THE BRIEF AMERICAN PAGEANT

Ninth Edition

Volume 2
Since 1865

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The Brief

AMERICAN PAGEANT

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AMERICAN PAGEANT

A HISTORY OF THE REPUBLIC

VOLUME II: SINCE 1865

NINTH EDITION

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PREFACE

This new edition of *The Brief American Pageant*, a concise version of *The American Pageant*, sixteenth edition, includes significant innovations. As always, this Brief Edition presents the core content of *The American Pageant* in an efficient and engaging fashion. It preserves the central distinguishing features of *The American Pageant*—its strong narrative and consistent focus on the great themes of American history: liberty, democracy, the struggle for justice in a modern industrial economy, and America's place in the world.

A new feature of this edition is Contending Voices, which presents paired quotes from the past to encourage critical thinking about controversial issues. The Thinking Globally features highlight the global context of key moments in American history. More highlighted quotes throughout the text help students hear the language of real people who experienced historical events.

In addition, the Examining the Evidence features enable students to deepen their understanding of the historical craft by conveying how historians develop interpretations of the past through research in many different kinds of primary sources. Here students learn to probe a wide range of historical documents and artifacts: correspondence between Abigail and John Adams in 1776, and what it reveals about women's place in the American Revolution; the Gettysburg Address and the light it sheds not only on President Lincoln's brilliant oratory but also on his vision of the American nation; a letter from a black freedman to his former master in 1865 that illuminates his family's experience in slavery as well as their hopes for a new life; the manuscript census of 1900 and what it teaches us about immigrant households on the Lower East Side of New York at the dawn of the twentieth century; and a new kind of architectural structure—the shopping mall—and how it changed both consumers' behavior and politicians' campaign tactics after World War II.

The text incorporates these features while preserving the liveliness and readability that have long been *The American Pageant*'s hallmark. We are often told that the *Pageant* is the sole American history text that has a distinctive personality—defined by clarity, concreteness, a consistent chronological narrative, strong emphasis on major themes, avoidance of clutter, access to a variety of interpretive perspectives, and a colorful writing style leavened, as appropriate, with wit. That personality, we strongly believe, is what has made *The Brief American Pageant* both appealing and useful to countless students for several decades.

The Brief American Pageant's goal is not to teach the art of prophecy but the much subtler and more difficult arts of seeing things in context, of understanding the roots and direction and pace of change, and of distinguishing what is truly new under the sun from what is not. The study of history, it has been rightly said, does not make one smart for the next time, but wise forever. We hope that *The Brief American Pageant* will help to develop this art of critical thinking in its readers, and that those who use the book will take from it both a fresh appreciation of what has gone before and a seasoned perspective on what is to come.

New to the Ninth Edition

Like *The American Pageant*, *The Brief American Pageant* provides students with a firm foundation in American history. *The Brief American Pageant* has also followed the lead of its parent text in terms of revisions for this most recent edition. For this edition we have consolidated and combined two chapters (eighth edition Chapters 29 and 30) into a single chapter (ninth edition Chapter 29; now titled Wilsonian Progressivism in Peace and War), resulting in renumbering of subsequent chapters for a total of 41 chapters in the ninth edition. Other changes include the following:

- **Part Six on the post-1945 era** has been substantially revised, reorganized, and updated to impart greater thematic coherence on the most recent past. Reflecting an emerging scholarly consensus, our new framework roughly divides the period into two eras, which can be summarized as follows: a midcentury era defined by sustained economic growth, broadly shared prosperity, and the international context of Cold War confrontation with the Soviet Union, followed by a new historical phase, originating in the pivotal decade of the 1970s, that has seen more fitful growth alongside both decreasing economic equality and increasing social inclusiveness, as well as a struggle to define America's international role after the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991.
- **Contending Voices** features, all new to the ninth edition, offer paired quotes from original historical sources, accompanied by questions prompting students to assess conflicting perspectives on often hotly debated subjects. This feature is designed to nurture students' historical thinking skills by exposing them to the contested nature of history as well as historical interpretation.
- The **marginal glossary** has been substantively revised for the ninth edition to focus on the key terms—events,

movements, organizations, laws, and so on—that are essential to the student's ability to understand larger historical developments. In contrast to previous editions, the glossary no longer includes general vocabulary definitions, which can be easily accessed in online or print dictionaries.

- A **strong global context** once again deepens the *Pageant*'s treatment of American history. Within each chapter, both text and graphics help students compare American developments to developments around the world. Boxed quotes bring more international voices to the events chronicled in the narrative. In addition, the expanded "Thinking Globally" essays present a different context for the American experience within world history.
- The text includes **updated coverage throughout** with updated scholarship and new documentary photos, political cartoons, graphs, and tables.

Notes on Content Revisions

Chapter 1: New images and revised treatment of the Indian civilizations of Mexico, South America, and North America; new Contending Voices: "Europeans and Indians" (Juan Ginés de Sepulveda, Bartolomé de Las Casas)

Chapter 2: Enhanced treatment of changing early Indian cultures and of the links between the West Indies and North American slavery; new Contending Voices: "Old World Dreams and New World Realities" (Richard Hakluyt, George Percy)

Chapter 3: New Contending Voices: "Anne Hutchinson Accused and Defended" (John Winthrop, Anne Hutchinson)

Chapter 4: New Contending Voices: "Berkeley Versus Bacon" (Nathaniel Bacon, William Berkeley)

Chapter 5: Substantially revised treatment of lives of enslaved African Americans; new Contending Voices: "Race and Slavery" (Samuel Sewall, Virginia slave code of 1705)

Chapter 6: New map of French and Indian War; new Contending Voices: "The Proclamation of 1763" (Royal Proclamation of 1763, George Washington)

Chapter 7: New Contending Voices: "Reconciliation or Independence?" (John Dickinson, Thomas Paine)

Chapter 8: Expanded discussion of international context of the American Revolution; new Contending Voices: "Two Revolutions: French and American" (Friedrich von Gentz, John Quincy Adams)

Chapter 9: New material on the debate over the Constitution; a revised and expanded discussion of the impact of *both* the Revolution and the Constitution on ideas of equality, religious freedom, and civic virtue; new Contending Voices: "Debating the New Constitution" (Jonathan Smith, Patrick Henry)

Chapter 10: Focused discussion of Hamiltonian Federalists vs. Jeffersonian Republicans; new Contending Voices: "Human Nature and the Nature of Government" (Alexander Hamilton, Thomas Jefferson)

Chapter 11: New boxed quotes and information on Marshall and the federal judiciary; new Contending Voices: "The Divisive Embargo" (Federalist pamphlet, W. B. Giles)

Chapter 12: New Contending Voices: "Sizing Up the Monroe Doctrine" (Klemens von Metternich, Colombian newspaper)

Chapter 13: New attention to spreading American democracy in global context; new Thinking Globally feature: "Alexis de Tocqueville on Democracy in America and Europe"; revised Varying Viewpoints essay on Jacksonian Democracy; new Contending Voices: "Taking the Measure of Andrew Jackson" (Maryland supporter, Thomas Jefferson)

Chapter 14: Revised treatment of anti-immigrant sentiment; new Contending Voices: "Immigration, Pro and Con" (Know-Nothing party platform, Orestes Brownson)

Chapter 15: Revised Examining the Evidence feature on "Dress as Reform"; revised material on later fate of the Oneida Community; revised Varying Viewpoints essay on "Reform: Who? What? How? and Why?"; new Contending Voices: "The Role of Women" (differing newspaper commentaries on Seneca Falls)

Chapter 16: Expanded coverage of international context of antislavery, including religiously motivated abolitionism; revised Varying Viewpoints essay on the true nature of slavery; new Contending Voices: "Perspectives on Race and Slavery" (William A. Smith, American Anti-Slavery Society)

Chapter 17: New Contending Voices: "Warring over the Mexican War" (*New York Evening Post*, Henry Clay)

Chapter 18: New Contending Voices: "The Compromise of 1850" (John C. Calhoun, Daniel Webster)

Chapter 19: New material on John Brown and Harper's Ferry; new Contending Voices: "Judging John Brown" (Harriet Tubman, Abraham Lincoln); revised Varying Viewpoints essay includes attention to international context of southern secession

Chapter 20: New Contending Voices: "War Aims: Emancipation or Union?" (Horace Greeley, Abraham Lincoln)

Chapter 21: Revised Thinking Globally feature: "The Era of Nationalism" compares Lincoln's American nationalism with that of contemporaries in Germany and Italy; new Contending Voices: "The Controversy over Emancipation" (*Cincinnati Enquirer*, Abraham Lincoln)

Chapter 22: New material on radical Reconstruction, including blacks' roles in the Reconstruction regime; new

Contending Voices: "Radical Republicans and Southern Democrats" (Thaddeus Stevens, James Lawrence Orr)

Chapter 23: New Contending Voices: "The Spoils System" (George Washington Plunkitt, Theodore Roosevelt); revised Varying Viewpoints essay on "The Populists: Radicals or Reactionaries?"

Chapter 24: New material on subsidies for railroad-building, and their advantages and disadvantages for the public; new Contending Voices: "Class and the Gilded Age" (Populist platform, William Graham Sumner); revised Varying Viewpoints essay on "Industrialization: Boon or Blight?"

Chapter 25: This chapter now includes revised discussion of religious conservatism as well as social reform, and expanded treatment of women as urban social reformers. Also revised and expanded are the discussions of moral controversies, women and family life in the cities, and the revived but altered suffrage movement. The new discussion of literature and the arts is now organized around the distinct but related cultural movements of realism, naturalism, and regionalism—all of which reflected in different ways the emerging national urban civilization. New Contending Voices: "The New Immigration" (Henry Cabot Lodge, Grover Cleveland)

Chapter 26: More quotes from both the Plains Indians and the soldiers who fought against them; new Contending Voices: "The Ghost Dance and the Wounded Knee Massacre" (James McLaughlin, Black Elk)

Chapter 27: New material on the debate over imperialism and race; new Contending Voices: "Debating Imperialism" (Albert Beveridge, George Hoar); revised Varying Viewpoints essay on "Why Did America Become a World Power?"

Chapter 28: New material on Roosevelt's conservation policies, including debates over "mixed use" versus "preservation"; expanded treatment of Roosevelt's break with Taft, and the Roosevelt ("New Nationalism") versus Wilson ("New Freedom") versus Taft (Republican Old Guard) ideological campaign of 1912; new Contending Voices: "Debating the Muckrakers" (Theodore Roosevelt, Ida Tarbell); revised Varying Viewpoints essay highlights female and international role in Progressive reform, with differing American and European emphases.

Chapter 29: Completely revised and reorganized treatment of "Wilsonian Progressivism at Home and Abroad" highlights the links between Wilson's domestic reform program and his eventual leadership of the idealistic American crusade in World War I; new Contending Voices: "Battle of the Ballot" (Carrie Chapman Catt, Mrs. Barclay Hazard)

NOTE: Due to the consolidation of two chapters (eighth edition Chapters 29 and 30) into a single chapter (ninth edition Chapter 29), subsequent chapters have been renumbered for a total of 41 chapters in the ninth edition.

