

CHAPTER

# The Civil War

SS.912.A.2.1 Review causes and consequences of the Civil War.

Examine key events and peoples in Florida history as they relate to SS.912.A.3.13 United States history.

# Names and Terms You Should Know

Sectionalism

**Abolitionists** 

Frederick Douglass

Missouri Compromise

Compromise of 1850

Fugitive Slave Act

Kansas-Nebraska Act

Republican Party

Dred Scott decision

John Brown's raid

Abraham Lincoln

Secession

Jefferson Davis

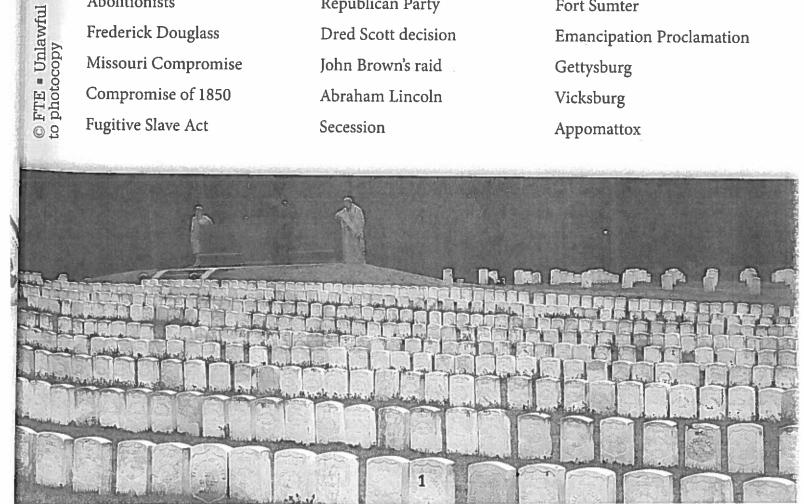
Fort Sumter

**Emancipation Proclamation** 

Gettysburg

Vicksburg

Appomattox



# Florida "Keys" to Learning

- 1. The Civil War had multiple causes, including sectionalism, slavery, and differing views of states' rights.
- 2. Sectionalism refers to the loyalty many Americans felt towards their own geographic region—the North, South, or West—rather than to the country as a whole.
- 3. The Northeast saw the rise of manufacturing; the West was populated by independent farmers growing food and raising livestock; the South focused on growing cash crops for export, such as cotton and rice, and remained dependent on the use of slave labor.
- 4. Abolitionists wanted to end the practice of slavery. Pro-slavery apologists argued that Southern slaves were better treated than Northern workers.
- 5. The issue of the extension of slavery to new territories arose as the nation expanded westward. A series of compromises at first seemed able to resolve the issue. Under the Missouri Compromise (1820), Missouri became a slave state and Maine became a free state. Slavery was not otherwise to be permitted in the lands of the Louisiana Purchase above 36°30'N. Thus, the later admission of Florida as a slave state was balanced by the addition of Iowa as a free state. In the Compromise of 1850, California was admitted as a free state and a stricter fugitive slave law was enacted.
- 6. The system of compromise broke down with the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska Act (1854), "Bleeding Kansas" (1855–1856), the *Dred Scott* decision (1857), and John Brown's raid on Harper's Ferry (1859).
- 7. In the Presidential election of 1860, Democrats were divided. Republican candidate Abraham Lincoln won the election with only 39% of the popular vote and no electoral votes from Southern states. South Carolina and six other Southern states immediately seceded (withdrew from the Union). The seceding states formed the Confederate States of America.
- 8. In his inaugural address, Lincoln called on Southern states to remain in the Union and promised not to end slavery in the South. When he sent supplies

- to Fort Sumter in Charleston Harbor, South Carolina fired on the fort, beginning the Civil War. Rather than fight fellow Southerners, four more states seceded.
- 9. The North had many advantages:
  a larger population, greater revenues,
  more railroad lines and factories, and
  superior naval power. The South had its
  military traditions and the fact that white Southerners were fighting to preserve their way of life. The
  existence of a large population of Southern slaves created an additional element of uncertainty, while the
  South's specialized export economy and devotion to
  states' rights further weakened the Confederacy.
- 10. In the early campaigns, the South repelled Northern invasions, but could not successfully advance into the North itself. Meanwhile the North relied on its naval power to strangle the South—imposing a naval blockade of the Atlantic Coast and attempting to obtain control of the Mississippi.
- 11. In September 1862, Lincoln issued the Emancipation Proclamation. It announced the emancipation of slaves in those states still in rebellion on January 1, 1863.
- 12. The turning point of the war was reached in 1863, when the North defeated Southern forces at Gettysburg and General Ulysses S. Grant captured Vicksburg. Lincoln put Grant in supreme command of Union forces. Grant aimed at destroying Confederate forces and their sources of support. General Sherman's "March to the Sea" further divided the South and destroyed farms, towns, and railroad lines.
- 13. In April 1865, General Robert E. Lee surrendered to Grant at Appomattox. Less than a week later, President Lincoln was assassinated.
- 14. The Civil War ended slavery, preserved the Union, and strengthened the federal government.



#### The Civil War

The Civil War was the most divisive conflict in American history. More Americans were killed in this war than in any other. The wounds left by the Civil War took decades to heal.



A complex event like the Civil War has many causes. Historians often consider both the long-term and short-term causes of such events:

- ▶ Long-term causes are those economic, social, cultural, and political factors that make an event possible or even likely.
- ► Short-term causes usually consist of a specific problem or crisis and how it is handled, which then leads directly to the event.

Although a war or revolution may appear to have been inevitable when looking backwards at events, such conflicts can sometimes be avoided if leaders skillfully steer through a crisis and introduce reforms to address the underlying problems.

In looking at the Civil War, historians frequently consider sectionalism, slavery, and disagreements over the interpretation of the Constitution as the long-term causes of the conflict. Did they make the conflict inevitable?

#### 1. Sectionalism

The first factories and steamboats made their appearance only a few years after the U.S. Constitution was ratified. Meanwhile, the United States doubled its size with the Louisiana Purchase in 1803.

Economic development and westward expansion affected each part of the country differently. Each region of the United States gradually evolved its own distinct social system.

- ▶ The South was distinguished by the continuation of slavery—its "peculiar institution"—long after it had been abolished in the North. The invention of the cotton gin and the increased demand for raw cotton from factories in the North and Britain overseas led to an expansion of slavery in the South. By 1860, almost four million people—about one-third of the population of the South— were African-American slaves. A majority of them worked on the large plantations of the Southern elite.
- ► The Northwest was dominated by small, independent farmers. The Northwest became the "bread basket" of the United States, growing grain that was shipped by river and canal to both the Northeast and the South.

► The Northeast became a center of manufacturing. In the early years of the nineteenth century, the Northeast witnessed the growth of a new class of factory workers.

These economic and social differences led to the rise of "sectionalism" as early as the 1820s. Sectionalism refers to the greater loyalty that many Americans felt towards their "section" (or region)—the North, South or West—than to the country as a whole.

Political leaders in each section generally wanted federal policies favorable to their sectional interests. This led to frequent clashes. Northerners wanted high tariffs to protect their manufactured goods from competition with cheaper British goods. Southerners opposed high tariffs because they sold raw cotton



Economic Specialization in the United States, circa 1850

Section	Population in 1850	Leading Economic Activities  Manufacturing (textiles, ironwares, and machinery), shipping, small farms and fishing.  Small farms and large plantations using slave labor to grow cash crops like cotton, tobacco, rice, and sugar for export.	
Northeast (9 states)	9 million		
South (15 states)	9 million (including about 3.5 million slaves)		
Northwest (6 states)	5 million	Family farms on fertile lands produced wheat, corn, oats, and livestock for sale in the Northeast and South.	

Source: Historical Statistics of the United States

#### Important National Issues, 1820–1850

Issue	Northeast	South	Northwest
Protective Tariff	Yes	No	Yes
National Bank	Yes	No	No
Federal Financing of Roads and Canals	Yes	No	Yes
Cheap Federal Land	No	Yes	Yes
Extension of Slavery to New Territories	No	Yes	No

to Britain and wanted to be able to buy cheap British imports. In general, Northerners favored a more active federal government that would take steps to promote the growth of American industry (such as the creation of a strong central bank). Southerners wanted as little interference from the federal government as possible. They feared high tariffs and federal meddling with their system of slavery.

