FOURTH EDITION

AMERICAN STORIES

A HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES • VOLUME 2: SINCE 1865

H. W. BRANDS • T. H. BREEN • ARIELA J. GROSS • R. HAL WILLIAMS

American Stories

A History of the United States

FOURTH EDITION
Volume 2: Since 1865

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Detailed Contents

At the end of each chapter, both Charting the Past and Source Collections are only available in the Revel version of American Stories, *Fourth Edition.*

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Chapter 16 Introduction
Artifacts as Evidence: Andrew Johnson Impeachment Ticket
Artifacts as Evidence: 1867 Ohio Gubernatorial Ballot
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Chapter 17 Introduction

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The following documents are available in the Revel version of *American Stories*, Fourth Edition, at the end of each chapter. They do not appear in the print version of the book.

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- State of Mississippi, Black Code, 1865
- President Johnson Vetoes the Civil Rights Act of 1866, 1866
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Preface

In This Edition

Teachers familiar with previous editions of *American Stories* will find that this fourth edition expands impressively on its predecessors. The major changes include:

Revel for *American Stories*
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Revel is an interactive learning environment that deeply engages students and prepares them for class. Media and assessment integrated directly within the authors' narrative lets students read, explore interactive content, and practice in one continuous learning path. Thanks to the dynamic reading experience in Revel, students come to class prepared to discuss, apply, and learn from instructors and from each other.

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Rather than simply offering opportunities to read about and study U.S. history, Revel facilitates deep, engaging interactions with the concepts that matter most. By providing opportunities to improve skills in analyzing and interpreting sources of historical evidence, for example, Revel engages students directly and immediately, which leads to a better understanding of course material. A wealth of student and instructor resources and interactive materials can be found within Revel. Some of our favorites are mentioned in the information that follows.

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American Stories, 4e, features many of the dynamic interactive elements that make Revel unique. In addition to the rich narrative content, *American Stories* includes the following:

- Engaging Video Program:
  - Chapter opening videos. These videos capture the attention of todays' students and provide a brief introduction to the key themes and content in the chapter.
  - Author guided videos. Videos, featuring author Bill Brands, presented in a friendly and inviting style, provide learners with complementary and compelling content not in the narrative.
  - Artifacts as Evidence videos. Created in partnership with the Smithsonian Institution, these videos focus on a wide range of unique artifacts from the Smithsonian collection, using these artifacts as starting points for explaining and illuminating the American historical experience.
- *Charting the Past* modules combine interactive maps, documents, and images to create in-depth opportunities for students to explore the relationship between geography, demography, and history.
- Key Term Definitions: Key Terms appear in bold and include pop-up definitions inline that allow students to see the meaning of a word or phrase while reading the text, providing context.
- Interactive Maps: Interactive maps throughout the text include a pan/zoom feature and an additional feature that allows students to toggle on and off map details.
- Assessments: Multiple-choice end-of-module and end-of-chapter quizzes test student's knowledge of the chapter content, including dates, concepts, and major events.
- Chapter Review: The Chapter Review—which contains a timeline, Key Term flashcards, an image gallery, video gallery and review questions—is laid out using interactive features that allow students to click on specific topics to learn more or test their knowledge about concepts covered in the chapter.
- Source Collections: An end-of-chapter source collection includes three to five documents relevant to the chapter content. Each document includes header notes, questions, and audio. Students can highlight and make notes on the documents.
- Journal Prompts: Revel is rich in opportunities for writing about topics and concepts and the Journal Prompts included are one way in which students can explore themes presented in the chapter. The ungraded Journal Prompts are included inline with content and can be shared with instructors.
- Shared Writing Prompts: These prompts provide peer-to-peer feedback in a discussion board, developing critical thinking skills and fostering collaboration among a specific class. These prompts appear between modules.
- Essay Prompts: These prompts appear in Pearson's Writing Space and can be assigned and graded by instructors.

ENGAGE STUDENTS AND IMPROVE CRITICAL THINKING

- **Chapter introductory vignettes**
- **Chapter images, maps, and figures** are bigger, visually interesting, and informative. Photographs and pieces of fine art encapsulate emotional and historical meaning. Captions provide valuable information that allows for a fuller understanding of the people who lived the American story.
- **Quick Check Questions** give students the opportunity to review as they read, leading to a more complete understanding of chapter content.

SUPPORT INSTRUCTORS

- **Learning Objective questions** highlight the important issues and themes. Each is linked to one of the chapter's main sections, and they are all emphasized in the chapter overview.

- **Key Terms** throughout the chapters highlight important topics as they are introduced.
- The **thematic timeline** ending each chapter reinforces the essential points of the narrative.

SUPPLEMENTS FOR INSTRUCTORS

Instructor's Resource Center. www.pearsonhighered.com/irc. This website provides instructors with additional text-specific resources that can be downloaded for classroom use. Resources include the Instructor's Resource Manual, PowerPoint presentations, and the Test Bank. Register online for access to the resources for *American Stories*.

Instructor's Resource Manual. Available at the Instructor's Resource Center for download, www.pearsonhighered.com/irc, the Instructor's Resource Manual includes an Introduction to Revel section that walks the user through the Revel product using screen shots that identify and explain the numerous Revel features, detailed chapter overviews, and discussion questions.

Test Bank. Available at the Instructor's Resource Center for download, www.pearsonhighered.com/irc, the Test Bank contains more than 1,700 multiple-choice, and essay test questions.

PowerPoint Presentations. Strong PowerPoint presentations make lectures more engaging for students. Available at the Instructor's Resource Center for download, www.pearsonhighered.com/irc, the PowerPoints contain chapter outlines and full-color images of maps and art. All PowerPoints are ADA compliant

MyTest Test Bank. Available at www.pearsonmytest.com, MyTest is a powerful assessment generation program that helps instructors easily create and print quizzes and exams. Questions and tests can be authored online, allowing instructors ultimate flexibility and the ability to efficiently manage assessments anytime, anywhere! Instructors can easily access existing questions and edit, create, and store using simple drag-and-drop and Word-like controls.

A Note to My Fellow Teachers

H.W. Brands I've been teaching American history for thirty-five years now, and in that time I've noticed something. Our students come to our classrooms with increasingly varied backgrounds. Some students are better prepared, having taken A.P. courses and acquired a solid grounding in historical facts, interpretations, and methods. Other students arrive less well prepared. Many of these are international students; some are students for whom English is a second or third language. Some of these, and some others, simply never took American history in high school.

Different students require different methods of teaching. Students well versed in American history do best with a book that presupposes their preparation and takes them beyond it. Students for whom the subject is new or otherwise challenging are more likely to succeed with a book that focuses on essential themes, and offers features designed to facilitate the learning process. Any textbook can be intimidating, as even my best students have reminded me over the years. For that reason, whatever reduces the intimidation factor can help students succeed.

This is the philosophy behind *American Stories: A History of the United States*. A single purpose has motivated the creation of this book: to enhance the accessibility of American history and thereby increase students' chances of success. This goal is what brought me to the classroom, and it's one I think I share with you. If *American Stories: A History of the United States* contributes to achieving this goal, we all—teachers and students—will be the winners.

The most frequent complaint I get from students regarding history textbooks is that the mass of information is overwhelming. This complaint provided the starting point for *American Stories*, which differs from standard textbooks in two fundamental respects.

First, we reduced the number of topics covered, only retaining the essential elements of the American story. We surveyed over five hundred instructors from across the country to find out what topics were most commonly covered in a typical survey classroom. Once we received the results, we culled the most commonly taught topics and selected them for inclusion in *American Stories*.

Second, we integrated a variety of study aids into the text. These were originally developed with the assistance of Dr. Kathleen T. McWhorter and Debby Kalk. Kathleen is a professor and author with more than 40 years of experience who specializes in developmental reading, writing, composition, and study skills. Debby is an instructional designer and author with more than 20 years of experience producing materials. With the help of both Kathleen and Debby, *American Stories* is the first college-level U.S. history survey completely designed to meet the needs of the instructor and the student.

Beyond this, *American Stories* places great emphasis on a compelling narrative. We—I and my fellow authors—have used significant incidents and episodes to reflect the dilemmas, the choices, and the decisions made by the American people as well as by their leaders. Our story of the American past includes the major events that have shaped the nation. We examine the ways in which the big events influenced the lives of ordinary people. How did the American Revolution alter the fortunes and prospects of men, women, and children around the country? What was it like for blacks and whites to live in a plantation society?

Each chapter begins with a vignette that launches the narrative of that chapter and identifies its themes. Some of the vignettes have special meaning for the authors. The vignette that opens Chapter 26, on the Great Depression of the 1930s, reminds me of the stories my father used to tell about his experiences during that trying decade. His family wasn't nearly as hard hit as many in the 1930; Like Pauline Kael, he was a college student and like her, he saw how hard it was for many of his classmates to stay in school. He himself was always working at odd jobs, trying to make ends meet. Times were hard, yet he learned the value of a dollar—something he impressed on me as I was growing up.

By these means and others, I and my fellow authors have attempted to bring history to life for students. We believe that while history rarely repeats itself, the story of the American past is profoundly relevant to the problems and challenges facing the nation today.

PEDAGOGICAL FEATURES

The pedagogical elements in *American Stories* have been carefully constructed to be accessible to students and to support a better, deeper understanding of U.S. history. These elements fall into two categories, Narrative Pedagogy that appears throughout the main body of each chapter, and Study Resources collected at the ends of chapters.

- **Narrative Pedagogy** Each chapter follows a consistent pedagogy that maximizes student learning. *Foucs Questions* in the chapter openers preview the main idea for each major section and provide a framework for the entire chapter. As a reminder to students, these questions are repeated in the margins after each major section. *Quick Check Questions* follow each subsection for immediate reinforcement. *Key Terms* are highlighted throughout each chapter and are defined in the text's glossary.
- **Study Resources** Each chapter concludes with series of study resources. A chapter *Timeline* surveys the chronology of key events with page references for easy look-up of information. The *Chapter Review* connects back to the Spotlight Questions, providing brief answers that summarize the main points of each section.

A FINAL WORD

My fellow authors and I, with the assistance of the professionals at Pearson, have devoted a great deal of effort to making a textbook of which we are all very proud. Our goal with *American Stories* is to convey our excitement for history to our students in the most accessible manner possible. We've done what we can toward this goal, but we realize that our success depends on you, the classroom instructors. Our job is to make your job easier. All of us—authors and instructors—are in this together. So keep up the good work, and thanks!

A Note to Students: Tips for Studying History

Nearly every semester for many years I have taught an introductory course in American history. Over that time I've come to appreciate the value of devoting the first class session to the fundamentals of studying and learning. Different students have different learning styles, but the experiences of the many students I've taught have convinced me that certain general techniques produce good results.

I always tell students that these techniques aren't the only way to study; they may have their own methods. But I also tell them that these techniques have worked for a lot of students in the past, and might work for them. Here they are:

1. **History is a *story***, not just an assortment of facts. The connections are critical. How do the events and people you are reading or hearing about relate to one another? This is what historians want to know.
   Therefore:
   Find the story line, the plot. Identify the main characters, the turning points. How did the story turn out? Why did it turn out that way and not some other?
2. **Dates matter, but order matters more.** Students often get the idea that history is all about dates. It's not. It's about what caused what (as in a story: see Rule 1 above). Dates are useful only in that they help you remember what happened before what else. This is crucial, because the thing that came first might have caused, or at least influenced, the thing that came later.
   Therefore:
   Concentrate on the order of events. If you do, the dates will fall into place by themselves.
3. **History takes time** —to happen, and to learn. History is a story. But like any richly detailed story, it can take time to absorb.
   Therefore:
   Spread out your studying. If you have three hours of reading to do, do it over three days for an hour a day. If you have a test coming up, give yourself two weeks to study, allocating a half hour each day. You'll learn more easily; you'll retain more. And you'll have a better chance to enjoy the story.
4. **History's stories are both spoken and written.** That's why most classes involve both lectures and readings.
   Therefore:
   Read the assigned materials before the corresponding lectures. It's tempting not to—to let the reading slide. But resist the temptation. Advance reading makes the lectures far more understandable—and far more enjoyable.
5. **Less is more,** at least in note-taking. Not every word in the text or lecture is equally important. The point of notes is to distill a chapter or a lecture into a smaller, more manageable size.
   Therefore:
   Hit the high points. Focus on where the text and lecture overlap. Write down key phrases and words; don't write complete sentences. And if you are using a highlighter on a book, be sparing.
6. **History is a twice-told tale.** History is both what happened and how we've remembered what happened. Think of your first exposure to a particular historical topic as history *happening*, and your second exposure as history *being remembered*. An awareness of both is necessary to making the history stick in your head.
   Therefore:
   Take a rest after reading a chapter or attending a lecture. **Then go back and review**. Your class notes should not be comprehensive (see Rule 5), but as you go back over them, you will remember details that will help you fill out your notes. While you are reviewing a chapter, ask yourself what your notes on the chapter mean, and why you highlighted this particular phrase or that.

To summarize, when approaching a history course:

- **Find the story line.**
- **Concentrate on the order of events.**
- **Spread out your studying.**
- **Read the assignments before the lectures.**
- **Hit the high points in taking notes.**
- **Take a rest, then review.**

A final suggestion: Allow enough time for this course so you aren't rushed. If you give yourself time to get into the story, you'll come to enjoy it. And what you enjoy, you'll remember.

Best wishes,
H. W. BRANDS

About the Authors

H.W. Brands Henry William Brands was born in Oregon, went to college in California, sold cutlery across the American West, and earned graduate degrees in mathematics and history in Oregon and Texas. He taught at Vanderbilt University and Texas A&M University before joining the faculty at the University of Texas at Austin, where he holds the Jack S. Blanton Sr. Chair in History. He writes on American history and politics, with books including *The General vs. the President, Reagan, The Man Who Saved the Union, Traitor to His Class, Andrew Jackson, The Age of Gold, The First American*, and *TR*. Several of his books have been bestsellers; two, *Traitor to His Class* and *The First American*, were finalists for the Pulitzer Prize. He lectures frequently on historical and current events, and can be seen and heard on national and international television and radio programs. His writings have been translated into Spanish, French, German, Russian, Chinese, Japanese, Korean, and Ukrainian.

T. H. Breen T.H. Breen, currently the William Smith Mason Professor of American History at Northwestern University Emeritus, the James Marsh Professor At-Large at the University of Vermont, and the John Kluge Professor of American Law and Governance at the Library of Congress, received a Ph.D. from Yale University. At Northwestern, he was the founding director of the Kaplan Center for the Humanities and the Chabraja Center for Historical Studies. Breen has published eight books on Early American and Revolutionary History, including, "*Marketplace of Revolution*," "*American Insurgents: American Partriots*," and "*George Washington's Journey: The President Forges a New Nation.*" His writings have won awards from the Historic Preservation Society, Society of Colonial Wars, and Society of the Cincinnati. Several foundations and libraries have supported his research: Institute for Advanced Study (Princeton), Humboldt Foundation, Guggenheim Foundation, National Endowment for the Humanities, Colonial Williamsburg, and Huntington Library. Breen has held appointments at the California Institute of Technology, Chicago University, Yale University, Oxford University, and Cambridge University. He is now completing a study of the American Revolution for Harvard University Press entitled "*An Appeal to Heaven: The American Revolution.*"

Ariela J. Gross Ariela Gross is John B. and Alice R. Sharp Professor of Law and History, and Co-Director of the Center for Law, History and Culture, at the University of Southern California. She has been a visiting Professor at Stanford University, Tel Aviv University, the École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales, the Université de Paris 8, and Kyoto University. Her book *What Blood Won't Tell: A History of Race on Trial in America* (Harvard University Press, 2008, ppb. 2010), a Choice Outstanding Academic Title for 2009, was awarded the J. Willard Hurst Prize for outstanding scholarship in sociolegal history by the Law and Society Association, the Lillian Smith Book Award for a book that illuminates the people and problems of the South, and the American Political Science Association's award for the best book on race, ethnicity, and politics. Gross is also the author of *Double Character: Slavery and Mastery in the Antebellum Southern Courtroom* (Princeton University Press, 2000; ppb., University of Georgia Press, 2006), and numerous articles and book chapters. She edited a symposium in the February 2017 issue of *Law and History Review on Slavery and The Boundaries of Legality, Past and Present*. Her research has been supported by a John Simon Guggenheim Memorial Fellowship, an American Council for Learned Societies Collaborative Research Fellowship in 2017-19 and a Frederick J. Burkhardt Fellowship in 2003-04, a Stanford Center for the Advanced Study of the Behavioral Sciences Fellowship, as well as an NEH Long-Term Fellowship at the Huntington Library. She is currently working on a comparative history of law, race, slavery and freedom in the Americas with Alejandro De La Fuente, the Robert Woods Bliss Professor of Latin American History and Economics at Harvard University.

