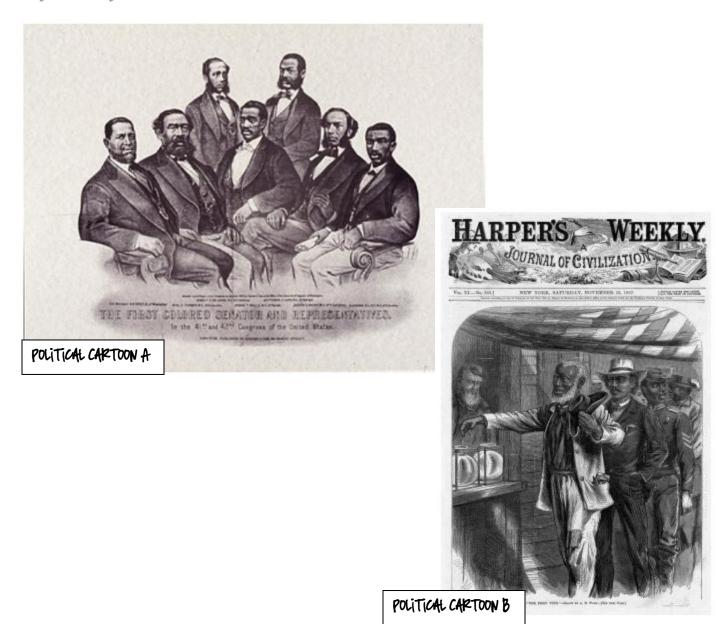


HONORS POLITICAL CHANGE DURING RECONSTRUCTION

With the ratification of the 15th Amendment, African-American men gained the right to vote. During the period of Radical Reconstruction beginning around 1867 and lasting into the mid-1870s, African-Americans exercised their political rights widely. Voting in large numbers, they combined with northern migrants (known as "carpetbaggers") and white southern Republicans (known as "scalawags") to form large Republican majorities in many southern states. This process was augmented by the disfranchisement of former confederates. In states with large African-American populations, such as South Carolina, many African-Americans were elected to state and even federal offices. White southern Democrats perpetuated the view that Radical Reconstruction placed the worst elements of southern society in power. They argued that these new government leaders were inexperienced, inept, and corrupt. Current research by historians such as Thomas Holt indicates that, overall, these Republican governments were capable despite their inexperience, and that they were no more corrupt than their Democratic counterparts before and after Radical Reconstruction.



THE FIGHT FOR EQUAL RIGHTS

After Lincoln's death, a faction called the Radical Republicans came to dominate Congress. They immediately butted heads with President Andrew Johnson over the course of Reconstruction policy. In 1866, Congress passed a civil rights act which guaranteed African-Americans all the rights of citizenship. Johnson, convinced that Congress was moving too fast, vetoed the bill claiming that it discriminated against southern whites and granted special protections to African-Americans. Although Congress overrode the veto, African-Americans continued to face staunch discrimination at the state and local levels. In 1868, the Radicals pushed through the 14th amendment, which, among other things, promised "equal protection of the laws." This measure, if fully implemented, had the potential to radically alter the social structure of the South. Congress passed a second Civil Rights Act in 1875, which sought to discourage economic and social discrimination as well. Despite these major legal achievements, old prejudices died hard. In practice, no law could completely eliminate racist attitudes.

Document A: The Civil Rights Act of 1866

"...all persons born in the United States... are hereby declared to be citizens of the United States; and such citizens, of every race and color, without regard to any previous condition of slavery or involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall have the same right, in every State and Territory in the United States, to make and enforce contracts, to sue, be parties, and give evidence, to inherit, purchase, lease, sell, hold, and convey real and personal property, and to full and equal benefit of all laws and proceedings for the security of person and property, as is enjoyed by white citizens..."

Document B: Andrew Johnson's Veto of the Civil Rights Act, March 27, 1866

"The bill in effect proposes a discrimination against large numbers of intelligent, worthy, and patriotic foreigners, and in favor of the Negro, to whom, after long years of bondage, the avenues to freedom and intelligence have just now been suddenly opened. He must, of necessity, from his previous unfortunate condition of servitude, be less informed as to the nature and character of our institutions..."

Document C: 14th Amendment, Section 1, U.S. Constitution (1868)

"... 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..."