#### 2. Slavery

The most explosive issue facing Americans was that of slavery. Abolitionists were reformers (often Protestant preachers) who saw slavery as a great moral evil that ought to be abolished. The abolition of slavery in the British Empire in 1833 greatly inspired these American abolitionists. So did the efforts of many former slaves, such as Frederick



Slaves waiting to be sold in Richmond, Virginia

Douglass, Sojourner Truth and Harriet Tubman, who gave speeches and wrote books about the hor-

rors they had endured in the South. Publications like William Lloyd Garrison's journal, *The Liberator*, and a popular book by **Harriet Beecher Stowe**, *Uncle Tom's Cabin* (1852), helped to create a sense of moral outrage against slavery across much of the North.



Frederick Douglass

In fact, in Southern states about two-thirds of the white population owned no slaves at all. Nevertheless, much of the Southern economy was based on profits gained through the use of slave labor. Proslavery Southerners argued that African Americans were inferior and actually better off as slaves. They claimed that Southern slaves were better treated than factory workers in the North, because slaves were fed, clothed, and housed by their masters. Finally, they feared that emancipating millions of slaves might lead to social disorder and violence against whites.

Was the existence of slavery the main cause of the Civil War? Surely it would have been difficult to eliminate the Southern system of slavery—the South's "peculiar institution"—without a war. And the main reason the Southern states seceded from the Union was certainly because they thought their system of slavery was threatened. African Americans also saw the war as a struggle to obtain their freedom. On the other hand, the Civil War did not at first start over the question of slavery in the South, but over the issue of whether individual states had the right to secede from the Union. And several slave-holding border states, such as Missouri, refused to secede. Northern leaders did not want to drive these border states away by threatening an end to slavery.

#### 3. Westward Expansion

Tensions between the North and South might have been controlled had it not been for the acquisition of new lands in the West. Expansionist policies in the 1840s led to American control of half of the Oregon Territory and a large section of Mexico. These annexations created the problem of determining which way of life was to be adopted in the new territories—one based on slavery or free labor?

Many Northerners were appalled at the possibility of the further spread of slavery. Others feared competition with slave labor. Lincoln's Republican Party, formed in 1854, did not oppose the existence of slavery in the South, but opposed its extension to the new territories.

Most Southerners felt that only by extending slavery to some of the new states could they keep control of half of the United States Senate. They saw this as vital since the Senate was their main weapon in defending the slave system against abolitionist attacks from the more populous North.

#### 4. The Breakdown of Compromise

Despite sectional differences, the nation managed to preserve its fragile unity through a series of clever compromises.

#### The Missouri Compromise, 1820

When Missouri applied for admission as a slave state, there were exactly eleven free states and eleven

#### Free versus Slave States

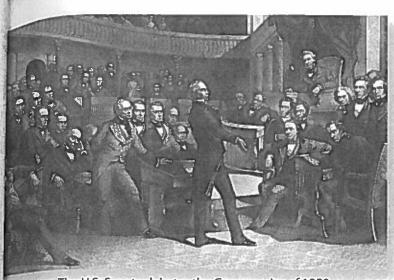
Year	Free States	Slave States
1790	7	8
1800	8	9
1821	12	12
1837	13	13
1846	14	15
1848	15	15
1858	17	15
1861	19	15

slave states. Neither the North nor the South wanted to give the other side a majority in the Senate. A compromise was eventually worked out:

- ▶ Missouri was admitted as a slave state.
- ▶ Maine was admitted as a free state.
- ► No other slavery was to be allowed in the Louisiana Purchase north of the southern boundary of Missouri (the 36°30'N line of latitude).

It was in the spirit of the Missouri Compromise that Florida was admitted as a slave state and Iowa was admitted as a free state in the 1840s.





The U.S. Senate debates the Compromise of 1850

#### The Compromise of 1850

Another crisis occurred thirty years later when California threatened to upset the balance in the Senate by applying for admission as a free state. In fact, all of the lands taken from Mexico during the Mexican American War (1846–1848) posed the same problem. Again, a compromise was arranged:

- California was admitted as a free state.
- ► The system of "popular sovereignty" was applied to the other territories taken from

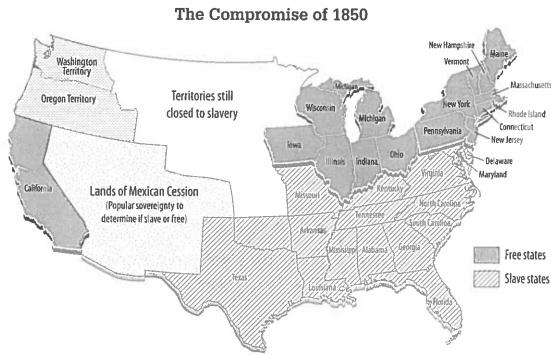
- Mexico. This meant that the people living in those territories would decide for themselves whether or not to permit slavery.
- ➤ A new and harsher fugitive slave law was passed, requiring free states in the North to cooperate in returning runaway slaves to their owners in the South. The Fugitive Slave Act of 1850 was greatly resented in the North.
- ► The sale of slaves was banned in Washington, D.C.

#### The Embittered Climate of the 1850s

In the 1850s, a series of new events tore these earlier compromises apart. Was this breakdown inevitable or did it demonstrate a failure of American political leadership? An alarming rise of violence in events such as "Bleeding Kansas" and John Brown's raid was symptomatic of the new climate.

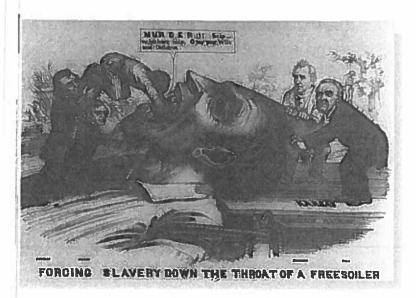
#### The Kansas-Nebraska Act. 1854

The change in climate began with the Kansas-Nebraska Act. Senator Stephen Douglas of Illinois, who had helped to arrange the Compromise of 1850, introduced the **Kansas-Nebraska Act** to win Southern support for a railroad line to be built from the Midwest to California. The act divided the Nebraska



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Chapter 1 | The Civil War





Territory into Nebraska and Kansas. It further repealed the Missouri Compromise by applying the principle of "popular sovereignty" to both the Kansas and Nebraska Territories. This reintroduced the possibility of slavery where it had previously been prohibited. Douglas argued that "popular sovereignty" offered the most democratic way of resolving the slavery question and would remove the issue from national politics. Many Northerners, however, were shocked. The **Republican Party** was formed in 1854 in direct response to the Kansas–Nebraska Act. Republicans opposed the extension of slavery to any new territories.

#### "Bleeding Kansas," 1855-56

Both pro-slavery and anti-slavery forces tried to influence the outcome in Kansas by bringing in their own groups of settlers. By 1855, two rival state governments were formed—one pro-slavery and one opposed to slavery. The federal government eventually had to send in troops to restore order. Violence even reached the U.S. Senate in May 1856. In one of his speeches, Senator Charles Sumner of Massachusetts denounced



Senator Butler of South Carolina with insults for embracing slavery. A few days later, Butler's nephew beat Sumner unconscious with a gold-tipped walking cane on the floor of the Senate.

#### The Dred Scott Decision, 1857

Dred Scott, a Missouri slave, had lived with his owner, an army officer, for several years in Illinois (a free state) and in the Wisconsin territory where slavery was barred by the Missouri Compromise. During this time, Scott had married another slave, and they had two children. After the Scotts returned with their master to Missouri, Dred Scott sued for their freedom. The Scotts



**Dred Scott** 

were in fact freed by a Missouri jury in 1850, but the Missouri Supreme Court reversed this decision in 1852. Dred Scott then appealed his case to the United States Supreme Court. Five years later, the Supreme Court reached its decision. Chief Justice Roger Taney announced that Dred Scott, as an African American, was not a U.S. citizen and therefore had no right to sue in federal court. Moreover, the Supreme Court held that the prohibition of slavery in northern territories by the Missouri Compromise was unconstitutional. According to the Court, a slave was simply the property of another person and Congress did not have the right to take that citizen's property away, or even to limit his property rights—including the right to take that property into federal territory.