R. Hal Williams R. Hal Williams was professor of history emeritus at Southern Methodist University. He received his A.B. from Princeton University in 1963 and his Ph.D. from Yale University in 1968. His books include *The Democratic Party and California Politics, 1880–1896 (1973); Years of Decision: American Politics in the 1890s (1978); The Manhattan Project: A Documentary Introduction to the Atomic Age (1990)*; and *Realigning America: McKinley, Bryan, and the Remarkable Election of 1896 (2010)*. A specialist in American political history, he taught at Yale University from 1968 to 1975 and came to SMU in 1975 as chair of the Department of History. From 1980 to 1988, he served as dean of Dedman College, the school of humanities and sciences, and then as dean of Research and Graduate Studies. In 1980, he was a visiting professor at University College, Oxford University. Williams has received grants from the American Philosophical Society and the National Endowment for the Humanities, and he has served on the Texas Committee for the Humanities. Mr. Williams passed away in February of 2016.

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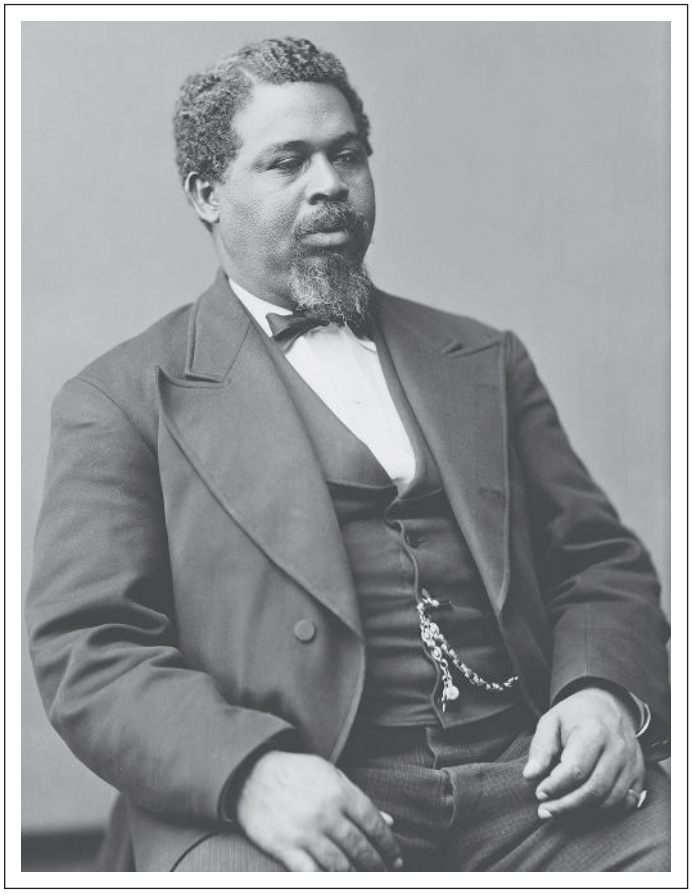
Chapter 16

The Agony of Reconstruction 1865–1877



ROBERT SMALLS With the help of several black crewmen, Robert Smalls—then twenty-three years old—commandeered the *Planter*, a Confederate steamship used to transport guns and ammunition, and surrendered it to the Union vessel, USS *Onward*. Smalls provided distinguished service to the Union during the Civil War, and after the war went on to become a successful politician and businessman.

Contents and Focus Questions

Robert Smalls and Black Politicians During Reconstruction

During the Reconstruction period immediately following the Civil War, African Americans struggled to become equal citizens of a democratic republic. Remarkable black leaders won public office. Robert Smalls of South Carolina was perhaps the most famous and widely respected southern black leader of the era.

Born a slave in 1839, Smalls was allowed as a young man to live and work independently, hiring his own time from a master who may have been his half brother. Smalls worked as a sailor and trained himself to be a pilot in Charleston Harbor. When the Union navy blockaded Charleston in 1862, Smalls, who was working on a Confederate steamship called the *Planter*, saw a chance to win his freedom. At three o'clock in the morning on May 13, 1862, when the white officers were ashore, he took command of the vessel and its slave crew, sailed it out of the fortified harbor, and surrendered it to the Union navy. Smalls immediately became a hero to antislavery northerners who were seeking evidence that the slaves were willing and able to serve the Union. The *Planter* became a Union army transport, and Smalls was made its captain after being commissioned as an officer. During the remainder of the war, he rendered conspicuous and gallant service as captain and pilot of Union vessels off the coast of South Carolina.

Like other African Americans who fought for the Union, Smalls had a distinguished political career during Reconstruction, serving in the South Carolina constitutional convention, the state legislature, and the U.S. Congress. He was also a shrewd businessman and owned extensive properties in Beaufort, South Carolina, and its vicinity. The electoral organization Smalls established was so effective that he controlled local government and was elected to Congress even after the election of 1876 had placed the state under the control of white conservatives bent on depriving blacks of political power. Organized mob violence defeated him in 1878, but he bounced back to win a contested congressional election in 1880. He did not leave the House of Representatives for good until 1886, when he lost another contested election.

To defeat him, Smalls's white opponents charged that he had a hand in the corruption that was allegedly rampant in South Carolina during Reconstruction. But careful historical investigation shows that he was, by the standards of the time, an honest and responsible public servant. In the South Carolina convention of 1868 and in the state legislature, he championed free and compulsory public education. In Congress, he fought for federal civil rights laws. Not especially radical on social questions, he sometimes bent over backward to accommodate what he regarded as the legitimate interests and sensibilities of South Carolina whites. Like other middle-class black political leaders in Reconstruction-era South Carolina, he can perhaps be faulted for not doing more to help poor blacks gain access to land of their own. But in 1875, he sponsored congressional legislation that opened for purchase at low prices the land in his own district that the federal government had confiscated during the war. As a result, blacks soon owned three-fourths of the land in the Beaufort area.

Robert Smalls spent the later years of his life as U.S. collector of customs for the port of Beaufort, a beneficiary of the patronage that the Republican Party continued to provide for a few loyal southern blacks. But the loss of real political clout for Smalls and men like him was a tragic consequence of the fall of Reconstruction.

For a few years, black politicians such as Robert Smalls exercised more power in the South than they would for another century. But political developments on the national and regional stage made Reconstruction "an unfinished revolution," promising but not delivering true equality for newly freed African Americans. National party politics; shifting priorities among northern Republicans; white southerners' commitment to white supremacy, which was backed by legal restrictions and massive extralegal violence against blacks—all combined to stifle the promise of Reconstruction.

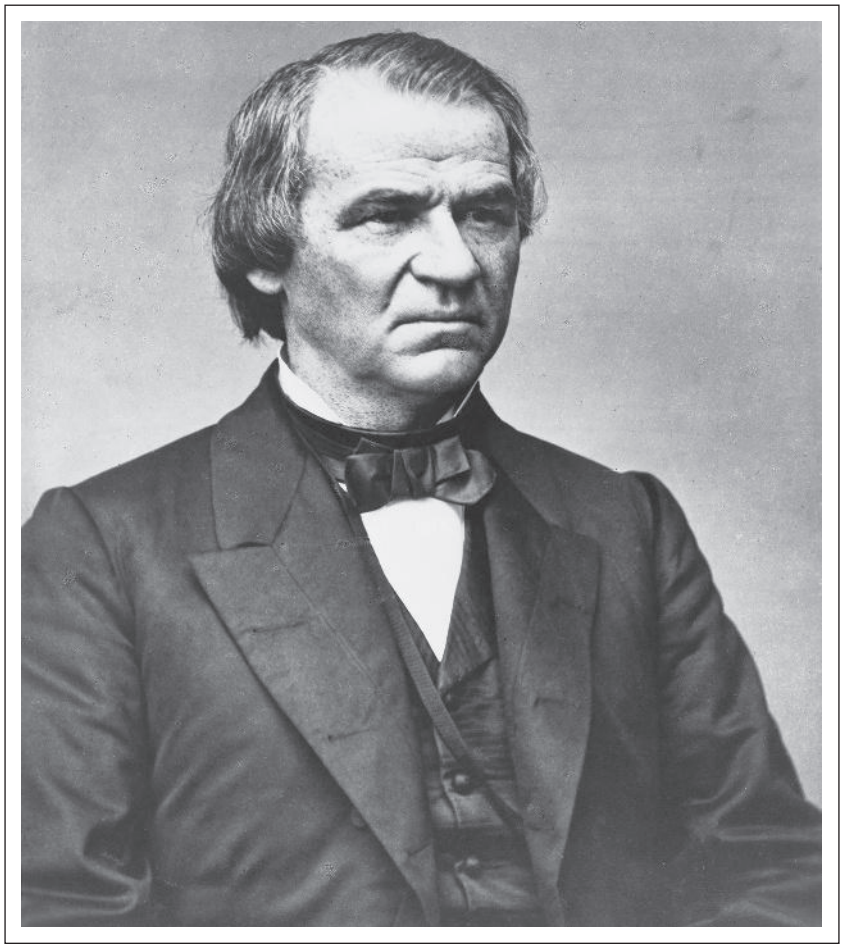
Yet during the Reconstruction era, American society was transformed—by new ways of organizing labor and family life, new institutions within and outside the government, and new ideologies about the role of institutions and government in social and economic life. Many of the changes begun during Reconstruction would revolutionize American life.

16.1 The President Versus Congress

What conflicts arose consecutively involving President Lincoln and then President Johnson and Congress during Reconstruction?

Reconstructing the Union after the South's defeat was one of the most difficult challenges American policymakers ever faced. The Constitution provided no firm guidelines, for the Framers had not anticipated that the country would divide into warring sections. After emancipation became a northern war aim, a new issue compounded the problem: How far should the federal government go to secure freedom and civil rights for 4 million former slaves?

The debate led to a major political crisis. Advocates of a minimal Reconstruction policy favored quickly restoring the Union with no protection for the freed slaves except prohibiting slavery. Proponents of a more radical policy demanded guarantees that "loyal" men would displace the Confederate elite in power and that blacks would acquire basic rights of American citizenship as preconditions for readmitting the southern states. The White House favored the minimal approach. Congress came to endorse the more radical and thoroughgoing form of Reconstruction. The resulting struggle between Congress and the chief executive was the most serious clash between two branches of government in the nation's history.



PRESIDENT JOHNSON Andrew Johnson became president in 1865 after the assassination of President Lincoln. He was the first president to be impeached, after a lengthy battle with Congress over the fate of Reconstruction.

16.1.1 Wartime Reconstruction

Tension between the president and Congress over how to reconstruct the Union began during the war. Preoccupied with achieving victory, Lincoln never set forth a final and comprehensive plan to bring rebellious states back into the fold. But he favored a lenient and conciliatory policy toward southerners who would give up the struggle and repudiate slavery. In December 1863, he issued the Proclamation of Amnesty and Reconstruction, which offered a full pardon to all southerners (except certain Confederate leaders) who would take an oath of allegiance to the Union and accept emancipation. This **Ten Percent Plan** provided that once 10 percent or more of the voting population of any occupied state had taken the oath, they could set up a loyal government. By 1864, Louisiana and Arkansas, states that Union troops occupied, had established Unionist governments. Lincoln's policy was meant to shorten the war. He hoped to weaken the southern cause by making it easy for disillusioned or lukewarm Confederates to switch sides and support emancipation by insisting that the new governments abolish slavery.

Ten Percent Plan
Reconstruction plan proposed by President Abraham Lincoln as a quick way to readmit the former Confederate states. It called for pardon of all southerners except Confederate leaders, and for readmission to the Union for any state after 10 percent of its voters signed a loyalty oath and the state abolished slavery.

Congress was unhappy with Lincoln's Reconstruction experiments and in 1864 refused to seat the Unionists that Louisiana and Arkansas elected to the House and Senate. A minority of congressional Republicans—the strongly antislavery **Radical Republicans**—favored protection for black rights (especially black male suffrage) as a precondition for readmitting southern states. But a larger group of congressional moderates opposed Lincoln's plan because they did not trust the repentant Confederates who would play a major role in the new governments. Congress also believed the president was exceeding his authority by using executive powers to restore the Union. Lincoln operated on the theory that secession, being illegal, did not place the Confederate states outside the Union in a constitutional sense. Since individuals and not states had defied federal authority, the president could use his pardoning power to certify a loyal electorate, which could then function as the legitimate state government.

Radical Republicans
Congressional Republicans who insisted on black suffrage and federal protection of civil rights of African Americans.

After refusing to recognize Lincoln's Ten Percent governments, Congress passed a Reconstruction bill of its own in July 1864. Known as the **Wade-Davis Bill**, it required that 50 percent of the voters take an "ironclad" loyalty oath before the restoration process could begin. Once this had occurred, those who could swear they had never willingly supported the Confederacy could vote in an election for delegates to a constitutional convention. The bill did not provide for black suffrage, but it did require states to adopt constitutions banning slavery. Faced with this attempt to nullify his own program, Lincoln exercised a pocket veto by refusing to sign the bill before Congress adjourned. He said that he did not want to be committed to any single Reconstruction plan. The bill's sponsors responded angrily, and Lincoln's relations with Congress reached their low point.

Wade-Davis Bill
In 1864, Congress passed the Wade-Davis Bill to counter Lincoln's Ten Percent Plan for Reconstruction. The bill required that a majority of a former Confederate state's white male population take a loyalty oath and promise permanent freedom to African Americans. President Lincoln pocket vetoed the bill.

Congress and the president remained stalemated on the Reconstruction issue for the rest of the war. During his last months in office, however, Lincoln showed a willingness to compromise. He tried to obtain recognition for the governments he had nurtured in Louisiana and Arkansas, but seemed receptive to setting other conditions—perhaps including black suffrage—for readmitting those states in which wartime conditions had prevented execution of his plan. However, he was assassinated before he made his intentions clear, leaving historians to speculate whether his quarrel with Congress would have been resolved. Given Lincoln's record of flexibility, the best bet is that he would have come to terms with the majority of his party.

Quick Check

In what ways did Congress thwart presidential Reconstruction?

16.1.2 Andrew Johnson at the Helm

Andrew Johnson, the man an assassin's bullet suddenly made president, attempted to put the Union back together on his own authority in 1865. But his policies set him at odds with Congress and the Republican Party and provoked the most serious crisis in the history of relations between the executive and legislative branches of the federal government.

Johnson's background shaped his approach to Reconstruction. Born into poverty in North Carolina, he migrated to eastern Tennessee, where he worked as a tailor. Lacking formal schooling, he was illiterate until adult life. Entering politics as a Jacksonian Democrat, his railing against the planter aristocracy made him the spokesman for Tennessee's nonslaveholding whites and the most successful politician in the state. He advanced from state legislator to congressman to governor and then, in 1857, the U.S. Senate.

In 1861, Johnson was the only senator from a Confederate state who remained loyal to the Union and continued to serve in Washington. But his Unionism and defense of the common people did not include antislavery sentiments. Nor was he friendly to blacks. In Tennessee, he had objected only to the fact that slaveholding was the privilege of a wealthy minority. He wished that "every head of family in the United States had one slave to take the drudgery and menial service off his family."

During the war, while acting as military governor of Tennessee, Johnson endorsed Lincoln's emancipation policy to destroy the power of the hated planter class rather than as recognition of black humanity. He was chosen as Lincoln's running mate in 1864 because a pro-administration Democrat, who was a southern Unionist in the bargain, would strengthen the ticket. No one expected this fervent white supremacist to become president. Radical Republicans initially welcomed Johnson's ascent to the nation's highest office. Their hopes made sense given Johnson's fierce loyalty to the Union and his apparent agreement with the Radicals that ex-Confederates should be severely treated. Unlike Lincoln, who had spoken of "malice toward none and charity for all," Johnson seemed likely to punish southern "traitors" and prevent them from regaining political influence. Only gradually did the deep disagreement between the president and the Republican congressional majority become evident.

