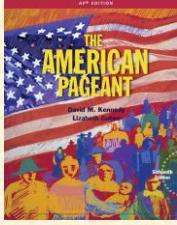


Chapter 21

The Ordeal of Reconstruction, 1865–1877



Reconstruction (1865–1876)

Ms. Susan R. Dugay
Hancock County HS, Chapoquoit, MA
Adapted by M. Lynch
Gummock County High School, Berea, NC

Key Questions

1. How do we bring the South back into the Union?
2. How do we rebuild the South after its destruction during the war?
3. How do we integrate and protect newly-emancipated black freedmen?
4. What branch of government should control the process of Reconstruction?

Appomattox Court House
April 12, 1865



Surrender
Lee's Surrender, Appomattox Court House (April 9, 1865)

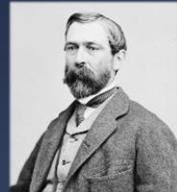


Wilmer McClean

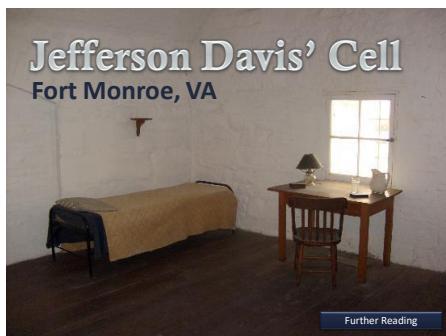
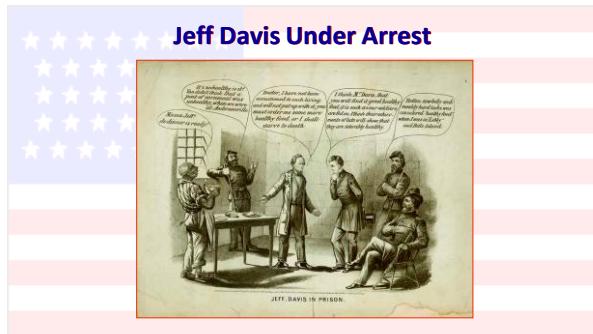
McClean House, Appomattox C.H., April 1865

An Account of a Confederate Surrender

General Canby met me with much urbanity. We retired to a room, and in a few moments agreed upon a truce... Then, rejoining the throng of officers, introductions and many pleasant civilities passed... A bountiful luncheon was spread, of which we partook, with joyous popping of champagne-corks... the first agreeable explosive sounds I had heard for years. The air of "Hail Columbia," which the band in attendance struck up, was instantly changed by Canby's order to that of "Dixie," but I insisted on the first, and expressed a hope that Columbia would be again a happy land, a sentiment by many libations.



Gen. Richard Taylor, CSA
(Son of President Zachary Taylor)



Jefferson Davis' Cell

Fort Monroe, VA

Further Reading

Reflections of an Ex-Vice President

"General [H.R.] Jackson was released from this place to-day — the order came this morning and he left this evening. I am truly glad for his good fortune. But why should he be discharged and other officers kept, I do not understand; nor do I understand why he should be discharged and I held. He bent his energies to bring about secession; I strove with all my power to prevent it."



Alexander H. Stephens

-- Alexander H. Stephens
July 8, 1865
Fort Warren Prison, MA

I. The Problems of Peace

- Jefferson Davis:

- Temporarily clapped into irons during early days of two-year imprisonment
- He and fellow “conspirators” finally released
- All rebel leaders pardoned by President Andrew Johnson in 1868
- Congress removed all remaining civil disabilities some thirty years later
- Congress posthumously restored Davis's citizenship more than a century later.

I. The Problem of Peace (cont.)

–Conditions of South:

- Old South collapsed economically and socially
- Handsome cities, Charleston and Richmond, now rubble-strewn and weed-choked
- Economic life creaked to a halt
- Banks and businesses locked doors, ruined by runaway inflation
- Factories smokeless, silent, dismantled

I. Problems of Peace (cont.)

- Transportation broken down completely
- Agriculture—economic lifeblood of South—almost completely crippled
- Slave labor system collapsed
- Not until 1870 would cotton production be at pre-war levels
- Princely planter aristocrats humbled by losses
- **Investment of more than \$2 billion in slaves evaporated with emancipation**



Library of Congress

p466

I. Problems of Peace (cont.)

- Beaten but unbent, many white Southerners remained dangerously defiant:
 - Continued to believe their view of secession correct and “lost cause” a just war
 - Such attitudes boded ill for prospects of painlessly binding up Republic’s wounds

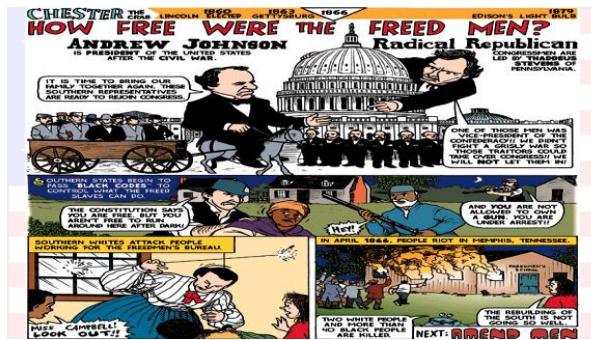
13th Amendment

- ★ Ratified in December, 1865.
- ★ *Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as punishment for crime whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist within the United States or any place subject to their jurisdiction.*
- ★ *Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.*

Exactly What Was Emancipation to the African American of the North and of the South?

Questions To Consider

1. How did African Americans create a personal and group identity after emancipation?
2. How did the challenge differ for those who were not previously enslaved and those who were not?
3. How is Christianity central to African Americans' search for identity in this period?
4. How does a culturally disenfranchised group create a “usable past” that guards truth yet nourishes the future?



II. Freedmen Define Freedom

- What was precise meaning of “freedom” for blacks:
 - Responses to emancipation–
 - Many masters resisted freeing their slaves
 - Some slaves' pent-up bitterness burst forth violently
 - Eventually all masters forced to recognize their slaves' permanent freedom
 - Some blacks initially responded with suspicion

II. Freedman Define Freedom (cont.)

- Many took new names and demanded former masters address them as “Mr.” or “Mrs.”
- Whites forced to recognize realities of emancipation
- Thousands took to roads, some to test their freedom
- Others searched for long-lost spouses, parents, and children
- Emancipation strengthened black family
- Many newly freed men and women formalized “slave marriages” for personal and pragmatic reasons, including desire to make their children legal heirs

II. Freedman Define Freedom (cont.)

- Others left to work in towns where existing black communities provided protection and mutual assistance
- Whole communities moved in search of opportunities
 - 25,000 “Exodusters” went to Kansas
- Church became focus of black communities
- Formed their own churches pastored by their own ministers

II. Freedman Define Freedom (cont.)

- Black churches grew robustly
- Formed bedrock of black community life
- Gave rise to other benevolent, fraternal, and mutual aid societies
- All these organizations helped blacks protect their newly won freedom
- **Emancipation meant education for many blacks:**
 - Freedmen raised funds to purchase land, build schoolhouses, and hire teachers—all proof of their *independence*



In what ways will the children's lives in this picture be different or the same as their parents?

II. Freedman Define Freedom (cont.)

– Southern blacks soon found:

- Demand outstripped supply of qualified black teachers
- Accepted aid of Northern white women sent by American Missionary Association to volunteer as teachers
- Also turned to federal government for help
- Freed blacks were going to need all the friends—and power—they could muster in Washington

**Letter from a Freedman to his Old Miss-
ess.**

To my old Master, Colonel P. H. Anderson, Big Spring, Tennessee.

Sir:

I got your letter, and was glad to find that you had not forgotten Jourdon, and that you wanted me to come back and live with you again, promising to do better for me than anybody else can. I have often felt uneasy about you. I thought the Yankees would have hung you long before this, for harboring Rebels they found at your house. I suppose they never heard about your going to Colonel Martin's to kill the Union soldier that was left by his company in their stable. Although you shot at twice before I left you, I did not want to hear of your being hurt, and am glad you are still living. It would do me good to go back to the dear old home again, and see Miss Mary and Miss Martha and Allen, Esther, Green, and Lee. Give my love to them all, and tell them I hope we will meet in the better world, if not in this. I would have gone back to see you all when I was working in the Nashville Hospital, but one of the neighbors told me that Henry intended to shoot me if he ever got a chance.

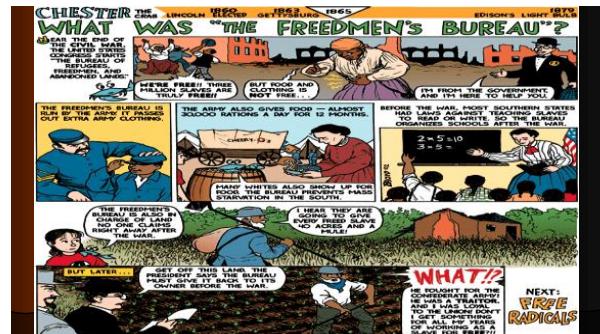
I want to know particularly what the good chance is you propose to give me. I am doing tolerably well here. I get \$25 a month, with victuals and clothing; have a comfortable home for Mandy (the folks call her Mrs. Anderson), and the children, Mily, Jane, and Grundy, go to school and are learning well. The teacher says Grundy has a head for a preacher. They go to Sunday school, and Mandy and me attend church regularly. We are kindly treated. Sometimes we overhear others saying, "Them colored people were slaves" down in Tennessee. The children feel hurt when they hear such remarks; but I tell them it was no disgrace in Tennessee to belong to Colonel Anderson. Many darkeys would have been proud, as I used to be, to call you master. Now if you will write and say what wages you will give me, I will be better able to decide whether it would be to my advantage to move back again.