"[African Americans] had no rights which the white man was bound to respect; and that the negro might justly and lawfully be reduced to slavery for his benefit. He was bought and sold and treated as an ordinary article of merchandise, whenever profit could be made by it. [Referring to language in the Declaration of Independence] it is too clear for dispute, that the enslaved African race were not intended to be included, and formed no part of the people who framed and adopted this declaration. . . ."

—Chief Justice Taney, Dred Scott v. Sandford (1857)

This ruling by the Justices of the U.S Supreme Court, a majority of whom came from the South, raised a storm of protest throughout the North. In the **Freeport Doctrine**, Stephen Douglas insisted that the

residents of a territory could still ban slavery. Ironically, Dred Scott himself was freed by his owners only two months after the Supreme Court's decision was announced. The troubles caused by the case remained.



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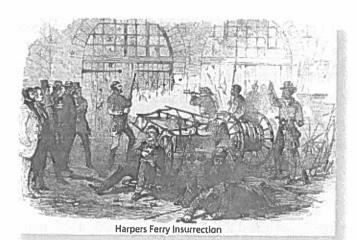
# The Historian's Apprentice

Pretend your class is putting Chief Justice Roger Taney on trial for his opinion in *Dred Scott v. Sand-ford*. Did the Supreme Court act fairly and reasonably in reaching its decision? Did the Justices follow the U.S. Constitution, based on the views of that time? Should they have reached a different decision?

#### John Brown's Raid, 1859

John Brown, a white Northern abolitionist, had moved to "Bleeding Kansas" where he had fought and killed pro-slavery agitators. Brown next drew up plans for launching slave revolts across the South. In 1859, Brown captured a federal arsenal in

Harpers Ferry, Virginia, but his tiny force was soon overwhelmed by U.S. troops. Not a single slave joined his uprising. Brown was hanged two months later, but his attempt to stir the slaves to revolt created a wave of fear among Southern whites.



# 5. Differences in Constitutional Interpretation: States' Rights

Southerners were strong supporters of states' rights. They argued that the states themselves had created the federal government by ratifying the Constitution. Since each state had joined the Union voluntarily, it also had the power to withdraw if it wished.

These ideas were tested during the Presidency of Andrew Jackson. John C. Calhoun, a famous Senator from South Carolina and Vice-President under Jackson, wrote that states had the right to "nullify" (or cancel) federal laws within their borders if they believed they were unconstitutional. In 1832, South Carolina nullified the federal tariff, which had raised import duties on goods from England. When Jackson threatened to use force against South Carolina, however, the state backed down. South Carolina continued to maintain that it had the right to nullify

federal laws or even to secede (or *leave*) the Union if it wished.

Many Northerners took a different view. They saw the Constitution as the work of the American people as a whole—"We the People"—and not as the product of the individual states. States therefore did not have the right to pull out of the Union whenever they pleased.

# The Immediate Cause of the Civil War: Lincoln's Election and the Secession of the South

The frictions of the previous thirty years created a climate of tension in which an armed conflict between the states became possible. In the Presidential election of

1860, the new Republican Party nominated **Abraham Lincoln**, a former Con-

gressman from Illinois who had made a name for himself in a series of debates with Stephen Douglas. Democrats were divided: Southern Democrats nominated the Vice President, John Breckinridge, and Northern Democrats nominated Stephen Douglas. Another new party, the Constitutional Union, was made up of Southerners who supported the Union; they nominated John Bell. These divisions allowed Lincoln to win the election with only 39% of the popular vote. Not a single Southern state gave its electoral votes to Lincoln.

As soon as Lincoln was elected, South Carolina announced its **secession** from the Union. Six other states from the lower South quickly followed. Florida was the third state to secede. Southern leaders nevertheless hoped to avoid war. Could they peacefully establish a separate nation of slaveholders and slaves, with an economy based on export agriculture, bordering the United States?

President Buchanan declared that these states had no right to secede, but he also felt the federal government had no power stop them. Meanwhile, the Southern states organized themselves into the "Confederate States of America." They drew up their own constitution and elected their own President, Jefferson Davis.

In his inaugural address, Davis emphasized that in their secession from the Union, South-

erners had "merely asserted a right which the Declaration of Independence defined to be inalienable." Since the South had no designs of aggression and was largely agricultural, while the North was industrial, Davis hoped the two nations could live side-by-side in peace and prosperity.

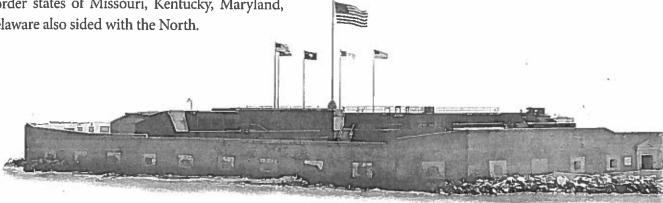
In his own inaugural address, Lincoln tried to calm the fears of white Southerners. He pledged not to interfere with slavery where it already existed. He hoped that a show of firmness would avoid bloodshed, but he was equally determined to go to war if necessary to bring the Southern states back to the Union: "[T]he Union of these states," he declared, "is perpetual," and "no state can lawfully get out of the Union."

President Lincoln did recognize the existence of a vague "right of revolution," based on the Declaration of Independence. This right justified rebellion against great moral wrongs, such as taxation without representation. However, Lincoln believed this right did not apply to the circumstances of 1861 because the Southern states were acting unjustly. He was therefore determined to take steps to preserve the Union.

#### **Shots Fired at Fort Sumter**

When Lincoln sent food and supplies to Fort Sumter, a federal fort in the harbor of Charleston, South Carolina, Confererate forces fired on the fort on April 12, 1861. Lincoln called on all other states to supply militia to put down the rebellion. Virginia and three other states from the upper South joined the seceding states rather than fight against them. West Virginia broke off from Virginia to form a new state loyal to the Union. The border states of Missouri, Kentucky, Maryland, and Delaware also sided with the North.

Once blood was shed, all the frustrations of the past thirty years quickly came to the surface. In both the North and the South, the public seemed to welcome the outbreak of war as a great release and as an opportunity to demonstrate their own superiority. Most people thought their side would win quickly and easily. Unfortunately, they were wrong.





# The Historian's Apprentice

Your teacher will organize your class to hold a debate on the proposition that the Southern states had the right to secede from the Union. You can base your arguments in part on the principles found in the Declaration of Independence, the writings of John Locke, the Articles of Confederation, and the U.S. Constitution (popular sovereignty).

# The Course of the Civil War

#### Advantages of the North

When the Civil War began, the North had many advantages over the South. With the border states, it had a population of 22 million, compared to only 5.5 million free persons in the South. It was

more industrialized with more railroads, factories, mines, roads, and canals than the South. Its factories could produce arms and ammunition. The North had more coal, iron, gold, and other natural resources.



The Southern economy was dangerously dependent on exports of a few cash crops and lacked diversification. The North had merchant ships and control of the U.S. Navy, while at the start of the war, the South had no navy at all. The South was home to a large slave population, which created an immense element of uncertainty. Would these slaves assist their masters or initiate a series of uprisings to win their

freedom and assist the North? Given all the North's advantages, it is remarkable that the war lasted as long as it did. This may have been due to the fact that white Southerners were defending their way of life. They also possessed a strong military tradition and many gifted military commanders, such as **Robert E. Lee** and "Stonewall" Jackson.

General Robert E. Lee

Southern ports and the use of Northern naval power to seize control of the Mississippi and divide the Confederacy in two.

Southerners hoped to ward off Northern attacks. After showing Northerners that they could not win easily, Southern leaders thought the public in the North would lose interest in the war and recognize the Confederacy. They also hoped to win support from foreign countries that depended on Southern cotton.

Lincoln acted quickly. He ordered a naval blockade of the South, suspended *habeas corpus* (which prevents the government in peacetime from imprisoning a person without charge), and issued paper money to pay for wartime expenses. Later, Lincoln even introduced military conscription (obligatory service).

