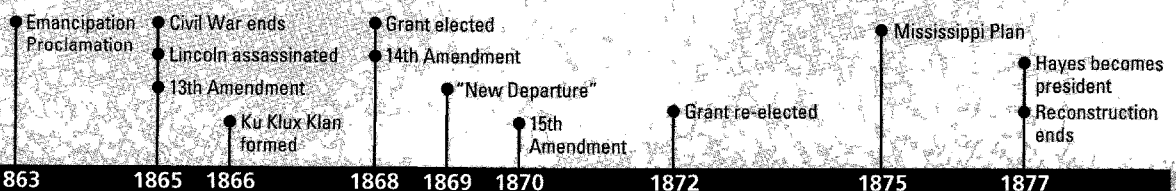
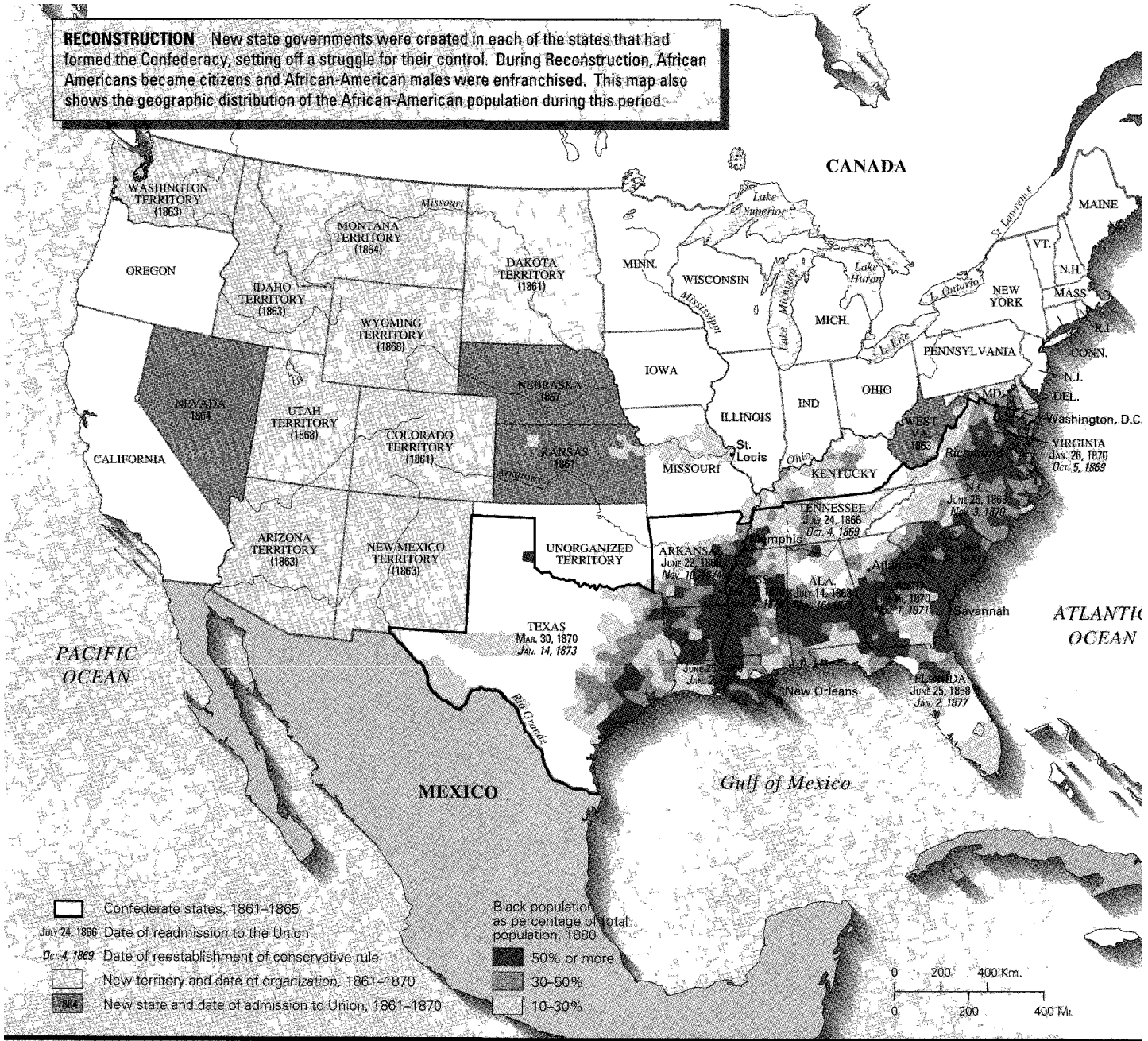




**RECONSTRUCTION** New state governments were created in each of the states that had formed the Confederacy, setting off a struggle for their control. During Reconstruction, African Americans became citizens and African-American males were enfranchised. This map also shows the geographic distribution of the African-American population during this period.



# Reconstruction: High Hopes and Broken Dreams,

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## 1865-1877

### Presidential Reconstruction

- What did President Lincoln and President Johnson expect to accomplish through their reconstruction plans?
- At first, how did white southerners choose to respond to Lincoln's and Johnson's efforts at reconstruction? What were the initial outcomes of the presidents' choices?

- What expectations did southern whites hold at the end of the Civil War? What initial choices did they make to define the legal status of the freed people?

### Freedom and the Legacy of Slavery

- What expectations did freed people hold for freedom? What choices did they make based on those expectations?
-

## **Congressional Reconstruction**

- What did Republicans in Congress expect to accomplish by taking control of Reconstruction? What choices did they make to accomplish those goals?
- How did the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments transform the nature of the federal Union?

## **Black Reconstruction**

- Who made up the Republican party in the South during Reconstruction? Why did each major group choose to be Republican?
- What important choices did Republican state administrations make during Reconstruction? How effective were their actions?

## **The End of Reconstruction**

- What was the Mississippi Plan, and how was it related to the end of Reconstruction?
  - What were the final outcomes of Reconstruction?

# ( INTRODUCTION )

By 1865, the war had touched the life of nearly every American. When the last Confederate military resistance collapsed, some 2.6 million men had served in the Union or Confederate army since 1861—about 40 percent of the male population ages 15 to 40 in 1860. More than six hundred thousand had died. Women made important contributions to the war effort as civilians and even as soldiers.

Except for Gettysburg, the major battles in the Civil War had occurred in the South or the border states. Toward the end of the war, Union armies swept across the South, leaving devastation behind them: burned and shelled buildings, ravaged fields, twisted railroad tracks. This destruction, and the collapse of the region's financial system, posed significant *constraints* on economic revival in the South.

More devastating for many white southerners than the property damage and destruction was the emancipation of four million slaves. In 1861, fearful *expectations* about the future of slavery had caused the South to *choose* secession. The *outcome* of the war made those fears a reality. The end of slavery forced southerners of both races to reconsider their *expectations* and to make a series of *choices* about social, economic, and political relations between the races.

Reconstruction, the period between 1865 and 1877, was a time of physical rebuilding throughout the South. The term "Reconstruction," however, refers primarily to the rebuilding of the federal Union and to the political, economic, and social

Expectations  
Constraints  
Choices  
Outcomes

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changes that came to the South after the war. Reconstruction involved *choices* about some of the most momentous questions in American history. How was the defeated South to be treated? What was to be the future of the former slaves? Were key decisions to be made in Washington or in the state capitals? Was Congress or the president to establish policies?

As the Republicans reconstructed the Union, they redefined the very nature of the Union. They made *choices* about the terms on which the South might rejoin the Union and about the rights of the former slaves. They also permanently changed the definition of American citizenship.

