appellate jurisdiction of the Court so that it could not pass judgment on *McCardle's* case.

## The Grant Administration

In 1868 the country faced another election, and the Republicans turned to General Grant as their nominee. He was elected over the Democratic candidate, Governor Horatio Seymour of New York, by a popular majority of only 310,000—a surprisingly close vote. Without the votes of the newly enfranchised blacks in the seven reconstructed Southern states, Grant might have had no edge in popular votes at all. The Radical Republicans were alarmed at their narrow margin of victory and sought to find ways to add more black voters to the ranks. Although the Fourteenth Amendment theoretically forced black suffrage in the South, the issue of suffrage for blacks had been generally ignored in a number of Northern states. Between 1865 and 1869, a number of Northern states had held referendums on black suffrage; and voters in Kansas, Ohio, Michigan, Missouri, Wisconsin, New York, and the District of Columbia voted down black suffrage. The vote in the District of Columbia was an overwhelming 6,521 to 35 against black suffrage. Of the Northern states that held elections on the issue, only Iowa and Minnesota passed laws granting the franchise to blacks. To implant Negro suffrage permanently in the Constitution—for the North as well as the South—Congress, in 1869, passed the Fifteenth Amendment, forbidding the states to deny any citizen his right to vote “on account of race,



► President Ulysses S. Grant delivering his inaugural address at the U.S. Capitol on March 4, 1873.



color, or previous condition of servitude.” The Amendment was ratified in 1870; it had almost immediate impact as black men, just five years removed from slavery, were elected to public office. Although blacks were still severely under-represented in the 1870s, seventeen black men served in Congress, one served in the U.S. Senate, and one black man served as Chief Justice of the South Carolina Supreme Court. For a brief interlude, blacks even held a majority of the seats in the South Carolina legislature.

President Grant supported the measures of the Radicals and gave his backing to their policies. Like the good military man he was, he believed that wherever violence broke out, it should be put down uncompromisingly. Accordingly, he favored the adoption of Enforcement Acts for the use of federal troops to break up the activities of the Ku Klux Klan. When these laws were passed, he did not hesitate to invoke them; and troops were sent in on a number of occasions.

Fundamentally, however, Grant was not a Radical. He wanted to see tranquility restored, and this meant reuniting North and South on any basis both would be willing to accept. Accordingly, he urged a broader extension of amnesty to all former Confederates, and he grew to resent the frequent appeals of Republican governments in the South for troops to uphold their authority. Though he realized that the tactics of the Redeemers were very bad—“blood-thirsty butchery” and “scarcely a credit to savages”—he became convinced that constant federal military intervention was worse in the long run.

Meanwhile in foreign affairs, Secretary of State Hamilton Fish was busy putting through an important settlement by which Great Britain and the United States adopted the principle of international arbitration as a means of settling American claims that had grown out of the raiding activities of the *Alabama* and other ships, which British shipyards had built for the Confederacy. Though the U.S. did not get the \$2 billion in “indirect” damages it sought on the pretense that the British-built Confederate ships extended the war, it did get \$15 million in damages from the British for their role in supplying the ships to the Confederacy.

## The Collapse of Reconstruction

During the eight years of Grant’s presidency, Republican governments were overthrown in eight of the Southern states. As Grant’s second term neared its end, only three states—Louisiana, Florida, and South Carolina—remained in the Republican ranks. The program of Radical Reconstruction still remained official policy in the Republican Party, but it had lost its steam. The country was concerned about other things.

In financial circles, there was a controversy over what to do about the greenback dollars issued during the war. Since greenbacks were not backed by gold, people had saved the more valuable gold dollars and spent the less valuable greenback dollars, thus driving gold out of circulation. The government was willing to give gold for greenbacks, even though such a policy would tend to increase the value of the dollar. Debtor interests (such as farmers), who wanted a cheap dollar, fought hard against the policy of redemption; but the policy was adopted in 1875. Not only did the policy limit the growth of the money supply and therefore hinder economic recovery in a cash-short economy, the decision weakened the Republicans among farmers in the West.

## Scandals Shake the Republican Party

In politics, public confidence in the Republican-led government was shaken by a series of disclosures concerning government corruption. In 1869, investors Jay Gould and Jim Fisk began purchasing gold futures for the purpose of driving up the price of gold, which skyrocketed from four dollars per ounce to twenty-five dollars per ounce. It was expected that at a certain point the U.S. Treasury Department would place U.S. gold reserves on the market in an effort to stabilize the gold market. Grant's brother-in-law in the Treasury Department struck a deal, unknown to Grant, with Gould to inform him in advance when the Treasury Department would release its gold reserves. Gould could then sell before the prices dropped. Grant's brother-in-law dutifully sent Gould a telegraph the morning that the Treasury Department released its gold to the open market, but Gould was out of the office and did not get the message. Prices quickly fell back to the pre-panic price of four dollars per ounce, and Gould's losses were \$16 million.