ASSISTING FREEDMEN, PART I

Most slaves were emancipated in a very piecemeal way. Even after the emancipation proclamation took effect in 1863, in practice, it only applied to slaves in areas under Union occupation. From the beginning, the Union lacked a coherent plan for helping former slaves transition to freedom. As the Civil War ended, Congress passed and the states ratified the 13th amendment, formally abolishing slavery throughout the entire country. Union efforts to assist freedmen evolved overtime, culminating in the creation of the Freedmen's Bureau, which officially functioned between 1866 and 1869. The Freedmen's Bureau was supposed to assist slaves by helping them find work, negotiate contracts, and gain an education. It also served as a legal advocate and provided some protection from resentful southern whites. Historian W.E.B. Du Bois argues that the Bureau was more successful in establishing black schools than it was at achieving land redistribution.

DOCUMENT A: W.E.B. DY BOIS, "THEE FREEDMEN'S BYREAY," ATLANTIC MONTHLY, 1901

In the work of establishing the Negroes as peasant proprietors the [Freedmen's Bureau] was severely handicapped... Nevertheless, something was done. Abandoned lands were leased so long as they remained in the hands of the Bureau, and a total revenue of \$400,000 derived from black tenants. Some other lands to which the nation had gained title were sold, and public lands were opened for the settlement of the few blacks who had tools and capital. The vision of landowning, however, the righteous and reasonable ambition for forty acres and a mule which filled the freedmen's dreams, was doomed in most cases to disappointment. [...]

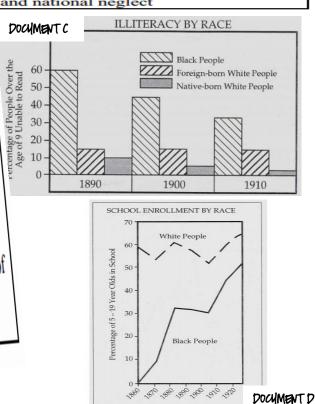
The greatest success of the Freedmen's Bureau lay in the planting of the free school among Negroes, and the idea of free elementary education among all classes in the South. It... called the schoolmistress through the benevolent agencies, and built them schoolhouses... [...]

Such was the work of the Freedmen's Bureau. To sum it up in brief, we may say: it set going a system of free labor; it established the black peasant proprietor; it secured the recognition of black freemen before courts of law; it founded the free public school in the South. On the other hand, it failed to establish good will between ex-masters and freedmen; to guard its work wholly from paternalistic methods that discouraged self-reliance; to make Negroes landholders in any considerable numbers. Its successes were the result of hard work, supplemented by the aid of philanthropists and the eager striving of black men. Its failures were the result of

and of philanthropists and the eager striving of black men. Its failures were the result of bad local agents, inherent difficulties of the work, and national neglect

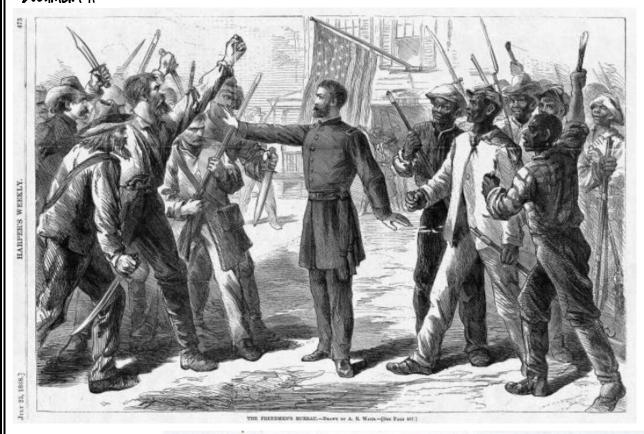
DOCUMENT B: MARY S. BATTEY, SCHOOLTEACHER, ANDERSONVILLE, GEORGIA, 1866

"Our school begun- in spite of threatenings from the whites and the consequent fear of the blacks- with twenty-seven pupils, four only of whom could read, even the simplest words. At the end of six weeks, we have enrolled eighty-five names, with but fifteen able to read. In seven years teachings at the North, I have not seen a parallel to their appetite for learning, and their active progress. Whether this zeal will abate with time, is yet a question. I have fear that it may. Meanwhile it is well to 'work while the day lasts.' Their spirit now may be estimated somewhat when I tell you that three walk a distance of four miles, each morning, to return after the five-hours session. Several come three miles, and quite a number from two and two-and-a-half miles..."



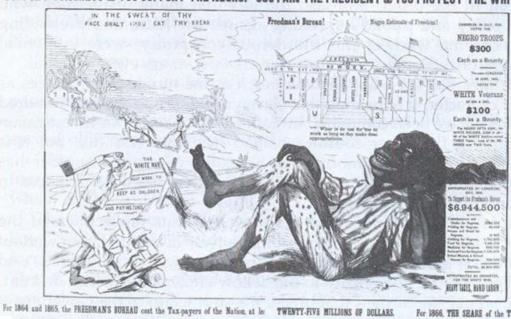
ASSISTING FREEDMEN: PART 2

DOCUMENTA



THE FREEDMAN'S BUREAU!

