### Key to Ability Levels
- **BL**: Below Level
- **OL**: On Level
- **AL**: Above Level
- **ELL**: English Language Learners

### Key to Teaching Resources
- **Print Material**
- **Transparency**
- **CD-ROM or DVD**

### Planning Guide

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Note: Please refer to the *Unit 3 Resource Book* for this chapter’s URB materials. *Also available in Spanish*
### Levels

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**Teacher Resources**

- Strategies for Success | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ |
- Success with English Learner | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ |
- Reading Strategies and Activities for the Social Studies Classroom | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ |
- Presentation Plus! with MindJogger CheckPoint | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ |

**ASSESS**

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✓ Chapter- or unit-based activities applicable to all sections in this chapter.
What is Section Audio?
Section Audio is a recording of each section of the textbook and helps students learn the content in the textbook.

How can Section Audio help my students?
Section Audio allows students to:
• read and listen simultaneously to improve content comprehension
• practice reading skills
• review important concepts for struggling readers
• improve listening comprehension

Visit glencoe.com to access the Media Library, and enter a QuickPass™ code to go to Section Audio recordings.

History ONLINE
Visit glencoe.com and enter QuickPass™ code TAV9399c10T for Chapter 10 resources.

You can easily launch a wide range of digital products from your computer’s desktop with the McGraw-Hill Social Studies widget.

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• **Timed Readings Plus in Social Studies** helps students increase their reading rate and fluency while maintaining comprehension. The 400-word passages are similar to those found on state and national assessments.

• **Reading in the Content Area: Social Studies** concentrates on six essential reading skills that help students better comprehend what they read. The book includes 75 high-interest nonfiction passages written at increasing levels of difficulty.

• **Reading Social Studies** includes strategic reading instruction and vocabulary support in Social Studies content for both ELLs and native speakers of English.

www.jamestowneducation.com

The following videotape programs are available from Glencoe as supplements to this chapter:

- Frederick Douglass (ISBN 0-76-700120-6)

To order, call Glencoe at 1-800-334-7344. To find classroom resources to accompany many of these videos, check the following home pages:

A&E Television: [www.aetv.com](http://www.aetv.com)
The History Channel: [www.historychannel.com](http://www.historychannel.com)

Use this database to search more than 30,000 titles to create a customized reading list for your students.

- Reading lists can be organized by students’ reading level, author, genre, theme, or area of interest.
- The database provides Degrees of Reading Power™ (DRP) and Lexile™ readability scores for all selections.
- A brief summary of each selection is included.

**Leveled reading suggestions for this chapter:**

**For students at a Grade 8 reading level:**
- *Tancy*, by Belinda Hurmence

**For students at a Grade 9 reading level:**
- *Voices—and Stories—from the Past*, by Kathryn Satterfield

**For students at a Grade 10 reading level:**
- *Ulysses S. Grant: 18th President of the United States*, by Lucille Falkof

**For students at a Grade 11 reading level:**
- *Up from Slavery*, by Booker T. Washington

**For students at a Grade 12 reading level:**
- *Andrew Johnson: 17th President of the United States*, by Rita Stevens

The following articles relate to this chapter:

“Lost Gold: Bounty From a Civil War Ship” By Priit J. Vesilind

**National Geographic Society Products** To order the following, call National Geographic at 1-800-368-2728:

- ZipZapMap! USA (ZipZapMap!)

Access National Geographic’s new dynamic MapMachine Web site and other geography resources at:

- [www.nationalgeographic.com](http://www.nationalgeographic.com)
- [www.nationalgeographic.com/maps](http://www.nationalgeographic.com/maps)
Focus

MAKING CONNECTIONS
How Do Nations Recover From War?
Ask students to suggest issues that must be settled after a war. Activate their prior knowledge by asking them to discuss what had to be done after the American Revolution. Remind them of the need to form state governments and reconcile people who fought on different sides, as well as physical issues such as rebuilding infrastructure, replenishing food supplies, and so forth.

Teach

The Big Ideas
As students study the chapter, remind them to consider the section-based Big Ideas included in each section’s Guide to Reading. The Essential Questions in the activities below tie in to the Big Ideas and help students think about and understand important chapter concepts. In addition, the Hands-on Chapter Projects with their culminating activities relate the content from each section to the Big Ideas. These activities build on each other as students progress through the chapter. Section activities culminate in the wrap-up activity on the Visual Summary page.

Section 1

The Debate Over Reconstruction
Essential Question: What key issues caused disagreements about how Reconstruction should take place? (Under what conditions Southern states could organize state governments; oaths of loyalty; amnesty for high-ranking Confederates; protection of formerly enslaved African Americans’ rights.) Tell students that in this section they will learn about three plans for handling these issues, over which there was much debate.

Section 2

Republican Rule
Essential Question: How did the politics of Reconstruction affect African Americans? (Corruption; influx of Northerners; community prominence of African American churches; rise of African American politicians; Ku Klux Klan) Tell students that in this section they will learn about the role African Americans played in Reconstruction.
MAKING CONNECTIONS

How Do Nations Recover From War?

After war devastates a country, it needs to feed and house refugees, repair damage, create jobs, and get the economy growing again. The United States faced all of these problems after the Civil War, but it also had to find a way to reconcile Northerners and Southerners and protect the rights of the formerly enslaved.

• What did the United States do to reconstruct the South?
• Considering both the short term and the long term, was Reconstruction a success or a failure?

1874
• First Impressionist art exhibit opens in Paris

1875
• "Whiskey Ring" scandal breaks

Hayes 1877–1881
1877
• Compromise of 1877 ends Reconstruction efforts

1877
• Compromise of 1877 ends Reconstruction efforts

Contrasting Before and After Collect information about life in the South before and after the Civil War. List the most important facts in a Two-Tab Foldable. Include information about all levels of Southern society—rich and poor, white and African American, native-born and immigrant—and how conditions changed for each group.

Section 3

Reconstruction Collapses

Essential Question: What problems hindered rebuilding of the Southern economy? (Political scandals and corruption; terrorist groups; Panic of 1873; lack of industry) Tell students that in this section they will learn about the problems that besieged the Grant and Hayes administrations and the attempts to create a “New South.”

More About the Photo

Visual Literacy Many panoramic photos were taken of Richmond in 1865. Instead of today’s panoramic technique of rotating the camera to take a continuous image, these photos were taken by exposing one plate, moving the camera, then taking another plate. The plates were physically joined in the studio.

Dinah Zike’s Foldables

Dinah Zike’s Foldables are three-dimensional, interactive graphic organizers that help students practice basic writing skills, review vocabulary terms, and identify main ideas. Instructions for creating and using Foldables can be found in the Appendix at the end of this book and in the Dinah Zike’s Reading and Study Skills Foldables booklet.

History ONLINE Visit glencoe.com and enter code TAV9399c10T for Chapter 10 resources, including a Chapter Overview, Study Central™, Study-to-Go, Student Web Activity, Self-Check Quiz, and other materials.
Section 1

The Debate Over Reconstruction

In the months after the Civil War ended, the nation began to rebuild and reunite. Almost immediately, fierce struggles began over how long it should take to restore the Southern states to the Union and how punitive Reconstruction should be.

The Reconstruction Battle Begins

**MAIN Idea** Presidents Lincoln and Johnson, as well as Radical Republicans in Congress, put forward different plans for reconstructing the Union.

**HISTORY AND YOU** Think of another war that you have studied. What were the peace terms, and who benefited? Read on to learn about different plans for peace following the American Civil War.

By 1865, large areas of the former Confederacy lay in ruins, and the South's economy was in a state of collapse. The value of land had fallen significantly. Confederate money was worthless. Roughly two-thirds of the transportation system no longer functioned, with dozens of bridges destroyed and miles of railroad twisted and rendered useless. Most dramatically of all, the emancipation of African Americans had thrown the agricultural system into chaos. Until the South developed a new system to replace enslaved labor, it could not maintain its agricultural output.

While some Southerners felt bitter over the Union's military victory, for many the more important struggle was rebuilding their land and their lives. Meanwhile, the president and Congress grappled with the difficult task of Reconstruction, or rebuilding after the war.

