

1866
Ku Klux Klan
formed

1870
Anti-Klan laws;
last states
rejoin Union

1872
Grant reelected
President

1876
Hayes wins
presidency

1877
Reconstruction
ends

1865

1870

1875

1880

4 The End of Reconstruction

SECTION PREVIEW

Objectives

- 1 Assess the impact of racial terrorism on the South.
- 2 Explain why the Reconstruction period came to an end.
- 3 List the major successes and failures of Reconstruction.
- 4 **Key Terms** Define: solid South; Compromise of 1877.

Main Idea

In the 1870s, white Democrats regained power in the South, and public interest in Reconstruction declined. The program was both a success and a failure.

Reading Strategy

Analyzing Cause and Effect Create a cause-and-effect chart entitled “Why Reconstruction Ended,” using the chart in Section 3 as a model. As you read, add information to your chart.

In March 1870 the last southern states were restored to the Union. Yet the United States was still far from united. From 1868 through 1871, groups of white southerners launched a violent backlash against Radical Reconstruction. At the head of the campaign was an organization that started in 1866 as a social club in Tennessee: the Ku Klux Klan, or KKK.

The Klan quickly evolved into a terrorist organization. Klansmen pledged to “defend the social and political superiority” of whites against what they called the “aggressions of an inferior race.” The membership consisted largely of ex-Confederate officers and plantation owners who had been excluded from politics. The group also attracted merchants, lawyers, and other professionals. The Klan was supposed to be a “secret society,” but in fact most members’ identities were well known to their local communities.

Spreading Terror

During Radical Reconstruction, the Klan sought to eliminate the Republican party in the South by intimidating Republican voters,

both white and black. The Klan’s long-term goal was to keep African Americans in the role of submissive laborers. This motive still drives Klan activity today.

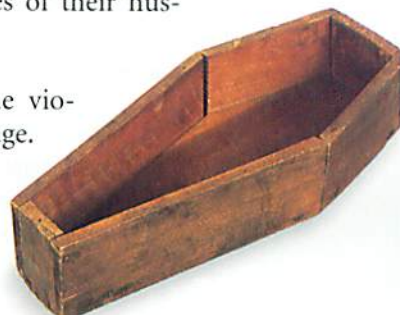
The Klan’s terror tactics varied. Often, horsemen in long robes and hoods appeared suddenly at night, carrying guns and whips. They encircled the homes of their victims, and planted huge burning crosses in their yards. People were dragged from their homes and harassed, tortured, kidnapped, or murdered.

Anyone who didn’t share the Klan’s goals and hatreds could be a victim: carpetbaggers, scalawags, freedmen who had become prosperous—even those who had merely learned to read. With chilling frequency, black women went to claim the dead bodies of their husbands and sons.

The Federal Response The violence kindled northern outrage.

At President Grant’s request, Congress passed a series of anti-Klan laws in 1870 and 1871. The Enforcement Act of 1870 banned the use of

The Klan left miniature coffins like this, containing written death threats, at the doors of many freedmen and their white supporters.



terror, force, or bribery to prevent people from voting because of their race. Other laws banned the KKK entirely and strengthened military protection of voters and voting places.

Using troops, cavalry, and the power of the courts, the government arrested and tried thousands of Klansmen. Within a year the KKK was virtually wiped out. Still, the thinly spread federal army could not be everywhere at once. As federal troops gradually withdrew from the South, black suffrage all but ended.

Reconstruction Ends

President Grant, who won reelection in 1872, continued to pursue the goals of Reconstruction, sometimes with energy. However, the widespread corruption in his administration reminded voters of all that was wrong with Reconstruction.

A Dying Issue By the mid-1870s, voters had grown weary of Republicans and their decade-long concern with Reconstruction. Historians cite several reasons for this shift:

(1) Reconstruction legislatures taxed and spent heavily, putting southern states into deeper debt.

