Eighth Edition

U.S.

A NARRATIVE HISTORY

VOLUME

2

SINCE 1865

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Mc Graw Hill Education

U.S.

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VOLUME 2: SINCE 1865

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U.S.: A NARRATIVE HISTORY, VOLUME 2: SINCE 1865, EIGHTH EDITION
Published by McGraw-Hill Education, 2 Penn Plaza, New York, NY 10121.

This book is printed on acid-free paper.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 LMN 21 20 19 18 17

ISBN 978-1-260-02504-0
MHID 1-260-02504-7

Portfolio Manager: *Jason Seitz*
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Design: *Egzon Shaqiri*
Content Licensing Specialist: *Ann Marie Jannette*
Cover Image: ©*McGraw-Hill Education*
Compositor: *Aptara®, Inc.*
Typeface: *STIXGeneral Regular 10/12*

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Library of Congress Control Number: 2017952309

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WHAT'S NEW IN U.S.

SOME HIGHLIGHTS:

- **A THEMATIC TIMELINE** at the beginning of each chapter is a new feature that previews key events and the themes connecting them.
- **MAKE A CASE** questions in each chapter challenge students to take an evidence-based stand on a debated issue.
- **EVERY CHAPTER** has been revised to reflect new trends in scholarship.
- **CHAPTER 18, THE NEW SOUTH AND THE TRANS-MISSISSIPPI WEST,** takes a closer look at the Plains Indians, including a new Historian's Toolbox with a drawing of the Battle of Little Big Horn by an Indian witness.
- **CHAPTER 19, THE NEW INDUSTRIAL ORDER,** now considers the environmental effects of industrialization and amplifies the discussion of African American workers.

- **CHAPTER 20, THE RISE OF AN URBAN ORDER,** takes a deeper look at women in the period, including immigrant women from different cultures and education's benefits for urban middle-class young women.
- **CHAPTER 25, THE GREAT DEPRESSION AND THE NEW DEAL,** has a new Historian's Toolbox, "Wonder Woman, Women's Rights, and Birth Control."
- **CHAPTER 31, THE CONSERVATIVE CHALLENGE,** now begins with a look at evangelical Christian political activism from Jerry Falwell to Jimmy Carter.
- **CHAPTER 32, THE UNITED STATES IN A GLOBAL COMMUNITY,** has been updated with a section on the election of President Donald Trump.

U.S. BRIEF CONTENTS

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31 THE CONSERVATIVE CHALLENGE 1976–1992

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32 THE UNITED STATES IN A GLOBAL COMMUNITY 1989–PRESENT

Out of many stories, one *U.S.*

From five distinguished scholars comes one approachable and compelling narrative. *U.S.: A Narrative History* tells the stories of the American people in a concise and visually appealing way. The engaging narrative, crafted by a team of authors representing different eras, regions, topics, and approaches, showcases the diversity and complexity of the American past and guides students to develop a more nuanced understanding of our present and future.

This extremely readable program provides opportunities to engage with and uncover the history of America by leveraging the tools and practices that historians use to illuminate the past. The approachable narrative is supported by a comprehensive set of learning activities found in Connect: American History. By harnessing the power of Connect, your students will get the help they need, when and how they need it, so that your class time can be more rewarding for your students and you.

Primary Sources Help Students Think Critically about History

Primary sources help students think critically about history and expose them to contrasting perspectives of key events. The Eighth Edition of *U.S.: A Narrative History* provides three different ways to use primary source documents in your course.

Power of Process for Primary Sources is a critical thinking tool for reading and writing about primary sources. As part of Connect History, McGraw-Hill Education's learning platform, Power of Process contains a database of over 400 searchable primary sources in addition to the capability for instructors to upload their own sources. Instructors can then select a series of strategies for students to use to analyze and comment on a source. The Power of Process framework helps students develop essential academic skills such as understanding, analyzing, and synthesizing readings and visuals such as maps, leading students toward higher order thinking and writing.

Features that offer contrasting perspectives or showcase historical artifacts. Within the print or eBook, the Eighth Edition of *U.S.: A Narrative History* offers the following features:

MANY HISTORIES

Two primary source documents offer contrasting perspectives on key events for analysis and discussion. Introductions and Thinking Critically questions frame the documents. For example, how did Spaniards and Aztecs differ in their account of first contact? Or, what were the arguments used to justify the internment of Japanese Americans during WWII and how did they compare to the experiences of those imprisoned?

Many HISTORIES

WHO WAS TO BLAME FOR THE BOSTON MASSACRE?

Following the shootings in King Street, Captain Thomas Preston and six of his men stood trial for murder. Two radical patriot lawyers, Josiah Quincy Jr. and future president John Adams, served as defense counsel. Convinced that Boston must prove itself fair and faithful to the rule of law, both lawyers performed brilliantly. The jury acquitted Preston and four of the soldiers, and convicted two others of manslaughter. The depositions from the trial provide some of our best evidence for how soldiers and Bostonians viewed the standoff differently.

DOCUMENT 1
Deposition of Captain Thomas Preston, March 1770

The mob still increased and were more outrageous, striking their clubs or bludgeons one against another, and calling out, come on you rascals, you bloody backs, you lobster scoundrels, fire if you dare, G-d damn you, fire and be damned, we know you dare not, and much more such language was used. At this time I was between the soldiers and the mob, parleying with, and endeavouring all in my power to persuade them to retire peaceably, but to no purpose. They advanced to the points of the bayonets, struck some of them and even the muzzles of the pieces, and seemed to be endeavouring to close with the soldiers. On which some well-behaved persons asked me if the guns were charged. I replied yes. They then asked me if I intended to order the men to fire. I answered no, by no means, observing to them that I was advanced before the muzzles of the men's pieces, and must fall a sacrifice if they fired; that the soldiers were upon the half cock and charged bayonets, and my giving the word fire under those circumstances would prove me to be no officer. While I was thus speaking, one of the soldiers having received a severe blow with a stick, stepped a little on one side and instantly fired, on which turning to and asking him why he fired without orders, I was struck with a club on my arm, which for some time deprived me of the use of it, which blow had it been placed on my head, most probably would have destroyed me. On this a general attack was made on the men by a great number of heavy clubs and snowballs being thrown at them, by which all our lives were in imminent danger, some persons at the same time from behind calling out, damn your bloods—why don't you fire. Instantly three or four of the soldiers fired, one after another, and directly after three more in the same confusion and hurry. The mob then ran away, except three unhappy men who instantly expired, in which number was Mr. Gray at whose rope-walk the prior quarrels took place; one more is since dead, three others are dangerously, and four slightly wounded. The whole of this melancholy affair was transacted in almost 20 minutes. On my asking the soldiers why they fired without orders, they said they heard the word fire and supposed it came from me. This might be the case as many of the mob called out fire, fire, but I assured the men that I gave no such order; that my words were, don't fire, stop your firing. In short, it was scarcely possible for the soldiers to know who said fire, or don't fire, or stop your firing.

"Deposition of Captain Thomas Preston, March 1770."

DOCUMENT 2
Deposition of Robert Goddard, March 1770

The Soldiers came up to the Centinel and the Officer told them to place themselves and they formed a half moon. The Captain told the Boys to go home least there should be murder done. They were throwing Snow balls. Did not go off but threw more Snow balls. The Capt. was behind the Soldiers. The Captain told them to fire. One Gun went off. A Sailor or Townsman struck the Captain. He thereupon said damn your bloods fire think I'll be treated in this manner. This Man that struck the Captain came from among the People who were 7 feet off and were round on one wing. I saw no person speak to him. I was so near I should have seen it. After the Capt. said Damn your bloods fire they all fired one after another about 7 or 8 in all, and then the officer bid Prime and load again. He stood behind all the time. Mr. Lee went up to the officer and called the officer by name Capt. Preston, I saw him coming down from the Guard behind the Party. I went to Gaol the next day being sworn for the Grand Jury to see the Captain. Then said pointing to him that's the person who gave the word to fire. He said if you swear that you will ruin me everlastingly. I was so near the officer when he gave the word fire that I could touch him. His face was towards me. He stood in the middle behind the Men. I looked him in the face. He then stood within the circle. When he told 'em to fire he turned about to me. I looked him in the face.

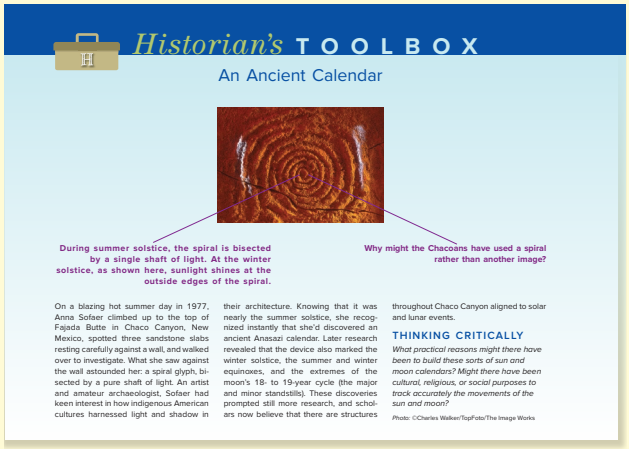
"Deposition of Robert Goddard, March 1770."

THINKING CRITICALLY

Preston and Goddard come to different conclusions about the shootings but describe similar details (the snowballs, the man who struck Preston). How might details from these two accounts be reconciled? Do they simply have different perspectives on the same event, or do you think one of the depositions must be misleading? Given the tensions these accounts relate, how likely do you think it was that some kind of violent confrontation would occur?

HISTORIAN'S TOOLBOX

These feature boxes, which alternate with Many Histories, showcase historical images and artifacts, asking students to focus on visual evidence and examine material culture. Introductions and Thinking Critically questions frame the images.



Historian's TOOLBOX

An Ancient Calendar

During summer solstice, the spiral is bisected by a single shaft of light. At the winter solstice, as shown here, sunlight shines at the outside edges of the spiral.

Why might the Chacoans have used a spiral rather than another image?

On a blazing hot summer day in 1977, Anna Sofaer climbed up to the top of Fajada Butte in Chaco Canyon, New Mexico, spotted three sandstone slabs resting carefully against a wall, and walked over to investigate. What she saw against the wall astounded her: a spiral glyph, bisected by a pure shaft of light. An artist and amateur archaeologist, Sofaer had keen interest in how indigenous American cultures harnessed light and shadow in their architecture. Knowing that it was nearly the summer solstice, she recognized instantly that she'd discovered an ancient Anasazi calendar. Later research revealed that the device also marked the winter solstice, the summer and winter equinoxes, and the extremes of the moon's 18- to 19-year cycle (the major and minor standstills). These discoveries prompted still more research, and scholars now believe that there are structures throughout Chaco Canyon aligned to solar and lunar events.

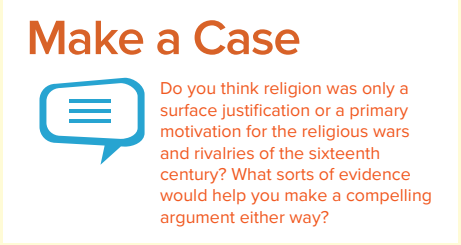
THINKING CRITICALLY

What practical reasons might there have been to build these sorts of sun and moon calendars? Might there have been cultural, religious, or social purposes to track accurately the movements of the sun and moon?

Photo: ©Charles Walker/TopFoto/The Image Works

MAKE A CASE

Ideal for class discussion or writing, these questions help students learn to form a historical argument by asking them to weigh in on debated issues and give evidence for their answer.



Make a Case

Do you think religion was only a surface justification or a primary motivation for the religious wars and rivalries of the sixteenth century? What sorts of evidence would help you make a compelling argument either way?

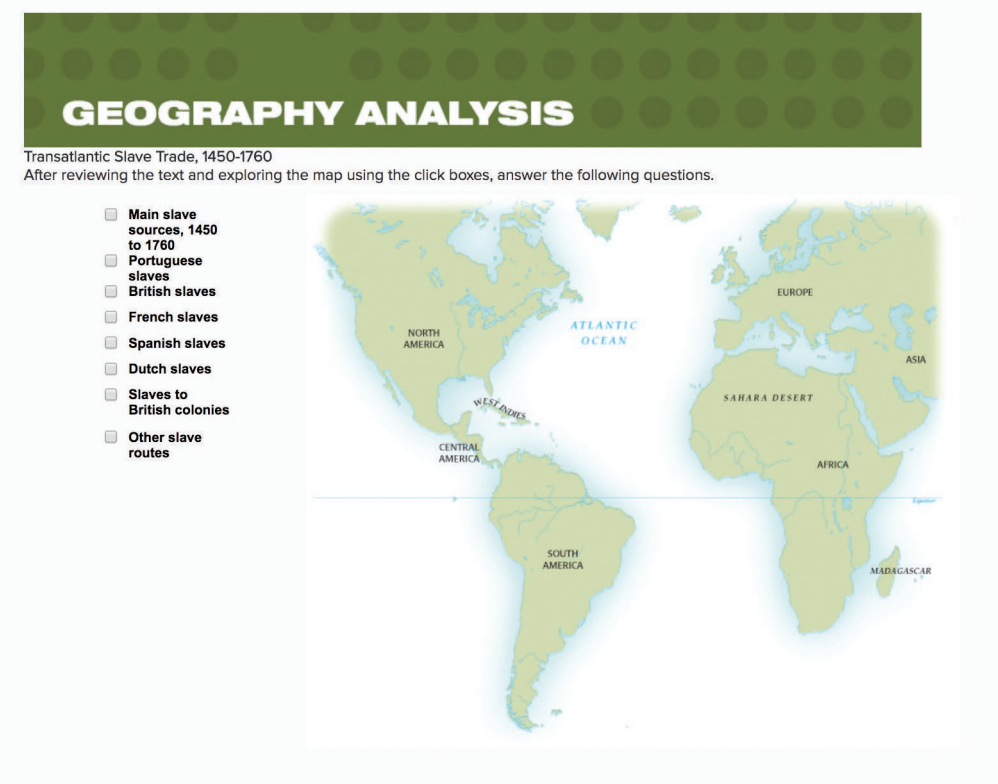
Select primary source documents that meet the unique needs of your course. No two history courses are the same. Using McGraw-Hill Education's Create allows you to quickly and easily create custom course materials with cross-disciplinary content and other third-party sources.

- **CHOOSE YOUR OWN CONTENT:** Create a book that contains only the chapters you want, in the order you want. Create will even renumber the pages for you!
- **ADD READINGS:** Use our American History Collections to include primary sources, or Taking Sides: Annual Editions. Add your own original content, such as syllabus or History major requirements!
- **CHOOSE YOUR FORMAT:** Print or eBook? Softcover, spiral-bound, or loose-leaf? Black-and-white or color? Perforated, three-hole punched, or regular paper?
- **CUSTOMIZE YOUR COVER:** Pick your own cover image and include your name and course information right on the cover. Students will know they're purchasing the right book—and using everything they purchase!
- **REVIEW YOUR CREATION:** When you are all done, you'll receive a free PDF review copy in just minutes! To get started, go to create.mheducation.com and register today.

Map Tools to Promote Student Learning

Using Connect History and more than 100 maps, students can learn the course material more deeply and study more effectively than ever before.

Interactive maps give students a hands-on understanding of geography. *U.S.: A Narrative History* offers over 30 interactive maps that support geographical as well as historical thinking. These maps appear in



both the eBook and Connect History exercises. For some interactive maps, students click on the boxes in the map legend to see changing boundaries, visualize migration routes, or analyze war battles and election results. With others, students manipulate a slider to help them better understand change over time. New interactive maps feature advanced navigation features, including zoom, as well as audio and textual animation.

A complete list of maps can be found in a separate section of the frontmatter.