As to my freedom, which you say I can have, there is nothing to be gained on that score, as I got my free papers in 1864 from the Provost-Marshal-General of the Department of Nashville. Mandy says she would be afraid to go back without some proof that you were disposed to treat us justly and kindly; and we have concluded to test your sincerity by asking you to send us our wages for the time we served you. This will make us forget and forgive old scores, and rely on your justice and friendship in the future. I served you faithfully for thirty-two years, and Mandy twenty years. At \$25 a month for me, and \$2 a week for Mandy, our earnings would amount to \$11,680. Add to this the interest for the time our wages have been kept back, and deduct what you paid for our clothing, and three doctor's visits to me, and pulling a tooth for Mandy, and the balance will show what we are in justice entitled to. Please send the money by Adams Express, in care of W. Winters, Esq., Dayton, Ohio, if you fail to pay us for faithful labors in the past, we can have little faith in your promises in the future. We trust the good Maker has opened your eyes to the wrongs which you and your fathers have done to us and to my fathers, in making us toil for you for generations without recompense. Here I draw my wages every Saturday night; but in Tennessee there was never any pay-day for the negroes any more than for the horses and cows. Surely there will be a day of reckoning for those who defrauded the laborer of his hire.

In answering this letter, please state if there would be any safety for my Milly and Jane, who are now grown up, and both good-looking girls. You know how it was with poor Matilda and Catherine. I would rather stay here and starve and die, if it come to that, than have my girls brought to shame by the violence and wickedness of their young masters. You will also please state if there has been any schools opened for the colored children in your neighborhood. The great desire of my life now is to give my children an education, and have them form virtuous habits.

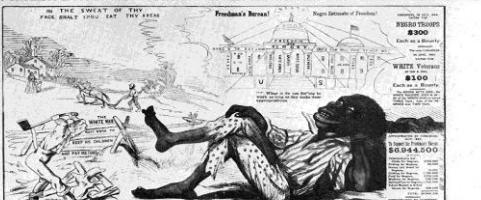
From your old servant
Jourdon Anderson

P.S.— Say howdy to George Carter, and thank him for taking the pistol from you when you were shooting at me.



THE FREEDMAN'S BUREAU!

AN AGENCY TO KEEP THE **NEGRO** IN IDLENESS AT THE **EXPENSE** OF THE WHITE MAN.
TWICE VETOED BY THE **PRESIDENT**, AND MADE A LAW BY **CONGRESS**.
SUPPORT CONGRESS & YOU SUPPORT THE NEGRO. SUSTAIN THE PRESIDENT & YOU PROTECT THE WHITE MAN



III. The Freedmen's Bureau (cont.)

- Suppose to settle former slaves on forty-acre tracts confiscated from Confederates:
 - Little land made it to former slaves
 - Administrators collaborated with planters in expelling blacks from towns and cajoling them into signing labor contracts to work for former masters
- White Southerners resented bureau as federal interloper that threatened to upset white racial dominance
- President Johnson repeatedly tried to kill bureau

III. The Freedmen's Bureau

- Freedmen's Bureau created March 3, 1865:
 - A primitive welfare agency
 - Provided food, clothing, medical care, and education both to freedmen and white refugees
 - Headed by Union General Oliver Howard, who later founded Howard University in Washington, D.C.
 - Bureau achieved its greatest successes in education:
 - Taught 200,000 blacks to read
 - In other areas, bureau's achievements were meager

Freedmen's Bureau (1865)



- ★ Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands.
- ★ Many former northern abolitionists risked their lives to help southern freedmen.
- ★ Called “carpetbaggers” by white southern Democrats.

Freedmen's Bureau Seen Through Southern Eyes

Plenty to eat
and nothing
to do.



Freedmen's Bureau School



Establishment of Historically Black Colleges in the South

Map showing the locations of historically black colleges and universities (HBCUs) in the South. The map highlights states like Mississippi, Louisiana, and Texas where many HBCUs were established during the Reconstruction era. A large graphic of the word "HBCU" is overlaid on the map, surrounded by various college logos.

IV. Johnson: The Tailor President

- What manner of man was Andrew Johnson?
 - Reached White House from very humble beginnings
 - Born to impoverished parents, orphaned early, never attended school but apprenticed to a tailor at ten
 - Taught himself to read; later his wife taught him to write and do simple arithmetic
 - Became active in Tennessee politics
 - Impassioned champion of poor whites against planter aristocrats

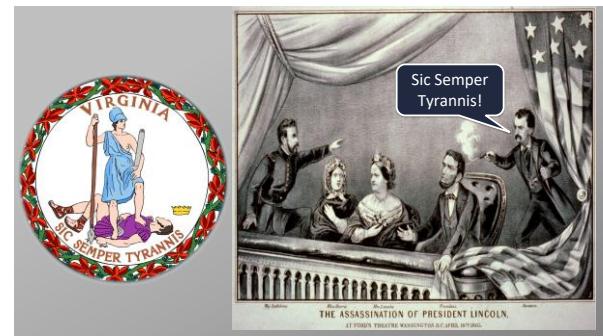
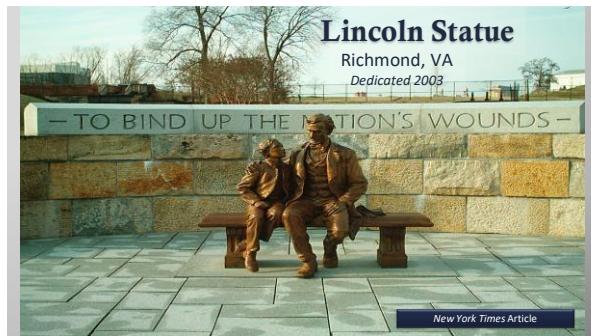
IV. Johnson: The Tailor President (cont.)

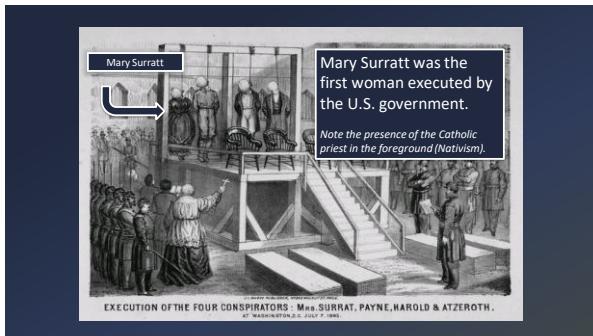
- Excelled as a stump speaker
- Elected to Congress, he attracted favorable attention in North (but not South) when **he refused to secede with Tennessee**
- After Tennessee partially “redeemed” by Union armies, **appointed war governor** and served courageously in a dangerous job
- Politics next thrust Johnson into vice presidency
- **Lincoln's Union party in 1864 needed a person who could attract War Democrats**

IV. Johnson: The Tailor President (cont.)

– “Old Andy” a man of unpolished parts:

- Intelligent, able, forceful, honest
- Steadfastly devoted to duty and to the people
- Dogmatic champion of states’ rights and the Constitution
- Yet he was also a misfit
- A Southerner who did not understand North
- A Tennessean, distrusted by South
- A Democrat never accepted by Republicans
- Hot-headed, contentious, stubborn
- Wrong man in wrong place at wrong time
- A Reconstruction policy devised by angels might well have failed in his tactless hands





O Captain! My Captain!

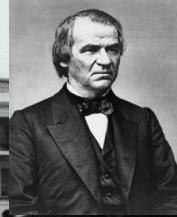
By: Walt Whitman

O CAPTAIN! my Captain! our fearful trip is done;
The ship has weather'd every rack, the prize we sought is won;
The port is near, the bells I hear, the people all exulting,
While follow eyes the steady keel, the vessel grim and daring:
But O heart! heart! heart!
O the bleeding drops of red, Where on the deck my Captain lies, Fallen cold and dead.



Andrew Johnson
(D-TN)
Seventeenth President of the U.S.
1865-1869

- Tennessee Unionist
- VP on "Union Party" Ticket
- Opposition President
 - Jacksonian Democrat vs. Republican Congress
- Sought to continue Presidential Reconstruction
- *1st PRESIDENT TO BE IMPEACHED*

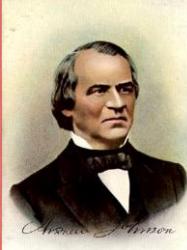


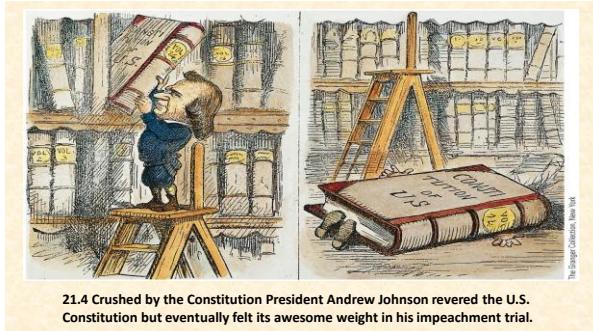
Click for Bio

President Andrew Johnson

- ★ Jacksonian Democrat.
- ★ Anti-Aristocrat.
- ★ White Supremacist.
- ★ Agreed with Lincoln that states had never legally left the Union.