Chapter 30: Substantially revised treatment of American literature and culture in the 1920s, with emphasis on the intersection of American developments with the wider international movement of modernism in the arts; new Contending Voices: "All that Jazz" (Henry van Dyke, Duke Ellington)

Chapter 31: Expanded coverage of American isolationism, including economic isolation; new Contending Voices: "Depression and Protection" (Willis Hawley, economists' petition)

Chapter 32: Revised discussion of the Social Security Act and the Fair Labor Standards Act points out their initial exclusion of several categories of workers, for example, farm laborers and domestic workers; new Contending Voices: "The New Deal at High Tide" (Franklin Roosevelt, Herbert Hoover); revised Varying Viewpoints essay describes various radical critiques of the New Deal, as well as historians of the constraints school who stress the limits on FDR's ability to change American society.

Chapter 33: Substantially revised section on the Atlantic Charter as an attempt to revive liberal hopes for a new democratic world order; fresh emphasis on the isolationist-internationalist debate; new Contending Voices: "To Intervene or Not to Intervene" (Sterling Morton, Franklin Roosevelt)

Chapter 34: New Thinking Globally feature: "America and the World in Depression and War: A Study in Contrasts"; increased attention to the impact of race during the war; new Contending Voices: "War and the Color Line" (Franklin Roosevelt, African American soldier)

Chapter 35: Revised and reorganized treatment of the origins of the Cold War, as well as expanded discussion of the long economic boom in the decades after World War II and its impact on American politics and society; new Contending Voices: "Debating the Cold War" (George Kennan, Henry Wallace)

Chapter 36: The chapter presents a fresh treatment of the Eisenhower and Kennedy administrations under the new title "American Zenith," emphasizing the pervasive affluence and confidence of the immediate postwar era; includes a new treatment of the beat writers as critics of a conformist society; new Contending Voices: "The 'Kitchen Debate'" (Richard Nixon, Nikita Khrushchev)

Chapter 37: New Thinking Globally feature, "The Global 1960s," locates American cultural upheavals of the time in relation to similar youth-led upheavals around the globe; new Contending Voices: "Differing Visions of Black Freedom" (Martin Luther King, Jr., Malcolm X)

Chapter 38: The revised and compressed chapter treats the 1970s in the context of "Challenges to the Postwar

Order," highlighting the economic troubles, international conflicts, and increasing loss of faith in American government and other institutions in the wake of Vietnam and Watergate; new Contending Voices: "The Political Mobilization of Business" (Lewis Powell, Douglas Fraser)

Chapter 39: Revised Varying Viewpoints essay on "Where Did Modern Conservatism Come From?"; new Contending Voices: "Who Ended the Cold War?" (Margaret Thatcher, Mikhail Gorbachev)

Chapter 40: Extensively revised treatment of the 1990s and the Clinton administration as an attempt to adjust to a post-Cold War world as well as growing conflict over the role of government; fresh discussions of cultural pluralism, the postmodern mind, and the increasing fragmentation of American culture into narrow niches; new Contending Voices: "Welfare Reform Divides the Democrats" (Joseph Lieberman, Marian Wright Edelman)

Chapter 41: Almost entirely new chapter on America in the post-9/11 era, includes discussion of the global war on terror in Iraq and Afghanistan, and the growing political polarization and gridlock between the two parties, especially after the elections of George W. Bush and Barack Obama; new Contending Voices: "Populist Politics in a Polarized Age" (Tea Party activist, Occupy Wall Street activist)

Pedagogical Features

The special pedagogical features of *The Brief American Pageant* are many and varied, and may be used in different ways by students and instructors.

- **"What if . . . ?"** questions at the end of each part-opening essay prompt students to consider how history might have changed if certain events turned out differently, reinforcing the contingent nature of history. This element is unique to the Brief Edition.
- **Chapter Outlines** begin each chapter to provide a roadmap for the student. This element is unique to the Brief Edition.
- **Focus Questions** come at the beginning of each chapter, pointing to the key issues and ideas in the account that follows, and guiding the student's reading and understanding. This element is unique to the Brief Edition.
- **Chronologies** have been updated to include even more political occurrences and historical events.
- **Marginal Glossary** highlights and defines in a concise, accessible way the key terms—events, movements, organizations, laws, and so on—that are essential to the student's ability to understand larger historical developments. In contrast to previous editions, the glossary no longer includes general vocabulary definitions.
- **Key Terms** are listed at the end of the chapter, with page numbers included, for ease of reference.
- **People to Know** are listed at the end of each chapter, providing students with a useful study tool as they learn about some of the most important individuals in American history.
- **Examining the Evidence** features enable students to deepen their understanding of the historical craft by conveying how historians develop interpretations of the past through research in many different kinds of primary sources.
- **Contending Voices** features offer students two different perspectives on a single event or issue, and include a question to help develop critical thinking skills.
- **Chapter Summaries** provide a handy review that highlights the chapter's main points. This element is unique to the Brief Edition.

Teaching and Learning Aids

Instructor Resources

MindTap™ for *The Brief American Pageant*, 9e is a personalized, online digital learning platform providing students with an immersive learning experience that builds critical thinking skills. Through a carefully designed chapter-based learning path, MindTap allows students to easily identify the chapter's learning objectives, improve writing skills by completing unit-level essay assignments, read short, manageable sections from the e-book, and test their content knowledge with a chapter test that employs Aplia™ questions (see Chapter Test description below).

- *Setting the Scene:* Each chapter within MindTap begins with a brief video that introduces the chapter's major themes in a compelling, visual way that encourages students to think critically about the subject matter.
- *Review Activities:* Each chapter within MindTap includes reading comprehension assignments designed to cover the content of each major heading within the chapter.
- *Chapter Test*: Each chapter within MindTap ends with a summative chapter test. It covers each chapter's learning objectives and is built using Aplia critical thinking questions. All chapter tests include at least one map-based activity. Aplia provides automatically graded critical thinking assignments with detailed, immediate explanations on every question. Students can also choose to see another set of related questions if they did not earn all available points in their first attempt and want more practice.
- *Reflection Activity:* Every chapter ends with an assignable, gradable reflection activity, intended as a brief writing assignment through which students can apply a

theme or idea they've just studied. Reflection activities are based upon primary source features within the book.

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- *Classroom Activities*: MindTap includes a brief list of class activity ideas for instructors. These are designed to increase student collaboration, engagement, and understanding of selected topics or themes. These activities, including class debate scenarios and primary source discussion guides, can enrich an online or in-class experience for both instructors and students.

MindTap also includes a variety of other tools that support history teaching and learning:

- The Instructor Resource Center provides additional 4,000+ primary source documents that professors can search within and add to any chapter in MindTap.
- Questia allows professors to search a database of thousands of peer-reviewed journals, newspapers, magazines, and full-length books—all assets can be added to any relevant chapter in MindTap.
- Kaltura allows instructors to create and insert inline video and audio into the MindTap platform.
- ReadSpeaker reads the text out loud to students in a voice they can customize.
- Note taking and highlighting are organized in a central location that can be synced with EverNote on any mobile device accessible to students.
- ConnectYard allows instructors to create digital "yards" and communicate with students based upon their preferred social media sites—without "friending" students.

MindTap for *The Brief American Pageant* goes well beyond an eBook and a homework solution. It is truly a *personal learning experience* that allows instructors to synchronize the reading with engaging assignments. To learn more, ask your Cengage Learning sales representative to demo it for you—or go to www.Cengage.com/MindTap.

Instructor Companion Website

This website is an additional resource for class preparation, presentation, and testing for instructors. Accessible through Cengage.com/login with your faculty account, you will find an Instructor's Manual, PowerPoint presentations (descriptions below), and testbank files (please see Cognero description).

- *Instructor's Manual:* For each chapter, this manual contains: focus questions, chapter themes, a chapter summary, suggested lecture topics, and discussion questions.
- *PowerPoint® Lecture Tools:* These presentations are ready-to-use, visual outlines of each chapter. They are easily customized for your lectures. There are presentations of only lecture or only images, as well as combined lecture and image presentations. Also available is a per-chapter JPEG library of images and maps.
- *Cengage Learning Testing, powered by Cognero®:* A test bank that contains multiple-choice and essay questions for each chapter. Cognero® is a flexible, online system that allows you to author, edit, and manage test bank content. Create multiple test versions instantly and deliver through your LMS with no special installs or downloads required. The following test bank format types are available for download from the Instructor Companion Site: Blackboard, Angel, Moodle, Canvas, and Desire2Learn. You can import these files directly into your LMS to edit, manage questions, and create tests.

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Student Resources

MindTap™ for *The Brief American Pageant, 9e* incorporates a set of resources designed to help students develop historical thinking skills, and identify the relevance of those skills beyond the history classroom. These resources include interactive tutorials for map skills, essay writing, and critical thinking, as well as other opportunities to read and write about history. With MindTap, students can access the entire e-book, plus many more valuable study tools.

Writing for College History, 1e **[ISBN: 9780618306039]** Prepared by Robert M. Frakes, Clarion University. This brief handbook for survey courses in American history, Western civilization/European history, and world civilization guides students through the various types of writing assignments they encounter in a history class. Providing examples of student writing and candid assessments of student work, this text focuses on the rules and conventions of writing for the college history course.

The History Handbook, 2e **[ISBN: 9780495906766]** Prepared by Carol Berkin of Baruch College, City University of New York and Betty Anderson of Boston University. This book teaches students both basic and history-specific study skills such as how to read primary sources, research historical topics, and correctly cite sources. Substantially less expensive than comparable skill-building texts, *The History Handbook* also offers tips for Internet research and evaluating online sources.

Doing History: Research and Writing in the Digital Age, 2e **[ISBN: 9781133587880]** Prepared by Michael J. Galgano, J. Chris Arndt, and Raymond M. Hyser of James Madison University. Whether you're starting down the path as a history major, or simply looking for a straightforward and systematic guide to writing a successful paper, you'll find this text to be an indispensable handbook to historical research. This text's "soup to nuts" approach to researching and writing about history addresses every step of the process, from locating your sources and gathering information, to writing clearly and making proper use of various citation styles to avoid plagiarism. You'll also learn how to make the most of every tool available to you—especially the technology that helps you conduct the process efficiently and effectively.

The Modern Researcher, 6e **[ISBN: 9780495318705]** Prepared by Jacques Barzun and Henry F. Graff of Columbia University. This classic introduction to the techniques of research and the art of expression is used widely in history courses, but is also appropriate for writing and research methods courses in other departments. Barzun and Graff thoroughly cover every aspect of research, from the selection of a topic through the gathering, analysis, writing, revision, and publication of findings, presenting the process not as a set of rules but through actual cases that put the subtleties of research in a useful context. Part One covers the principles and methods of research; Part Two covers writing, speaking, and getting one's work published.

Rand McNally Historical Atlas of the World, 2e **[ISBN: 9780618841912]** This valuable resource features more than 70 maps that portray the rich panoply of the world's history from preliterate times to the present. They show how cultures and civilization were linked and how they interacted. The maps make it clear that history is not static. Rather, it is about change and movement across time. The maps show change by presenting the dynamics of expansion, cooperation, and conflict. This atlas includes maps that display the world from the beginning of civilization; the political development of all major areas of the world; expanded coverage of Africa, Latin America, and the Middle East; the current Islamic World; and the world population change in 1900 and 2000.