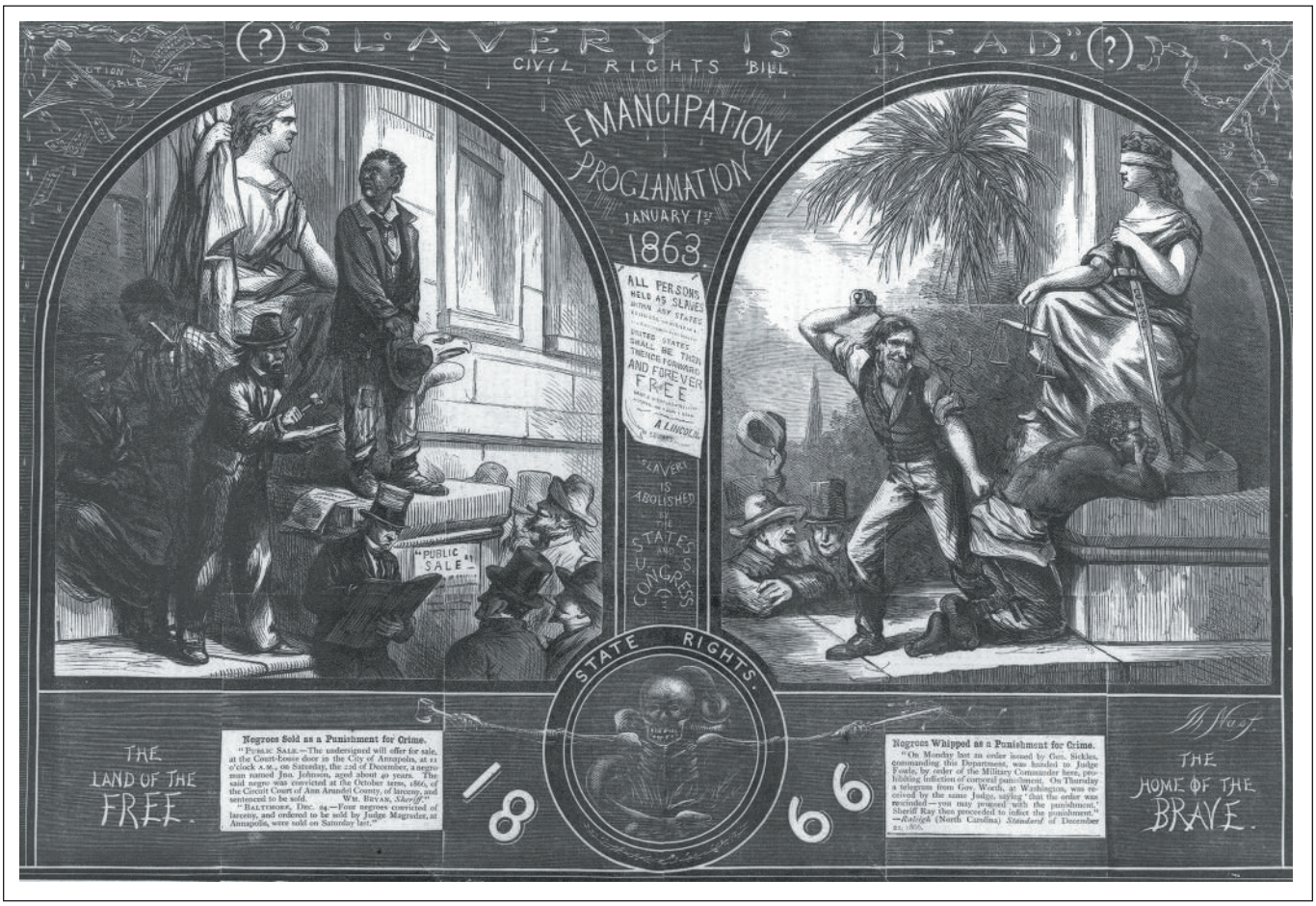
The Reconstruction policy that Johnson initiated on May 29, 1865, created uneasiness among the Radicals, but most Republicans were willing to give it a chance. Johnson placed North Carolina, and eventually other states, under appointed provisional governors chosen mostly from among prominent southern politicians who had opposed the secession movement and had rendered no conspicuous service to the Confederacy. The governors were responsible for calling constitutional conventions and ensuring that only "loyal" whites could vote for delegates. Participation required taking the oath of allegiance that Lincoln had prescribed earlier. Confederate leaders and officeholders had to apply for individual presidential pardons to regain their political and property rights. Johnson made one significant addition to the list of the excluded: all those possessing taxable property exceeding $20,000 in value. He thus sought to prevent his longtime adversaries—the wealthy planters—from participating in the Reconstruction of southern state governments.

Johnson urged the convention delegates to declare the ordinances of secession illegal, repudiate the Confederate debt, and ratify the **Thirteenth Amendment** abolishing slavery. After state governments had been reestablished under constitutions meeting these conditions, the president assumed that the Reconstruction process would be complete and that the ex-Confederate states could regain their full rights under the Constitution.

Thirteenth Amendment
Ratified in 1865, it prohibits slavery and involuntary servitude.

The results of the conventions, which prewar Unionists and backcountry yeoman farmers dominated, were satisfactory to the president but troubling to many congressional Republicans. Delegates in several states approved Johnson's recommendations only grudgingly or with qualifications. Furthermore, all the constitutions limited suffrage to whites, disappointing the many northerners who hoped, as Lincoln had, that at least some African Americans—perhaps those who were educated or had served in the Union army—would be given the vote. Republican uneasiness turned to anger when the new state legislatures passed **Black Codes** restricting the freedom of former slaves. Especially troubling were vagrancy and apprenticeship laws that forced African Americans to work and denied them a free choice of employers. Blacks in some states could not testify in court on the same basis as whites and were subject to a separate penal code. The Black Codes looked like slavery under a new guise. More upsetting to northern public opinion in general was the election of prominent ex-Confederates to Congress in 1865.

Black Codes
Laws passed by southern states immediately after the Civil War to maintain white supremacy by restricting the rights of the newly freed slaves.



THE AFTERMATH OF EMANCIPATION "Slavery Is Dead?" asks this 1866 cartoon by Thomas Nast. To the cartoonist, the Emancipation Proclamation of 1863 and the North's victory in the Civil War meant little difference to the treatment of the freed slaves in the South. Freed slaves convicted of crimes often endured the same punishments as had slaves—sale, as depicted in the left panel of the cartoon; or beatings, as shown on the right.

Johnson himself was partly responsible for these events. Despite his lifelong feud with the planter class, he was generous in granting pardons to members of the old elite who came to him, hat in hand, and asked for them. When former Confederate Vice President Alexander Stephens and other proscribed ex-rebels were elected to Congress even though they had not been pardoned, Johnson granted them special amnesty so they could serve.

Quick Check

Why did northerners and Republicans grow uneasy and disillusioned with Johnson's approach to Reconstruction?

The growing rift between the president and Congress came into the open in December, when the House and Senate refused to seat the recently elected southern delegations. Instead of recognizing the state governments Johnson had called into being, Congress established a joint committee to review Reconstruction policy and set further conditions for readmitting the seceded states.

16.1.3 Congress Takes the Initiative

The struggle over how to reconstruct the Union ended with Congress setting policy all over again. The clash between Johnson and Congress was a matter of principle and could not be reconciled. Johnson, an heir of the Democratic states' rights tradition, wanted to restore the prewar federal system as quickly as possible and without change except that states would not have the right to legalize slavery or to secede.

Most Republicans wanted guarantees that the old southern ruling class would not regain regional power and national influence by devising new ways to subjugate

blacks. They favored a Reconstruction policy that would give the federal government authority to limit the political role of ex-Confederates and protect black citizenship.

Republican leaders—except for a few extreme Radicals such as Charles Sumner—lacked any firm conviction that blacks were inherently equal to whites. They did believe, however, that in a modern democratic state, all citizens must have the same basic rights and opportunities, regardless of natural abilities. Principle coincided with political expediency; southern blacks, whatever their alleged shortcomings, were likely to be loyal to the Republican Party that had emancipated them, and thus increase that party's power in the South.

The disagreement between the president and Congress became irreconcilable in early 1866, when Johnson vetoed two bills that had passed with overwhelming Republican support. The first extended the life of the **Freedmen's Bureau**—a temporary agency set up to provide relief, education, legal help, and assistance in obtaining land or work to former slaves. The second was a civil rights bill to nullify the Black Codes and guarantee to freedmen "full and equal benefit of all laws and proceedings for the security of person and property as is enjoyed by white citizens."

Freedmen's Bureau
Agency established by Congress in March 1865 to provide freedmen with shelter, food, and medical aid, and to help them establish schools and find employment. The bureau was dissolved in 1872.

Johnson's vetoes shocked moderate Republicans. He succeeded in blocking the Freedmen's Bureau bill, although a modified version later passed. But his veto of the Civil Rights Act of 1866 was overridden, signifying that the president was now hopelessly at odds with most of the legislators from what was supposed to be his own party. Congress had not overridden a presidential veto since Franklin Pierce was president in the early 1850s.

Johnson soon revealed that he intended to place himself at the head of a new conservative party uniting the few Republicans who supported him with a reviving Democratic Party that was rallying behind his Reconstruction policy. In preparation for the elections of 1866, Johnson helped found the National Union movement to promote his plan to readmit the southern states to the Union without further qualifications. A National Union convention in Philadelphia called for electing men to Congress who endorsed the presidential plan for Reconstruction.

Meanwhile, the Republican majority on Capitol Hill, fearing that Johnson would not enforce civil rights legislation or that the courts would declare such laws unconstitutional, passed the **Fourteenth Amendment**. This, perhaps the most important of all the constitutional amendments, gave the federal government responsibility for guaranteeing equal rights under the law to all Americans. Section 1 defined national citizenship for the first time as extending to "all persons born or naturalized in the United States." The states were prohibited from abridging the rights of American citizens and could not "deprive any person of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor deny to any person … equal protection of the laws." The amendment was sent to the states with the understanding that southerners would have no chance of being readmitted to Congress unless their states ratified it (see Table 16.1).

Fourteenth Amendment
Ratified in 1868, it provided citizenship to ex-slaves after the Civil War and constitutionally protected equal rights under the law for all citizens. Radical Republicans used it to enact a congressional Reconstruction policy in the former Confederate states.

TABLE 16.1 RECONSTRUCTION AMENDMENTS, 1865–1870

Amendment	Main Provisions	Congressional Passage (2/3 majority in each house required)	Ratification Process (3/4 of all states required, including ex-Confederate states)
13	Slavery prohibited in United States	January 1865	December 1865 (27 states, including 8 southern states)
14	National citizenship; state representation in Congress reduced proportionally to number of voters disfranchised; former Confederates denied right to hold office; Confederate debt repudiated	June 1866	Rejected by 12 southern and border states, February 1867; Radicals make readmission of southern states hinge on ratification; ratified July 1868
15	Denial of franchise because of race, color, or past servitude explicitly prohibited	February 1869	Ratification required for readmission of Virginia, Texas, Mississippi, and Georgia; ratified March 1870

The congressional elections of 1866 served as a referendum on the Fourteenth Amendment. Johnson opposed the amendment on the grounds that it created a "centralized" government and denied states the right to manage their own affairs; he also counseled southern state legislatures to reject it, and all except Tennessee followed his advice. But bloody race riots in New Orleans and Memphis weakened the president's case for state autonomy. These and other atrocities against blacks made it clear that the southern state governments were failing abysmally to protect the "life, liberty, or property" of the ex-slaves.

Johnson further hurt his cause by taking the stump on behalf of candidates who supported his policies. In his notorious "swing around the circle," he toured the nation, slandering his opponents in crude language and engaging in undignified exchanges with hecklers. Enraged by southern inflexibility and the antics of a president who acted as if he were still campaigning in the backwoods of Tennessee, northern voters repudiated the administration. The Republican majority in Congress increased to a solid two-thirds in both houses, and the Radical wing of the party gained strength at the expense of moderates and conservatives.

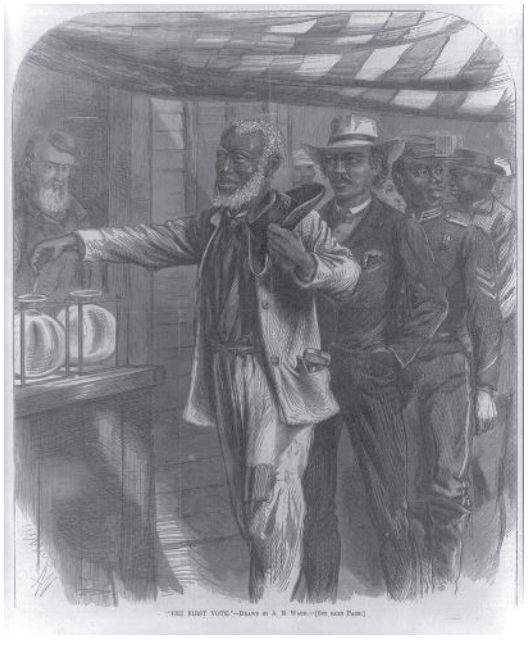
Quick Check

What events caused Congress to take the initiative in passing the Fourteenth Amendment?

16.1.4 Past and Present

The Reconstruction Amendments

The Thirteenth, Fourteenth, and Fifteenth Amendments to the U.S. Constitution are known as the "Reconstruction Amendments," because they were passed in the aftermath of the Civil War to secure the rights of newly freed slaves. The Thirteenth Amendment ended slavery; the Fourteenth Amendment established the rights of due process and equal protection of the laws for all persons; and the Fifteenth Amendment provided for the right to vote. Yet despite these hard-won changes to the Constitution, the rights that Radical Republicans sought to secure for the freed people did not become a reality for over a century. Reconstruction is often referred to as the "unfinished revolution" because the Reconstruction Amendments, as well as the legislation passed to protect civil rights during the 1860s and 1870s, remained to a great extent dead on the books—used only to protect the rights of business corporations. Today, the meaning of these amendments, especially the Fourteenth, is still hotly contested—and in particular the question of whether equal protection of the laws requires affirmative action to remedy past injustice, and whether due process includes the right to reproductive choice.



THE FIRST VOTE This drawing portrays "The First Vote" of African American freed men after the end of slavery and the passage of the Fifteenth Amendment.

FIGHTING FOR VOTING RIGHTS Protestors in the 1960s demanded legislation to enforce the Fifteenth Amendment, winning passage of the Voting Rights Act in 1965, a full century after the end of the Civil War.

16.1.5 Congressional Reconstruction Plan Enacted

Congress now implemented its own plan of Reconstruction. In 1867 and 1868, it nullified the president's initiatives and reorganized the South. Generally referred to as **Radical Reconstruction**, the measures actually represented a compromise between genuine Radicals and more moderate Republicans.

Radicals such as Senator Charles Sumner of Massachusetts and Congressmen Thaddeus Stevens of Pennsylvania and George Julian of Indiana wanted to reshape southern society before readmitting ex-Confederates to the Union. Their program of "regeneration before Reconstruction" required an extended period of military rule, confiscation and redistribution of large landholdings among the freedmen, and federal aid for schools to educate blacks and whites for citizenship. But most Republican congressmen found such a program unacceptable because it broke too sharply with American traditions of federalism and regard for property rights, and might have taken decades to implement.

The first Reconstruction Act, passed over Johnson's veto on March 2, 1867, reorganized the South into five military districts (see Map 16.1). But military rule would last for only a short time. Subsequent acts allowed for quickly readmitting any state that framed and ratified a new constitution providing for black suffrage. Ex-Confederates disqualified from holding federal office under the Fourteenth Amendment were prohibited from voting for delegates to the constitutional conventions and in the elections to ratify the conventions' work. Since blacks could participate in this process, Republicans thought they had ensured that "loyal" men would dominate the new governments. Radical Reconstruction was based on the dubious assumption that once blacks had the vote, they would be able to protect themselves against white supremacists' efforts to deny them their rights. The Reconstruction Acts thus signaled a retreat from the true Radical position that sustained federal authority was needed to complete the transition from slavery to freedom and prevent the resurgence of the South's old ruling class. Most Republicans were unwilling to embrace centralized government and

Radical Reconstruction
The Reconstruction Acts of 1867 divided the South into five military districts. They required the states to guarantee black male suffrage and to ratify the Fourteenth Amendment as a condition of their readmission to the Union.

MAP 16.1
RECONSTRUCTION

During the Reconstruction era, the southern state governments passed through three phases: control by white ex-Confederates; domination by Republican legislators, both white and black; and, finally, the regaining of control by conservative white Democrats.

Quick Check

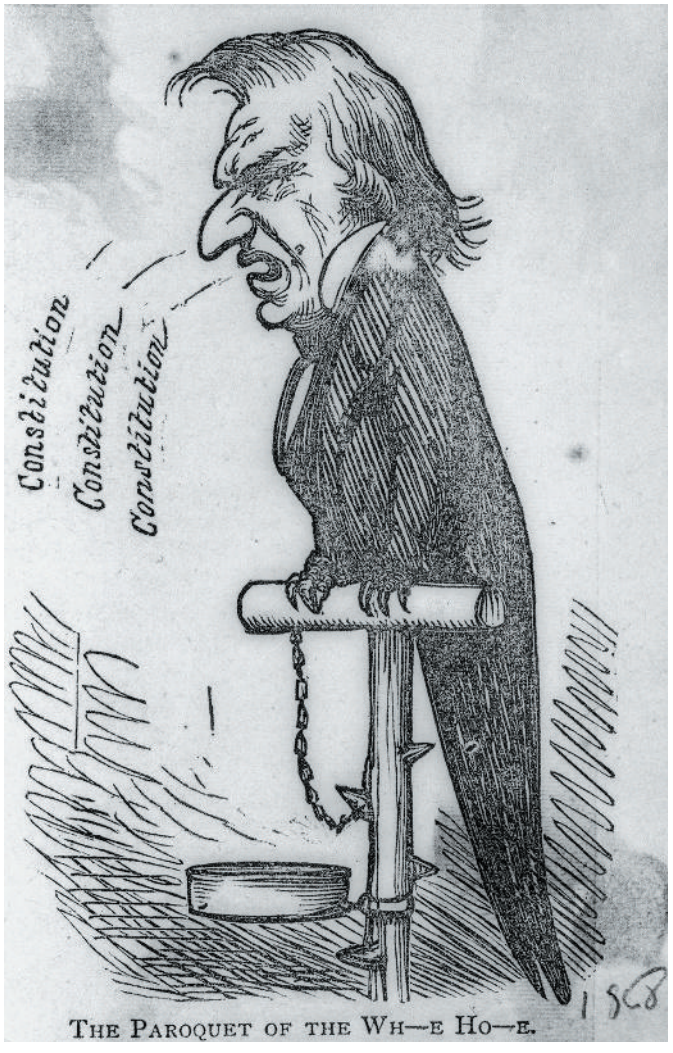
What was Radical Reconstruction, and how did it differ from previous plans?

an extended period of military rule over civilians. Yet a genuine spirit of democratic idealism did give legitimacy and fervor to the cause of black male suffrage. Enabling people who were so poor and downtrodden to have access to the ballot box was a bold and innovative application of the principle of government by the consent of the governed. The problem was enforcing equal suffrage under conditions then existing in the postwar South.