Damn the negroes! I am fighting these traitorous aristocrats, their masters!





21.4 Crushed by the Constitution President Andrew Johnson revered the U.S. Constitution but eventually felt its awesome weight in his impeachment trial.

Stages of Reconstruction

1. Presidential Reconstruction (1863-1866)
2. Congressional (or Radical) Reconstruction (1867-1877)
3. Redemption (1877-1900) (creation of the "New South")

Presidential Reconstruction

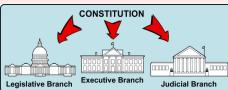
As the Civil War was ending, President Lincoln promised a Reconstruction Plan for the Union with "malice towards none and charity for all"



Abraham Lincoln's Second Inaugural Address

But, the Constitution gave no guidelines on how to readmit states to the Union

The President and Congress disagreed over how to treat the Southern states



A Tale of Two Reconstructions



Presidential



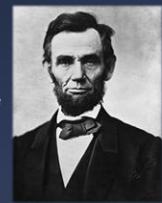
Congressional
(aka, Radical)

With Malice Toward None...



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

-- Abraham Lincoln
Second Inaugural Address
March 4, 1865



MAGNANIMOUS

President Lincoln's Plan

* 10% Plan

- Proclamation of Amnesty and Reconstruction (December 8, 1863)
- Replace majority rule with "loyal rule" in the South.
- He didn't consult Congress regarding Reconstruction.
- Pardon to all but the highest ranking military and civilian Confederate officers.
- When 10% of the voting population in the 1860 election had taken an oath of loyalty and established a government, it would be recognized.



President Lincoln's Plan

* 1864 → "Lincoln Governments" formed in LA, TN, AR

* "loyal assemblies"

* They were weak and dependent on the Northern army for their survival.



Union Cannons around TN State Capitol

10% PLAN

10% of 1860 Voters

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

YOU'RE IN!!!

Louisiana and Arkansas Re-admitted

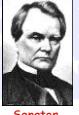


PRESIDENTIAL RECONSTRUCTION

- Lincoln's 10% Plan: TN, LA, AR
- Radical Republicans
 - Thaddeus Stevens (Rep. - PA)
 - Charles Sumner (Sen. - Mass)
- Wade-Davis Bill (1864)
- 13th Amendment (1865)
- Freedmen's Bureau
- 14th Amendment (1868)




Wade-Davis Bill (1864)

 Senator Benjamin Wade (R-OH)

 Congressman Henry W. Davis (R-MD)

- Required 50% of the number of 1860 voters to take an "iron clad" oath of allegiance (swearing they had never voluntarily aided the rebellion).
- Required a state constitutional convention before the election of state officials.
- Enacted specific safeguards of freedmen's liberties.

Wade-Davis Bill (1864)

RADICAL (Anti-Lincoln) REPUBLICANS



- IRONCLAD OATH
 - Never supported CSA
 - 50 Percent Swear
- CSA DEBT REPUDIATION
- CONFEDERATE LEADERS DISENFRANCHISED

[TRANSCRIPT](#) [Further Reading](#)

Wade-Davis Bill (1864)

- "State Suicide" Theory [MA Senator Charles Sumner]
- "Conquered Provinces" Position [PA Congressman Thaddeus Stevens]



POCKET VETO



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

-- U.S. Constitution

POCKET VETO



3 5 8
7 6 2 10
4 9 1



POCKET VETO



NOT LAW

Because Congress Adjourned



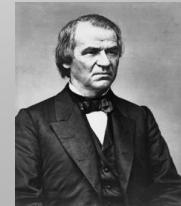
The Score in 1864

INNING	BALL	STRIKE	OUT	R	H	E
PRESIDENTIAL				1		
CONGRESSIONAL				0		

Johnson's Reconstruction

Amnesty Proclamation

- Former Confederates above a certain rank disenfranchised, but could apply for pardon.
- NO TREASON TRIALS



President Johnson's Plan (10%+)

- Offered amnesty upon simple oath to all except Confederate civil and military officers and those with property over \$20,000 (they could apply directly to Johnson)
- In new constitutions, they must accept minimum conditions repudiating slavery, secession and state debts.
- Named provisional governors in Confederate states and called them to oversee elections for constitutional conventions.

EFFECTS?

1. Disenfranchised certain leading Confederates.
2. Pardoned planter aristocrats brought them back to political power to control state organizations.
3. Republicans were outraged that planter elite were back in power in the South!

PRESIDENTIAL RECONSTRUCTION

- Issues:
 - Southern state constitutions
 - Pardons (over 13,500).
 - Former Confederates elected to state positions and Congress (Stephens)
 - 14th Amendment
 - Black Codes
 - Race riots - Memphis (May 1866), New Orleans (August 1866)
- Public Reaction in North?



V. Presidential Reconstruction

- War over Reconstruction:
 - Lincoln believed Southern states never legally withdrew from Union
 - His **“10 percent” Reconstruction plan** (1863):
 - State could be reintegrated into Union when 10% of its voters in presidential election of 1860 swore allegiance
 - And pledged to abide by emancipation
 - Next step would be formal erection of state government
 - Lincoln would then recognize purified regime

V. Presidential Reconstruction (cont.)

- Lincoln’s plan provoked sharp reaction in Congress where Republicans feared:
 - Restoration of planter aristocracy
 - Possible re-enslavement of blacks
- Republican rammed through Congress 1864:
 - **Wade-Davis Bill:**
 - Required 50% of state’s voters take oath of allegiance
 - Demanded stronger safeguards for emancipation than Lincoln’s as price of readmission to Union
 - Lincoln “pocket-vetoed” bill

V. Presidential Reconstruction (cont.)

- Controversy over Wade-Davis revealed:
 - Deep differences between president and Congress
 - » Congress insisted seceders left Union and “committed suicide” as republican states
 - » Thus forfeited their rights
 - Could be readmitted only as “conquered provinces” on such conditions as Congress should decree
- Majority moderate group:
 - Agreed with Lincoln—seceded states should be restored as simply and swiftly as reasonable—though on Congress’s terms, not president’s

V. Presidential Reconstruction (cont.)

- Minority radical group:
 - Believed South should atone more for its sins
 - Wanted social structure uprooted, planters punished, newly emancipated blacks protected by federal powers
- Andrew Johnson:
 - Agreed with Lincoln—seceded states never left Union
 - Quickly recognized several of Lincoln’s 10% governments

V. Presidential Reconstruction (cont.)

- May 29, 1865 issued his Reconstruction proclamation (see Table 22.1):
 - Disfranchised certain leading Confederates:
 - » including those with taxable property worth more than \$20,000
 - » though they might petition him for personal pardons
 - Called for special state conventions to:
 - » Repeal ordinances of secession
 - » Repudiate all Confederate debts
 - » Ratify slave-freeing Thirteenth Amendment
 - States that complied would be swiftly readmitted to Union

TABLE 22.1 Principal Reconstruction Proposals and Plans

Year	Proposal or Plan
1864-1865	Lincoln’s 10 percent proposal
1865-1866	Johnson’s version of Lincoln’s proposal
1866-1867	Congressional plan: 10 percent plan with Fourteenth Amendment
1867-1877	Congressional plan of military Reconstruction: Fourteenth Amendment plus black suffrage, later established nationwide by Fifteenth Amendment

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V. Presidential Reconstruction (cont.)

- Johnson granted pardons in abundance
- Bolstered by political resurrection of planter elite, recently rebellious states moved rapidly to organize governments in 1865
- As pattern of new governments became clear, Republicans of all stripes grew furious

Growing Northern Alarm!

- ★ Many Southern state constitutions fell short of minimum requirements.
- ★ Johnson granted 13,500 special pardons.
- ★ Revival of southern defiance.

BLACK CODES

Slavery is Dead?



Mississippi Black Codes 1865

The Civil Rights of Freedmen in Mississippi

Section 1. Be it enacted by the legislature of the State of Mississippi, That all freedmen, free Negroes, and mulattoes may sue and be sued, implead and be impleaded in all the courts of law and equity of this state, and may acquire personal property and choses in action, by descent or purchase, any may dispose of the same, in the same manner, and to the same extent, that white persons may: Provided that the provisions of this section shall not be so construed as to allow any freedman, free Negro, or mulatto to rent or lease any lands or tenements, except in incorporated town or cities in which places the corporate authorities shall control the same.

Sec. 2. Be it further enacted, That all freedmen, free Negroes, and mulattoes may intermarry with each other, in the same manner and under the same regulations that are provided by law for white persons: Provided, that the clerk of probate shall keep separate records of the same.

Sec. 3. Be it further enacted, That all freedmen, free Negroes, and mulattoes, who do now and have heretofore lived and cohabited together as husband and wife shall be taken and held in law as legally married, and the issue shall be taken and held as legitimate for all purposes. That it shall not be lawful for any freedman, free Negro, or mulatto to intermarry with any white person; nor for any white person to intermarry with any freedman, free Negro, or mulatto; any person who shall do so shall be deemed guilty of felony and, on conviction thereof, shall be confined in the state penitentiary for life; and those shall be deemed freedmen, free Negroes, and mulattoes who are of pure Negro blood, and those descended from a Negro to the third generation inclusive, though one ancestor of each generation may have been a white person.