SmartBook Tailors Content to the Individual Student

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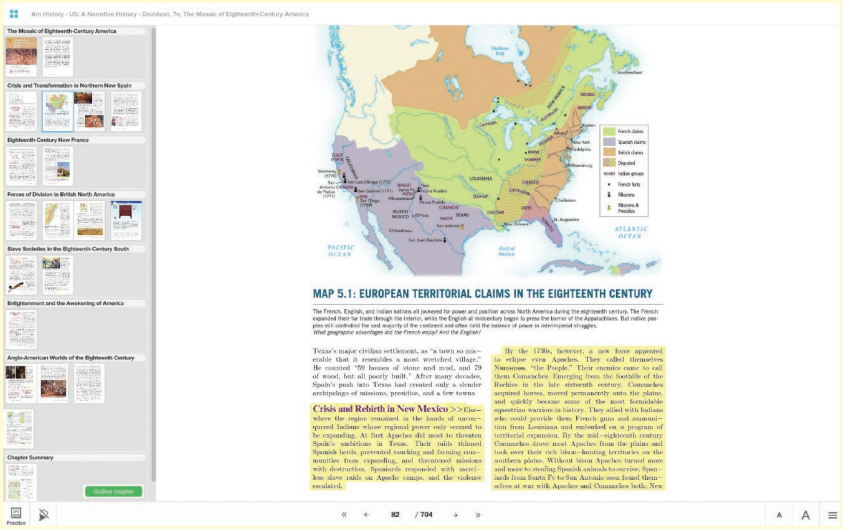
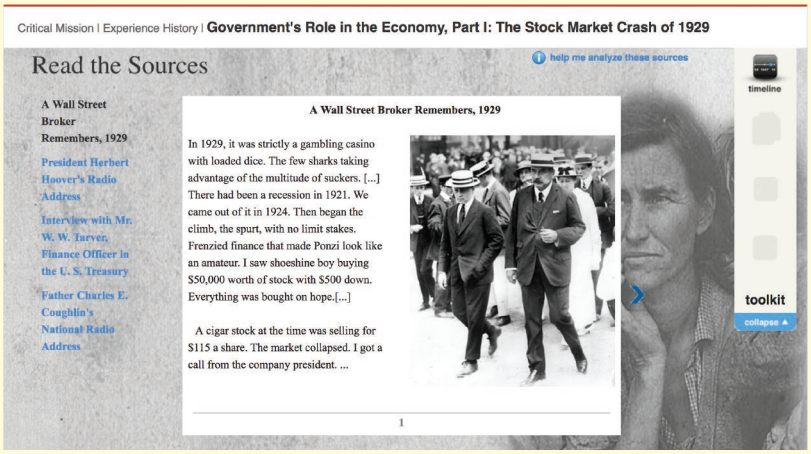


As part of McGraw-Hill Education's Connect History, SmartBook prepares students for class, guiding them through the chapters and highlighting what they need to learn to help them study more efficiently and effectively. SmartBook is proven to strengthen memory recall, keep students in class, and boost grades.

By helping students master core concepts ahead of time, SmartBook enables instructors to spend more meaningful time in the classroom. Through real-time reports, instructors can also track class or individual student performance on chapter topics or completion of chapter readings.

Critical Missions Promote Critical Thinking



What would your students do if they were senators voting on the impeachment of Andrew Johnson? Or if they were advisers to Harry Truman, helping him decide whether to drop the atomic bomb?

An immersive activity that shows students how to work with primary sources and develop a historical

argument, Critical Missions help students feel like active participants in a series of transformative moments in history. As advisers to key historical figures, they read and analyze primary sources, interpret maps and timelines, and write recommendations. As a follow-up activity in each Critical Mission, students learn to think like historians by conducting a retrospective analysis from a contemporary perspective.

List of MAPS

A map of the United States appears on the inside front cover, while a world map appears on the inside back cover.

List of AUTHOR-SELECTED PRIMARY SOURCE DOCUMENTS IN POWER OF PROCESS

Power of Process for Primary Sources is a critical thinking tool for reading and writing about primary sources. As part of Connect History, McGraw-Hill Education's learning platform, Power of Process contains a database of over 400 searchable primary sources in addition to the capability for instructors to upload their own sources. Instructors can then select a series of strategies for students to use to analyze and comment on a source. The Power of Process framework helps students develop essential academic skills such as understanding, analyzing, and synthesizing readings and visuals such as maps, leading students toward higher order thinking and writing.

The following primary source documents, carefully selected by the authors to coordinate with this chapter, are available in the Power of Process assignment type within Connect History at http://connect.mheducation.com.

Chapter 17

1. An Anguished Ex-Slave Writes the Wife He'd Thought Long Dead
2. The Mississippi Plan in Action

Chapter 18

3. Chief Joseph Speaks
4. Frederick Jackson Turner's New Frontier
5. Henry Grady's "New South"

Chapter 19

6. The Sherman Anti-Trust Act
7. "The Story of a Sweat Shop Girl"

Chapter 20

8. George Washington Plunkitt Defends "Honest Graft"
9. The Chinese Exclusion Act

Chapter 21

10. Booker T. Washington's "Atlanta Compromise"
11. George Hoar's Case Against Imperialism

Chapter 22

12. Alice Paul Suffers for Suffrage
13. John Muir's First Summer in the Sierras

Chapter 23

14. Theodore Roosevelt's Corollary to the Monroe Doctrine
15. Woodrow Wilson's 14 Points Speech

Chapter 24

16. "The Negro Artist and the Racial Mountain" by Langston Hughes
17. Calvin Coolidge on the Business of America
18. Mexican corrido, "El Enganchado" ("The Hooked One")

Chapter 25

19. Franklin Roosevelt's First Inaugural Address

Chapter 26

20. Einstein Letter to Franklin D. Roosevelt
21. Franklin D. Roosevelt's Four Freedom's Speech
22. D-Day Survivors

Chapter 27

23. Truman Doctrine Speech (excerpt)
24. Speech of Joseph McCarthy, Wheeling, West Virginia, February 9, 1950
25. J. Edgar Hoover, Excerpt from Speech before the House Committee on Un-American Activities

Chapter 28

26. John F. Kennedy's Inaugural Address
27. 1963 Nuclear Test Ban Treaty
28. Excerpt from Dwight D. Eisenhower's "Military Industrial Complex" Speech

Chapter 29

29. The Port Huron Statement of the Students for a Democratic Society
30. *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka*

Acknowledgments

We would like to express our deep appreciation to the following individuals who contributed to the development of our U.S. history programs:

Reviewers of *U.S.: A Narrative History*

Mary Adams,
City College of San Francisco

Jennifer Allen,
Brookhaven College

Janet Allured,
McNeese State University

Diana Barnes,
Youngstown State University

Chris Bell,
Edmonds Community College

James Blain,
McNeese State University

Roger Bowerman,
Glendale Community College

Jeffrey Brown,
New Mexico State University

Ann Chirhart,
Indiana State University

Bradley Clampitt,
East Central University

Patty Colman,
Moorpark College

Michael Colomaio,
Alfred State University

Tonia Compton
Columbia College, Columbia

Clarissa Confer,
California University of Pennsylvania

Cara Converse,
Moorpark College

Cassandra Cookson,
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Collins College, Plano

David Dalton,
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Brandon Franke,
Blinn College

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Austin Peay State University

Timothy Fritz,
Mount St. Mary's University

Tabetha Garman,
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Frank Gilbert,
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Jim Good,
Lone Star College, North Harris

Patricia Gower,
University of the Incarnate Word

Charles Grear,
Prairie View A&M

Devethia Guillory,
Prairie View A&M

Debra Haber,
Middle Tennessee State University–Murfreesboro

Christopher Haight,
University of Houston

Debbie Hargis,
Odessa College

Sahalie Hashim,
The University of Texas at Dallas

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Alfred State College

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Odessa College

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University of the Pacific

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Sierra College

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Justin Horton,
Thomas Nelson Community College

Chresancio Jackson,
Louisiana Delta Community College

Cynthia Jurisson,
University of Chicago Lab School

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Hillsborough Community College, Dale Mabry

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Tarrant County College, Southeast

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University of Mississippi

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John Wood Community College

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Eastfield College

Todd Romero,
University of Houston

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Jodi Steeley,
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Curtis Thomas,
Richland College

Rita Thomas,
Northern Kentucky University

Richard Trimble,
Ocean County College

Ruth Truss,
University of Montevallo

Salli Vargis,
Georgia Perimeter College

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Tom Wells,
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Tarrant County College

Nancy Young,
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Brian DeLay received his Ph.D. from Harvard and is an Associate Professor of History at the University of California, Berkeley. He is a frequent guest speaker at teacher workshops across the country and has won several prizes for his book *War of a Thousand Deserts: Indian Raids and the U.S.-Mexican War*. His current book project, *Shoot the State*, explores the connection between guns, freedom, and domination around the Western Hemisphere, from the American Revolution through World War II.

Christine Leigh Heyrman is the Robert W. and Shirley P. Grimble Professor of American History at the University of Delaware. She received her Ph.D. in American Studies from Yale University. The author of *Commerce and Culture: The Maritime Communities of Colonial Massachusetts, 1690–1750*, she received the Bancroft Prize for her second book, *Southern Cross: The Beginnings of the Bible Belt,* and the Parkman Prize for her third, *American Apostles: When Evangelicals Entered the World of Islam.*

Mark H. Lytle, a Ph.D. from Yale University, is the Lyford Paterson and Mary Gray Edwards Professor of History Emeritus at Bard College. He served two years as Mary Ball Washington Professor of American History at University College Dublin, in Ireland. His publications include *The Origins of the Iranian-American Alliance, 1941–1953, After the Fact: The Art of Historical Detection* (with James West Davidson), *America's Uncivil Wars: The Sixties Era from Elvis to the Fall of Richard Nixon*, and most recently, *The Gentle Subversive: Rachel Carson, Silent Spring, and the Rise of the Environmental Movement*. His forthcoming book, *The All-Consuming Nation*, considers the tension between the post–World War II consumer democracy and its environmental costs.

Michael B. Stoff is Associate Professor of History and University Distinguished Teaching Professor at the University of Texas at Austin. The recipient of a Ph.D. from Yale University, he has been honored many times for his teaching, most recently with the University of Texas systemwide Regents Outstanding Teaching Award. In 2008, he was named an Organization of American Historians Distinguished Lecturer. He is the author of *Oil, War, and American Security: The Search for a National Policy on Foreign Oil, 1941–1947*, co-editor (with Jonathan Fanton and R. Hal Williams) of *The Manhattan Project: A Documentary Introduction to the Atomic Age*, and series co-editor (with James West Davidson) of the *Oxford New Narratives in American History*. He is currently working on a narrative of the bombing of Nagasaki.

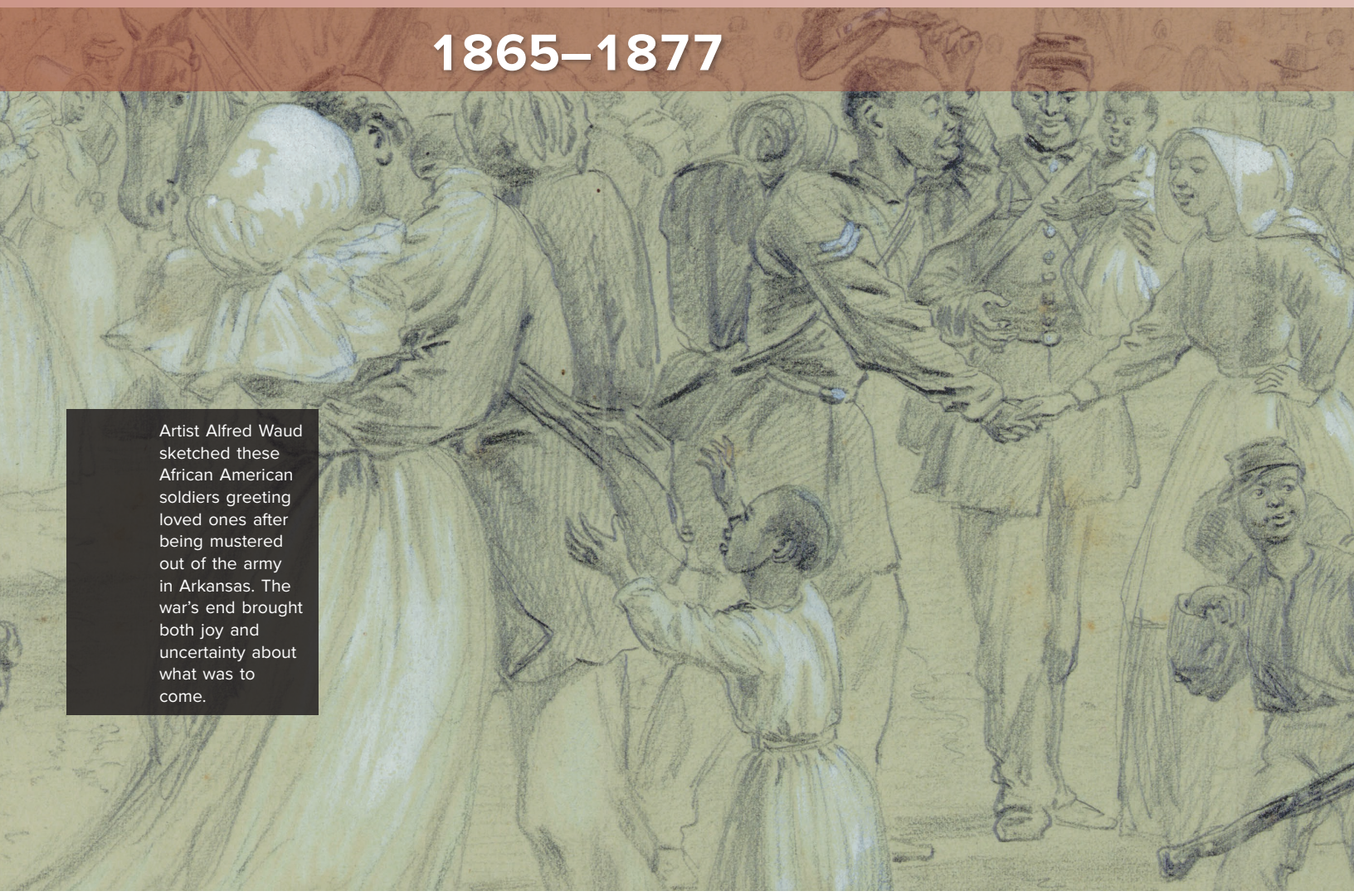
U.S.

A NARRATIVE HISTORY

VOLUME 2: SINCE 1865

17 Reconstructing the Union

1865–1877



Artist Alfred Waud sketched these African American soldiers greeting loved ones after being mustered out of the army in Arkansas. The war's end brought both joy and uncertainty about what was to come.

Source: Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division [LC-USZC4-13286]

>> An American Story

A SECRET SALE AT DAVIS BEND

Joseph Davis had had enough. Well on in years and financially ruined by the war, he decided to sell his Mississippi plantations Hurricane and Brierfield to Benjamin Montgomery and his sons in November 1866. Selling a plantation was common enough after the war, but this transaction was bound to attract attention, since Joseph Davis was the elder brother of

Jefferson Davis. Indeed, before the war the ex-Confederate president had operated Brierfield as his own plantation, even though his brother retained legal title to it. But the sale was unusual for another reason—so unusual that the parties involved agreed to keep it secret. The plantation's new owners were black, and Mississippi law prohibited African Americans from owning land.

Though a slave, Benjamin Montgomery had been the business manager of the two Davis plantations before the war. He had also operated a store on Hurricane Plantation with his own line of credit in New Orleans. In 1863 Montgomery fled to the North, but when the war was over, he returned to Davis Bend, where the federal government had confiscated the Davis plantations and was leasing plots of the land to black farmers. Montgomery quickly emerged as the leader of the African American community at the Bend.

