

## Chapter 18

### I. Impact of the war

- A. Questions raised about the South
  1. Confederates tried for treason?
  2. How should new governments be formed?
  3. Rebuilding the economy (who to pay for it?)
    - a. Confederate debts
    - b. Railroads, buildings, levees
- B. Change in political power
  1. Northern gov. friendly to business
  2. Accomplishments
    - a. **Morrill Tariff** – doubled avg. level of import duties
    - b. **National Banking Act** – uniform banking system & bank-note currency (helped fund war)
    - c. **Homestead Act of 1862** – granted 160 acres to settlers if promised to farm for 5 yrs
- C. Effects on the South
  1. Physical and economic devastation
    - a. Land values dropped; Crops destroyed
  2. White women and work – unprepared b/c slaves did all work
  3. Bitterness of whites → some moved (Western territories, Canada, Mex., Europe, etc.)
  4. The former slaves
    - a. Citizenship and legal rights – technically same as whites
    - b. Landless – released w/o property → no money, no jobs, no food
    - c. **Freedmen's Bureau** – provide relief to ex-slaves, medical care, schools, did not fight for their rights more than “here are your rights”

### II. Developing a plan of Reconstruction

- A. Loyal counties of Virginia to Union → West Virginia (1861)
- B. **Lincoln** puts military governors in Tennessee, Arkansas, and Louisiana (1862)
- C. **Lincoln's** plan of Reconstruction
  1. Provisions – Rebel state → union government when 10% of voters in 1860 took oath of allegiance to Constitution & Union & received pres. Pardon
    - a. Exclusions: civil/diplomatic officers of Confed., Sr. officers of army, judges, congressmen,
  2. Implementation in Tennessee, Arkansas, and Louisiana – loyal to Union, congress didn't recognize them
  3. Lincoln claims president has power over reconstruction
  4. **Wade-Davis Bill** – required majority of white male citizens to declare allegiance; only serve on constitutional conventions if attest to past loyalty (“ironclad” oath); conventions would abolish slavery, exclude political rights from high-ranking civil & military officers of Confed.; remove debts from war
    - a. Lincoln refuses to sign it (“pocket veto”)
  5. Lincoln's final statement on Reconstruction – Confed. states never left Union; no radical reconstruction of southern social & economic life
  6. Assassination of Lincoln – April 14, **John Wilkes Booth**
- D. Johnson and Reconstruction

1. **Andrew Johnson's** background – humble origins; racial attitudes of most white yeomen (racist)
2. Radicals' perception of him – at first liked him; then didn't
3. Johnson's plan
  - a. Union indestructible – states quickly brought back to Union
  - b. **Proclamation of Amnesty** (May 1865) – excluded pardon from rich (property >\$20,000)
  - c. Native unionist as temp. gov.; state conventions to void secession ordinances, abolish slavery, take back all debt to confed.; ratify 13<sup>th</sup> Amendment

E. Southern reactions

1. Intransigence – southerners disregard northerners' rules for reentering Union
2. **Black codes** (limit freedom) – existing marriages recognized; black testimony ok in black cases; own property; able to sue & be sued; no farm in Miss. No city lots in S.C.; no firearms w/o license; Dependent children required to apprentice; masters could whip/beat them; fined if unemployed (then forced to work in fields)

F. Radicals and Reconstruction

1. Motivation – needed black votes to control Congress/ White House
2. **Thaddeus Stevens's** conquered provinces argument – states subject to complete ctrl
3. **Charles Sumner** - Forfeited rights theory – southern states forfeited their rights by succession

G. Johnson vs. Congress

1. Veto of **Freedmen's Bureau** (1866) – b/c wartime conditions didn't exist anymore
2. Assault on Radical → he undermines his authority
3. Veto of **Civil Rights Act** (gives full rights to all born in U.S.) overridden → loses more support

H. **Fourteenth Amendment** (passed June 1866, ratified July 1868) – forbids states to take rights of citizens; to deprive them of equal protection under laws

III. Congressional Reconstruction triumphant

A. Actions in Congress early in 1867

1. Extension of suffrage in the District of Columbia (1867)
2. Requirement that new Congress convene → prevent Johnson from resting
3. **Command of the Army Act** – all orders from commander-in-chief to go through general of army (**Ulysses S. Grant**)
4. **Tenure of Office Act** – consent of Senate for president to remove officeholder whose appt. the Senate had to confirm to begin with
5. **Military Reconstruction Act**
  - a. States w/o black suffrage or 14<sup>th</sup> amendment → 5 military districts w/ commanding officer to keep order; use of military tribunals instead of court
  - b. Tennessee exempted b/c ratified 14<sup>th</sup> amendment