#### **Military Strategies**

Northerners adopted a strategy first suggested by General Winfield Scott, which became known as the "Anaconda Plan." An anaconda is a giant snake. To limit the bloodshed, Scott proposed strangling the South with a naval blockade of



The opening campaign took place on the peninsula separating Washington, D.C., and Richmond, Virginia, the capital of the Confederacy. A Northern army marched south towards Richmond but was stopped by Confederate forces at the Battle of Bull Run. Farther to the west,



The U.S. Navy captures New Orleans

the U.S. Navy captured New Orleans, while federal troops farther north began pushing down the Mississippi River.

Lee counter-attacked, trying to bring the war to the North. He led his troops into Maryland, but his advance was stopped at the **Battle of Antietam**, on the single bloodiest day of the Civil War.

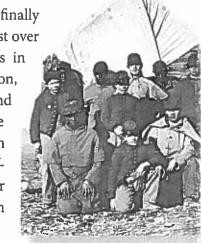
#### The Emancipation Proclamation

Lincoln had been reluctant to identify slavery as the cause of the Civil War because this would have risked losing the support of the border states—Maryland, Kentucky, Missouri and Delaware—which permitted slavery but stood by the Union. However, Lincoln was pressured by African Americans like Frederick Douglass and other abolitionists to use the war to end

slavery. There was also the problem created by the slaves themselves, who had fled their plantations to join Union forces. Equally important, Lincoln feared that Britain and France might intervene to assist the Confederacy. By making the war more about the continuation of slavery, he would avoid this risk. Finally, there can be no doubt that Lincoln hated slavery.

For all these reasons, Lincoln issued the Emancipation Proclamation on September 22, 1862, just days after the Battle of Antietam. The Emancipation Proclamation announced that all slaves in those states still in rebellion on January 1, 1863, would be freed. It did not emancipate any slaves in the border states that remained loyal to the Union. This meant that Lincoln was not actually freeing any slaves at all in states that recognized the authority of the federal government.

But his proclamation did finally make the war into a contest over slavery, encouraged slaves in the South to join the Union, and discouraged Britain and France from helping the Confederacy. The Union even began recruiting African-American troops for combat, such as the 54th Massachusetts Regiment.







Chapter 1 | The Civil War

#### 1863—The Turning Point of the War

The turning point of the war was reached less than a year later. General Lee again advanced into the North. This time Confederate forces were defeated at **Gettysburg**, Pennsylvania, in July 1863. More than 50,000 troops were injured or killed in the battle.

Lincoln honored Union losses in his famous Gettysburg Address. Lee retreated and never advanced into the North again. The day after the Battle of Gettysburg ended, General Ulysses S. Grant took Vicksburg, farther to the west, giving the North control over the Mississippi River Valley.

#### The Gettysburg Address

Four score and seven years ago our fathers brought forth on this continent a new nation, conceived in liberty, and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal. Now we are engaged in a great civil war, testing whether that nation, or any nation, so conceived and so dedicated, can long endure.

We are met on a great battlefield of that war. We have come to dedicate a portion of that field, as a final resting place for those who here gave their lives that that nation might live. . . .

The brave men, living and dead, who struggled here, have consecrated it, far above our poor power to add or detract. . . . It is rather for us to be here dedicated to the great task remaining before us—that from these honored dead we take increased devotion to that cause for which they gave the last full measure of devotion—that we here highly resolve that these dead shall not have died in vain—that this nation, under God, shall have a new birth of freedom—and that government of the people, by the people, for the people, shall not perish from the earth.

-Abraham Lincoln, November 19, 1863

- ▶ What was the "new birth of freedom" to which Lincoln referred?
- ▶ Do you think the reputation of this famous speech is justified?

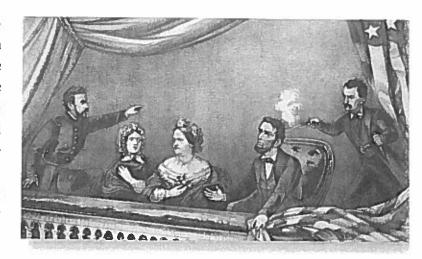
#### Grant and the Last Year of the War

Lincoln now appointed Grant as his supreme commander. Grant aimed at destroying both the Confederate army and its base of support. He ordered General Sherman to march from western Georgia to Atlanta and then down to the coast. During Sherman's "March to the Sea," his forces destroyed all Confederate sources of supply by looting and burning farms and tearing up railroad lines; they even burned the city of Atlanta to the ground.



Lincoln with General Grant and other Union leaders

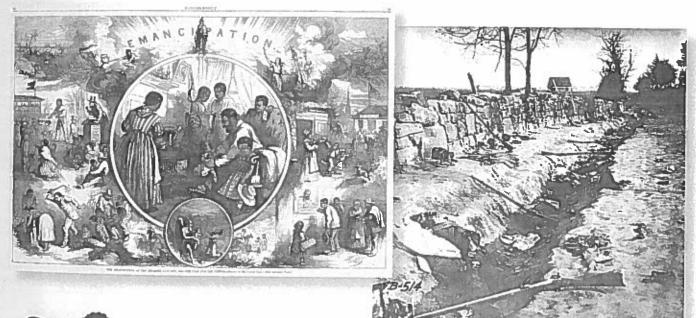
Following these new battlefield victories, Lincoln was able to win the Presidential election of 1864. By 1865, Confederate forces were dwindling, allowing Grant to advance on the Confederate capital of Richmond. Confederate forces were surrounded at Petersburg and forced to retreat, leaving Richmond vulnerable to attack. On April 9, 1865, Lee surrendered to Grant at Appomattox, virtually ending the Civil War. President Lincoln was assassinated by Southern-sympathizer John Wilkes Booth less than one week later.



# The Consequences of the War

The Civil War ended slavery, re-affirmed the existence of the Union, and strengthened the power of the federal government. It also led to the loss of 600,000 lives. In Chapter 2, you will learn about the

Reconstruction Era—the post-war period of adjustment and recovery in the South. In Chapter 4, you will learn how the North experienced rapid industrialization in the decades following the Civil War.





# The Historian's Apprentice

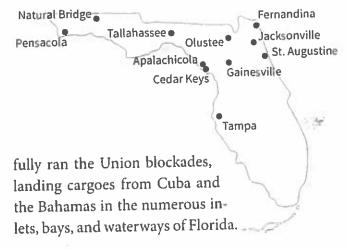
Make a chart summarizing the effects of the Civil War. Consider the war's political, economic, and social effects.

# Florida in Focus

In 1860, the population of Florida was just over 140,000 inhabitants, of whom approximately 40% were slaves. The Seminole Indians had, over the previous half century, been confined to reservations through a series of bloody conflicts. The state's economy centered on the production of cotton and timber goods, both of which depended heavily on the use of slave labor. It was therefore not surprising that on January 10, 1861, a constitutional convention called for by Florida's General Assembly adopted an ordinance of secession by a vote of 62 to 7. The "nation of Florida" thus seceded from the United States. The following month, Florida joined the Confederate States of America.

For much of the war, the North sought to control Florida's coastline and to enforce a blockade preventing the supply of Confederate forces with food, arms, and materials from Florida. For these purposes, Union troops occupied Fort Pickens near Pensacola off the Gulf of Mexico, and made the fort their head-quarters in Florida for the duration of the war. Key West remained in Union hands as well.

Federal forces also invaded and seized control of Apalachicola, Cedar Keys, Fernandina, Jacksonville, St. Augustine, and Tampa. Floridians often success-



The Confederate commander, Robert E. Lee, hoped to preserve the interior of Florida as a source of agricultural produce and cattle for the South. A number of battles were therefore fought in this region. In 1864, 5,200 Confederate troops, led by General Joseph Finnegan, defeated 5,500 Union soldiers at the Battle of Olustee. Further Confederate victories followed at Gainesville, Cedar Keys, and Natural Bridge. This was despite the fact that these Confederate forces were often comprised of young boys and old men. Many of the slaves in Florida, in fact, remained loyal to their masters and stayed to help their owners' wives and daughters manage the land and nurse the wounded. The war in Florida ended on May 10, 1865, when Tallahassee was occupied by federal troops.