II freedmen, free Negroes, and mulattoes....

Approved November 25, 1865

Sec. 4. Be it further enacted, That in addition to cases in which freedmen, free Negroes, and mulattoes are now by law competent witnesses, freedmen, free Negroes, or mulattoes shall be competent in civil cases when a party or parties to the suit, either plaintiff or plaintiffs, defendant or defendants, also in cases where freedmen, free Negroes, and mulattoes is or are either plaintiff or plaintiffs, defendant or defendants, and a white person or white persons is or are the opposing party or parties, plaintiff or plaintiffs, defendant or defendants. They shall also be competent witnesses in all criminal prosecutions where the crime charged is alleged to have been committed by a white person upon or against the person or property of a freedman, free Negro, or mulatto: Provided that in all cases said witnesses shall be examined in open court on the stand, except, however, they may be examined before the grand jury, and shall in all cases be subject to the rules and tests of the common law as to competency and credibility.

Sec. 5. Be it further enacted, That every freedman, free Negro, and mulatto shall, on the second Monday of January, one thousand eight hundred and sixty-six, and annually thereafter, have a lawful home or employment....

Sec. 6. Be it further enacted, That all contracts for labor made with freedmen, free Negroes, and mulattoes for a longer period than one month shall be in writing and in duplicate, attested and read to said freedmen, free Negro, or mulatto, by a best, city, or county officers, or two disinterested white persons of the country in which the labor is to be performed, of which each party shall have one; and said contracts shall be taken and held as entire contracts, and if the laborer shall quit the service of the employer, before expiration of his term of service, without good cause, he shall forfeit his wages for that year, up to the time of quitting.

Black Codes

★ Purpose:

- ★ Guaranteed stable labor supply now that blacks were emancipated.
- ★ Restore pre-emancipation system of race relations.



★ Forced many blacks to become **sharecroppers** [tenant farmers].

VI. The Baleful Black Codes

- **Black Codes:**

- Regulated activities of emancipated blacks:
 - Mississippi, first to pass such laws in November, 1865
 - Varied in severity from state to state:
 - Mississippi's the harshest; Georgia's the most lenient
- Their aims:
 - Ensure stable and subservient labor force
 - Whites wanted to retain tight control they exercised in days of slavery

VI. The Baleful Black Codes (cont.)

- Dire penalties on blacks who “jumped” labor contracts:
 - Committed them to work for same employer for 1 year
 - Generally at pittance wages
- Violators could be made to forfeit back wages or could be dragged back to work by a “Negro-catcher”
 - In Mississippi captured freedmen could be fined
 - Then hired out to pay fines
 - » Arrangement closely resembled slavery

VI. The Baneful Black Codes (cont.)

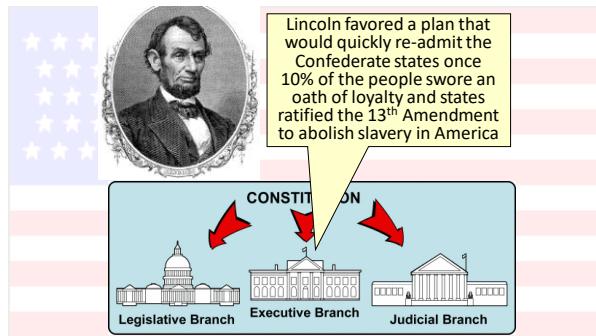
- Tried to restore pre-emancipation system of race relations:
 - All codes forbade a black to serve on a jury
 - Some even barred blacks from renting or leasing land
 - Blacks could be punished for “idleness” by working on a chain gang
 - Nowhere were blacks allowed to vote
- Oppressive laws mocked ideal of freedom
- Imposed burdens on former slaves struggling against mistreatment and poverty

VI. The Baneful Black Codes (cont.)

- Worst features of Black Codes eventually repealed
- Revocation not lift liberated blacks into economic independence:
 - Lacking capital, many former slaves slipped into status of sharecropper, as did many landless whites
 - Sharecroppers fell into morass of virtual peonage
 - Many became slaves to soil and creditors
 - Dethroned planter aristocracy resented even this pitiful concession to freedom
- Black Codes made ugly impression on North



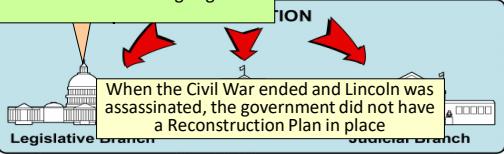
Have things really changed? 21.5 Sharecroppers Picking Cotton Although many freed slaves found themselves picking cotton on their former masters' plantations, they took comfort that they were at least paid wages and could work as a family unit. In time, however, they became ensnared in the web of debt that their planter bosses spun to keep a free labor force tightly bound to them.



"Radical Republicans" in Congress rejected Lincoln's plan because it was too lenient on ex-Confederates

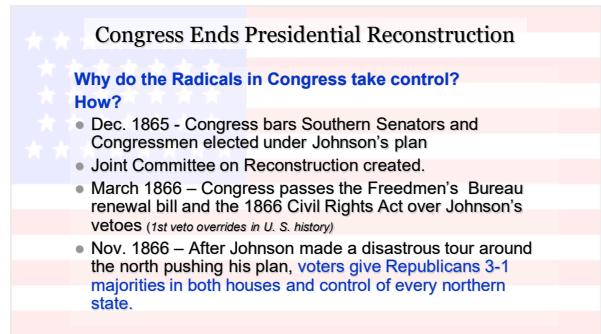
They favored a plan that protected blacks, required 50% of state citizens to swear a loyalty oath, and banned ex-Confederate leaders from serving in gov't







Radical (Congressional) Reconstruction



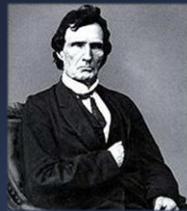
Congress Ends Presidential Reconstruction

Why do the Radicals in Congress take control?

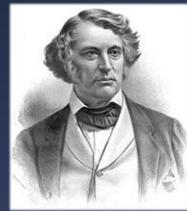
How?

- Dec. 1865 - Congress bars Southern Senators and Congressmen elected under Johnson's plan
- Joint Committee on Reconstruction created.
- March 1866 - Congress passes the Freedmen's Bureau renewal bill and the 1866 Civil Rights Act over Johnson's vetoes (1st veto overrides in U. S. history)
- Nov. 1866 - After Johnson made a disastrous tour around the north pushing his plan, voters give Republicans 3-1 majorities in both houses and control of every northern state.

"Radical" Republicans



Thaddeus Stevens (PA)
HOUSE



Charles Sumner (MA)
SENATE

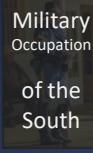
Conservatism vs. Radicalism

CONSERVATIVE	MODERATE	RADICAL
PRESERVE INSTITUTIONS	B A L A	ADVANCE AGENDA
<i>Gradual</i> Change (Reluctant)		<i>Immediate</i> Change (Enthusiastic)
REFORM To improve and strengthen institutions	N C E	REFORM To maintain, modify, destroy, or replace institutions in order to advance agenda

Reconstruction Acts

1867-1868

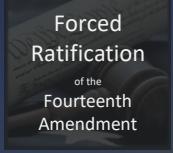
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Military Occupation of the South



IMMEDIATE Suffrage
for African Americans



Forced Ratification of the Fourteenth Amendment

Photo Credit: Peter Clark (soldier)
International (ballot box)

14th Amendment

★ Ratified in July, 1868.

- ★ Provide a constitutional guarantee of the rights and security of freed people.
- ★ Insure against neo-Confederate political power.
- ★ Enshrine the national debt while repudiating that of the Confederacy.

★ Southern states would be punished for denying the right to vote to black citizens!

Fourteenth Amendment

Ratified July 9, 1868

Section 1. All persons born or naturalized in the United States... are citizens of the United States and of the State wherein they reside. No State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States; nor shall any State deprive any person of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws.



RECONSTRUCTION AMENDMENTS:

13

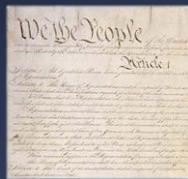
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Fourteenth Amendment

Ratified July 9, 1868

Section 2. ...when the right to vote at any election for the choice of electors for President and Vice President of the United States... is denied to any of the male inhabitants of such State, being twenty-one years of age, and citizens of the United States, or in any way abridged, except for participation in rebellion, or other crime, the basis of representation therein shall be reduced in the proportion ...



RECONSTRUCTION AMENDMENTS:

13

14

15

Fourteenth Amendment

Ratified July 9, 1868

Section 3. No one shall be a Senator or Representative in Congress, or elector of President and Vice President, or hold any office, civil or military, under the United States, or under any State, who, having previously taken an oath, as a member of Congress, or as an officer of the United States, or as a member of any State legislature, or as an executive or judicial officer of any State, to support the Constitution of the United States, shall have engaged in insurrection or rebellion against the same, or given aid or comfort to the enemies thereof. But Congress may by a vote of two-thirds of each House, remove such disability.