(2) Reconstruction came to symbolize corruption, greed, and poor government.

(3) As federal troops withdrew from the South, more and more freedmen were prevented from voting, allowing white southerners to regain control of state governments.

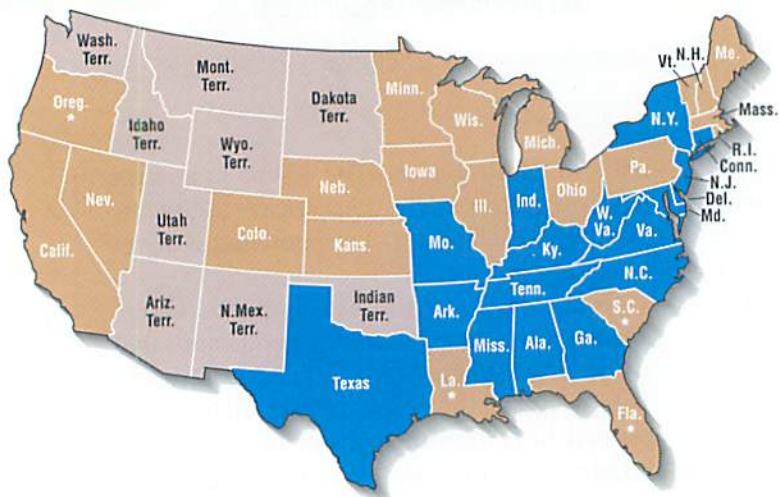
(4) White-dominated southern states blocked many federal Reconstruction policies.

(5) Northern voters never fully supported the Radicals' goal of racial equality.

(6) A nationwide economic downturn in 1873 diverted public attention from the movement for equal rights.

The era of Republican control of the South was coming to a close. In 1872 the last ex-Confederates had been pardoned. They combined with other white southerners to form a new bloc of Democratic voters known as the **solid South**. Democrats of the solid South reversed many reforms of the Reconstruction legislatures.

Presidential Election of 1876



Candidate/Party	Electoral Vote	Popular Vote	% Electoral Vote	% Popular Vote
Rutherford B. Hayes (Republican)	185	4,034,311		
Samuel J. Tilden (Democrat)	184	4,288,546		
Peter Cooper (Greenback)		75,973		1.0
* States with disputed results				



In the tarnished election of 1876, the electoral votes in three states under federal control were disputed, but went to Hayes when he promised to end Reconstruction. **Location** In which states were election results disputed?

The Compromise of 1877

Reconstruction politics took a final, sour turn in the presidential election of 1876. Republican Rutherford B. Hayes lost the popular vote to Democrat Samuel Tilden, who had the support of the solid South. The electoral vote, however, was disputed. The map on the left shows the results.

Hayes claimed victory based partly on wins in Florida, Louisiana, and South Carolina. Those states were still under Republican and federal control. Democrats submitted another set of tallies showing Tilden as the winner in those states, and thus in the presidential race.

Congress set up a special commission to resolve the election crisis. Not surprisingly, the commission, which included more Republicans than Democrats, named Hayes the victor. However, Democrats had enough strength in Congress to reject the commission's decision.

Finally the two parties made a deal. In the **Compromise of 1877**, the Democrats agreed to give Hayes the victory in the presidential election he had not clearly won. In return, the new President agreed to remove the remaining federal troops from southern states. He also agreed to give huge subsidies to southern railroads. The compromise opened the way for Democrats to regain control of southern politics and marked the end of Reconstruction.

Effects of Reconstruction

Until quite recently, historians saw Reconstruction as a dismal failure, a time simply of corrupt and incompetent government in the South. Today most historians argue that the truth is more complex.

Successes of Reconstruction The Reconstruction era included several important accomplishments:

(1) Republicans carried out their two main goals, to rebuild the Union and to help repair the war-torn South.

(2) Reconstruction stimulated economic growth in the South and created new wealth in the North.

