I. The “Ordeal” of Reconstruction

A. Reconstructing the Nation: Questions to be Answered
   1. How would the South be rebuilt?
   2. What rights would be granted to the nearly 4 million freed blacks?
   3. How would the 11 states that had seceded be reintegrated into the U.S.?
   4. Would Confederate leaders be punished?
   5. Who would direct Reconstruction?

B. Lincoln’s Reconstruction Plan: Ten Percent Plan
   1. Plans for Reconstruction began less than a year after the Emancipation Proclamation was issued.
   2. Lincoln’s Plan, Ten Percent Plan (December 1863): when 10% of a state’s voters (in the 1860 presidential election) took the oath of allegiance to the U.S., the state could form a new government and adopt a new constitution (without slavery)
      a. Also provided for presidential pardons to most Confederate leaders who took an oath of allegiance and accepted the emancipation of slaves
      b. Meant to allow the swift restoration of the seceded states

C. Congress Responds
   1. Congress thought Lincoln’s plan was too lenient
      a. As a result, Congress passed the Wade-Davis Bill in 1864
         i. Required 50% of a state’s voters (in the 1860 presidential election) to take an oath of allegiance to the U.S.
         ii. Only non-Confederates could vote for a new state constitution
      b. Lincoln refused to sign the bill and pocket vetoed it
   2. The main controversy between Lincoln and Congress: Southern states left the Union and gave up all of their rights as a result of this secession
      a. Lincoln, never believed the Confederate states had left the Union because separating the United States was impossible in his eyes
   3. In January 1865, Congress proposed the 13th Amendment, which called for the abolition of slavery (in December it was ratified)
   4. In March 1865 (before the end of the war; under Lincoln), Congress created the Freedmen’s Bureau to protect the interests of Southern blacks
      a. Headed by Oliver O. Howard (former Union General)
      b. Meant as a short-term agency to last until about a year after the end of the war
      c. The Bureau helped build schools, found colleges, provide medical care, and supervise labor contracts between former slaves and their employers

D. Presidential Reconstruction: Johnson’s Plan, May 1865
   1. Based on states’ rights and the viewpoint that the southern states had not given up their right to self-government when they left the Union during the Civil War
2. Required states to revoke their ordinance of secession and vow loyalty to the Union

3. Slavery had to be abolished and the 13th Amendment had to be ratified

4. A new state government had to be elected

5. Offered pardons to all Southern whites except the main Confederate leaders and wealthy Confederate supporters
   i. Former leaders of the Confederacy were disenfranchised (but the president was able to pardon anyone he wanted to)

6. Each state government could outline how it wanted to treat blacks

7. 8 months after Johnson took office all 11 of the former Confederate states met the requirements of his Reconstruction plan
   a. Many former Confederate leaders had also won back seats in Congress

II. The Black Codes and Violence Against Blacks
   A. Freedom for Blacks?
      1. The Black Codes suppressed the rights of blacks
         a. Could not rent land or borrow money to buy land
         b. Had to sign work contracts
         c. Not allowed to serve on juries
      2. It was argued that the institution of the Black Codes was a direct result of Johnson’s lenient Reconstruction policy as well as allowing the southern states to determine voting rights, etc.
      3. A direct result of the Black Codes was the rise of the Radical Republicans in Congress, who fought for racial equality for blacks

   B. The Ku Klux Klan
      1. White supremacist terror group that formed in 1865 in Tennessee
      2. Tried to keep blacks from voting or exercising other rights
      3. Threatened, beat, and murdered blacks
      4. The Force Acts of 1870 were created to combat the violations of black suffrage (could not discriminate with regard to voter registration based on race, color, or previous condition of servitude)

III. Congress vs. Johnson: The Struggle over Reconstruction
   A. Congress Meets
      1. After the new governments were formed, many former Confederate leaders had a seat in Congress—this angered the Republicans
         a. The newly instituted Black Codes also angered them and it appeared that Reconstruction was not working
      2. Congress sought to control Reconstruction and the Republicans split into the Radicals and the Moderates

   B. The Radical Republicans
      1. Key Radicals: Senator Charles Sumner (MA) and Representative Thaddeus Stevens (PA)
         a. Both favored establishing new Southern government based on equality before the law and universal male suffrage
2. The Radicals felt the federal government should take strong actions to protect the rights of blacks and loyal whites in the South
   a. They also thought that giving blacks the right to vote was the only way to establish Southern governments that were loyal to the Union and controlled by Republicans

C. The Moderates
1. They made up the largest group of Republicans and controlled the party

2. They agreed with President Johnson that the states should decide whether to give blacks the right to vote

3. They agreed with the Radicals that the rights of blacks needed greater protection

4. They supported the Radicals in demanding that Congress, not the president, should determine Reconstruction policy

D. Congressional Action
1. Congress continued to battle with Johnson
   a. In February 1866: Johnson vetoed extension of the Freedmen’s Bureau (but it was later passed over his veto)
   b. The issue was what the appropriate level of government involvement should be in maintaining racial equality