RECONSTRUCTION AMENDMENTS:

13

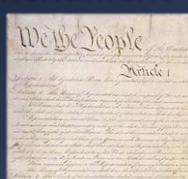
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Fourteenth Amendment

Ratified July 9, 1868

Section 4. The validity of the public debt of the United States, authorized by law, including debts incurred for payment of pensions and bounties for services in suppressing insurrection or rebellion, shall not be questioned. But neither the United States nor any State shall assume or pay any debt or obligation incurred in aid of insurrection or rebellion against the United States, or any claim for the loss or emancipation of any slave; but all such debts, obligations and claims shall be held illegal and void.



RECONSTRUCTION AMENDMENTS:

13

14

15

VII. Congressional Reconstruction

- Congress met in December, 1865:

- New Southern delegations presented themselves:
 - Many were former Confederate leaders
 - Four former Confederate generals, five colonels, and various members of Richmond cabinet and Congress
 - Worst of all, Alexander Stephens, ex-vice president, still under indictment for treason, there
 - “Whitewashed rebels” infuriated Republicans in Congress

VII. Congressional Reconstruction (cont.)

- Also during war, Republicans able to pass legislation favorable to North:
 - Morrill Tariff, **Pacific Railroad Act**, Homestead Act
- On first day of congressional session, Dec. 4, 1865, they shut door on newly elected Southerners
- Realized restored South would be stronger than ever in national politics
- With full counting of blacks because of end of 3/5 clause for representation, rebel states entitled to 12 more votes in Congress
- 12 more electoral votes in presidential elections

VII. Congressional Reconstruction (cont.)

- Republicans had good reason to fear:
 - Southerners might join with Northern Democrats and gain control of Congress and maybe White House
 - Could then perpetuate Black Codes
 - Dismantle economic programs of Republican Party by:
 - Lowering tariffs
 - Rerouting transcontinental railroad
 - Repealing free-farm Homestead Act
 - Even repudiating national debt

VII. Congressional Reconstruction (cont.)

- Johnson deeply disturbed congressional Republicans when he announced on December 6, 1865 that:
 - Rebellious states had satisfied his conditions
 - In his view, Union restored

In 1865, Congress created the Freedman's Bureau to help former slaves

The Bureau provided emergency food, housing, and medical supplies

Promised former slaves "40 acres and a mule" but never delivered

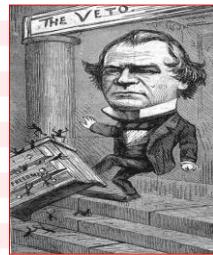
Agents went supervised labor contracts

Its most important legacy of the Freedman's Bureau was the creation of new schools



Congress Breaks with the President

- Congress bars Southern Congressional delegates.
- Joint Committee on Reconstruction created.
- February, 1866 → President vetoed the Freedmen's Bureau bill.
- March, 1866 → Johnson vetoed the 1866 Civil Rights Act.
- Congress passed both bills over Johnson's vetoes → 1st in U. S. history!!



Johnson the Martyr / Samson



If my blood is to be shed because I vindicate the Union and the preservation of this government in its original purity and character, let it be shed: let an altar to the Union be erected, and then, if it is necessary, take me and lay me upon it, and the blood that now warms and animates my existence shall be poured out as a fit libation to the Union.

(February 1866)

VIII. Johnson Clashes with Congress

- Clash exploded in February 1866:
 - President vetoed bill extending life of Freedmen's Bureau (later repassed)
 - Republicans passed **Civil Rights Bill**:
 - Conferred on blacks privilege of American citizenship
 - Struck at Black Codes
 - Vetoed by Johnson
 - In April, congressmen steamrollered over his veto—something repeatedly done

VIII. Johnson Clashes with Congress (cont.)

- Lawmakers riveted principles of Civil Rights Bill into **Fourteenth Amendment**:
 - Approved by Congress and sent to states-1866
 - Ratified-1868
 - Sweeping amendment; major pillar of constitutional law:
 - Conferred civil rights, including citizenship but excluding franchise, on freedmen
 - Reduced proportionately representation of a state in Congress and Electoral College if it denied blacks the ballot

VIII. Johnson Clashes with Congress (cont.)

- Disqualified from federal and state office, former Confederates who as federal officeholders had once sworn “to support the Constitution of the United States”
- Guaranteed federal debt, while repudiating Confederate debt (see text of Fourteenth Amendment in Appendix)
- Radical faction disappointed Fourteenth Amendment not grant right to vote.
- All Republicans agreed no state should be readmitted into Union without first ratifying Fourteenth Amendment.
- Johnson advised Southern states to reject it.
- All did but Tennessee. **And WHERE is JOHNSON FROM!?**

The 1866 Bi-Election

- ★ A referendum on Radical Reconstruction.
- ★ Johnson made an ill-conceived propaganda tour around the country to push his plan.
- ★ Republicans won a 3-1 majority in both houses and gained control of every northern state.



Johnson's "Swing around the Circle"

IX. Swinging 'Round the Circle with Johnson

- Battle between Johnson and Congress:
 - “10 percent” governments passed Black Codes
 - In response, Congress extended Freedmen's Bureau and passed Civil Right Bill
 - Johnson vetoed both measures
 - Would South accept principles enshrined in Fourteenth Amendment?
 - Republicans would settle for nothing less

IX. Swinging 'Round the Circle with Johnson (cont.)

- Crucial congressional elections of 1866—
 - Johnson's famous “swing 'round the circle” (1866) = a comedy of errors
 - Delivered series of “give 'em hell” speeches
 - As vote getter, he was highly successful —for opposition
 - His inept speechmaking heightened cry “Stand by Congress” against “Taint of the Potomac”
 - When votes counted, Republicans had more than a two-third majority in both houses of Congress

X. Republican Principles and Programs

- Republicans had veto-proof Congress and unlimited control of Reconstruction policy
- Radicals:
 - In Senate, led by courtly and principled idealist Charles Sumner:
 - Labored tirelessly for black freedom and racial equality
 - In House, most powerful was Thaddeus Stevens
 - Had defended runaway slaves in court without fees
 - Insisted on being buried in a black cemetery
 - Devoted to blacks; hated rebellious white Southerners
 - Leading figure on Joint Committee on Reconstruction

X. Republican Principles and Programs (cont.)

- Radicals opposed rapid restoration of Southern states:
 - Wanted to keep them out as long as possible
 - Apply federal power to bring about drastic social and economic transformation in South
- Moderate Republicans:
 - Invoked principles of states' rights and self-government
 - Recoiled from full implications of radical program
 - Preferred policies that restrained states from abridging citizens' rights
 - Rather than policies that directly involved federal government in individual lives

X. Republican Principles and Programs (cont.)

- Policies adopted by Congress showed influence of both groups
- By 1867 both agreed on necessity to enfranchise black votes, even if it took federal troops to do so
- By 1866, bloody race riots in several Southern cities



Radical Plan for Readmission

- ★ Civil authorities in the territories were subject to military supervision.
- ★ Required new state constitutions, including black suffrage and ratification of the 13th and 14th Amendments.
- ★ In March, 1867, Congress passed an act that authorized the military to enroll eligible black voters and begin the process of constitution making.

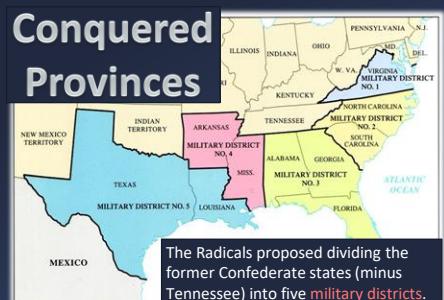
Reconstruction Acts of 1867

★ Military Reconstruction Act

- * Restart Reconstruction in the 10 Southern states that refused to ratify the 14th Amendment.
- * Divide the 10 "unreconstructed states" into 5 military districts.



Conquered Provinces



Reconstruction Acts of 1867

★ Command of the Army Act

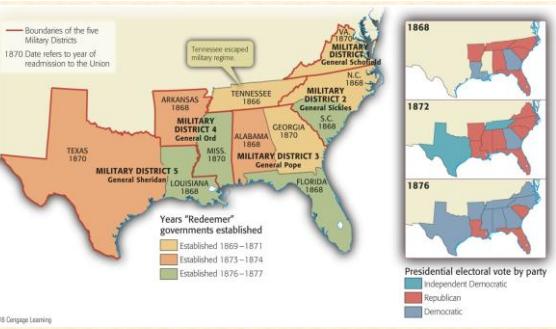
- The President must issue all Reconstruction orders through the commander of the military.

★ Tenure of Office Act

- The President could not remove any officials [esp. Cabinet members] without the Senate's consent, if the position originally required Senate approval.
 - Designed to protect radical members of Lincoln's government.
 - A question of the constitutionality of this law.