Lincoln's Plan

In December 1863 President Lincoln offered a general **amnesty** or pardon, to all Southerners who took an oath of loyalty to the United States and accepted the Union's proclamations concerning slavery. When 10 percent of a state's voters in the 1860 presidential election had taken this oath, they could organize a new state government. Certain people, such as officials, Confederate government, and military officers could not take the oath or be pardoned. In March 1865, in his Second Inaugural Address, President Lincoln spoke of ending the war “with malice toward none, with charity for all.” Therefore, President Lincoln wanted a moderate policy to reconcile the South with the Union, instead of punishing it for treason.
After the Civil War, three plans were proposed to restore the South to the Union. The political struggle that resulted revealed that sectional tensions had not ended with the Civil War.

1. Lincoln’s Plan for Reconstruction
   - Amnesty to all but a few Southerners who took an oath of loyalty to the United States and accepted its proclamations concerning slavery
   - When 10 percent of a state’s voters in the 1860 presidential election had taken the oath, they could organize a new state government
   - Members of the former Confederate government, officers of the Confederate army, and former federal judges, members of Congress, and military officers who had left their posts to help the Confederacy would not receive amnesty

2. Congressional Reconstruction
   - Passed the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments
   - Military Reconstruction Act divided the South into five military districts
   - New state constitutions required to guarantee voting rights
   - Military rule protected voting rights for African Americans
   - Empowered African Americans in government and supported their education

3. Johnson’s Plan for Reconstruction
   - Amnesty for those taking an oath of loyalty to the United States; excluded high-ranking Confederates and those with property over $20,000, but they could apply for pardons individually
   - Required states to ratify the Thirteenth Amendment abolishing slavery

The Radical Republicans

Resistance to Lincoln’s plan surfaced at once among the more radical Republicans in Congress. Led by Representative Thaddeus Stevens of Pennsylvania and Senator Charles Sumner of Massachusetts, the radicals did not want to reconcile with the South. They wanted, in Stevens’s words, to “revolutionize Southern institutions, habits, and manners.”

The Radical Republicans had three main goals. First, they wanted to prevent the leaders of the Confederacy from returning to power after the war. Second, they wanted the Republican Party to become a powerful institution in the South. Third, they wanted the federal government to help African Americans achieve political equality by guaranteeing their right to vote in the South.

Republicans knew that, once the South was restored to the Union, it would gain about 15 seats in the House of Representatives. Before the Civil War, the number of Southern seats in the House was based on the Three-Fifths Compromise in the Constitution. According to this compromise, only three-fifths of the enslaved population counted toward representation. The abolition of slavery entitled the South to more seats in the House. This would endanger Republican control of Congress, unless Republicans could find a way to protect African Americans’ voting rights.

Reconstruction Correspondence

Step 1: Understanding Reconstruction from a Northern Point of View
Working in small groups, students will study the different approaches toward Reconstruction addressed in Section 1.

Directions
Hold a class discussion in which you discuss with students the different approaches toward Reconstruction in the South. On the board, write the components of the Military Reconstruction Act passed by Congress.

Analyzing
Instruct groups to analyze the information and decide whether they support or oppose the Military Reconstruction Act. Have them assume the role of a Northerner during Reconstruction and write a letter to Congress expressing their views. (Chapter Project continued on page 367)
Although Radical Republicans knew that giving African American men in the South the right to vote would help their party win elections, most were not acting cynically. Many had been abolitionists before the Civil War and had pushed Lincoln into making emancipation a goal of the war. They believed in a right to political equality for all men, regardless of race. Senator Henry Wilson of Massachusetts summarized their position:

**PRIMARY SOURCE**

“[Congress] must see to it that the man made free by the Constitution . . . is a freeman indeed; that he can go where he pleases, work when and for whom he pleases . . . go into schools and educate himself and his children; that the rights and guarantees of the good old common law are his, and that he walks the earth, proud and erect in the conscious dignity of a free man.”

—from the Congressional Globe, December 21, 1865

**Reading Check**

Answer: Lincoln wanted to reconcile Southerners with the Union rather than punish them for treason.

**The Wade-Davis Bill**

Caught between Lincoln and the Radical Republicans were a large number of moderate Republicans. The moderates thought Lincoln was too lenient but that the radicals were going too far in supporting African Americans. By the summer of 1864, the moderates and radicals had agreed on an alternative plan to Lincoln’s and introduced it in Congress as the **Wade-Davis Bill**. This bill required the majority of the adult white males in a former Confederate state to take an oath of allegiance to the Union. The state could then hold a constitutional convention to create a new state government. Each state’s convention would then have to abolish slavery, reject all debts the state had acquired as part of the Confederacy, and deprive all former Confederate government officials and military officers of the right to vote or hold office.

Although Congress passed the Wade-Davis Bill, Lincoln blocked it with a **pocket veto**—that is, he let the session of Congress expire without signing the legislation. He thought that imposing a harsh peace would be counterproductive. The president wanted “no persecution, no bloody work.”

**Activity: Collaborative Learning**

**Reading Support** Immediately after students read this section, lead a discussion about the various Reconstruction plans. Tell students that you will be using some important terms from the text. Have students write down each term they hear that also appeared in the text. Suggested terms include: *Reconstruction, amnesty, Radical Republicans,* and **pocket veto**. Then ask students to work with a partner to write a brief summary of the plans for Reconstruction using the terms they listed. **OL ELL**

**Freedmen’s Bureau**

**MAIN Idea** The Freedmen’s Bureau helped newly freed African Americans obtain food, find work, and get an education.

**HISTORY AND YOU** Do you remember the slave codes that denied African Americans basic rights, including an education? Read on to learn how the Freedmen’s Bureau tried to help former slaves start their new lives.

After considering different approaches to restoring the Southern states to the Union, Lincoln decided that harsh terms would only alienate many whites in the South. The devastation of the war and the collapse of the economy had left hundreds of thousands of people unemployed, homeless, and hungry. At the same time, the victorious Union armies had to contend with the thousands of African Americans who had fled to Union lines as the war progressed. As Sherman marched through Georgia and South Carolina, thousands of freed African Americans—now known as freedmen—began following his troops, seeking food and shelter.

To help the freedmen feed themselves, Sherman reserved all abandoned plantation land within 30 miles of the coast from Charleston, South Carolina, to Jacksonville, Florida, for the use of freed African Americans. Over the next few months, Union troops settled more than 40,000 African Americans on roughly half a million acres of land in South Carolina and Georgia.

The refugee crisis prompted Congress to establish the Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands—better known as the **Freedmen’s Bureau**. It was given the task of feeding and clothing war refugees in the South using surplus army supplies. Beginning in September 1865, the bureau provided nearly 30,000 rations a day for the next year and helped prevent mass starvation in the South.

The Bureau also helped formerly enslaved people find work on plantations. It negotiated labor contracts with planters, specifying the amount of pay workers would receive and the number of hours they had to work. It also established special courts to deal with grievances between workers and planters.

Although many Northerners backed the Bureau, some argued that freedmen should be given “forty acres and a mule” to support
The Freedmen’s Bureau was established by the Union to help formerly enslaved people make new lives for themselves. These people urged the federal government to seize Confederate land and distribute it to emancipated slaves. To others, however, taking land from plantation owners was wrong because it violated individual property rights. Ultimately, Congress rejected land confiscation.

The Freedmen’s Bureau made an important contribution in the field of education. The Bureau worked closely with Northern charities to educate formerly enslaved African Americans. It provided buildings for schools, paid teachers, and helped to establish colleges for training African American teachers. Morehouse College, originally known as Augusta Institute, was founded in 1867. It benefited from these educational efforts and has graduated figures such as Martin Luther King, Jr., and filmmaker Spike Lee.

Johnson Takes Office

MAIN IDEA President Johnson wanted to readmit Southern states on generous terms; meanwhile, Southern states passed laws restricting the rights of African Americans.

HISTORY AND YOU Have you ever had a dispute with a longtime friend? After it was over, did the situation improve? Read to learn how Southern states passed laws to limit African Americans’ rights.

Lincoln’s assassination drastically changed the politics of Reconstruction. Lincoln’s vice president, Andrew Johnson, now became president. Johnson had been a Southern Democrat before the Civil War. A resident of Tennessee, he had served as a mayor and state legislator before being elected to the United States Senate. When Tennessee seceded, Johnson remained loyal and stayed in the Senate, making him a hero in the North.

Critical Thinking

Drawing Conclusions

Ask: Why do you think plantation owners in the South did not want enslaved African Americans to be educated? What did the government do about it?

(Students should note that the plantation owners wanted to maintain the status quo of slavery. Through the Freedmen’s Bureau, the government provided educational services.)