These changes conflicted with the *expectations* of most white southerners. *Choices* over the future of the South and of the freedmen also produced conflict between the president and Congress. A lasting *outcome* of these *choices* was a significant increase in the power of the federal government and new *constraints* on state governments. In the end, however, the *outcome* of Reconstruction failed to fulfill African Americans' *expectations* for freedom and equality.

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## Presidential Reconstruction

On New Year's Day, 1863, President Abraham Lincoln began the process by which all people in the nation became free by signing the Emancipation Proclamation. Although the proclamation abolished slavery only in territory under Confederate control, where it could not be enforced, every subsequent advance of a Union army brought the reality of emancipation to the Confederacy.

## Republican War Aims

The Emancipation Proclamation established the destruction of slavery as a war aim second in importance only to preserving the Union. Freedom for the slaves became a central concern in part be-

**emancipation** Release from bondage; freedom.

## Reconstruction

1863 Emancipation Proclamation  
Ten-Percent Plan

1864 Abraham Lincoln reelected

1865 Freedmen's Bureau created  
Civil War ends  
Lincoln assassinated  
Johnson becomes president  
Thirteenth Amendment (abolishing slavery)  
ratified

1866 Ku Klux Klan formed  
Congress begins to assert control over  
Reconstruction  
Civil Rights Act of 1866  
Riots by whites in Memphis and  
New Orleans

1867 Military Reconstruction Act  
Tenure of Office Act

1868 Impeachment of President Johnson  
Fourteenth Amendment (defining  
citizenship) ratified  
Ulysses S. Grant elected president

1869-1870 Victories of "New Departure"  
Democrats in some southern  
states

1870 Fifteenth Amendment (guaranteeing voting  
rights) ratified

1870-1871 Ku Klux Klan Acts

1872 Grant re-elected

1875 Civil Rights Act of 1875  
Mississippi Plan ends Reconstruction in  
Mississippi

1876 Disputed presidential election: Hayes  
vs. Tilden

1877 Compromise of 1877  
Hayes becomes president  
End of Reconstruction

cause **abolitionists** were an influential element within the Republican party. This powerful Republican **faction** developed a third objective: citizenship for the former slaves and the equality of all citizens before the law. The people who held what were then considered extreme views on black rights were called Radical Republicans or simply **Radicals**.

Thaddeus Stevens, the Radical leader in the House of Representatives, had argued as early as 1838 that voting rights should be extended to Pennsylvania's free African Americans. He became an uncompromising advocate of equal rights for African Americans. So did Charles Sumner of Massachusetts, the leading Radical in the Senate. He had argued for **racial integration** of

Massachusetts schools in 1849 and won election to the U.S. Senate in 1851. A defender of slavery

**abolitionist** Someone who condemned slavery as morally wrong and believed that it should be abolished.

**faction** A group of people with shared opinions and goals who split off from a larger group.

**Radicals** A faction of the Republican party that advocated citizenship for former slaves; Radical Republicans believed the South should be forced to meet congressional goals for reform.

**racial integration** The bringing together of people of different racial groups into unrestricted and equal association in a society or organization.



This engraving celebrating the Emancipation Proclamation first appeared in 1863. Although it places a white Union soldier in the center, it also portrays the important role of African-American troops and emphasizes the significance of education and literacy. *The Library Company of Philadelphia.*

had caned Sumner severely on the Senate floor in 1856 because of his outspoken views against slavery.

Most Radicals demanded a drastic restructuring not only of the South's political system but also of its economy. They had opposed slavery on moral grounds, but they also believed that free labor was crucial to democracy itself. "The middling classes who own the soil, and work it with their own hands," Stevens once proclaimed, "are the main support of every free government." The Radicals concluded that free labor would have to be elevated to a position of honor for the South to be fully democratic.

Not all Republicans accepted the proposals of the Radicals. All Republicans had objected to the expansion of slavery, but not all Republicans had been abolitionists, and not all Republicans wanted to extend citizenship rights to the former slaves. Some moderate Republicans were undecided about the proper course to take. Other moderates favored rapid restoration of the South so that the federal government could concentrate on stimulating economic growth and developing the West.

### **Lincoln's Approach to Reconstruction: "With Malice Toward None"**

President Lincoln and congressional Radicals agreed that emancipation had to be a condition for the return of the South to the Union. However, major differences appeared over other terms for reunion when Lincoln issued a Proclamation of **Amnesty** and Reconstruction (the "Ten-Percent Plan") in December 1863.

The proclamation offered a full pardon to those who swore their loyalty to the Union and accepted the abolition of slavery. Only high-ranking Confederate leaders were not eligible. When those who took the oath amounted to 10 percent of a state's voters in the 1860 presidential election, the pardoned voters were to write a new state constitution that abolished slavery. They were then to elect state officials. Lincoln hoped such leniency would encourage prominent southerners to abandon the Confederacy and to accept emancipation.

Many Republicans thought that Congress should be more involved in restoring the southern states to the Union. Two leading Radicals, Benjamin F. Wade and Henry W. Davis, proposed that 50 percent of a state's white males be required to swear loyalty to the Union before a new civil government could be formed. Congress passed the Wade-Davis bill in

**moderates** Those whose views are midway between two more extreme positions; in this case, Republicans who favored some reforms but not all the Radicals' proposals.

**amnesty** A general pardon granted by a government, especially for political offenses.

July 1864. Lincoln, however, killed it with a **pocket veto**.

Lincoln continued to hope that his Ten-Percent Plan might hasten the end of the war. New state governments were established in Arkansas, Louisiana, and Tennessee during 1864 and early 1865. In Louisiana, the new government denied voting rights to black males, and it maintained restrictions on plantation laborers. Radicals complained loudly, but Lincoln urged patience. The Radicals became convinced that freed people were unlikely to receive equitable treatment from state governments formed under the Ten-Percent Plan. Moderate Republicans moved toward the Radicals' position that only **suffrage** could protect the freedmen's rights and that only federal action could secure suffrage for blacks.

All Republicans could agree by 1865 that slavery had to be destroyed permanently. The Emancipation Proclamation had not affected slavery in states such as Delaware and Kentucky, where it remained legal. To destroy slavery forever throughout the Union, Congress in early 1865 approved the Thirteenth **Amendment**.

By December 1865, only nineteen of the twenty-five Union states had ratified the amendment; however, eight of the reconstructed southern states had ratified it, bringing the total to twenty-seven, the number needed for ratification. Thus the abolition of slavery was accomplished by reconstructed state governments in the South.

### Andrew Johnson and Reconstruction

After the assassination of Lincoln in mid-April 1865, Vice President Andrew Johnson became president. A Tennessee Democrat who had been born into poverty, Johnson was the only southerner who did not resign from his U.S. Senate seat after **secession**. Lincoln had appointed him military governor of Tennessee early in the war. Johnson had harsh words for Tennessee secessionists, especially the wealthy planters whom he blamed for secession. Radical Republicans applauded Johnson's verbal assaults on these Confederates. He received the Republican nomination for vice president in 1864 because Lincoln wanted to appeal to Democrats and to Unionists in border states.



◆ Radical Republicans initially hoped that Andrew Johnson would be their ally. Instead he proved to be unsympathetic to most Radical goals. His self-righteous and uncompromising personality led to conflict that eventually produced an unsuccessful effort to remove him from office in 1868. *Library of Congress.*

**pocket veto** The veto that occurs when Congress adjourns before the end of the ten-day period that the Constitution gives the president for considering whether to sign a bill and the president's decision is to "pocket" the bill—that is, not to sign it and let it expire.