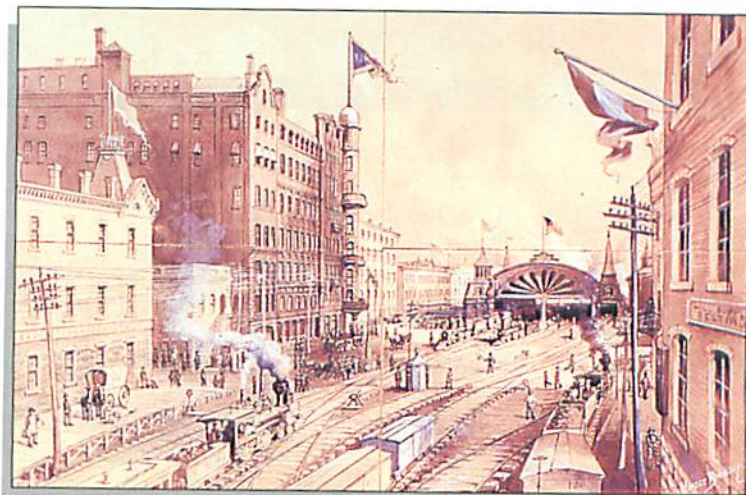
(3) The Fourteenth and Fifteenth amendments guaranteed African Americans the rights of citizenship, equal protection under the law, and suffrage. African Americans gained the right to testify in court and to sit on juries.

(4) The Freedmen's Bureau and other organizations helped many black families obtain housing, jobs, and schooling.

(5) Southern states adopted the system of tax-supported, mandatory education practiced in the North. Increased access to education would benefit whites and blacks alike.

Failures of Reconstruction Yet the Reconstruction era had a number of failures as well:

(1) As in the era of slavery, most black southerners remained in a cycle of poverty that allowed almost no escape. African Americans still lacked property, economic opportunity, and political power.



Atlanta, Georgia, rose from the devastation left by the Civil War to become a bustling commercial center, as this 1887 picture shows. **Government** In what other ways was Reconstruction successful?

(2) After the withdrawal of federal troops from the South, southern state governments and terrorist organizations such as the Ku Klux Klan effectively denied African Americans the right to vote.

(3) Racist attitudes toward African Americans continued, in both the South and the North.

(4) Reconstruction left a lasting bitterness among many white southerners toward the federal government and the Republican party.

(5) While Reconstruction programs resulted in the rebuilding and expansion of southern infrastructure, the region was slow to industrialize. The southern economy continued to emphasize agriculture and to lag far behind the industrialized economy of the North.

(6) Reconstruction did not address concerns of groups such as farmers wanting regulation of railroads, workers seeking safer conditions, and advocates of woman suffrage.

Main Idea CONNECTIONS

- What trends in the South helped bring about the end of Reconstruction?
- Why do most historians now believe that Reconstruction was not a complete failure?

Civil Rights Battles Continue Members of the women's suffrage movement were angry and disappointed when some Radical Republicans refused to endorse voting rights for women. "Either the theory of our government is false, or women have a right to vote," suffrage worker Lydia Maria Child told the Senate's Radical Republican leader, Charles Sumner, in 1872.

Major Reconstruction Legislation

Date	Legislation	Purpose
1865	13th Amendment	Abolishes slavery
1865, 1866	Freedmen's Bureau	Provides services for war refugees and newly freed people
1867	Reconstruction Acts	Establishes Radical Reconstruction
1868	14th Amendment	Defines citizenship; guarantees due process of law and equal protection
1870	15th Amendment	Guarantees that voting rights are not denied on the basis of race
1875	Civil Rights Act	Protects African Americans' rights in public



Interpreting Tables The political cartoon at right shows President Hayes “plowing under” the Reconstruction program. During Reconstruction, the federal government struggled to create a new social and political order in the South. **Government** What purpose do most of these laws have in common?

