**Unit 5: Civil War and Reconstruction, 1850-1877**

**Chapter 12: The Causes of the Civil War, 1850-1861**

“In your hands my dissatisfied fellow-countrymen, and not in mine, is the momentous issue of civil war. The government will not assail you. You can have no conflict without being yourselves the aggressors. You have no oath registered in Heaven to destroy the government, while I shall have the most solemn one to ‘preserve, protect, and defend’ it.”

—Abraham “Don’t Start Fights You Can’t Finish” Lincoln, 16th president, 1861

**Lesson Objective:**

Explain intellectual, economic, and political trends contributed to sectionalism and eventual separation.

**Thesis:**

By the mid-nineteenth century, the South increasingly feared that the North would interfere with the institution of slavery. While realistically only a vocal (and morally correct) few Northerners supported ending Southern slavery, Southerners interpreted Northern gestures towards limiting slavery’s expansion as a sign of abolition, a fear seemingly realized with the election of Abraham Lincoln. Yet the question remains: was Lincoln truly a threat to slavery?

1. Calm Before the Storm, 1850-1854
   1. Historiography
      1. Review: irreconcilable vs. revisionist
         1. Is the war bound to happen? Is the war about ending slavery?
         2. Is the war preventable? Does the North want to end slavery?
      2. By 1850, is the war preventable?
         1. Where does the North stand on slavery? Wilmot
         2. But, is Wilmot the same as abolition?
            1. If Ramsdell/Phillips are right, does the South need to worry about Wilmot? No
            2. If Jaffa/Stampp are right, is Wilmot is a threat to slavery?

If North follows Wilmot, is slavery in AL/MI really threatened?

If North agrees with Jaffa, is slavery in the South really threatened?

If North agrees with Wilmot/Phillips, is Southern society really threatened?

* 1. The Short Success of the Compromise of 1850
     1. Did it work? Let’s check the Election of 1852
        1. No real big issues
        2. Dems: Franklin Pierce, “Doughface”
           1. Pro-Southern Northerner (NH)
           2. Seen as best man to uphold compromise
        3. Whigs: Winfield Scott, M-A War general
           1. American System + Support Compromise of 1850
           2. S. Whigs doubt Scott’s loyalty to Fugitive Slave Law
        4. Pierce wins big🡪 shows North/South want Compromise to work
     2. Manifest Destiny continues: Young America Movement
        1. Commodore Matthew Perry and Japan, 1853
           1. Opens trades relations to US/westernizes Japan
        2. Aims for expanding into Caribbean (Cuba)
        3. Gadsden Purchase, 1853
           1. “Everyone loves the Gadsden Purchase”
     3. Chipping Away at Peace
        1. Controversy over Fugitive Slave Law
           1. Northerners opposed

Southerners forced North to pursue runaway slaves

Violation of states’ rights

Forced North to participate in slavery

Unseemly kidnapping (Solomon Northup)

* + - * 1. Personal Liberty Laws in Northern states

Forbade local authorities from cooperating

Juries for captured slaves

* + - 1. *Uncle Tom’s Cabin* (1852), Harriet Beecher Stowe
         1. Northern consciences touched

Queen Victoria wept (what about India, Vicky?)

* + - * 1. Southern censorship and Anti-Tom literature
      1. Ostend Manifesto (1854)
         1. Secret proposal to buy Cuba from Spain for $100 million
         2. North: “Expensive and only benefits South”
         3. Eventually scrapped
      2. Yet, despite all of this, slavery is too difficult to touch
         1. President/Congress unwilling to touch it
         2. Supreme Court strikes down Personal Liberty Laws

Prigg v. Pennsylvania (1842)

Ableman v. Booth (1859)

* + - * 1. Abolitionists are a minority

“The vegans of 19th century USA”—K. Hemphill

1. Collapse of Peace and Secession, 1854-1861
   1. Stephan A. Douglas (the man who started the Civil War?)
      1. Young American: wants constant expansion
         1. Foreign markets
         2. Aggressive foreign policy
         3. Economic growth
            1. Wants to unite nation economically

(wants to be president)