**suffrage** The right to vote.

**Thirteenth Amendment** Constitutional amendment ratified in 1865 that abolished slavery in the United States and its territories.

**secession** The withdrawal of eleven southern states from the United States in 1860-1861, giving rise to the Civil War.



The Radicals hoped that Johnson as president would join in their plans for transforming the South. Johnson, however, soon made it clear that he opposed the Radicals. "White men alone must manage the South," Johnson told one visitor. He did recommend that a few freedmen be given limited political roles. But Johnson saw the major task of Reconstruction as empowering the region's white middle class and keeping the planters from regaining power.

In practice, Johnson's approach to Reconstruction differed little from Lincoln's. Like Lincoln, he relied on his power to grant pardons. Despite his bitterness toward the southern elite, he granted amnesty to most former Confederates who pledged loyalty to the Union and support for emancipation.

Johnson appointed provisional governors for the southern states that had not already been reconstructed and instructed them to call constitutional conventions. Some provisional governors, however, appointed former Confederates to state and local offices, outraging those who expected that Unionists would be appointed to these offices.

Johnson expected the state constitutional conventions to abolish slavery within each state, to ratify the Thirteenth Amendment, and to renounce secession and the state's war debts. The states were then to hold elections and resume their place in the Union. State conventions during the summer of 1865 usually complied with these provisions. Nearly all ratified the Thirteenth Amendment. They renounced secession. However, they all rejected black suffrage.

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## Freedom and the Legacy of Slavery

After the war, African Americans throughout the South set about creating new, free lives for themselves. Slaves and most free blacks in the South had previously led lives tightly constrained by law and custom. They had been permitted few social organizations of their own. Now freed, they faced enormous changes in almost every aspect of

their lives. They quickly developed hopes for a future free from the old constraints.

The central theme of the black response to emancipation was "a desire for independence from white control," historian Eric Foner observes. This desire for autonomy affected every aspect of life: family, churches, schools, newspapers, and a host of other social institutions.

### Defining the Meaning of Freedom

Freedom was not something that Lincoln or the Union armies gave to enslaved blacks. It came, instead, when individual slaves stopped working for a master and claimed the right to be free. Nor did freedom come to all slaves at the same time. For some, freedom had come before the Emancipation Proclamation, when they had walked away from their owners, crossed into Union-held territory, and asserted their freedom. Toward the end of the war, many slaves simply declared their freedom and left their former masters. Owners were surprised when even their most favored slaves left them. For Kentucky slaves, freedom did not come until ratification of the Thirteenth Amendment.

Across the South, the approach of Yankee troops set off a joyous celebration that the slaves called a Jubilee. One Virginia woman remembered that "when they knew that they were free they, oh! baby! began to sing. . . . Such rejoicing and shouting you never heard in your life." A man recalled that with the appearance of the Union soldiers, "We was all walking on golden clouds. Hallelujah!" Black historian W. E. B. Du Bois described it this way: "A great human sob shrieked in the wind, and tossed its tears on the sea,—free, free, free."

**autonomy** Self-government or the right of self-determination.

**W. E. B. Du Bois** American historian and civil rights activist who helped found the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and wrote several influential studies of black life in America.



- ◆ Before emancipation, slaves typically made their own simple and rough clothing, or they received the cast-off clothing, of their owners and overseers. With emancipation, those freed people who had an income could afford to dress more fashionably. The Harry Stephens family probably put on their best clothes for a visit to the photographer G. Gable in 1866. *Gilman Paper Company, New York.*

The freed people expressed their new freedom in many ways. Some chose new names. Many changed their style of dress. Some acquired guns. A significant benefit of freedom was the ability to travel without a pass. Many freed people took advantage of this new opportunity. Most, however, traveled only short distances to find work, to seek family members separated from them by slavery, or to return to homes that war had forced them to leave.

Many African Americans felt they had to leave the site of their enslavement to experience full freedom. One woman explained that she left the plantation where she had been a slave because "if I stay here I'll never know I'm free." Many freed people did not return to their former homes because of the poor treatment they had suffered there.

The towns and cities of the South attracted many freed people. The presence of Union troops seemed to offer protection from the random violence that occurred in many rural areas. The cities and towns also offered black churches, schools, and other social institutions begun by free blacks before the war. Urban wages were usually better than those on the plantations. Cities and towns, however, had little housing for the influx of former slaves. Most crowded into black neighborhoods of hastily built shanties where sanitation was poor and disease common.

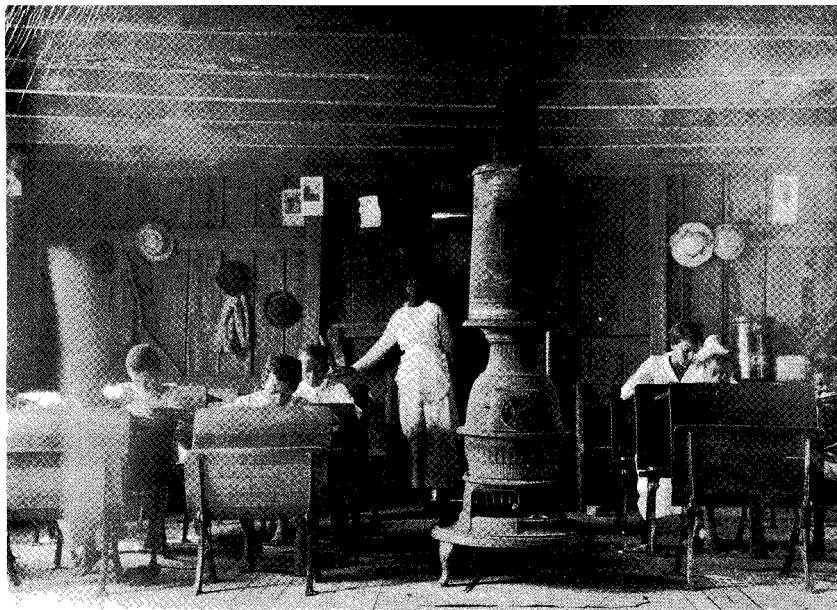
## Creating Communities

During Reconstruction, African Americans created their own communities with their own social institutions.

Freed people hoped to strengthen family ties. Some families were reunited after years of separation caused by the sale of children or spouses. Some spent years searching for lost family members.

The new freedom to conduct religious services without white supervision was centrally important. Churches became the most prominent social organization in African-American communities. Black ministers advised and helped to educate congregation members as they adjusted to the changes brought by freedom. Ministers emerged as important leaders within developing African-American communities.

Freed people understood the importance of education. Setting up a school, said one, was "the first proof" of independence. Many of the new schools were not just for children but also for adults who



. During Reconstruction, freed people gave a high priority to the establishment of schools, often with the assistance of the Freedmen's Bureau and northern missionary societies. This photograph of a newly established school, showing both the barefoot students and the teacher, was taken around 1870. *Library of Congress.*

had previously been barred from learning by state laws. The desire to learn was widespread and intense. One freedman in Georgia wrote: "The Lord has sent books and teachers. We must not hesitate a moment, but go on and learn all we can."

Public school systems had not existed in much of the South before the war. In many places, freed people created the first public schools. The region faced a severe shortage of teachers, books, and schoolrooms. Northern reformers assisted the transition to freedom by focusing on education.

In March 1865, Congress created the **Freedmen's Bureau**, an agency run by the War Department to assist the freed people. The nation's first welfare agency, it helped them find employment or become farmers. Its most lasting contribution, however, was helping to establish a black educational system. Northern aid and missionary societies, together with the Freedmen's Bureau, also established schools to train black teachers. By 1870, the Bureau supervised more than 4,000 schools, with more than 9,000 teachers and 247,000 students. Still, in 1870, the schools had room for only one black child in ten.