In 1872, it was revealed that several congressmen had accepted gifts of stock in a construction company, the *Crédit Mobilier*, which was found to be diverting the funds of the Union Pacific Railroad—including the funds the government had granted to it—with the knowledge of the officers of the road. In 1875, Grant's private secretary was implicated in the operations of the "Whiskey Ring," which, by evading taxes, had systematically defrauded the government of millions of dollars. The following year, the Secretary of War was caught selling appointments to Indian posts. Meanwhile, in the New York City government, the Tweed Ring, headed by Tammany boss William Marcy Tweed, was exposed as guilty of graft and thefts that have seldom been equaled in size and have never surpassed in effrontery.

The epidemic of corruption inspired a revolt by reform Republicans, who bolted the party in 1872, organized the Liberal Republican party, and nominated Horace Greeley, editor of the *New York Tribune*, for president. Although the Democrats also nominated Greeley and formed a coalition with the Liberal Republicans, Grant easily won reelection because most Northern voters were not yet prepared to trust the Democrats.

In the economic orbit, the country was trying to weather the financial depression that began with the panic of 1873. With the economic problems experienced between whites in the North, the problems of Southern blacks seemed more and more distant, and less and less important to the people of the North. Moreover, the economic recession weakened the Republican Party even further. In the 1874 mid-term elections, the Democrats won control of the House of Representatives for the first time since 1856. The next year, the Democrat-controlled House threatened to withdraw any appropriations for the Justice Department or the U.S. Army that were intended for use in the South.

In a number of Southern states, white Democrats created paramilitary organizations (the White Leagues, Rifle Clubs, and Red Shirts) that, unlike the Klan, operated openly. In Louisiana, the Democratic paramilitary groups fought battles with Republican militias until President Grant sent the U.S. Army to restore order. Citizens on both sides of the Mason-Dixon line protested what they termed as Grant's "military rule" of Louisiana. Protests grew

even louder after the U.S. Army ousted recently elected legislators in the Louisiana legislature due to electoral irregularities.

In Mississippi, in 1875, Democratic Party Rifle Clubs broke up Republican Party rallies, shooting dozens of black Mississippi Republicans. Republican Mississippi Governor (a former Union soldier and native of Maine) called for sending federal troops to Mississippi to restore order. Grant considered sending troops, but refrained when Ohio Republicans warned him that such action could cost him the state of Ohio in the next election. In essence, Mississippians were left to fight out their problems among themselves. Governor Ames attempted to assemble a Republican militia to put down the unrest, but his efforts met with little success; and the Democrats won control of Mississippi in the state election of 1875.

## The Courts and the End of Reconstruction

In the companion cases in 1876, *U.S. v. Reese* and *U.S. v. Cruikshank*, the Supreme Court struck down statutes that had provided for the enforcement of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments. With these rulings, federal officials could no longer prosecute individuals for violations of the equal rights of black people. Instead, the protection of individual rights was left to the states and the rights of blacks in the South were left in the hands of the white Southerners that were now in control of Southern governments.

MAP 15.2 The Election of 1876







► Rutherford B. Hayes

## The Hayes-Tilden Election of 1876

The election of 1876 brought to an end the program of Reconstruction, which probably would have ended soon in any case. In this election the Republicans, who were badly divided, turned to a Civil War veteran and governor of Ohio, Rutherford B. Hayes, as their nominee. Hayes was a conspicuously honest man, and so was his Democratic opponent, Samuel J. Tilden of New York, who owed his reputation to his part in breaking up the Tweed Ring.

When the votes were counted, Tilden had a popular majority (obtained partly by the suppression of black votes in some Southern states) and was within one vote of an electoral majority. However, there were three states—Florida, Louisiana, and South Carolina—in which the result was contested; and rival officials filed two sets of returns, though Tilden had clearly won the popular vote in all three states. To count the votes in such a case, the Constitution calls for a joint session of the Congress; however, the House of Representatives, with

a Democratic majority, was in a position to prevent an election by refusing to go into joint session with the Senate. Congress agreed to appoint an Electoral Commission to provide an impartial judgment; but the commission divided along party lines, with eight Republicans and seven Democrats, and voted eight to seven for Hayes. As late as two days before the inauguration it was doubtful whether the Democrats in the House would accept the decision.