AN AGENCY TO KEEP THE NEGRO IN IDLENESS AT THE EXPENSE OF THE WHITE MAN. TWICE VETOED BY THE PRESIDENT, AND MADE A LAW BY CONGRESS. SUPPORT CONGRESS & YOU SUPPORT THE NEGRO. SUSTAIN THE PRESIDENT & YOU PROTECT THE WHITE MAN



DOCUMENTB

For 1866, THE SHARE of the Tax-payers of

10N OF BOLLARS. GEAR: is FOR the Preciman's Bureau. CL. VINLEIR is OFFOSED to it.

ECONOMIC CHANGES DURING RECONSTRUCTION

The Civil War caused tremendous damage to the South. During Reconstruction, the federal government, and private northern investors (sometimes known derogatively by southerners as "carpetbaggers") pumped a large amount of capital into the southern economy. This money was used to begin to develop a more diversified economic base. By the 1870s, many in the North began to talk about the "New South," which referred to the development of some manufacturing and even heavy industry in the South. Despite these dramatic changes, much of the southern economy remained agrarian. During the Civil War, rumors circulated saying that the federal government would be granting freed slaves "forty acres and a mule," upon emancipation. While some Radical Republicans did, indeed, discuss land redistribution, this did not become a reality. Slaves were generally freed with only the clothes on their backs. The war created a peculiar set of circumstances, as former slave-holders were left with land, but, without enough money to hire laborers to work it. At the same time, freedmen could provide labor, but had no land, tools, seeds, or other supplies. Consequently, it was common for former slaves and poor whites to work out sharecropping or tenant farming agreements with landowners (and sometimes even their former masters). According to these agreements, a farmer would work the land for the year, and the landowner would advance him supplies. At the end of the year, the farmer would have to give the owner a portion of the crop he had raised (usually 2/3). In practice, these new arrangements often led sharecroppers deeper and deeper into debt. In cases they tied freedmen to the land nearly as effectively as slavery

...When we come to the New Industrial South the change is marvelous, and so vast and various that I scarcely know where to begin in a short paper that cannot go much into details. Instead of a South devoted to agriculture and politics, we find a South wide-awake to business, excited and even astonished at the development of its own immense resources in metals, marbles, coal, timber, fertilizers, eagerly laying lines of communication, rapidly opening mines, building furnaces, foundries, and all sorts of shops for utilizing native riches. It is like the discovery of a new world. When the Northerner finds great foundries in Virginia using only (with slight exceptions) the products of Virginia iron and coal mines; when he finds Alabama and Tennessee making iron so good and so cheap that it finds ready market in Pennsylvania; and foundries multiplying near the great furnaces for supplying Northern markets; when he finds cotton-mills running to full capacity on grades of cheap cottons universally in demand throughout the South and Southwest; when he finds small industries, such as paper-box factories and wooden bucket and tub factories, sending all they can make into the North and widely over the West; when he sees the loads of most beautiful marbles shipped North; when he learns that some of the largest and most important engines and mill machinery were made in Southern shops... he begins to open his eyes. The South is manufacturing a great many things needed in the house, on the farm, and in the shops, for home consumption, and already sends North and West several manufactured products.

"When we come to the New Industrial South the change is so marvelous, and so vast and various that I scarcely know where to begin...Instead of a South devoted to agriculture and politics, we find a South wide-awake to business, excited and even astonished at the development of its own immense resources in metals, marbles, coal, timber, fertilizers, eagerly laying lines of communication, rapidly opening mines, building furnaces, foundries, and all sorts of shops for utilizing native riches. It is like the discovery of a new world.

-Charles Dudley Warner, "The South Revisited," Harper's New Monthly Magazine (March 1887)







Houses of tenant farmers who were former slaves of Barrow Family

Sources: Scribner's Monthly, "A Georgia Plantation," April 1881 and Graebner and Richards. The American Record, McGraw Hill, 2001 (adapted)

BLACK CODES, POST CIVIL WAR

Under the lenient Reconstruction policies of President Andrew Johnson, white southerners reestablished civil authority in the former Confederate states in 1865 and 1866. They enacted a series of restrictive laws known as "black codes," which were designed to restrict freed blacks' activity and ensure their availability as a labor force now that slavery had been abolished.

Common Elements of Black Codes:

- Race was defined by blood; the presence of any amount of black blood made one black.
- Employment was required of all freedmen; violators faced vagrancy charges.
- Freedmen could not assemble without the presence of a white person.
- Freedmen were assumed to be agricultural workers and their duties and hours were tightly regulated.
- Freedmen were not to be taught to read or write.
- Public facilities were segregated.
- Violators of these laws were subject to being whipped or branded.