Edwin Stanton



XI. Reconstruction by the Sword

• Radical Republicans:

- Only true safeguard was to incorporate black suffrage into federal Constitution
- Congress sought to provide constitutional protection for suffrage provisions of Reconstruction Act
- Fifteenth Amendment**, passed by Congress 1869; ratified by required number of states in 1870 (see Appendix)
- Military Reconstruction of South:
 - Usurped some presidential functions as commander in chief
 - Set up a martial regime of dubious legality

XI. Reconstruction by the Sword

- Reconstruction Act** passed by Congress on March 2, 1867 (see Map 22.1)

– Divided South into five military districts:

- Each commanded by a Union general
- Policed by about 20,000 blue-clad soldiers**
- Temporarily disfranchised ten of thousands of former Confederates

– Congress laid stringent condition for readmission:

- Required to ratify 14th Amendment giving former slaves rights as citizens

XI. Reconstruction by the Sword (cont.)

- Bitterest pill—stipulation that they guarantee in state constitutions full suffrage to former adult male slaves

- Stopped short of giving freedmen land or education at federal expense

- Overriding purpose of moderates:
 - Create electorate in South that would vote their states back into Union on acceptable terms

» Thus freeing government from direct responsibility for protection of black rights

» Approach proved woefully inadequate to cause of justice for blacks



A MAN KNOWS A MAN

XI. Reconstruction by the Sword (cont.)

- Ex parte Milligan** (1866) ruled:

– Military tribunals could not try civilians, even during wartime in areas where civil courts were open

• Peacetime military rule seemed contrary to spirit of Constitution, but circumstances were extraordinary

– Southern states:

- Started task of constitution making
- By 1870, all of them had reorganized governments
- And were accorded full rights (see Table 22.2)

TABLE 22.2 Southern Reconstruction by State

State	Readmitted to Representation in Congress	Home Rule (Democratic or "Redeemer" Regime) Reestablished	Comments
Tennessee	July 24, 1866	1874	Ratified Fourteenth Amendment in 1865 and hence avoided military Reconstruction*
Arkansas	June 22, 1868	1874	
North Carolina	June 25, 1868	1870	
Alabama	June 25, 1868	1874	
Florida	June 25, 1868	1877	Federal troops restated in 1877, as result of Hayes-Tilden electoral bargain
Louisiana	June 25, 1868	1877	Same as Florida
South Carolina	June 25, 1868	1877	Same as Florida
Virginia	January 26, 1870	1869	
Mississippi	February 23, 1870	1876	
Texas	March 30, 1870	1874	
Georgia	[June 25, 1868] July 15, 1870	1872	Readmitted June 25, 1868, but returned to military control after expulsion of blacks from legislature

*For many years Tennessee was the only state of the secession to observe Lincoln's birthday as a legal holiday. Many states in the South still observe the birthdays of Jefferson Davis and Robert E. Lee.

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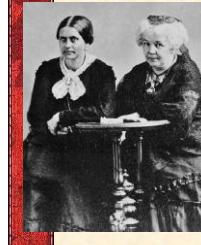
XI. Reconstruction by the Sword (cont.)

- When federal troops left a state, its government swiftly passed back into hands of white **Redeemers** or "Home Rule" regimes—inevitably Democratic
- In 1877, last federal muskets removed from state politics and "solid" Democratic South congealed

XII. No Women Voters

- Struggle for black freedom and crusade for women's rights were one and the same to many women
- Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony:
 - During war temporarily shelved their own demands
 - Worked wholeheartedly for cause of black emancipation
 - Woman's Loyal League** gathered 400,000 signatures on petitions asking Congress to pass constitutional amendment prohibiting slavery

XII. No Women Voters (cont.)



- With war over and 13th Amendment passed, feminist leaders believed their time had come
- Reeled with shock when wording of Fourteenth Amendment which defined equal citizenship:
 - Inserted word *male* into Constitution in referring to a citizen's right to vote
- Both Stanton and Anthony campaigned against Fourteenth Amendment
 - Despite pleas from Frederick Douglass, who supported woman suffrage, but believed this was "Negro's hour"

XII. No Women Voters (cont.)

- When 15th Amendment proposed to prohibit denial of vote on basis of "race, color, or previous condition of servitude," Stanton and Anthony wanted word sex added to list
- Lost this battle, too
- Fifty years would pass before Constitution granted women right to vote

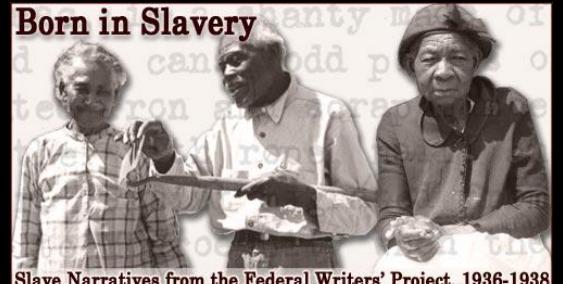


XIII. The Realities of Radical Reconstruction in the South

- Congress, haltingly and belatedly, secured franchise for freedmen:
 - Lincoln and Johnson had proposed to give ballot gradually to blacks who qualified for it through:
 - Education, property ownership, or military service
 - Moderates and many radicals at first hesitated to bestow suffrage on freedmen



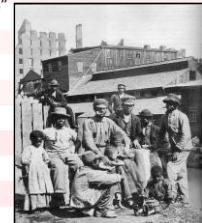
Winslow Homer (American, 1836-1910). *Visit from the Old Mistress*, 1876
Oil on canvas, 16 x 24 in. (40.7 x 61.0 cm). Smithsonian American Art Museum. Gift of William T. Evans. 1909.7.28
Reproduced with permission of the Smithsonian American Art Museum, Washington, DC
Courtesy, The Estate of Winslow Homer. © 2009. The National Endowment for the Arts.



Black "Adjustment" in the South

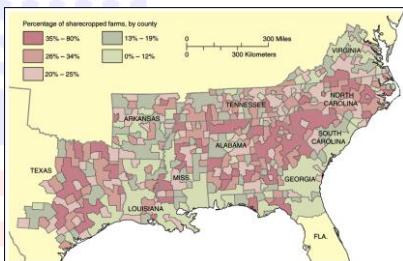
CONGRESSIONAL RECONSTRUCTION in the South

- "40 acres and a mule"
- tenants
- Sharecroppers
- crop lien system



Sharecropper's cabin, North Carolina, 1914
Freedmen in Richmond, Virginia, 1865

Sharecropping



What is this Map Reminiscent of?

Tenancy & the Crop Lien System

Furnishing Merchant

- Loan tools and seed up to 60% interest to tenant farmer to plant spring crop.
- Farmer also secures food, clothing, and other necessities on credit from merchant until the harvest.
- Merchant holds "lien" (mortgage) on part of tenant's future crops as repayment of debt.

Tenant Farmer

- Plants crop, harvests in autumn.
- Turns over up to $\frac{1}{2}$ of crop to land owner as payment of rent.
- Tenant gives remainder of crop to merchant in payment of debt.

Landowner

- Rents land to tenant in exchange for $\frac{1}{4}$ to $\frac{1}{3}$ of tenant farmer's future crop.

SHARECROPPING & THE CYCLE OF DEBT

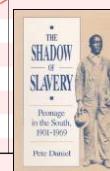
Poor whites & freedmen have no jobs, homes, or \$ to buy land

Sharecropper cannot leave farm as long as he is in debt to landlord.

Poor whites & freedmen sign contracts to work landlord's acreage for part of the crop.

At harvest, sharecropper owes more to landlord than his share of the crop is worth.

Landlord keeps track of the \$ that sharecroppers owe for housing and food.



Black & White Political Participation



The Balance of Power in Congress?

State	White Citizens	Freedmen
SC	291,000	41,000
MS	353,000	436,000
LA	357,000	350,000
GA	591,000	465,000
AL	596,000	437,000
VA	719,000	533,000
NC	631,000	331,000

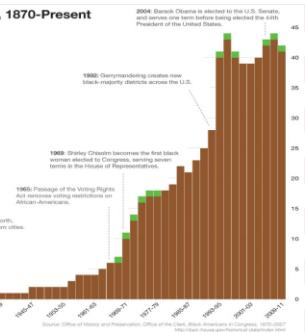
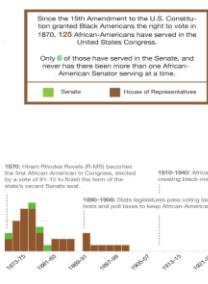
Black Senate & House Delegates

Senator Hiram Revels
of Mississippi was the first African American member of the United States Senate. He took the oath of office on February 25, 1870. When Revels takes the Senate oath of office, he ironically fills the seat of the last man to serve as a senator from Mississippi—Jefferson Davis



African-American Members of Congress, 1870-Present

By Greg Emerson Bocquet



Colored Rule in the South?

HARPER'S WEEKLY



Blacks in Southern Politics

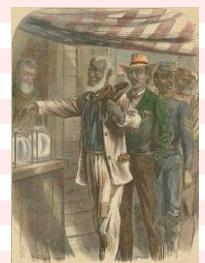
- ★ Core voters were black veterans.
- ★ Blacks were politically unprepared.
- ★ Blacks could register and vote in states since 1867.

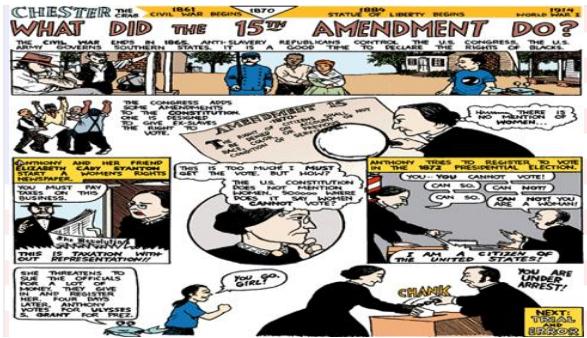


- ★ The 15th Amendment guaranteed federal voting.