Many Northern Democrats were prepared to fight to the finish against what they regarded as a stolen election, but the Southern Democrats had found that one civil war was enough. Moreover, various negotiations had been in progress behind the scenes. Important groups of Southern Democrats who had been left out when the government largesse of the Union Pacific-Central Pacific was distributed now hoped for a Texas and Pacific Railroad that would provide bountiful federal grants for Southern interests. They received assurances from friends of Governor Hayes that he would look with favor upon such programs of internal improvement. Moreover, they were assured that he would withdraw the last remaining federal troops from Louisiana and South Carolina, meaning that their Republican governments would collapse, leaving the score of states: redeemed, eleven and reconstructed, none.

With these understandings, Southern congressmen voted to let the count proceed so that Hayes would be elected. Later, when they were explaining their conduct to their constituents, they thought it best to say quite a great deal about how they had ransomed South Carolina and Louisiana and very little about their hopes for the Texas and Pacific Railroad and other such enterprises. Thus a legend grew up that there had been a “compromise” by which Reconstruction had ended.



► Electoral commission of 1877.

What had really happened was that Southern Democrats and Northern Republicans had discovered that there were many features of economic policy on which they were in close harmony. The slaves were emancipated, the Union was restored, and bygones were bygones. The harmony of their views made reconciliation natural and Reconstruction unnecessary. There was still the question of the blacks, but only a few whites had ever supported black suffrage or racial equality for its own sake. It had been an expedient; and now that the expedient was no longer needed, it could be laid aside. Such was the spirit of reconciliation.

Thus, the country ended a period of intense friction and entered upon a long era of sectional harmony and rapid economic growth. However, this was done at the expense of leaving the question of racial relations still unattended to, even though slavery itself had, at immense cost, been removed.



# Chapter Review

## Summary

Reconstruction of the South actually began during the Civil War as the Union regained control in Southern states through military victory and began the process of restoring these states to the Union. Lincoln granted amnesty to former Confederates who took an oath of allegiance; and when as many as one tenth did so, he would permit them to form a new state government. When this government accepted the abolition of slavery and repudiated secession, Lincoln would receive it back into the Union, although states did not have to recognize the rights.

Radical Republicans opposed Lincoln's plan as too lenient and, after Lincoln's tragic death, expected Andrew Johnson to be more punitive; however, Johnson turned out to be perhaps even more conciliatory than Lincoln. Johnson issued a broad amnesty to all who would take an oath of allegiance, although men with property valued at more than \$20,000 were required to ask for a special pardon. Johnson appointed provisional governors in each of the remaining Southern states, and only men who had been voters in 1860 and had taken the oath of allegiance could participate. This meant, of course, that blacks were excluded. When the new governments disavowed secession, accepted the abolition of slavery, and repudiated the Confederate debt, Johnson would accept them.

In April 1866, Congress passed the Civil Rights Act of 1866 declaring all persons born in the U.S. to be citizens over Johnson's veto. In November, the Radical Republicans won a veto-proof majority; and in March 1867–March 1868, Congress took over Reconstruction. In essence, Congress divided the South into five military districts, required Congressional approval for new State Constitutions, required that black men could vote, and required that all Southern states ratify the Fourteenth Amendment.

Northern opportunists, labeled “carpetbaggers” by Southerners, moved south and exploited the political and economic situation. Some, such as Henry Clay Warmoth, who was elected governor of Louisiana, fleeced the taxpayers for millions. Southerners also objected to “negro rule” as blacks were elected to office on the state and municipal level in the South.

Many blacks, however, became not elected officials but sharecroppers, paying landowners for the privilege of working their land with a percentage of their harvest. The sharecroppers were among the poorest Americans in the late nineteenth century.

Whites reacted against black freedom with the formation of the Ku Klux Klan. Although the Klan was begun as a social organization by young men seeking fun and recreation, it quickly devolved into a terror organization that targeted blacks until it was squelched by federal authorities.

The Freedmen's Bureau was established to assist blacks in their transition to freedom, but the Bureau was understaffed and underfunded considering the scope of the problems for the former slaves. Regardless, until the early 1870s the regimes of Radical Republican Reconstruction continued. After that they gave way to the Democratic Redeemers—those who wanted to “redeem” the South to white rule—delaying until the twentieth century further progress toward equal rights for blacks. Radical Republicans went as far as impeaching Andrew Johnson, but the Senate failed, by one vote, to convict the president.



General Ulysses S. Grant was elected in 1869; however, his administration was fraught with scandals, including the Credit Mobilier scandal in conjunction with the Transcontinental Railroad and the efforts of Jay Gould and Jim Fiske to corner the gold market in 1869.