African Americans also developed political organizations. In politics, their first objective was recognition of their equal rights as citizens. Frederick Douglass insisted that "slavery is not abolished until the black man has the ballot." Political conventions of African Americans in 1865 attracted hundreds of delegates. In calling for equality and voting rights, these conventions pointed to black contributions in the Civil

War as evidence of patriotism and devotion. They also appealed to the Declaration of Independence's assertion that "all men are created equal."

### **Land and Labor**

Former slaveowners reacted to emancipation in a variety of ways. Some tried to keep their slaves from learning of their freedom. A very few, like Mary Chesnut of South Carolina, actually welcomed an end to slavery. Few provided any compensation to assist their former slaves. One freedman stated, "I do know some of dem old slave owners to be nice enough to start der slaves off in

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**Freedmen's Bureau** Agency established in 1865 to aid former slaves in their transition to freedom, especially by administering relief and sponsoring education.

freedom wid somethin' to live on . . . but dey wasn't in droves, I tell you."

Many freed people looked to Union troops for assistance. When General Sherman led his army through Georgia in 1864, thousands of African Americans followed. They told Sherman that what they wanted most was to "reap the fruit of our own labor." In January 1865, Sherman responded by issuing Special Field Order No. 15. It set aside forty acres of land in the Sea Islands and coastal South Carolina and provided for the loan of an army mule for each family who settled there. By June, some forty thousand freed people had settled on 400,000 acres of "Sherman land."

Sherman's action encouraged many African Americans to expect that the federal government would order a similar redistribution of land throughout the South. "Forty acres and a mule" became a rallying cry. Land, Thaddeus Stevens proclaimed, would give the freed people control of their own labor. "If we do not furnish them with homesteads," he once said, "we had better left them in bondage."

The Freedmen's Bureau took the lead in the efforts to assist the freed people toward landownership and free labor. At the end of the war, the Bureau controlled more than 850,000 acres of land abandoned by former owners or confiscated from leading Confederates. In July 1865, General Oliver O. Howard, head of the Bureau, directed agents to divide this land into 40-acre plots.

The widespread expectation of "forty acres and a mule" came to an end when President Johnson issued pardons to the former owners of the confiscated land and ordered Howard to return the land to them. Johnson's order displaced thousands of African Americans who had already taken their 40 acres. They and others who had hoped for land now felt disappointed and betrayed. One recalled years later that they had expected "a heap from freedom dey didn't git."

**Sharecropping** slowly emerged across the South once expectations of **land redistribution** evaporated. Sharecropping grew out of the realities of the southern agricultural economy. Landowners owned large tracts but had no one to work them. Both black and white families wanted to raise their own crops but had no land, supplies, or money. The entire region was short of **capital**. Un-



- ◆ Sharecropping gave African Americans more control over their labor than did labor contracts. But sharecropping also contributed to the South's dependence on one-crop agriculture and helped perpetuate widespread rural poverty. Notice that the child standing on the right is holding her kitten, probably to be certain it is included in this family photograph. *Library of Congress.*

der sharecropping, an individual signed a contract with a landowner to rent land. The rent was typically a share of the annual harvest, ranging from a quarter to a third. If the landlord also provided mules, tools, seed, and fertilizer, however, the rent might be half or even two-thirds of the crop. Landowners preferred sharecropping because it encouraged tenants to be productive. Tenants preferred sharecropping to wage labor because they had more control over their work.

**sharecropping** Agricultural system in which tenant farmers give landlords a share of the crops as rent rather than cash.

**land redistribution** The division of land held by large landowners into small plots that are turned over to people without property.

**capital** Money needed to start a commercial enterprise.

Sharecroppers nevertheless often found themselves in debt to a local merchant who had advanced supplies on credit until the harvest came. Many landlords required tenants to patronize the stores they ran. All too often, the debt owed the store exceeded the value of the tenant's share of the harvest. Many southerners, black and white alike, became trapped by sharecropping and debt.

Until the 1890s, the act of casting a ballot on election day was an open process, and any observer could see how an individual was voting. Thus the power of the landlord and the merchant often extended to politics. When a landlord or merchant advocated a particular candidate, the unspoken message was often an implicit threat to cut off credit at the store or to evict a farmer from his plot if he did not vote as directed. Such forms of economic coercion had the potential to undercut voting rights.

### **The White South: Confronting Change**

The slow spread of sharecropping was just one of many ways that the end of slavery transformed the lives of white southerners. For some, the changes were nearly as profound as for the freed people. With Confederate money worthless, savings vanished. Some found their homes and other buildings destroyed. Thousands sold their landholdings and left the South.

Southern whites were unprepared for the extent of change facing them. Their early response to emancipation suggests that, apart from the abolition of slavery, they expected conditions to return to what they had been before the war. The newly reconstructed state legislatures passed black codes in 1865 to define the new legal status of African Americans. Black codes placed significant restraints on the freedom of black people. They required all African Americans to have an annual employment contract, restricted them from moving about the countryside without permission, forbade them from owning guns or carrying weapons, restricted ownership of land, and required those without a job to perform forced labor. The black codes clearly represented an effort by white southerners to define a legally subordinate place for African Americans.

Other white southerners used violence to coerce the freedmen into accepting a subordinate status. Violence and terror became closely associated with the **Ku Klux Klan**, a secret organization formed in 1866. Most Klan members were small-scale farmers and workers, but the leaders were often prominent citizens. Former Confederate general Nathan Bedford Forrest became a leader of the Klan. Klan groups throughout the South aimed to restore white supremacy and to end Republican rule.

Klan members covered their faces with hoods, wore white robes, and rode horses draped in white. So attired, they set out to intimidate leading black Republicans and their white Radical allies. Klan members also attacked African Americans accused of not showing deference to whites. Nightriders burned black churches and schools. The Klan devastated Republican organizations in many communities.

In 1866, two events dramatized for the nation the violence routinely inflicted on African Americans. In May, a three-day riot by whites in Memphis, Tennessee, left forty-five blacks and three whites dead. In New Orleans, some forty people died in July, most of them African Americans attending a black suffrage convention, in an altercation with police. "It was not a riot," insisted General Philip Sheridan, the military commander of the district. "It was an absolute massacre by the police."

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## **Congressional Reconstruction**

By early 1866, most congressional Republicans had concluded that Johnson's Reconstruction policies

**black codes** Laws passed by the southern states after the Civil War to limit the freedoms of African Americans and force them to return to agricultural labor.

**Ku Klux Klan** A secret society organized in the South after the Civil War to resurrect white supremacy by means of violence and intimidation.

**white supremacy** The racist belief that whites are inherently superior to all other races and are therefore entitled to rule over them.

had encouraged the white South to expect that it would be able to govern the region as it saw fit. The black codes, violence against freed people, and the failure of southern authorities to stem the violence turned opinion in Washington against the president's approach to Reconstruction. Increasing numbers of moderate Republicans now joined the Radicals in concluding that southern whites must be constrained.

## **Challenging Presidential Reconstruction**

In December 1865, the Thirty-ninth Congress (elected in 1864) met for the first time. In both houses of Congress, Republicans outnumbered Democrats by more than three to one. The president's annual message proclaimed Reconstruction complete and the Union restored, but few Republicans agreed. Radical Republicans especially had been angered by Johnson's lack of support for black suffrage. To accomplish black suffrage, they needed to assert congressional power over Reconstruction. Most Republicans agreed with the Radicals' commitment to defining and protecting basic rights for the freed people. Most also agreed that Congress had the right to withhold representation from the South until state governments there met these conditions.