2. March 1866: Congress passed a Civil Rights Act of 1866
   a. Gave blacks citizenship and attacked the Black Codes
      i. Johnson vetoed the bill, but again it was overridden

3. In June 1866 Congress proposed the 14th Amendment: prevented states from denying rights and privileges to any U.S. citizen born or naturalized in the U.S. and provided U.S. citizens with equal protection under the laws as well as due process

4. None of the defeated Southern states had yet been readmitted into the Union
   a. Congress declared that the states could not rejoin the Union until they ratified the 14th Amendment
      i. Johnson urged the states to reject the amendment
   b. The 14th Amendment was finally ratified by the required number of states in 1868

5. 1866 congressional elections gave the Republicans a 2/3 majority in both houses—this would determine the future of Reconstruction policy

6. Following the 1866 congressional elections, Congress passed the Reconstruction Acts of 1867 and 1868, which:
   a. Divided the South into five military districts
   b. Outlined how new governments, based on manhood suffrage (without regard to race) were to be set-up (TN was already readmitted so this did not apply to it)
   c. Required states to allow all qualified male voters, including blacks, to vote
   d. Required Southerners to guarantee citizens equal rights and to ratify the 14th Amendment
   e. This period of Radical Reconstruction lasted until 1877

7. Another action taken by Congress was the passage of the Tenure of Office Act (1867), again overriding the president’s veto
a. Forced the president to consult the Senate before removing political appointees

b. In February 1868, he violated the Tenure of Office Act by dismissing Secretary of War Edwin Stanton, a supporter of the Radicals

c. February 24, 1868, the House voted to impeach Johnson
   i. He was charged with 11 counts of “high crimes and misdemeanors” but more obviously the Radicals wanted Johnson out because they disagreed when it came to policy
   ii. The Senate was one vote short of removing Johnson from office

8. In 1868, Ulysses S. Grant won the Republican nomination (war hero) [More in CH 23]
a. In 1869, Congress proposed the 15th Amendment—it made it illegal to deny citizens the right to vote because of their race
   i. It was ratified by the states in 1870
   [ii. It should also be mentioned that the women’s rights movement was both encouraged and divided by the 14th and 15th Amendments]
   aa. The 14th Amendment gave blacks citizenship –Section 2 of the amendment was used to clarify “whole persons” would be represented; women were left out of this amendment
   bb. The 15th Amendment stated that voting “shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude."
      1. To many women it seemed the last part should have been “race, color, or sex,” but it deliberately had been replaced by "previous condition of servitude," (slavery)
   [iii. These amendments added to the women’s suffrage cause and led to the formation of many suffrage associations]

9. The Civil Rights Act of 1875 was the last reform enacted by Congress with regard to Reconstruction
   a. It guaranteed equal accommodations in public places (hotels, railroads, theaters) and prohibited courts from excluding blacks from serving on juries

[10. Secretary of State William Seward secured the purchase of Alaska from Russia in 1867]
a. Big foreign policy success of the Johnson Administration (known as Seward’s folly)

IV. Reconstructing the South
   A. The Republican South
   1. The Republicans in the South consisted of three main groups—blacks, former Northerners, who came to the South became known as carpetbaggers, and Southern, white, Republicans were called scalawags
   2. Blacks formed the largest group of southern Republicans
      a. Thousands voted in the elections to form the new Reconstruction government
      b. Only 17 blacks won election to Congress during Reconstruction
   3. The carpetbaggers were largely former Union soldiers who had been attracted by economic opportunities in the South
      a. Many carpetbaggers bought land or opened businesses in the South
b. More than 60 carpetbaggers were elected to Congress
c. 9 carpetbaggers served as governors
d. Southern whites used the term carpetbagger to suggest these Northerners could fit all their possessions in a carpetbag (suitcase) when they came to the South

4. The scalawags were native-born white Republicans and for the most part, were not slaveowners
   a. Sought to prevent former Confederates from regaining power in the South

V. Evaluation of Reconstruction: Success or Failure?
   A. New South or Old South?
      1. Henry W. Grady coined the term “New South”: a South free of slavery and plantation life and based on industrialization
         a. The question became how and when would the South achieve this?
      2. It was not easy for blacks to be integrated into society or governments—polices were started in some areas but lacked follow through
      3. Whites had a difficult time accepting that blacks had rights and could have a say in the government
      4. Reconstruction failed to solve the economic problems the South as a whole
         a. Few blacks acquired land and lacked economic independence
            i. Many turned to sharecropping where they rented small plots from white plantation owners and paid with a portion of their crop
            ii. This system gave blacks more independence but it was an inefficient method of production that weakened the South’s agricultural economy
      5. State governments helped develop the South’s natural resources and expand its railroad network
      6. Reconstruction led many southern whites to support the Democratic Party
      7. Reconstruction also failed to bring racial harmony to the South as whites refused to share political power with blacks
      8. The Southern states continued to violate the rights of blacks for many years after the end of Reconstruction
      9. Later... the 14th Amendment would be used by civil rights groups and the Supreme Court in the 1950s and 1960s to put an end to segregation