Analyzing VISUALS

Answers:
1. education, food, land, work, labor courts
2. They had not been allowed education while enslaved and would need it to find better jobs.

Answer:
Its purpose was to help newly freed African Americans obtain food, find work, and get an education.

Activity: Technology Connection

Analyzing Information Have interested students work in groups to research African American colleges founded in the nineteenth century. Students should use Internet resources to conduct their research. Groups should then prepare a one-page description of each school—including current and historical information—for presentation to the class. They also should bring in historical photos, if available. Students descriptions should answer the following questions. Who founded the school? What is its history, in brief, including any illustrious alumni? How many students does it currently have and does it have an educational focus? What other information about the school is important?
As Union troops advanced into Tennessee in 1862, Lincoln appointed Johnson military governor of the state. The president then approved Johnson’s nomination as vice president in 1864, hoping to convince some Democrats to vote Republican. Johnson was hot-tempered and stubborn at times, but, like Lincoln, he believed that a moderate policy was needed to bring the South back into the Union and to win Southern loyalty.

**Johnson’s Plan**

In the summer of 1865, with Congress in recess, Johnson initiated what he called his restoration program, which closely resembled Lincoln’s plan. In late May 1865, he issued an amnesty proclamation to supplement the one Lincoln had issued earlier. Johnson offered to pardon all former citizens of the Confederacy who took an oath of loyalty to the Union and to return their property. He excluded from the pardon former Confederate officers and officials, as well as former Confederates who owned property worth more than $20,000. These were the people—the rich planter elite—who Johnson believed had caused the Civil War. Those who were excluded could apply individually for a pardon.

On the same day that he issued the pardon, Johnson issued another proclamation for North Carolina. This became a model of how he wanted to restore the South to the Union. Under it, each former Confederate state had to call a constitutional convention to revoke its ordinance of secession, ratify the Thirteenth Amendment, and reject all Civil War debts.

The former Confederate states, for the most part, met Johnson’s conditions. While they organized their new governments and elected members to Congress, Johnson began granting pardons to thousands of Southerners.

By the time Congress gathered for its next session in December 1865, Johnson’s plan was well under way. Many members of Congress were astonished and angered when they realized that Southern voters had elected to Congress many former Confederate officers and political leaders, including Alexander Stephens, the former vice president of the Confederacy. Many Republicans found this unacceptable and voted to reject the new Southern members of Congress.

**Black Codes**

The election of former Confederate leaders to Congress was not the only development that angered congressional Republicans. The new Southern state legislatures also passed a series of laws known as **black codes**, which severely limited African Americans’ rights.

The black codes varied from state to state, but they all seemed intended to keep African Americans in a condition similar to slavery. African Americans were generally required to work in nonagricultural jobs. The black codes enraged many Northerners. Gideon Welles, the secretary of the navy, warned, “The entire South seem to be stupid and vindictive, know not their friends, and are pursuing just the course which their opponents, the Radicals, desire.”

**ANALYZING HISTORY** What is significant about the ratification of the Fourteenth Amendment? Write a brief essay to explain your answer.

**Activity: Interdisciplinary Connection**

**Political Science** Have students use library and Internet resources to research the harsh restrictions placed on African Americans by the black codes. Then ask students to work in pairs, using their research to create a political cartoon that expresses their reaction to these laws. Encourage students to share their completed cartoons with the class and have others interpret their meaning. Ask students to find present-day political cartoons that represent their feelings on a social issue. Have students share these cartoons with the class.
Radical Republicans Take Control

**MAIN Idea** Radical Republicans, angered by President Johnson’s actions, designed their own policies to reconstruct the South.

**HISTORY AND YOU** If you disagree with a political decision, what can you do to change it? Read how Republicans responded to Johnson’s plan.

The election of former Confederate leaders to Congress and the introduction of the black codes convinced many moderate Republicans to join the Radicals. In late 1865, House and Senate Republicans created a Joint Committee on Reconstruction. Their goal was to develop their own program for rebuilding the Union.

The Fourteenth Amendment

In an effort to override the black codes, Congress passed the Civil Rights Act of 1866. The act granted citizenship to all persons born in the United States except Native Americans. It allowed African Americans to own property and stated that they were to be treated equally in court. It also gave the federal government the power to sue people who violated those rights.

Worried that the Supreme Court might overturn the Civil Rights Act, the Republicans then introduced the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution. This amendment granted citizenship to all persons born or naturalized in the United States and declared that no state could deprive any person of life, liberty, or property “without due process of law.” It also declared that no state could deny any person “equal protection of the laws.”

Increasing violence in the South convinced moderates to support the amendment. The most dramatic incident occurred in Memphis, Tennessee, in May 1866, when white mobs killed 46 African Americans and burned hundreds of their homes, churches, and schools. Congress passed the amendment in June and sent it to the states for ratification.

President Johnson attacked the amendment and made it the major issue of the 1866 congressional elections. He hoped voters would reject the Radical Republicans and elect a new majority in Congress that would support his plan for Reconstruction instead.

**The Fourteenth Amendment**

“No State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States; nor shall any State deprive any person of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws.”

In 1925, in *Gitlow v. New York*, the Supreme Court began using the Fourteenth Amendment to apply the Bill of Rights to the states. In this case, it held that state laws had to protect free speech.

In 1964, in *Reynolds v. Sims*, the Court used the Fourteenth Amendment’s equal protection clause to ensure that state voting districts were of equal size.

In 1966, in *Miranda v. Arizona*, the Supreme Court based its decision ending school segregation on the Fourteenth Amendment’s equal protection clause.

In 1954 the Supreme Court based its decision ending school segregation, *Brown v. Board of Education*, on the Fourteenth Amendment’s equal protection clause.

**Critical Thinking**

**Drawing Conclusions** Have students review the Turning Point feature on the Fourteenth Amendment. Ask: On what part of the Fourteenth Amendment did the Supreme Court base the *Brown v. Board of Education* decision? (the equal protection clause)
Critical Thinking

Analyzing After students read the “Military Reconstruction” section, have them consider the reasons behind Southern resistance to the Fourteenth Amendment and to African American suffrage. Ask: Why did so many Southern states resist ratifying the Fourteenth Amendment and suffrage for all men? (Students should note that the Southern states had large populations of African Americans, who with voting rights, could be a powerful influence.)

Skill Practice

Reading Maps Ask: Which state was readmitted to the Union first? (Tennessee)

Analyzing GEOGRAPHY

Answers:
1. Tennessee
2. Five years after the end of the war, the last Southern state was readmitted to the Union.

Military Reconstruction

In March 1867 congressional Republicans passed the Military Reconstruction Act, which essentially wiped out Johnson’s programs. The act divided the former Confederacy, except for Tennessee—which had ratified the Fourteenth Amendment in 1866—into five military districts. A Union general was placed in charge of each district.

Defending Divide the class into four groups and have them use library and Internet sources to research the attitudes of various groups toward the exclusion of women from the suffrage granted to African American men by the Fifteenth Amendment. Remind students that education of African Americans had been illegal under slavery, so newly enfranchised African American men had little or no education. Each group should prepare an argument for presentation to the class defending the views of one of these constituents: educated white suffragists, such as Elizabeth Cady Stanton; uneducated, formerly enslaved African American women; educated white men; uneducated African American men. Once groups have presented their arguments, have a class discussion to compare and contrast arguments.
Americans to vote in large numbers. As a result, Grant won six
the presence of Union troops in the South enabled African
voters that the Southern states could not be trusted to reorganize
paign, ongoing violence in the South convinced many Northern
nominated General Grant to run for president. During the cam-
ety and did not run for reelection in 1868. That year the Republicans
agree with congressional policies.

Many Republicans joined the Democrats in refusing to con-
convicted Johnson. These senators believed that it would set a dangerous
precedent to impeach a president simply because he did not
agree with congressional policies.

Although Johnson remained in office, he finished his term qui-
ently and did not run for reelection in 1868. That year the Republicans
nominated General Grant to run for president. During the cam-
paign, ongoing violence in the South convinced many Northern
voters that the Southern states could not be trusted to reorganize
their governments without military supervision. At the same time,
the presence of Union troops in the South enabled African
Americans to vote in large numbers. As a result, Grant won six
Southern states and most of the Northern states. The Republicans
retained large majorities in both houses of Congress.