When the Thirty-ninth Congress first met, the newly elected congressmen from the South were excluded. Republicans were outraged that such high-ranking former Confederates as Alexander Stephens, the vice president of the Confederacy, stood ready to take his place in Congress. Republicans set up the Joint Committee on Reconstruction to determine whether the southern states were entitled to representation. Thaddeus Stevens, head of the committee, announced that he intended to investigate the whole question of Reconstruction. While the committee worked, the former Confederate states were to have no representation in Congress.

At the same time, Republicans extended the life of the Freedmen's Bureau. Congress also passed a civil rights bill that gave citizenship to African Americans and defined the rights of all citizens. Johnson vetoed both measures, but Congress passed them over his veto. Congress had asserted its control over Reconstruction.

## **The Civil Rights Act of 1866**

The Civil Rights Act of 1866 defined all persons born in the United States (with the exception of certain Indians) as citizens. It also listed certain rights of all citizens, including the right to testify in court, own property, make contracts, bring lawsuits, and enjoy "full and equal benefit of all laws and proceedings for the security of

person and property." It authorized federal officials to bring suit against violations of civil rights.

The Civil Rights Act of 1866 was the first effort to define some of the rights of American citizenship. It stipulated that the rights of national citizenship were to take precedence over the powers of the states. By expanding the power of the federal government in unprecedented ways, the law not only challenged traditional concepts of states' rights but did so on behalf of African Americans.

When President Johnson vetoed the civil rights bill, he argued that it violated states' rights. Johnson may have hoped to generate enough political support to elect a more cooperative Congress in 1866. Instead, the veto led most moderate Republicans to give up all hope of cooperation with him. Congress's passage of the Civil Rights Act over Johnson's veto in April 1866 marked the first time that Congress had overridden a veto of major legislation.

## **Defining Citizenship: The Fourteenth Amendment**

Leading Republicans worried that the Civil Rights Act could be repealed by a later Congress or declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court. Only a constitutional amendment could permanently safeguard the freed people's rights as citizens.

The Fourteenth Amendment, approved by Congress in June 1866, defined American citizenship in much the same way as the Civil Rights Act of 1866. It then specified:

*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.*

The Constitution and Bill of Rights prohibited federal interference with basic civil rights. The Fourteenth Amendment extended this protection against action by state governments. The amendment penalized states that did not enfranchise African Americans by reducing their congressional and electoral representation.

Some provisions of the amendment stemmed from Republicans' fears that a restored South might try to undo the outcome of the war. One section barred from public office anyone who had sworn to uphold the federal Constitution but then "engaged in insurrection or rebellion against the same." Only a two-thirds vote of both houses of Congress could counteract this provision. (In 1872, Congress pardoned nearly all former Confederates.) The amendment also prohibited either federal or state governments from assuming any of the Confederate debt or compensating slaveowners.

Although Congress adjourned in the summer of 1866, the nation's attention remained fixed on Reconstruction. The bloody riots in Memphis and New Orleans kept northern attention focused on the South. Johnson, who opposed the Fourteenth Amendment, also undertook a speaking tour in which he urged voters to turn the fall election into a referendum on Reconstruction policies. His reckless tirades alienated many who heard him. Republicans swept the 1866 elections, outnumbering Democrats 143 to 49 in the new House of Representatives, and 42 to 11 in the Senate.

## **Radicals in Control: impeachment of the President**

By March 1867, it was clear that the Fourteenth Amendment had fallen short of ratification. The amendment had been rejected by twelve states: Delaware, Kentucky, and all the Confederate states except Tennessee. Moderates became more receptive to other proposals put forth by the Radicals.

The Military Reconstruction Act of 1867, passed on March 2 over Johnson's veto, divided the Confederate states (except Tennessee) into five military

districts, each governed by a military commander. The act established a military occupation of the South—the only such episode in American history. The ten states were to hold constitutional conventions, and all adult male citizens were to vote, except former Confederates barred from office under the proposed Fourteenth Amendment. The constitutional conventions were to create new state governments that permitted black suffrage and that ratified the Fourteenth Amendment. Then, perhaps, Congress might recognize those state governments as valid.

On March 2, Congress also limited some of Johnson's constitutional powers. The Tenure of Office Act specified that officials appointed with the Senate's consent were to remain in office until the Senate approved a successor. This measure was intended to prevent Johnson from replacing federal officials who opposed his policies.

Some Radicals soon began to consider impeaching Johnson for his obstruction of their policies. The House Judiciary Committee initially found no convincing evidence of misconduct. Johnson, however, confronted Congress over the Tenure of Office Act by removing Edwin Stanton, a Lincoln appointee, from his cabinet post as secretary of war. This action provided the Radicals with grounds for impeachment. On February 24, 1868, the House approved a recommendation for impeachment based on charges stemming from the Stanton affair. The actual motivation was that the Radicals disagreed with Johnson's actions and disliked him.

Johnson remained president after the Senate voted on his impeachment in May 1868 by the narrowest of margins. Thirty-five senators voted in favor of conviction, one vote short of the required two-thirds majority. Moderate Republicans who

**enfranchise** To grant the right to vote to a person or group of people.

**referendum** The submission to the public for its approval or disapproval of a law passed or proposed by the legislature.

**impeach** To formally charge a public official with improper conduct in office and to bring the official to trial for that offense.

regarded the charges against Johnson as dubious thus saved his presidency.

## **Political Terrorism and the Election of 1868**

Shortly after the impeachment vote, the Republicans nominated Ulysses S. Grant for president. Grant seemed the right person to end the conflict between the White House and Congress. During the war, he had fully supported Lincoln and Congress in implementing emancipation. By 1868, he had committed himself to the congressional view of Reconstruction. The Democrats nominated Horatio Seymour, a former governor of New York, and focused most of their campaign against Reconstruction.

In the South, the campaign stirred up fierce activity by the Ku Klux Klan and similar groups. **Terrorists** assassinated an Arkansas congressman, three members of the South Carolina legislature, and several delegates to state constitutional conventions. Mobs attacked Republican newspaper offices and campaign meetings. Such coercion had its intended effect. In St. Landry Parish, Louisiana, where two hundred blacks were killed, not a single Republican vote was cast on election day.

Despite such violence, many Americans probably expected a calmer political future. In June 1868, Congress had readmitted seven southern states that met its requirements, which included ratifying the Fourteenth Amendment. In July, the Fourteenth Amendment was declared ratified. In August, Thaddeus Stevens died. In November, Grant won the presidency, taking twenty-six of the thirty-four states and 53 percent of the vote.

## **Voting Rights and Civil Rights**

Grant's election confirmed that Reconstruction was not likely to be overturned. Radical Republicans now addressed voting rights for all African Americans. As of 1869, voting rights were still defined by the states, and only seven northern states allowed blacks to vote. To guarantee the voting rights of blacks everywhere, Congress approved the **Fifteenth Amendment** in February 1869.

Widely considered to be the final step in Reconstruction, the amendment prohibited states from denying the right to vote because of a person's "race, color, or previous condition of servitude." Democrats condemned the amendment as a "revolutionary" change in the rights of states.

Susan B. Anthony and other advocates of woman suffrage opposed the amendment for a different reason: it ignored restrictions based on sex. Before emancipation, supporters of woman suffrage had been among the staunchest opponents of slavery. Now many woman-suffrage advocates urged that the vote be extended to women and black men at the same time. The break between the women's movement and the black movement was patched over somewhat once black suffrage was accomplished, but the wounds never completely healed.