#### **Review Cards**

# Long-term Causes of the Civil War

**Sectionalism:** People felt greater loyalty to their section—the North, South, or West—than to the nation as a whole.

**Slavery:** Abolitionists wanted to end slavery. Escaped slaves like Frederick Douglass spoke out against the horrors of slavery. Pro-slavery apologists in the South argued that slaves were better off than Northern factory workers.

**Extension of Slavery:** Many Northerners did not want to see slavery extended to new territories; Southerners feared being outnumbered by free states if slavery did not spread.

States' Rights: Many Southerners believed states had the right to leave the Union if they wished.

#### Causes of the Civil War:

#### The Breakdown of Compromise

#### Early Compromises over the Slavery Question:

- (a) Missouri Compromise (1820) Missouri admitted as a slave state and Maine as a free state; slavery prohibited in the Louisiana Purchase north of 36°30'N.
- (b) Compromise of 1850 California admitted as a free state; the sale of slaves banned in Washington, D.C.; tough Fugitive Slave Act of 1850 enacted; popular sovereignty applied to the slavery question in the rest of Mexican Cession.

#### The Breakdown of Compromise:

Kansas-Nebraska Act (1854) Popular sovereignty to determine the slavery question in remaining territories of Louisiana Purchase, reopening the slavery issue there.

Birth of Republican Party (1854) Republicans opposed the extension of slavery.

"Bleeding Kansas" (1855–1856) Anti-slavery and pro-slavery settlers violently contested control of the Kansas Territory.

*Dred Scott* decision (1857) Supreme Court ruled that Dred Scott, an African American, was not a citizen and had no right to sue in court; the Court also ruled that Congress had no right to forbid slavery in the territories.

John Brown's Raid (1859) John Brown, a white abolitionist, attacked a federal arsenal in Virginia, hoping to stir up slave revolts throughout the South.

#### Causes of the Civil War:

#### The Secession Crisis

**Presidential Election of 1860:** Democrats were divided, helping Republican candidate Abraham Lincoln to win the election with 39% of the vote.

**Secession:** South Carolina immediately seceded. Six Southern states followed, forming the Confederacy. Four states of the upper South seceded after war broke out.

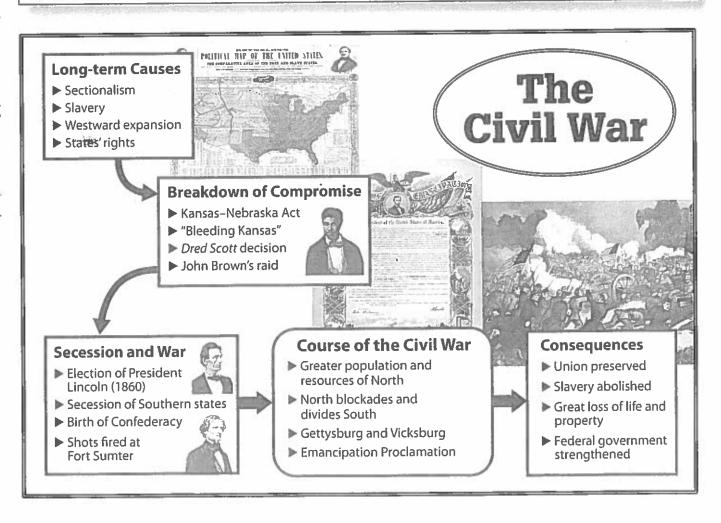
**Fort Sumter:** Lincoln sent supplies to this fort in Charleston Harbor. Confederate forces fired on the fort, starting the Civil War. Border states stayed loyal to the Union.

#### Course of the Civil War

- ▶ The North had a larger population, more industry and resources, and the navy. Lincoln imposed a naval blockade on the South.
- ▶ Lincoln issued the Emancipation Proclamation in September 1862, freeing all slaves in states still in rebellion on January 1, 1863.
- ▶ Florida was valued for its cattle and food supplies; the Battle of Olustee was fought in northern Florida in 1864.
- ▶ The Battle of Gettysburg (1863) was the turning point of war; Grant became Union commander; Lee surrendered at Appomattox in April 1865.

# Consequences of the Civil War

- ▶ Preservation of the Union
- ► Abolition of slavery
- ▶ Tremendous loss of life and destruction of property
- ▶ Power of the federal government strengthened





# CHAPTER 2

# Reconstruction: America's "Unfinished Revolution"?

Segregation

Plessy vs. Ferguson

**SS.912.A.2.2** Assess the influence of significant people or groups on Reconstruction.

SS.912.A.2.3 Describe the issues that divided Republicans during the early Reconstruction era.

SS.912.A.2.4 Distinguish the freedoms guaranteed to African Americans and other groups with the 13th, 14th, and 15th Amendments to the Constitution.

SS.912.A.2.5 Assess how Jim Crow Laws influenced life for African Americans and other racial/ ethnic minority groups.

SS.912.A.2.6 Compare the effects of the Black Codes and the Nadir on freed people, and analyze the sharecropping system and debt peonage as practiced in the United States.

SS.912.A.3.13 Examine key events and peoples in Florida history as they relate to U.S. history.

# **Names and Terms You Should Know**

Reconstruction Fourteenth Amendment Debt peonage Thirteenth Amendment Due Process Ku Klux Klan Freedman **Equal Protection** Literacy tests Freedmen's Bureau Fifteenth Amendment "Grandfather clauses" Andrew Johnson Impeachment Poll taxes Presidential Reconstruction Carpetbagger Solid South Radical Republicans "Jim Crow" laws

Radical Republicans Scalawag

"Black Codes" Hiram Rhodes Revels

Congressional Reconstruction "New South"

Civil Rights Act Sharecropping

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# Florida "Keys" to Learning

- 1. During Reconstruction, Southern states had to be readmitted into the Union, incorporate the emancipated freedmen into public life, and rebuild their war-torn economies.
- 2. Lincoln had proposed to treat the South leniently. After he was assassinated in April 1865, the next President, Andrew Johnson, at first seemed to be sterner on former Confederates. However, Johnson soon began pardoning almost all former Confederates.
- 3. One of the greatest issues facing the South was the fate of the freedmen. How would four million people, suddenly emancipated from slavery, enter into public life and the free market economy? There was a struggle over the control of Southern land and the labor of the freedmen. Despite several experiments and promises during the war, the freedmen were not given their own land. The federal government set up the Freedmen's Bureau, with offices throughout the South, to help the freedmen adjust and to set up schools to educate them.
- 4. Southern state legislatures had to accept the end of slavery, but quickly passed "Black Codes," based on older slave codes. These limited the civil rights and freedom of movement of the freedmen.
- 5. Northern Republicans in Congress were outraged by the election of former Confederates to Congress and by the passage of the Black Codes throughout the South. Republicans passed the Civil Rights Act, granting freedmen their civil rights. This federal law later became the basis for the Fourteenth Amendment.
- 6. Congress also passed its own program for Reconstruction, dividing the South into five districts—each occupied by the Union army. Former Confederate leaders lost their political rights, while freedmen were given the right to vote.

- 7. The Republicans in Congress impeached President Johnson. He was impeached (*accused*) in the House of Representatives, but the Senate failed to remove him from office.
- 8. During Reconstruction, three amendments were added to the Constitution. The Thirteenth Amendment abolished slavery. The Fourteenth Amendment guaranteed all citizens the "equal protection of the laws" and "due process." The Fifteenth Amendment prohibited any denial of voting rights on the basis of race.
- 9. During Reconstruction, freedmen, carpetbaggers, and scalawags held power in Southern governments. For the first time, African Americans were elected to government office. Hiram Rhodes Revels became the first African American elected to Congress.
- 10. Reconstruction governments built roads and schools and took steps towards racial equality. However, after Northern troops were withdrawn, Southern states started passing segregation laws in the late 1870s.
- 11. Southerners also developed a new economy during Reconstruction. Former slave owners often did not have money to pay laborers. The emancipated slaves did not have land. Many former slaves became sharecroppers, giving a share of their crops to the landowner in exchange for use of the land.

Other freedmen became tenants, and soon owed debts to their landlords (usually their former master under slavery).



12. After the end of Reconstruction, Southern state governments passed "Jim Crow" laws requiring racial segregation (separation of "white" and "colored") in public places. These laws were upheld by the U.S. Supreme Court in *Plessy v. Ferguson* (1896). The Ku Klux Klan terrorized African Americans and prevented them from exercising their political rights.