**The Fifteenth Amendment** With their majority secure and a
trusted president in office, Republicans moved to expand their
Reconstruction program. Realizing the importance of African
American voters, Congress passed the **Fifteenth Amendment** to
the Constitution. This amendment declared that the right to vote
“shall not be denied . . . on account of race, color, or previous
condition of servitude.” By March 1870, enough states had rati-
fied the amendment to make it part of the Constitution.

Radical Reconstruction had a dramatic impact on the South,
particularly in the short term. It changed Southern politics by
bringing hundreds of thousands of African Americans into the
political process for the first time. It also began to change Southern
society. This angered many white Southerners, who began to
fight back against the federal government’s policies.

**Identifying** What two laws did the Radical
Republicans pass to reduce presidential power?

**Critical Thinking**

**Main Ideas**
1. **Identifying** What were the main goals of the Radical Republicans?
2. **Specifying** In what area did the Freedmen’s Bureau have the most impact?
3. **Explaining** Under what circumstances did Andrew Johnson become president?
4. **Listing** What were the main provisions of the Military Reconstruction Act?

**Review the images on page 361. How has the Fourteenth Amendment changed over time?**

**Writing About History**

**9. Descriptive Writing** Take on the role of a Southerner after the Civil War. Write a
journal entry describing the postwar South and what you hope the future will hold for
the region.

**Answers**

1. All definitions can be found in the section
   and the Glossary.

2. They wanted to prevent Confederate lead-
   ers from returning to power, to gain power
   for the Republican Party in the South, and
to help African Americans achieve political
equality via suffrage.

3. education

4. In 1862 Lincoln appointed Johnson military
governor of Tennessee and then in 1864
approved his nomination as vice president.

5. divided the former Confederate states,
except Tennessee, into five military districts
under command of a Union general;
required states to hold new constitutional
convention to write a constitution that
included voting rights for all adult males,
regardless of race; required states to ratify
the new constitution and ratify the
Fourteenth Amendment to be readmitted to
the Union.

6. It provided food, clothing, education, work,
and courts to resolve grievances between
workers and planters.

7. Students should list the following in their
outlines: cities in ruins; transportation sys-
tem destroyed; money worthless; agricul-
tural system in chaos.

8. The Fourteenth Amendment has been
applied to a wide range of issues.

9. Entries will vary, but should express the
view of a Southerner whose world has been
drastically changed.
Eyewitness

WILLIAM H. CROOE served as a bodyguard for President Andrew Johnson and witnessed the decisive vote by Edmund Ross during the impeachment trial in the Senate on Saturday, May 16, 1868. Here, Crooke recalls the scene:

The tension grew. There was a weary number of names before that of Ross was reached. When the clerk called it, and Ross [senator from Kansas] stood forth, the crowd held its breath.

"Not guilty," called the senator from Kansas. It was like the babbling [sic] over of a caldron. The Radical Senators, who had been laboring with Ross only a short time before, turned to him in rage; all over the house people began to stir. The rest of the roll-call was listened to with lessened interest. . . . When it was over, and the result—35 to 19—was announced, there was a wild outburst, chiefly groans of anger and disappointment, for the friends of the president were in the minority.

It was all over in a moment, and Mr. Johnson was ordering some whiskey from the cellar. [President Johnson was not convicted.]

"If the South is ever to be made a safe Republic, let her lands be cultivated by the toil of the owners, or the free labor of intelligent citizens."

THADDEUS STEVENS, arguing for land redistribution in the South during Reconstruction

"If in the South, the [Civil] war is what A.D. is elsewhere; they date from it."

MARK TWAIN, from Life on the Mississippi

"For we colored people did not know how to be free and the white people did not know how to have a free colored person about them."

HOUSTON HARTSFIELD HOLLOWAY, freedman, on the problem of Reconstruction

"As in the war, freedom was the keynote of victory, so now is universal suffrage the keynote of Reconstruction."

ELIZABETH CADY STANTON, arguing for universal suffrage, 1867

"We thought we was goin' to be richer than the white folks, 'cause we was stronger and knew how to work, and the whites didn't and they didn't have us to work for them anymore. But it didn't turn out that way. We soon found out that freedom could make folks proud but it didn't make 'em rich."

FELIX HAYWOOD, former slave

PRESIDENTIAL SUPERLATIVES

While he was neither "first in war, first in peace" nor "first in the hearts of his countrymen," President Andrew Johnson left his mark on history:

- First to have never attended school
- First to be impeached
- First to be elected to the Senate both before and after being president
- First to host a queen at the White House
- First tailor/president who made his own clothes
- Last not to attend successor's inauguration
- Most vetoes overridden
- Father of the Homestead Act

Focus

Tell students that Edmund Ross was the senator who cast the deciding vote not to impeach Andrew Johnson. Some historians view him as courageous; others see him as politically expedient.

Teach

C Critical Thinking

Evaluating  Divide the class into small groups and assign them to research Edmund Ross and his decision to vote against impeachment. Assign half the groups to write editorials expressing the opinion that Ross was a courageous man. Assign the other half to write editorials expressing the opinion that he was a scoundrel using his vote for political favors. "Publish" the editorials on photocopied sheets with a banner that sounds like the name of a newspaper. Distribute the sheets to the class. As a class, discuss how our understanding of events is influenced by the opinions of contemporary writers and historians. OL

Cooperative Learning Activity

Creating a Display  Organize the class into groups of four or five. Have each group select one of the following periods: 1860–1865, 1866–1870, or 1871–1872. Have each group create a display relating to the period selected, including a time line. Encourage students to be creative with the elements of the display and to include such items as photos, quotations from primary sources, artifacts, and drawings. Then have students select one U.S. president and create a list of interesting facts and firsts about his term in office or special accomplishments before taking office. Compile the lists, placing them in sequential order beneath a photo of each chosen president, and add them to the time line. OL
(Re)inventing America

Patents awarded to African American inventors during the Reconstruction period:

**ALEXANDER ASHBOURNE** biscuit cutter

**LANDROW BELL** locomotive smokestack

**LEWIS HOWARD LATIMER** water closets (toilets) for railway cars, electric lamp with cotton filament, dough kneader

**THOMAS ELKINS** refrigerators with cooling coils

**THOMAS J. MARTIN** fire extinguisher

**ELIJAH MCCOY** automatic oil cup and 57 other devices and machine parts, including an ironing board and lawn sprinkler

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Milestones

**REEXAMINED, 1870. THE ROMANTIC STORY OF POCAHONTAS**, based on the written account of Captain John Smith. The London Spectator reporting on the work of Mr. E. Neils, debunks Smith's tale of the young Pocahontas flinging herself between him and her father's club. The young girl was captured and held prisoner on board a British ship and then forcibly married to Mr. John Rolfe. Comments *Appleton’s Journal* in 1870: “All that is heroic, picturesque, or romantic in history seems to be rapidly disappearing under the microscopic scrutiny of modern critics.”

**FOUNDED, 1877. NICODEMUS, KANSAS**, by six African American and two white Kansans. On the high, arid plains of Graham County, the founders hope to establish a community of homesteading former slaves.

**TOPPED, 1875. THE ONE MILLION MARK FOR POPULATION**, by New York City. New York is the ninth city in the history of the world to achieve a population level of more than one million. The first was Rome in 133 B.C.

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**EXTINGUISHED, 1871. THE PESHTIGO FOREST FIRE** in Wisconsin. The conflagration caused 2,682 deaths. The Peshtigo tragedy has been overshadowed by the Great Chicago Fire of the same year, which killed 300.

**PUBLISHED, 1865. DRUM TAPS**, by Walt Whitman. Based on his experiences as a hospital volunteer, Whitman’s new poems chronicle the horrors of the Civil War.

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**Critical Thinking**

**Answers:**

1. Answers will vary. Students should defend their answers.

2. Although originally optimistic freed slaves soon realized that they still faced many challenges.

Visit the TIME Web site at [www.time.com](http://www.time.com) for up-to-date news, weekly magazine articles, editorials, online polls, and an archive of past magazine and Web articles.

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**Extending the Content**

**Reconstruction Refugees** Between 1866 and 1885, approximately 4,000 Confederates fled the Deep South rather than live under Reconstruction. Unable to accept the changes in their lives wrought by the war and Reconstruction, they emigrated to Brazil. They were drawn by promises of cheap land, a booming cotton industry, and the existence of slavery, which was tolerated in Brazil until 1888. Although some of the refugees succeeded there, many were driven back to the United States by drought, tropical diseases, and the remoteness of their settlements. The largest settlement came to be called Americana. Today, descendants of some of the Reconstruction refugees are members of the Fraternity of American Descendants. These descendants travel to Brazil several times a year to remember their ancestors and renew friendships. Interested students might want to research the topic and present their findings to the class.
Section 2

Republican Rule

Under the Republican-controlled Congress, the South began to rebuild. During this time, African Americans gained some new opportunities, particularly in politics, while some white Southerners organized to resist the changes that were occurring.

