

The Problems of Peacemaking

So even though the war was almost over, nobody had formed a plan over what would happen next. Lincoln isn't going to negotiate a treaty with the Confed gov, because he's insisting that the Confed gov cannot legally exist, but he also cannot readmit the states like nothing happened. The Civil War was a catastrophe to the south because towns were gutted, plantations burned, fields were neglected, and bridges and railroads were destroyed. Many whites had no personal property because of the loss of slaves, so generally families have to rebuild, often without adult males. Some faced starvation and homelessness. Over 258,000 Confeds died in the war, making that about 20% of the male population, and many returned with injuries. Almost everybody lost someone in the war, which led to a cult of mourning in the late 1860s, many for two plus years. White Southerners also romanticize the Lost Cause, and look nostalgically at the antebellum South. Confed heroes like Lee, Jackson, and Davis are treated with extreme reverence. So the South is more determined to protect its old way of life. There're about 4 million blacks, some of who had been in the war as servants, spies, or scouts. Many had left their plantations, some to look for family members, but most had nowhere to go. None owned anything beyond the clothes they wore. So in 1865, the South is in disarray. And for blacks and whites, Reconstruction would be defining freedom, but they have different versions of freedom. Blacks see freedom as an end to slavery and injustices, but also rights that allow them to live like the free whites. Some blacks think that economic resources, mainly land, should be redistributed, while others want legal equality. All are united in wanting independence from white control, and have been creating black communities. For white Southerners, freedom is the ability to control destiny without interference from the North or fed gov, so they're trying to return to their antebellum society. Many white planters keep blacks legally tied to plantations. The fed gov kept troops in the South to preserve order. In March 1865 the Freedmen's Bureau was established and led by General Oliver Howard. To blacks, they distribute food, establish schools, and try to settle on land, which also applies to some whites left in similar conditions. But this Bureau only lasted for a year, and wasn't big enough to deal with all of the problems. Reconstruction is social realities and partisan politics, meaning that terms for readmission have implications for both parties. Since most of the south is Democrats, the Republicans have been in charge and doing many nationalistic economic legislature - so Democrats will put those in jeopardy. Some Northerners also think the South should be punished and transformed into something like the North. Republicans in Congress disagree about Reconstruction, reflecting similar factional divisions over emancipation. Conservatives insist the South accept abolition of slavery, but have a few conditions for readmitting states. Radicals urge that Confed leaders be punished, Southern whites disenfranchised, legal rights of freedmen protected, and redistribution of property, and some say suffrage. Lincoln lies with the moderates and radicals, for he cares more for reunification than the freedmen. His plan, announced December 1863, offered amnesty to those who pledge loyalty and accept no slavery. When 10% of voters take such oath, they can set up a state gov. Lincoln also wants suffrage for educated, property-owning blacks who served in the Union army. Louisiana, Arkansas, and Tennessee all followed this and were readmitted in 1864. Radicals cause the Wade Davis bill, passed in July 1864. It allowed the president to choose a governor for a state, and when the majority of white males pledge allegiance to the Union, the governor can summon a convention, delegates to be elected by people swearing they never bor arms against the Union. New constitutions would abolish slavery, disenfranchise Confed leaders, repudiate debts by state gov's during war. Lincoln vetoed this. He was assassinated by John Booth on 14 April 1865 at Ford's Theater. This led to immediate

martyrdom, and hysteria in the North, because this seemed to be evidence of a conspiracy, and Johnson is president. He is against equality. His plan is called restoration, and offers amnesty to those who take allegiance. High-rankings must apply to the president for individual problems. Most of his plan resembles the Wade-Davis bill, in that there is a governor to invite qualified voters to elect delegates to a constitutional convention - implies a majority to vote. States must revoke secession, abolish slavery, ratify the 13th, and repudiate Confed war debts, and send reps to Congress. He does nothing for freedmen. By 1865, all Confed states had new governments, but Radicals aren't recognizing Johnson governments. The North is much more hostile to the South, for they are disturbed by reluctance over slavery and suffrage. They also don't like that recent confeds can be reps to congress - particularly Alexander Stephens, former Confed vice president, as senator.