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L.C.
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Sail, sail thy best, ship of Democracy,

Of value is thy freight, 'tis not the Present only,

The Past is also stored in thee,

Thou holdest not the venture of thyself alone, not of the Western continent alone,

Earth's résumé entire floats on thy keel, O ship, is steadied by thy spars,

With thee Time voyages in trust, the antecedent nations sink or swim with thee,

With all their ancient struggles, martyrs, heroes, epics, wars, thou bear'st the other continents,

Theirs, theirs as much as thine, the destination-port triumphant . . .

Walt Whitman
Thou Mother with Thy Equal Brood, 1872

The Brief

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Chapter

22

The Ordeal of Reconstruction

1865–1877

With malice toward none, with charity for all, with firmness in the right as God gives us to see the right, let us strive on to finish the work we are in, to bind up the nation's wounds, to care for him who shall have borne the battle and for his widow and orphan, to do all which may achieve and cherish a just and lasting peace among ourselves and with all nations.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN, SECOND INAUGURAL ADDRESS, MARCH 4, 1865

Chapter Outline

The battle was done, the buglers silent. Bone-weary and bloodied, the American people, North and South, now faced the staggering challenges of peace. Four questions loomed large. How would the South, physically devastated by war and socially revolutionized by emancipation, be rebuilt? How would the liberated blacks fare as free men and women? How would the Southern states be reintegrated into the Union? And who would direct the process of Reconstruction—the Southern states themselves, the president, or Congress?

FOCUS QUESTIONS

1. What were the major problems facing the South and the nation after the Civil War?
2. How did African Americans and whites, Southerners and Northerners, each respond to the end of slavery and approach race relations under new conditions of freedom?
3. How did Andrew Johnson's political incompetence and missteps enable the Radical Republicans to gain control of Reconstruction policy?
4. What were the actual effects of congressional Reconstruction in the South, and how did militant white opposition and growing northern apathy eventually bring an end to Reconstruction in the Compromise of 1877?
5. What were the primary successes and failures of Reconstruction, and what legacy did it leave for later generations of Americans?

CHRONOLOGY

1863	▪ Lincoln announces "10 percent" Reconstruction plan
1864	▪ Lincoln vetoes Wade-Davis Bill
1865	▪ Lincoln assassinated ▪ Johnson issues Reconstruction proclamation ▪ Congress refuses to seat Southern congressmen ▪ Freedmen's Bureau established ▪ Southern states pass Black Codes
1866	▪ Congress passes Civil Rights Bill over Johnson's veto ▪ Congress passes Fourteenth Amendment ▪ Johnson-backed candidates lose congressional election ▪ *Ex parte Milligan* case ▪ Ku Klux Klan founded
1867	▪ Reconstruction Act ▪ Tenure of Office Act ▪ United States purchases Alaska from Russia
1868	▪ Johnson impeached and acquitted ▪ Johnson pardons Confederate leaders
1870	▪ Fifteenth Amendment ratified
1870–1871	▪ Force Acts
1872	▪ Freedmen's Bureau ended
1877	▪ Reconstruction ends

The Problems of Peace

Other questions also clamored for answers. What should be done with the captured Confederate ringleaders? All Confederate officials were subject to charges of treason, and during the war a popular Northern song had been "Hang Jeff Davis to a Sour Apple Tree." Davis was clapped into prison for two years, but no treason trials were ever held. President Andrew Johnson pardoned all "rebel" leaders as a sort of Christmas present in 1868. Congress removed their civil disabilities thirty years later.

Dismal indeed was the picture presented by the war-wracked South when the rattle of musketry faded. Not only had an age perished, but a civilization had collapsed, in both its economic and its social structure. The moonlight-and-magnolia Old South, largely imaginary in any case, had forever gone with the wind.

Handsome cities of yesteryear, such as Charleston and Richmond, were rubble-strewn and weed-choked. An Atlantan returned to his once-fair hometown and remarked, "Hell has laid her egg, and right here it hatched." Economic life had creaked to a halt. Banks and businesses had locked their doors, ruined by runaway inflation. Factories were smokeless, silent, dismantled. The transportation system had broken down completely. Efforts to untwist the rails corkscrewed by Sherman's soldiers proved bumpily unsatisfactory.

Agriculture—the economic lifeblood of the South—was almost hopelessly crippled. Once-white-carpeted cotton fields yielded a lush harvest of nothing but green weeds. The slave-labor system had collapsed, seed was scarce, and livestock had been driven off by plundering Yankees. Pathetic instances were reported of men hitching themselves to plows, while women and children gripped the handles.

The princely planter aristocrats were humbled by the war—at least temporarily. Reduced to proud poverty, they faced charred and gutted mansions, lost investments, and almost worthless land. Their investment of more than $2 billion in slaves, their primary form of wealth, had evaporated with emancipation.

Beaten but unbent, many high-spirited white Southerners remained dangerously defiant. They cursed the "damn yankees" and spoke of "your government" in Washington instead of "our government." Conscious of no crime, these former Confederates continued to believe that their view of secession was correct and that the "lost cause" was still a just war. One popular anti-Union song ran,

> *I'm glad I fought agin her, I only wish we'd won,*
> *And I ain't axed any pardon for anything I've done.*

Such attitudes boded ill for the prospects of painlessly binding up the Republic's wounds.

Freedmen Define Freedom

Confusion abounded in the still-smoldering South about the precise meaning of "freedom" for blacks. Emancipation took effect haltingly and unevenly in different parts of the conquered Confederacy. As Union armies marched in and out of various localities, many blacks found themselves emancipated and re-enslaved. A North Carolina slave estimated that he had celebrated freedom about twelve times. In some regions planters stubbornly protested that slavery was legal until state legislatures or the Supreme Court might act. For many slaves the shackles of bondage were not struck off in a single mighty blow; long-suffering blacks often had to pry off their chains link by link.

The variety of responses to emancipation, by whites as well as blacks, illustrated the sometimes startling complexity of the master–slave relationship. Loyalty to the plantation master prompted some slaves to resist the liberating Union armies, while other slaves' pent-up bitterness burst violently forth on the day of liberation. In one instance, a group of Virginia slaves laid twenty lashes on the back of their former master—a painful dose of his own favorite medicine.

Prodded by the bayonets of Yankee armies of occupation, all masters were eventually forced to recognize their slaves' permanent freedom. The once-commanding planter would assemble his former human chattels in front of the porch of the "big house" and announce their liberty. Though some blacks initially responded to news of their emancipation with suspicion and uncertainty, they soon celebrated their newfound freedom. Many took new names in place of the ones given by their masters and demanded that whites formally address them as "Mr." or "Mrs."

Tens of thousands of emancipated blacks took to the roads, some to test their freedom, others to search for long-lost spouses, parents, and children. Emancipation thus strengthened the black family, and many newly freed men and women formalized "slave marriages" for personal and pragmatic reasons, including the desire to make their children legal heirs.

Whole communities sometimes moved together in search of opportunity. From 1878 to 1880, some twenty-five thousand blacks from Louisiana, Texas, and Mississippi surged in a mass exodus to Kansas.

Library of Congres

Charleston, South Carolina, in Ruins, April 1865 Rebel troops evacuating Charleston blew up military supplies to deny them to General William Tecumseh Sherman's forces. The explosions ignited fires that all but destroyed the city.

Houston H. Holloway, age twenty at the time of his emancipation, recalled his feelings upon hearing of his freedom:

"I felt like a bird out of a cage. Amen. Amen. Amen. I could hardly ask to feel any better than I did that day. . . . The week passed off in a blaze of glory."

The reunion of long-lost relatives also inspired joy; one Union officer wrote home:

"Men are taking their wives and children, families which had been for a long time broken up are united and oh! such happiness. I am glad I am here."

The church became the focus of black community life in the years following emancipation. As slaves, blacks had worshiped alongside whites, but now they formed their own churches pastored by their own ministers. Black churches grew robustly. The 150,000-member black Baptist Church of 1850 reached 500,000 by 1870, while the African Methodist Episcopal Church quadrupled in size from 100,000 to 400,000 in the first decade after emancipation. These churches formed the bedrock of black community life, and they soon gave rise to other benevolent, fraternal, and mutual aid societies. All these organizations helped blacks protect their newly won freedom.

Emancipation also meant education for many blacks. Learning to read and write had been a privilege generally denied to them under slavery. Freedmen wasted no time establishing societies for self-improvement, which undertook to raise funds to purchase land, build schoolhouses, and hire teachers. With qualified black teachers in short supply, they accepted the aid of Northern white women sent by the American Missionary Association. They also turned to the federal government for help. The freed blacks were going to need all the friends—and power—they could muster in Washington.

The Freedmen's Bureau

Abolitionists had long preached that slavery was a degrading institution. Now the emancipators were faced with the brutal reality that the former slaves were overwhelmingly unskilled, unlettered, without property or money, and with scant knowledge of how to survive as free people. To cope with this problem throughout the conquered South, Congress created the **Freedmen's Bureau** on March 3, 1865.

Freedmen's Bureau (1865–1872)
Created to aid newly emancipated slaves by providing food, clothing, medical care, education, and legal support. Its achievements were uneven and depended largely on the quality of local administrators.

On paper at least, the bureau was intended to be a kind of primitive welfare agency. It was to provide food, clothing, and education both to freedmen and to white refugees. The bureau was also authorized to distribute up to forty acres of abandoned or confiscated land to black settlers. Headed by General Oliver O. Howard, who later founded and served as president of Howard University in Washington, D.C., the bureau achieved its greatest successes in education. It taught an estimated 200,000 blacks how to read. Many former slaves had a passion for learning, partly because they wanted to close the gap between themselves and the whites and partly because they longed to read the Word of God.