Republican Rule in the South

MAIN Idea During Reconstruction, African Americans organized politically and took part in governing the South.

HISTORY AND YOU What are the factors that help you decide to support a political party? Read on to learn why the Republican Party won the support of African Americans during Reconstruction.

By late 1870, all the former Confederate states had rejoined the Union under the congressional Reconstruction plan. Throughout the South, the Republican Party took power and introduced major reforms. Most white Southerners scorned the Republicans, however, partly because the party included Northerners and African Americans. Southerners also believed that the Union Army had forced the new Republican governments on them.

Carpetbaggers and Scalawags

As Reconstruction began, many Northerners moved to the South. Quite a few were eventually elected or appointed to positions in the South’s new state governments. Southerners, particularly Democratic Party supporters, referred to these newcomers as carpetbaggers because some arrived with suitcases made of carpet fabric. Many local residents viewed the Northerners as intruders seeking to exploit the South.

Some carpetbaggers did seek to take advantage of the war-torn region, and corruption plagued parts of the South. Others, however, hoped to find more opportunities than existed for them in the North or the West. Some simply wanted to help. Many Northern school-teachers, for example, moved south to help educate whites and African Americans.

While many Southerners despised carpetbaggers, they also disliked white Southerners who worked with the Republicans and supported Reconstruction. They called these people scalawags—an old Scotch-Irish term for weak, underfed, worthless animals.

The scalawags were a diverse group. Some were former Whigs who had grudgingly joined the Democratic Party before the war. Many were owners of small farms who did not want the wealthy...
African Americans Enter Politics

Reconstruction provided African Americans with new opportunities to participate in politics. Many took part in the state constitutional conventions and were elected to state legislatures—achieving a majority in South Carolina’s state assembly—and to local offices.

At first, the leadership of the African American community came from among those individuals who had been educated before the war. These included artisans, shopkeepers, and ministers. Many had lived in the North and fought in the Union Army. Aided by the Republican Party, these leaders delivered speeches to former plantation workers, drawing them into politics. Within a few remarkable years, many African Americans went from enslaved laborers to legislators and administrators working in nearly all levels of government.

planners to regain power. Still others were business people who favored Republican plans for developing the South’s economy.

African Americans in Politics

The Fifteenth Amendment allowed many freedmen to take part in governing the South. With the right to vote, African American men could organize politically. “You never saw a people more excited on the subject of politics than are the [African Americans] of the South,” wrote one plantation manager.

This drawing from 1867 depicts the primary groups that became political leaders of the South’s African American community—artisans (shown with tools), the middle class, and Union soldiers.

This sketch from 1868 shows African Americans campaigning. African Americans were excited to participate in politics. The sketch shows women and children as well, suggesting that the entire community regarded political issues as important, even though only adult males could vote.

This sketch from 1867 shows African Americans campaigning. African Americans were excited to participate in politics. The sketch shows women and children as well, suggesting that the entire community regarded political issues as important, even though only adult males could vote.

Analyzing VISUALS

1. Identifying Central Issues Why do you think African Americans were so enthusiastic about participating in politics?
2. Explaining What about the illustration above indicates the political position of women?

Under slavery, they had had no power to control their own lives. Voting and holding public office gave them political power.

Women are either not present or are on the side or in back of the men, showing that the political power belonged only to the men.

Reconstruction Correspondence

Step 2: Understanding Reconstruction from a Southern Point of View Each group should discuss the Southern reaction to the Military Reconstruction Act discussed in Step 1.

Directions As a class discuss the reactions of white Southerners and former enslaved African Americans to the Military Reconstruction Act. Have groups choose a role to take—either white Southerner or former enslaved African American—and research that group’s viewpoint using their book, the Internet, and the library. The information gathered should be used to write a letter to a friend or family member expressing their view of Reconstruction.

Summarizing Students will summarize the positive and/or negative effects of Reconstruction on either white or African American citizens in the South.

(Chapter Project continued on page 374)
Henry McNeal Turner  As a young boy, Turner dreamed of becoming a teacher, but it was illegal in his home state of South Carolina to educate African Americans when Turner was a child. It was not until he worked as a janitor in a law firm at age 15 that he learned to read and write. Soon thereafter, he became a licensed preacher, married Eliza Ann Preacher, and moved to Baltimore. The couple eventually had 14 children, only two of whom survived. Turner joined the lobbying effort to convince Lincoln to allow freedmen to enlist in the Union army. In 1863, he became the army’s first African American chaplain. After the war, he was elected to the Georgia legislature, but all African American officials were ousted by the white legislators. Turning his back on the political process, Turner then became a bishop in the American Methodist Episcopal Church and focused on the political potential of the African American church.
African American Communities

MAIN idea Reconstruction governments expanded public education to all children, and African Americans built their own churches.

HISTORY AND YOU Do you remember how Horace Mann started a movement for public education? Read on to learn how new schools were built in the South during Reconstruction.

In addition to entering politics, African Americans worked to improve their lives in other ways during Reconstruction. Many sought to establish their own thriving communities and to gain an education.

African American Churches

Religion had long played a central role in the lives of many African Americans, and with the shackles of slavery now gone, formerly enslaved people across the South began building their own churches. Churches frequently became the center of African American communities, as they housed schools and hosted social events and political gatherings. In rural areas, church picnics, festivals, and other activities provided residents with many of their recreational and social opportunities. In many communities, churches acted as unofficial courts by promoting social values, settling disputes among residents, and disciplining individuals for improper behavior.

A Desire to Learn

Once freed, many African Americans immediately sought an education. In the first years of Reconstruction, the Freedmen’s Bureau, with the help of Northern charities, established schools for African Americans across the South. By 1870, some 4,000 schools and 9,000 teachers—roughly half of them African American—taught 200,000 formerly enslaved people of all ages. In the 1870s Reconstruction governments built a comprehensive public school system in the South, and by 1876, about 40 percent of all African American children (roughly 600,000 students) attended school.

Interpreting Political Cartoons

Objective: Interpret a political cartoon and a Shakespearean excerpt.
Focus: Determine the message of the cartoon in terms of civil rights.
Teach: Read the excerpt aloud, then discuss it and its relation to the cartoon.
Assess: Ask: What advice might Nast give to legislators and those in authority?
Close: Ask: How might the message of the cartoon relate to your life today?

Differentiated Instruction Strategies

BL Explain the cartoon title in your own words.
AL Name another situation in which the advice given in the excerpt can be applied.
ELL Work with a partner to together interpret the cartoon.

Critical Thinking
Drawing Conclusions Discuss how eagerly African Americans set about building schools during Reconstruction. Ask: What do you think your life would be like if you had no opportunity to get an education? (Students may note that they may not be able to easily progress and could not get the information they need to take action if needed.)

Skill Practice
Problem Solving Have students pretend they are newly appointed school administrators in the South in 1867. Ask: What would be the first things you would do? List their answers on the board. Then have the class prioritize the tasks.

Making Connections

Answers:
1. Churches became the center of society. Schools, social events, and political gatherings were held at the church.
2. Churches still serve as center of life providing a center of communication, socializing, and education in modern life.
Several African American academies were established in the South. These academies grew into an important network of African American colleges and universities, including Fisk University in Tennessee and Atlanta University and Morehouse College in Georgia. The institution that would become Howard University was founded in 1867 in Washington, D.C., by a group of Congregationalists who wanted to establish a seminary for African American ministers. Soon the idea expanded to the creation of an entire university, named for one of the founders and head of the Freedmen’s Bureau, General Oliver Howard. Howard University quickly expanded to include the first law school, established in 1869, for African Americans.

The Hampton Institute was started in 1868 in Virginia to teach African Americans a trade or agricultural techniques. In 1881, after Reconstruction, Spelman College—the first college for African American women—and the Tuskegee Institute, now Tuskegee University, were founded. The first teacher at Tuskegee was Booker T. Washington, who later became an important African American leader.

African Americans also established thousands of other organizations to support each other. These organizations ranged from burial societies and debating clubs to drama societies and trade associations.