radical reconstruction

Johnson's plan for reconstruction only lasted until december 1865, when Congress refused to take reps from restored states, instead creating a Joint Committee on Reconstruction - or Radical slash congressional reconstruction. In the south 1865 to 1866 states legis have black codes, giving whites authority. Local officials can take unemployed blacks, fine them, and hire them out. Some codes forbid blacks to own farms or take jobs other than as domestic servants or plantation workers. Congress passed an act extending the Freedmen's bureau so it can nullify work agreements from black codes, and in april 1866 passes the Civil Rights Act that declared blacks as citizens and give the fed gov power to intervene in state affairs to protect rights of citizens. While Johnson vetoes both, his veto is overrode. In april 1866 the Joint Committee proposed the 14th amendment, which defines citizenship as being born in the U.S., and naturalized, and entitled to privileges and immunities granted by the Constitution, and that there are no other requirements for citizenship. There are penalties on states denying suffrage to adult males. Finally, it prohibits former Confederacy officials to hold office unless Congress votes to pardon them. Radicals offer to readmit anybody who ratified the 14th, so Tennessee is back. Other former confeds refuse, so the amendment temporarily lacks approval of three fourths of states. But Radicals are growing confident. There have been race riots in the South, which strengthens their hand. Then in 1866, more republican radicals are elected to Congress, with the South fairly unrepresented. The Radicals pass more bills in 1867 and override all of Johnson's vetoes. These bills established a coherent plan for reconstruction. So the Lincoln-Johnson govts of other states are gone, and are instead five military districts. Voters are blacks and whites who didn't rebel. They will elect conventions for constitutions, and must grant black suffrage. Once ratified, can state gov. Congress must approve constitution, and state must ratify 14th. Then former Confeds can rejoin the union. By 1868, seven of ten fulfilled these conditions and were readmitted. Texas and Virginia in 1869 and Mississippi in 1870, which now had to ratify the 15th, which forbade states to deny suffrage on account of race, color, or servitude. To make sure the pres doesn't interfere with their plans, they pass the Tenure of Office Act in 1867, which forbids the president from removing officials without the consent of the Senate, so they can keep Sec of War Edwin Stanton, the other law in 1867 is the Command of the Army Act, prohibiting the president from issuing military orders except through the commanding general who cannot be relieved or reassigned without consent of the Senate. They then stop the Supreme Court from interfering. In 1866, the court had Ex parte Milligan, which would threaten the new military districts. Radicals propose bills requiring two thirds of justices to support decisions that overrule Congress, deny Court jurisdiction in Reconstruction

cases, reduce membership to three, and even abolish it. These bills do not pass, but the Court refuses to accept jurisdiction on cases concerning reconstruction. Radicals see Johnson as an impediment, so in 1867, they look to impeach him and find grounds when he dismissed Sec of War Stanton, violating Tenure of Office Act. The House quickly impeaches the president, and the Senate ends up acquitting him.

the south in reconstruction

White southerners opposed the govts from Congress because they are incompetent and corrupt, create debt, and trample on Citizens rights. Black southerners condemn reconstruction because it fails to guarantee blacks basic rights of citizenship. In ten of the south states, about a quarter of whites were excluded from voting or holding office, creating black majorities in South Carolina, Mississippi, Alabama, Florida, and Louisiana, but states quickly lift suffrage restrictions. So republicans have control only with support of Southern whites. Critics called Southern white republicans scalawags, many of who were former whigs, some wealthy or once wealthy interested in economic development, others being in remote areas who hope republican improvements will end economic isolation. White men from the North are also leaders, but critics call them carpetbaggers, and they settle as professional people. Most Republicans are black freedmen, many of whom try to build institutions where they can learn to exercise power. They hold so-called colored conventions, and in Alabama in 1867 say that they have the same privileges as whites. Churches also give unity and political confidence. Blacks hold roles as delegates and public offices, along with serving in the House of Reps and Senate - Hiram Revels and Blanche K. Bruce, along with in state leg and office. Southerners complain, but there's never much of blacks in charge overall. Critics denounce these govts for corruption, but there's corruption in all govts even in the North. And in both places, this is because of rapid economic expansion - mainly because of new gov services like public education, works programs, and poor relief. There are drastic improvements in education, because of the Freedmen's bureau and other organizations who establish a network of schools for former slaves. Then in the 1870, they build a comprehensive public school system in the south. so by 1876, almost all half of the black and white populations are in schools. There's more advanced education for blacks. However, schools are already segregated, and integrated schools fail. The Civil Rights Act of 1875 proposed educational desegregation, but as the republican govts are replaced, integration fails. The most ambitious goal of Reconstruction was to make it for fundamental reform of landownership, which fails. There was some redistribution of land, but that collapses by the end of 1865 because Southerners want their property back and Johnson supports that. Few believe the fed gov could confiscate property, but landownership changes with a decline in whites to an increase in blacks. Some have property by luck and hard work, but others rely on philanthropic institutions suchh as the Freedman's Bank that promoted black landownership. They persuaded blacks to deposit savings in the bank, but it failed in 1874 because of the depression. Still, most blacks don't own land, and some who acquire land lose it. Many become agricultural laborers, but most become tenants of white landowners. The new system moves away from that of antebellum, for blacks have physical independence from landlords, and landlords no longer have to care much about their slaves. There was economic progress for blacks, for they now earn money, and the per capita income of blacks rose 46%, while whites declined 35%. This is misleading, since the profits of South agriculture are declining. Blacks are working fewer hours, women and children aren't working, and many blacks are still in poverty. Gains in land and income are overshadowed by the crop lien system. People depend on local country stores owned by planters and merchants for food and other necessities, and usually have to rely