16.1.6 The Impeachment Crisis

The first obstacle to enforcing congressional Reconstruction was resistance from the White House. Johnson sought to thwart the will of Congress by obstructing the plan. He dismissed officeholders who sympathized with Radical Reconstruction and countermanded the orders of generals in charge of southern military districts who zealously enforced the new legislation. Conservative Democrats replaced Radical generals. Congress then passed laws to limit presidential authority over Reconstruction. The Tenure of Office Act required Senate approval for the removal of officials whose appointment had needed the consent of the Senate. Another measure limited Johnson's authority to issue orders to military commanders.

Johnson objected that the restrictions violated the constitutional doctrine of the separation of powers. When it became clear that the president was resolute in fighting for his powers and using them to resist establishing Radical regimes in the southern states, congressmen began to call for his impeachment. A preliminary effort foundered in 1867, but when Johnson tried to discharge Secretary of War Edwin Stanton—the only Radical in the cabinet—and persisted in his efforts despite the disapproval of the Senate, the pro-impeachment forces gained in strength.



IMPEACHED Andrew Johnson's successful defense against conviction in his impeachment case centered on his invocation of the Constitution to defend his presidential rights and powers. Impeached in 1868, Johnson escaped conviction by a single vote.

In January 1868, Johnson ordered General Grant, who already commanded the army, to replace Stanton as head of the War Department. But Grant had his eye on the Republican presidential nomination and refused to defy Congress. General Lorenzo Thomas then agreed to serve. Faced with this violation of the Tenure of Office Act, the House impeached the president on February 24, and he went on trial before the Senate.

Because seven Republican senators broke with the party leadership and voted for acquittal, the effort to convict Johnson and remove him from office fell one vote short of the necessary two-thirds. This outcome resulted in part from a skillful defense. Attorneys for the president argued that the constitutional provision that a president could be impeached only for "high crimes and misdemeanors" referred only to indictable offenses, and that the Tenure of Office Act did not apply to Stanton because Lincoln, not Johnson, had appointed him.

The core of the prosecution's case was that Johnson had abused the powers of his office to sabotage congressional Reconstruction. Obstructing the will of the legislative branch, they claimed, was grounds for conviction even if no crime had been committed. The Republicans voting for acquittal could not endorse such a broad view of the impeachment power. They feared that removing a president for essentially political reasons would threaten the constitutional balance of powers and allow legislative supremacy over the executive.

Failure to remove Johnson from office embarrassed Republicans, but the episode did ensure that Reconstruction in the South would proceed as the majority in Congress intended. Johnson influenced the verdict by pledging to enforce the Reconstruction Acts, and he held to this promise during his remaining months in office. Unable to depose the president, the Radicals had at least neutralized his opposition to their program.

Quick Check

What prompted Congress to initiate impeachment against Johnson, and what was the outcome of that action?

16.2 Reconstructing Southern Society

What problems did southern society face during Reconstruction?

The Civil War left the South devastated, demoralized, and destitute. Slavery was dead, but what this meant for future relationships between whites and blacks was unclear. Most southern whites wanted to keep blacks adrift between slavery and freedom—without rights, like the "free Negroes" of the Old South. Blacks sought to be independent of their former masters and viewed acquiring land, education, and the vote as the best means of achieving this goal. Thousands of northerners who went south after the war for materialistic or humanitarian reasons hoped to extend Yankee "civilization" to what they considered an unenlightened and barbarous region. For most of them, this meant aiding the freed slaves.

The struggle between these groups bred chaos, violence, and instability. This was scarcely an ideal setting for an experiment in interracial democracy, but one was attempted nonetheless. Its success depended on massive and sustained federal support. To the extent that this was forthcoming, progressive reform could be achieved. When it faltered, the forces of reaction and white supremacy were unleashed.

16.2.1 Reorganizing Land and Labor

The Civil War scarred the southern landscape and wrecked its economy. One devastated area—central South Carolina—looked to an 1865 observer "like a broad black streak of ruin and desolation." Atlanta, Columbia, and Richmond were gutted by fire. Factories were dismantled or destroyed. Railroads were torn up.

DESTRUCTION The city of Richmond, VA devastated by the war.

Investment capital for rebuilding was inadequate. The wealth represented by Confederate currency and bonds had melted away, and emancipation had divested the propertied classes of their most valuable and productive assets—the slaves. According to some estimates, the South's per capita wealth in 1865 was only about half what it had been in 1860.

Recovery could not begin until a new labor system replaced slavery. Most northerners and southerners assumed that southern prosperity still depended on cotton and that the plantation was the most efficient unit for producing the crop. Hindering efforts to rebuild the plantation economy were lack of capital, the conviction of southern whites that blacks would work only under compulsion, and the freedmen's resistance to labor conditions that recalled slavery.

Blacks preferred to determine their own economic relationships, and for a time they had reason to hope the federal government would support their ambitions. The freed slaves were, in effect, fighting a two-front war. Although they were grateful for federal aid in ending slavery, freed slaves' ideas about freedom often contradicted the plans of their northern allies. Many ex-slaves wanted to hold on to the family-based communal work methods that they used during slavery. Freed slaves in South Carolina, for example, attempted to maintain the family task system rather than adopt the individual piecework system northern capitalists pushed. Many ex-slaves opposed plans to turn them into wage laborers who produced exclusively for a market. Finally, freed slaves often wanted to stay on the land their families had spent generations farming rather than move elsewhere to occupy land as individual farmers.

While not guaranteeing all of the freed slaves' hopes for economic self-determination, the northern military attempted to establish a new economic base for them. General Sherman, hampered by the many black fugitives that followed his army on its famous march, issued an order in January 1865 that set aside the islands and coastal areas of Georgia and South Carolina for exclusive black occupancy on 40-acre plots. Furthermore, the Freedmen's Bureau was given control of hundreds of thousands of acres of abandoned or confiscated land and was authorized to make 40-acre grants to black settlers for three-year periods, after which they could buy at low prices. By June 1865, 40,000 black farmers were working on 300,000 acres of what they thought would be their own land.

But for most of them, the dream of "40 acres and a mule," or some other arrangement that would give them control of their land and labor, was not to be realized. President Johnson pardoned the owners of most of the land Sherman and the Freedmen's Bureau consigned to the ex-slaves, and Congress rejected proposals for an effective program of land confiscation and redistribution. Among the considerations prompting congressional opposition to land reform were a tenderness for property rights, fear of sapping the freedmen's initiative by giving them something they allegedly had not earned, and the desire to restore cotton production as quickly as possible to increase agricultural exports and stabilize the economy. Consequently, most blacks in physical possession of small farms failed to acquire title, and the mass of freedmen did not become landowners. As an ex-slave later wrote, "they were set free without a dollar, without a foot of land, and without the wherewithal to get the next meal even."

Despite their poverty and landlessness, ex-slaves were reluctant to settle down and commit themselves to wage labor for their former masters. Many took to the road, hoping to find something better. Some were still expecting land, but others were simply trying to increase their bargaining power. One freedman recalled that an important part of being free was that "we could move around [and] change bosses." By the end of 1865, many freedmen had still not signed up for the coming season; anxious planters feared that blacks were plotting to seize land by force. Within weeks, however, most holdouts signed for the best terms they could get.

One common form of agricultural employment in 1866 was a contract-labor system. Under this system, workers committed themselves for a year in return for a fixed wage, much of which was withheld until after the harvest. Since many planters

SHARECROPPERS The Civil War brought emancipation to slaves, but the sharecropping system kept many of them economically bound to their employers. At the end of a year, the sharecropper tenants might owe most—or all—of what they had made to their landlord.

drove hard bargains, abused their workers, or cheated them at the end of the year, the Freedmen's Bureau reviewed and enforced the contracts. But bureau officials had differing notions of what it meant to protect African Americans from exploitation. Some stood up for the rights of the freedmen; others served as allies of the planters.

An alternative capital–labor relationship—**sharecropping**—eventually replaced the contract system. First in small groups known as "squads," and later as individual families, black sharecroppers worked a piece of land for a fixed share of the crop, usually one-half. Credit-starved landlords liked this arrangement because it did not require much expenditure before the harvest, and the tenant shared the risks of crop failure or a fall in cotton prices.

African Americans initially viewed sharecropping as a step toward landownership. But during the 1870s, it evolved into a new kind of servitude. Croppers had to live on credit until their cotton was sold, and planters or merchants "provisioned" them at high prices and exorbitant interest. Creditors deducted what was owed to them out of the tenant's share of the crop. This left most sharecroppers with no net profit at the end of the year—and often with a debt they had to work off in subsequent years.

sharecropping
After the Civil War, the southern states adopted a sharecropping system as a compromise between former slaves who wanted land of their own and former slave owners who needed labor. The landowners provided land, tools, and seed to a farming family, who in turn provided labor. The resulting crop was divided between them, with the farmers receiving a "share" of one-third to one-half of the crop.

Quick Check

What were the conflicting visions of the planters, the Freedmen's Bureau agents, and the freed slaves with regard to what a new labor system should look like?

16.2.2 Slavery by Another Name?

While landless rural blacks were being reduced to economic dependence, those in towns and cities were living in an increasingly segregated society. The Black Codes of 1865 attempted to require separation of the races in public places and facilities; when federal authorities overturned most of the codes as violations of the Civil Rights Act of 1866, private initiative and community pressure often achieved the same end. In some cities, blacks resisted being consigned to separate streetcars by appealing to the

military when it still exercised authority, or by organizing boycotts. But they found it almost impossible to gain admittance to most hotels, restaurants, and other private establishments catering to whites. Although separate black, or "Jim Crow," cars were not yet the rule on railroads, African Americans were often denied first-class accommodations. After 1868, black-supported Republican governments required equal access to public facilities, but made little effort to enforce the legislation.

The Black Codes had other onerous provisions to control African Americans and return them to quasi-slavery. Most codes made black unemployment a crime, which meant blacks had to make long-term contracts with white employers or be arrested for vagrancy. Others limited the rights of African Americans to own property or engage in occupations other than those of servant or laborer. Congress, the military, and the Freedmen's Bureau set the codes aside, but vagrancy laws remained in force across the South.

Furthermore, private violence and discrimination against blacks continued on a massive scale, unchecked by state authorities. Whites murdered hundreds, perhaps thousands, of blacks during 1865–1866, and few perpetrators were brought to justice. Military rule was designed to protect former slaves from such violence and intimidation, but the task was beyond the capacity of the few thousand troops stationed in the South. When new constitutions were approved and states readmitted to the Union under the congressional plan in 1868, the problem became more severe. White opponents of Radical Reconstruction adopted systematic terrorism and mob violence to keep blacks from the polls.

Quick Check

What were the Black Codes, and how did they compare to the conditions of slavery?

The freed slaves, in the face of opposition from both their Democratic enemies and some Republican allies, tried to defend themselves by organizing their own militia groups and asserting their political rights. However, the militias were too weak to overcome the anti-Republican forces. And as the military presence was reduced, the new Republican regimes fought a losing battle against armed white supremacists.

16.2.3 Republican Rule in the South

Hastily organized in 1867, the southern Republican Party dominated the constitution making of 1868 and the regimes it produced. The party was an attempted coalition of three social groups that varied in their relative strength from state to state. One group was the same class that was becoming the backbone of the Republican Party in the North—businessmen who wanted government aid for private enterprise. Many Republicans of this stripe were recent arrivals from the North—the so-called carpetbaggers—but some were scalawags, former Whig planters or merchants who were born in the South or had immigrated there before the war and now saw a chance to realize their dreams for commercial and industrial development.

Poor white farmers, especially those from upland areas where Unionist sentiment had been strong during the Civil War, were a second element in the original coalition. These owners of small farms expected the party to favor their interests at the expense of the wealthy landowners and to pass special legislation when—as often happened in this period of economic upheaval—creditors attempted to seize their homesteads. Newly enfranchised blacks were the third group to which the Republicans appealed. Blacks formed most of the Republican rank and file in most states and were concerned mainly with education, civil rights, and landownership.

Under the best conditions, these coalitions would have been fragile. Each group had its own goals and did not fully support those of the others. White yeomen, for example, had a deep resistance to black equality. And for how long would essentially conservative businessmen support costly measures to elevate or relieve the lower classes of either race? But during the relatively brief period when they were in power in the South—from one to nine years depending on the state—the Republicans chalked up notable achievements. They established (on paper at least) the South's first

SENATORS AND REPRESENTATIVES The drawing "The First Colored Senator And Representatives" shows the first African American congressmen.

adequate systems of public education; democratized state and local government; and expanded public services and responsibilities.

As important as these social and political reforms were, they took second place to the Republicans' major effort—fostering economic development and restoring prosperity by subsidizing the construction of railroads and other internal improvements. But the policy of aiding railroads turned out to be disastrous, even though it addressed the region's real economic needs and was initially popular. Extravagance, corruption, and routes laid out in response to political pressure rather than on sound economic grounds increased public debt and taxation.

The policy did not produce the promised payoff of efficient, cheap transportation. Subsidized railroads went bankrupt, leaving the taxpayers holding the bag. When the Panic of 1873 brought many southern state governments to the verge of bankruptcy, and railroad building ended, it was clear the Republicans' "gospel of prosperity" through state aid to private enterprise had failed. Their political opponents, many of whom had favored such policies, now took advantage of the situation, charging that Republicans had ruined the southern economy.

In general, the Radical regimes failed to conduct public business honestly and efficiently. Embezzlement of public funds and bribery of state lawmakers or officials were common. State debts and tax burdens rose enormously, mainly because governments had undertaken heavy new responsibilities, but also because of waste and graft. The situation varied from state to state: Ruling cliques in Louisiana and South Carolina were guilty of much wrongdoing; Mississippi had a relatively honest and frugal regime.

Furthermore, southern corruption was not exceptional, nor was it a result of extending suffrage to uneducated African Americans, as critics of Radical Reconstruction have claimed. It was part of a national pattern during an era when private interests considered buying government favors as part of the cost of doing business, and when politicians expected to profit by obliging them.

Many Reconstruction-era scandals started at the top. President Grant's first-term vice president, Schuyler Colfax of Indiana, was directly involved in the notorious Credit Mobilier scandal. Credit Mobilier was a construction company that actually served as a fraudulent device for siphoning off profits that should have gone to the

stockholders of the Union Pacific Railroad, which had received massive federal land grants. Credit Mobilier distributed stock to influential congressmen, including Colfax before he became vice president, in order to keep Congress from inquiring into this shady arrangement. In 1875, during President Grant's second administration, his private secretary was indicted in a conspiracy to defraud the government of millions of dollars in liquor taxes, and his secretary of war was impeached for taking bribes. While there is no evidence that Grant profited personally from these misdeeds, he failed to take firm action against the wrongdoers and participated in covering up their crimes.

The new African American public officials were only minor participants in this rampant corruption. Although 16 blacks served in Congress—two in the Senate—between 1869 and 1880, only in South Carolina were blacks a majority of even one house of the legislature. Furthermore, no black governors were elected during Reconstruction (although Pinckney B. S. Pinchback was acting governor of Louisiana during 1872–1873). The biggest grafters were opportunistic whites. Businessmen offering bribes included members of the prewar gentry who were staunch opponents of Radical programs.

Although the highest government offices remained mostly in white hands, it is remarkable that some 2,000 African Americans held public office during Reconstruction. Most were former slaves who became leaders by serving in the Union army, working as ministers, teachers, or skilled craftsmen, and by serving as delegates to state political conventions. Among the most capable were Robert Smalls (whose career was described earlier); U.S. Senator Blanche K. Bruce of Mississippi, a former slave elected to the Senate in 1874 after rising to prominence in the Republican Party of his home state; Congressman Robert Brown Elliott of South Carolina, an adroit politician who was also a consistent champion of civil rights; and Congressman James T. Rapier of Alabama, who stirred the nation in 1873 with his appeals for federal aid for southern education and new laws to enforce equal rights for African Americans.

Quick Check

What were the three social groups that made up the southern Republican Party?