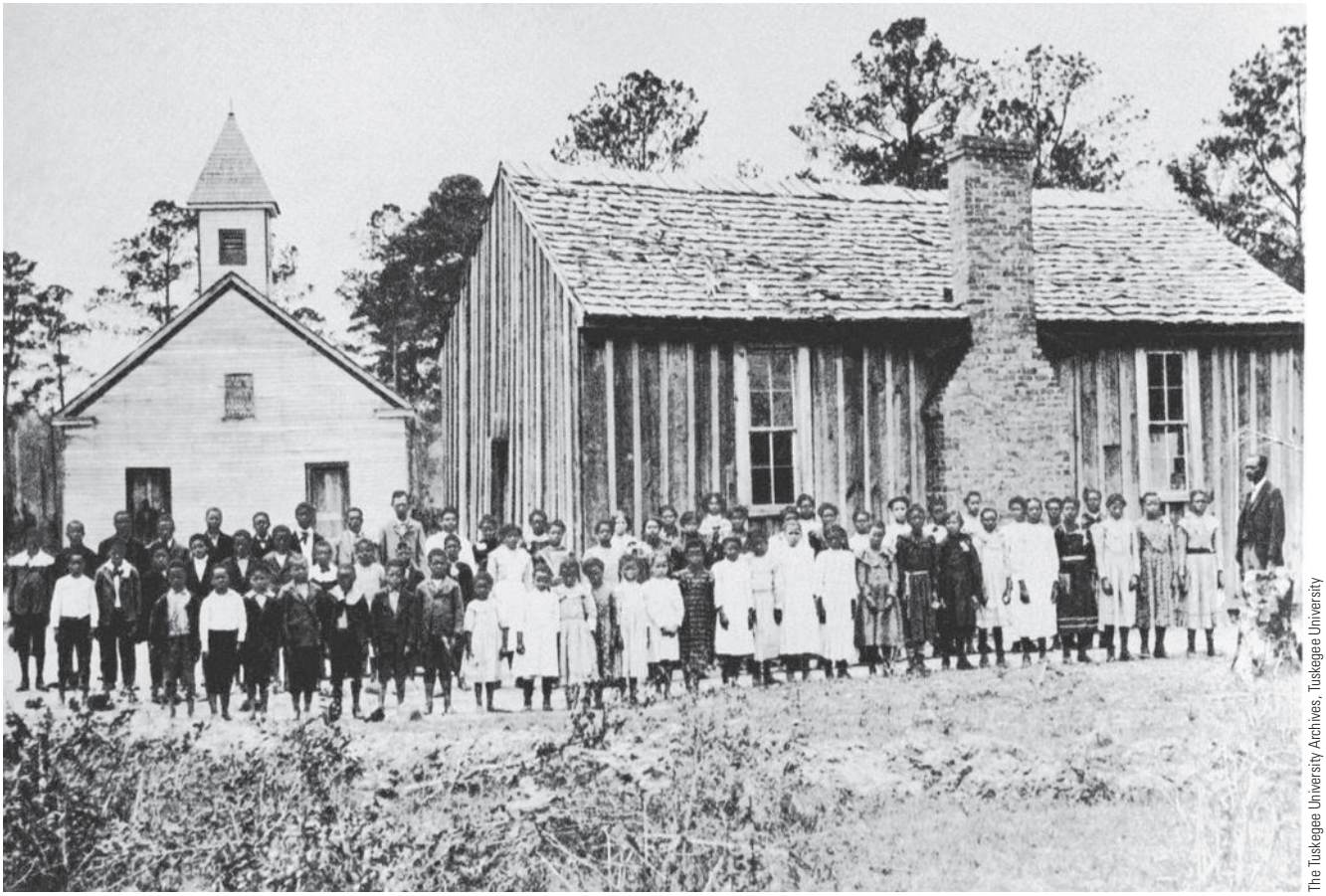
But in other areas the bureau's accomplishments were meager—or even mischievous. Although the bureau was authorized to settle former slaves on forty-acre tracts, little confiscated Confederate land actually passed into black hands. Instead local administrators often collaborated with planters in expelling blacks from towns and cajoling them into signing labor contracts to work for their former masters. Still, the white South resented the bureau as a meddlesome federal interloper that threatened to upset white racial dominance. President Andrew Johnson, who shared the white supremacist views of most white Southerners, repeatedly tried to kill it, and the bureau expired in 1872.

Women from the North enthusiastically embraced the opportunity to go south and teach in Freedmen's Bureau schools for emancipated blacks. One volunteer explained her motives:

"I thought I must do something, not having money at my command, what could I do but give myself to the work. . . . I would go to them, and give them my life if necessary."

Johnson: The Tailor President

Few presidents have ever been faced with a more perplexing sea of troubles than that confronting Andrew Johnson. What manner of man was this dark-eyed, black-haired Tennessean, now chief executive by virtue of the bullet that killed Lincoln?



The Tuskegee University Archives, Tuskegee University

Educating Young Freedmen and Women, 1870s Freed slaves in the South regarded schooling as the key to improving their children's lives and the fulfillment of a long-sought right that had been denied blacks in slavery. These well-dressed school children are lined up outside their rural, one-room schoolhouse alongside their teachers, both black and white.

No citizen, not even Lincoln, has ever reached the White House from humbler beginnings. Born to impoverished parents in North Carolina and orphaned early, Johnson never attended school but was apprenticed to a tailor at age ten. Ambitious to get ahead, he taught himself to read, and later his wife taught him to write and do simple arithmetic. Like many another self-made man, he was inclined to overpraise his maker.

Johnson early became active in politics in Tennessee, where he had moved when seventeen years old. He shone as an impassioned champion of the poor whites against the planter aristocrats, and as a two-fisted stump speaker before angry and heckling crowds. Elected to Congress, he attracted much favorable attention in the North when he refused to secede with his own state. After Tennessee was partially liberated by Union armies, he was appointed war governor of the state.

Political exigency next thrust Johnson into the vice presidency. Lincoln's Union party in 1864 needed to attract support from the War Democrats and other pro-Southern elements, and Johnson, a Democrat, seemed to be the ideal man.

"Old Andy" Johnson was no doubt a man of parts—unpolished parts. He was intelligent, able, forceful, and steadfastly devoted to duty and to the Constitution. Yet the man who had raised himself from the tailor's bench to the president's chair was a misfit. A Southerner who did not understand the North, a Tennessean who had earned the distrust of the South, a Democrat who had never been accepted by the Republicans, a president who had not been elected to the office, he was not at home in a Republican White House. Hotheaded, contentious, and stubborn, Johnson was the wrong man in the wrong place at the wrong time. A Reconstruction policy devised by the angels might well have failed in his tactless hands.

Examining the Evidence

Letter From a Freedman to His Old Master, 1865

What was it like to experience the transition from slavery to freedom? Four million southern blacks faced this exhilarating and formidable prospect with the end of the war. For historians, recovering the African American perspective on emancipation is challenging. Unlike their white masters, freed blacks left few written records. But one former slave captured in a letter to his "Old Master" (whose surname he bore) the heroic determination of many blacks to build new independent and dignified lives for themselves and their families.

During the war Jourdon Anderson escaped slavery in Tennessee with his wife and two daughters. After relocating to the relative safety of Ohio, he received a communication from his former owner asking him to return. In his bold reply, reportedly "dictated by the old servant" himself, Anderson expressed his family's new expectations for life as free people and an uneasiness about his former master's intentions. He made reference to his "comfortable home," his daughters' schooling, the church that he and his wife were free to attend regularly, and the peace of mind that came with knowing that "my girls [would not be] brought to shame by the violence and wickedness of their young masters." To test the white man's sincerity, Anderson and his wife asked for the astronomical figure of $11,680 in back wages from decades as slaves. He closed by reiterating that "the great desire of my life is to give my children an education and have them form virtuous habits." This rare letter demonstrates that many black correspondents may have been illiterate, but they were hardly inarticulate. And they asserted themselves as parents, workers, and citizens not only from the distance of a former free state such as Ohio but also deep within the former slave states of the South.

1. Was the tone of Anderson's letter (and postscript) serious, sarcastic, or tongue-in-cheek? What specific phrases support your answer?
2. How did the eventual accomplishments of Reconstruction correspond with the initial expectations of people like Anderson and his former owner?
3. What does this letter reveal about the complicated relationships between freedmen and their former masters? Is the relationship a "personal" one, or was it entirely dominated by Jourdon Anderson's having been held by Colonel P. H. Anderson as "property"?

Letter from a Freedman to his Old Master.

The following is a genuine document. It was *dictated* by the old servant, and contains his ideas and forms of expression. [Cincinnati Commercial.

DAYTON, Ohio, August 7, 1865.

To my Old Master, Col. P. H. ANDERSON, Big Spring, Tennessee.

SIR: I got your letter and was glad to find that you had not forgotten Jordan, and that you wanted me to come back and live with you again, promising to do better for me than anybody else can. I have often felt uneasy about you. I thought the Yankees would have hung you long before this for harboring Rebs. they found at your house. I suppose they never heard about your going to Col. Martin's to kill the Union soldier that was left by his company in their stable. Although you shot at me twice before I left you, I did not want to hear of your being hurt, and am glad you are still living. It would do me good to go back to the dear old home again and see Miss Mary and Miss Martha and Allen, Esther, Green and Lee. Give my love to them all, and tell them I hope we will meet in the better world, if not in this. I would have gone back to see you all when I was working in the Nashville Hospital, but one of the neighbors told me Henry intended to shoot me if he ever got a chance.

I want to know particularly what the good chance is you propose to give me. I am doing tolerably well here; I get $25 a month, with victuals and clothing; have a comfortable home for Mandy (the folks here call her Mrs. Anderson), and the children, Milly Jane and Grundy, go to school and are learning well; the teacher says Grundy has a head for a preacher. They go to Sunday-School, and Mandy and me attend church regularly. We are kindly treated; sometimes we overAs to my freedom, which you say I can have, there is nothing to be gained on that score, as I got my free-papers in 1864 from the Provost-Marshal-General of the Department at Nashville. Mandy says she would be afraid to go back without some proof that you are sincerely disposed to treat us justly and kindly—and we have concluded to test your sincerity by asking you to send us our wages for the time we served you. This will make us forget and forgive old sores, and rely on your justice and friendship in the future. I served you faithfully for thirty-two years, and Mandy twenty years, at $25 a month for me, and $2 a week for Mandy. Our earnings would amount to $11,680. Add to this the interest for the time our wages has been kept back and deduct what you paid for our clothing and three doctor's visits to me, and pulling a tooth for Mandy, and the balance will show what we are in justice entitled to. Please send the money by Adams Express, in care of V. Winters, esq., Dayton, Ohio. If you fail to pay us for faithful labors in the past we can have little faith in your promises in the future.

P. S.—Say howdy to George Carter, and thank him for taking the pistol from you when you were shooting at me.

New York Tribune Tuesday, August 22, 1865

Presidential Reconstruction

Even before the shooting war had ended, the political war over Reconstruction had begun. Abraham Lincoln believed that the Southern states had never legally withdrawn from the Union. Their formal restoration to the Union would therefore be relatively simple. Accordingly, Lincoln in 1863 proclaimed his **"10 percent" Reconstruction plan**. It decreed that a state could be reintegrated into the Union when 10 percent of its voters in the presidential election of 1860 had taken an oath of allegiance to the United States and pledged to abide by emancipation. The next step would be formal erection of a state government. Lincoln would then recognize the purified regime.

"10 percent" Reconstruction plan (1863) *Introduced by President Lincoln, it proposed that a state be readmitted to the Union once 10 percent of its voters had pledged loyalty to the United States and promised to honor emancipation.*

Lincoln's proclamation provoked a sharp reaction in Congress, where Republicans feared the restoration of the planter aristocracy to power and the possible re-enslavement of blacks. Republicans therefore rammed through Congress in 1864 the **Wade-Davis Bill**. The bill required that 50 percent of a state's voters take the oath of allegiance and demanded stronger safeguards for emancipation than Lincoln's as the price of readmission. Republicans were outraged when Lincoln "pocket-vetoed" this bill by refusing to sign it after Congress had adjourned.