on credit from these stores. Most stores had no competition, so could set high interest rates. Farmers had to give them a lien or claim as collateral for loans, so they could become trapped in a cycle of debt. This means people lose land, become more dependent on cash crops, meaning that agriculture is even more one dimensional, and soil is further exhausted. So the crop lien system contributes to the diminishing economy. Blacks are rebuilding family structures by finding family members, sometimes rushing marriages, and moving to places with privacy. Gender roles are reinforced in families, partially because they don't want to roles similar to slavery. Still, black women have incomes, and many are married.

the grant administration

Grant could have been nominated by either party, but accepts the Republican nomination. Democrats nominate Horatio Seymour of New York, but Grant wins. He has no political experience. and most of his cabinet members excluding Hamilton fish the sec of state have any political experience. He relied on established party leaders, and used the spoils system. He also alienates Northerners, who begin to think there is corruption. So there's a Liberal Republican party that opposes Grantism. In 1872, they nominate Horace Greeley, as well do the Democrats. Still, Grant is reelected. So during 1872, there is the Credit Mobilier scandal. Credit Mobilier is the construction company that helped build the Union Pacific Railroad, and the heads had used their position as stockholders to create fraudulent contracts, thus illegally getting millions of dollars. Then, to prevent investigation, they gave stock to key congress members. There's still an investigation in 1872 that shows that even the vice president accepted stock. There's also the whiskey ring, which showed that the sec of treasury, Benjamin Bristow, was helping with false tax reports. Then the sec of war William Belknap established bribes to keep an Indian post trader, the so called Indian ring. So there was corruption. Then there's the Panic of 1873. An investment banking firm, Jay Cooke and Company, had invested too heavily and fails. Debtors pressure the gov to redeem fed war bond with greenbacks, but Grant and republicans want sound currency, or hard money. So more is issued, but in 1875 republicans want to stop greenbacks and pass the Specie Resumption Act, which says after 1 January 1879, greenbacks will be redeemed and replaced with certificates attached to gold. This satisfied creditors because of the now certain value, but it's hard for debtors because the gold money supply cannot easily expand. In 1875, the greenbackers establish the national Greenback Party, which is active in three elections, but fails, though it does keep the money issue alive. Both Johnson and Grant have foreign successes, mainly because of the secs of state William Seward and Hamilton Fish, respectively. Seward accepts a Russian offer to sell Alaska, though many consider Alaska a frozen wasteland and call this Seward's Folly. In 1867, he also annexed the Midway Island, west of Hawaii. Hamilton resolves the violation of neutrality from the civil war by demanding payment for damage caused by these vessels, now called the Alabama claims. In 1871, he creates the Treaty of Washington that provides of arbitration and British expresses regret of the escape of the Alabama, one of the ships, from England.