# The Challenges of Reconstruction

By April 1865, when the Civil War ended, much of the South had been destroyed. Plantations, towns, and farms were in ruins. Railway lines had been torn up by advancing Union armies. A large number of Southerners had fought for years in the Confederate army for a cause that had lost. President Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation had abolished slavery throughout the rebelling states. Escaping slaves had fled to the Union army. Some had been given plots of land from plantations abandoned by Confederate owners, in an experiment in the Sea Islands of South Carolina. Confederate paper money had lost all its value. There was no way for Southerners to return to the ways of the antebellum years.

To "reconstruct" means to rebuild. To rebuild the South, Americans had to overcome a series of major political, economic, and social hurdles:

- 1. How should Southern states be re-admitted to the Union?
- 2. Was it the President or Congress that had the power to set conditions for their re-admission?
- 3. Should former Confederate leaders be permitted to participate in public life, or should they be excluded or otherwise punished?
- 4. What was to be the position of the millions of former slaves (known as *freedmen*) in Southern society? Most historians today consider this as the greatest challenge of Reconstruction.
- 5. How could the economy of the South be rebuilt?

Historians such as Eric Foner believe that the Reconstruction Era was one of great promise, but that America's leaders failed to seize the initiative

for fundamental change. Indeed, Foner considers Reconstruction to be America's great "Unfinished Revolution."

# **Early Plans for Reconstruction**

Even before the end of the war, people started thinking about Reconstruction. A special **Freedmen's Bureau** was established by Congress in March 1865 to help the former slaves adjust to freedom. President Lincoln promised in his second Inaugural Address that he had lenient plans for Reconstruction "with malice toward none, with charity for all." Once ten-percent of a state's voters pledged alle-

giance to the Union and accepted the Emancipation Proclamation, Lincoln planned to readmit that state back into the Union. Congress rejected Lincoln's "Ten-Percent Plan" and passed a more stringent bill for Reconstruction in July 1864, known as the Wade-Davis Bill, but Lincoln had refused to sign it. In April 1864, the U.S. Senate also proposed the Thirteenth Amendment, prohibiting slavery

throughout the United States. This amendment passed the House in January 1865 and was ratified by the states by the end of the year. In the meantime,

President Lincoln had suddenly been assassinated in April 1865, only a few days after the South had finally surrendered.

# The Politics of Reconstruction

#### **Presidential Reconstruction**

Lincoln's successor was his Vice President, Andrew Johnson, a former slave-holder from Tennessee, one of the states that had joined the Confederacy. In the months before the new Congress assembled, President Johnson enjoyed a relatively free hand over Reconstruction policy. Coming from a modest background, Johnson had resented wealthy slaveholders.

At first, it was believed that he would impose harsh conditions on the Southern Confederates. Indeed, he refused to issue a general pardon to former Confederate leaders. Each leader had to personally request amnesty. However, Johnson soon began issuing thousands of individual pardons, allowing former Confederates to regain their former properties as well as their rights of citizenship.

President Johnson did not consider African Americans to be on equal terms with whites. Instead, he hoped for reconciliation between Northern and Southern whites as quickly as possible, with little actual change in the South. Johnson even recognized the newly formed Southern state governments, largely made up of former Confederate leaders. The President soon came under the suspicion of many Northerners, including many Congressmen, for being too sympathetic to the South.

#### The Black Codes

Under these conditions, Southern whites became more daring. In new elections, Southern voters chose former Confederate leaders, including several generals and colonels, to represent them in the new Congress. Southern states also took steps to withhold the right to vote from freedmen.

At the same time, they passed new

"Black Codes." These were in fact

based on the slave codes of the

past. Each Southern state wrote its own code, but they all had several features in common: they first defined the freedmen as "persons of color," and then prevented such persons from voting, serving on juries, testifying in court against whites, holding office, or serving in the state militia. They also regulated freedmen's marriages and labor contracts between freedmen and whites. "Such persons are not entitled to social and political equality," proclaimed the South Carolina Black Code of 1865, "with white persons." Likewise in Florida, a law decreed that the "jurors of this state shall be white men."

Most of all, the Black Codes made it illegal for freedmen to travel freely or to leave their jobs. Each freedmen had to show that he had work for the current year. This forced the former slaves to stay on plantations as workers. Black workers could also be whipped for showing disrespect to their employers—often their former masters. Black children were "apprenticed" to white employers, and black convicts were turned over to white employers for hard labor. The whole aim of the Black Codes was to preserve the structure of Southern society with as little disruption as possible, despite the abolition of slavery.

#### **Congressional Reconstruction**

Public opinion in the North was outraged at the election of former rebel leaders by Southern states and by the enactment of the new Black Codes. The blood-stained victory of the Civil War itself seemed to be at stake. Congress refused to seat the newly-elected Southern members. Moderate Republicans joined hands with the "Radical Republicans," a smaller group of Republicans who believed that the South should be punished and that African Americans should be granted full political and civil equality.

Republicans passed a "Civil Rights" bill and a bill to enlarge the Freedmen's Bureau. President Johnson vetoed both bills, but the Republicans had enough votes to override his veto.

The new Civil Rights Act prohibited discrimination based on race, thus overturning the Black Codes. It made all persons born in the United States into citizens, including the freedmen, and guaranteed them the same rights as "white citizens."

#### The Fourteenth Amendment

To insure these rights against a challenge by the Supreme Court, Congress rewrote the terms of the Civil Rights Act into the Fourteenth Amendment. This amendment prevents states from denying African Americans or other minorities the rights and

privileges of citizens, including a fair trial and equal protection of the laws.

Although written to protect the rights of freedmen from the actions of Southern state governments, the Fourteenth Amendment actually guaranteed the same rights to all citizens. Based on this amendment, state governments as well as the federal government must respect the rights listed in the Bill of Rights even today.

To be readmitted to the Union, each Southern state was forced to ratify the Fourteenth Amendment, while former Confederate leaders were deprived of the right to hold elected office. The effect of these changes was to shift the balance of power in Southern governments.

# The Impeachment of President Andrew Johnson

President Johnson opposed the terms of Congressional Reconstruction. However, Northern voters in the 1866 mid-term Congressional elections supported the Radical Republicans.

After President Johnson failed to win support in these elections, the Radical Republicans became the dominant force in Congress. The continuing exclusion of representatives from the Southern states helped them to maintain their majority.

All persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and of the State wherein they reside. 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.

—An excerpt from the Fourteenth Amendment

- ▶ What is meant by "due process of law"?
- ▶ What is meant by the "equal protection of the laws"?
- ► How do these concepts differ?
- ▶ How did this amendment overturn the earlier *Dred Scott* decision?

The Radical Republicans passed their own bill for Reconstruction. They divided the South into five districts. Each district was occupied by a division of the Union army and placed under martial law.

To enforce its program, Congress also passed a law, known as the Tenure of Office Act. This act limited the President's power to dismiss his own cabinet members. President Johnson refused to obey this law. When he dismissed the Secretary of War, Congressional leaders attempted to remove Johnson from the Presidency through the process of **impeachment**. Johnson was successfully impeached by the House of Representatives in February 1868, but in the Senate three months later the Radical Republicans failed to remove him by only one vote. Johnson was the first President to have been impeached. Later that same year, Ulysses S. Grant was elected as the next President of the United States.

The **Fifteenth Amendment** was ratified in 1870. It prohibited states from denying any citizen the right to vote on the basis of race or previous "servitude" (*slavery*).



President Andrew Johnson's impeachment hearing in the U.S. House of Representatives

The chart below summarizes the early plans for Reconstruction by President Johnson, the Southern States, and the Radical Republicans in Congress:

	President Johnson	Southern States	Radical Republicans
Who should control the readmission of Southern States?	The President		Congress
When should Southern States be readmitted?	Immediately, so long as they support the Union and the end of slavery.	Immediately, with each state in charge of its own affairs.	Only when most citizens in the state agree to support the Union and black citi- zens are given their full civil and political rights
Should Southern leaders be punished?	Almost all Southern rebels are individually pardoned by the President.	No punishment for former Confederate leaders.	Confederate leaders should be punished and all who served in the Confederacy should lose their political rights.
Should the freed slaves be entitled to vote?	Johnson recommends that state governments give the franchise to educated freedmen and black veterans, but refuses to use the federal government to force them to do so.	No.	Yes.