15th Amendment

- ★ Ratified in 1870.
- ★ *The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any state on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude.*
- ★ *The Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.*
- ★ Women's rights groups were furious that they were not granted the vote!





Reconstruction Amendments

THIRTEENTH

Abolition of Slavery



FOURTEENTH

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

FIFTEENTH

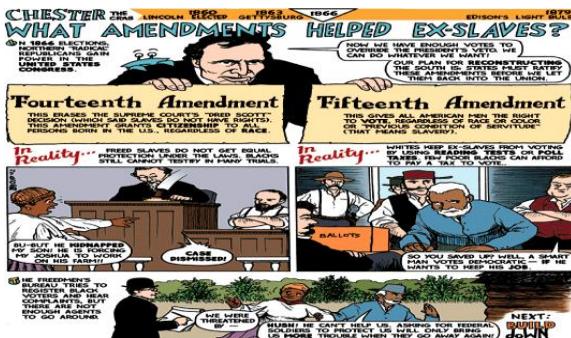
Black [Male] Suffrage

RECONSTRUCTION AMENDMENTS:

13

14

15



The Failure of Federal Enforcement

- ★ **Enforcement Acts** of 1870 & 1871 [also known as the KKK Act].



- ★ "The Lost Cause."
- ★ The rise of the "Bourbons."
- ★ **Redeemers** (prewar Democrats and Union Whigs).

"Redeemer" Governments

Southern White "Bourbon"
Democrats re-assert authority

"Solid South"

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

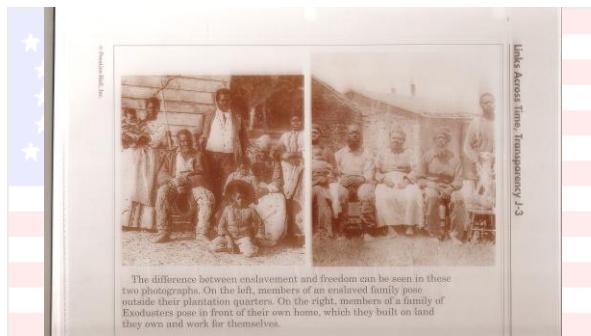


Gov. Wade Hampton
(SC)

The Civil Rights Act of 1875

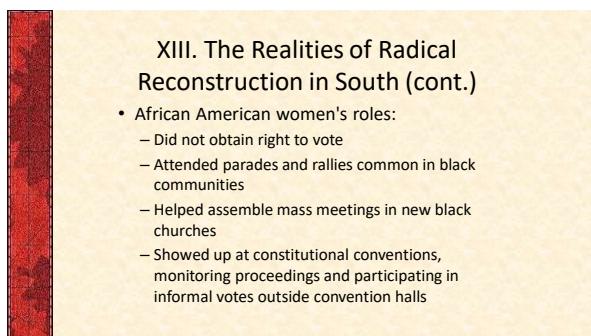
- ★ Crime for any individual to deny full & equal use of public conveyances and public places.
- ★ Prohibited discrimination in jury selection.
- ★ **Shortcoming** → lacked a strong enforcement mechanism.
- ★ No new civil rights act was attempted for 90 years!





XIII. The Realities of Radical Reconstruction in South (cont.)

- 14th Amendment heart of Republican program for Reconstruction:
 - Fell short of guaranteeing right to vote
 - Envisioned for blacks and women—citizenship without voting rights
 - Northern states withheld ballot from their tiny black minorities
 - Southerners argued Republicans were hypocritical in insisting Blacks in South be allowed to vote

The Library Collection, New York
p478

XIII. The Realities of Radical Reconstruction in South (cont.)

- African American men's roles:
 - Some elected as delegates to state constitutional convention:
 - Formed backbone of black political communities
 - At conventions, sat down with whites to hammer out new state constitutions that provided for universal male suffrage
 - Even though no governors or majorities in state senates, black power increased exponentially



21.9 Congressman John R. Lynch of Mississippi
After John Lynch was freed by the Union army, he got an education at a freedmen's school in Natchez, Mississippi. At age twenty-four, he became speaker of the Mississippi House. In 1872, Lynch joined six other African Americans in Congress, where he made his greatest mark in the long debate over the Civil Rights Act of 1875, barring discrimination in public accommodations. Lynch drew on his own humiliating experiences as a black man in the South to argue for a law prohibiting discrimination on public transportation like trains and at places like inns, restaurants, and theaters. The law passed but was not enforced. It was ruled unconstitutional in 1883.



XIII. The Realities of Radical Reconstruction in South (cont.)

- Former masters lashed out at freedmen's white allies with terms **Scalawags** and **carpetbaggers**:
 - Scalawags—Southerners, former Unionists and Whigs
 - Carpetbaggers—supposedly sleazy Northerners who packed all their goods into carpetbag suitcase at war's end and had come to seek personal power and profit
 - Most were Northern businessmen and former Union soldiers who wanted to play role in modernizing "New South"

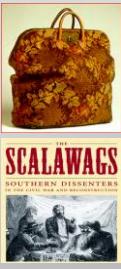


“Carpetbaggers”

Nickname applied by Southern whites to people who migrated South after the Civil War



Scalawags & Carpetbaggers



- Carpetbaggers**—sleazy Northerners who had moved South to seek personal power & profit
- Scalawags**—Southerners were former Unionists & Whigs/ supported Republicans

The “Carpetbagger” Stereotype



The Motives of the Carpetbaggers

Power
Opportunity
Wealth
Service



XIII. The Realities of Radical Reconstruction in South (cont.)

- Radical regimes (legislatures) passed much desirable legislation:

- Steps toward establishing adequate public schools
- Streamlined tax systems
- Launched public works
- Granted property rights to women

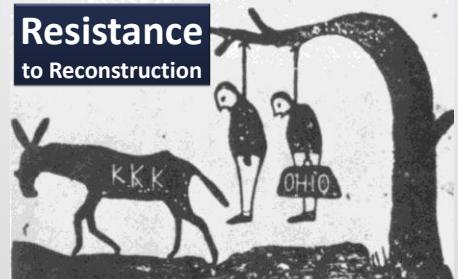
- Reforms retained by all-white “Redeemer” government that later returned to power

XIII. The Realities of Radical Reconstruction in South (cont.)

- Despite achievements, corruption rampant:
 - Especially in South Carolina and Louisiana
 - Conscienceless pocket-paddlers used inexperienced blacks as pawns
 - Worst “black-and-white” legislatures purchased:
 - As “legislative supplies,” such “stationery” as hams, perfumes, suspenders, bonnets, corsets, and champagne
 - Corruption by no means confined to South in postwar years

A PROSPECTIVE SCENE IN THE CITY OF OAKS, 4TH OF MARCH, 1868.

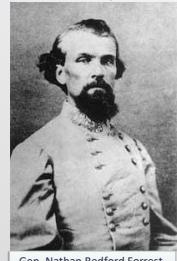
Resistance to Reconstruction



The “Invisible Empire of the South”



The (First) Ku Klux Klan



Gen. Nathan Bedford Forrest, CSA

1865-1874

The 19th-century Klan was originally organized as a social club by Confederate veterans in Pulaski, Tennessee, in 1866.

They apparently derived the name from the Greek word **kyklos**, from which comes the English “circle”; “Klan” was added for the sake of alliteration and Ku Klux Klan emerged.



Vigilantism

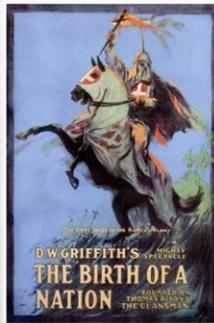


The Two Klans “Kompared”

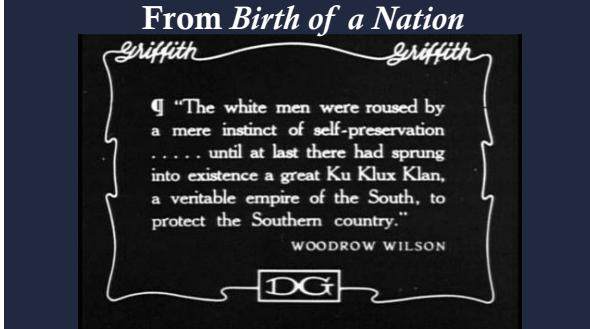
	The First Ku Klux Klan	The Second Ku Klux Klan
Time Period	Reconstruction	1920s
Regional Prevalence	South	Midwest, South
Purpose	Oppose carpetbagger governments	Oppose immigration, Catholicism, black migration
Methods	Intimidation & Violence	

Birth of a Nation (1915)

- Highest grossing silent film EVER
- Glamorized the KKK
 - Responsible for rise of Second KKK?



From *Birth of a Nation*

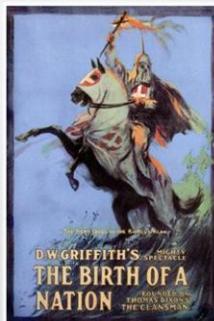


Birth of a Nation (1915)

CLIP ONE

[VIEW CLIP](#)

NOTE: The inclusion of this video footage is for educational purposes and is not intended to endorse the views and perspectives contained therein.