Despite such opposition, within thirteen months the proposed amendment had been ratified by the states. Success came in part because Republicans who had been reluctant to impose black suffrage in the North recognized that the party's future success required black suffrage in the South.

The Fifteenth Amendment did nothing to reduce the violence that had become almost routine in the South. When Klan activity escalated in 1870, southern Republicans turned to Washington for support. In 1870 and 1871, Congress enacted the so-called Ku Klux Klan Acts to enforce the rights specified in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments.

The prosecution of Klansmen began in 1871. Hundreds were indicted in North Carolina, and many were convicted. In Mississippi, federal officials indicted nearly seven hundred. In South Carolina, President Grant declared martial law and sent federal troops to occupy the region. Hundreds

↳ **terrorists** Those who use threats and violence, often against innocent parties, to achieve ideological or political goals.

**Fifteenth Amendment** Constitutional amendment ratified in 1870 that prohibits states from denying the right to vote because of a person's race or because a person used to be a slave.



of arrests followed. By 1872, federal intervention had broken the strength of the Klan.

Congress passed one final Reconstruction measure, largely because of the persistence of Charles Sumner. Passed after Sumner's death, the Civil Rights Act of 1875 prohibited racial **discrimination** in the selection of juries, in public transportation, and in public **accommodations**.

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## Reconstruction

Congressional Reconstruction set the stage for new developments throughout the South, as newly enfranchised black men organized for political action. **Black Reconstruction** began with the efforts of African Americans to take part in politics as early as 1865 and lasted until 1877.

### The Republican Party in the South

Nearly all blacks who took an active part in politics did so as Republicans. Throughout Reconstruction, they formed a large majority of the Republican party's supporters in the South. The southern wing of the party also included transplanted northerners and some native white southerners.

Suffrage made politics important in African-American communities. In Louisiana and South Carolina, more than half of the delegates to state constitutional conventions were black. With suffrage established, African Americans began to be elected to public office. Between 1869 and 1877, fourteen black men served in the national House of Representatives and two in the U.S. Senate.

At the state level, blacks were most likely to be elected to the relatively unimportant offices of lieutenant governor and secretary of state. More than six hundred black men served in southern state legislatures during Reconstruction, three-quarters of them in just four states: South Carolina, Mississippi, Louisiana, and Alabama. Only in South Carolina did African Americans ever have a majority in the state legislature.

## Black

Most African-American officeholders had some education and had been born free. Of the eighteen who served in statewide offices, only three had been slaves. Blanche K. Bruce was one of these. He had been educated, however, and after the war he attended Oberlin College in Ohio. He then moved to Mississippi, where he was elected U.S. senator in 1875.

Black Republicans achieved power only by securing at least some support from whites. Opponents referred to white Republicans as either **carpetbaggers** or **scalawags**. Both groups included idealists but also included some opportunists who hoped only to fatten their own purses.

Southern Democrats used the term "carpetbagger" to suggest that northerners who came to the South after the war were second-rate opportunists, with their belongings packed in a cheap bag made of carpet. In fact, most northerners who came south were well-educated people from middle-class backgrounds. Most men had served in the Union army and moved South soon after the war to pursue financial opportunities, not politics. Some had left behind prominent roles in northern communities. Others hoped to transform the South by creating new institutions based on free labor and free schools. Carpetbaggers made up a sixth of the delegates to the state constitutional conventions but often took key roles in the conventions and the state legislatures.

**discrimination** Treatment based on class or racial category rather than on merit; prejudice.

**public accommodations** Places such as hotels, bars and restaurants, and theaters set up to do business with anyone who can pay the price of admission.

**Black Reconstruction** The period of Reconstruction when African Americans took an active role in state and local government.

**carpetbagger** Derogatory southern term for the northerners who came to the South after the Civil War to take part in Reconstruction.

**scalawag** Derogatory southern term for white southerners who aligned themselves with the Republican party.



◆ This lithograph from 1883 depicts prominent African-American men, several of whom had leading roles in Black Reconstruction. *Library of Congress.*

Southern Democrats reserved their greatest contempt for scalawags—a term used to describe completely unscrupulous and worthless people. Scalawags were white southerners who became Republicans. Many had been political foes of the Democrats before the war. They made up the largest single category of delegates to the state constitutional conventions. Scalawags included many southern Unionists and others who thought the Republicans offered the best hope for economic recovery. Scalawags included small-town merchants, artisans, and professionals. Others were small-scale farmers from the backcountry, who had traditionally opposed plantation owners. For them, Reconstruction promised an end to political domi

nation by the plantation counties. Still others had been Whigs before the Civil War.

Despite differences, freedmen, carpetbaggers, and scalawags used the Republican party to inject new ideas into the South. Throughout the South, Republican governments extended the role of state and local government and expanded public institutions. They established or expanded schools, hospitals, orphanages, and penitentiaries.

### **Creating an Educational System and Fighting Discrimination**

Free public education was perhaps the most permanent legacy of Black Reconstruction. Reconstruction constitutions required tax-supported public schools. Implementation, however, was expensive and proceeded slowly. By 1875, only half of southern children attended public schools.

The Reconstruction state governments debated whether white and black children should attend the same schools. Most blacks probably favored **integrated** schools. Southern whites, however, warned that integration would drive whites away. Only Louisiana and South Carolina did not mandate that schools be segregated. Most blacks probably agreed with Frederick Douglass that separate schools were "infinitely superior" to no public education.

Funding for the new schools was rarely adequate. They had to be funded largely through property taxes, and property tax revenues declined during the 1870s as property values fell. Creating and operating two educational systems, one white and one black, was expensive. Black schools almost always received less support than white schools.

Reconstruction state governments moved toward equal rights in other areas. The new state constitutions prohibited discrimination and protected

**integrated** Open to people of all races and ethnic groups without restriction.

**property taxes** Taxes paid by property owners according to the value of their property; often used in the United States to provide funding for local schools.

civil rights. Some states guaranteed equal access to public transportation and public accommodations. White Republicans, however, often opposed such laws. Such conflicts pointed up the internal divisions within the southern Republican party. Even when equal access laws were passed, they were often not enforced.

## Railroad Development and Corruption

Republicans nationally sought to use the power of government to stimulate economic growth. They typically encouraged railroad construction. In the South, Reconstruction governments granted state land to railroads, loaned them money, or helped to underwrite bonds. Sometimes they promoted railroads without finding out whether companies were financially sound. Such efforts often failed. During the 1870s, only 7,000 miles of new track were laid in the South, compared to 45,000 miles in the North.

Railroads sometimes tried to secure favorable treatment by bribing public officials, and all too many accepted their offers. The post-Civil War period saw the ethics of public officials reach a low point. From New York City to Mississippi, revelations and allegations of corruption became staples in political campaigning.

Conditions in the South were especially ripe for political corruption. Opportunities abounded for the ambitious and unscrupulous. Reconstruction governments included many whites and blacks who had only modest holdings but aspired to better things. One South Carolina legislator bluntly said: "I was pretty hard up, and I did not care who the candidate was if I got two hundred dollars." Corruption seemed especially prominent among Republicans only because they held the most important offices. Still, some Reconstruction Republicans remained scrupulously honest. In fact, Mississippi's government under Republican rule was far more honest than it had been under prewar Democratic rule.

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## The End of Reconstruction

Most white southerners resisted the new social order imposed on them. They created the black codes

to maintain white supremacy and to restore elements of a bound labor system. They used terrorism against the advocates of black rights. Such resistance, however, had caused Congress to pass more severe terms for Reconstruction. This backlash drove some southern opponents of Reconstruction to rethink their strategy.