Reconstruction would finally come to an end with the Compromise of 1877 where the Southern Democrats agreed to accept Rutherford B. Hayes, a Republican who lost the popular vote, as president in exchange for a federal withdrawal from the South. Real equality for black Americans would be an issue for future generations.

## Chronological Time Line

- 1862 Union troops began reclaiming Southern territory. Lincoln appointed provisional governors for those areas controlled by federal troops.
- 1863 Lincoln outlined the 10 percent Reconstruction Plan.
- 1864 July: Lincoln disposed of Wade-Davis Bill with pocket veto.
- 1865 January: Congress passed the Thirteenth Amendment, abolishing slavery.
- 1865 On May 29, 1865, Andrew Johnson offered broad amnesty to those that would take an oath of allegiance.
- 1865 December: All former Confederate states had organized new governments, ratified the Thirteenth Amendment, and elected congressmen.
- 1865 On December 24, the Ku Klux Klan formed in Tennessee.
- 1866 April: Congress passed the Civil Rights Act of 1866 over Johnson's veto.
- 1866 Congress voted on the Fourteenth Amendment guaranteeing equal treatment under law and citizenship for the former slaves.
- 1866 November: Radical Republicans gained a two-thirds majority in Congress.
- 1867 March: First Reconstruction Act was passed over Johnson's veto.
- 1868 January–May: House of Representatives impeached President Andrew Johnson, but the Senate failed to convict, by one vote.
- 1868 November: Ulysses S. Grant was elected president.

## Chapter Review (cont'd) ▶ ▶ ▶

### Chronological Time Line (cont'd)

- 1869 Congress passed the Fifteenth Amendment prohibiting the denial of voting rights based on race.
- 1869 Jay Gould and Jim Fisk attempted to corner the gold market.
- 1870 July: Georgia became last Southern state to be admitted to the Union.
- 1870 The First Ku Klux Klan Act prohibited violations of Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments.
- 1872 Credit Mobilier Scandal
- 1872 November: President Grant was reelected.
- 1873 Financial panic plunged the economy into depression.
- 1876 In *U. S. v. Reese* and *U. S. v. Cruikshank*, the Supreme Court ruled that the Fifteenth Amendment did not confer voting rights.
- 1876 Rutherford B. Hayes lost the popular vote to Samuel Tilden, but won the electoral vote in a disputed election.
- 1877 The Compromise of 1877 ended Reconstruction in the South, and the South accepted Hayes as president.

### Key Terms

**Wade-Davis Bill:** Killed by Lincoln's Pocket Veto, the bill would have imposed stringent terms for the restoration of the former Confederates, including a requirement that Southerners could only establish state governments after the majority in a state had sworn to a loyalty oath.

**Lincoln's 10 percent Plan:** Lincoln would have allowed Southerners to restore state governments after 10 percent had taken a loyalty oath to the U.S.

**Andrew Johnson:** Lincoln's vice president and seventeenth president of the United States

**Johnson's Plan for Reconstruction:** When the new Southern governments disavowed secession, accepted the abolition of slavery, and repudiated the Confederate debt, Johnson would accept them back into the Union. Rights for blacks were left to the states.

**"Black codes":** State and municipal laws limiting black rights

**Thirteenth Amendment:** Abolished slavery

**Fourteenth Amendment:** Provided citizenship, equal protection under law, and equal privileges and immunities for all persons born or naturalized in the U.S.

**Freedmen's Bureau:** Federal agency charged with taking care of the needs of the former slaves

## Key Terms (cont'd)

**Civil Rights Act of 1866:** This act declared that all persons born in the U.S. to be U.S. citizens. The act was passed over Andrew Johnson's veto.

**Reconstruction Acts:** Four acts of Congress passed between March 1867 and March 1868 that divided the South into five military districts, required Congressional approval for new State constitutions, required that blacks could vote, and required that all Southern states ratify the Fourteenth Amendment

**Carpetbaggers:** Northerners that moved South after the Civil War seeking economic opportunity

**William Marcy "Boss" Tweed:** Head of the New York City political machine in the late nineteenth century notorious for fraud

**Ku Klux Klan:** Secret society that began in the 1870s as a social organization but quickly developed into a terror organization targeting blacks

**First Ku Klux Klan Act:** The act imposed heavy penalties for violations of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments and gave the State governments the authority to take whatever action they deemed necessary against the Klan.

