Big Idea: What goals did Republican policy-makers, ex-Confederates, and freed people pursue during Reconstruction? To what degree did each succeed?

1. Introduction
   - Violence erupts in the South following the end of the Civil War.
   - Ex-Confederates murdered freedmen and flagrantly resisted federal control.
   - Republicans in Congress proposed a new measure that would protect African Americans by defining and enforcing U.S. citizenship rights.
     - Eventually would be ratified as the Fourteenth Amendment
   - Andrew Johnson – Unionist Democrat becomes president following Abraham Lincoln’s assassination.
   - Johnson’s “Presidential” Reconstruction Plan vs. Radical “Congressional” Reconstruction (pg. 478)
   - Fifteenth Amendment – voting rights for African American men.
   - In addition to physical safety and the right to vote, black southerners wanted economic independence.
     - Little opportunity
     - Cash-crop plantations with wage labor – share cropping and crop lien systems.
   - Ultimately, Reconstruction was a failure – conflicting goals of lawmakers, freedpeople, and hostile ex-Confederates.

2. The Struggle for National Reconstruction
   - Presidential Approaches: From Lincoln to Johnson
     - Lincoln’s plan had been similar to Johnson’s.
       - Amnesty to most ex-Confederate leaders.
       - Allowed re-admittance to the Union once 10% of voters had taken loyalty oaths and approved the Thirteenth Amendment (1865).
       - Ten Percent Plan
     - July 1864 – Congressional Plan
       - Stricter than Lincoln’s proposal
       - Wade-Davis Bill
       - Loyalty oath by at least 50% of state’s adult white men
       - New state governments formed by only those who had never taken up arms against the Union.
       - Permanent disenfranchisement of Confederate leaders.
       - Lincoln defeated with a pocket-veto.
     - Southern legislatures enacted Black Codes. (pg. 481)
       - Reflected the economic interests of white planters
       - Attempt to restore slavery in all but name
       - Designed to force former slaves back to plantation labor.
     - Johnson outraged northerners/Unionists/Republicans with his leniency toward ex-Confederates
       - Pardoned many ex-Confederate leaders
       - Some ex-Confederate leaders attempted to take back seats in Congress (i.e. Alexander Stephens) – “white-washed rebels”
   - Congress Versus the President
     - Republicans in Congress refused to admit southern delegates in Dec. 1865
     - Johnson’s Reconstruction program blocked.
     - Republicans in Congress did not support Johnson’s Presidential Reconstruction.
     - Congressional Republicans believed the federal government needed to intervene and regulate Reconstruction in the South.
       - Freedmen’s Bureau
       - Civil Rights Act of 1866
       - Fourteenth Amendment (1868)
         - Increase of federal power over the states! (481)
         - National citizenship took priority over citizenship in a state.
       - 1866 Congressional Elections – power shifted to the Radical Republicans.
         - Charles Sumner – Radical Republican leader in the Senate
         - Thaddeus Stevens – Radical Republican leader in the House.
   - Radical Reconstruction
     - Reconstruction Act of 1867
       - Five military districts
       - To reenter the Union, former Confederate states had to grant the vote to freedmen and deny it to leading ex-Confederates.
       - Supervised voter registration
       - Supervised state constitutional conventions – drafting of new state constitutions
         - Must guarantee black suffrage
         - New state legislature must ratify the Fourteenth Amendment.
   - Impeachment of Andrew Johnson
     - Johnson attempts to fire Secretary of War and Radical Republican Edwin Stanton.
     - This is in violation of the Tenure of Office Act (*See chart on page 484).
• House of Representatives introduce article of impeachment against the President.  
  • Johnson is acquitted, but the trial hurt his authority as president and was largely irrelevant following his impeachment.

  o **Election of 1868 and the Fifteenth Amendment**
    • Following the impeachment of Johnson, Ulysses S. Grant becomes the nominee for the Republican Party in the Election of 1868.
    • War hero status! "Waving the Bloody Shirt!"
    • Supported Radical Reconstruction, but also urged sectional reconciliation.
    • Democratic opponent = Horatio Seymour
    • Grant easily wins the election and Republicans keep control of Congress.
    • Fifteenth Amendment (1870) – protected male citizens’ right to vote irrespective of race, color, or “previous condition of servitude.”
      • Allowed poll taxes and literacy tests