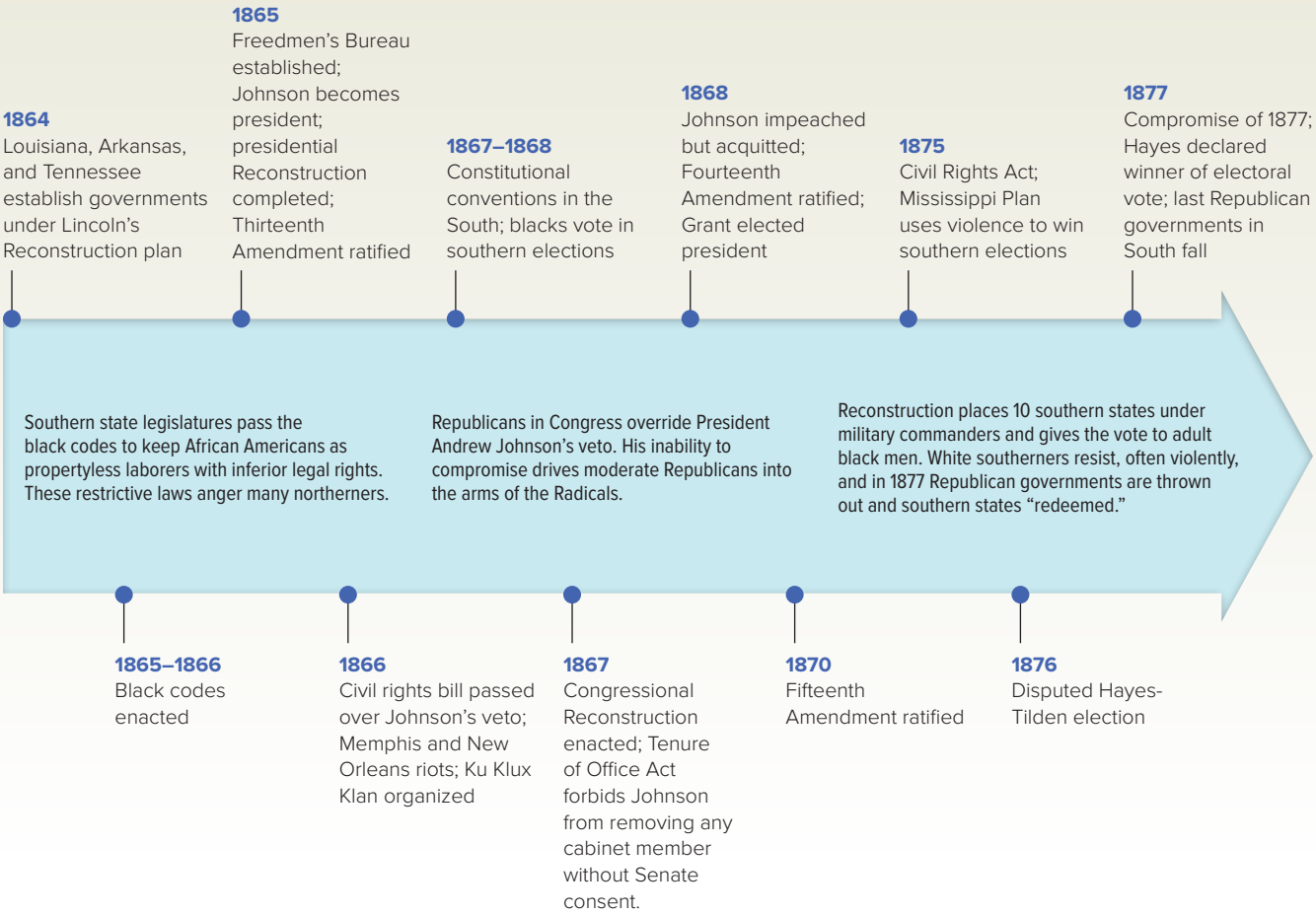
Then, in 1866, President Andrew Johnson pardoned Joseph Davis and restored his lands. Davis was now over 80 years old and lacked the will and stamina to rebuild, yet unlike many ex-slaveholders, he felt bound by obligations to his former slaves. Convinced that with encouragement African Americans could succeed in freedom, he sold his land secretly to Benjamin Montgomery. Only when the law prohibiting African Americans from owning land was overturned in 1867 did Davis publicly confirm the sale to his former slave.

For his part, Montgomery undertook to create a model society at Davis Bend based on mutual cooperation. He rented land to black farmers, hired others to work his own fields, sold supplies on credit, and ginned and marketed the crops. The work was hard indeed: Davis Bend's farmers faced the destruction caused by the war, several disastrous floods, insects, droughts, and declining cotton prices. Yet before long, cotton production exceeded that of the prewar years. The Montgomerys eventually acquired 5,500 acres, which made them reputedly the third-largest planters in the state, and they won national and international awards for the quality of their cotton. Their success demonstrated what African Americans, given a fair chance, might accomplish.

The experiences of Benjamin Montgomery were not those of most black southerners, who did not own land or have a powerful white benefactor. Yet all African Americans shared Montgomery's dream of economic independence. As one black veteran noted: "Every colored man will be a slave, and feel himself a slave until he can raise him own bale of cotton and put him own mark upon it and say this is mine!" Blacks could not gain effective freedom simply through a proclamation of emancipation. They needed economic power, including their own land that no one could unfairly take away. And political power too, if the legacy of slavery was to be overturned.

How would the Republic be reunited, now that slavery had been abolished? War, in its blunt way, had roughed out the contours of a solution, but only in broad terms. The North, with its industrial might, would be the driving force in the nation's economy and retain the dominant political voice. But would African Americans receive effective power? How would North and South readjust their economic and political relations? These questions lay at the heart of the problem of Reconstruction. <<

THEMATIC TIMELINE



PRESIDENTIAL RECONSTRUCTION

Throughout the war Abraham Lincoln had considered Reconstruction his responsibility. Elected with less than 40 percent of the popular vote in 1860, he was acutely aware that once the states of the Confederacy were restored to the Union, the Republicans would be weakened unless they ceased to be a sectional party. By a generous peace, Lincoln hoped to attract former Whigs in the South, who supported many of the Republicans' economic policies, and build up a southern wing of the party.

Lincoln's 10 Percent Plan >>

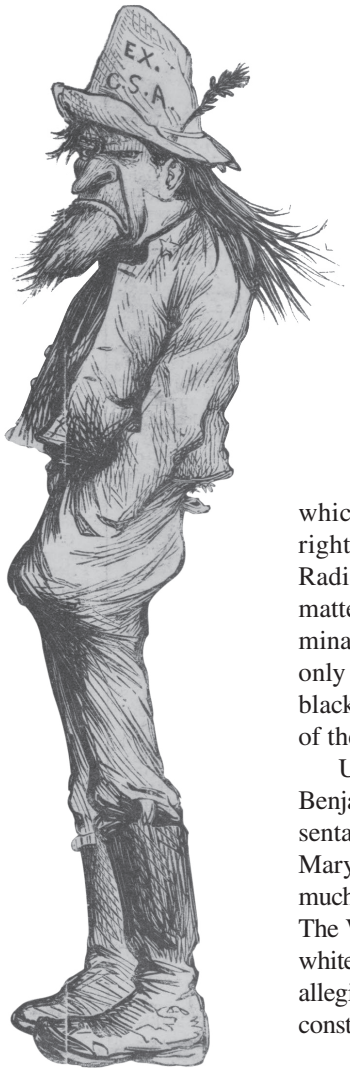
amnesty general pardon granted by a government, usually for political crimes.

Lincoln outlined his program in a Proclamation of **Amnesty** and Reconstruction, issued in December 1863. When a minimum of 10 percent of the qualified voters from 1860 took a **loyalty oath** to the Union, they could organize a state government. The new state constitution had to abolish slavery and provide for black education, but Lincoln did not insist that high-ranking Confederate leaders be barred from public life.

loyalty oath oath of fidelity to the state or to an organization.

Lincoln indicated that he would be generous in granting pardons to Confederate leaders and did not rule out compensation for slave property. Moreover, while he privately advocated limited black suffrage in the disloyal southern states, he did not demand social or political equality for black Americans. In Louisiana, Arkansas, and Tennessee he recognized pro-Union governments that allowed only white men to vote.

The Radical Republicans found Lincoln's approach much too lenient. Strongly antislavery, Radical members of Congress had led the struggle to make emancipation a war aim. Now they led the fight to guarantee the rights of former slaves, or freedpeople. The Radicals believed that it was the duty of Congress, not the president, to set the terms under



<< The mood of white southerners at the end of the war was mixed. Many, like the veteran caricatured here by northern cartoonist Thomas Nast, remained hostile. Others, like Texas captain Samuel Foster, came to believe that the institution of slavery "had been abused, and perhaps for that abuse this terrible war . . . was brought upon us as a punishment."
Source: Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division [LC-USZ62-131562]

which states would regain their rights in the Union. Though the Radicals often disagreed on other matters, they were united in a determination to readmit southern states only after slavery had been ended, black rights protected, and the power of the planter class destroyed.

Under the direction of Senator Benjamin Wade of Ohio and Representative Henry Winter Davis of Maryland, Congress formulated a much stricter plan of Reconstruction. The Wade-Davis bill required half the white adult males to take an oath of allegiance before drafting a new state constitution, and it restricted political power to the hardcore Unionists. Lincoln vetoed this approach, but as the war drew to a close, he appeared ready to make concessions to the Radicals, such as placing the defeated South temporarily under military rule. Then Booth's bullet found its mark, and Lincoln's final approach to Reconstruction would never be known.

Reconstruction under Andrew Johnson >>

In the wake of defeat, the immediate reaction among white southerners was one of shock, despair, and hopelessness. Some former Confederates were openly antagonistic. A North Carolina innkeeper remarked bitterly that Yankees had stolen his slaves, burned his house, and killed all his sons, leaving him only one privilege: "To hate 'em. I got up at half-past four in the morning, and sit up till twelve at night, to hate 'em." Most Confederate soldiers were less defiant, having had their fill of war. Even among hostile civilians the feeling was widespread that the South must accept northern terms. A South Carolina paper admitted that "the conqueror has the right to make the terms, and we must submit."

This psychological moment was critical. To prevent a resurgence of resistance, the president needed to lay out in unmistakable terms what white southerners had to do to regain their old status in the Union. Perhaps even a clear and firm policy would not have been enough. But with Lincoln's death, the executive power had come to rest in far less capable hands.

Andrew Johnson, the new president, had been born in North Carolina and eventually moved to Tennessee, where he worked as a tailor. Barely able to read and write when he married, he rose to political power by portraying himself as the champion of the people against the wealthy planter class. "Some day I will show the stuck-up aristocrats who is running the country," he vowed as he began his political career. Although he accepted emancipation as one consequence of the war, Johnson lacked any concern for the welfare of African Americans. "Damn the negroes," he said during the war, "I am fighting these traitorous aristocrats, their masters." After serving in Congress and as military governor of Tennessee following its occupation by Union forces, Johnson, a Democrat, was tapped by Lincoln in 1864 as his running mate on the rechristened "Union" ticket.

The Radicals expected Johnson to uphold their views on Reconstruction, and on assuming the presidency he spoke of prosecuting Confederate leaders and breaking up planters' estates. Unlike most Republicans,

^^ Andrew Johnson was a staunch Unionist, but his contentious personality and inflexibility masked a deep-seated insecurity, which was rooted in his humble background. As a young man, he worked and lived in this rude tailor shop in Greeneville, Tennessee.
(left) Source: Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division [LC-BH-832-2417]; (right) Source: Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division [LC-USZ62-130976]

however, Johnson strongly supported states' rights, and his political shortcomings sparked conflicts almost immediately. Scarred by his humble origins, he became tactless and inflexible when challenged or criticized, alienating even those who sought to work with him.

Johnson moved to return the southern states to the Union quickly. He prescribed a loyalty oath that most white southerners would have to take to regain their civil and political rights and to have their property, except for slaves, restored. High Confederate officials and those with property worth over $20,000 had to apply for individual pardons. Once a state drafted a new constitution and elected state officers and members of Congress, Johnson promised to revoke martial law and recognize the new state government. Suffrage was limited to white citizens who had taken the loyalty oath. This plan was similar to Lincoln's, though more lenient. Only informally did Johnson stipulate that the southern states were to renounce their ordinances of secession, repudiate the Confederate debt, and ratify the Thirteenth Amendment abolishing slavery, which had been passed by Congress in January 1865 and was in the process of being ratified by the states. (It became part of the Constitution in December.)

The Failure of Johnson's Program >>

The southern delegates who met to construct new governments were in no mood to follow Johnson's recommendations. Several states merely repealed instead of repudiating their ordinances of secession, rejected the Thirteenth Amendment, or refused to repudiate the Confederate debt.

Nor did the new governments allow African Americans any political rights or provide in any effective way for black education. In addition, each state passed a series of laws, often modeled on its old slave code, that applied only to African Americans. These "**black codes**" did give African Americans some rights that had not been granted to slaves. They legalized marriages from slavery and allowed black southerners to hold and sell property and to sue and be sued in state courts. Yet their primary intent was to keep African Americans as propertyless agricultural laborers with inferior legal rights. The new freedpeople could not serve on juries, testify against whites, or work as they pleased. Mississippi prohibited them from buying or renting farmland, and most states ominously provided that black people who were vagrants could be arrested and hired out to landowners. Many northerners were incensed by the restrictive black codes, which violated their conception of freedom.

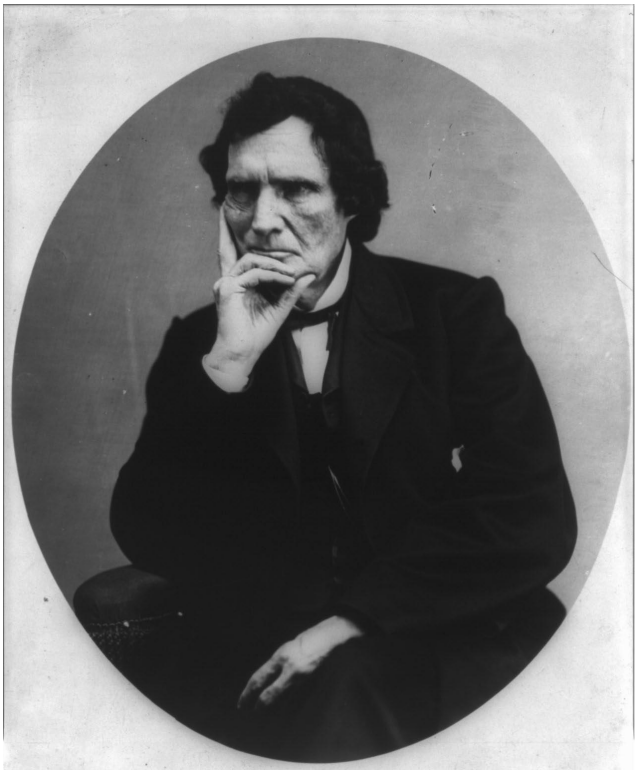
black codes laws passed by southern states in 1865 and 1866, modeled on the slave codes in effect before the Civil War. The codes did grant African Americans some rights not enjoyed by slaves, but their primary purpose was to keep African Americans as propertyless agricultural laborers.

Southern voters under Johnson's plan also defiantly elected prominent Confederate military and political leaders to office. At this point, Johnson could have called for new elections or admitted that a different program of Reconstruction was needed. Instead, he caved in. For all his harsh rhetoric, he shrank from the prospect of social upheaval, and as the lines of ex-Confederates waiting to see him lengthened, he began issuing special pardons almost as fast as they could be printed. Publicly Johnson put on a bold face, announcing that Reconstruction had been successfully completed. But many members of Congress were deeply alarmed, and the stage was set for a serious confrontation.

Johnson's Break with Congress >>

The new Congress was by no means of one mind. A small number of Democrats and a few conservative Republicans backed the president's program of immediate and unconditional restoration. At the other end of the spectrum, a larger group of Radical Republicans, led by Thaddeus Stevens, Charles Sumner, Benjamin Wade, and others, was bent on remaking southern society in the image of the North. Reconstruction must "revolutionize Southern institutions, habits, and manners," insisted Representative Stevens, "or all our blood and treasure have been spent in vain."

As a minority the Radicals needed the aid of the moderate Republicans, the largest bloc in Congress. Led by William Pitt Fessenden and Lyman Trumbull, the moderates had no desire to foster social revolution or promote racial equality in the South. But they wanted to keep Confederate leaders from reassuming power, and they were convinced that the former slaves needed federal protection. Otherwise, Trumbull declared, the freedpeople would "be tyrannized over, abused, and virtually reenslaved."



Thaddeus Stevens, Radical Republican leader in the House. Source: Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division [LC-USZ62-63460]

The central issue dividing Johnson and the Radicals was the place of African Americans in American society. Johnson accused his opponents of seeking "to Africanize the southern half of our country," while the Radicals championed civil and political rights for African Americans. The only way to maintain loyal governments and develop a Republican party in the South, Radicals argued, was to give black men the ballot. Moderates agreed that the new southern governments were too harsh toward African Americans, but they feared that too great an emphasis on black civil rights would alienate northern voters.