EXAMPLES OF BLACK CODES

1. "Servants shall not be absent from the premises without the permission of the master" (South Carolina)

- 2. Prohibited whites from marrying any Negro or any descendant of any Negro to the third generation inclusive. Penalty: Felony, punishable by imprisonment in the state penitentiary up to five years. (Kentucky)
- 3. White and black children shall be taught in separate public schools, "but there shall be no discrimination made in favor of, or to the prejudice of, either race." (North Carolina)
- 4. Every negro is required to be in the regular service of some white person, or former owner, who shall be held responsible for the conduct of said negro. But said employer or former owner may permit said negro to hire his own time by special permission in writing, which permission shall not extend over seven days at any one time. (Louisiana)
- 5. Unlawful for whites and blacks to buy and consume alcohol on the same premises. Penalty: Misdemeanor, punishable by a fine between \$50 to \$500, or imprisonment in the parish prison or jail up to two years. (Kentucky)
- 6. If any freedman, free negro, or mulatto, convicted of any of the misdemeanors provided against in this act, shall fail or refuse for the space of five days, after conviction, to pay the fine and costs imposed, such person shall be hired out by the sheriff or other officer, at public outery, to any white person who will pay said fine and all costs, and take said convict for the shortest time. (Mississippi)

THE RISE OF THE KY KUX KLAN

Founded in 1866 by veterans of the Confederate Army, the Ku Klux Klan's main purpose was to resist Reconstruction. It focused as much on intimidating "carpetbaggers" (migrants from the North) and "scalawags" (white southern Republicans) as on putting down the freed slaves. The KKK quickly adopted violent methods. A rapid reaction set in, with the Klan's leadership disowning violence and Southern elites seeing the Klan as an excuse for federal troops to continue their activities in the South. The organization was in decline from 1868 to 1870 and was destroyed in the early 1870s by President Ulysses S. Grant's vigorous action under the Civil Rights Act of 1871 (also known as the Ku Klux Klan Act). A "Second" KKK emerged in the early twentieth-century. While it continued to harass southern African-Americans, it also targetted immigrants (especially Catholics and Jews).

DOCUMENT A: LEON F. LITWACK, BEEN IN THE STORM TOO WING, 1979

Corrie Calhoun says that where she lives, about thirty miles from here, over in Carolina, the men have a recipe for putting troublesome Negroes out of the way that the Yankees can't get the key to. No two go out together, no one lets another know what he is going to do, and so, when mischievous Negroes are found dead in the woods, nobody knows who killed them.

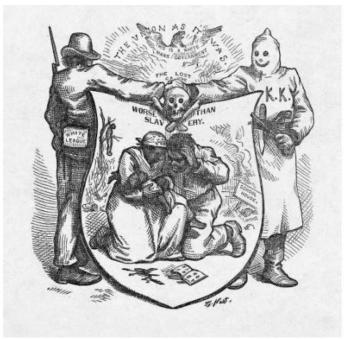
Uncle Gus had made a wrong turn by accident, and then he had to turn back and retrace our steps. Somehow we ended up in the middle of town, possibly Waco itself, but I'm not sure. Up ahead was a crowd of white people. We didn't know what was going on. Maybe a circus or something. There must have been 500 people, men and women and children. We slowed the car. It was then that we heard them shouting, "Kill the nigger." We could see a person on fire but still alive and screaming in the middle of the street tied to a big wheel. We could smell the stench of his burning human flesh.

Uncle Gus slammed on his brakes and turned full circle in the middle of the road, which now focused the attention of the mob on us. I remember hearing someone shout, "There's some more niggers, let's get them."

We could see people from our back window running for their cars and trucks. By then my uncle had turned the corner, as he put the pedal to the metal and we went as fast as his big Chrysler car could go. He turned off the car headlights and we drove for five minutes in darkness before he careened the car off the road into a four-foot wide wagon ditch or pathway in the woods. We made it just in time. What seemed like a caravan of cars passed our hiding place, followed by police cars with sirens blaring. We were all extremely quiet. No one spoke a word in fear that a whisper would be heard and betray our hiding place. We remained in our hiding place for about four hours, which seemed like eternity.

This was the first time I had seen my uncle afraid of anything. Finally, my uncle spoke. "We will stay off the main road until we get through this town."

DOCUMENT B: THOMAS NAST, "THE UNION AS IT WAS,"



This story is a first-hand account from Mr. Joseph Holloway, who remembers traveling from California to Louisiana in the summer of 1961. They were traveling to visit their dying grandmother. In this account he details the danger he and his family found themselves in at nightfall in Waco, Texas. He was nine years old at the time.