In the decades before the Civil War, women had played prominent roles in the abolitionist movement. During Reconstruction, women's leaders had backed equal rights for African Americans. In both struggles, women pointed out the parallels between the denial of equal rights to blacks and to women. When Reconstruction legislation avoided the issue of women's voting rights, it severed the longtime alliance between abolitionists and the suffrage movement.

For African Americans in the South, Reconstruction's promise of freedom and opportunity would not begin to be realized until the civil rights movement of the 1950s and 1960s. In the words of African American leader W.E.B. du Bois, “The slave went free; stood a brief moment in the sun; then moved back again toward slavery.” Or as historian Samuel Eliot Morison concluded, “The North may have won the war, but the white South won the peace.”

SECTION 4 REVIEW

Comprehension

- Key Terms** Define: (a) solid South; (b) Compromise of 1877.
- Summarizing the Main Idea** What were some of the major successes and failures of Reconstruction?
- Organizing Information** Create a cause-and-effect chart of the events that led to the Compromise of 1877.

Critical Thinking

- Analyzing Time Lines** Review the time line at the start of the section. Choose one entry

and explain why it was a turning point in the Reconstruction period.

- Identifying Alternatives** What tactics did some white southerners use to challenge Reconstruction? What might they have done to try to improve Reconstruction governments?

Writing Activity

- Writing a Persuasive Essay** In your view, did Reconstruction's successes outweigh its failures? Write an essay explaining your opinion. Support it with specific examples.

Why Study History?

To understand that . . .

Congress Represents All Americans

Although the first African American representatives to Congress were elected during Reconstruction, only in recent years has their number increased substantially.



African American congressmen during Reconstruction

Americans won the right to vote. Between 1870 and 1877 sixteen African Americans, including one senator, were elected to Congress.

Many southern whites mobilized against Reconstruction. Through terror and intimidation, the Ku Klux Klan prevented black men from exercising their right to vote. After Reconstruction, the number of black representatives dropped sharply. Only after the civil rights movement secured legal protection of black voting rights in 1965 did the number of black representatives rise again.

The Impact Today

The number of black representatives has risen in the 1990s—in part because several states redrew congressional boundaries to create districts with a large percentage of black voters. Supporters of these “majority-minority districts” see them as a way to give African Americans an equal voice in

“The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any state on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude.” With ratification of the Fifteenth Amendment in 1870, African

government. (The percentage of black representatives in Congress is lower than that of African Americans in the population as a whole.) Opponents of the new districts claim that they violate white voters’ rights. The Supreme Court has ruled that some of these new districts must be redrawn.

As the number of black representatives has grown, so has the diversity of their views. For example, recent black representatives have disagreed on the degree to which race affects their role in Congress. Democratic senator Carol Moseley-Braun of Illinois, for example, defended government programs that encourage the hiring of minorities. “As a minority,” said Moseley-Braun, “I have seen first-hand the benefits” of such programs. By contrast, Republican representative J. C. Watts of Oklahoma stated that he “didn’t come to Congress to be a black leader or a white leader but a leader.”



Representative J. C. Watts of Oklahoma

The Impact on You

Should voters take race into account when choosing a candidate? Write an essay explaining how you, as a future voter, will or will not consider race in elections. As you write your essay, address arguments against your position.

Chapter Summary



The major concepts of Chapter 13 are presented below. See also *Guide to the Essentials of American History* or *Interactive Student Tutorial CD-ROM*, which contains interactive review activities, time lines, helpful hints, and test practice for Chapter 13.

Reviewing the Main Ideas

The end of the Civil War was the beginning of a massive program to repair the South, restructure its economy, reshape its society, and reunite it with the North. Reconstruction forced the nation to grapple with two key issues: the control of southern wealth and political power, and the role and rights of newly freed African Americans.