16.2.4 Claiming Public and Private Rights

The ways that freed slaves claimed rights for themselves were as important as party politics to the changing political culture of the Reconstruction South. Ex-slaves fought for their rights not only in negotiations with employers and in public meetings and convention halls, but also through the institutions they created and, perhaps most important, the households they formed.

Some ex-slaves used institutions formerly closed to them, like the courts, to assert rights they considered part of citizenship. Many ex-slaves rushed to formalize their marriages before the law, and they used their new status to fight for custody of children who had been taken from them under the apprenticeship provisions of the Black Codes. Ex-slaves sued white people and other blacks over domestic violence, child support, assault, and debt. Freed women sued their husbands for desertion and alimony and enlisted the Freedmen's Bureau to help them claim property from men. Immediately after the war, freed people created institutions that had been denied to them under slavery: churches, fraternal and benevolent associations, political organizations, and schools. Many joined all-black denominations such as the African Methodist Episcopal (AME) Church, which provided freedom from white dominance and more congenial worship. Black women formed all-black chapters of organizations such as the Women's Christian Temperance Union and created their own women's clubs to oppose lynching and promote "uplift" in the black community.

A top priority for most ex-slaves was education for their children; the first schools for freed people were all-black institutions the Freedmen's Bureau and northern missionary societies established. Having been denied education during the antebellum period, most blacks viewed separate schooling as an opportunity rather than as a form of discrimination. However, these schools were precursors to the segregated public school systems first instituted by Republican governments. Only at city schools in

FREEDMEN'S SCHOOLS A Freedmen's school, one of the more successful endeavors the Freedmen's Bureau supported. The bureau, working with teachers from northern abolitionist and missionary societies, founded thousands of schools for freed slaves and poor whites.

New Orleans and the University of South Carolina were serious attempts made during Reconstruction to bring white and black students together in the same classrooms.

In many ways, African American men and women during Reconstruction asserted freedom in the private realm and the public sphere by claiming rights to their own families and building their own institutions. They did so despite the efforts of their former masters and the new government agencies to control their private lives and shape their new identities as husbands, wives, and citizens.

Quick Check

What new rights and institutions did free blacks create and use following emancipation?

16.3 Retreat from Reconstruction

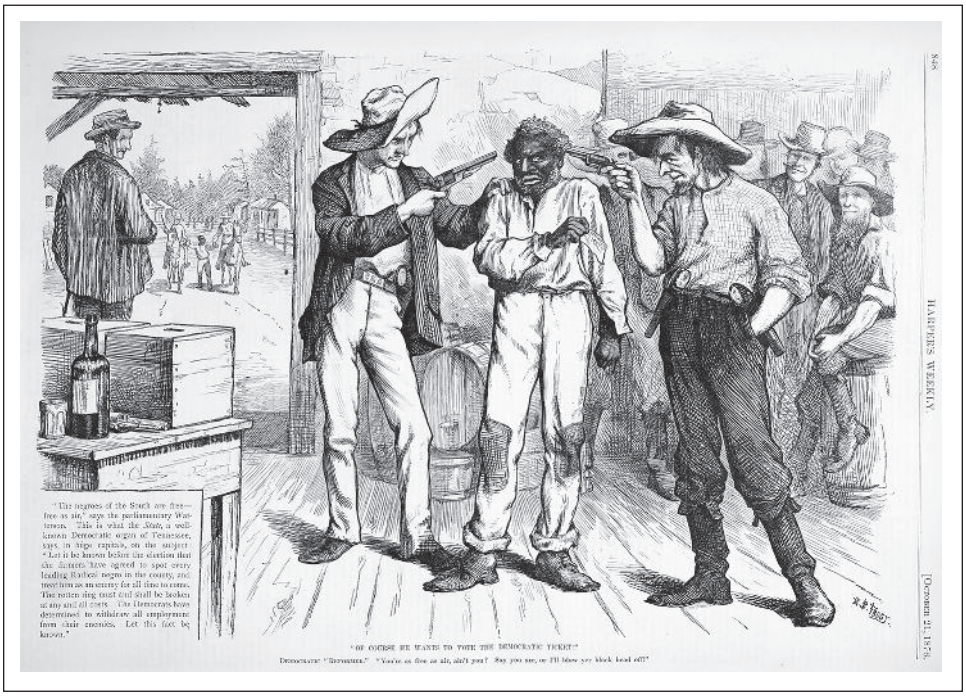
Why did Reconstruction end?

The era of Reconstruction began to end almost before it got started. Although it was only three years after the end of the Civil War, the impeachment crisis of 1868 was the high point of popular interest in Reconstruction. That year, Ulysses S. Grant, a popular general, was elected president. Many historians blame Grant for the corruption of his administration and for the inconsistency and failure of his southern policy. He had neither the vision nor the sense of duty to tackle the difficult challenges the nation faced. From 1868 on, political issues other than southern Reconstruction moved to the forefront of national politics, and the plight of African Americans in the South receded in white consciousness.

16.3.1 Final Efforts of Reconstruction

The Republican effort to make equal rights for blacks the law of the land culminated in the **Fifteenth Amendment**. Passed by Congress in 1869 and ratified by the states in 1870, it prohibited any state from denying a male citizen the right to vote because of race, color, or previous condition of servitude. A more radical version, requiring universal manhood suffrage, was rejected partly because it departed too sharply from traditional federal–state relations. States therefore could still limit the suffrage by

Fifteenth Amendment
Ratified in 1870, it prohibits the denial or abridgment of the right to vote by the federal or state governments on the basis of race, color, or prior condition as a slave. It was intended to guarantee African Americans the right to vote in the South.



FREEDOM? Republican cartoon showing the "freedom" of black Southerners urged at gunpoint to vote Democratic.

imposing literacy tests, property qualifications, or poll taxes allegedly applying to all racial groups; such devices would eventually be used to strip southern blacks of the right to vote. But the authors of the amendment did not foresee this. They believed it would prevent future Congresses or southern constitutional conventions from repealing or nullifying the provisions for black male suffrage included in the Reconstruction Acts. A secondary aim was to enfranchise African Americans in northern states that still denied them the vote.

Many feminists were bitter that the amendment did not extend the vote to women. A militant wing of the women's rights movement, led by Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony, was so angered that the Constitution was being amended to, in effect, make gender a qualification for voting that they campaigned against ratification of the amendment. Other feminists led by Lucy Stone supported the amendment, saying this was "the Negro's hour" and that women could afford to wait a few years for the vote. This disagreement divided the woman suffrage movement for a generation.

The Grant administration was charged with enforcing the amendment and protecting black men's voting rights in the reconstructed states. Since survival of the Republican regimes depended on African American support, political partisanship dictated federal action, even though the North's emotional and ideological commitment to black citizenship was waning.

Quick Check

What did the Fifteenth Amendment provide, and who was left out of its protections?

16.3.2 A Reign of Terror Against Blacks

Ku Klux Klan
A secret terrorist society first organized in Tennessee in 1866. The original Klan's goals were to disfranchise African Americans, stop Reconstruction, and restore the prewar social order of the South. The Ku Klux Klan re-formed in the twentieth century to promote white supremacy and combat aliens, Catholics, and Jews.

Between 1868 and 1872, the **Ku Klux Klan** and other secret societies bent on restoring white supremacy by intimidating blacks who sought to exercise their political rights were the main threat to Republican regimes. Founded in Tennessee in 1866, the Klan spread rapidly, adopting lawless and brutal tactics. A grassroots vigilante movement, not a centralized conspiracy, the Klan thrived on local initiative and support from whites of all social classes. Its secrecy, decentralization, popular support, and ruthlessness made it difficult to suppress. As soon as blacks had been granted the right to vote, hooded "night riders" began to visit the cabins of active Republicans. Some victims were only threatened. Others were whipped or murdered.

Such methods were first used effectively in the presidential election of 1868. Grant lost in Louisiana and Georgia mainly because the Klan—or the Knights of the White Camellia, as the Louisiana variant was called—launched a reign of terror to prevent blacks from voting. In Louisiana, political violence claimed the lives of more than 1,000 African Americans and other Republicans. In Arkansas, which Grant did carry, more than 200 Republicans, including a congressman, were killed.

Thereafter, Klan terrorism was directed mainly at Republican state governments. Virtual insurrections broke out in Arkansas, Tennessee, North Carolina, and parts of South Carolina. Republican governors called out the state militia to fight the Klan, but only the Arkansas militia brought it to heel. In Tennessee, North Carolina, and Georgia, Klan activities enabled Democrats to come to power by 1870.

During 1870–1871, Congress provided federal protection for black suffrage and authorized using the army against the Klan. The **Force Acts**, also known as the Ku Klux Klan Acts, made interference with voting rights a federal crime and provided for federal supervision of elections. The legislation also empowered the president to call out troops and suspend the writ of habeas corpus to quell insurrection. During 1871–1872, the military or U.S. marshals arrested thousands of suspected Klansmen, and the writ was suspended in nine counties of South Carolina that the Klan had virtually taken over. Although most of the accused Klansmen were never tried, were acquitted, or received suspended sentences, the enforcement effort did put a damper on hooded terrorism and ensure relatively fair and peaceful elections in 1872.

A heavy black turnout in these elections enabled the Republicans to hold on to power in most of the Deep South, despite Democratic efforts to cut into the Republican vote by taking moderate positions on racial and economic issues. This setback prompted conservative Democrats to change their strategy and ideology. They stopped trying to take votes away from the Republicans by proclaiming support for black suffrage and government aid to business. Instead they began to appeal openly to white supremacy and the traditional Democratic and agrarian hostility to government promotion of economic development. They were thus able to attract part of the white Republican electorate, mostly small farmers.

KU KLUX KLAN This 1868 photograph shows typical regalia of members of the Ku Klux Klan, a secret white supremacist organization. Before elections, hooded Klansmen terrorized African Americans to discourage them from voting.

This new strategy dovetailed with a resurgence of violence to reduce Republican, especially black Republican, voting. Its agents no longer wore masks but acted openly. They were effective because the northern public was increasingly disenchanted with federal intervention to prop up what were widely viewed as corrupt and tottering Republican regimes. Grant used force in the South for the last time in 1874 when an overt paramilitary organization in Louisiana, known as the White League, tried to overthrow a Republican government accused of stealing an election. When another unofficial militia in Mississippi instigated bloody race riots before the state elections of 1875, Grant refused the governor's request for federal troops. As a result, black voters were intimidated—one county registered only seven Republican votes where there had been a black majority of 2,000—and Mississippi fell to the Democratic Party.

By 1876, partly because of Grant's hesitant and inconsistent use of presidential power, but mainly because the northern electorate would no longer tolerate military action to sustain Republican governments and black voting rights, Radical Reconstruction was collapsing.

Force Acts of 1870 and 1871
Designed to protect black voters in the South from the Ku Klux Klan, these laws placed state elections under federal jurisdiction and imposed fines on and punished those guilty of interfering with any citizen exercising his right to vote.

Quick Check

How important was the Ku Klux Klan in influencing elections and policies in the South?

16.4 Reunion and the New South

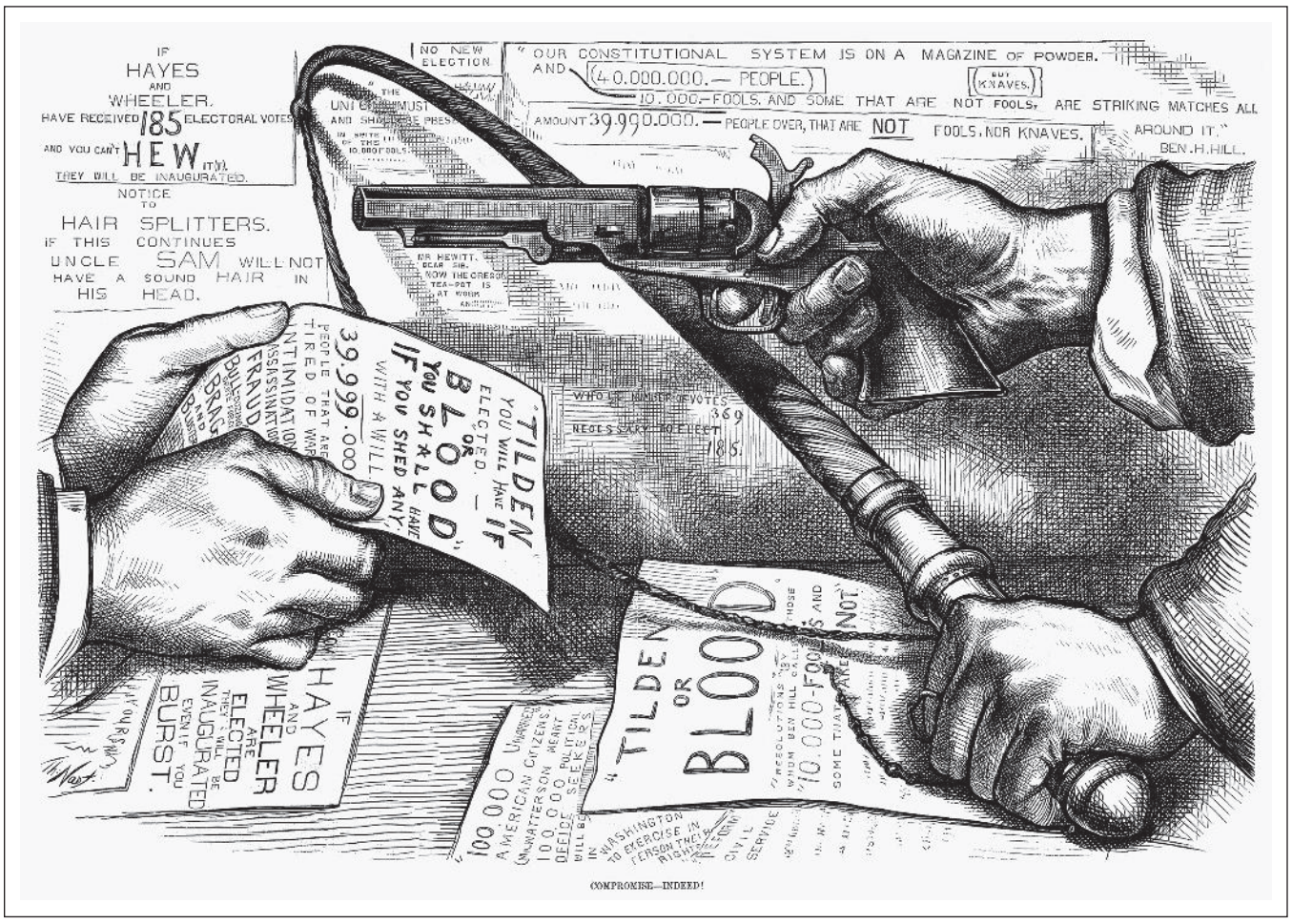
Who benefited and who suffered from the reconciliation of the North and South?

The end of Radical Reconstruction in 1877 opened the way to a reconciliation of North and South. But the costs of reunion were high for less-privileged groups in the South. The civil and political rights of African Americans, left unprotected, were relentlessly stripped away by white supremacist regimes. Lower-class whites saw their interests sacrificed to those of capitalists and landlords. Despite the rhetoric hailing a prosperous "New South," the region remained poor and open to exploitation by northern business interests.

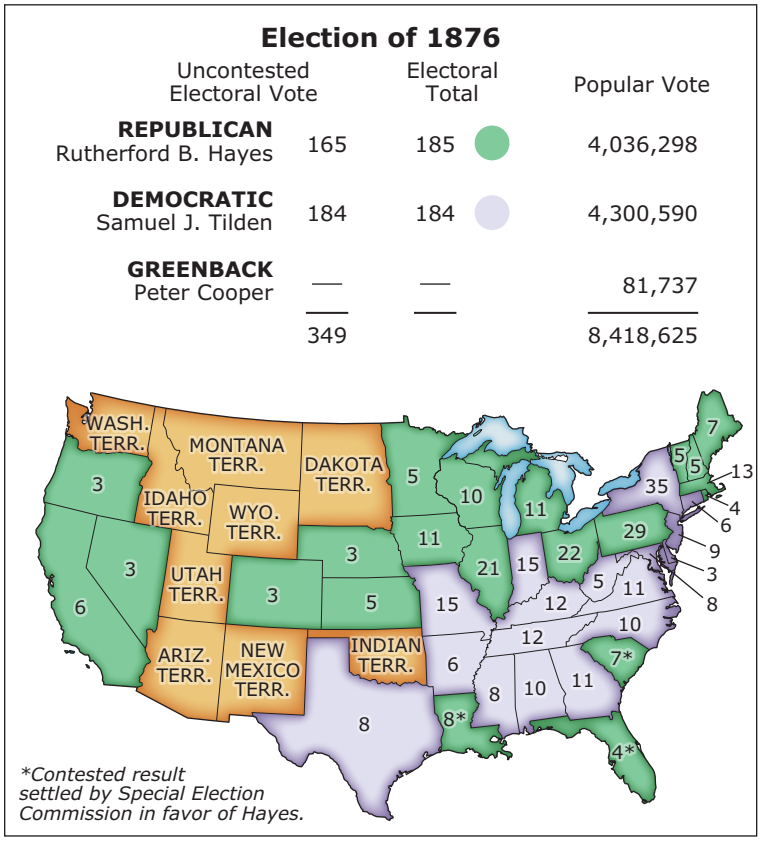
16.4.1 The Compromise of 1877

The election of 1876 pitted Rutherford B. Hayes of Ohio, a Republican governor untainted by the scandals of the Grant era, against Governor Samuel J. Tilden of New York, a Democratic reformer who had fought corruption in New York City. Honest government was apparently the electorate's highest priority. When the returns came in, Tilden had won the popular vote and seemed likely to win a narrow victory in the Electoral College. But the returns from the three southern states the Republicans still controlled—South Carolina, Florida, and Louisiana—were contested. If Hayes were awarded these three states, plus one contested electoral vote in Oregon, Republican strategists realized, he would triumph in the Electoral College by a single vote (see Map 16.2).