Wade-Davis Bill *Passed by Congressional Republicans in response to Abraham Lincoln's "10 percent plan," but never signed or enacted by Lincoln, it would have required that 50 percent of a state's voters pledge allegiance to the Union, and intended to set stronger safeguards for emancipation. Reflected divisions between Congress and the President, and between radical and moderate Republicans, over the treatment of the defeated South.*

The controversy surrounding the Wade-Davis Bill had revealed deep differences between the president and Congress. Unlike Lincoln, many in Congress insisted that the seceders had indeed left the Union—had "committed suicide" as republican states—and had therefore forfeited all their rights. They could be readmitted only as "conquered provinces" on such conditions as Congress should decree.

The episode further revealed differences among two emerging Republican factions, moderates and radicals. The majority moderate group tended to agree with Lincoln that the seceded states should be restored to the Union as simply and swiftly as reasonable—though on Congress's terms, not the president's. The minority radical group believed that before the South could be restored, its social structure should be uprooted, the haughty planters punished, and the newly emancipated blacks protected by federal power.

After President Lincoln's assassination in April 1865, some radicals hoped that spiteful Andy Johnson, who shared their hatred for the planter aristocracy, would also share their desire to reconstruct the South with a rod of iron. But Johnson soon disillusioned them. He quickly recognized several of Lincoln's 10 percent governments, and on May 29, 1865, he issued his own Reconstruction proclamation. It disfranchised certain leading Confederates and called for special state conventions, which were required to repeal secession, repudiate all Confederate debts, and ratify the slave-freeing Thirteenth Amendment.

Johnson, savoring his dominance over the high-toned aristocrats who now begged his favor, granted pardons in abundance. Bolstered by the political resurrection of the planter elite, the recently rebellious states moved rapidly in the second half of 1865 to organize governments. But as the pattern of the new governments became clear, Republicans of all stripes grew furious.

The Baleful Black Codes

Among the first acts of the new Southern regimes sanctioned by Johnson was the passage of the iron-toothed **Black Codes**. These laws were designed to regulate the affairs of the emancipated blacks, much as the slave statutes had done in pre-Civil War days. The Black Codes aimed, first of all, to ensure a stable and subservient labor force. Dire penalties were therefore imposed by the codes on blacks who "jumped" their labor contracts, which usually committed them to work for the same employer for one year, and generally at pittance wages.

Black Codes (1865–1866) *Laws passed throughout the South to restrict the rights of emancipated blacks, particularly with respect to negotiating labor contracts. Increased Northerners' criticisms of President Andrew Johnson's lenient Reconstruction policies.*

The codes also sought to restore as nearly as possible the pre-emancipation system of race relations. Freedom was legally recognized, as were some other privileges, such as the right to marry. But all the codes forbade a black to serve on a jury or vote, and some codes even barred blacks from renting or leasing land.

These oppressive laws mocked the ideal of freedom, so recently purchased by buckets of blood. The Black Codes imposed terrible burdens on the unfettered blacks, struggling against mistreatment and poverty to make their way as free people. Thousands of impoverished former slaves slipped into virtual peonage as sharecropper farmers, as did many landless whites.

Contending Voices

Radical Republicans and Southern Democrats

Representative Thaddeus Stevens (1792–1868), a leading radical Republican, argued in September 1865 for a sweeping plan of compulsory land redistribution and political reform to smash the Southern plantation system:

"The whole fabric of southern society *must* be changed, and never can it be done if this opportunity is lost. . . . If the South is ever to be made a safe republic let her lands be cultivated by the toil of the owners or the free labor of intelligent citizens."

Two months later, the new governor of South Carolina, James Lawrence Orr (1822–1873), voiced elite Southerners' insistence that emancipated slaves must be kept tied to the South's prewar economic system, even if now by contract rather than bondage:

"[Emancipated slaves] must be restrained from theft, idleness, vagrancy and crime, and taught the absolute necessity of strictly complying with their contracts for labor. . . . The labor of every negro in the State is needed, if not to till the soil, in some other useful employment—for the culture of cotton and rice; and, in menial occupations, it is very doubtful whether any laborers in this country or in Europe can supply his place."

Why were these competing visions of the political future of the post–Civil War South so linked to labor and land policies?

The Black Codes made an ugly impression in the North. If the former slaves were being re-enslaved, people asked one another, had not the Boys in Blue spilled their blood in vain? Had the North really won the war?

Congressional Reconstruction

These questions grew more insistent when the congressional delegations from the newly reconstituted Southern states presented themselves in the Capitol in December 1865. To the shock and disgust of the Republicans, many former Confederate leaders were on hand to claim their seats.

The appearance of these ex-rebels was a natural but costly blunder. Voters of the South, seeking able representatives, had turned instinctively to their experienced statesmen. But most of the Southern leaders were tainted by active association with the "lost cause." Among them were four former Confederate generals, five colonels, and various members of the Richmond cabinet and Congress. Worst of all, there was the shrimpy but brainy Alexander Stephens, ex-vice president of the Confederacy, still under indictment for treason.

The presence of these "whitewashed rebels" infuriated the Republicans in Congress. The war had been fought to restore the Union, but not on these kinds of terms. Most Republicans balked at giving up the political advantage they had enjoyed while the South had been "out" from 1861 to 1865. They had passed much legislation that favored the North, such as the Morrill Act, the **Pacific Railroad Act**, and the Homestead Act. On the first day of the congressional session, December 4, 1865, they banged shut the door in the face of the newly elected Southern delegations.

Looking to the future, the Republicans were alarmed to realize that a restored South would be stronger than ever in national politics. Before the war a black slave had counted as three-fifths of a person in apportioning congressional representation. But now, owing to full counting of free blacks, the eleven rebel states were entitled to twelve more votes in Congress and twelve more presidential electoral votes than they had previously enjoyed. Again, angry voices in the North raised the cry, "Who won the war?"

Republicans had good reason to fear that ultimately they might be elbowed aside. Southerners might join hands with Democrats in the North and win control of Congress or maybe even the White House. If that happened, they could perpetuate the Black Codes, virtually re-enslaving the blacks. They could dismantle the economic program of the Republican party and possibly even repudiate the national debt. President Johnson thus deeply disturbed the congressional Republicans when he announced on December 6, 1865, that the recently rebellious states had satisfied his conditions and that in his view the Union was now restored.

Pacific Railroad Act (1862) *Helped fund the construction of the Union Pacific transcontinental railroad with the use of land grants and government bonds.*

Johnson Clashes with Congress

A clash between president and Congress was now inevitable. It exploded into the open in February 1866, when the president vetoed a bill (later repassed) extending the life of the controversial Freedmen's Bureau.

Aroused, the Republicans swiftly struck back. In March 1866 they passed the **Civil Rights Bill**, which conferred on blacks the privileges of American citizenship and struck at the Black Codes. President Johnson resolutely vetoed this forward-looking measure, but in April congressmen steamrollered it over his veto—something they repeatedly did henceforth. The hapless president, dubbed "Andy Veto," had his presidential wings clipped short, as Congress increasingly assumed the dominant role in running the government.

Civil Rights Bill (1866) *Passed over Andrew Johnson's veto, the bill aimed to counteract the Black Codes by conferring citizenship on African Americans and making it a crime to deprive blacks of their rights to sue, testify in court, or hold property.*

The Republicans now undertook to rivet the principles of the Civil Rights Bill into the Constitution as the **Fourteenth Amendment**, so that no future Congress could repeal the law. The proposed amendment, as approved by Congress and sent to the states in June 1866 and ratified in 1868, was sweeping. The amendment (1) conferred civil rights, including citizenship but excluding the franchise, on the freedmen; (2) reduced proportionately the representation of a state in Congress and in the Electoral College if it denied blacks the ballot; (3) disqualified from federal and state office former Confederates who as federal officeholders had once sworn to "support the Constitution of the United States"; and (4) guaranteed the federal debt, while repudiating all Confederate debts. (See the text of the Fourteenth Amendment in the Appendix.)

Fourteenth Amendment (ratified 1868) *Constitutional amendment that extended civil rights to freedmen and prohibited states from taking away such rights without due process.*

The radical faction was disappointed that the Fourteenth Amendment did not grant the right to vote, but all Republicans agreed that no state should be welcomed back into the Union fold without first ratifying the Fourteenth Amendment. Yet President Johnson advised the Southern states to reject it, and all of the "sinful eleven," except Tennessee, defiantly spurned the amendment.

Swinging 'Round the Circle with Johnson

As 1866 lengthened, the battle grew between Congress and the president. Now the issue was whether Reconstruction was to be carried on with or without the Fourteenth Amendment. The Republicans would settle for nothing less; indeed, they soon insisted on even more.

The crucial congressional elections of 1866—more crucial than some presidential elections—were fast approaching. Johnson was naturally eager to escape from the clutch of Congress by securing a majority favorable to his soft-on-the-South policy. Invited to dedicate a Chicago monument to Stephen A. Douglas, he undertook to speak at various cities en route in support of his views.

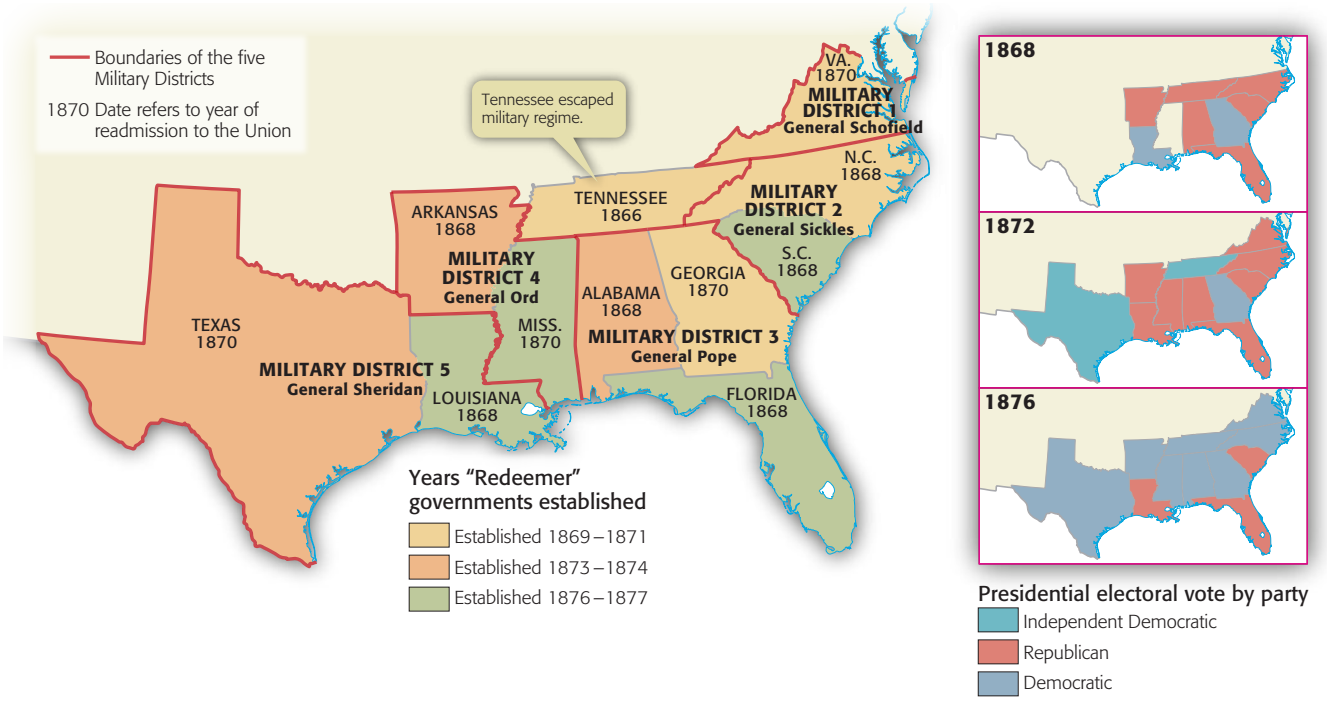
Johnson's famous "swing 'round the circle," beginning in the late summer of 1866, was a seriocomedy of errors. The president delivered a series of "give 'em hell" speeches, in which he accused the radicals in Congress of having planned large-scale antiblack riots and murder in the South. As he spoke, hecklers hurled insults at him. Reverting to his stump-speaking days in Tennessee, he shouted back angry retorts, amid cries of "You be damned!" and "Don't get mad, Andy!" The dignity of his high office sank to a new low.