B. **2<sup>nd</sup> Reconstruction Act** (mar 23 1867) – army commanders to register all adult males if said qualified

C. **3<sup>rd</sup> Reconstruction Act** (Jul 19) – required registrar to determine if eligible

D. Constitutional issues and the Supreme Court

1. Congress removes power of Supreme court to review cases under the Military Reconstruction Act
2. **Texas v. White** (1868) – accepted above and affirmed “indestructible union”; asserted Congress's right to reframe state governments (pro Radical Repub.)

E. Effort to remove Johnson

1. Impeachment
  - a. Johnson's actions – hostile to congressional reconstruction; not much
  - b. Failure of first effort to impeach (1867) – flimsy charges
  - c. Deliberate violation of Tenure of Office Act in order to test its constitutionality
  - d. **Articles of impeachment** (Feb 24 1868) – passed 126 to 47
    - i. Unlawfully removed Stanton; failed to give Senate name of successor
    - ii. Violated Command of Army Act by scandalous harangues
    - iii. Violated Reconstruction Acts; obstructed congress's will
2. Trial
  - a. Arguments – Lincoln appointed Stanton so Tenure of Office didn't apply (this act was also proven unconstitutional later)
  - b. Acquittal – one vote short of 2/3 majority
  - c. Role of **Edmund Ross** – 1 vote what was needed; demanded political favors from Johnson
3. Ramifications
  - a. Crippled presidency – he basically lost his power
  - b. **Johnson's** loss in 1868 for democratic presidential nomination; lost to **Horatio Seymour** (NY governor)
    - i. Seymour (Dem.) lost to Ulysses Grant (Rep.)
  - c. Radicals
    - i. Morale damaged
    - ii. Radical Reconstruction began b/c Johnson agreed not to obstruct it

#### F. Radical rule in the South

1. 7 southern states readmitted (Jun 1868); except for VA, MI, TX; GA later not allowed b/c replaced 28 blacks with confed. leaders in state legislature
2. Duration of Radical control lasted until 1870; had to ratify 15<sup>th</sup> amendment
3. **15<sup>th</sup> Amendment** – can't deny any person right to vote b/c race, color, ex-slave
4. Union League – promote support for Union; many members

#### IV. Reconstructed South

##### A. African Americans

1. Goals under freedom
  - a. Equal opportunities; Respect; White resistance
2. Black initiatives
  - a. Military service – opportunity to learn to read/write & become nationalist
    - i. Independent organizations (Baptist Churches, Clubs, lodges, associations) → created community life
  - b. Family life – Marriages legitimized via Freedmen's Bureau
    - i. Wanted to keep control of work & children → **sharecropping**
  - c. Schools
    - i. Persisting white opposition b/c thought poor whites & blacks would leave south in search of \$\$\$; protect low-wage labor market
    - ii. Northern assistance – help to found schools etc.
    - iii. Churches often raised money & built schools & paid teachers (1<sup>st</sup> teachers often soldiers)

##### B. Blacks in Southern Politics

1. Complaints – some resented northerners who moved south for economic opportunities; opposed redistribution of land; political equality ≠ social equality
2. Unity over dissension general theme → full equality under law