The election remained undecided for months, plunging the nation into a political crisis. To resolve the impasse, Congress appointed a 15-member commission



COMPROMISE INDEED This Harper's Weekly cartoon by Thomas Nast, captioned "Compromise-Indeed!" registers Republican dissatisfaction with the creation of an Electoral Commission to decide the outcome of the 1876 election. The pistol, bullwhip, and "Tilden or blood" posters reinforce the idea that Democrats were trying to force the election of Samuel J. Tilden as President. However, when a Republican replaced a Democrat on the 15-member Commission in 1877, they voted eight to seven to give the presidency to Republican Rutherford B. Hayes.



MAP 16.2 ELECTION OF 1876

to determine who would receive the votes of the disputed states. Originally composed of seven Democrats, seven Republicans, and an independent, the commission fell under Republican control when the independent member resigned to run for the Senate and a Republican replaced him. The commission split along party lines and voted eight to seven to award Hayes all the disputed votes. But both houses of Congress still had to ratify the decision, and in the House, there was strong Democratic opposition. To ensure Hayes's election, Republican leaders struck an informal bargain with conservative southern Democrats that historians have dubbed the **Compromise of 1877**. What precisely was agreed to and by whom remains in dispute, but both sides understood that Hayes would be president and that southern blacks would be abandoned to their fate. President Hayes immediately ordered the army not to resist a Democratic takeover of state governments in South Carolina and Louisiana. Thus fell the last of the Radical governments. White Democrats firmly controlled the entire South. The trauma of the war and Reconstruction had destroyed the chances for renewing two-party competition among white southerners.

Compromise of 1877
Compromise struck during the contested presidential election of 1876, in which Democrats accepted the election of Rutherford B. Hayes (Republican) in exchange for the withdrawal of federal troops from the South and the end of Reconstruction.

16.4.2 "Redeeming" a New South

The men who took power after Radical Reconstruction fell in one southern state after another are usually referred to as the **Redeemers**. Their backgrounds and previous loyalties differed. Some were members of the Old South's ruling planter class who had supported secession and now sought to reestablish the old order with as few changes as possible. Others, of middle-class origin or outlook, favored commercial and industrial interests over agrarian groups and called for a "New South" committed to diversified economic development. A third group consisted of professional politicians bending with the prevailing winds.

Redeemers
A loose coalition of prewar Democrats, Confederate veterans, and Whigs who took over southern state governments in the 1870s, supposedly "redeeming" them from the corruption of Reconstruction. They shared a commitment to white supremacy and laissez-faire economics.

The Redeemers subscribed to no single coherent ideology but are best characterized as power brokers mediating among the dominant interest groups of the South to serve their own political advantage. The "rings" they established on the state and county levels were analogous to the political machines developing at the same time in northern cities.

Redeemers did, however, endorse two basic principles: laissez-faire and white supremacy. Laissez-faire could unite planters who were frustrated at seeing direct state support going to businessmen, and capitalist promoters, who realized that low taxes and freedom from government regulation were even more advantageous than state subsidies. The Redeemers responded only to privileged and entrenched interest groups, especially landlords, merchants, and industrialists, and offered little or nothing to tenants, small farmers, and working people. As industrialization gathered steam in the 1880s, Democratic regimes became increasingly accommodating to manufacturing interests and hospitable to agents of northern capital who were gaining control of the South's transportation system and its extractive industries.

White supremacy was the rallying cry that brought the Redeemers to power. Once in office, they stayed there by charging that opponents of ruling Democratic cliques were trying to divide "the white man's party" and open the way for a return to "black domination." Appeals to racism also deflected attention from the economic grievances of groups without political clout.

The new governments were more economical than those of Reconstruction, mainly because they drastically cut appropriations for schools and other public services. But they were scarcely more honest—embezzlement and bribery remained rife. The Redeemer regimes of the late 1870s and 1880s neglected small white farmers. Whites, as well as blacks, were suffering from the notorious crop-lien system, which gave local merchants who advanced credit at high interest during the growing season the right to take possession of the harvested crop on terms that buried farmers deeper and deeper in debt. As a result, many whites lost title to their homesteads and were reduced to tenancy. When a depression of world cotton prices added to the burden of a ruinous credit system, agrarian protesters began to challenge the ruling elite, first through the Southern Farmers' Alliance of the late 1880s, and then by supporting its political descendant—the Populist Party of the 1890s (see Chapter 20).

Quick Check

Which principles divided, and which united, the new "Redeemer" governments?

16.4.3 The Rise of Jim Crow

The new order imposed the greatest hardships on African Americans. The dark night of racism fell on the South. From 1876 to 1910, southern states imposed restrictions on black civil rights known as **Jim Crow laws**. The term "Jim Crow" came from an antebellum minstrel show figure first popularized by Thomas "Daddy" Rice, who blackened his face and sang a song called "Jump Jim Crow." By the 1850s, Jim Crow was a familiar figure in minstrel shows, and had become a synonym for a black person in popular white speech. It was a short step to referring to segregated railroad cars for black people as Jim Crow cars. While segregation and disfranchisement began as informal arrangements in the immediate aftermath of the Civil War, they culminated in a legal regime of separation and exclusion that took firm hold in the 1890s (see Chapter 19).

Jim Crow laws
Segregation laws enacted by southern states after Reconstruction.

The rise of Jim Crow in the political arena was especially bitter for southern blacks who realized that only political power could ensure other rights. The Redeemers promised, as part of the understanding that led to the end of federal intervention in 1877, that they would respect the rights of blacks as set forth in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments. Governor Wade Hampton of South Carolina pledged that the

new regimes would not reduce African Americans to second-class citizenship. But when blacks tried to vote Republican in the "redeemed" states, they encountered violence and intimidation. "Bulldozing" African American voters remained common in state elections during the late 1870s and early 1880s; those blacks who withstood the threat of losing their jobs or being evicted from tenant farms if they voted for the party of Lincoln were visited at night and literally whipped into line. The message was clear: Vote Democratic, or vote not at all.

Furthermore, white Democrats now controlled the electoral machinery and manipulated the black vote by stuffing ballot boxes, discarding unwanted votes, or reporting fraudulent totals. Some states imposed complicated voting requirements to discourage black participation. Full-scale disfranchisement did not occur until literacy tests and other legalized obstacles to voting were imposed from 1890 to 1910, but by then, less formal and comprehensive methods had already made a mockery of the Fifteenth Amendment.

Nevertheless, blacks continued to vote freely in some localities until the 1890s; a few districts, like the one Robert Smalls represented, even elected black Republicans to Congress during the immediate post-Reconstruction period. The last of these, Representative George H. White of North Carolina, served until 1901. His farewell address eloquently conveyed the agony of southern blacks in the era of Jim Crow:

> These parting words are in behalf of an outraged, heart-broken, bruised, and bleeding but God-fearing people, faithful, industrious, loyal people—rising people, full of potential force…. The only apology that I have to make for the earnestness with which I have spoken is that I am pleading for the life, the liberty, the future happiness, and manhood suffrage of one-eighth of the entire population of the United States.

Quick Check

What aspects of southern society did the Jim Crow laws regulate?

Conclusion: Henry McNeal Turner and the "Unfinished Revolution"

The career of Henry McNeal Turner sums up the bitter side of the black experience in the South during and after Reconstruction. Born free in South Carolina in 1834, Turner became a minister of the AME Church just before the Civil War. During the war, he recruited African Americans for the Union army and served as chaplain for black troops. After the war, he went to Georgia to work for the Freedmen's Bureau, but encountered racial discrimination from white officers and left government service for church work and Reconstruction politics. Elected to the 1867 Georgia constitutional convention and to the state legislature in 1868, he was one of many black clergymen who became leaders among the freedmen. But whites won control of the Georgia legislature and expelled all the black members. As the inhabitant of a state in which blacks never gained the power that they achieved in other parts of the South, Turner was one of the first black leaders to see the failure of Reconstruction as the betrayal of African American hopes for citizenship.

Becoming a bishop of the AME Church in 1880, Turner emerged as the era's leading proponent of black emigration to Africa. Because he believed that white Americans would never grant blacks equal rights, Turner became an early advocate of black nationalism and a total separation of the races. Emigration became popular among southern blacks, who were especially hard hit by terror and oppression just after the end of Reconstruction. Still, most blacks in the nation as a whole and even in Turner's own church refused to give up the hope of eventual equality on American soil. But Bishop Turner's anger and despair were the understandable responses of a proud man to how he and his fellow African Americans had been treated in the post–Civil War period.

HENRY MCNEAL TURNER Turner, who was born in freedom, became a bishop of the African Methodist Episcopal Church and was elected to the Georgia legislature.

By the late 1880s, the wounds of the Civil War were healing, and white Americans were seized by the spirit of sectional reconciliation and their common Americanism. But whites could reunite only because northerners had tacitly agreed to give southerners a free hand to reduce blacks to servitude. The "outraged, heart-broken, bruised, and bleeding" African Americans of the South paid the heaviest price for sectional reunion.

TIMELINE Chapter 16

1863

Lincoln sets forth Ten Percent Reconstruction Plan
Lincoln's Ten Percent Plan provided that once 10 percent or more of the voting population of any occupied state had taken the oath of allegiance, they could set up a loyal government. By 1864, Louisiana and Arkansas—states that Union troops occupied—had established Unionist governments. Lincoln's policy was meant to shorten the war by weakening the southern cause.

1864

Lincoln pocket vetoes Wade-Davis Bill
Congress passed a Reconstruction bill of its own in July 1864 known as the Wade-Davis Bill. It required that 50 percent of the voters take a loyalty oath before the restoration process could begin. Thereafter, those who could swear they had never willingly supported the Confederacy could vote in an election for delegates to a constitutional convention. The bill did not require black suffrage, but it gave federal courts the power to enforce emancipation. Lincoln exercised a pocket veto by refusing to sign the bill before Congress adjourned.

1866

Republicans increase their congressional majority
The congressional elections of 1866 served as a referendum on the Fourteenth Amendment. Johnson opposed the amendment on the grounds that it created a "centralized" government and denied states the right to manage their own affairs. Northern voters repudiated the administration. The Republican majority in Congress increased to a solid two-thirds in both houses, and the Radical wing of the party gained strength at the expense of moderates and conservatives.

1866

Johnson vetoes Freedmen's Bureau bill (February)
On February 19, 1866, President Andrew Johnson vetoed the Freedmen's Bureau Bill, citing concerns about the expansion of federal powers and enduring military presence in peacetime. Congress eventually passed the bill, overriding his veto, later that year, allowing the Freedmen's Bureau to continue for two more years, providing aid to freed slaves and refugees, building schools, and enforcing civil rights.

1866

Civil Rights Act passed over Johnson's veto (April)
Overriding President Johnson's veto, more than two-thirds of the Reconstruction Congress passed the Civil Rights Act of 1866. The Act declared that all persons born in the United States are citizens with the right "to make and enforce contracts, to sue, be parties, and give evidence, to inherit, purchase, lease, sell, hold, and convey real and personal property, and to full and equal benefit of all laws and proceedings for the security of person and property," rights from which non-whites were previously excluded.

1866

Congress passes Fourteenth Amendment (June)
Attempting to quell constitutional questions about the Civil Rights Act of 1866, Congress passed the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution in 1868, much of which paralleled the text of the 1866 Act. By ratifying the Fourteenth Amendment, the Reconstruction Congress precluded subsequent Congresses from repealing the Act, and established that due process and equal protection of the laws would be extended to all citizens of the United States. The Fourteenth Amendment has been the basis for all subsequent civil rights legislation passed by Congress to the present day.

1867

First Reconstruction Act passed over Johnson's veto (March)
The first Reconstruction Act, passed over Johnson's veto on March 2, 1867, reorganized the South into five military districts. But military rule would last for only a short time. Subsequent acts allowed for quickly readmitting any state that framed and ratified a new constitution providing for black suffrage.

1868

Johnson is impeached but avoids conviction by one vote (February–May)
Rising tension between Johnson and Congress over the direction of Reconstruction in the South resulted in Congress impeaching Johnson in 1868. Congress claimed that Johnson violated the Tenure of Office Act by dismissing Secretary of War Edwin Stanton from office. Johnson avoided conviction by one vote on each of the three counts on which the Senate voted.

1869

Congress passes Fifteenth Amendment
The Fifteenth Amendment was ratified by the states in 1870. It prohibited any state from denying a male citizen the right to vote because of race, color, or previous condition of servitude.

1870–1871

Force Acts protect black voting rights in the South
In response to violent attacks on the rights of African-Americans to vote, hold office, serve on juries, and enjoy equal protection of laws, especially from groups such as the Ku Klux Klan, Congress passed the Force Acts, also known as the Enforcement Acts, which enabled the federal government to intervene when states did not protect these rights. The Force Acts created criminal penalties of fines and imprisonment for the use of terror to prevent voting based on race.

1877

Compromise of 1877 ends Reconstruction
Congressional Democrats voted to accept the commission's result in return for a promise from Hayes that he would withdraw federal troops from the South, thus ending Reconstruction and allowing white Democratic governments to resume power.

Chapter Review

Key terms

Black Codes, p. 373
Laws passed by southern states immediately after the Civil War to maintain white supremacy by restricting the rights of the newly freed slaves.

Compromise of 1877, p. 389
Compromise struck during the contested presidential election of 1876, in which Democrats accepted the election of Rutherford B. Hayes (Republican) in exchange for the withdrawal of federal troops from the South and the end of Reconstruction.

Fifteenth Amendment, p. 385
Ratified in 1870, it prohibits the denial or abridgment of the right to vote by the federal or state governments on the basis of race, color, or prior condition as a slave. It was intended to guarantee African Americans the right to vote in the South.

Force Acts of 1870 and 1871, p. 387
Designed to protect black voters in the South from the Ku Klux Klan, these laws placed state elections under federal jurisdiction and imposed fines on and punished those guilty of interfering with any citizen exercising his right to vote.

Fourteenth Amendment, p. 375
Ratified in 1868, it provided citizenship to ex-slaves after the Civil War and constitutionally protected equal rights under the law for all citizens. Radical Republicans used it to enact a congressional Reconstruction policy in the former Confederate states.

Freedmen's Bureau, p. 375
Agency established by Congress in March 1865 to provide freedmen with shelter, food, and medical aid, and to help them establish schools and find employment. The bureau was dissolved in 1872.

Ku Klux Klan, p. 386
A secret terrorist society first organized in Tennessee in 1866. The original Klan's goals were to disfranchise African Americans, stop Reconstruction, and restore the prewar social order of the South. The Ku Klux Klan re-formed in the twentieth century to promote white supremacy and combat aliens, Catholics, and Jews.

Radical Reconstruction, p. 377
The Reconstruction Acts of 1867 divided the South into five military districts. They required the states to guarantee black male suffrage and to ratify the Fourteenth Amendment as a condition of their readmission to the Union.

Radical Republicans, p. 372
Congressional Republicans who insisted on black suffrage and federal protection of civil rights of African Americans.

Redeemers, p. 389
A loose coalition of prewar Democrats, Confederate veterans, and Whigs who took over southern state governments in the 1870s, supposedly "redeeming" them from the corruption of Reconstruction. They shared a commitment to white supremacy and laissez-faire economics.

sharecropping, p. 381
After the Civil War, the southern states adopted a sharecropping system as a compromise between former slaves who wanted land of their own and former slave owners who needed labor. The landowners provided land, tools, and seed to a farming family, who in turn provided labor. The resulting crop was divided between them, with the farmers receiving a "share" of one-third to one-half of the crop.

Ten Percent Plan, p. 372
Reconstruction plan proposed by President Abraham Lincoln as a quick way to readmit the former Confederate states. It called for pardon of all southerners except Confederate leaders, and for readmission to the Union for any state after 10 percent of its voters signed a loyalty oath and the state abolished slavery.

Thirteenth Amendment, p. 373
Ratified in 1865, it prohibits slavery and involuntary servitude.

Wade-Davis Bill, p. 372
In 1864, Congress passed the Wade-Davis Bill to counter Lincoln's Ten Percent Plan for Reconstruction. The bill required that a majority of a former Confederate state's white male population take a loyalty oath and promise permanent freedom to African Americans. President Lincoln pocket vetoed the bill.