In December 1865, when southern representatives to Congress appeared in Washington, a majority in Congress voted to exclude them. Congress also appointed a joint committee, chaired by Senator Fessenden, to look into Reconstruction.

The growing split with the president became clearer after Congress passed a bill extending the life of the Freedmen's Bureau. Created in March 1865, the bureau provided emergency food, clothing, and medical care to war refugees (including white southerners) and took charge of settling freedpeople on abandoned lands. The new bill gave the bureau the added responsibilities of supervising special courts to resolve disputes involving freedpeople and establishing schools for black southerners. Although this bill passed with virtually unanimous Republican support, Johnson vetoed it.

Johnson also vetoed a civil rights bill designed to overturn the more flagrant provisions of the black codes. The law made African Americans citizens of the United States and granted them the right to own property, make contracts, and have access to courts as parties and witnesses. (The law did not go so far as to grant freedpeople the right to vote.) For most Republicans Johnson's action was the last straw, and in April 1866 Congress overrode his veto. Congress then approved and promptly overrode the president's veto of a slightly revised Freedmen's Bureau bill in July. Johnson's refusal to compromise drove the moderates into the arms of the Radicals.

The Fourteenth Amendment >>

To prevent unrepentant Confederates from taking over the reconstructed state governments and denying African Americans basic freedoms, the Joint Committee on Reconstruction proposed an amendment to the Constitution, which passed both houses of Congress with the necessary two-thirds vote in June 1866.

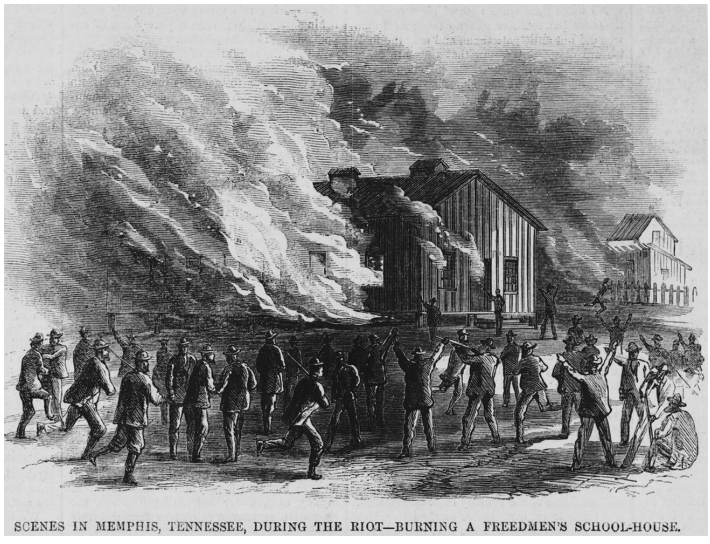
The amendment guaranteed repayment of the national war debt and prohibited repayment of the Confederate debt. To counteract the president's wholesale pardons, it disqualified prominent Confederates from holding office. Because moderates balked at giving the vote to African Americans, the amendment merely gave Congress the right to reduce the representation of any state that did not have impartial male suffrage. The practical effect of this provision, which Radicals labeled a "swindle," was to allow northern states to retain white suffrage, since unlike southern states they had few African Americans in their populations and thus would not be penalized.

The amendment's most important provision, Section 1, defined an American citizen as anyone born in the United States or naturalized, thereby automatically making African Americans citizens. Section 1 also prohibited states from abridging "the privileges or immunities" of citizens, depriving "any person of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law," or denying "any person . . . equal protection of the laws." The framers of the amendment probably intended to prohibit laws that applied to one race only, such as the black codes, or that made certain acts felonies when committed by black but not white people, or that decreed different penalties for the same crime when committed by white and black lawbreakers. The framers probably did not intend to prevent segregation (the legal separation of the races) in schools and public places.

Johnson denounced the amendment and urged southern states not to ratify it. Ironically, of the seceded states only the president's own state ratified the amendment, and Congress readmitted Tennessee with no further restrictions. The telegram sent to Congress by a longtime foe of Johnson, officially announcing Tennessee's approval, ended with this sardonic salutation: "Give my respects to the dead dog in the White House."

The Election of 1866 >>

When Congress blocked his policies, Johnson undertook a speaking tour of the East and Midwest in the fall of 1866 to drum up popular support. But the president found it difficult to convince northern audiences that white southerners were fully repentant. Only months earlier white mobs in Memphis and New Orleans had attacked black residents and killed nearly 100 in two major race riots. "The negroes now know, to their sorrow, that it is best not to arouse the fury of the white man," boasted one Memphis newspaper. When the president encountered hostile audiences during his northern campaign, he made matters only worse by trading insults and proclaiming that the Radicals were traitors.



In 1866 white mobs in Memphis and New Orleans attacked African Americans in two major riots. Here rioters set fire to a schoolhouse used by freedpeople.
Source: Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division [LC-USZ62-111152]

bloody shirt campaign tactic of "waving the bloody shirt" invoked the deaths and casualties from the Civil War as a reason to vote for Republicans as the party of the Union rather than Democrats, who had often opposed the war.

Not to be outdone, the Radicals vilified Johnson as a traitor aiming to turn the country over to former rebels. Resorting to the tactic of "waving the **bloody shirt**," they appealed to voters by reviving bitter memories of the war. In a classic example of such rhetoric, Governor Oliver Morton of Indiana proclaimed that "every bounty jumper, every deserter, every sneak who ran away from the draft calls himself a Democrat. Every 'Son of Liberty' who conspired to murder, burn, rob arsenals and release rebel prisoners calls himself a Democrat. In short, the Democratic party may be described as a common sewer."

Voters soundly repudiated Johnson, as the Republicans won more than a two-thirds majority in both houses of Congress. The Radicals had reached the height of their power, propelled by genuine alarm among northerners that Johnson's policies would lose the fruits of the Union's victory. Johnson was a president virtually without a party.

REVIEW

What were Lincoln's and Andrew Johnson's approaches to Reconstruction, and why did Congress reject Johnson's approach?

CONGRESSIONAL RECONSTRUCTION

With a clear mandate in hand congressional Republicans passed their own program of Reconstruction, beginning with the first Reconstruction Act in March 1867. Like all later pieces of Reconstruction legislation, it was repassed over Johnson's veto.

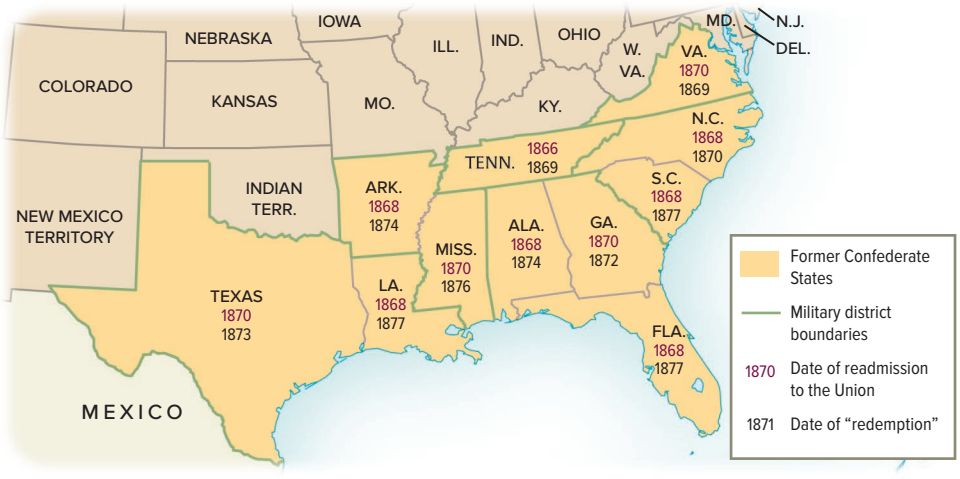
Placing the 10 unreconstructed states under military commanders, the act provided that in enrolling voters, officials were to include black adult males but not former Confederates, who were barred from holding office under the Fourteenth Amendment. Delegates to the state conventions were to frame constitutions that provided for black suffrage and disqualified prominent ex-Confederates from office. The first state legislatures to meet under the new constitution were required to ratify the Fourteenth Amendment. Once these steps were completed and Congress approved the new state constitution, a state could send representatives to Congress.

White southerners found these requirements so insulting that officials took no steps to register voters. Congress then enacted a second Reconstruction Act, also in March, ordering the local military commanders to put the machinery of Reconstruction into motion. Johnson's efforts to limit the power of military commanders produced a third act, passed in July, that upheld their superiority in all matters. When the first election was held in Alabama to ratify the new state constitution, whites boycotted it in sufficient numbers to prevent a majority of voters from participating. Undaunted, Congress passed the fourth Reconstruction Act (March 1868), which required ratification of the constitution by only a majority of those voting rather than those who were registered.

By June 1868 Congress had readmitted the representatives of seven states. Texas, Virginia, and Mississippi did not complete the process until 1869. Georgia finally followed in 1870.

Post-Emancipation Societies in the Americas >>

With the exception of Haiti's revolution (1791–1804), the United States was the only society in the Americas in which the destruction of slavery was accomplished by violence. But the United States, uniquely among these societies, enfranchised former slaves almost immediately after the emancipation. Thus, in the United States, former masters and slaves battled for control of the state in ways that did not occur in other post-emancipation societies. In most of the Caribbean, property requirements



MAP 17.1: THE SOUTHERN STATES DURING RECONSTRUCTION

for voting left the planters in political control. Jamaica, for example, with a population of 500,000 in the 1860s, had only 3,000 voters.

Moreover, in reaction to political efforts to mobilize disenfranchised black peasants, Jamaican planters dissolved the assembly and reverted to being a Crown colony governed from London. Of the sugar islands, all but Barbados adopted the same policy, thereby blocking the potential for any future black peasant democracy. Nor did any of these societies have the counterparts of the Radical Republicans, a group of outsiders with political power that promoted the fundamental transformation of the post-emancipation South. These comparisons highlight the radicalism of Reconstruction in the United States, which alone saw an effort to forge an interracial democracy.

The Land Issue >> While the political process of Reconstruction proceeded, Congress debated whether land should be given to former slaves to foster economic independence. At a meeting with Secretary of War Edwin Stanton near the end of the war, African American leaders had declared: "The way we can best take care of ourselves is to have land, and till it by our own labor." The Second Confiscation Act of 1862 had authorized the government to seize and sell the property of supporters of the rebellion. In June 1866, however, President Johnson ruled that confiscation laws applied only to wartime.

After more than a year of debate, Congress rejected all proposals to give land to former slaves. Given Americans' strong belief in self-reliance, little sympathy existed for the idea that government should support any group. In addition, land redistribution represented an attack on property rights, another cherished American value. "A division of rich men's lands amongst the landless," argued the *Nation*, a Radical journal, "would give a shock to our whole social and political system from which it would hardly recover without the loss of liberty." By 1867 land reform was dead.

Impeachment >> Throughout 1867 Congress routinely overrode Johnson's vetoes, but the president undercut congressional Reconstruction in other ways. He interpreted the new laws narrowly and removed military commanders who vigorously enforced them. Congress responded by restricting his power to issue orders to military commanders in the South. It also passed the Tenure of Office Act, which forbade Johnson to remove any member of the cabinet without the Senate's consent. The intention of this law was to prevent him from firing Secretary of War Edwin Stanton, the only remaining Radical in the cabinet.

When Johnson tried to dismiss Stanton in February 1868, the House of Representatives angrily approved articles of impeachment. The articles focused on the violation of the Tenure of Office Act, but the charge with the most substance was that Johnson had acted to systematically obstruct Reconstruction legislation. In the trial before the Senate, his lawyers argued that a president could be impeached only for an indictable crime, which Johnson clearly had not committed. The Radicals countered that impeachment applied to political offenses, not merely criminal acts. In May 1868 the Senate voted 35 to 19 to convict, one vote short of the two-thirds majority needed. The seven Republicans who joined the Democrats in voting for acquittal were uneasy about using impeachment as a political weapon.

REVIEW

What was Congress's approach to Reconstruction, and why did it not include a provision for giving land to former slaves?

RECONSTRUCTION IN THE SOUTH

As the power of the Radicals in Congress waned, the fate of Reconstruction increasingly hinged on developments in the southern states themselves. Power in these states rested with the new Republican parties, representing a coalition of black and white southerners and transplanted northerners.

Black and White Republicans >> Once African Americans received the right to vote, black men constituted as much as 80 percent of the Republican voters in the South. They steadfastly opposed the Democratic Party with its appeal to white supremacy. But during Reconstruction, African Americans never held office in proportion to their voting strength. No African American was ever elected governor. And only in South Carolina, where more than 60 percent of the population was black, did they control even one house of the state legislature. Between 15 and 20 percent of the state officers and 6 percent of members of Congress (2 senators and 15 representatives) were black. Only in South Carolina did black officeholders approach their proportion of the population.

Those who held office came from the top levels of African American society. Among state and federal officeholders, perhaps 80 percent were literate, and over a quarter had been free before the war, both marks of distinction in the black community. Their occupations also set them apart: many were professionals (mostly clergy), and of the third who were farmers, nearly all owned land. In their political and social values, African American leaders were more conservative than the rural black population, and they showed little interest in land reform.

Black citizens were a majority of the voters only in South Carolina, Mississippi, and Louisiana. Thus in most of the South the Republican Party had to secure white votes to stay in power. Opponents scornfully labeled white southerners

^ Hiram Revels, a minister and educator, became the first African American to serve in the U.S. Senate, representing Mississippi. Later he served as president of Alcorn University.
Source: Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division [LC-DIG-cwpbh-03275]

scalawags white southerners who supported the Republican Party.

who allied with the Republican Party **scalawags**, yet an estimated quarter of white southerners at one time voted Republican. They were primarily Unionists from the upland counties and hill areas and largely yeoman farmers. Such voters were attracted by Republican promises to rebuild the South, restore prosperity, create public schools, and open isolated areas to the market with railroads.

The other group of white Republicans in the South were known as **carpetbaggers**. Originally from the North, they

carpetbaggers northern white Republicans who came to live in the South after the Civil War. Most were veterans of the Union army; many were teachers, Freedmen's Bureau agents, or investors in cotton plantations.

allegedly had arrived with all their worldly possessions stuffed in a carpetbag, ready to loot and plunder the defeated South. Some did, certainly, but northerners moved south for a variety of reasons. Though carpetbaggers made up only a small percentage of Republican voters, they controlled almost a third of the offices in the South. More than half of all southern Republican governors and nearly half of Republican members of Congress were originally northerners.

The Republican Party in the South had difficulty maintaining unity. Scalawags were especially susceptible to the race issue and social pressure. "Even my own kinspeople have turned the cold shoulder to me because I hold office under a Republican administration," testified a Mississippi white Republican. As black southerners pressed for greater recognition, white southerners increasingly defected to the Democrats. Carpetbaggers, in contrast, were less sensitive to race, although most felt that their black allies should be content with minor offices. The animosity between scalawags and carpetbaggers, which grew out of their rivalry for party honors, was particularly intense.

Reforms under the New State Governments >>

The new southern state constitutions enacted several significant reforms. They devised fairer systems of legislative representation and made many previously appointive offices elective. The Radical state governments also assumed some responsibility for social welfare and established the first statewide systems of public schools in the South.

Although all the new constitutions proclaimed the principle of equality and granted black adult males the right to vote, on social relations they were much more cautious. No state outlawed segregation, and South Carolina and Louisiana were the only ones that required integration in public schools (a mandate that was almost universally ignored). Sensitive to status, mulattoes pushed for prohibition of social discrimination, but white Republicans refused to adopt such a radical policy.

Economic Issues and Corruption >>

With the southern economy in ruins at the end of the war, problems of economic reconstruction were severe. The new Republican governments encouraged industrial development by providing subsidies, loans, and even temporary exemptions from taxes. These governments also largely rebuilt the southern railroad system, offering lavish aid to railroad corporations. In the two decades after 1860, the region doubled its manufacturing establishments, yet the South steadily slipped further behind the booming industrial economy of the North.