Activity: Collaborative Learning

Writing a Family History  Tell students that many families separated by slavery sought to reunite after emancipation and the war’s end. African Americans used a family record to keep track of births, deaths, and marriages after emancipation. Ask students to create a record of their own families. It should include the following information for every family member for whom it is available: name, birth date, marriage date and to whom, death date. Discuss the difficulties in trying to recreate this information from memory. Students should discuss completed records.
HISTORY AND YOU Have you heard of recent activities of the Ku Klux Klans? Read on to learn when and why the organization was founded.

At the same time as these changes were taking place, African Americans faced intense resentment from many Southern whites. Many Southerners also despised the “Black Republican” governments, which they believed vindictive Northerners had forced upon them.

Unable to strike openly at the Republicans running their states, some Southerners organized secret societies. The largest of these groups was the Ku Klux Klan. Started in 1866 by former Confederate soldiers in Pulaski, Tennessee, the Klan grew rapidly throughout the South. Its goal was to drive out the carpetbaggers and intimidate African American voters so as to regain control of the South for the Democratic Party.

Hooded, white-robed Klan members rode in bands at night, terrorizing supporters of the Republican governments. They broke up Republican meetings, drove Freedmen’s Bureau officials out of their communities, burned African American homes, schools, and churches, and attempted to keep African Americans and white Republicans from voting.

Some Republicans and African Americans formed their own militia groups and fought back. As the violence perpetrated by both sides increased, one African American organization sent a report to the federal government asking for help:

Primary Source

“We believe you are not familiar with the description of the Ku Klux Klan’s riding nightly over the country, going from county to county, and in the county towns spreading terror wherever they go by robbing, whipping, ravishing, and killing our people without provocation, compelling colored people to break the ice and bathe in the chilly waters of the Kentucky River. . . . We pray you will take some steps to remedy these evils.”

—from a petition to Congress, March 25, 1871, National Archives

The Ku Klux Klan’s activities outraged President Ulysses S. Grant and congressional Republicans. In 1870 and 1871, Congress passed three Enforcement Acts to combat the acts of violence in the South. The first act made it a federal crime to interfere with a citizen’s right to vote. The second put federal elections under the supervision of federal marshals. The third, also known as the 

Ku Klux Klan Act, outlawed the activities of the Klan. Local authorities and federal agents, acting under the Enforcement Acts, arrested more than 3,000 Klan members throughout the South. Southern juries, however, convicted only about 600, and fewer still served any time in prison.

Answers

1. All definitions can be found in the section and the Glossary.
2. South Carolina; they made up the majority of the population.
3. Washington, D.C. in 1869 (Howard University)
4. The first act made it a federal crime to interfere with a citizen’s right to vote. The second put federal elections under the supervision of federal marshals. The third (Ku Klux Klan Act) outlawed the activities of the Klan.
5. Schools provided African Americans with an education so that they could lead richer lives, take part in politics, and learn a trade or profession to improve their financial status. Churches served as community centers, political organizing centers, and unofficial courts. Social organizations helped African Americans to support one another.
6. positives: provided an influx of capital, educated whites and African Americans; negatives: exploited the South’s postwar turmoil for personal gain; some were corrupt
7. Answers will vary, but should mention that African Americans took advantage of the opportunities Reconstruction provided for participation in government.
8. Letters should describe specific conditions of life in the South, such as resentment of Northerners by white Southerners.
Section 3
Reconstruction Collapses

As Reconstruction came to an end in the late 1870s, the gains made by African Americans after the Civil War were steadily eroded by Southern whites as they reclaimed control of state legislatures. In the meantime, Southerners were developing strategies for a rebirth of the region’s economy.

The Grant Administration

The Republicans Split

During Grant’s first term in office, the Republican–controlled Congress continued to enforce Reconstruction. At the same time, it expanded the programs it had introduced during the Civil War to promote commerce and industry. It kept tariffs high, tightened banking regulations, promised to repay its debts with gold—not paper money—and increased federal spending on railroads, port facilities, and the national postal system.

The Republican Congress also kept in place the taxes on alcohol and tobacco that had been introduced as emergency measures during the war. These taxes, nicknamed “sin taxes,” helped the government pay off the bonds that had been issued to pay for the Civil War. Democrats attacked these Republican economic policies, arguing that they benefited the wealthy, such as government bondholders, at the expense of the poor, who paid most of the sin taxes. They argued that wealthy Americans were gaining too much influence in Grant’s administration.
In this cartoon, Grant, the Civil War hero of Vicksburg and Appomattox Courthouse, is “dogged” by the men in his administration who have been involved in various scandals.

Analyzing VISUALS
1. Interpreting What is Uncle Sam’s mood in the cartoon above, and why do you think he has this attitude?
2. Making Inferences In the cartoon on the right, how far does the cartoonist suggest that the corruption in government has spread?

This cartoonist shows the Grant administration looking for those guilty of fraud in a whiskey barrel—symbol of the "Whiskey Ring.”

Some Republicans, known as Liberal Republicans, agreed with the Democrats. They were concerned that men who were in office to make money and sell influence were beginning to dominate the Republican Party. The Liberal Republicans tried to prevent Grant’s renomination in 1872. When that failed, they left the Republican Party and nominated their own candidate, Horace Greeley, the influential newspaper publisher.

To attract Southern support, the Liberal Republicans promised to pardon nearly all former Confederates and to remove Union troops from the South. As a result, the Democratic Party, believing that only a united effort would defeat Grant, also nominated Greeley. Despite the split in his own party and Greeley’s passionate campaigning, Grant won the election easily.

During Grant’s second term, a series of scandals hurt the reputation of his administration. Grant’s secretary of war, William Belknap, had accepted bribes from merchants operating at army posts in the West. He was impeached but resigned before the Senate could try him. Then, in 1875, the “Whiskey Ring” scandal broke. A group of government officials and distillers in St. Louis, Missouri, cheated the government out of millions of dollars by filing false tax reports. Reportedly, Orville E. Babcock, Grant’s private secretary, was involved, although this was never proved.

Answers:
1. He looks annoyed and dejected because the president is not dealing with the corruption perpetrated by his appointees.
2. Corruption has spread to all levels of government—from federal to city wards.
Writing Support

Expository Writing Have students research Ulysses S. Grant's background. Ask: How did Grant's background improve or deter his effectiveness as president? (Answers will vary.) Have students write a brief essay responding to this question.

Skill Practice

Debating Call students' attention to the map of the 1877 election, which shows that Tilden won the popular vote but lost the election. Divide the class into two teams and ask them to do research on the Electoral College. Then have them debate the topic “The Electoral College Should Be Abolished.” In making the assignment, mention the concept of One Person, One Vote.

Answer:

They thought the wealthy and big business were gaining too much power in the Republican Party.

Reconstruction

Correspondence

Step 3: Describing the “New South” Have students choose a role to take—either an African American or white citizen from the South. Students will research the effect the collapse of Reconstruction had on that group including the advantages and disadvantages experienced by that group in the “New South.”

Directions As either an African American or white citizen from the South, students will write a letter to a friend or family member detailing how their life has changed since the collapse of Reconstruction and the type of life they perceive for themselves in the “New South.”

Making Generalizations Students will use the information gained to generalize about the lives of either African American or white citizens of the South after Reconstruction. (Chapter Project continued on the Visual Summary page)
terrorist groups, such as the Ku Klux Klan and Knights of the White Camellia, intimidated African American and white Republican voters, while some Democrats resorted to various forms of election fraud, such as stuffing ballot boxes, bribing vote counters, and stealing ballot boxes in Republican precincts. Southern Democrats also called on all whites to help “redeem”—or save—the South from “Black Republican” rule.

By appealing to white racism and defining elections as a struggle between whites and African Americans, Democrats were able to win back the support of white owners of small farms who had supported Republicans. By 1876, the Democrats had taken control of all Southern state legislatures except those of Louisiana, South Carolina, and Florida. In those states, the large number of African American voters, protected by Union troops, was able to keep the Republicans in power.

The Compromise of 1877

With Grant’s reputation damaged by scandals, the Republicans decided not to nominate him for a third term in 1876. Instead, they nominated Rutherford B. Hayes, a former governor of Ohio. Many Americans regarded Hayes as a moral man untainted by scandal. Hayes wanted to end Radical Reconstruction.