* + 1. To have economic growth, you need a trans-continental railroad
       1. Unite East/West with Chicago at the center
    2. But to get railroad, you need to settle the west asap
    3. But controversy about adding more states…
  1. Solution? THE KANSAS-NEBRASKA ACT (1854)
     1. Repeal the Missouri Compromise
     2. Popular sovereignty: Kansas/Nebraskan settlers vote to decide free or slave state
     3. Passes...barely (113 to 100)
        1. On sectional lines…
  2. Results of Kansas-Nebraska Act
     1. Sectional responses
        1. North: “YOU GOT RID OF 36’30”?!?!?!”
           1. It’s a conspiracy to expand slavery…
        2. South: “Another W boys”
     2. Division of Democratic Party
        1. Northern Dems lose seats in 1854 election (90 to 25 in HOR)
           1. But they won in 1852? What does that say about Compromise of 1850?
        2. Northern Dems alienated from Southern Dems…
     3. Death of the Whig Party
        1. S. Whigs join S. Dems
        2. N. Whigs look for new party…
           1. Two new parties

Know-Nothing (American) Party=cotton Whigs + anti-immigrant groups

**Republican Party**=N. Whigs + Free Soilers + N. Dems

Rise of Lincoln

* + 1. Bleeding Kansas, 1851-1861
       1. New England Emigrant Aid Society and Border Ruffians
       2. Dual state constitutions
          1. Lecompton Constitution (pro-slavery)
          2. Topeka Constitution (anti-slavery)
       3. HOR doesn’t recognize either constitution, Pierce does nothing
          1. Brooks-Sumner Affair (1856)

“Crimes Against Kansas” speech

* + - 1. Violence: 200 political killings
         1. John Brown: Pottawatomie Massacre (1856)

Not enough🡪 Harpers’ Ferry Raid (1859)

Historians

James Gilbert

Brown is a psychopathic terrorist

Extreme minority, not a cause of Civil War

Martin Duberman

Abolitionists: the only good guys

BUT S/N hate black people, no one’s going to listen to them

Slavery=not enough of a cause for war, certainly not for North

* 1. Election of 1856
     1. Dems
        1. SAD too divisive, KN Act is too controversial: dump him
        2. James Buchanan (PA), another Doughface
        3. Keep popular sovereignty
     2. Whigs gone🡪 Republican Party
        1. John C. Fremont: “Free Soil, Free Men, Fremont!”
           1. Controversy

Fremont sounds French…HE’S CATHOLIC!

AD voice: he wasn’t

Seen as a radical

* + 1. Know-Nothings: Millard Fillmore
       1. Slavery’s too touchy, let’s hate Catholic immigrants instead
    2. Buchanan wins
       1. Republicans: we need a candidate that’s more conservative and is relatively unknown...hmmm…
  1. The Presidency of James Buchanan, 1857-1861
     1. Tangent: first gay president? Partner: William R. King?
     2. Guiding question? Is the conflict inevitable at this point?
        1. South got their guy in the White House
        2. Also, help from the Supreme Court: Dred Scott v. Sanford (1857)
           1. Scott: slave brought to WI, a free territory, I’m free
           2. Brought back to MO, sues for freedom
           3. Roger B. Taney’s ruling (7-2)

Slaves can’t sue

Black people can never be citizens

“[Black people] had no rights which the white man was bound to respect”

Congress cannot regulate slavery (5th Amendment)

36’30” void

Wilmot’s ideas unconstitutional

Popular sovereignty also forbidden

* + - * 1. Reactions: “Thunderclap”

South relieved

SAD: muh popular sovereignty

Alienated from S. Dems.

Republicans: “Slavery isn’t shrinking. It’s growing! We are becoming a slave nation…”

Is this true?