Chapter Review Questions

1. Do you think Reconstruction might have turned out differently had Lincoln not been assassinated?

2. Why was it difficult to enforce social and cultural changes using military force?

3. What role did local grassroots efforts play in carrying out federal government policy? How did people retain autonomy even under a strong federal government?

4. Why do you think coalitions between poor white farmers and freedmen did not succeed? Were there substantive differences in their political outlooks, or can the failure of biracial politics be attributed to racism?

Chapter 17

The West Exploiting an Empire 1849–1902

LITTLE BIG HORN This pictogram by Oglala Sioux Amos Bad Heart Bull is a Native American version of the Battle of the Little Bighorn, also known as Custer's Last Stand.

Contents and Focus Questions

Lean Bear's Changing West

In 1863, federal Indian agents took a delegation of Cheyenne, Arapaho, Comanche, Kiowa, and Plains Apache to visit the eastern United States, hoping to impress them with the power of the white man. The visitors were, in fact, impressed. In New York City, they stared at the tall buildings and crowded streets, so different from the wide-open plains to which they were accustomed. They visited the museum of the great showman Phineas T. Barnum, who in turn put them on display; they even saw a hippopotamus.

In Washington, they met President Abraham Lincoln. Lean Bear, a Cheyenne chief, assured Lincoln that Indians wanted peace but were worried about the numbers of white people who were pouring into their country. Lincoln swore friendship, said the Indians would be better off if they began to farm, and promised to do his best to keep the peace. But, he said, smiling at Lean Bear, "You know it is not always possible for any father to have his children do precisely as he wishes them to do."

Lean Bear, who had children of his own, understood what Lincoln said, at least in a way. A year later, back on his own lands, he watched federal troops, Lincoln's "children," approach his camp. Wearing a peace medal that Lincoln had given him, Lean Bear rode slowly toward the troops to again offer his friendship. When he was 20 yards away, they opened fire, then rode closer and fired again and again into his fallen body.

As Lean Bear had feared, in the last three decades of the nineteenth century, a flood of settlers ventured into the vast lands across the Mississippi River. Prospectors searched for "pay dirt," railroads now crisscrossed the continent, eastern and foreign capitalists invested in cattle and land bonanzas, and farmers took up the promise of free western lands. In 1867, Horace Greeley, editor of the *New York Tribune*, told New York City's unemployed: "If you strike off into the broad, free West, and make yourself a farm from Uncle Sam's generous domain, you will crowd nobody, starve nobody, and neither you nor your children need evermore beg for something to do."

With the end of the Civil War in 1865, white Americans again claimed a destiny to expand across the continent. In the process, they crushed the culture of the Native Americans and ignored the contributions of people of other races, such as Chinese miners and laborers and Mexican herdsmen. As millions moved west, the states of Colorado, Washington, Montana, North and South Dakota, Idaho, Wyoming, and Utah were carved out of the lands across the Mississippi. By 1900, only Arizona, New Mexico, and Oklahoma remained as territories.

The West became a great colonial empire, harnessed to eastern capital and tied increasingly to national and international markets. Its raw materials, sent east by wagon, train, and ship, helped fuel eastern factories. Westerners' economies relied heavily on the federal government, which subsidized their railroads, distributed their land, and spent millions of dollars for the upkeep of soldiers and Indians.

By the 1890s, the lands west of the Mississippi had changed substantially. In place of buffalo and unfenced vistas, there were cities and towns, health resorts, homesteads, sheep ranches, and, in the arid regions, the beginnings of the irrigated agriculture that would reshape the West in the twentieth century. Ghost towns, abandoned farms, and the scars in the earth left by miners and farmers spoke to the less favorable side of settlement. As the new century dawned, the West had become a place of conquest and exploitation, as well as a mythic land of cowboys and quick fortunes.

17.1 Beyond the Frontier

What were the challenges of settling the country west of the Mississippi?

The line of white settlement had reached the edge of the Missouri timber country by 1840. Beyond lay an enormous land of rolling prairies, parched deserts, and rugged, majestic mountains. Emerging from the timber country, travelers first encountered the

Great Plains—treeless, nearly flat, an endless "sea of grassy hillocks" extending from the Mississippi River to the Rocky Mountains.

Running from Alaska to central New Mexico, the Rockies presented a formidable barrier, and most travelers crossed the northern passes, emerging in the desolate basin of present-day southern Idaho and Utah. To the west, the lofty Cascades and Sierra Nevada held back rainfall; beyond was the temperate Pacific coast.

Few rivers cut through the Plains; those that did raged in the winter and trickled in the summer. Rainfall usually did not reach 15 inches a year, not enough to support extensive agriculture. There was little lumber for homes and fences, and the tools of settlement that had been used in the East—the cast-iron plow, the boat, and the ax—were virtually useless on the tough and treeless Plains soil. "East of the Mississippi," historian Walter Prescott Webb noted, "civilization stood on three legs—land, water, and timber; west of the Mississippi not one but two of these legs were withdrawn—water and timber—and civilization was left on one leg—land." (See Map 17.1.)

MAP 17.1 PHYSIOGRAPHIC MAP OF THE UNITED STATES

In the Great Plains and Rocky Mountains, the topography, altitudes, crops, and climate—especially the lack of rain west of the rainfall line shown here—led to changes in the mode of settlement. Essentially uniform from the Atlantic coast through Kentucky, Ohio, and Missouri, the traditional rectangular land surveys and quarter-section lots could not accommodate Great Plains conditions.

17.2 Removing the Indians

How were the tribes of the West removed from their homelands?

When Greeley urged New Yorkers to move west and "crowd nobody," he—like almost all white Americans—ignored the fact that many people already lived there. At the close of the Civil War, Native Americans inhabited nearly half the United States. By 1880, they had been driven onto smaller and smaller reservations and were no longer an independent people. A decade later, even their culture had crumbled under white domination.

In 1865, nearly 250,000 Native Americans lived in the western half of the country. Tribes such as the Winnebago, Menominee, Cherokee, and Chippewa were resettled there, forced out of their eastern lands by advancing white settlement. Other tribes were native to the region. In the Southwest were the Pueblo groups, including the Hopi, Zuni, and Rio Grande Pueblos. Peaceful farmers and herders, they had built up complex traditions around a settled way of life.

More nomadic were the Camp Dwellers, the Jicarilla Apache and Navajo, who roamed Arizona, New Mexico, and western Texas. The Navajo herded sheep and produced beautiful ornamental silver, baskets, and blankets. Fierce fighters,

WAGON TRAINS. The covered wagon served as a rolling home for thousands of families heading west. For protection the families traveled in groups, or trains, which could string out for miles along the road to California or Oregon.

Apache horsemen were feared by whites and fellow Indians across the southwestern Plains.

Farther west were the tribes that inhabited present-day California. Divided into many small bands, they eked out a difficult existence living on roots, grubs, berries, acorns, and small game. In the Pacific Northwest, where the abundance of fish and forest animals made life easier, the Klamath, Chinook, Yurok, and Shasta tribes developed a rich civilization. They built plank houses and canoes, worked extensively in wood, and evolved a complex social and political organization.

By the 1870s, most of these tribes had been destroyed or beaten into submission. The powerful Ute, crushed in 1855, ceded most of their Utah lands to the United States and settled on a small reservation near the Great Salt Lake. The Navajo and Apache fought back fiercely, but between 1865 and 1873, they too were confined to reservations. The Native Americans of California succumbed to the contagious diseases whites carried during the Gold Rush of 1849. Miners burned their villages, and by 1880, fewer than 20,000 Indians lived in California.

17.2.1 Life of the Plains Indians

In the mid-nineteenth century, nearly two-thirds of the Native Americans lived on the Great Plains. The Plains tribes included the Sioux of present-day Minnesota and the Dakotas; the Blackfoot of Idaho and Montana; the Cheyenne, Crow, and Arapaho of the central Plains; the Pawnee of western Nebraska; and the Kiowa, Apache, and Comanche of present-day Texas and New Mexico.

Nomadic and warlike, the Plains Indians depended on the buffalo and horse. The modern horse, first brought to the Americas by Spanish explorers in the 1500s, spread north from Mexico onto the Plains, and by the 1700s, had changed the Plains Indians' way of life. The Plains tribes gave up farming almost entirely and hunted buffalo on horseback, ranging widely over the rolling plains. The men became superb warriors and horsemen—among the best light cavalry in the world.

HALCYON DAYS After the buffalo was killed, women skinned the hide, cut up the meat, and then cured the hide, as shown in the painting *Halcyon Days* by George Catlin. Women also decorated the tepees and preserved the meat by drying it in the sun.

Migratory in culture, the Plains Indians formed tribes of several thousand people but lived in smaller bands of 300 to 500. The bands followed and lived off the buffalo. Buffalo provided food, clothing, and shelter; the Indians, unlike white hunters, used every part of the animal. The meat was dried, or "jerked," in the hot Plains air. The skins made tepees, blankets, and robes. Buffalo bones became knives; tendons were made into bowstrings; horns and hooves were boiled into glue. Buffalo "chips"—dried manure—were burned as fuel.

The Plains tribes divided labor tasks according to gender. Men hunted, traded, supervised ceremonial activities, and cleared ground for planting. They usually held the positions of authority, such as chief or medicine man. Women were responsible for childrearing and artistic activity. They also did the camp work, grew vegetables, prepared buffalo meat and hides, and gathered berries and roots. In most tribes, women played an important role in political, economic, and religious activities. Among the Navajo and Zuni, kinship descended from the mother's side. Among the Navajo, women were in charge of most of the family's property. In tribes such as the Sioux, there was little difference in status between the genders. Men were respected for hunting and war, women for their artistic skills with quill and paint.

Quick Check

What characterized the life of the Plains Indians?

17.2.2 Searching for an Indian Policy

Before the Civil War, Americans regarded the land west of the Mississippi as "one big reservation." The government named the area "Indian Country," moved eastern tribes there with firm treaty guarantees, and in 1834 prohibited any white person from entering this region without a license.

This changed in the 1850s. Wagon trains wound their way to California and Oregon, miners pushed into western goldfields, and there was talk of a transcontinental railroad. To clear the way for settlement, the federal government in 1851 abandoned the "one big reservation" designation in favor of a new policy of concentration. For the first time, it assigned definite boundaries to each tribe. The Sioux, for example, were given the Dakota country north of the Platte River; the Crow a large area near the Powder River; and the Cheyenne and Arapaho, the Colorado foothills between the North Platte and Arkansas Rivers for "as long as waters run and the grass shall grow."

The concentration policy lasted only a few years. Accustomed to hunting widely for buffalo, many Native Americans refused to stay within their assigned areas. Meanwhile, white settlers poured into Indian lands, then called on the government to protect them. Indians were pushed out of Kansas and Nebraska in the 1850s, even as white reformers fought to hold those territories open for free blacks. In 1859, gold miners moved into the Pikes Peak country, touching off warfare with the Cheyenne and Arapaho.

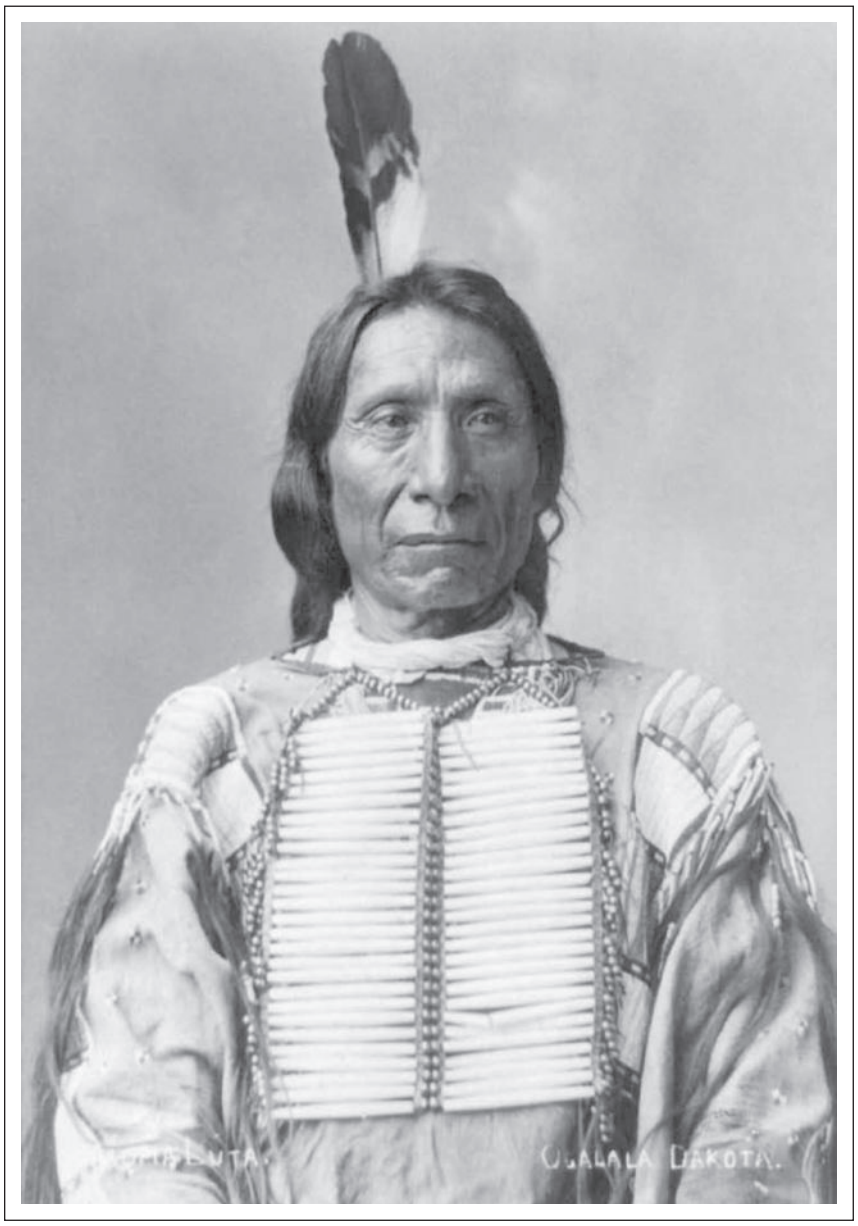
In 1864, tired of the fighting, the two tribes asked for peace. Certain that the war was over, Chief Black Kettle led his 700 followers to camp on Sand Creek in southeastern Colorado. Early on the morning of November 29, 1864, Colorado militia led by Colonel John M. Chivington attacked the sleeping group. "Kill and scalp all, big and little," Chivington told his men. "Nits make lice." Black Kettle tried to stop the ambush, raising first an American flag and then a white flag. Neither worked. Men, women, and children were clubbed, stabbed, and scalped.

The Chivington Massacre set off angry protests in Colorado and the East. Congress appointed an investigating committee, and the government concluded a treaty with the Cheyenne and Arapaho, condemning "the gross and wanton outrages." Still, the two tribes had to surrender their Sand Creek reservation in exchange for lands elsewhere. The Kiowa and Comanche were also ousted from areas they had been granted "forever" only a few years before. As Sioux Chief Spotted Tail said, "Why does not the Great Father put his red children on wheels so that he can move them as he will?"

Before long, the powerful Sioux were on the warpath in the great Sioux War of 1865–1867. An invasion of gold miners had touched off the war, which flared even more intensely when the federal government announced plans to connect various mining towns by building the Bozeman Trail through the heart of the Sioux hunting grounds in Montana. Red Cloud, the Sioux chief, determined to stop the trail. In December 1866, he lured an army column under Captain William J. Fetterman deep into the wilderness, ambushed it, and wiped out all 82 soldiers in Fetterman's command.

The Fetterman Massacre, coming so soon after the Chivington Massacre, sparked a debate over Indian policy. Like the policy itself, the debate reflected whites' differing views on the Native Americans. In the East, some reform, humanitarian, and church groups wanted a humane peace policy, directed toward educating and "civilizing" the tribes. Many other white people, in the East and the West, questioned this approach, convinced that Native Americans were savages unfit for civilization. Westerners, of course, had reason to fear Indian attacks, and these fears often fed on wild rumors of scalped settlers and besieged forts. As a result, Westerners in general favored firm control over the Native Americans, including swift punishment of any who rebelled.

In 1867, the peace advocates won the debate. Halting construction on the Bozeman Trail, Congress created a peace commission of four civilians and three generals to end the Sioux War and eliminate the causes of so-called Indian wars. The commissioners agreed that only one policy offered a permanent solution: "small reservations" to isolate the Native Americans on distant lands, teach them to farm, and "civilize" them.



RED CLOUD Red Cloud was chief of the Oglala Teton Sioux. He was an important leader who opposed white incursions into Native American lives and territory. He openly advocated peace whenever possible and did not support the more violent actions of Crazy Horse and his followers.