The expansion of government services offered temptations for corruption. Southern officials regularly received bribes and kickbacks for awarding railroad charters, franchises, and other contracts. The railroad grants and new social services such as schools also left state governments in debt, even though taxes rose in the 1870s to four times the rate in 1860.

Corruption, however, was not only a southern problem but a national one. During these years, the Democratic Tweed Ring in New York City alone stole more money than all the southern Radical governments combined. Moreover, corruption was hardly limited to southern Republicans: many Democrats and white business leaders participated.

Louisiana governor Henry Warmoth, a carpetbagger, told a congressional committee: "Everybody is demoralizing down here. Corruption is the fashion."

Corruption in Radical governments existed, but southern Democrats exaggerated its extent for partisan purposes. They opposed honest Radical regimes just as bitterly as notoriously corrupt ones. In the eyes of most white southerners, the real crime of the Radical governments was that they allowed black citizens to hold some offices and tried to protect the civil rights of black Americans. Race was white conservatives' greatest weapon. And it would prove the most effective means to undermine Republican power in the South.

REVIEW

What roles did African Americans, southern whites, and northern whites play in the Reconstruction governments of the South?

BLACK ASPIRATIONS

Emancipation came to slaves in different ways and at different times. Betty Jones's grandmother was told about the Emancipation Proclamation by another slave while they were hoeing corn. Mary Anderson received the news from her master near the end of the war when Sherman's army invaded North Carolina. Whatever the timing, freedom meant a host of precious blessings to people who had been in bondage all their lives.

Experiencing Freedom >>

The first impulse was to think of freedom as a contrast to slavery. Emancipation immediately released slaves from the most oppressive aspects of bondage—the whippings, the breakup of families, the sexual exploitation. Freedom also meant movement, the right to travel without a pass or white permission. Above all, freedom meant that African Americans' labor would be for their own benefit. One Arkansas freedman, who earned his first dollar working on a railroad, recalled that when he was paid, "I felt like the richest man in the world."

Freedom included finding a new place to work. Changing jobs was one concrete way to break the psychological ties of slavery. Even planters with reputations for kindness sometimes saw most of their former hands depart. The cook who left a South Carolina family, despite the offer of higher wages than her new job's, explained: "I must go. If I stays here I'll never know I'm free."

Symbolically, freedom meant having a full name. African Americans now adopted last names, most commonly the name of the first master in the family's oral history as far back as it could be recalled. Most, however, retained their first name, especially if the name had been given to them by their parents (as was most often the case). Whatever the name, black Americans insisted on making the decision themselves.

The Black Family >>

African Americans also sought to strengthen the family in freedom. Since slave marriages had not been recognized as legal, thousands of former slaves insisted on being married again by proper authorities, even though this was not required by law. Those who had been forcibly separated in slavery and later remarried confronted the dilemma of which spouse to take. Laura Spicer, whose husband had been sold away in slavery, wrote him after the war seeking to resume their marriage. In a series of wrenching letters, he explained that he had thought her dead, had remarried, and had a new family. "You know it never was our wishes to be separated from each other, and it never was our fault. I had rather anything to had happened to me most than ever have been parted from you and the children," he wrote. "As I am, I do not know which I love best, you or Anna." Declining to return, he closed, "Laura, truly, I have got another wife, and I am very sorry."

As in white families, black husbands deemed themselves the head of the family and acted legally for their wives. They often insisted that their wives would not work in the fields as they had in slavery. "The [black] women say they never mean to do any more outdoor work," one planter reported, "that white men support their wives and they mean that their husbands shall support them." In negotiating contracts, a father also demanded the right to control his children and their labor. All these changes were designed to insulate the black family from white control.

The Schoolhouse and the Church >>

In freedom, the schoolhouse and the black church became essential institutions in the black community. "My Lord, Ma'am, what a great thing learning is!" a South Carolina freedman told a northern teacher. "White folks can do what they likes, for they know so much more than we." At first, northern churches and missionaries, working with the Freedmen's Bureau, set up black schools in the South. Tuition at these schools represented 10 percent or more of a laborer's monthly wages, yet these schools were full. Eventually, states established public school systems, which by 1867 enrolled 40 percent of African American children.

Black adults, who often attended night classes, had good reasons for seeking literacy. They wanted to be able to read the Bible, to defend their newly gained civil and political rights, and to protect themselves from being cheated. Both races saw that education would undermine the servility that slavery had fostered.

The teachers in the Freedmen's Bureau schools were primarily northern middle-class white women sent south by northern missionary societies. "I feel that it is a precious

When Beale Street Baptist Church was founded by African Americans after the Civil War, the congregation was so poor, it met in a brush arbor—a canopy of leaves and branches held up by log poles. But the Memphis church grew by leaps and bounds as freedpeople flocked to the city. Their contributions to the weekly collection plate financed the building of this stately church, whose tower featured a statue of John the Baptist. By the early 1880s, Memphis boasted more black than white Protestant churches.
Source: Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division [HABS TENN,79-MEMPH,7—1]

privilege," Esther Douglass wrote, "to be allowed to do something for these poor people." Many saw themselves as peacetime soldiers, struggling to make emancipation a reality. Indeed, hostile white southerners sometimes destroyed black schools and threatened and even murdered white teachers. Then there were the everyday challenges: low pay, run-down buildings, few books, classes of 100 or more children. By 1869 most teachers in these Freedmen's Bureau schools were black, trained by the bureau.

Most slaves had attended white churches or services supervised by whites. Once free, African Americans quickly established their own congregations led by black preachers. Mostly Methodist and Baptist, black churches were the only major organizations in the African American community controlled by blacks themselves. A white missionary reported that "the Ebony preacher who promises perfect independence from White control and direction carried the colored heart at once." Just as in slavery, religion offered African Americans a place of refuge in a hostile white world and provided them with hope, comfort, and a means of self-identification.

New Working Conditions >>

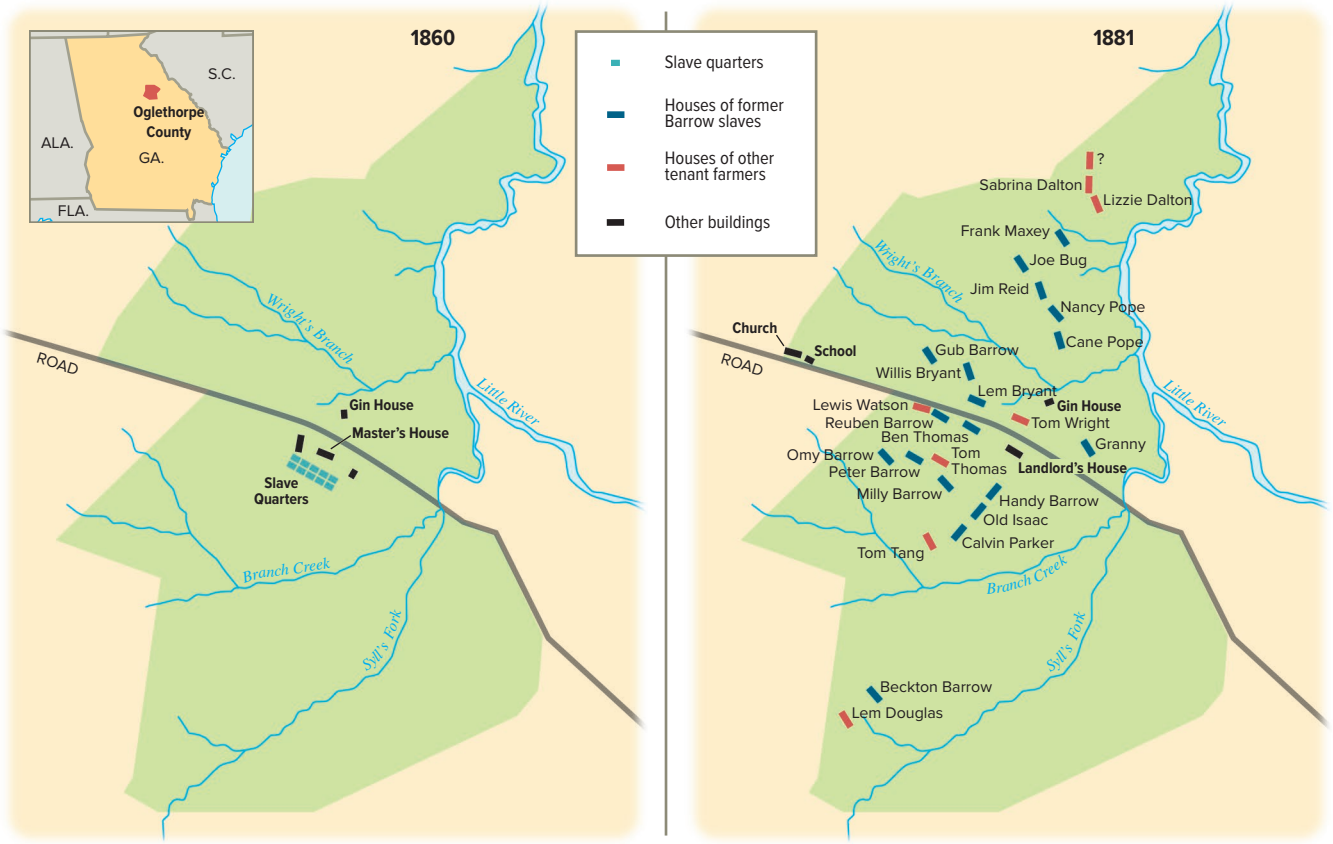
As a largely propertyless class, blacks in the postwar South had no choice but to work for white landowners. Except for paying wages, whites wanted to retain the old system of labor, including close supervision, gang labor, and physical punishment. Determined to remove all emblems of servitude, African Americans refused to work under these conditions, and they demanded time off to devote to their own interests. Because of shorter hours and the withdrawal of children and women from the fields, blacks' output declined by an estimated 35 percent in freedom. They also refused to live in the old slave quarters located near the master's house and instead erected cabins on distant parts of the plantation. Wages initially were $5 or $6 a month plus provisions and a cabin; by 1867, they had risen to an average of $10 a month.

These changes eventually led to the rise of sharecropping. Under this arrangement African American families farmed discrete plots of land and then at the end of the year divided the crop, normally on an equal basis, with the white landowner. Sharecropping had higher status and offered greater personal freedom than being a wage laborer. "I am not working for wages," one black farmer declared in defending his right to leave the plantation at will, "but am part owner of the crop and as [such,] I have all the rights that you or any other man has." Although black per-capita agricultural income increased 40 percent in freedom, sharecropping was a harshly exploitative system in which black families often sank into perpetual debt.

The task of supervising the transition from slavery to freedom on southern plantations fell to the Freedmen's Bureau, a unique experiment in social policy supported by the federal government. Assigned the task of protecting freedpeople's economic rights, approximately 550 local agents regulated working conditions in southern agriculture after the war. The racial attitudes of Bureau agents varied widely, as did their commitment and competence.

Most agents required written contracts between white planters and black laborers, specifying wages and the conditions of employment. Although agents sometimes intervened to protect freedpeople from unfair treatment, they also provided important help to planters. They insisted that black laborers not leave at harvesttime, they arrested those who violated their contracts or refused to sign new ones at the beginning of the year, and they preached the need to be orderly and respectful. Because of such attitudes, freedpeople increasingly complained that Bureau agents were mere tools of the planter class. One observer reported: "Doing justice seems to mean seeing that the blacks don't break contracts and compelling them to submit cheerfully."

The primary means of enforcing working conditions were the Freedmen's Courts, which Congress created in 1866 in order to avoid the discrimination African Americans received in state courts. These new courts functioned as



MAP 17.2: GEORGIA PLANTATION AFTER THE WAR

After emancipation, sharecropping became the dominant form of agricultural labor in the South. Black families no longer lived in the old slave quarters but dispersed to separate plots of land that they farmed themselves. At the end of the year, each sharecropper turned over part of the crop to the white landowner.

What accounts for the difference between where slave families lived before the war and where the families of freedpeople lived by 1881?

military tribunals, and often the agent was the entire court. The sympathy black laborers received varied from state to state. But since Congress was opposed to creating any permanent welfare agency, it shut down the Freedmen's Bureau, and by 1872 it had gone out of business. Despite its mixed record, it was the most effective agency in protecting blacks' civil and political rights. Its disbanding signaled the beginning of the northern retreat from Reconstruction.

Planters and a New Way of Life >>

Planters and other white southerners faced emancipation with dread. "All the traditions and habits of both races had been suddenly overthrown," a Tennessee planter recalled, "and neither knew just what to do, or how to accommodate themselves to the new situation." Slavery had been a complex institution that welded black and white southerners together in intimate relationships. The old ideal of a paternalistic planter, which required blacks to act subservient and grateful, gave way to an emphasis on strictly economic relationships. Only with time did planters develop new norms to judge black behavior.

After the war, however, planters increasingly embraced the ideology of segregation. Since emancipation significantly reduced the social distance between the races, white southerners sought psychological separation and kept dealings with African Americans to a minimum. By the time Reconstruction ended, white planters had developed a new way of life based on the institutions of sharecropping and segregation, and undergirded by a militant white supremacy.

While most planters kept their land, they did not regain the economic prosperity of the prewar years. Cotton prices began a long decline, and southern per-capita income suffered as a result. By 1880 the value of southern farms had slid 33 percent below the level of 1860.

REVIEW

In what ways were the church and the school central to African American hopes after the Civil War?

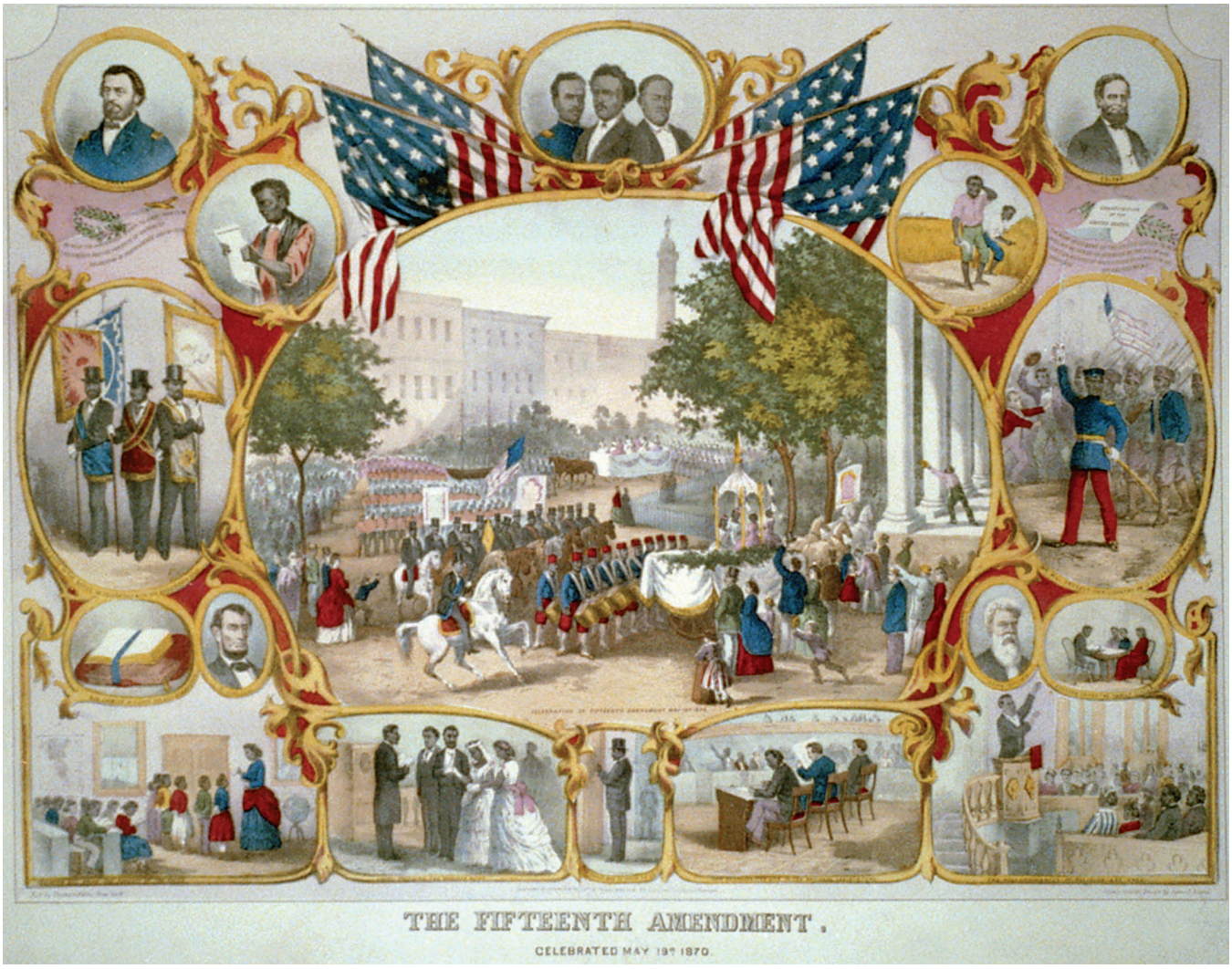
THE ABANDONMENT OF RECONSTRUCTION

On Christmas Day 1875 a white acquaintance approached Charles Caldwell in Clinton, Mississippi, and invited him to have a drink. A former slave, Caldwell was a state senator and the leader of the Republican Party in Hinds County. But the black leader's fearlessness made him a marked man. Only two months earlier, Caldwell had fled the county to escape an armed white mob. Despite threats against him, he had returned home to vote in the November state election. Now, as Caldwell and his "friend" raised their glasses in a holiday toast, a gunshot exploded through the window and Caldwell collapsed, mortally wounded. He was taken outside, where his assassins riddled his body with bullets. He died alone in the street.