As a vote-getter, Johnson was highly successful—for the opposition. His inept speech-making heightened the cry to "Stand by Congress" against the "Tailor of the Potomac." When the ballots were counted, the Republicans had rolled up more than a two-thirds majority in both houses of Congress.

Republican Reconstruction

The Republicans now had a veto-proof Congress and virtually unlimited control of Reconstruction policy. But moderates and radicals still disagreed over the best course to pursue in the South.

The radicals were led in the Senate by the courtly and principled idealist Massachusetts Senator Charles Sumner, who tirelessly labored not only for black freedom but for racial equality. In the House the most powerful radical was crusty and vindictive Pennsylvania Congressman Thaddeus Stevens. An unswerving friend of blacks, he insisted that after his death he be buried in a black cemetery. Still opposed to rapid restoration of the Southern states, the radicals led by Sumner and Stevens wanted to keep them out



Map 22.1 Military Reconstruction, 1867 (five districts and commanding generals) For many white Southerners, military Reconstruction amounted to turning the knife in the wound of defeat. An often-repeated story of later years had a Southerner remark, "I was sixteen years old before I discovered that damnyankee was two words."

as long as possible and apply federal power to bring about a drastic social and economic transformation in the South.

But moderate Republicans, invoking the principles of states' rights and self-government, preferred policies that restrained the states from abridging citizens' rights, rather than policies that directly involved the federal government in individual lives. The actual policies adopted by Congress showed the influence of both these schools of thought, though the moderates, as the majority faction, had the upper hand. And one thing both groups had come to agree on by 1867 was the necessity to enfranchise black voters, even if it took federal troops to do it.

Against a backdrop of vicious and bloody race riots that had erupted in several Southern cities, Congress passed the **Reconstruction Act** on March 2, 1867 (see Map 22.1). This drastic legislation divided the South into five military districts, each commanded by a Union general and policed by blue-clad soldiers, about twenty thousand all told.

Reconstruction Act (1867) *Passed by the newly elected Republican Congress, it divided the South into five military districts, disenfranchised former confederates, and required that Southern states both ratify the Fourteenth Amendment and write state constitutions guaranteeing freedmen the franchise before gaining readmission to the Union.*

Congress additionally laid down stringent requirements for the readmission of the seceded states. The wayward states were required to ratify the Fourteenth Amendment, giving the former slaves their rights as citizens, and to guarantee in their state constitutions full suffrage for their former adult male slaves. Yet the act, reflecting moderate sentiment, stopped short of giving the freedmen land or education at federal expense. The overriding purpose of the moderates was to create an electorate in Southern states that would vote those states back into the Union on acceptable terms and thus free the federal government from direct responsibility for the protection of black rights. As later events would demonstrate, this approach proved woefully inadequate to the cause of justice for the blacks.

The radical Republicans still worried that once the unrepentant states were readmitted, they would amend their constitutions to withdraw the ballot from the blacks. They therefore sought the ironclad safeguard of incorporating black suffrage in the federal Constitution. This goal was finally achieved by the **Fifteenth Amendment**, passed by Congress in 1869 and ratified by the required number of states in 1870. (See the Appendix.)

Fifteenth Amendment (ratified 1870) *Prohibited states from denying citizens the franchise on account of race. It disappointed feminists who wanted the Amendment to include guarantees for women's suffrage.*

Military Reconstruction of the South not only usurped certain functions of the president as commander in chief but set up a martial regime of dubious legality. The Supreme Court had already ruled, in the case ***Ex parte Milligan*** (1866), that military tribunals could not try civilians, even during wartime, in areas where the civil courts were open. Peacetime military rule seemed starkly contrary to the spirit of the Constitution, but the circumstances were extraordinary and for the time being the Supreme Court avoided offending the Republican Congress.

Prodded into line by federal bayonets, the Southern states got on with the task of constitution making. By 1870 all of them had reorganized their governments and had been accorded full rights. The hated "bluebellies" (federal troops) remained until the new regimes—usually called "radical" regimes—appeared to be firmly entrenched. Yet when the U.S. Army finally left a state, its government swiftly passed into the hands of white "Redeemer" regimes, which were inevitably Democratic. Finally, in 1877, the last federal muskets were removed from state politics, and the "solid" Democratic South congealed.

The prominent suffragist and abolitionist Susan B. Anthony (1820–1906) was outraged over the proposed exclusion of women from the Fourteenth Amendment. In a conversation with her former male allies Wendell Phillips and Theodore Tilton, she reportedly held out her arm and declared:

"Look at this, all of you. And hear me swear that I will cut off this right arm of mine before I will ever work for or demand the ballot for the negro and not the woman."

***Ex parte Milligan* (1866)** *Civil War Era case in which the Supreme Court ruled that military tribunals could not be used to try civilians if civil courts were open.*

The passage of the three Reconstruction-era Amendments—the Thirteenth, Fourteenth, and Fifteenth—delighted former abolitionists but deeply disappointed advocates of women's rights. Women had played a prominent part in the prewar abolitionist movement, and in the eyes of many women the struggle for black freedom and the crusade for women's rights were one and the same. Now, feminist leaders reeled with shock when the Fourteenth Amendment, which defined equal national citizenship, for the first time inserted the word *male* into the Constitution in referring to a citizen's right to vote. When the Fifteenth Amendment proposed to prohibit denial of the vote on the basis of "race, color, or previous condition of servitude," women's rights leaders Susan B. Anthony and Elizabeth Cady Stanton wanted the word *sex* added to the list. They lost this battle, too. Fifty years would pass before the Constitution granted women the right to vote.

The Realities of Radical Reconstruction in the South

Blacks now had freedom, of a sort. By 1867 Republican hesitation over black voting had given way to a hard determination to enfranchise the former slaves wholesale and immediately, while thousands of white Southerners were being denied the right to vote. By glaring contrast, most of the Northern states, before ratification of the Fifteenth Amendment in 1870, withheld the ballot from their tiny black minorities. White Southerners naturally concluded that the Republicans were hypocritical in insisting that blacks in the South be allowed to vote.

Having gained their right to suffrage, Southern black men seized the initiative and began to organize politically. Their primary vehicle became the Union League, originally a pro-Union organization based in the North. Assisted by Northern blacks, freedmen turned the League into a network of political clubs that educated members in their civic duties and campaigned for Republican candidates. The League's mission soon expanded to include building black churches and schools, representing black grievances before local employers and governments, and recruiting militias to protect black communities from white retaliation.

Though African American women did not obtain the right to vote, they too assumed new political roles. Black women faithfully attended the parades and rallies common in black communities during the early years of Reconstruction and helped assemble mass meetings in the newly constructed black churches. They even showed up at the constitutional conventions held throughout the South in 1867, monitoring the proceedings and participating in informal votes outside the convention halls.

The Granger Collection, New York

Freedmen Voting, Richmond, Virginia, 1871 The exercise of democratic rights by former slaves constituted a political and social revolution in the South and was bitterly resented by many whites.

But black men elected as delegates to the state constitutional conventions held the greater political authority. They formed the backbone of the black political community. At the conventions, they sat down with whites to hammer out new state constitutions, which most importantly provided for universal male suffrage.

The sight of former slaves holding office deeply offended their onetime masters, who lashed out with fury at the freedmen's white allies, labeling them **scalawags** and **carpetbaggers**. The so-called scalawags were Southerners, often former Unionists and Whigs, whom former Confederates wildly accused of plundering the treasuries of the Southern radical governments. The carpetbaggers were supposedly sleazy Northerners who had packed all their worldly goods into a carpetbag suitcase at war's end and had come South to seek personal power and profit. In fact, most were former Union soldiers and Northern businessmen and professionals who wanted to play a role in modernizing the "New South."

scalawags *Derogatory term for pro-Union Southerners whom Southern Democrats accused of plundering the resources of the South in collusion with Republican governments after the Civil War.*

carpetbaggers *Pejorative used by Southern whites to describe Northern businessmen and politicians who came to the South after the Civil War to work on Reconstruction projects or invest in Southern infrastructure.*

How well or badly did the radical regimes rule? White southerners regularly portrayed the "Black Reconstruction" governments as run by ignorant and corrupt former slaves. Black voters did make up a majority of the electorate in five states, but only in South Carolina did blacks predominate in the lower house of the legislature. Black political participation expanded exponentially during Reconstruction. Many of the newly elected black legislators were literate and able; more than a few came from the ranks of the prewar free blacks who had acquired considerable education. Though no blacks were elected governors of their states, more than a dozen black congressmen and two black United States senators, Hiram Revels and Blanche K. Bruce, both of Mississippi, served in Washington, D.C.

In some radical regimes, there was truth to the charges of graft and corruption. This was especially true in South Carolina and Louisiana, where conscienceless promoters and other pocket-padders used politically inexperienced blacks as cat's-paws. The worst "black-and-white" legislatures purchased as "legislative supplies" such "stationery" as hams, perfumes, suspenders, bonnets, corsets, champagne, and a coffin. Yet this sort of corruption was no more outrageous than the scams and felonies being perpetrated in the North at the same time, especially in Boss Tweed's New York.

The radical legislatures also passed much desirable legislation. For the first time in Southern history, steps were taken toward establishing adequate public schools. Tax systems were streamlined; public works were launched; and property rights were guaranteed to women. Many of these welcome reforms were retained by the all-white "Redeemer" governments that later returned to power.