3. Black participation in government rare
- C. **Carpetbaggers** – northerners who moved south b/c economic opportunity
- D. **Scalawags** – native white repub. who opposed secession (Confed. gen. **James A. Longstreet** after Appomattox)
- E. Achievements of the Radical governments
  1. New state constitutions
    - a. Black suffrage
    - b. Civil rights – equality before law, right to own property, own business, enter professions, attend school, learn to read/write
  2. Public improvements – RR network, state school systems, poor relief, orphanages, asylums, deaf/blind institutions, public roads, bridges, buildings
  3. Corruption – accept bid at high prices (as a favor); public officials took cut of contracts
- F. White Terror
  1. Objections to black participation in government → hostile to Republicans
  2. The **Ku Klux Klan** – terrorist group
    - a. Fraternal group (pranksters) → intimidation of blacks & republicans
    - b. Spread rumors, threats, harassment, violence, destruction
  3. **Enforcement Acts** (1870-1871) - protect black voters
    - a. Cannot interfere with right to vote, federal election supervisors & marshals; can't form conspiracies, wear disguises, resist officers, intimidate officials; can suspend habeas corpus to suppress them
- G. The return of conservative control
  1. Reasons for abandonment of the Radical programs b/c of weariness due to
    - a. Western expansion, Indian wars, new economic opportunities, tariff/currency issues → distracted attention
    - b. 1873 Business panic & depression
  2. Radical Republicans gone after election of 1868
- V. The Grant years
  - A. The election of 1868
    1. Reasons for support of **Grant** – support “Lion of Vicksburg”; war leader
    2. The Grant ticket and platform – defend black suffrage; pay off national debt; peace
    3. Democratic programs and candidates – said republicans didn't restore union; pay off war bonds in Greenbacks
    4. Results – **Grant wins**
  - B. The character of Grant's leadership – blind to political forces & influence → gullible; passively followed lead of Congress; ineffective
  - C. Early appointments – left cabinet; Sec. of State stayed (**Hamilton Fish** of NY)
  - D. Proposal to pay the government debt in hard-money (gold); Public Credit Act (Mar 18 1869)
    1. **Refunding Act of 1870** – treasury replaced 6% Civil War bonds w/ 4-5% bonds in gold
  - E. Scandals
    1. **Jay Gould, Jim Fisk** corner gold market → price of gold increases b/c people buy more → sell at high price → make money
      - a. Grant orders Treasury to sell large amount of gold (“**Black Friday**” Sep 24 1869) → price of gold drops
    2. **Crédit-Mobilier** – construction company charged Union Pacific lots of \$\$\$ to make insiders money; members of Congress involved
    3. Other scandals
      - a. Sec. of war bribed by merchants b/c traded w/ Indians at army posts (resigned)

- b. Post-office contracts went to carriers who offered the most
- c. Sec. of treasury offered 50% commission for collection of late taxes to friend
- d. Grant's private sec. took lots of \$\$\$ for inside info; no proof Grant was involved
- 4. Grant's personal role in the scandals – can't be proved that Grant took part in anything
- F. Reform and the election of 1872
  - 1. Liberal Republicans nominate **Greeley** in 1872 (free trade, greenbacks → gold, stable currency, ending Reconstruction in S., restoring rights of former confeds.,)
  - 2. Grant's advantages – support of several states, donations from businesses & banks, Radical Rep. support, war hero; Grant wins
- G. Economic panic
  - 1. Causes for the depression – RR bonds fail; ~25 RR fail to pay interest (defaulted); Vienna financiers sell American stocks & bonds → Cooke & Co. bankrupt (sep 18 1873)
  - 2. Severity of the depression –); 6 years; longest & most severe
- H. Democratic control of the House in 1874
- I. Spent greenbacks 1<sup>st</sup>, use gold for foreign accts. → gold drain in U.S.
- J. Reissue of greenbacks → each currency shortage
- K. **Resumption Act of 1875** – redemption of greenbacks in gold → increase value so \$1 = \$1 gold
- VI. Election of 1876
  - A. Elimination of **Grant** (already 2 terms) and **James G. Blaine** (tainted by scandal)
  - B. Republicans nominate **Hayes** – obnoxious to no one; pro hard money; civil service reforms
  - C. Democrats nominate **Samuel J. Tilden** – millionaire corporation lawyer; reformer of NY
  - D. Views of the parties
    - 1. Both – white conservative in south, civil service reform; make attacks on other side (Republicans blame Democrats for secession & racism against blacks)
  - E. Results of the popular vote – Tilden wins by 300,00 votes; **BUT NOT** in electoral college
  - F. Role of the Electoral Commission – decide who wins in electoral college; **Hayes wins**
  - G. **Wormley House bargain (Compromise of 1877)**
    - 1. Promises of each sided – Hayes to withdraw troops in south → Rep. gov. in south collapse, Democrats withdraw opposition to Hayes & accept Reconstruction amendments
    - 2. Promises filled and unfilled – Hayes appoints Tenn. Confed. to post master general; Democrats don't permit **James Garfield** as House Speaker, rest of promises forgotten
  - H. The end of Reconstruction
    - 1. The crumbling of African-American rights b/c black civil rights forgotten; 13-15<sup>th</sup> amendments wait to be awakened
    - 2. An enduring legacy – Reconstruction creates foundation for future civil rights advancements