A number of black Republican leaders in the South during Reconstruction shared Charles Caldwell's fate. Resorting to violence and terror, white southerners challenged the commitment of the federal government to sustaining Reconstruction. After Andrew Johnson was acquitted in May 1868 at his impeachment trial, the crusading idealism of the Republican Party began to wane. Ulysses S. Grant was hardly the cause of this change, but he certainly came to symbolize it.

The Grant Administration >>

In 1868 Grant was elected president—and Republicans were shocked. Their candidate, a great war hero, had won by a margin of only 300,000 votes. Furthermore, with an estimated



The Fifteenth Amendment, ratified in 1870, secured the right of African American males to vote as free citizens. In New York, black citizens paraded in support of Ulysses S. Grant for president (*center*). But citizenship was only one component of what African Americans insisted were central aspects of their freedom. What other features of a free life does the poster champion?
Source: Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division [LC-DIG-ppmsca-34808]

450,000 black Republican votes cast in the South, a majority of whites had voted Democratic. The election helped convince Republican leaders that an amendment securing black suffrage throughout the nation was necessary.

In February 1869 Congress sent the Fifteenth Amendment to the states for ratification. It forbade any state to deny the right to vote on grounds of race, color, or previous condition of servitude. It did not forbid literacy and property requirements, as some Radicals wanted, because the moderates feared that only a conservative version of the amendment could be ratified. As a result, when the amendment was ratified in March 1870, loopholes remained that eventually allowed southern states to **disenfranchise** African Americans.

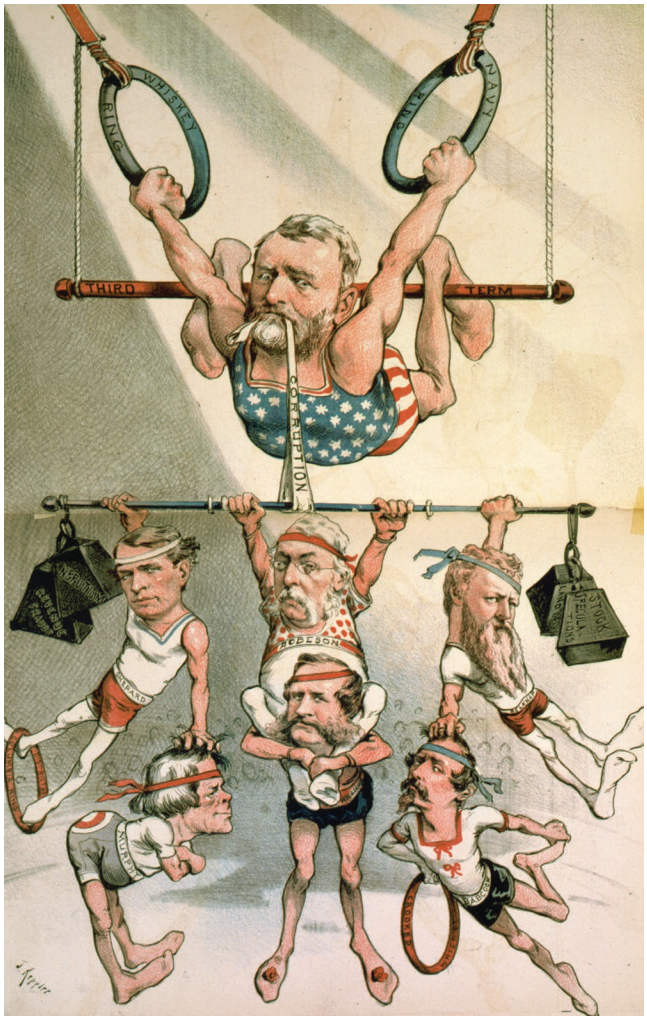
disenfranchise deny a citizen's right to vote.

Advocates of women's suffrage were bitterly disappointed when Congress refused to outlaw voting discrimination on the basis of sex as well as race. The Women's Loyal League, led by Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony, had pressed for first the Fourteenth and then the Fifteenth Amendment to recognize that women had a civic right to vote. But even most Radicals were unwilling to back women's suffrage, contending that black rights had to be ensured first. As a result, the Fifteenth Amendment divided the feminist movement. Although disappointed that women were not included in its provisions, Lucy Stone and the American Woman Suffrage Association urged ratification. Stanton and Anthony, however, denounced the amendment and organized the National Woman Suffrage Association to work for passage of a new amendment giving women the ballot. The division hampered the women's rights movement for decades to come.

When Ulysses S. Grant was a general, his quiet manner and well-known resolution served him well. As president he proved much less certain of his goals and therefore less effective at corralling politicians than at maneuvering troops.

A series of scandals wracked his administration, so much so that "Grantism" soon became a code word in American politics for corruption, cronyism, and venality. Although Grant did not profit personally, he remained loyal to his friends and displayed little zeal to root out wrongdoing. Nor was Congress immune from the lowered tone of public life. In such a climate ruthless state machines, led by men who favored the status quo, came to dominate the party.

As corruption in both the North and the South worsened, reformers became more interested in cleaning up government than in protecting black rights. Congress in 1872 passed an amnesty act, allowing many more ex-Confederates to serve in southern governments. That same year, liberal Republicans broke with the Republican Party and nominated for president Horace Greeley, the editor of the *New York Tribune*. A one-time Radical, Greeley had become disillusioned with Reconstruction and urged a restoration of home rule in the South as well as adoption of civil service reform.



Grant swings from a trapeze while supporting a number of associates accused of corruption. Secretary of the Navy George M. Robeson (*top center*) was accused of accepting bribes for awarding Navy contracts; Secretary of War William W. Belknap (*top right*) was forced to resign for selling Indian post traderships; and the president's private secretary, Orville Babcock (*bottom right*), was implicated in the Whiskey Ring scandal. Although not personally involved in the scandals, Grant was reluctant to dismiss from office supporters accused of wrongdoing.
Source: Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division [LC-USZCN4-322]

Democrats decided to back the Liberal Republican ticket. The Republicans renominated Grant, who, despite the defection of a number of prominent Radicals, won an easy victory.

Make a Case

If the North won the war, how well did it win the peace?

Growing Northern Disillusionment >>

During Grant's second term Congress passed the Civil Rights Act of 1875, the last major piece of Reconstruction legislation. This law prohibited racial discrimination in public accommodations, transportation, places of amusement, and juries. At the same time, Congress rejected a ban on segregation in public schools, which was almost universally practiced in the North as well as the South. The federal government made little attempt to enforce the law, however, and in 1883 the Supreme Court struck down its provisions, except the one relating to juries.

Despite passage of the Civil Rights Act, many northerners were growing disillusioned with Reconstruction. They were repelled by the corruption of the southern governments, they were tired of the violence and disorder that accompanied elections in the South, and they had little faith in black Americans. William Dodge, a wealthy New York capitalist and an influential Republican, wrote in 1875 that the South could never develop its resources "till confidence in her state governments can be restored, and this will never be done by federal bayonets." It had been a mistake, he went on, to make black southerners feel "that the United States government was their special friend, rather than those . . . among whom they must live and for whom they must work. We have tried this long enough," he concluded. "Now let the South alone."

As the agony of the war became more distant, the Panic of 1873, which precipitated a severe four-year depression, diverted public attention to economic issues. Battered by the panic and the corruption issue, the Republicans lost a shocking 77 seats in Congress in the 1874 elections, and along with them control of the House of Representatives for the first time since 1861.

"The truth is our people are tired out with the worn out cry of 'Southern outrages'!!" one Republican concluded. "Hard times and heavy taxes make them wish the 'ever lasting nigger' were in hell or Africa." More and more, Republicans spoke about cutting loose the unpopular southern governments.

The Triumph of White Supremacy >>

Meanwhile, southern Democrats set out to overthrow the remaining Radical governments. Already, white Republicans in the South felt heavy pressure to desert their party. To poor white southerners who lacked social standing, the Democratic appeal to racial solidarity offered special comfort. The large landowners and other wealthy groups that led southern Democrats objected less to black southerners voting, since they were confident that if outside influences were removed, they could control the black vote.

Democrats also resorted to economic pressure to undermine Republican power. In heavily black counties, newspapers published the names of black residents who cast Republican ballots and urged planters to discharge them. But terror and violence provided the most effective means to overthrow the radical regimes. A number of paramilitary organizations broke up Republican meetings, terrorized white and black Republicans, assassinated Republican leaders, and prevented black citizens from voting. The most notorious of these organizations was the Ku Klux Klan, which along with similar groups functioned as an unofficial arm of the Democratic Party.

In the war for supremacy, contesting control of the night was paramount to both southern whites and blacks. Before emancipation masters regulated the nighttime hours, with a system of passes and patrols that chased slaves who went hunting or tried to sneak a visit to a family member at a neighboring plantation. For slaves the night provided precious free time: to read, to meet for worship, school, or dancing. During Reconstruction African Americans actively took back the night for a host of activities, including torchlight political parades and meetings of such organizations as the Union League. Part of the Klan's mission was to recoup this contested ground and to limit the ability of African Americans to use the night as they pleased. When indirect threats of violence were not enough (galloping through black neighborhoods rattling fences with lances), beatings and executions were undertaken—again, facilitated by the dark of night.

What became known as the Mississippi Plan was inaugurated in 1875, when Democrats decided to use as much violence as necessary to carry the state election. Local papers trumpeted, "Carry the election peaceably if we can, forcibly if we must." Recognizing that northern public opinion had grown sick of repeated federal intervention in southern elections, the Grant administration rejected the request of Republican governor Adelbert Ames for troops to stop the violence. Bolstered by terrorism, the Democrats swept the election in Mississippi. Violence and intimidation prevented as many as 60,000 black and white Republicans from voting, converting the normal Republican majority into a Democratic majority of 30,000. Mississippi had been "redeemed."

The Disputed Election of 1876 >>

The 1876 presidential election was crucial to the final overthrow of Reconstruction. The Republicans nominated Ohio governor Rutherford B. Hayes to oppose Samuel J. Tilden, governor of New York. Once again violence prevented an estimated quarter of a million Republican votes from being cast in the South. Tilden had a clear majority of 250,000 in the popular vote, but the outcome in the Electoral College was in doubt because both parties claimed South Carolina, Florida, and Louisiana, the only reconstructed states still in Republican hands.

To arbitrate the disputed returns, Congress established a 15-member electoral commission. By a straight party vote of 8 to 7, the commission awarded the disputed electoral votes—and the presidency—to Hayes.

Historian's TOOLBOX

Dressed to Kill

Klan members drawn for *Harper's Weekly* magazine.

These three Klansmen were arrested in Tishomingo County, Mississippi, for attempted murder.

Why wear a hooded mask? Might there be more than one reason?

The costumes of Ku Klux Klan night riders—pointed hoods and white sheets—have become a staple of history books. But why use such outlandish disguises? To hide the identity of members, according to some accounts, or to terrorize freedpeople into thinking they were being menaced by Confederate ghosts. Historian Elaine F. Parsons has suggested that KKK performances took their cues from American popular culture; they took the costumes of Mardi Gras and similar carnivals, as well as minstrel shows. In behaving like carnival revelers, KKK members may have hoped to fool northern authorities into viewing the night rides as humorous pranks, not a threat to Radical rule. For southern white Democrats the theatrical night rides helped overturn the social order of Reconstruction, just as carousers at carnivals disrupted the night. The ritual garb provided seemingly innocent cover for what was truly a campaign of terror and intimidation that often turned deadly.

THINKING CRITICALLY

In what ways do these disguises affect the people who wear them? Assess how the combination of horror and jest might have worked in terms of the different groups perceiving the Klan's activities: white northerners, white southerners, and African American southerners. In terms of popular culture, do modern horror films sometimes combine both terror and humor?

(*left, right*) Source: Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division [LC-USZ62-119565]; (middle) Source: Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division [LC-USZ62-49988]

When angry Democrats threatened a filibuster to prevent the electoral votes from being counted, key Republicans met with southern Democrats and reached an informal understanding, later known as the Compromise of 1877. Hayes's supporters agreed to withdraw federal troops from the South and not oppose the new Democratic state governments. For their part, southern Democrats dropped their opposition to Hayes's election and pledged to respect African Americans' rights.

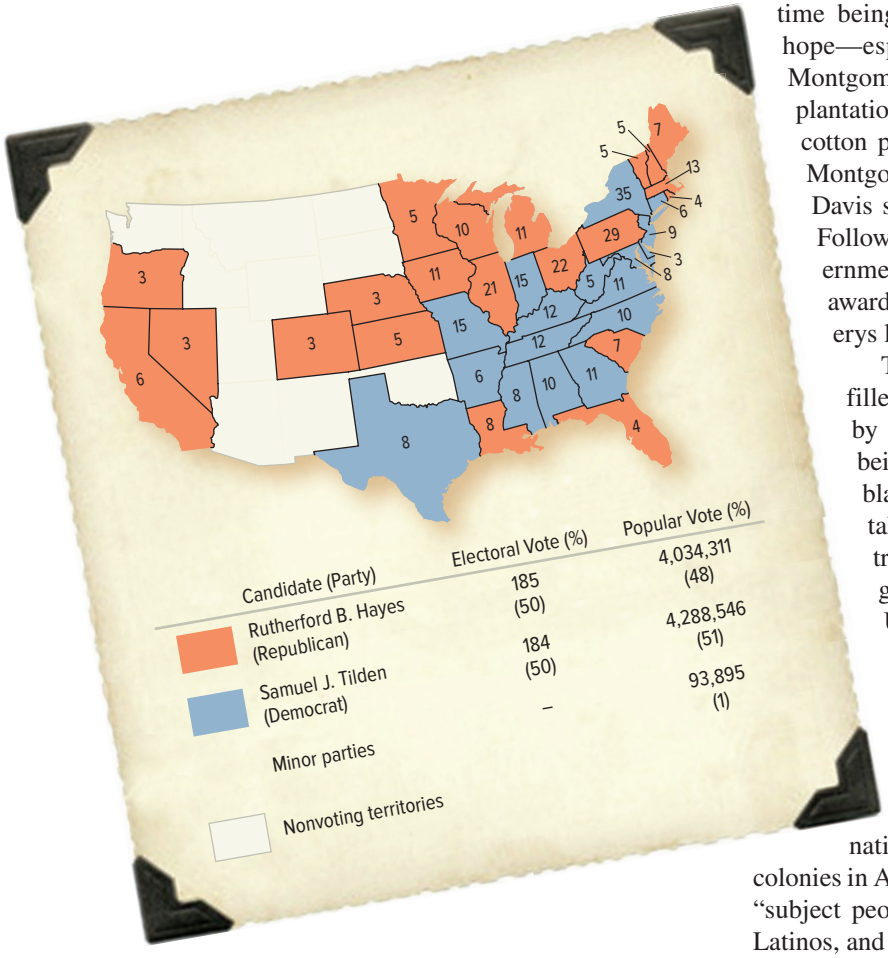
Without federal support, the last Republican southern governments collapsed, and Democrats took control of the remaining states of the Confederacy. By 1877 the entire South was in the hands of the **Redeemers**, as they called themselves. Reconstruction and Republican rule had come to an end.