## The "New Departure"

By 1869, some leading southern Democrats had abandoned their resistance to change and had chosen instead to accept key Reconstruction measures. At the same time, they also tried to restore the political rights for former Confederates. The **New Departure** Democrats believed that continued resistance would only prolong federal intervention in state politics.

Sometimes southern Democrats supported conservative Republicans. The outcome of this strategy was to dilute Radical influence in state government. Democrats first tried this strategy in Virginia. There William Mahone, a leading Democrat, forged a political coalition that accepted black suffrage. Mahone's organization then elected a northern-born, moderate Republican banker as governor. In this way, Virginia became the only Confederate state to avoid Radical Republican rule.

Similar coalitions won in Tennessee in 1869 and in Missouri in 1870. Leading Democrats elsewhere also endorsed the New Departure. They attacked Republicans more for raising taxes and increasing state spending than for their racial policies. Whenever possible, they added charges of corruption.

**equal access** The right of any group to use a public facility such as streetcars as freely as all other groups.  
**underwrite** To assume financial responsibility for; in this case, to guarantee the purchase of bonds so that a project can go forward.

**New Departure** A policy of cooperation with key Reconstruction measures that leading southern Democrats adopted in the hope of winning compromises favorable to their party.

**coalition** An alliance, especially a temporary one of different people or groups.

Such campaigns brought a positive response from many taxpayers because southern tax rates had risen dramatically to support the new schools, subsidies for railroads, and other new programs.

The victories of New Departure Democrats coincided with terrorist activity aimed at Republicans. In Colfax, Louisiana, whites killed 280 African Americans in 1872 in the bloodiest racial incident of the Reconstruction era. A few southern Republicans responded by proposing to create black militias. Most Republicans, however, feared that this might provoke a race war. In most of the South, the suppression of Klan terrorism came only with federal action.

### **The 1872 Election**

The New Departure movement coincided with a division within the Republican party. The Liberal Republican movement began in 1870 as a revolt against corruption in the Grant administration. Liberal Republicans found allies among Democrats when they came out against the Radicals.

Horace Greeley, editor of the *New York Tribune*, won the Liberal nomination for president. Although Greeley had long opposed the Democrats, the Democrats also nominated him. The Liberal Republicans and Democrats were united almost solely by their opposition to Grant and the Radicals. Few Republicans found Greeley an attractive alternative to Grant, and Greeley alienated many northern Democrats by calling for the prohibition of alcohol. Grant won convincingly in 1872 (see Map 15.1). He carried 56 percent of the vote and captured every northern state.

### **Redemption by Terror: The "Mississippi Plan"**

After 1872, southern whites began to abandon the Republicans. The region became polarized largely along racial lines, and the elections of 1874 proved disastrous for Republicans. Democrats won over two-thirds of the South's seats in the House of Representatives and "redeemed" Alabama, Arkansas, and Texas—meaning they regained political control of these states.

Republican candidates in 1874 lost in many parts of the North because of the economic depression that began in 1873. After the 1874 elections, Democrats outnumbered Republicans in the House by 169 to 109. Southern Republicans could no longer look to Congress for assistance.

Terrorism against black Republicans and their remaining white allies played a role in the victory of the

**Redeemers** in 1874. The Klan had worn disguises and ridden at night, but Democrats now openly formed rifle companies and marched and drilled in public. In some areas, armed whites prevented African Americans from voting.

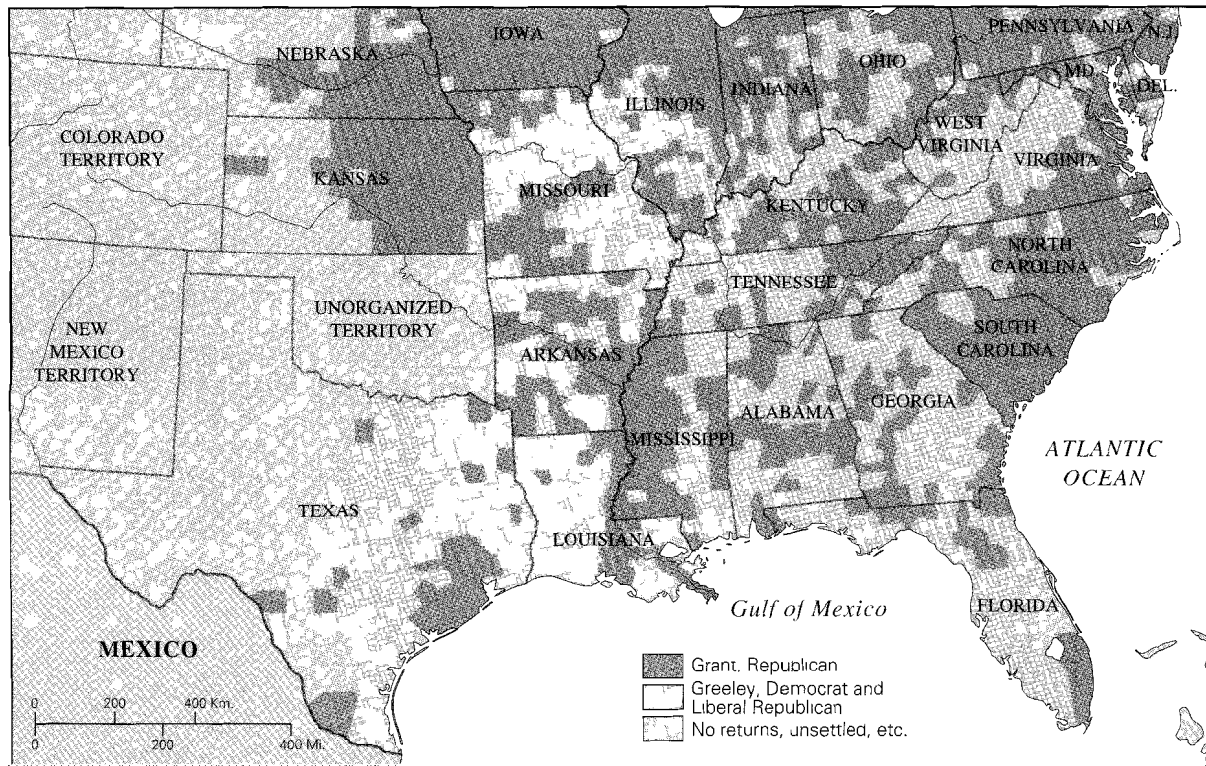
Political violence reached such an extreme in Mississippi in 1875 that the use of terror to overthrow Reconstruction became known as the Mississippi Plan. Democratic rifle clubs operated freely, attacking Republican leaders in broad daylight. When Mississippi's carpetbagger governor, Adelbert Ames, requested federal help, President Grant declined to give it. The president had grown weary of the continuing costs of Reconstruction and the seemingly endless bloodshed that it occasioned. The Democrats swept the Mississippi elections. When the legislature convened, it removed the black Republican lieutenant governor from office. The legislature then brought similar impeachment charges against Governor Ames. Ames resigned and left the state.

### **The Compromise of 1877**

In 1876, the nation stumbled through a potentially dangerous presidential election. As revelations of corruption grew nationally, the issue of reform took center stage. The Democratic party nominated Samuel J. Tilden, governor of New York, as

**depression** A period of drastic decline in a national or international economy, characterized by decreasing business activity, falling prices, and unemployment.

**Redeemers** Southern Democrats who hoped to bring the Democratic party back into power and to suppress Black Reconstruction.