# The Historian's Apprentice

- 1. Imagine you are a U.S. Senator in 1864. Write a letter to a friend explaining how the Thirteenth Amendment differs from the Emancipation Proclamation.
- 2. Make an illustrated timeline showing the development of Presidential and Congressional policies for Reconstruction.
- 3. Pretend your class is the United States Senate in May 1868 deciding whether to remove President Andrew Johnson from office. One team should present the grounds for removal. A second team should defend his actions. Then put his impeachment and removal from office to a vote. Members of the "Senate" should write a paragraph explaining how they voted. Did President Johnson narrowly survive impeachment in your classroom, as he did in 1868?
- 4. Write a paragraph on whether you think President Johnson's impeachment was justified. Examine the grounds for impeachment in the U.S. Constitution. For what reasons do you believe a President should be impeached?
- 5. Reread the language of the 14th Amendment. Do you think this language entitled women to vote? Use the Internet to find out what happened when Susan B. Anthony voted on the basis of this amendment in 1872. Would you have agreed with the judge in this case? Give two reasons to support your answer.

# The Reconstruction Governments in the South

Giving the vote to freedmen while excluding former Confederate leaders created new conditions in the South. New Southern governments were elected. They often fell under the control of new arrivals from the North, known as "carpetbaggers." This was a term of abuse applied by Southern newspapers. It meant that many of the new arrivals were poor whites. able to fit all of their belongings into a few bags made of carpet, who came to exploit the South. In fact, many of these Northerners came for an idealistic goal-to help the freedmen. Others came for new business opportunities. The new Reconstruction governments in the South also included "scalawags"-Southern whites who supported Reconstruction. Most of all, new African-American voters made up a large portion of the Southern electorate in the Reconstruction Era.

One of the most important aspects of Reconstruction was the active participation of African Americans in state and local governments across the South. Over 600 served as state legislators. African Americans filled numerous posts in state governments, including Governor of Louisiana. In South Carolina, African Americans became a majority of the state legislature and chose an African-American Speaker of the House. Hiram Rhodes Revels, a Protestant minister, became the first African American to sit in Congress when he was elected as Senator from Mississippi in 1870. Fifteen other African Americans sat in Congress during Reconstruction.

Among the greatest areas of accomplishment of the Reconstruction governments were the creation of a system of public schools, laws banning racial discrimination, and the encouragement of investment in railroads. Reconstruction leaders generally favored modernization of the South. Nonetheless, Reconstruction governments faced great financial difficulties, were often guilty of the corruption that was widespread in that era, and never won the support of the majority of white Southerners. White

Southerners especially resented Northern interference and did not recognize their former slaves as social equals. Without changing white Southern attitudes or giving African Americans greater resources, Reconstruction policies were ultimately doomed to fail once the North withdrew.



# The Historian's Apprentice

Imagine you are an African-American freedman, a Northern "carpetbagger," or a white "scalawag" in a Southern state. Write a paragraph for an editorial in a local newspaper explaining your views on Reconstruction in your state.

#### The Economics of Reconstruction: The "New South"

With the end of slavery and the widespread destruction of the Civil War, one of the major tasks of Reconstruction was to repair the economy of the South. Without slave labor, the old plantation system could not be restored. Some plantation owners were forced to sell off sections of their lands. For the most part, however, plantation owners entered into sharecropping arrangements with their former slaves, who had no resources of their own. The landowner provided a cabin, a mule, tools, and a plot of land to the sharecropper. The sharecropper, in turn, gave a large share of his crop to the landowner. Most freedmen became sharecroppers, but others became tenant farmers. They rented land from the landowner but provided their own tools and provisions. Very few freedmen ever became landowners themselves.

If a sharecropper or tenant farmer owed any money at all to the landlord for cash loans or the use of tools, he or she could not leave until the debt was paid—in effect tying the freedman down in a system of **debt peonage**.

Some Southerners saw the end of slavery as a good thing for the South. They thought the South could develop a more diversified economy by growing many types of crops and carrying out its own

manufacturing. They called this the "New South." After the war, new farming methods increased the yield per acre. The cultivation of new crops like fruits and vegetables was added to old staples like cotton, tobacco, rice, and sugar. Most important of all, railroads, cotton mills, and steel furnaces were built and more people moved into Southern cities. Although manufacturing in the South did not rival the North, it was much greater than in pre-Civil War times.



Sharecroppers planting sweet potatoes

# Reconstruction Comes to an End

Reconstruction governments lasted different lengths of time in different states, but none for more than ten years. In 1876, the outcome of the narrow Presidential election contest between Republican candidate Rutherford B. Hayes and Democrat Samuel Tilden was disputed. Tilden won the popular vote but did not have enough votes in the Electoral College.

The results were disputed in Oregon and three Southern states: Florida, Louisiana and South Carolina. If all 20 disputed votes were given to Hayes, he would win the election. There were accusations of fraud in all three states, including Florida. A special Congressional commission was formed to decide the disputed electoral votes. In the end a compromise was worked out. Under the "Compromise of 1877," all the disputed electoral votes were given to Hayes, who agreed to withdraw Northern troops from the South and end Reconstruction.

By 1877, Northern troops left the South, and local governments entirely returned to local white Southern rule. Former Confederate leaders could now vote and state legislatures quickly moved to bar African Americans from voting or participating in the political process.

There were several reasons why Reconstruction failed to achieve complete equality for African Americans:

1. A Legacy of Racism—White Americans, in the North as well as the South, were not ready to recognize African Americans as their social equals. In the South, Reconstruction was

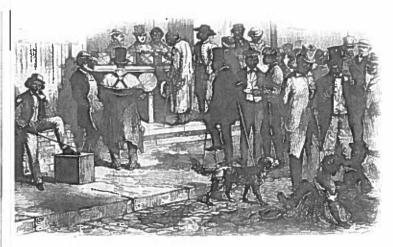
keenly resented because it placed blacks in the position of exercising authority over whites. The weight of centuries of prejudice prevented most white Americans, both in the North and the South, from changing their attitudes.

- 2. The Economic Dependence of African
  Americans—The failure to divide up the
  plantations and give the freedmen their own
  plots of land after the Civil War meant that
  Southern blacks remained dependent on their
  former masters for their livelihoods.
- The Freedmen Lacked Education and Political Experience—Most of the freedmen were, uneducated, which further weakened their ability to compete with hostile whites.
- 4. White Terrorism—Secret societies, like the Ku Klux Klan, Knights of the White Camelia, the White League, Red Shirts and Pale Faces, terrorized those Southern blacks who attempted to assert their full political and social rights. This frightened many into submission.
- 5. Loss of Northern Interest in Southern
  Reconstruction—The Reconstruction
  governments were established right after
  the Civil War, when Northern voters and
  politicians were anxious to assert supremacy
  after a hard-fought struggle. When Americans
  were hit by an economic depression in 1873,
  most Northerners lost interest in the South.

# The Aftermath to Reconstruction: The Segregated South

The system that replaced Reconstruction in the South was one of racial segregation and white supremacy. African Americans were deprived of their basic political and civil rights until the Civil

Rights movement nearly a century later. Some historians refer to this period as the "Nadir," or low point, in American race relations.



Freedmen voting during Reconstruction

#### African Americans in Southern States Lose the Right to Vote

The Fifteenth Amendment had guaranteed the right to vote to all adult males. However, in the ten years following Reconstruction, Southern state governments systematically stripped African Americans of this right. Southern blacks were economically dependent on white owners of land and businesses and were

unlikely to challenge them politically. Moreover, African Americans were terrorized by the Ku Klux Klan, the White League, The Knights of the White Camelia, and similar groups. Armed bands openly threatened African Americans who tried to vote. They especially targeted teachers and community leaders. Lynchings of African Americans became common. (A lynching is a

public hanging by a local mob of an accused person without a trial.) Southern sheriffs and police were all white, as were Southern judges and juries, and they enforced laws selectively against blacks.