The Democrats responded by nominating Samuel Tilden, a wealthy corporate lawyer and former governor of New York who had tried to end the corruption in New York City’s government. On Election Day, Tilden clearly won 184 electoral votes, 1 short of a majority. Hayes clearly won 165 electoral votes, leaving 20 votes in dispute. Nineteen of the votes were in the three Southern states Republicans still controlled: Louisiana, South Carolina, and Florida. There had been so much election fraud on both sides that no one could tell which candidate had won.

To resolve the situation, Congress appointed a 15-person commission made up equally of members of the House, the Senate, and the Supreme Court. The commission had 8 Republicans and 7 Democrats, and eventually voted along party lines, 8 to 7, to give the votes to Hayes. The commission’s recommendations, however, were not binding if either house of Congress rejected them.

After much debate, several Southern Democrats joined with Republicans in the Democrat-controlled House of Representatives and voted to accept the commission’s findings. This gave the election to Hayes. Noting that Hayes could not have won without the support of Southern Democrats, many people concluded that a deal had been made. This is why the outcome of the election is known as the Compromise of 1877.

Historians are not sure if a deal was actually made or, if so, what its exact terms were. The Compromise of 1877 reportedly included a promise by the Republicans to pull federal troops out of the South if Hayes were elected, and that is, in fact, what happened within a month of Hayes taking office. It is also true, however, that the nation was tired of the politics of Reconstruction and that even Republican leaders were ready to put an end to it. Indeed, President Grant pulled troops out of Florida even before Hayes took office, so it is possible that no deal was actually made.
During his inaugural speech on March 5, 1877, President Hayes expressed his desire to move the country beyond the quarrelsome years of Reconstruction:

**PRIMARY SOURCE**

“Let me assure my countrymen of the Southern States that it is my earnest desire to regard and promote their truest interests—the interests of the white and colored people both equally—and to put forth my best efforts in behalf of a civil policy which will forever wipe out . . . the distinction between North and South, . . . that we may have not merely a united North or a united South, but a united country.”

—quoted in *The Life of Rutherford Bichard Hayes*

Whether the speech expressed Hayes’s real thoughts is unknown, but in April 1877 he pulled federal troops out of the South. Without soldiers to support them, the last Republican governments in South Carolina and Louisiana collapsed. The Democrats had “redeemed” the South. Reconstruction was now over.

### Activity: Collaborative Learning

**Reconstruction Display** Organize the class into small groups, each of which should develop an exhibit to illustrate Reconstruction. Groups may focus on an important person; an important event such as the impeachment of President Johnson; the culture of the period, such as hair and clothing styles, songs, and available reading material; or an important idea, such as what people expected of a Reconstruction policy.

Exhibits should include illustrations, short written descriptions, and primary sources.
A “New South” Arises

**Main Idea** The postwar South developed more industry, but most people still worked in agriculture.

**History and You** What does you recall about the disadvantages of the South during the Civil War? Read on to learn how the region tried to industrialize in the postwar period.

Many Southern leaders realized that the South could never return to the pre–Civil War agricultural economy once dominated by the planter elite. Instead, they called for the creation of a “New South”—a phrase coined by Henry W. Grady, editor of the Atlanta Constitution. They believed the region had to develop a strong industrial economy.

Powerful white Southerners and Northern financiers brought great economic changes to parts of the South. Northern capital helped to build railroads, and by 1890 almost 40,000 miles of track crisscrossed the South. Southern industry also grew. A thriving iron and steel industry developed around Birmingham, Alabama. In North Carolina, tobacco processing became big business, and cotton mills appeared in numerous small towns.

In other ways, the South changed little. Despite its industrial growth, the region remained agrarian. As late as 1900, only 6 percent of the Southern labor force worked in manufacturing. For many African Americans, the end of Reconstruction meant a return to the “Old South,” where they had little political power and were forced to labor under difficult and unfair conditions.

The collapse of Reconstruction ended African Americans’ hopes of being granted their own land in the South. Instead, many returned to plantations owned by whites, where they either worked for wages or became tenant farmers, paying rent for the land they farmed. Most tenant farmers eventually became sharecroppers. Sharecroppers did not pay their rent in cash. Instead, they paid a share of their crops—often as much as one-half to two-thirds.

Many sharecroppers also needed more seed and other supplies than their landlords could provide. As a result, country stores and local suppliers provided them with the supplies they needed on credit and at interest rates often as high as 40 percent. To make sure that sharecroppers paid their debts, laws allowed merchants to put liens on their crops. These crop liens meant that the merchants could take crops to cover the debts.

The crop-lien system and high interest rates led many sharecroppers into a financial condition called debt peonage. Debt peonage trapped sharecroppers on the land because they could not make enough money to pay off their debts and leave, nor could they declare bankruptcy. Failure to pay off debts could lead to imprisonment or forced labor. The Civil War had ended slavery, but the failure of Reconstruction trapped many African Americans in economic circumstances that severely limited their newly gained freedom.

**Summarizing** What factors brought about an economic rebuilding of the South?

**Vocabulary**

**Main Ideas**
2. Analyzing What caused the Panic of 1873?
3. Explaining How did Reconstruction end?
4. Describing How did conditions for African Americans in the post-Reconstruction South resemble conditions before the Civil War?

**Critical Thinking**
5. Big Ideas What factors contributed to the improving economy of the South after Reconstruction?
6. Organizing Use a graphic organizer to identify the problems faced by Grant’s administration.

**Writing About History**
7. Analyzing Visuals Study the map of the election of 1876 on page 374. Which candidate won the popular vote?
8. Expository Writing Write a short essay explaining what you consider to be the three most important events of the Reconstruction period. Explain why you chose those events.

**Answers**

1. All definitions can be found in the section and the Glossary.
2. Fear within the financial community was sparked by the bankruptcy of Jay Cooke and Company bank due to bad railroad investments.
3. After Rutherford Hayes became president as a result of the Compromise of 1877, he pulled all federal troops out of the South, ending Reconstruction.
4. The collapse of Reconstruction ended African Americans’ hopes of being granted their own land in the South. They still had little political power and were forced to labor under difficult and unfair conditions for the plantation elite, with little hope for future success.
5. Acceptance that things were never going to be as they were before the Civil War, investment by Northerners, growth of industry.
7. Tilden
8. Essays should include three events and an explanation for each.

**Assess**

**History Online** Study Central provides summaries, interactive games, and online graphic organizers to help students review content.

**Close**

**Comparing** Ask students to describe the South after Reconstruction. (Slavery was abolished, more industry developed, but the South remained dependent on agriculture.)

**Section 3 Review**
**Plan for Reconstruction**

**Lincoln’s Plan**
- Amnesty for all Southerners who take an oath of loyalty and accept the end of slavery, excluding former Confederate officials
- Once 10 percent had taken the oath, new state governments could be formed

**Congressional Plan—The Wade-Davis Bill**
- A majority of Southerners must take an oath of loyalty in order for new state governments to form
- Each state must hold a convention to abolish slavery, reject Confederate debts, and deprive former Confederate officials and officers of the right to vote or hold office

**Johnson’s Plan**
- Amnesty for all Southerners who take an oath of loyalty, excluding former Confederate officers and owners of large amounts of property
- Each Confederate state must hold a convention to revoke secession ordinance and ratify the 13th Amendment

**The Events of Reconstruction**

**The White Southern Response**
- The South elects many former Confederate officials to Congress
- Southern states introduce black codes to restrict African American freedom and force them into labor contracts
- White mobs riot and attack African Americans
- Militant groups, such as the Ku Klux Klan, organize to oppose reconstruction and prevent African Americans from voting
- Southern Democrats slowly regain power by using racism to bring poor white voters back to the Democratic party

**Congress**
- Congress passes the Civil Rights Act of 1866 and the Fourteenth Amendment
- Congress imposes Military Reconstruction, requiring former Confederate states to give the right to vote to all adult males
- Congress passes the Fifteenth Amendment

**African Americans**
- Freedmen’s Bureau and Reconstruction governments build schools enabling formerly enslaved African Americans to get an education
- During Reconstruction, African Americans enter politics in large numbers, holding many political offices in the South
- As Reconstruction ends and the South’s agrarian economy revives, many African Americans become sharecroppers

**Visual/Spatial** Ask students to research the percentages of eligible voters who actually voted in four presidential elections in different decades. Have them create circle graphs or bar graphs showing the percentages. Discuss their findings, including their ideas about why some people don’t vote.  

Interested students may also want to find breakdowns of voter participation by income, location, ethnicity, and age.  