the abandonment of reconstruction

As the North becomes more interested in their own political and economic problems, their interest in Reconstruction wanes. The Grant admin protects Repub gov in South just to prevent Democrats from re-emergin, but by the time Grant left office, Democrats had regained the gov of seven of the Confed states, so the other three have to wait until fed troops are withdrawn in 1876. Because of this, by 1872, most white males had regained suffrage. And in states where blacks were in majority, whites used

terrorism notably with the Ku Klux Klan and Knights of the White Camellia to bar blacks from voting. The Red Shirts and White Leagues also arm themselves so that they can police elections and force white males to be democrats and exclude blacks. The Ku Klux Klan founded in 1866 by former Confed General Nathan Bedford Forrest has its own air of mystery and midnight rides that create further terrorism. White Southerners see such groups as patriotic, and they serve as a military force against the North. They also advance interests of the planter class, white supremacy, and the Southern Democratic party. Also, economic pressure is used against blacks via refusing to rent land, refusing jobs, and refusing credit. Congress passes the Enforcement Acts, also called the Ku Klux Klan acts, in 1870 and 1871. These prohibit states from discriminating against voters on the basis of race and give the fed gov to prosecute violations of law. The pres can also use the military to protect civil rights and suspend habeas corpus in some rights violations. Grant made use of this in South Carolina, October 1871. While the Enforcement Acts are rarely used as severely, the Klan violence is in decline. These acts showed peak commitment to Reconstruction but that's waning. After the 15th amendment, some think that their work for blacks is done, and blacks can take care of themselves. Former radical leaders like Sumner and Horace Greeley call themselves liberals, cooperate with democrats, and denounce black and carpetbag misgovernment. Many southern white republicans join the liberals and eventually the Democrats. The Panic of 1873 undermines reconstruction because of Social Darwinism coming into view. This also increased critique of government intervention. Support for reconstruction is pretty much gone. In the congressional elections of 1874, Democrats have control. Grant uses the military to prop up Republican regimes, and in 1876, only South Carolina, Louisiana, and Florida are republicans. The next year, Democrats regain control. without troops, these republican regimes fall. Grant wants to run in 1876, but scandals and health say no, so there are Rutherford B. Hayes as Repub and Samuel J. Tilden as Democrat. Both are conservatives committed to moderate reform. In the election, Tilden has the South and some North, but disputed votes are a problem. There's a special electoral commission that elects Hayes. Behind this is a series of compromises, creating the Compromise of 1877. Hayes will withdraw fed troops from the South, and there will be a Southerner in the Hayes cabinet, democrats will have control of fed patronage, internal improvements, and fed aid for Texas and the Pacific Railroad because South Democrats want industrialization, and think repub support for business will help South more than democrat policies. Hayes is essentially appealing to the South, so some call him his fraudulency. Republicans fail to make further progress in the South. Reconstruction did help with slavery, and wasn't as bad for Southern whites as they thought. It was largely a failure because they abandon the issue of race. Part of this is because of errors by people in charge, but part of it is because the solutions are so far against tradition. There's no assault on the South's economic privilege. And there's the belief that blacks are inferior. Blacks are proud of reforms, and the 14th and 15th amendments are basis for the Second Reconstruction that will bring equality.

the new south

The Compromise of 1877 was supposed to help develop a stable Repub party, but it fails. Democrats establish themselves as the only viable political organization in the South. By the end of 1877, democrats control all South state govts. This led to more restricted political power because it's the oligarchy in charge, who called themselves the Redeemers, and their critics called them Bourbons. In some places, the ruling class is the same as antebellum, but in other places, the Redeemers are a new ruling class of merchants, industrialists, railroad developers, financiers, northern immigrants, etcetera. They were