  o **Woman Suffrage Denied**
    • National women’s right leaders had hoped to secure voting rights for women and African Americans.
    • Fifteenth Amendment did not extend to women.
    • Split occurs between women’s rights supporters and abolitionists (former allies)
    • Many women did not support the Fifteenth Amendment
    • Rift in the Women’s Rights Movement
      • Lucy Stone and the American Woman Suffrage Association
      • Susan B. Anthony and Elizabeth Cady Stanton and the National Woman Suffrage Association
        • Focused exclusively on women’s rights and passage of a federal suffrage amendment
        • Attempted to register to vote
        • *Minor v. Happersett* (1875) – (pg. 486)
          • Voting was not inherent to citizenship.
          • Women were citizens, but state legislatures had the power to establish voting restrictions.
      • Radical Reconstruction created conditions for a nationwide women’s rights movement.
      • Wyoming Territory was first to give full voting rights to women (1869) – Other western states follow.

3. **The Meaning of Freedom**
   
   o **The Quest for Land**
     • Many blacks in the South hoped for land distributions.
     • Johnson’s amnesty plan allowed for Ex-Confederates to recover property and land lost during the War.
     • White landowners generally prevailed in disputes over land.
   
   o **Freed Slaves and Northerners: Conflicting Goals**
     • Most congressional leaders wanted to restore cotton as the country’s main export with former slaves as wageworkers on cash-crop plantations, not as independent farmers.
     • Thaddeus Stevens and a few others argued for freed slaves in obtaining land grants.
   
   o **Wage Labor and Sharecropping**
     • Most freedpeople had few options but to work for former slave owners.
     • Sharecropping
     • Crop-lien laws (pg. 492)
     • Because of the crop-lien system, sharecroppers fell into permanent debt.
     • By 1890, three out of every four black farmers were tenants or sharecroppers; among white farmers, the ratio was one in three.
     • Sharecropping also helped create a stagnant farm economy that blighted the South’s future.
       • South would not industrialize or modernize in the image of the North.
       • South would become mired in widespread poverty.

   o **Republican Governments in the South**
     • Under protection of federal troops, Republican administrations retained control in southern states for periods ranging from a few months to several years.
     • Ex-Confederates never accepted the legitimacy of Republican administrations.
     • Blacks began serving in public office
     • Many Reconstruction governments led reforms in education, family law, social services, commerce, and transportation.
     • Union League (pg. 493)
     • Freedman’s Bureau also supported Reconstruction efforts.
     • Ex-Confederates viewed supporters of Reconstruction as scalawags and carpetbaggers
       • Scalawags = southern whites who supported Reconstruction
       • Carpetbaggers = northern whites looking to capitalize or work in the South on behalf of Reconstruction efforts.
     • African American Leaders
       • Robert Smalls
       • Blanche K. Bruce
       • Hiram Revels
     • Reconstruction governments eliminated property qualifications for the vote and abolished Black Codes.
     • Believed in using government to foster economic growth and social reforms.
     • Most impressive of all were achievements in public education.
     • Flaws in Reconstruction governments
       • Convict leasing
Building Black Communities
- Cooperation with northern missionaries and teachers
- Black churches became central community organizations
- Churches, schools, newspapers, and civic groups were some of the most enduring initiatives of the era.
- “race uplift” (pg. 495)
- Debate over desegregation and integration (pg. 496)
  - Charles Sumner bill (1870) – sought to enforce equal access to schools, public transportation, hotels, and churches.
  - Opponents feared race mixing and intermarriage
  - Civil Rights Act of 1875
    - “Full and equal” access to jury service, transportation, and public accommodations, irrespective of race.
    - Did not include provisions for integrated churches or schools.

4. The Undoing of Reconstruction
- Chasm between freedmen and policymakers. They had different goals.
- Influential book in the north by James M. Pike *The Prostrate State* (1873), which claimed South Carolina was in the grip of “black barbarism”
- Scandals of the Grant administration.
- Economic depression.
- Northern resolve to continue pursuing Reconstruction goals were being worn down by continued ex-confederate resistance and violence.
- By the mid-1870s the North had no political willpower to renew Radical, military Reconstruction.

  a. The Republicans Unravel
    - Economic depression in 1873 undermined ambitious programs.
      - Triggered by the bankruptcy of the Northern Pacific Railroad
      - Raised suspicions that Republican financial manipulation had caused the depression.
      - Grant administration rejected pleas to increase the money supply and provide relief from debt and unemployment.
      - Impact varied in different parts of the country
      - Farmers hit hard as crop prices plunged.
      - Industrial workers faced layoffs and wage reduction.
      - Discredited Republicans and undercut policies especially in the South.
    - During the era of generous spending, considerable funds had also been wasted or had ended up in the pockets of corrupt officials.
    - Failure of the Freedman’s Savings and Trust Company.