**Sharecroppers:** Farmers that worked the land for landowners and paid a percentage of their harvest to the landowners

**Jay Gould:** Railroad tycoon and investor that attempted to corner the gold market in 1869

**Jim Fisk:** Partner with Jay Gould in the gold market scheme of 1869

**15th Amendment:** Prohibited any voter qualifications that denied voting rights based on race

**Tenure of Office Act:** Forbade removals of public officials who had been confirmed by the Senate without first obtaining Senate approval

**Credit Mobilier:** Construction company owned by the major stockholders of the Union Pacific Railroad that was set up to make it appear that the Union Pacific was not profiting from the construction of the Transcontinental Railroad. (Credit Mobilier bribed Congressmen with shares in the company.)

**"Liberal" Republicans:** Reform Republicans, who bolted the party in 1872 in reaction to scandals in the Grant administration, organized the Liberal Republican Party, and nominated Horace Greeley, editor of the *New York Tribune*, for president

**White Leagues, Rifle Clubs, and Red Shirts:** Paramilitary groups in the South that fought battles against the Republican state militias during Reconstruction

**Election of 1876:** Disputed election where Democrat Samuel Tilden won the popular vote but Republican Rutherford B. Hayes won the electoral vote when an electoral commission of eight Republicans and seven Democrats voted 8-7 to give all votes in dispute to Hayes.

**U.S. v. Reese, U.S. v. Cruikshank:** Supreme Court ruled that the 15th Amendment did not confer voting rights on anyone. Instead, if voting rights are denied, it cannot be on the basis of race.

**Rutherford B. Hayes:** Republican Elected president in the disputed election of 1876

**Samuel Tilden:** Democrat that won the popular vote but lost the electoral vote in the disputed election of 1876



# Pop Quiz

## Chapter 15

1. Which of the following is true of Lincoln's plan for Reconstruction?
  - a. Blacks were granted equal rights.
  - b. Blacks were granted voting rights.
  - c. States did not have to recognize the rights of blacks or grant voting rights to blacks.
  - d. Both a and b
2. Which of the following was included in the conspicuous features of the new Southern governments established under Johnson's reconstruction plan (that disturbed many Republicans)?
  - a. Many Southern states had passed "Black Codes" that denied many citizenship rights to blacks.
  - b. The former confederates were completely shut out of control of politics in the Southern states.
  - c. Many Southern states had reinstituted slavery.
  - d. African Americans were now in control of politics in several Southern states.
3. Conspicuously absent in the Fourteenth Amendment was any mention of \_\_\_\_\_.
  - a. black suffrage
  - b. blacks' previous condition of servitude
  - c. equal rights
  - d. citizenship
4. Under Congressional Reconstruction, blacks were the majority in the first three legislatures of \_\_\_\_\_.
  - a. South Carolina
  - b. Mississippi
  - c. Alabama
  - d. All of the above
5. What was one factor, even more important than the Klan, that worked to limit black advancement in the South?
  - a. Whites owned all of the land.
  - b. Whites controlled most of the money and credit.
  - c. Whites controlled all of the business and employment.
  - d. All of the above.
6. For what was the Freedmen's Bureau responsible?
  - a. purchasing the freedom of slaves from their masters
  - b. aiding the former slaves in their transition to freedom
  - c. propaganda in support of black supremacy
  - d. helping slaves escape to freedom via the Underground Railroad

## (cont'd)

7. What did the Fifteenth Amendment forbid?
  - a. The denial of voting rights based on race, color, or previous condition of servitude
  - b. The denial of voting rights based on sex or gender
  - c. The denial of voting rights based on illiteracy
  - d. All of the above
8. The Hayes-Tilden Election was decided by \_\_\_\_\_.
  - a. the popular vote
  - b. the Electoral College
  - c. the Supreme Court
  - d. an Electoral Commission appointed by Congress.
9. How were Southern Democrats persuaded to accept the results of the election of 1876?
  - a. They received assurances that Hayes would oppose any railroad in the South.
  - b. They received assurances that Hayes would withdraw the remaining Union troops from the South.
  - c. They received assurances that blacks would have equal rights in the South.
  - d. They received assurances that all blacks would be removed to the North.
10. The first major Union victory in the East did not take place until 1863. T F
11. In 1864, Lincoln ran on the Union Party. T F
12. Reconstruction involved a very radical attempt to end racial discrimination in the South. T F
13. A person drafted into the Union Army could purchase an \_\_\_\_\_ for \_\_\_\_\_.
14. Andrew Johnson was charged with violating the \_\_\_\_\_ but was not convicted.
15. The Reconstruction Acts abolished \_\_\_\_\_ and created \_\_\_\_\_ military districts.

1. C	6. B	11. T	14. Tenure of
2. A	7. A	12. F	Office Act
3. A	8. D	13. Exemption;	
4. D	9. B	15. States; Five	\$300
5. D	10. T		