committed to home rule and social conservatism and economic development. These bourbon govs are as full of fraud as all others, but do lower taxes, reduce spending and state services, hurting important repub stuff. Public school is reduced and sometimes eliminated. By the late 1870s some groups were against the Bourbons. There is a readjuster movement in Virginia that asks to make more money for state services. They win control of state leg in 1879 and a seat in the senate. Other states have similar demands for greenbacks and debt relief. Some movements include blacks, but most are by poor whites. By the mid 1880s, conservative southerners exploited racial prejudice and destroyed these dissenting movements. Some white southerners say that the South lost because of its failing economy. Henry Grady, a newspaper editor, and others advocate for changes in southern values, and advocate the virtue of thrift, industry, and progress, which had been previously denounced. Despite these calls for change, people still romanticize antebellum South and embrace the Lost Cause. *Uncle Remus*, by Joel Chandler Harris, and books by Nelson Page show this. Industry still expands due to textile manufacturing in the South which was due to water power, cheap labor, low taxes, and gov accommodations. The tobacco industry is important, mainly because of James Duke's American Tobacco Company monopoly. The lower south also has a growing iron and steel industry. Railroad development increases faster than the rest of the nation - trackage more than doubled between 1880 and 90. They also use standard gauge. Industry is still limited, and not quite comparable to the North. Their share in national manufacturing doubled to 10%, but that was the same antebellum. Per capita income increase 21%. By the end of the century, Southern average income is 40% that of the north; antebellum, it was 60%. Essentially, the South is developing a colonial economy. Growth of industry required a substantial workforce; a high number of workers are women. Factories hire entire families and have long workdays with wages far below that of the North. Mill towns controlled their workers by suppressing unions; company stores sell goods to workers at an inflated price and issue credit at high rates, and mill owners make sure they have no competition. Still, there is community in the workers. The textile industry offered virtually no opportunities for blacks, but other industries like tobacco, iron, and lumber provide employment in menial and low paid positions. Mill towns still created white supremacy. The convict-lease system allowed states to lease gangs of criminals as a cheap labor supply, the money would go to the state, and this means fewer employment opportunities. The region is still agrarian, and there's much debt, reliance on a few cash crops, absentee ownership. During reconstruction a third of the farmers in the South are tenants, but by the 1900s this is 70%, mainly due to the crop-lien system, further debt. Farmers sometimes just have equipment and pay cash rent for land, but most had no such equipment and borrowed equipment from landlords, and would pay back with crops, hence the term sharecropping. After paying their landlords and local merchants, more often than not the same people, sharecroppers had little to sell. Many blacks elevate themselves to the middle class, and are attracted to progress and self-improvement. Blacks occasionally established banks - a notable being Maggie Lena who created the St. Luke Penny Savings Banks in Richmond 1903. Blacks think education is vital, and have expanded black colleges and institutes. Booker T. Washington, founder of Tuskegee Institute in Alabama, is a former slave who worked out of poverty and was educated. He encourages others to follow his path. His message is that blacks should attend trade schools and industrial education, and adopt white middle class standards, because only then will the white population respect them and achieve social gains so forgo political rights and concentrate on self improvement. His Atlanta Compromise in 1895 said that they need economic gains etcetera before political gains, and shows that blacks are not going to challenge segregation. In the civil rights cases of 1883, the Court ruled that the 14th amendment prohibited state govs from discrimination over race, but that this does not restrict private

from doing so, which means segregation is legal. Plessy v. Ferguson 1896 revolved on a Louisiana law that had segregated seating on railroads, which rules for separate but equal. Cumming v. Board of Education 1899 rules that separate schools are valid. Segregation in voting rights is happening almost immediately after the civil war, but in some areas, blacks keep a right to vote because conservatives whites think they can use the blacks to control poor white farmers and take control of the Democratic party. In the 1890, restrictions are more rigid because white farmers are complaining for black disenfranchisement, and the conservative elite is afraid. So they need to evade the 15th amendment, and do so with the poll tax and literacy test. But this impacts poor white farmers, so there are grandfather laws that let men vote if their ancestors had voted before Reconstruction. Generally, poor whites are barred from voting and the elite is still in charge. The Court eventually voided grandfather laws, but it validated the literacy test in 1898 Williams v. Mississippi, and let states have their own suffrage standards unless they were too egregious violations. Jim Crow laws restricted suffrage and enforced segregation, which kept the whites in charge, and stripped blacks of social, economic, and political gains. Violence increases, which hurts equal rights. Lynching becomes come with an average of 187 per year, 80% in the South. There are some public lynchings, but most are done by vigilante groups. Lynchings sometimes did enforce laws, but most of it was just terrorizing blacks. Black men who were thought to have considered romancing white women were particularly vulnerable. In 1892, Ida Wells, a black journalist, launched an anti-lynching movement with the goal of an fed anti-lynching law. But the white opposition to lynchings is an exception to the general white supremacy. Class animosities still decrease because of white supremacy commitment. Economic issues are second to politics, distracting people from social inequalities. So white supremacy hurts both the poor whites and all blacks.