Redeemers southerners who came to power in southern state governments between 1875 and 1877, claiming to have "redeemed" the South from Reconstruction. The Redeemers looked to undo many of the changes wrought by the Civil War.

Racism and the Failure of Reconstruction >>

Reconstruction failed for a multitude of reasons. The reforming impulse behind the Republican Party of the 1850s had been battered and worn down by the war. The new materialism of industrial America inspired a jaded cynicism in many Americans. In the South, African American voters and leaders inevitably lacked a certain amount of education and experience; elsewhere, Republicans were divided over policies and options.

Yet beyond these obstacles, the sad fact remains that the ideals of Reconstruction were most clearly defeated by a deep-seated racism that permeated American life. Racism stimulated white southern resistance, undercut northern support for black rights, and eventually made northerners willing to write off Reconstruction, and with it the welfare of African Americans. Although Congress could pass a constitutional amendment abolishing slavery, it could not overturn at a stroke the social habits of two centuries.



MAP 17.3: ELECTION OF 1876

REVIEW

What factors in the North and the South led the federal government to abandon Reconstruction in the South?

With the overthrow of Reconstruction, the white South had won back some of the power it had lost in 1865—but not all. In the longer term, the political equations of power had been changed. Even under Redeemer governments, African Americans did not return to the social position they had occupied before the war. They were no longer slaves, and black southerners who walked dusty roads in search of family members, sent their children to school, or worshiped in their own black churches knew what a momentous change this was. Even under the exploitative sharecropping system, black income rose significantly in freedom. Then, too, the guarantees of "equal protection" and "due process of law" had been written into the Constitution and would be available for later generations to use in championing once again the Radicals' goal of racial equality.

But this was a struggle left to future reformers. For the time being, the clear trend was away from change or hope—especially for former slaves like Benjamin Montgomery and his sons, the owners of the old Davis plantations in Mississippi. In the 1870s bad crops, lower cotton prices, and falling land values undermined the Montgomerys' financial position, and in 1875 Jefferson Davis sued to have the sale of Brierfield invalidated. Following the overthrow of Mississippi's Radical government, a white conservative majority of the court awarded Brierfield to Davis in 1878. The Montgomerys lost Hurricane as well.

The waning days of Reconstruction were times filled with such ironies: of governments "redeemed" by violence, of Fourteenth Amendment rights being used by conservative courts to protect not black people but giant corporations, of reformers taking up other causes. Increasingly, the industrial North focused on an economic task: integrating both the South and the West into the Union. In the case of both regions, northern factories sought to use southern and western raw materials to produce goods and to find national markets for those products. Indeed, during the coming decades European nations also scrambled to acquire natural resources and markets. In the onrushing age of imperialism, Western nations would seek to dominate newly acquired colonies in Africa and Asia, with the same disregard for their "subject peoples" that was seen with African Americans, Latinos, and Indians in the United States.

Disowned by its northern supporters and unmourned by public opinion, Reconstruction was over.

CHAPTER SUMMARY

Presidents Abraham Lincoln and Andrew Johnson and the Republican-dominated Congress each developed a program of Reconstruction to quickly restore the Confederate States to the Union.

- Lincoln's 10 percent plan required that 10 percent of qualified voters from 1860 swear an oath of loyalty to begin organizing a state government.
- Following Lincoln's assassination, Andrew Johnson changed Lincoln's terms and lessened Reconstruction's requirements.
- The more radical Congress repudiated Johnson's state governments and eventually enacted its own program of Reconstruction, which included the principle of black suffrage.
  - Congress passed the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments and also extended the life of the Freedmen's Bureau, a unique experiment in social welfare.
  - Congress rejected land reform, however, which would have provided the freedpeople with a greater economic stake.
  - The effort to remove Johnson from office through impeachment failed.
- The Radical governments in the South, led by black and white southerners and transplanted northerners, compiled a mixed record on matters such as racial equality, education, economic issues, and corruption.
- Reconstruction was a time of both joy and frustration for former slaves.
  - Former slaves took steps to reunite their families and establish black-controlled churches.
  - They evidenced a widespread desire for land and education.
  - Black resistance to the old system of labor led to the adoption of sharecropping.
  - The Freedmen's Bureau fostered these new working arrangements and also the beginnings of black education in the South.
- Northern public opinion became disillusioned with Reconstruction during the presidency of Ulysses S. Grant.
- Southern whites used violence, economic coercion, and racism to overthrow the Republican state governments.
- In 1877 Republican leaders agreed to end Reconstruction in exchange for Rutherford B. Hayes's election as president.
- Racism played a key role in the eventual failure of Reconstruction.

Additional Reading

Historians' views of Reconstruction have dramatically changed over the past half century. Modern studies offer a more sympathetic assessment of Reconstruction and the experience of African Americans. Indicative of this trend is Eric Foner, *Reconstruction* (1988), and his briefer treatment (with photographic essays by Joshua Brown) *Forever Free: The Story of Emancipation and Reconstruction* (2005). Michael Les Benedict treats the clash between Andrew Johnson and Congress in *The Impeachment and Trial of Andrew Johnson* (1973). Political affairs in the South during Reconstruction are examined in Dan T. Carter, *When the War Was Over* (1985); and Thomas Holt, *Black over White* (1977), an imaginative study of black political leadership in South Carolina. Hans Trefousse, *Thaddeus Stevens: Nineteenth-Century Egalitarian* (1997), provides a sympathetic reassessment of the influential Radical Republican. Mark W. Summers, *A Dangerous Stir* (2009), deftly examines the ways in which fear and paranoia shaped Reconstruction.

Leon Litwack, *Been in the Storm So Long* (1979), sensitively analyzes the transition of enslaved African Americans to freedom. Heather Andrea Williams, *Self-Taught: African American Education in Slavery and Freedom* (2005), illustrates the black drive for literacy and education. James L. Roark, *Masters without Slaves* (1977), discusses former slaveholders' adjustment to the end of slavery. The dialectic of black-white relations is charted from the antebellum years through Reconstruction and beyond in Steven Hahn, *A Nation under Our Feet: Black Political Struggles in the Rural South from Slavery to the Great Migration* (2003). Two excellent studies of changing labor relations in southern agriculture are Julie Saville, *The Work of Reconstruction* (1995); and John C. Rodrigue, *Reconstruction in the Cane Fields* (2001). For contrasting views of the Freedmen's Bureau, see George R. Bentley, *A History of the Freedmen's Bureau* (1955)—favorable—and Donald Nieman, *To Set the Law in Motion* (1979)—critical. William Gillette, *Retreat from Reconstruction, 1869–1879* (1980), focuses on national politics and the end of Reconstruction; while Michael Perman, *The Road to Redemption* (1984), looks at developments in the South. Heather Cox Richardson explores the postwar context in the North in *The Death of Reconstruction* (2004), and considers Reconstruction in the West in *West from Appomattox* (2008).

18 The New South and the Trans-Mississippi West

1870–1890

African American migrants, known as Exodusters, hold a religious service in 1879 on the Topeka, Kansas, fairgrounds. The Exodusters often traveled with few resources, maintaining their faith gave them strength in their search for a better place to live in the West.

RELIGIOUS SERVICES IN THE NORTH WING OF FLORAL HALL.

>> An American Story

"COME WEST"

The news spread across the South during the late 1870s. Perhaps a man came around with a handbill, telling of cheap land; or a letter might arrive from friends or relatives and be read aloud at church. The news spread in different ways, but in the end, the talk always spelled KANSAS.

Few black farmers had been to Kansas themselves. More than a few knew that the abolitionist John Brown had made his home there before coming east to raid Harpers Ferry. Black folks, it seemed, might be able to live more freely in Kansas: "They do not kill Negroes here for voting," wrote one black settler to a friend.

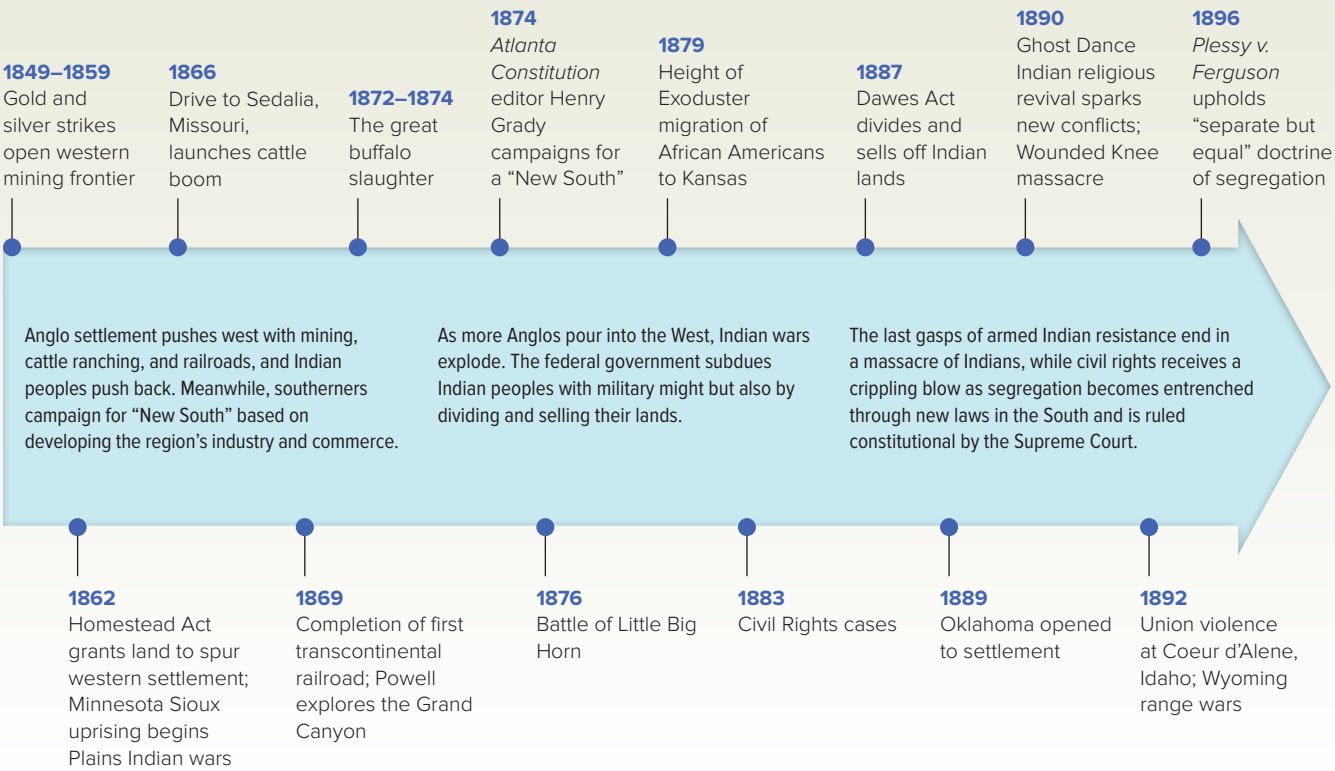
St. Louis learned of these rumblings in the first raw days of March 1879, as steamers from downriver began unloading freedpeople in large numbers. By the end of 1879 crowds overwhelmed the wharves and temporary shelters. The city's black churches banded together to house the "refugees," feed them, and help them continue toward Kansas. The "Exodusters," as they became known, pressed westward, many of the black emigrants settling in growing towns such as Topeka and Kansas City.

The thousands of Exodusters who poured into Kansas were part of a human flood westward. It had many sources: played-out farms of New England and the South, crowded cities, much of Europe. Special trains brought the settlers to the plains, all eager to start anew. But the optimism of boomers black and white could not mask the strains in the rapidly expanding nation, especially in the South and the lands west of the Mississippi—the trans-Mississippi West. As largely agricultural regions, they struggled to find their place in the new age of industry emerging from Reconstruction.

In the South, despite a strong push to industrialize, white supremacy undercut economic growth. Sharecropping and farm tenancy mushroomed, and a system of racial violence and caste replaced slavery. For its part, the booming West began to realize some of the dreams of democratic antebellum reformers: for free land, for a transcontinental railroad, for colleges to educate its people. Yet the West, too, built a society based on racial violence and hierarchy that challenged hopes for a more democratic future.

By the end of the nineteenth century both the South and the West had assumed their place as suppliers of raw materials, providers of foodstuffs, and consumers of finished goods. A nation of "regional nations" hardly equal in stature was thus drawn together in the last third of the nineteenth century, despite the growing frustrations of inhabitants old and new. <<

THEMATIC TIMELINE

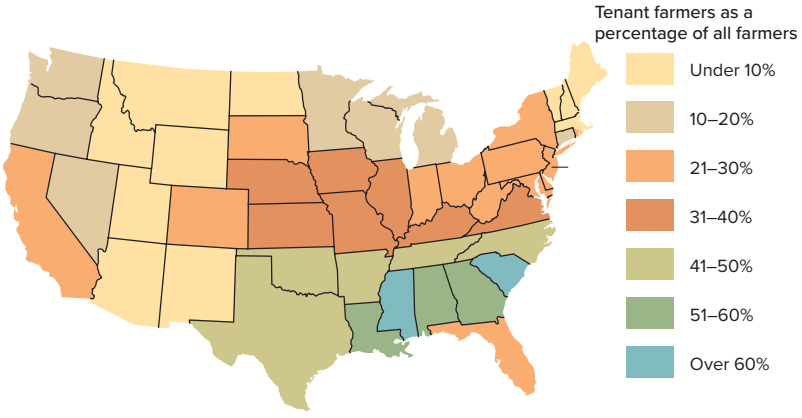


THE SOUTHERN BURDEN

It was just such regional inequities that infuriated Henry Grady, the editor of the *Atlanta Constitution.* He liked to tell the story of the poor cotton farmer buried in a pine coffin in the pine woods of Georgia. However, the coffin had been made in Cincinnati, not in Georgia. In fact, Grady fumed, despite its rich resources, the "South didn't furnish a thing on earth for that funeral but the corpse and the hole in the ground!" The irony of the story was the tragedy of the South: the region had human and natural resources aplenty but, alas, few factories to manufacture the goods it needed.

In the 1880s Grady campaigned to bring about a "New South" based on bustling industry, cities, and commerce. The business class and its values would displace the old planter class as southerners raced "to out-Yankee the Yankee." Like modern alchemists, they would transform resources into riches. The region encompassed a third of the nation's farmlands, vast tracts of lumber, and rich deposits of coal, iron, oil, and fertilizers. To overcome the destruction of the Civil War and the loss of slaveholding wealth, apostles of the New South campaigned to catch up with the North by creating an economy based more on industry and less on agriculture.

For all the hopeful talk of industrialization, the economy of the postwar South remained agricultural, tied to cash crops such as tobacco, rice, sugar, and especially cotton. By using fertilizers, planters were able to introduce cotton into areas once considered marginal. Yet from 1880 to 1900 world demand for cotton grew slowly, and prices fell.



MAP 18.1: TENANT FARMERS, 1900

Tenant farming dominated southern agriculture after the Civil War. But note that by 1900 it also accounted for much of the farm labor in the trans-Mississippi West, where low crop prices, high costs, and severe environmental conditions forced independent farmers into tenancy.
Where are the heaviest concentrations of tenants? Why?

Worse still, as farms in other parts of the country became larger, more efficient, and tended by fewer workers per acre, southern farms actually became smaller. This reflected the breakup of large plantations, but it also resulted from a high birthrate. Across the country, the number of children born per mother was dropping, but in the South, large families remained common. More children meant more farmhands. Thus each year, fewer acres of land were available for each person to cultivate.

Tenancy and Sharecropping >>

To freedpeople across the South, the end of slavery brought hopes of economic independence. After the war a hopeful John Solomon Lewis rented land to grow cotton in Tensas Parish, Louisiana. A depression in the 1870s dashed his dreams. "I was in debt," Lewis explained, "and the man I rented land from said every year I must rent again to pay the other year, and so I rents and rents and each year I gets deeper and deeper in debt."