**Analyzing** Have students review “The Events of Reconstruction.” **Ask:** Which event do you think was the most important? (Answers may include rights for African Americans and the vote for African American males; industrialization of South) Write their answers on the board and have students explain their choices. Then ask the class to vote on the event they consider the most important.  

**Hands-On Chapter Project**

**Step 4: Wrap Up**

**Reconstruction Correspondence**

**Step 4: The Other Side of the Story** Have students review the letters they have written for this project. They will take on the opposing role and respond to the letters.

**Directions** Students should write a brief response to each of their letters from the opposing point of view. For example, have students write a letter reacting to Reconstruction from the point of view of a white citizen of the South rather than the African American point of view.

**Comparing and Contrasting** As a class, have students compare and contrast all of the different views about Reconstruction (Northern, Southern white, African American, etc.). Use this discussion to debate the successes and failures of Reconstruction of the South.
Reviewing Vocabulary

Directions: Choose the word or words that best complete the sentence.

1. Part of President Lincoln’s plan for Reconstruction was to offer _________ to Southerners who would take an oath of loyalty to the United States.
   A. imprisonment  
   B. amnesty  
   C. debt peonage  
   D. exile

2. A Northerner who came to the South during Reconstruction, or a _________, was often there to exploit the South’s misfortune.
   A. scalawag  
   B. sharecropper  
   C. carpetbagger  
   D. furnishing merchant

3. During Reconstruction, the Republican Congress maintained _________, to pay its debts.
   A. sin taxes  
   B. crop liens  
   C. debt peonage  
   D. black codes

4. A type of corruption called _________ among the Republicans in Congress gave the Democrats an issue to help them regain power in the 1870s.
   A. scandal mongering  
   B. graft  
   C. welching  
   D. thievery

5. Even though the Civil War ended slavery, many freed African American farmers faced _________, a set of financial circumstances that confined them to the land because they could not make enough money to get out of debt.
   A. the "New South"  
   B. debt peonage  
   C. black codes  
   D. amnesty

6. Which provision was part of the Wade-Davis Bill?
   A. The majority of white men in the state had to take an oath of allegiance to the United States.
   B. States could not hold a constitutional convention.
   C. All former Confederate political and military leaders would be given the right to vote.
   D. Freed African Americans had to be provided with "forty acres and a mule."

7. The Freedmen’s Bureau made the most lasting impact in _________.
   A. education  
   B. land redistribution  
   C. voter registration  
   D. labor negotiations.

8. The first African American leaders who emerged during Reconstruction came from which group?
   A. scalawags who wanted to strengthen the Republican Party  
   B. those who had been educated before the Civil War  
   C. those who had just been freed from enslavement  
   D. former Confederate political leaders

9. The third Enforcement Act was passed by Congress in 1871 to _________.
   A. divide the Confederacy into five military districts  
   B. provide all adult males with the right to vote  
   C. outlaw the activities of the Ku Klux Klan  
   D. establish the Freedmen’s Bureau.

Reviewing Main Ideas

Directions: Choose the best answer for each of the following questions.

Section 1 (pp. 356–363)

6. Which provision was part of the Wade-Davis Bill?
   A. The majority of white men in the state had to take an oath of allegiance to the United States.
   B. States could not hold a constitutional convention.
   C. All former Confederate political and military leaders would be given the right to vote.
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   C. outlaw the activities of the Ku Klux Klan  
   D. establish the Freedmen’s Bureau.

Answers and Analyses

Reviewing Vocabulary

1. B  A good strategy for fill-in-the-blank questions is for students to fill in the blank themselves before looking at the answer choices. The answer choice that most closely matches the word they chose is most likely correct. Amnesty is the only answer choice that is a positive, and based on the question, it is likely that Lincoln offered something positive in return for a loyalty oath.

2. C  Carpetbaggers were called so because of their bags made of carpet remnants. A scalawag was a white Southerner that supported Reconstruction. Furnishing merchant is a distractor based on similarity to "carpet."

3. A  Sin taxes were taxes on alcohol and tobacco. Explain to students that taxes are how the government generates revenue. Crop liens and debt patronage would not be used by the government to raise money. Black codes were discriminatory Southern laws.

4. B  A graft is cheating by someone who is corrupt or can also mean money obtained through corruption. Welching, thieving, and scandal mongering are all negative things, but graft is more clearly connected with corruption.

5. B  The financial circumstances that created debt peonage included liens that reduced the profitability of crops harvested and the high interest rates that made it difficult for farmers to get out of debt.

Reviewing Main Ideas

6. A  This question can be answered using the process of elimination. A is correct. B is incorrect, because under the Bill, once all white men in the state had

...taken an oath of allegiance, they could then hold a constitutional convention. C is the opposite of one of the provisions, which stated the constitutions must ban all former Confederate leaders from voting.

7. A  Many members of the Freedmen’s Bureau recognized the importance of education. The Bureau did not make nearly as large strides in the areas listed in the other choices.

8. B  African American leaders educated before the war would logically emerge as leaders after the war. A is incorrect, because scalawags were white Southerners, not African American leaders. C would not make sense, because most recently freed enslaved Africans did not have enough knowledge or education. Confederate leaders would not have been African American.

9. C  A good way to help students remember that the third Enforcement Act was passed to outlaw the Ku Klux Klan is to focus on the number 3. It was the third Enforcement Act, and there are three Ks in Ku Klux Klan.
10. B As discussed in previous answers, scalawags were white Southerners, which eliminates A and C. Scalawags supported Reconstruction, which eliminates D.

11. B It is important that students understand what motivated the Southern Democrats. Just because the Union had remained intact, did not mean that the North and South had healed or experienced any fundamental change in beliefs. Therefore, Southern Democrats wanted to redeem the South.

12. D Choice A is untrue. B is incorrect, because Reconstruction was not the cause of the scandal in Grant's administration. Democrats did not gain complete control of every level of government; C is too broad. Reconstruction failed because African Americans, although freed from slavery, faced massive discrimination and economic hardship.

13. D The Compromise of 1877 was the name given to the election of Hayes. Although the details of a compromise, if there indeed was one, are murky, it was said that Hayes promised to remove federal troops from the South. Federal troops were removed from the South shortly after Hayes became president, which confirmed for some that a compromise had taken place.

**Critical Thinking**

14. C The culture of the South during Reconstruction makes choices A, B, and D highly unlikely. The Reconstruction South was not kind to African Americans. Black codes limited the rights of southern African Americans.

15. A To answer correctly, students must understand the map key and read the map carefully. General Sickles's district is marked with a crosshatch pattern. In addition, the key tells students that the boldface date is the date of readmission to the Union. Each state with the crosshatch pattern was readmitted in 1868.

16. B Looking at the boldface dates, Texas, Mississippi, and Georgia were all readmitted to the Union in 1870. All of the other answer choices include at least one state readmitted in 1868.
Chapter 10 • Assessment

17. What effect did the system of sharecropping have on the South after the Civil War?
A. It kept formerly enslaved persons economically dependent.
B. It brought investment capital to the South.
C. It encouraged Northerners to migrate South.
D. It provided for a fairer distribution of farm profits.

18. What does the trapeze act that Ulysses S. Grant is performing represent?
A. economic hardship
B. a split Republican party
C. a scandal-ridden administration
D. controversial sin taxes

Document-Based Questions

Directions: Analyze the document and answer the short-answer questions that follow the document.

In 1867, a speech was read for Radical Republican Thaddeus Stevens who was ill. He argued in favor of confiscating the land of former Confederates and putting it to a new use.

“Four million of persons [former slaves] have just been freed from a condition of dependence, . . . Make them independent of their old masters, so that they may not be compelled to work for them upon unfair terms, which can only be done by giving them a small tract of land to cultivate for themselves, . . . Nothing is so likely to make a man a good citizen as to make him a freeholder. Nothing will so multiply the productions of the South as to divide it into small farms. Nothing will make men so industrious and moral as to let them feel that they are above want and are the owners of the soil which they till. . . . How is it possible for them to cultivate their lands if these people were expelled? If Moses should lead or drive them into exile, or carry out the absurd idea of colonizing them, the South would become a barren waste.”

—from the Congressional Globe, speech to House of Representatives, March 19, 1867

19. What was Stevens arguing the federal government should do?

20. What does Stevens suggest would happen to the South if all the formerly enslaved African Americans left the region?

Extended Response

21. In your opinion, who had the best plan for Reconstruction—Lincoln, Johnson, or Congress? Write a persuasive essay that includes an introduction and at least three paragraphs that explain and support your position.