Section 1: Presidential Reconstruction

Presidents Lincoln and Johnson sought to pardon the South, not to punish it, as freedmen pursued education and jobs.

Section 2: Congressional Reconstruction

Southern defiance of Reconstruction provoked a showdown between President Johnson and Congress and led to major new civil rights laws and Republican control of the South.

Section 3: Birth of the "New South"

Corruption-plagued programs to repair southern war damage brought about limited economic growth.

Section 4: The End of Reconstruction

White southerners undid many Republican reforms, as dwindling northern support brought Reconstruction to an end.



The first African American representatives to Congress were elected during Reconstruction. However, only in recent years has their number increased substantially.

Key Terms

For each of the terms below, write a sentence explaining how it relates to the post-Civil War period.

- | | |
|-------------------|-------------------|
| 1. Reconstruction | 6. scalawag |
| 2. pardon | 7. sharecropping |
| 3. black codes | 8. tenant farmer |
| 4. impeach | 9. infrastructure |
| 5. carpetbagger | 10. solid South |

Comprehension

1. Name three major problems the South faced at the end of the Civil War.
2. How did Lincoln's plan for Reconstruction compare to Johnson's?
3. How did African Americans try to improve their lives after emancipation?
4. Why did Johnson and Congress clash over Reconstruction?
5. What were the goals of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth amendments?
6. How did Republicans gain control of southern governments?
7. How were Reconstruction legislatures unique in American history?
8. How did the economy of the South change after the Civil War, and in what ways did it remain unchanged?
9. When and why did Reconstruction end?

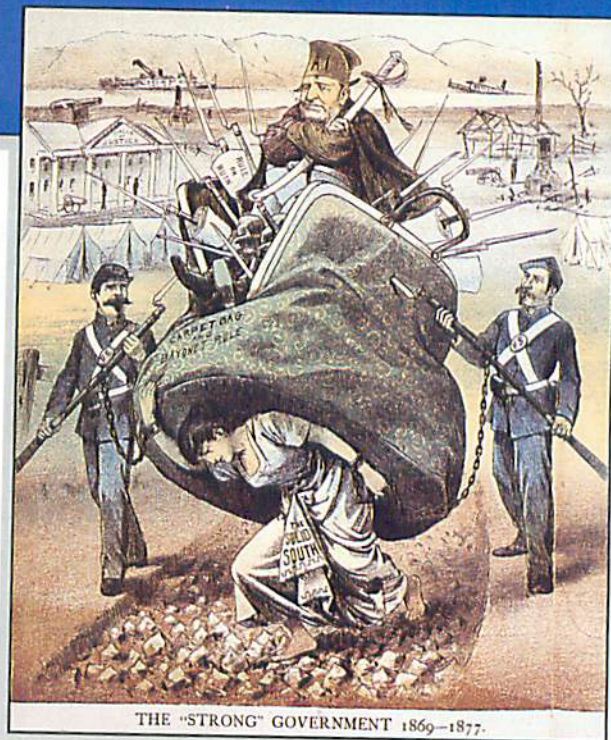
Using Graphic Organizers

On a separate sheet of paper, copy the chart below to organize the main ideas of each section in this chapter. Provide at least two supporting details for each main idea.

Reconstruction			

Analyzing Political Cartoons ►

1. This cartoon depicts President Grant riding in a carpetbag. (a) What does Grant represent? (b) What do the soldiers represent? (c) What does the woman represent?
2. State in a sentence or two the message of this cartoon.
3. What was the bias of the cartoonist, and how can you tell?



Critical Thinking

1. **Applying the Chapter Skill** Evaluate Reconstruction from the point of view of (a) a black sharecropper, (b) an ex-Confederate, (c) a carpetbagger, (d) a Radical Republican.
2. **Identifying Assumptions** Congress accused President Johnson of abusing his presidential powers, and Johnson thought that Congress overstepped its authority in carrying out Radical Reconstruction. What differing assumptions led to these conclusions?
3. **Identifying Central Issues** In what ways was Reconstruction basically a struggle for political power?
4. **Recognizing Ideologies** Why were the strong policies of Radical Reconstruction largely ineffective in changing the attitudes of white southerners toward African Americans?