Lewis was impoverished like most small farmers in the cotton South. Despite the breakup of some plantations, the South's best lands remained in the hands of the largest plantation owners. Few freedpeople or poor white southerners had money to acquire property. Like Lewis, most rented land—perhaps a plot of 15 to 20 acres—as tenants in hopes of buying someday. Since cotton was king and money scarce, rents were generally set in pounds of cotton rather than dollars. Usually the rent came to between one-quarter and one-half the value of the crop.

Among the most common and exploitative forms of farm tenancy was sharecropping. Unlike renters, who leased land and controlled what they raised, sharecroppers simply worked a parcel of land in exchange for a share of the crop, usually a third after deducting what they owed. It was rarely enough to make ends meet. Like other forms of tenancy, sharecropping left farmers in perpetual debt.

This system might not have proved so ruinous if the South had possessed a fairer system of credit. Before selling crops in the fall, farmers without cash had to borrow money in the spring to buy seeds, tools, and other necessities. Most often the only source of supplies was the local store, where prices for goods bought on credit could be as much as 60 percent higher. As security for the merchant's credit, the only asset most renters and sharecroppers could offer was a mortgage, or **lien**, on their crops. The lien gave the shopkeeper first claim on the crop until the debt was paid off.

lien legal claim against property used to obtain a loan, which must be paid when the property is sold.

Year after year tenants and croppers borrowed against their harvests to use the land they farmed. Most landlords insisted that

sharecroppers grow crops that could be sold for cash such as cotton rather than things they could eat. They also required that raw cotton be ginned or cleaned of its seeds, baled, and marketed through their mills—at a rate they controlled. Sharecropping, crop liens, and monopolies on ginning and marketing added up to inequality, crushing poverty, and **debt peonage** for the South's small farmers.

debt peonage paying off a debt through labor when the debtor lacks sufficient cash or other assets.

The slide of sharecroppers and tenants into debt peonage occurred elsewhere in the cotton-growing world. In India, Egypt, and Brazil agricultural laborers gave up **subsistence farming** to raise cotton as a cash crop during the American Civil War, when the North prevented southern cotton from being exported to textile manufacturers in Europe. But when prices fell as American cotton farming revived after the war, growers borrowed to make ends meet, as in the U.S. South. In Egypt interest rates soared as high as 60 percent. The pressures on cotton growers led them to revolt in the mid-1870s. In India growers attacked prominent moneylenders. In Brazil protesters destroyed land records and refused to pay taxes.

subsistence farming farming in which individuals and families produce most of what they need to live on.

Southern Industry >>

The crusade for a New South did bring change. From 1869 to 1909, industrial production grew faster in the South than it did nationally. A boom in railroad building after 1879 furnished the region with good transportation. In two areas, cotton textiles and tobacco, southern advances were striking. With cotton fiber and cheap labor close at hand, 400 cotton mills were humming by 1900, when they employed almost 100,000 workers.

Most new textile workers were white southerners escaping competition from black farm laborers or fleeing the hardscrabble life of the mountains. Entire families worked in the mills. Older men had the most trouble adjusting. They lacked the experience, temperament, and dexterity to tend spindles and looms in cramped mills. Only over time, as farm folk adapted to the tedious rhythm of factories, did southerners become competitive with workers from other regions of the United States and western Europe.

The tobacco industry also thrived in the New South. Before the Civil War, American tastes had run to cigars, snuff (powdered tobacco that is inhaled), and chewing tobacco. In 1876 James Bonsack invented a machine to roll cigarettes. That was just the device Washington Duke and

^ This girl had worked in the cotton mill in Whitnel, North Carolina, for about a year, sometimes on the night shift. She made 48 cents a day. When asked how old she was, she hesitated, then said, "I don't remember." But she added, confidentially, "I'm not old enough to work, but do just the same."

Source: National Archives and Records Administration (NWDNS - 102-LH-462)

>> The booming timber industry often left the South poorer due to the harsh methods of extracting lumber. Here logs that have been floated down Lost Creek, Tennessee, are loaded onto a train. Getting the logs out was a messy affair: skidding them down rude paths to a creek and leaving behind open fields piled with rotting branches and leaves or needles, where once a forest stood. Rains eroded the newly bare hillsides, polluting streams. Downriver, tanneries, pulp mills, and sawmills emptied waste and sewage into the water, making many streams into little more than open sewers.

his son James needed to boost the fortunes of their growing tobacco business. Cigarettes suited the new urban market in the North. Unlike snuff and chewing tobacco, they were, in the words of one observer, "clean, quick, and potent." Between 1860 and 1900, Americans spent more money on tobacco than on clothes or shoes.

In the postwar era the South possessed over 60 percent of the nation's timber resources. With soaring demand from towns and cities, lumber and turpentine became the South's chief industries and employers. The environmental costs were high. In the South as elsewhere, overcutting and other logging practices stripped hillsides bare. As spring rains eroded soil and unleashed floods, forests lost their capacity for self-renewal. With them went the golden eagles, peregrine falcons, and other native species.

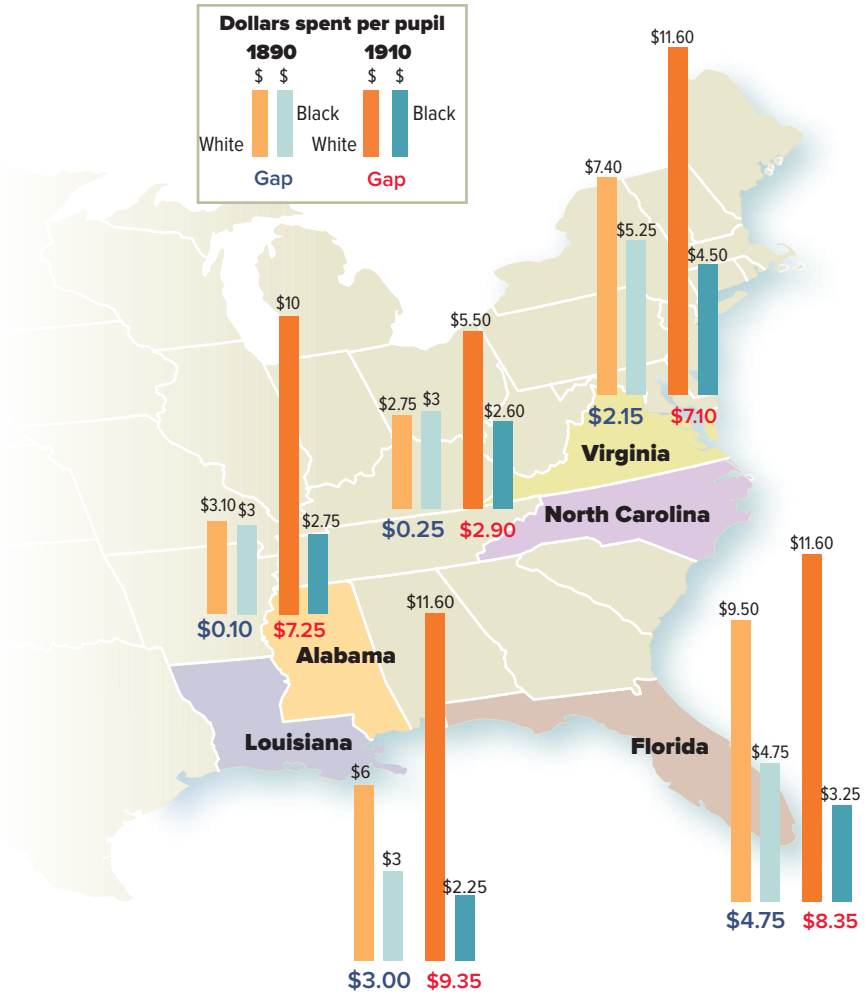
The iron and steel industry most disappointed promoters of the New South. The availability of coke as a fuel made Chattanooga, Tennessee, and Birmingham, Alabama, major centers for foundries. By the 1890s the Tennessee Coal, Iron, and Railway Company (TCI) of Birmingham was turning out iron pipe for gas, water, and sewer lines vital to cities. Unfortunately, Birmingham's iron deposits were ill-suited to produce the kinds of steel in demand. In 1907 TCI was sold to the giant U.S. Steel Corporation, controlled by northern interests.

The pattern of lost opportunity was repeated in other southern industries. Under the campaign for a New South, all industries grew dramatically in employment and value, but not enough to end poverty. The South remained largely rural, agricultural, and poor.

The Sources of Southern Poverty

>> Why did poverty persist in the New South? Three factors peculiar to the South best explain the region's poverty. First, the South began to industrialize later than the Northeast, so northerners had a head start on learning new manufacturing techniques. It was difficult to catch up, because the South contained only a small technological community to guide its industrial development. Northern engineers and mechanics seldom followed northern capital into the region. Few experts were available to adapt modern technology to southern conditions or to teach southerners how to do it themselves however much they wanted to learn.

Education might have overcome the problem by upgrading the region's workforce were it not for a second factor: school budgets. No region spent less on schooling than the South. Southern leaders, drawn from the ranks of the upper class, cared little about educating poor whites and openly resisted educating black southerners. Education, they contended, "spoiled" otherwise contented workers by leading them to demand higher wages and better conditions.



MAP 18.2: SPENDING ON EDUCATION IN THE SOUTH BEFORE AND AFTER DISENFRANCHISEMENT

With disenfranchisement and segregation, education was separate, but hardly equal, for blacks and whites. In these states, after blacks were disenfranchised, spending on white students rose while spending on black students decreased.

Why were differences between expenditures on black and white students smaller in 1890 than in 1910?

Robert A. Margo, *Disenfranchisement, School Finance, and the Economics of Segregated Schools in the U.S. South, 1890–1910.* New York, NY: Garland Press, 1985, table I-1

Lack of education aggravated the third and most important source of southern poverty: the isolation of its labor force. In 1900 agriculture still dominated the southern economy. It required unskilled, low-paid sharecroppers and wage laborers. Southerners feared outsiders, whether capitalists, industrialists, or experts in technology, who might spread discontent among workers. So southern states discouraged social services and opportunities that might have attracted human and financial resources, keeping their workforce secluded and uneducated. Educated, skilled workers often left for higher-paying jobs in the North. Despite what some southerners believed, the South remained poor because it received too little, not too much, outside investment.

REVIEW

What factors explain the failure of the campaign for a "New South"?

LIFE IN THE NEW SOUTH

Many a southern man, noted a son of the region, loved "to toss down a pint of raw whiskey in a gulp, to fiddle and dance all night, to bite off the nose or gouge out the eye of a favorite enemy, to fight harder and love harder than the next man, to be known far and wide as a hell of a fellow." Life in the New South was a constant struggle to balance this masculinized love of sport and leisure with the pull of a feminized Christian piety.

Divided in its soul, the South was also divided by race. After the Civil War, 90 percent of African Americans continued to live in the rural South. Without slavery, however, white southerners lost the system of social control that had defined race relations. Over time they substituted a new system of racial separation that eased but never eliminated white fear of black Americans.

Rural Life >>

Pleasure, piety, race, and gender—all divided southern life in town and country alike. Southern males loved hunting. For rural people a successful hunt could add meat and fish to a scanty diet. Hunting also offered welcome relief from heavy farmwork and for many boys a path to manhood. Seeing his father and brothers return with wild turkeys, young Edward McIlhenny longed "for the time when I would be old enough to hunt this bird."

The thrill of illicit pleasure drew many southern men to events of violence and chance, including cockfighting. Gambling between bird owners and among spectators heightened the thrills. Such sport and the hard-drinking, sometimes brutal culture that accompanied it offended churchgoing southerners. They condemned as sinful "the beer garden, the baseball, the low theater, the dog fight and cock fight and the ring for the pugilist and brute."

Many southern customs involved no such disorderly behavior. Work-sharing festivals such as house raisings, log rollings, and quiltings gave isolated farm folk the chance to break their daily routine, to socialize, and to work for a common good. These events, too, were generally segregated along gender lines. Men did the heavy chores and competed in contests of physical prowess. Women shared more domestic tasks such as quilting. These community gatherings also offered young southerners an opportunity for courtship. In one courting game, the young man who found a rare red ear of corn "could kiss the lady of his choice"—although in the school, church, or home under adult supervision, such behavior was discouraged.

For rural folk a trip to town brought special excitement and a bit of danger. Saturdays, court days, and holidays provided an occasion to mingle. For men the saloon, the blacksmith shop, or the storefront were places to do business and to let off steam. Few men went to town without participating in social drinking. When they turned to roam the streets, the threat of brawling and violence drove most women away.

The Church >>

At the center of southern life stood the church as a great stabilizer and custodian of social order. "When one joined the Methodist church," a southern woman recalled, "he was expected to give up all such things as cards, dancing, theatres, in fact all so called worldly amusements." Many devout southerners pursued these ideals, although such restraint asked more of people, especially men, than many were willing to show except perhaps on Sunday.

By 1870 southern churches were segregated by race. Indeed, the black church was the only institution controlled by African Americans after slavery and thus a principal source of leadership and identity in addition to comfort. Within churches both black and white, congregations were segregated by gender too. Churches were female domains. Considered guardians of virtue, women made up a majority of members, attended church more often than men did, and ran many church activities.

Church was a place to socialize as well as worship. Church picnics and all-day sings brought people together for hours of eating, talk, services, and hymn singing. Weekly rituals could not match the fervor of a weeklong camp meeting. In the late summer or early fall, town and countryside alike emptied as folks set up tents in shady groves and listened to two or three ministers preach day and night, in the largest event of the year. The camp meeting refired evangelical faith while celebrating traditional values of home and family.

Segregation >>

After Reconstruction, white northerners and southerners achieved sectional harmony by sacrificing the rights of black citizens. During the 1880s,

For Baptists in the South, the ceremony of adult baptism included immersion, often in a nearby river. The ritual symbolized the waters of newfound faith washing away sins. Virginia's James River was the site of this occasion.

segregation separation of people by race, imposed through law and custom.

Redeemer governments (Chapter 17) moved to formalize a new system of **segregation,** or racial separation. Redeemers were white Democrats who came to power in southern states vowing to end the Republican rule that had been established during Reconstruction.

The pressure to reach a new racial accommodation in the South increased as more African Americans moved into southern towns and cities, competing for jobs with poor whites and sharing public space, especially on railroads and trolley cars. One way to preserve the social and economic superiority of white southerners, poor as well as rich, was to separate blacks as an inferior caste. Within 20 years every southern state had enacted segregation as law. The earliest laws legalized segregation in trains and other public conveyances. Soon a web of Jim Crow statutes separated the races in almost all public places except streets and stores. (The term "Jim Crow," denoting a policy of segregation, originated in a song of the same name sung in minstrel shows of the day.)

In 1896 the Supreme Court again upheld the policy of segregation. *Plessy v. Ferguson* validated a Louisiana law requiring segregated railroad facilities. Racial separation did not constitute discrimination, the Court argued, so long as accommodations for both races were equal. In reality, of course, such separate facilities were seldom equal and always stigmatized African Americans.

By the turn of the century segregation was firmly in place, stifling economic competition between the races and reducing African Americans to second-class citizenship. Many kinds of employment, such as work in the textile mills, went largely to whites. Skilled and professional black workers generally served black clients only. Blacks could enter some white residences only as servants and hired help, and then only by the back door. They were barred from juries and usually received far stiffer penalties than whites for the same crimes. Any African American who crossed the color line risked violence. Some were tarred and feathered, others whipped and beaten, and many lynched. Of the 187 lynchings averaged each year of the 1890s, some 80 percent occurred in the South, where the victims were usually black.

Segregation, lynching, and disfranchisement (see (Chapter 17) were not the only means by which southern state governments sought to control African Americans and replace the labor lost with the abolition of slavery. Among the harsher and more corrupt practices was the convict leasing system. Southern states leased convicts, predominantly African Americans who were often imprisoned for vagrancy and other minor offenses, to plantations and private industry. Employers received cheap labor, and state governments large revenues. The convicts were worked mercilessly, poorly fed, housed in dilapidated buildings, and beaten, sometimes to death. It was, wrote one historian, "slavery by another name."

The cost of Jim Crow and other discriminatory practices to southerners black and white was incalculable. The race