The Ku Klux Klan

Deeply embittered, some Southern whites resorted to savage measures against "radical" rule. Many whites resented the success and ability of black legislators as much as they resented alleged "corruption." A number of secret organizations mushroomed forth, the most notorious of which was the "Invisible Empire of the South," or **Ku Klux Klan**, founded in Tennessee in 1866. Hooded nightriders, their horses' hoofs muffled, would hammer on blacks' cabin doors or use other tactics to frighten them. Those stubborn

Ku Klux Klan *An extremist, paramilitary, right-wing secret society founded in the mid-nineteenth century and revived during the 1920s. It was anti-foreign, anti-black, anti-Jewish, anti-pacifist, anti-communist, anti-internationalist, anti-evolutionist, and anti-bootlegger, but pro-Anglo-Saxon and pro-Protestant. Its members, cloaked in sheets to conceal their identities, terrorized freedmen and sympathetic whites throughout the South after the Civil War. By the 1890s, Klan-style violence and Democratic legislation succeeded in virtually disenfranchising all Southern blacks.*

Dallas Historical Society, Texas, USA/The Bridgeman Art Library

Klansmen in Costume Members of the Ku Klux Klan like these two garbed men utilized terrorist violence on behalf of a political agenda: the disenfranchisement of African Americans and their Republican allies and the reinstatement of white supremacist rule by "Redeemer" governments.

souls who persisted in their "upstart" ways were flogged, mutilated, or even murdered. In one Louisiana parish in 1868, whites in two days killed or wounded two hundred victims; a pile of twenty-five bodies was found half-buried in the woods. By such atrocious terror tactics were blacks "kept in their place"—that is, down.

Force Acts (1870–1871) *Passed by Congress following a wave of Ku Klux Klan violence, the acts banned clan membership, prohibited the use of intimidation to prevent blacks from voting, and gave the U.S. military the authority to enforce the acts.*

Congress, outraged by this night-riding lawlessness, passed the harsh **Force Acts** of 1870 and 1871. Federal troops were able to stamp out much of the "lash law," but by this time the Invisible Empire had already done its work of intimidation. The Klan remained a refuge for numerous scoundrels and cutthroats who hid under its sheets, often continuing to operate under the guise of "dancing societies," "missionary clubs," and "rifle clubs."

White resistance undermined attempts to empower blacks politically. The white South for many decades openly flouted the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments. Wholesale disfranchisement of the blacks, starting conspicuously about 1890, was achieved by intimidation, fraud, and trickery. Among various underhanded schemes were the literacy tests, unfairly administered by whites to the advantage of illiterate whites. In the eyes of white Southerners, the goal of white supremacy fully justified these dishonorable devices.

Impeachment and Acquittal for Johnson

Tenure of Office Act (1867) *Required the President to seek approval from the Senate before removing appointees. When Andrew Johnson removed his secretary of war in violation of the act, he was impeached by the House but remained in office when the Senate fell one vote short of removing him.*

Radicals meanwhile had been sharpening their hatchets for President Johnson. Not content with curbing his authority, they decided to remove him altogether by constitutional processes (for impeachment, see Art. I, Sec. II, para. 5, Art. I, Sec. II, paras. 6, 7, Art. II, Sec. IV, in the Appendix).

As an initial step, Congress in 1867 passed the **Tenure of Office Act**—as usual over Johnson's veto. Contrary to precedent, the new law required the president to secure the consent of the Senate before he could remove his cabinet members, including the secretary of war, Edwin M. Stanton, a holdover from the Lincoln administration. Although outwardly loyal to Johnson, Stanton was secretly serving as a spy and informer for the radicals.

The remarkable ex-slave Frederick Douglass (1817?–1895) wrote in 1882:

"Though slavery was abolished, the wrongs of my people were not ended. Though they were not slaves, they were not yet quite free. No man can be truly free whose liberty is dependent upon the thought, feeling, and action of others, and who has himself no means in his own hands for guarding, protecting, defending, and maintaining that liberty. Yet the Negro after his emancipation was precisely in this state of destitution. . . . He was free from the individual master, but the slave of society. He had neither money, property, nor friends. He was free from the old plantation, but he had nothing but the dusty road under his feet. He was free from the old quarter that once gave him shelter, but a slave to the rains of summer and the frosts of winter. He was, in a word, literally turned loose, naked, hungry, and destitute, to the open sky."

Johnson provided the radicals with a pretext to begin impeachment proceedings when he abruptly dismissed Stanton early in 1868. The House of Representatives immediately voted 126 to 47 to impeach Andrew Johnson for "high crimes and misdemeanors," as required by the Constitution, charging him with various violations of the Tenure of Office Act. Two additional articles related to Johnson's verbal assaults on the Congress, involving "disgrace, ridicule, hatred, contempt, and reproach."

With evident zeal the radical-led Senate now sat as a court to try Johnson on the dubious impeachment charges. The House conducted the prosecution. The trial aroused intense public interest and, with only one thousand tickets printed, proved to be the biggest show of 1868. Johnson kept his dignity and maintained a discreet silence. His battery of attorneys argued that the president had fired Stanton merely to put a test case before the Supreme Court. The House prosecutors, including oily-tongued Benjamin F. Butler and embittered Thaddeus Stevens, had a harder time building a compelling case for impeachment.

On May 16, 1868, the day for voting in the Senate, the tension was electric, and heavy breathing could be heard in the galleries. By a margin of only one vote, the radicals failed to muster the two-thirds majority for Johnson's removal. Seven resistant Republican senators, courageously putting country above party, voted "not guilty."

Diehard radicals were infuriated. "The Country is going to the Devil!" cried the crippled Stevens as he was carried

from the hall. But the nation, though violently aroused, accepted the verdict with a good temper that did credit to its political maturity.

The nation thus narrowly avoided a bad precedent that would have gravely weakened one of the three branches of the federal government. Johnson was clearly guilty of bad speeches, bad judgment, and bad temper, but not of "high crimes and misdemeanors." From the standpoint of the radicals, his greatest crime had been to stand inflexibly in their path.

The Purchase of Alaska

Johnson's administration, though largely reduced to a figurehead, achieved its most enduring success in the field of foreign relations. The Russians by 1867 were in a mood to sell the vast and chilly expanse of land now known as Alaska. The region had been ruthlessly "furred out" and was a growing economic liability to them. The Russians were therefore eager to unload their "frozen asset" on the Americans. They preferred the United States to any other purchaser primarily because they wanted to strengthen the American Republic as a barrier against their ancient enemy, Britain.

In 1867 Secretary of State William Seward, an ardent expansionist, signed a treaty with Russia that transferred Alaska to the United States for the bargain price of $7.2 million. But Seward's enthusiasm for these frigid wastes was not shared by his ignorant or uninformed countrymen, who jeered at "**Seward's Folly**," "Seward's Icebox," and "Walrussia."

Seward's Folly (1867) *Popular term for Secretary of State William Seward's purchase of Alaska from Russia. The derisive term reflected the anti-expansionist sentiments of most Americans immediately after the Civil War.*

Then why did Congress and the American public sanction the purchase? For one thing Russia, alone among the great powers, had been conspicuously friendly to the North during the recent Civil War. Americans did not feel that they could offend their good friend the tsar by hurling his walrus-covered icebergs back into his face. Besides, the territory was rumored to be still teeming with furs, fish, and gold, and it might yet "pan out" profitably—as it later did with natural resources that included vast deposits of oil and gas.

The Heritage of Reconstruction

Many white Southerners regarded Reconstruction as a more grievous wound than the war itself. It left a festering scar that would take generations to heal. They resented the upending of their social and racial systems, the political empowerment of blacks, and the insult of federal intervention in their local affairs. Yet given the explosiveness of the issues that had caused the war and the bitterness of the fighting, the wonder is that Reconstruction was not far harsher than it was. Northern policymakers groped for the right policies, influenced as much by Southern responses to defeat and emancipation as by any specific plans of their own.

The Republicans acted from a mixture of idealism and political expediency. They wanted both to protect the freed slaves and to promote the fortunes of the Republican party. In the end their efforts backfired badly. Reconstruction conferred only fleeting benefits on the blacks, and it virtually extinguished the Republican party in the South for nearly one hundred years.

Moderate Republicans never fully appreciated the extensive effort necessary to make the freed slaves completely independent citizens, nor the lengths to which Southern whites would go to preserve their system of racial dominance. Had Thaddeus Stevens's radical program of drastic economic reforms and heftier protection of political rights been enacted, things might well have been different. But deep-seated racism, ingrained American resistance to tampering with property rights, and rigid loyalty to the principle of local self-government, combined with spreading indifference in the North to the plight of blacks, formed too formidable an obstacle. Despite good intentions by Republicans, the Old South was in many ways more resurrected than reconstructed, which spelled continuing woe for generations of Southern blacks.

Varying Viewpoints

How Radical Was Reconstruction?

Few topics have triggered as much intellectual warfare as the "dark and bloody ground" of Reconstruction. The period provoked questions—sectional, racial, and constitutional—about which people felt deeply and remain deeply divided even today. Scholarly argument goes back conspicuously to a Columbia University historian, William A. Dunning, who wrote about Reconstruction as a kind of national disgrace, foisted on a prostrate region by vindictive and self-seeking radical Republican politicians.

In the 1920s, widespread suspicion that the Civil War itself had been a tragic and unnecessary blunder shifted attention to Northern politicians. Scholars such as Howard Beale argued that the radical Republicans had masked a ruthless desire to exploit Southern resources and expand Republican power in the South behind a false "front" of concern for the freed slaves.

Although ignored by his contemporaries, the scholar and founder of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People W. E. B. Du Bois wrote a sympathetic history of Reconstruction in 1935 that became the basis of historians' interpretations ever since. Following World War II, Kenneth Stampp and others, influenced by the modern civil rights movement, built on Du Bois's argument and claimed that Reconstruction had been a noble though ultimately failed attempt to extend American principles of equity and justice. By the early 1970s, this view had become orthodoxy, and it generally holds sway today. Yet some scholars, such as Michael Benedict and Leon Litwack, disillusioned with the inability to achieve full racial justice in the 1960s and 1970s, claimed to discover that Reconstruction was never really very radical and argued that the Freedmen's Bureau and other agencies had merely allowed white planters to maintain local political and economic control.

More recently, Eric Foner has powerfully reasserted the argument that Reconstruction was a truly radical and noble attempt to establish an interracial democracy. Drawing on the work of Du Bois, Foner has emphasized that Reconstruction allowed blacks to form political organizations and churches and to establish some measure of economic independence. In South Africa, the Caribbean, and other areas once marked by slavery, these opportunities were much harder to come by. Many of the benefits of Reconstruction were erased by white Southerners during the Gilded Age, but in the twentieth century, constitutional principles and organizations developed during Reconstruction provided the foundation for the modern civil rights movement—which some have called the Second Reconstruction.

Steven Hahn's *A Nation Under Our Feet: Black Political Struggles in the Rural South from Slavery to the Great Migration* (2003) is the latest contribution to the literature on Reconstruction. Hahn emphasizes the assertiveness and ingenuity of African Americans in creating new political opportunities for themselves after emancipation.

CHAPTER SUMMARY

With the Civil War over, the nation faced the difficult problems of rebuilding the South, assisting the freed slaves, reintegrating the Southern states into the Union, and deciding who would direct the Reconstruction process.

The South was economically devastated and socially revolutionized by emancipation. As slave owners reluctantly confronted the end of slave labor, blacks took their first steps in freedom. Black churches and freedmen's schools helped the former slaves begin to shape their own destinies.