INTERNET ACTIVITY

For your portfolio: PREPARE A REPORT

Access Prentice Hall's *America: Pathways to the Present* site at www.Pathways.phschool.com for the specific URL to complete the activity. Additional resources and related Web sites are also available.

Write a report about Tennessee's Reconstruction experience. Begin by describing Reconstruction in general, then in Tennessee. How did that state's experience differ from Reconstruction elsewhere in the South? How did Reconstruction politics affect Tennessee's African Americans?

ANALYZING DOCUMENTS ◀▶ INTERPRETING DATA

Turn to the "American Voices" quotation in Section 2.

1. Which statement best represents the meaning of the quotation? (a) Freedmen are responsible citizens. (b) Freedmen deserve the right to vote because they earn money for the country. (c) Freedmen deserve the right to vote because they are fulfilling the responsibilities of citizenship. (d) Freedmen deserve to rule themselves.
2. What is the most likely reason the writers never received a response? (a) White Tennesseans did not want freedmen to vote. (b) White Tennesseans did not want freedmen to become citizens. (c) White Tennesseans thought freedmen should have economic rights, not political rights.
3. **Writing** Do you think the authors emphasized the most important arguments in their letter? Explain your reasoning.

Connecting to Today

Essay Writing Refer to the Turning Point in Section 2. Research and write an essay on one group of Americans today that has benefited from the Fourteenth Amendment. Address these questions: (a) What equal protections have they sought? (b) In the last 50 years, what laws have been passed to grant them equal rights?



American Heritage®

My Brush with History

BY DAVID CONYNGHAM

INTRODUCTION The editors of *American Heritage* magazine have selected eyewitness accounts of David Conyngham, an officer in the army of William T.

Sherman. Conyngham was also a newspaper correspondent who vividly described his Civil War experiences.



Union Lieutenant George A. Custer (right) is shown with his friend and prisoner, Confederate Major James Washington.

It was no unusual thing to see our pickets and skirmishers enjoying themselves very comfortably with the rebels, drinking bad whiskey, smoking and chewing worse tobacco, and trading coffee and other little articles. The rebels had no coffee, and our men plenty, while the rebels had plenty of whiskey; so they very soon came to an understanding. It was strange to see these men, who had been just pitted in deadly conflict, trading, and bantering, and chatting, as if they were the best friends in the world. They discussed a battle with the same gusto they would a cock-fight, or horse-race, and made inquiries about their friends, as to who was killed, and who not, in the respective armies. Friends that have been separated for years have met in this way. Brothers who parted to try their fortune have often met on the picket line, or on the battle-field.

I once met a German soldier with the head of a dying rebel on his lap. The stern veteran was weeping, whilst the boy on his knee looked pityingly into his face. They were speaking in German, and from my poor knowledge of the language, all I could make out was, that they were brothers; that the elder had come out here several years before; the younger followed him, and being informed that he was in Macon, he went in search of him, and got conscripted; while the elder brother, who was in the north all the time, joined our army. The young boy was scarcely twenty, with light hair, and a soft, fair complexion. The pallor of death was on his brow, and the blood was flowing from his breast, and gurgled in his throat and mouth, which the other wiped away with his handkerchief. When he could speak, the dying youth's conversation was of the old home in Germany, of his brothers and sisters, and dear father and mother, who were never to see him again.

In those improvised truces, the best possible faith was observed by the men. These truces were brought about chiefly in the following manner. A rebel, who was heartily tired of his crippled position in his pit, would call out, "I say, Yank!"

"Well, Johnny Reb," would echo from another hole or tree.

"I'm going to put out my head; don't shoot."

"Well, I won't."