XIV. The Ku Klux Klan

- Deeply embittered, some Southern whites resorted to savage measures against “radical” rule
 - Resented successful black legislators
 - Secret organizations mushroomed
 - Most notorious—“Invisible Empire of the South”:
 - Ku Klux Klan, founded in Tennessee in 1866
 - Used fright, tomfoolery, and terror against “upstart” Blacks
 - “Upstarts” flogged, mutilated, and murdered
 - Klan became refuge for bandits and cutthroats
 - Any scoundrel could don a sheet



XIV. The Ku Klux Klan (cont.)

- **Force Acts** (1870-1871) used U.S. troops to stamp out “lash law”
- White resistance:
 - Undermined attempts to empower blacks politically
 - White South flouted 14th and 15th Amendments
 - Wholesale disfranchisement of blacks in 1890s:
 - Used intimidation, fraud, and trickery
 - Literacy tests, unfairly administered by whites to advantage illiterate whites
 - Whites used goal of white supremacy to justify such devices



Photo Credit: Nancy Lehner

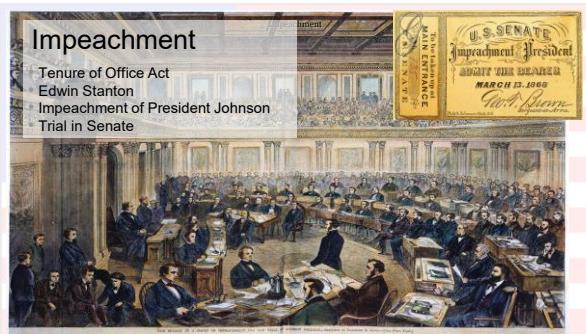


President Johnson's Impeachment

★ Johnson removed Stanton in February, 1868.

★ Johnson replaced generals in the field who were more sympathetic to Radical Reconstruction.

★ The House impeached him on February 24 before even drawing up the charges by a vote of 126 - 47!



IMPEACHMENT

- Tenure of Office Act of 1867
 - Passed over Veto
- Johnson fired Sec. of War
 - Impeached for violating TOA
- 35-19 vote in Senate to remove from office
 - How many would it have taken?

The Senate Trial

★ The House of Representatives voted 126-47 to charge Johnson with a crime

★ 11 week trial.

★ Johnson acquitted 35 to 19 (one short of required 2/3s vote).




IMPEACHMENT
By the Numbers



3 - 1 - 0



0
 Presidents have been *removed* from office.



XV. Johnson Walks the Impeachment Plank

- Radicals attempted to remove Johnson from office:
 - Initial step—**Tenure of Office Act (1867)**—
 - Passed over Johnson's veto
 - Required president get consent of Senate before he could oust an appointee once they had been approved
 - One goal was to freeze into cabinet Secretary of War Edwin Stanton, a holdover from Lincoln's administration
 - Who secretly served as informer for radicals

XV. Johnson Walks the Impeachment Plank (cont.)

- Johnson abruptly dismissed Stanton, early 1868
- House voted 126 to 47 to impeach Johnson:
 - For “high crimes and misdemeanors” as required by Constitution
 - Charged him with violations of Tenure of Office Act
 - Two additional articles related to Johnson’s verbal assaults on Congress
 - Involved “disgrace, ridicule, hatred, contempt, reproach”

XVI. A Not-Guilty Verdict for Johnson

- Johnson’s trial before Senate:
 - House conducted prosecution:
 - Johnson kept his dignity and maintained discreet silence
 - His attorneys argued president was testing constitutionality of Tenure of Office Act by firing Stanton
 - House prosecutors had hard time building compelling case for impeachment
 - May 16, 1868, by a margin of one vote, radicals failed to muster two-thirds majority to remove Johnson
 - Seven moderate Republicans senators voted “not guilty”

XVI. A Not-Guilty Verdict for Johnson (cont.)

- Several factors shaped outcome:
 - Fears of creating destabilizing precedent
 - Principled opposition to abusing constitutional mechanism of checks and balances
 - Political considerations:
 - Successor would have been radical Republican Benjamin Wade, president pro tempore of Senate
 - Wade disliked by business community for his high-tariff, soft-money, pro-labor views
 - Distrusted by moderate Republicans

XVI. A Not-Guilty Verdict for Johnson (cont.)

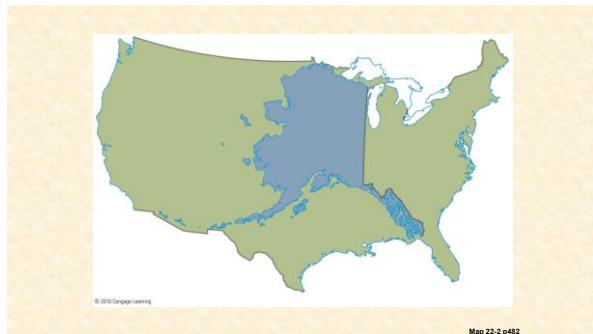
- Diehard radicals infuriated by failure to remove Johnson
- Nation avoided dangerous precedent that would have gravely weakened one of three branches of federal government

XVII. The Purchase of Alaska

- Johnson’s administration:
 - Though enfeebled at home, achieved its most enduring success in foreign relations
 - Russians wanted to sell Alaska
 - In case of war with Britain, Russia would have lost it to sea-dominant British
 - Alaska had been ruthlessly “furred out” and was a growing economic liability
 - Russians eager to unload “frozen asset”
 - Preferred purchase by U.S.A. because wanted to strengthen U.S.A. as barrier against Britain

XVII. The Purchase of Alaska (cont.)

- 1867 Secretary of State William Seward, an ardent expansionist, signed treaty with Russia:
 - Transferred Alaska to United States for bargain price of \$7.2 million (see Map 22.2)
 - Seward’s enthusiasm not shared by his uninformed countrymen, who called it **Seward’s Folly**, “Seward’s icebox,” “Frigidia,” and “Walrussian”



XVII. The Purchase of Alaska (cont.)

- Why did United States purchase Alaska?
 - Russia alone among major powers had been friendly to North during recent Civil War
 - America did not want to offend their friend, the tsar
 - Territory had furs, fish, gold, and other natural resources
 - So Congress accepted "Seward's Polar Bear Garden"

XVIII. The Heritage of Reconstruction

- White Southerners regarded Reconstruction as more grievous wound than the war itself:
 - Left scars that took generations to heal
 - Resented upending of social and racial system
 - Resented political empowerment of blacks and insult of federal intervention in their affairs
 - A wonder, given all the bitterness from war, that Reconstruction not far harsher than it was

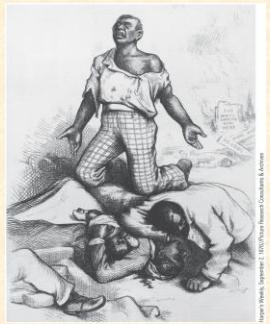
XVIII. The Heritage of Reconstruction (cont.)

- No one knew at war's end what federal policy toward South should be
- Republicans acted from mixture of idealism and political expediency:
 - Wanted to protect freed slaves
 - Promote fortunes of Republican party
 - In end, efforts backfired badly
- Reconstruction:
 - Conferred only fleeting benefits on blacks
 - Destroyed Republican Party in South for nearly 100 years

XVIII. The Heritage of Reconstruction (cont.)

- Moderate Republicans never fully appreciated:
 - Extensive effort needed to make freed slaves completely independent citizens
 - Lengths to which Southern whites would go to preserve system of racial dominance
- Despite good intentions by Republicans, Old South more resurrected than reconstructed:
 - Spelled continuing woe for generations of southern blacks

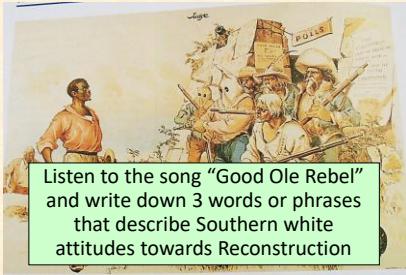
21.12 Is This a Republican Form of Government? by Thomas Nast, Harper's Weekly, 1876 The nation's most prominent political cartoonist expressed his despair at the tragic way that Reconstruction had ended—with few real gains for the former slaves.



Based upon the image below, what were the major failures of Reconstruction?



But, Reconstruction was difficult to maintain as Democrats slowly took back control of Southern states



CHRONOLOGY

1863	Lincoln announces "10 percent" Reconstruction plan	1867	Reconstruction Act Tenure of Office Act United States purchases Alaska from Russia
1864	Lincoln vetoes Wade-Davis Bill	1868	Johnson impeached and acquitted Johnson pardons Confederate leaders
1865	Lincoln assassinated Johnson issues Reconstruction proclamation Congress refuses to seat Southern congressmen Freedmen's Bureau established Southern states pass Black Codes	1870	Fifteenth Amendment ratified
1866	Congress passes Civil Rights Bill over Johnson's veto Congress passes Fourteenth Amendment Johnson-backed candidates lose congressional election <i>Ex parte Milligan</i> case	1870-1871	Force Acts
	Ku Klux Klan founded	1872	Freedmen's Bureau ended
		1877	Reconstruction ends