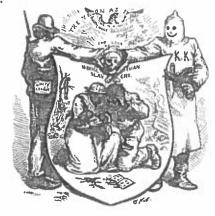
Finally, Southern legislators passed a series of laws in the decades after Reconstruction specifically designed to prevent African Americans from voting without actually violating the 14th and 15th Amendments. Literacy Tests—A literacy test determines if someone can read. Literacy is not normally a requirement for voting, but it was not unconstitutional for a state to make it one. Literacy tests were made more difficult for black citizens, while white citizens were often exempted from this requirement.

**Poll Taxes**—**Poll Taxes** were special registration fees for voting. They were not only burdensome to the poor, but usually had to be paid long in advance and could not be paid on the day of the election.

"Grandfather Clauses"—These laws allowed people who had been qualified to vote at the beginning of 1867, their descendants, and relatives to vote without passing a literacy test or paying a poll tax. In effect, this exempted "poor whites" from these requirements but not poor blacks, since few African Americans had been qualified to vote in the South in January 1867. "Grandfather clauses" were declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court in 1915, but the other requirements, such as poll taxes, were upheld.

As a result of these measures, whites regained control of their state governments and representa-

tion in Congress. Thus, even though a majority of citizens in Louisiana, Mississippi, and South Carolina were African Americans, few could vote. Resentful of Republican reconstruction, for the next hundred years white Southerners consistently voted for the Democratic Party. For this reason, they became known as the "Solid South" in national elections.



# The System of Racial Segregation: the Reign of "Jim Crow"

The new white state legislatures quickly passed a series of **segregation laws**, which separated blacks from whites. By state law, whites and blacks attended different schools, rode in separate railway cars, ate in different restaurants, used different

public toilets and water fountains, and sat on different public benches. The facilities given to African Americans were generally inferior.

The laws establishing racial segregation in the South became known as the "Jim Crow" laws, named after a character in earlier song-and-dance shows. Segregation denied black citizens equal opportunities and rights, reinforced white racism and fear of blacks, and conveyed the message that whites were superior. Poor whites were especially afraid of competition from black workers and welcomed the "Jim Crow" laws for keeping blacks "in their place." The purpose of these laws was to *circumvent*—or get around—the 13th, 14th, and 15th Amendments.

In 1890, Louisiana passed a "Jim Crow" law requiring railroad companies to "provide equal but separate" facilities to members of different races. Opponents of segregation persuaded Homer Plessy, who was one-eighth African American, to challenge this law. Plessy sat in a railroad car for whites, told the conductor of his mixed ancestry, and was arrested. He fought his case all the way up to the U.S. Supreme Court. In 1896, the Supreme Court upheld racial segregation in *Plessy v. Ferguson*.

The Court saw nothing in the Louisiana law itself that stated that some races were inferior to others:

"We cannot say that a law which requires the separation of two races is unreasonable. We consider the [error] of [Plessy's] argument to consist in the assumption that the enforced separation of the two races stamps the colored race with a badge of inferiority."

Segregation was also practiced in the North, butgenerally as a matter of custom rather than law. For example, riots took place in Chicago in 1919 when a black swimmer went ashore on a "white" beach and was murdered by white bathers.

#### The African-American Response

African Americans responded to these adverse conditions in a variety of ways. A small trickle migrated northwards. From 1910 onwards, this trickle became a flood and close to 2 million African Americans migrated to Northern cities over the next two decades. Another way Southern blacks responded was by developing strong community and church ties. These became especially important during the later Civil Rights Movement.

#### Focus on Florida

Florida was fortunate in suffering less damage than most Southern states during the Civil War. After 1865, growing cotton in Florida became secondary to a wide variety of other occupations, including growing citrus fruits and winter vegetables, raising cattle, cutting timber, and tourism. The state's population nearly doubled in the two decades after 1860, reaching 270,000 inhabitants by 1880. Almost half of these were African Americans.

African Americans took a very active role in the government of Florida during Reconstruction. They made up 19 of the 53 members elected to the state legislature in 1868. **Jonathan C. Gibbs**, a preacher and graduate of Dartmouth

College, became Florida's Secretary of State. Josiah T. Walls, a former slave and Union veteran, was the first black Floridian elected to the U.S. House of Representatives, where he served

three terms. Josiah T. Walls

Southern Democrats regained control of Florida's state government in 1877. They followed the example of other Southern states in enacting their own "Jim Crow" laws. A state constitutional convention was held in 1885, which imposed poll



Jonathan C. Gibbs

taxes, literacy tests, and residency qualifications as requirements for voting. The convention also endorsed racial segregation in schools. In 1889, Florida's state legislature introduced multiple ballot boxes at elections in order to confuse and discourage African-American voters. These laws were accompanied by acts of violence against those African Americans who still dared to exercise their political rights. Despite these threats, some African Americans bravely continued to assert their rights. For example, Joseph H. Lee, an African American who moved to Florida in 1873, actually served in the state legislature from 1880 until 1913.

A unique form of **debt peonage** developed in the pine forests of Florida at the end of Reconstruction,

which lasted until the 1940s. African Americans who sought work in a turpentine camp were offered a bus ride to the camp. For their ride, they became indebted to the owner and were unable to leave the camp until the debt was paid. They became further indebted to the owner for their housing and food. Thus they became virtual prisoners. One victim later remembered:

"You is born into the teppentime, with no hope of getting out."

The system exploited thousands of African Americans, who worked in the camps that produced one-fifth of the world's turpentine.

#### **Review Cards**

#### The Battle over Reconstruction

Freedmen's Bureau was set up to help freedmen; 13th Amendment abolished slavery.

#### **Presidential Reconstruction:**

- ► Lincoln wanted to readmit Southern states when 10% voters pledged allegiance to the Union and recognized end of slavery.
- ▶ Johnson insists Confederate leaders seek personal pardons.

Black Codes: New Southern state governments with former Confederate leaders pass "Black Codes," restricting the rights of freedmen.

#### **Congressional Reconstruction**

- ▶ Shocked at the Black Codes and the election of Confederate leaders, Radical Republicans refuse to seat Southerners in Congress.
- ► Civil Rights Act, passed over Johnson's veto, grants freedmen rights of citizenship, overturning Black Codes.
- ► Civil Rights Act is rewritten as 14th Amendment, granting all citizens:
  - "Due process of law": right to fair procedures before a state government takes away a person's property or freedom
  - "Equal protection of the laws": state laws should treat people equally
- ▶ Reconstruction Act (1867) divides the South into military occupation zones.

# Impeachment of President Andrew Johnson

- ▶ Radical Republicans pass the Tenure of Office Act: The President needs Senate consent to remove cabinet members.
- ▶ Johnson impeached for removing his Secretary of War. He is the first President to be impeached. When tried in the Senate, Johnson is saved from removal by one vote.

# **Reconstruction Governments**

- ► Carpetbaggers, scalawags, and freedmen participate in Reconstruction governments.
- ► African Americans vote and serve in government during this experiment in biracial democracy. Hiram Rhodes Revels becomes the first African American in Congress.
- ▶ Reconstruction governments ban racial discrimination, establish public schools, and encourage railroad construction—but they are also guilty of corruption.

#### **Reconstruction Economics**

- ▶ Sharecropper: uses the land and tools of the landlord in exchange for part of crop
- ► Tenant farmer: rents land from landlord

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- ▶ Debt peonage: loss of freedom to move away because of debts to landlord or business owner
- "New South": new economy of South with greater crop diversity, more railroads, and some manufacturing

#### The End of Reconstruction

- North loses interest after economic depression in 1873.
- ▶ Rutherford B. Hayes withdraws troops in a deal to win the disputed 1877 Presidential election.
- Southern Democrats return to power.
- Ku Klux Klan and other groups terrorize African Americans.

#### The "Jim Crow" Laws: the "Nadir" in Race Relations

- ► Southern state governments take steps to stop African-American voting: literacy tests, poll taxes, residency requirements. Whites exempted by "grandfather clauses."
- ► African Americans intimidated by violence and economic dependence.
- ▶ Southern state governments pass "Jim Crow" laws requiring racial segregation, or separation of whites and blacks, in schools, railroads, restaurants and other public places.
- ▶ "Jim Crow" laws upheld by the Supreme Court in *Plessy v. Ferguson* (1896): Facilities can be "separate but equal."