The Kiowa, Comanche, Cheyenne, and Arapaho agreed to the plan in 1867, the Sioux in 1868. The policy was extended beyond the Plains, and the Ute, Shoshone, Bannock, Navajo, and Apache also accepted small reservations (see Map 17.2).

Quick Check

How did American policy toward the Indians evolve in these years?

17.2.3 Final Battles on the Plains

Few Native Americans settled peacefully into life on the new reservations. The reservation system not only changed their age-old customs; it impoverished and isolated them. Young warriors and minor chiefs denounced the treaties and drifted back into the open countryside. In late 1868, warfare broke out again. It took more than a decade of violence to beat the Indians into submission.

On the northern Plains, fighting resulted from the Black Hills Gold Rush of 1875. As prospectors tramped across Native American hunting grounds, the Sioux gathered to stop them. They were led by Rain-in-the-Face, the great war chief Crazy Horse, and the famous medicine man Sitting Bull. The army sent troops after the Indians, but one column, under flamboyant Lieutenant Colonel George Armstrong Custer, pushed recklessly ahead, eager to claim the victory. On the morning of June 25, 1876, thinking he had a small band of Native Americans surrounded in their village on the banks of

MAP 17.2 NATIVE AMERICANS IN THE WEST: MAJOR BATTLES AND RESERVATIONS

"They made us many promises, more than I remember, but they never kept but one; they promised to take our land, and they took it." So said Red Cloud of the Oglala Sioux, summarizing Native American–white relations in the 1870s.

the Little Bighorn River in Montana, Custer divided his column and took 265 men toward it. Instead of a small band, he had stumbled on the main Sioux camp, with 2,500 warriors. It was the largest Native American army ever assembled in the United States.

By midafternoon Custer and his men were dead. Custer was largely responsible for the loss, but "Custer's Last Stand" set off a nationwide demand for revenge. Within months, the Sioux were surrounded and beaten, 3,000 of them surrendering in October 1876. Sitting Bull and a few followers who had fled to Canada gave up in 1881.

The Sioux War ended major warfare in the West, but occasional outbreaks still recurred. In 1890, many of the Teton Sioux of South Dakota, bitter and starving, turned to the **Ghost Dances**, rites that grew from a vision of a Paiute messiah named Wovoka. The dances, Wovoka said, would bring back Native American lands and make the whites disappear. All Native Americans would unite, the earth would be covered with dust, and a new earth would come upon the old. The buffalo would return in great herds.

The army intervened to stop the dancing, touching off violence that killed Sitting Bull and other warriors. Frightened Native Americans fled southwest to join other Ghost Dancers under the aging chief Big Foot. The Seventh Cavalry, Custer's old regiment, caught up with Big Foot's band and took them to the army camp on Wounded Knee Creek in South Dakota. A Native American, it is thought, fired the first shot, but the army's new machine guns—firing a shell a second—shredded tepees and people. In the infamous **Wounded Knee Massacre**, about 200 men, women, and children were killed in the snow.

Ghost Dances

A religious movement that arose in the late nineteenth century under the prophet Wovoka, a Paiute Indian. Its followers believed that dances and rites would cause white men to disappear and would restore lands to the Native Americans. The U.S. government outlawed the Ghost Dances, and army intervention to stop them led to the **Wounded Knee Massacre**.

Wounded Knee Massacre

In December 1890, troopers of the Seventh Cavalry, under orders to stop the **Ghost Dance** religion among the Sioux, took Chief Big Foot and his followers to a camp on Wounded Knee Creek in South Dakota. It is uncertain who fired the first shot, but 200 Native Americans were killed.

Quick Check

What were the final battles on the Plains?

17.2.4 The End of Tribal Life

The final step in the government's Indian policy came in the 1870s and 1880s. Reformers had long argued against segregating the Native Americans on reservations, urging instead that the nation assimilate them individually into white culture. "Assimilationists" wanted to use education, land policy, and federal law to eradicate tribal society.

Congress began to adopt this policy in 1871 when it stopped making treaties with Native American tribes. Since tribes were no longer separate nations, they lost many of their political and judicial functions, and the power of the chiefs was weakened.

THE GHOST DANCE This wood engraving from 1891 depicts a group of Sioux dancers performing, most likely, one of their last ghost dances before the arrest of the warrior chief Sitting Bull.

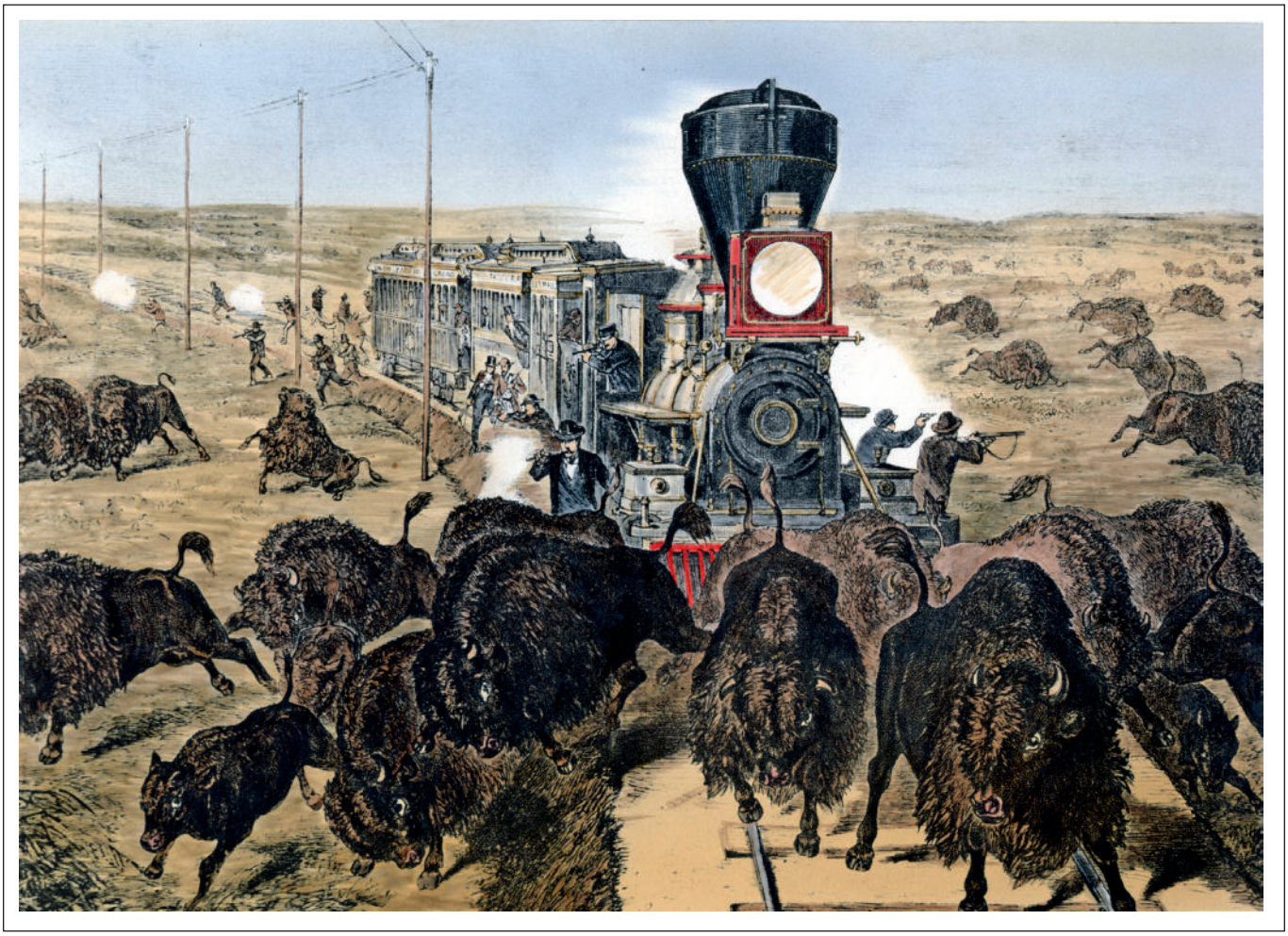
While Congress worked to break down the tribes, educators trained young Native Americans to adjust to white culture. In 1879, 50 Pawnee, Kiowa, and Cheyenne youths were brought to the new Carlisle Indian School in Carlisle, Pennsylvania. Other Native American schools soon opened, including the Haskell Institute in Kansas and numerous day schools on the western reservations. The schools taught students to fix machines and farm; they forced young Indians to trim their long hair and made them speak English, banned tribal paint and clothes, and forbade tribal ceremonies and dances. "Kill the Indian and save the man," said Richard H. Pratt, the army officer who founded the Carlisle School.

Land ownership was the final and most important link in the new policy. Native Americans who owned land, it was thought, would become responsible, self-reliant citizens. Deciding to give each Native American a farm, Congress in 1887 passed the **Dawes Severalty Act**, the most important legal development in Indian–white relations in more than three centuries.

Dawes Severalty Act
Legislation passed by Congress in 1887 that aimed to break up traditional Indian life by promoting individual land ownership. It divided tribal lands into small plots that were distributed among members of each tribe. Provisions were made for education and eventual citizenship. The law led to corruption and exploitation and weakened tribal culture.

To end tribal life, the Dawes Act divided tribal lands into small plots for distribution among members of the tribe. Each family head received 160 acres; single adults, 80 acres; and children, 40 acres. Once the land was distributed, any surplus was sold to white settlers, with the profits going to Native American schools.

Through the Dawes Act, 47 million acres of land were distributed to Native Americans and their families, but many Native Americans knew little about farming. Their tools were rudimentary, and in Plains Indian culture, men had not ordinarily participated in farming. In 1934, the government returned to the idea of tribal-land ownership, but by then 138 million acres of previously Indian land had shrunk to 48 million acres, half of which was barren.



BUFFALO HUNTING Huge buffalo herds grazing along railroads in the West frequently blocked passing trains. Passengers often killed for sport, shooting at the beasts with "no intention of using or removing the animal carcasses."

The final blow to tribal life was the virtual extermination of the buffalo, the Plains Indians' chief resource and the basis for their unique way of life. The killing began in the 1860s as the transcontinental railroads pushed west, and it stepped up as settlers found they could harm the Indians by wiping out the buffalo. "Kill every buffalo you can," an army officer said. "Every buffalo dead is an Indian gone." Then, in 1871, a Pennsylvania tannery discovered that buffalo hides made valuable leather. Professional hunters such as William F. "Buffalo Bill" Cody swarmed across the Plains, killing millions of the beasts. Between 1872 and 1874, professional hunters slaughtered 3 million buffalo a year. By 1883, the buffalo were almost gone. When the government set out to coin the famous buffalo nickel, its designer had to go to the Bronx Zoo in New York City to find a buffalo.

By 1900, only 250,000 Native Americans lived in the United States. (There had been 600,000 within the limits of the present-day United States in 1800, and more than 5 million in 1492, when Columbus first set foot in the New World.) Most of the Indians lived on reservations. Many lived in poverty. Alcoholism and unemployment were growing problems, and Native Americans, no longer able to live off the buffalo, became wards of the state. They lost their cultural distinctiveness. Once possessors of the entire continent, they had been crowded into smaller and smaller areas, overwhelmed by the demand to become settled, literate, and English-speaking. "Except for the internment of the West Coast Japanese during World War II," said historian Roger L. Nichols, "Indian removal is the only example of large-scale government-enforced migration in American history. For the Japanese, the move was temporary; for the Indians it was not."

Even as the Native Americans lost their identity, they entered the romantic folklore of the West. Dime novels, snapped up by readers young and old, told tales of Indian fighting on the Plains. "Buffalo Bill" Cody turned it all into a profitable business. Beginning in 1883, his Wild West Show played to millions of viewers in the United States, Canada, and Europe over the course of three decades. It featured Plains Indians chasing buffalo, performing a war dance, and attacking a settler's cabin. In 1885, even Sitting Bull, victor over Custer at the Battle of the Little Bighorn, performed in the show.

Quick Check

What events and measures ended tribal life?

17.3 Settlement of the West

Why did Americans and others move to the West?

Between 1870 and 1900, white—and some African, Hispanic, and Asian Americans—settled the 430 million acres west of the Mississippi; they took over more land than Americans had occupied in all the years before 1870.

People moved west for many reasons. Some sought adventure; others wanted to escape the drab routine of factory or city life. Many moved to California for their health. The Mormons settled Utah to escape religious persecution. Others followed the mining camps, the advancing railroads, or the farming and cattle frontier.

Whatever the specific reason, most people moved west to better their lot. On the whole, their timing was good, for as the nation's population grew, so did demand for livestock and the agricultural, mineral, and lumber products of the expanding West. Contrary to older historical views, the West did not act as a major "safety valve," an outlet for social and economic tensions. The poor and unemployed could not afford to move there and establish farms.

Gold Rush of 1849
Prospectors made the first gold strikes along the Sierra Nevada Mountains in California in 1849, touching off a mining boom that set the pattern for subsequent strikes in other regions.

17.3.1 Men and Women on the Overland Trail

The first movement west aimed not for the nearby Plains but for California and Oregon on the continent's far shore. The migration took off during the **Gold Rush of 1849**, and in the next three decades, perhaps 500,000 people made the long journey over the **Overland Trail**, a network of trails leading west. Some walked; others rode horses alone

Overland Trail
The route from the Mississippi Valley to the Pacific coast in the last half of the nineteenth century.

HOMESTEADERS IN THE WEST. Government policy allowed men and women to acquire land for little or no cash expense. Through hard work they could build homes for themselves and their families. This house is more impressive than many of the homesteaders'.

or in small groups. About half joined great caravans, numbering 150 wagons or more, that inched across the 2,000 miles between the Missouri River and the Pacific coast.

More often than not, men made the decision to make the crossing, but—except for the stampedes to the mines—migration was usually a family affair. Wives were often consulted, though in some cases they had little choice. They could either go along or live alone at home. While many women regretted leaving family and friends, they agreed to the trip, sometimes as eagerly as the men. Most people traveled in family groups, including in-laws, grandchildren, aunts, and uncles. As one historian has said, "The quest for something new would take place in the context of the very familiar."

Individuals and wagon trains set out from points along the Missouri River. During April, travelers assembled in camp just across the river, waiting for the new grass to ripen into forage. They packed and repacked the wagons and elected the trains' leaders, who would set the line of march, look for water and campsites, and impose discipline. Some trains adopted detailed rules, fearing a lapse into savagery in the wild lands across the Missouri. "Every man to carry with him a Bible and other religious books, as we hope not to degenerate into a state of barbarism," one agreement said.

Setting out in early May, travelers divided the route into manageable portions. The first leg of the journey followed the Platte River west to Fort Kearney in central Nebraska Territory, a distance of about 300 miles. From a distance, the white-topped wagons seemed driven by a common force, but, in fact, internal discipline broke down almost immediately. Arguments erupted over the pace of the march, the choice of campsites, the number of guards to post, whether to rest or push on. Elected leaders quit; new ones were chosen. Every train was filled with individualists, and as the son of one train captain said, "If you think it's any snap to run a wagon train of 66 wagons with every man in the train having a different idea of what is the best thing to do, all I can say is that some day you ought to try it."

Men, women, and children had different tasks on the trail. Men concerned themselves almost entirely with hunting, guard duty, and transportation. The people in a typical wagon train rose around 4 A.M. to hitch the wagons, and after breakfast began the day's march. At noon, they stopped and set the teams to graze. After the midday meal, the march continued until sunset. Then, while the men relaxed, the women fixed dinner and the next day's lunch, and the children kindled the fires, fetched water, and searched for wood or other fuel. Walking 15 miles a day, in searing heat and mountain cold, travelers were usually exhausted by late afternoon.

For women, the trail was often lonely, and they worked to exhaustion. Some adjusted their clothing to the harsh conditions, adopting to the then-new bloomer pants, shortening their skirts, or wearing "wash dresses"—so called because they had shorter hemlines that did not drag on the wet ground on washday. Other women continued to wear their long dresses, thinking bloomers and shorter hemlines "indecent." Both men and women carried firearms in case of Indian attacks, but most emigrants saw few Indians en route.

What they often did see was trash, miles of it, for the wagon trains were an early example of the impact of migration and settlement on the western environment. On the Oregon and other trails, travelers sidestepped mounds of garbage, tin cans, furniture, cooking stoves, kegs, tools, and clothing discarded by people who had passed through before.

The first stage of the journey, to Fort Kearney, was deceptively easy. Travelers usually reached the fort by late May. The second leg led another 300 miles up the Platte River to Fort Laramie on the eastern edge of Wyoming Territory. The heat of June would dry the grass, and the landscape they passed through during this leg offered no additional wood. Anxious to beat the early snowfalls, travelers usually rested a day or two at the fort, then hurried on to South Pass, 280 miles to the west, the best route through the forbidding Rockies. It was now mid-July, but the mountain nights were so cold that ice formed in the water buckets.

Beyond South Pass, some emigrants turned south to the Mormon settlements on the Great Salt Lake, but most headed 340 miles north to Fort Hall on the Snake River