The new President Andrew Johnson was politically inept and personally contentious. His attempt to implement a moderate plan of Reconstruction, along the lines originally suggested by Lincoln, fell victim to Southern whites' severe treatment of blacks and his own political blunders.

Republicans imposed harsh military Reconstruction on the South after their gains in the 1866 congressional elections. The Southern states reentered the Union with new radical governments, which rested partly on the newly enfranchised blacks, but also had support from some sectors of Southern society. These governments were sometimes corrupt, but they also implemented important reforms, especially in education. For a time, acting from a mixture of idealism and political expediency, Republicans tried seriously to build a new Republican party in the South to guarantee black rights. But the divisions between moderate and radical Republicans meant that Reconstruction's aims were often limited and confused, despite successful passage of the important Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments guaranteeing black civil and voting rights.

Embittered whites hated the radical governments and mobilized reactionary terrorist organizations such as the Ku Klux Klan to restore white supremacy. The radical Republican House of Representatives impeached Johnson, but the Senate failed narrowly to convict him. In the end, the inadequate Reconstruction policy, which never really addressed the deep economic and social legacy of slavery and the Civil War, failed disastrously and created as much or more bitterness than the war itself.

KEY TERMS

- Freedmen's Bureau (350)
- "10 percent" Reconstruction plan (353)
- Wade-Davis Bill (353)
- Black Codes (353)
- Pacific Railroad Act (354)
- Civil Rights Bill (355)
- Fourteenth Amendment (355)
- Reconstruction Act (356)
- Fifteenth Amendment (356)
- *Ex parte Milligan* (357)
- scalawags (358)
- carpetbaggers (358)
- Ku Klux Klan (359)
- Force Acts (360)
- Tenure of Office Act (360)
- Seward's Folly (361)

PEOPLE TO KNOW

- General Oliver O. Howard
- Andrew Johnson
- Thaddeus Stevens
- Hiram Revels
- Edwin M. Stanton
- William Seward

Part 4

FORGING AN INDUSTRIAL SOCIETY

1865–1909

A nation of farmers fought the Civil War in the 1860s. By the time the Spanish-American War broke out in 1898, America was an industrial nation. For generations Americans had plunged into the wilderness and plowed their fields. Now they settled in cities and toiled in factories. Between the Civil War and the century's end, economic and technological change came so swiftly and massively that it seemed to many Americans that a whole new civilization had emerged.

In some ways it had. The sheer scale of the new industrial civilization was dazzling. Transcontinental railroads knit the country together from sea to sea. New industries such as oil and steel grew to staggering sizes—and made mega-millionaires out of entrepreneurs such as oilman John D. Rockefeller and steelmaker Andrew Carnegie.

Drawn by the allure of industrial employment, Americans moved to the city. In 1860 only about 20 percent of the population were city dwellers. By 1900 that proportion had doubled, as rural Americans and European immigrants alike flocked to mill town and metropolis in search of steady jobs.

These sweeping changes challenged the spirit of individualism that Americans had celebrated since the seventeenth century. Even on the western frontier, that historic bastion of rugged loners, the hand of government was increasingly felt, as large armies were dispatched to subdue the Plains Indians and federal authority was invoked to regulate the use of natural resources. The rise of powerful monopolies called into question the government's traditional hands-off policy toward business, and a growing band of reformers increasingly clamored for government regulation of private enterprise. The mushrooming cities, with their needs for transport systems, schools, hospitals, sanitation, and fire and police protection, required bigger governments and budgets than an earlier generation could have imagined. As never before, Americans struggled to adapt old ideals of private autonomy to the new realities of industrial civilization.

With economic change came social and political turmoil. Labor violence brought bloodshed to places such as Chicago and Homestead, Pennsylvania. Small farmers, squeezed by debt and foreign competition, rallied behind the People's, or "Populist," party, a radical movement of the 1880s and 1890s that attacked the power of Wall Street, big business, and the banks. Anti-immigrant sentiment swelled. Bitter disputes over tariffs and monetary policy deeply divided the country, setting debtors against lenders, farmers against manufacturers, the West and South against the Northeast. And in this unfamiliar era of big money and expanding government, corruption flourished, from town hall to Congress, fueling loud cries for political reform.

The bloodiest conflict of all pitted Plains Indians against the relentless push of westward expansion. As railroads drove their iron arrows through the heart of the West, the Indians

Curt Teich Postcard Archives, Lake County Museum

Dearborn Street, Chicago Loop, Around 1900 "America is energetic, but Chicago is in a fever," marveled a visiting Englishman about turn-of-the-century Chicago. Street scenes like this were common in America's booming new cities, especially in the "Lord of the Midwest."

lost their land and life-sustaining buffalo herds. By the 1890s, after three decades of fierce fighting with the U.S. Army, the Indians who had once roamed across the vast rolling prairies were struggling to preserve their shattered cultures within the confinement of reservations.

The South remained the one region largely untouched by the Industrial Revolution sweeping the rest of America. For the most part, the South's rural way of life and its peculiar system of race relations were largely unperturbed by the changes happening elsewhere. The post-emancipation era inflicted new forms of racial injustice on African Americans, the vast majority of whom continued to live in the Old South. State legislatures systematically deprived black Americans of their political rights, including the right to vote. Segregation of schools, housing, and all kinds of public facilities made a mockery of African Americans' Reconstruction-era hopes for equality before the law.

The new wealth and power of industrial America nurtured a growing sense of national self-confidence. Literature flowered, and a golden age of philanthropy dawned. The reform spirit spread. So did a restless appetite for overseas expansion. In a brief war against Spain in 1898, the United States, born in a revolutionary war of independence and long the champion of colonial peoples yearning to breathe free, seized control of the Philippines and itself became an imperial power. Uncle Sam's venture into empire touched off a bitter national debate about America's role in the world and ushered in a long period of argument over the responsibilities, at home and abroad, of a modern industrial state.

What if . . . ?

- **What if industrial workers and small farmers in the post–Reconstruction era had joined in a political movement strong enough to challenge the "Captains of Industry" for control of the American economy?**
- **How would the course of American economic, social, and political development, and the character of America's foreign policy, have been different?**

Chapter

23

Political Paralysis in the Gilded Age

1869–1896

Grant . . . had no right to exist. He should have been extinct for ages. . . . That, two thousand years after Alexander the Great and Julius Caesar, a man like Grant should be called—and should actually and truly be—the highest product of the most advanced evolution, made evolution ludicrous. . . . The progress of evolution, from President Washington to President Grant, was alone evidence enough to upset Darwin. . . . Grant . . . should have lived in a cave and worn skins.

HENRY ADAMS, THE EDUCATION OF HENRY ADAMS, 1907

Chapter Outline

The population of the post–Civil War Republic continued to vault upward by vigorous leaps, despite the awful bloodletting in both Union and Confederate ranks. Census takers reported over 39 million people in 1870, a gain of 26.6 percent over the preceding decade, as the immigrant tide surged again. The United States was now the third-largest nation in the Western world, ranking behind Russia and France.

But the civic health of the United States did not keep pace with its physical growth. The Civil War and its aftermath spawned waste, extravagance, speculation, and graft. Disillusionment ran deep among idealistic Americans in the postwar era. They had spilled their blood for the Union, emancipation, and Abraham Lincoln, who had promised "a new birth of freedom." Instead, they got a bitter dose of corruption and political stalemate—beginning with Ulysses S. Grant, a great soldier but an utterly inept politician.

FOCUS QUESTIONS

1. Why was the Gilded Age a period of political patronage, corruption, and stalemate between the two major parties? Given these negative factors, why did political participation achieve such high levels?
2. How did the disputed Hayes–Tilden election of 1877 lead to the Compromise of 1877 and the end of Reconstruction?
3. What did the end of Reconstruction mean for blacks, and how did the South's racial segregation and sharecropping system trap both poor whites and blacks in poverty?
4. What caused the rise of industrial and agricultural conflict in the 1880s–1890s? Why were both Republicans and Democrats unable to address this discontent?
5. How did the severe depression of the 1890s stir growing social protest and class conflict and fuel the rise of the radical Populist party?

CHRONOLOGY

1868	▪ Grant defeats Seymour for the presidency
1869	▪ Fisk and Gould corner gold market
1871	▪ Tweed scandal in New York
1872	▪ Crédit Mobilier scandal exposed ▪ Liberal Republicans break with Grant ▪ Grant defeats Greeley for presidency
1873	▪ Panic of 1873
1875	▪ Whiskey Ring scandal ▪ Civil Rights Act of 1875 ▪ Resumption Act
1876	▪ Hayes-Tilden election standoff and crisis
1877	▪ Compromise of 1877 ▪ Reconstruction ends ▪ Railroad strikes paralyze nation
1880	▪ Garfield defeats Hancock for presidency
1881	▪ Garfield assassinated; Arthur assumes presidency
1882	▪ Chinese Exclusion Act
1883	▪ *Civil Rights Cases* ▪ Pendleton Act sets up Civil Service Commission
1884	▪ Cleveland defeats Blaine for presidency
1888	▪ Harrison defeats Cleveland for presidency
1890	▪ "Billion-Dollar" Congress ▪ McKinley Tariff Act ▪ Sherman Silver Purchase Act (repealed 1893)
1892	▪ Homestead steel strike ▪ Coeur d'Alene (Idaho) silver miners' strike ▪ People's party candidate James B. Weaver wins twenty-two electoral votes ▪ Cleveland defeats Harrison and Weaver to regain presidency
1893	▪ Depression of 1893 begins ▪ Republicans regain House of Representatives
1895	▪ J. P. Morgan's banking syndicate loans $65 million in gold to federal government
1896	▪ *Plessy v. Ferguson* legitimizes "separate but equal" doctrine

The "Bloody Shirt" Elects Grant

Wrangling between Congress and Andrew Johnson had soured the people on professional politicians, and the notion still prevailed that a good general would make a good president. Stubbly bearded General Grant was by far the most popular northern hero to emerge from the war. Grateful citizens of Philadelphia, Washington, and New York showered him with gifts of houses and cash, which the general, silently puffing on his cigar, unapologetically accepted.

Grant was a hapless greenhorn in the political arena. His one presidential vote had been cast for the Democratic ticket in 1856. A better judge of horseflesh than of humans, his cultural background was breathtakingly narrow. He once reportedly remarked that Venice, Italy, would be a fine city if only it were drained.

The Republicans, freed from the Union party coalition of war days, enthusiastically nominated Grant for the presidency in 1868. The party's platform sounded a clarion call for continued Reconstruction of the South under the glinting steel of federal bayonets. Yet Grant, always a man of few words, coined a popular campaign slogan when he declared, "Let us have peace."

Expectant Democrats, meeting in their own nominating convention, denounced military Reconstruction but could agree on little else. Wealthy eastern delegates demanded a platform promising that federal war bonds be redeemed in gold, while the poorer midwesterners backed the "Ohio Idea" calling for redemption in greenbacks. Debt-burdened agrarian Democrats thus hoped to keep more money in circulation and to keep interest rates lower. This dispute introduced a bitter contest over monetary policy that continued to convulse the Republic until the century's end.