  b. The Disillusioned Liberals
    - Revolt emerged in the Republican Party
    - Believed in classical liberalism – free trade, small government, low property taxes, and limitation of voting rights to men of education and property.
    - Liberals urged a policy of *laissez faire*
    - Their arguments helped rollback Reconstruction
    - Election of 1872
      - Grant – Republican nominee
      - Horace Greeley – Liberal Republican nominee
      - Horace Greeley – Democratic nominee
      - Grant easily wins reelection
    - Many Democrats agreed with the arguments of the Liberal Republicans – their platform crossed party lines.
    - Classical liberal editors played key roles in turning northern public opinion against Reconstruction.
    - Crédit Mobilier Scandal of the Grant Administration
    - Whiskey Ring (pg. 498)

  c. Counterrevolution in the South
    - Northerners were preoccupied with scandals and economic panic. Ex-Confederates began taking back power in the South.
    - Use of political violence in the South was a common occurrence.
      - Ex-Confederates terrorized Republicans and African American voters.
      - Redemption (“Redeemers”) – (pg. 498)
      - Nathan Bedford Forrest, the Ku Klux Klan, and Southern Democrats
      - Burned freemen’s schools, beat teachers, attacked Republican gatherings, and murdered political opponents.
    - Once Southern Democrats took power, they slashed property taxes and passed laws favorable to landowners.
    - They terminated Reconstruction programs.
    - Federal government responded to the Ku Klux Klan by passing the Enforcement Laws. – designed to end Klan violence, protect freedman’s rights under the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments. Laws authorized federal prosecutions, military intervention, and martial law to suppress terrorist activity.

  d. Reconstruction Rolled Back
    - Congressional Elections of 1874 – Democrats takeover the majority in the House of Representatives.
    - In 1875, Redeemers took control of the state government in Mississippi.
    - By 1876, Reconstruction was largely over.
Southern Democratic “Redeemers” had taken back power in all but three southern states (Louisiana, Florida, and South Carolina).

- **The Supreme Court Rejects Equal Rights**
  - *Slaughter-House Cases (1873)* – The Supreme Court began to undercut the power of the Fourteenth Amendment.
  - *U.S. v. Cruikshank (1876)* – The justices argued that the Fourteenth Amendment offered only a few protections to citizens.
    - Voting rights remained a state matter unless the state itself violated those rights.
    - The federal government could not protect former slave’s rights if those rights were violated by individuals or private groups.
  - *Civil Rights Cases (1883)* – The justices struck down the Civil Rights Act of 1875, paving the way for later decisions that sanctioned segregation.

- **The Political Crisis of 1877**
  - Republicans were determined to win the Presidential Election of 1876.
    - Republicans nominate Rutherford B. Hayes of Ohio
    - Democrats nominate Samuel J. Tilden of New York
  - Reconstruction was not a major issue in the Election of 1876; however, Reconstruction governments were still in place in three states: Florida, Louisiana, and South Carolina
  - Election returns from Florida, Louisiana, and South Carolina were in dispute with both parties claiming victory.
  - An electoral commission was appointed (8 Republicans and 7 Democrats) to settle the issue; however, Democrats would not accept the committees biased decision.
    - Instead a compromise was struck (The Compromise of 1877)
      - Hayes and the Republicans get the presidency.
      - The last remaining federal troops will leave the South, which would favor the Southern Democrats.
      - This compromise effectively ENDS Reconstruction.

- **Lasting Legacies**
  - Decline of Radical Republican power and the rise of Democratic state governments (Redeemers) in the South.
  - African Americans are free and they establish their right to marry, become educated, worship as they pleased, and travel freely. Some became independent landowning farmers or businessmen. Black churches and community groups helped build stable communities and provided aid to freed slaves.
  - Thirteenth, Fourteenth, and Fifteenth Amendments forever changed the American political system.
  - Despite the progress, Reconstruction is largely seen as a failure.
    - Most freedpeople remained in poverty.
    - Political rights were undercut between 1870 and 1900 by the federal court system’s interpretation of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments.
    - Southern Democrats rollback Reconstruction and in its place institute Jim Crow Segregation that will last until the Civil Rights Movement of the 1950s and 1960s.