**MAP 15.1. Popular Vote for President in the South, 1872** This map shows which candidate carried each county in the southern United States in 1872. Looking at both this map and the chapter opener map, you can see the relationship between Republican voting and African-American population, as well as where the southern Republican party drew strong support from white voters.

its presidential candidate. Tilden had earned a reputation for reform by opposing the Tweed Ring, the corrupt Democratic political machine that ran New York City government. The Republicans also selected a reform candidate, Rutherford B. Hayes, a Civil War general and governor of Ohio. Hayes's unblemished reputation proved to be his greatest asset.

First election reports indicated a close victory for Tilden, who carried most of the South and crucial northern states such as New York and Indiana. But in South Carolina, Florida, and Louisiana, Republicans still controlled the counting of ballots. Republican election boards in those states rejected enough ballots to give Hayes those three states and thus a one-vote margin of victory in the Electoral College.

The Democrats cried fraud. Some vowed to see Tilden inaugurated by force if necessary. For the first time,

Congress had to face the problem of disputed electoral votes that could decide an election. To resolve the problem, Congress created a commission consisting of five senators, five representatives, and five Supreme Court justices. Eight Republicans and seven Democrats sat on the commission.

The nation braced itself for a potentially violent confrontation. However, as commission hearings droned on into February 1877, informal discussions took place among leading Republicans and Democrats. The result was a series of informal agree-

ments usually called the **Compromise of 1877**. Southern Democrats demanded **home rule**, by which they meant an end to federal intervention in southern politics. They also called for federal subsidies for railroad construction and waterways in the South. In return, southern Democrats were willing to abandon Tilden's claim to the White House if the commission ruled for Hayes.

Most of the agreements that were part of the Compromise of 1877 were kept. By a straight party vote, the commission confirmed the election of Hayes. Soon after his peaceful inauguration, he ordered the last of the federal troops withdrawn from the South. The Radical era of a powerful federal government pledged to protect "equality before the law" for all citizens was over. Without federal protection, the last three Republican state governments fell in 1877. The party of white supremacy held sway in every southern state.

The Compromise of 1877 marked the end of Reconstruction. The war was more than ten years in the past, and the passions it had stirred had slowly cooled. Many who had yearned to punish the South for its treason turned to other matters. Some reformers concentrated on civil service or currency issues. A major depression in the mid-1870s, unemployment and labor disputes, the growth of industry, the emergence of big business, and the economic development of the West focused public attention on economic issues.

### **After Reconstruction**

Southern Democrats read the events of 1877 as their permit to establish new systems of politics and race relations. Most Redeemers set out to reduce taxes, to dismantle Reconstruction legislation and agencies, to take political influence away from black citizens, and eventually to reshape the South's legal system to establish African Americans as subordinate. They also began the process of turning the South into a one-party region.

Although voting and officeholding by African Americans did not cease in 1877, the political context changed profoundly once they lost federal enforcement of their rights. The threat of violence from nightriders and the potential for economic re

taliation sharply reduced independent action by African Americans. Black political leaders increasingly recognized that efforts to mobilize black voters posed dangers to both candidates and voters. The public schools remained, segregated and underfunded, but important as both a symbol and a real opportunity to learn. Many Reconstruction era laws remained on the books.

Not until the 1890s did black disfranchisement and thoroughgoing racial segregation become widely embedded in southern law (see page 396). From the mid-1870s to the late 1890s, the South lived an uneasy compromise: African Americans had certain constitutional rights, but they exercised their rights at the sufferance of the dominant whites. Such a compromise bore the seeds of future conflict.

For generations after 1877, Reconstruction was held up as a failure. The southern version of Reconstruction—that conniving carpetbaggers and scalawags had manipulated ignorant freedmen—appealed to the racial bias of many white Americans in the North and South alike, and it gained widespread acceptance among novelists, journalists, and historians. Thomas Dixon's popular novel *The Clansman* (1905) inspired the highly influential film *The Birth of a Nation* (1915). Historically inaccurate and luridly racist, the book and the movie portrayed Ku Klux Klan members as heroes who rescued the white South, and especially white southern women, from domination and debauchery at the hands of depraved freedmen and carpetbaggers. Although black historians such as W. E. B. Du Bois challenged this picture of Reconstruction, it was not until the civil rights movement of the 1950s and 1960s that large numbers of American historians began to reconsider Reconstruction.

**Compromise of 1877** Compromise in which southern Democrats agreed to allow the Republican candidate the victory in the disputed presidential election in return for the removal of federal troops from the South.

**home rule** Self-government; in this case, an end to federal intervention in the South.

Historians today recognize that Reconstruction was not the failure that had earlier been claimed. The creation of public schools was but one of the important changes in southern life. At a federal level, the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments eventually were used to restore the principle of equality before the law. Historians also recognize that Reconstruction collapsed not so much because of internal flaws as because of the political terrorism that was unleashed in the South against blacks and Republicans.

## SUMMARY

Expectations  
Constraints  
Choices  
Outcomes

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At the end of the Civil War, the nation faced difficult *choices* regarding the future of the defeated South and the future of the freed people. Committed to an end to slavery, President Lincoln *chose* a lenient approach to restoring states to the Union. When Johnson became president, he continued Lincoln's approach.

The end of slavery brought new *expectations* for all African Americans. Taking advantage of the *choices* that freedom opened, they tried to create independent lives for themselves and developed social institutions that helped to define black communities. Few were able to acquire land of their own. Most became either wage laborers or sharecroppers. White southerners *expected* to keep African Americans subordinate through black codes and violence.

In reaction against the black codes and violence, Congress *chose* to wrest control of Reconstruction from President Johnson. An attempt to remove Johnson from the presidency was unsuccessful. Reconstruction measures included the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments, the Civil Rights Act of 1866, and the Civil Rights Act of 1875. One *outcome* of these measures was to strengthen the federal government at the expense of the states.

Enfranchised freedmen, transplanted northerners, and some southern whites created a southern Republican party that governed most southern states for a time. The most lasting contribution of these state governments was the creation of public school systems. Like government

officials elsewhere, however, some southerners fell prey to corruption.

In the late 1860s, many southern Democrats *chose* a "New Departure": they grudgingly accepted some features of Reconstruction and sought to recapture control of state governments. The 1876 presidential election was hotly disputed, but key Republicans and Democrats *chose* to compromise. The Compromise of 1877 permitted Hayes to take office and brought Reconstruction to an end. Without further federal protection for their civil rights, African Americans faced severe *constraints* in exercising their rights. Sharecropping consigned most to a subordinate economic status. Terrorism, violence, and even death confronted those who *chose* to challenge their subordinate social role. The *outcome* of Reconstruction was white supremacy in politics, the economy, and social relations.

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## SUGGESTED READINGS

Donald, David. *Charles Sumner and the Rights of Man* (1970).

A good account not just of this important Radical leader but of important Reconstruction issues.

Du Bois, W. E. B. *Black Reconstruction in America: An Essay Toward a History of the Part Which Black Folk Played in the Attempt to Reconstruct Democracy in America, 1860-1880* (1935; reprint, 1969).

Written more than a half-century ago, Du Bois's book is still useful for both information and insights.

Foner, Eric. *Reconstruction: America's Unfinished Revolution, 1863-1877* (1988).

The most thorough recent treatment, incorporating insights from many historians who have written on the subject during the past forty years. Also available in a condensed version.

Litwack, Leon F. *Been in the Storm So Long: The Aftermath of Slavery* (1979).

Focuses on the experience of the freed people.

Woodward, C. Vann. *Reunion and Reaction: The Compromise of 1877 and the End of Reconstruction*, rev. ed. (1956).  
The classic account of the Compromise of 1877.