* + 1. Buchanan tries to stay out of political mess…
  1. Meanwhile back in Illinois: The Rise of Abraham Lincoln
     1. Guiding question: is Lincoln a threat to slavery?
     2. Lincoln’s background
        1. Kentucky born; father moved family because of slavery
        2. Admirer of Henry Clay/Whig Party
           1. Inc. ACS
        3. “Founders intended slavery to go away…eventually”
        4. Outraged at KN Act🡪 Republican Party
     3. Lincoln-Douglas Debates, 1858
        1. IL needs a Senator🡪 Lincoln (R) v. Douglas (D)
           1. Series of debates across IL
           2. Press coverage makes Lincoln national figure…
        2. Lincoln’s rhetoric changes depending where he’s at..
           1. Radical in North, conservative in South

AL (generally)

There’s an effort to nationalize slavery

SAD has helped it happen

Founding Fathers intended slavery to “ultimately go extinct”

Nationalism: preserve the Union

“House Divided” speech

SAD: race attacks

“Black Republicans” and abolitionists

Lincoln wants “amalgamation” (i.e. race mixing) and racial equality

Banner criticizing Lincoln: “Negro Equality” with white woman, black man, mixed-race child

AL responds

“I will say then that I am not, nor ever have been in favor of bringing about in any way the social and political equality of the white and black races—that I am not nor ever have been in favor of making voters or jurors of negroes, nor of qualifying them to hold office, nor to intermarry with white people; and I will say in addition to this that there is a physical difference between the white and black races which I believe will forever forbid the two races living together on terms of social and political equality. …I, as much as any other man, am in favor of having the superior position assigned to the white race.”

“I do not hate slaveholders…”

Solution? Colonization?

Challenges SAD on constitutional grounds

How can you believe in popular sovereignty AND respect Dred Scott decision?

SAD: Freeport Doctrine

States without slavery can simply not enforce rights of slaveholders

Alienates SAD from S. Dems

* + - 1. Results
         1. Lincoln loses, BUT is answer to Republican prayers

A conservative anti-slavery candidate…

* 1. The Election of 1860
     1. Republicans
        1. Lincoln vs. William Seward (moderate vs. radical)
        2. Lincoln wins🡪 platform=Wilmot
     2. Democrats: Sectional Spilt
        1. Chaos in Charleston
           1. S. Dems walk out over platform debate
        2. S. Dems ditch SAD🡪 John Breckinridge
           1. Uphold Constitution, agree with Dred Scott
           2. Oppose secession
        3. N. Dems: Douglas
           1. Popular sovereignty and oppose secession
     3. Constitutional Unionists: John Bell
        1. Old Whigs and Know-Nothings
        2. Uphold Constitution and keep Union as it is
     4. Secession is a minority of opinion at this point…
     5. Results
        1. Lincoln wins
           1. 40% of popular vote
           2. 152 electoral votes
        2. South realizes a few things…
           1. Lincoln won without a single slave state

Wasn’t even on the ballot in some states

* + - * 1. Would have won even if only one opponent
        2. VP is scary (Hannibal Hamlin is abolitionist)
        3. Northern dominance in national politics
  1. Secession
     1. Why?
        1. Weary of abolitionist “nagging”
        2. North won’t fight it
        3. Economic independence: no more tariff!
        4. Influence from nationalist movements around the world
        5. More immediate concern
           1. North is too powerful, or at least has the potential to become too powerful

Immigration/industry

North could have political control someday if trends continue…

* + - * 1. Were these realistic threats?
    1. South Carolina first to go (12/20/60), Deep South follows (2/61)
       1. Secession declarations: protection of slavery is motivation
    2. Buchanan is helpless, Lincoln not even president yet
       1. What comes next? Who the #$%@ knows…

**Chapter 13: The Civil War, 1861-1865**

“The dogmas of the quiet past are inadequate to the stormy present. The occasion is piled high with difficulty, and we must rise — with the occasion. As our case is new, so we must think anew, and act anew. We must disenthrall ourselves, and then we shall save our country.”

—Abraham Lincoln, National Wrestling Hall of Fame honoree, 1862

**Lesson Objectives**

Explain economic, political, and social changes that resulted from the Civil War.

Explain how views about slavery evolved during the war.

**Thesis**

While the South understood the Civil War as a fight to preserve slavery, the Northern view, as represented by Lincoln, would only shift towards emancipation as a military necessity. This realization, in combination with the North’s strong industrial base and the hopelessly unindustrialized South, would allow the North to win the war. But, more importantly, who would win the peace?

1. The Start of the War and the Early Stages, 1861-1862
   1. Secession crisis: how to deal with session?
      1. Buchanan: avoid war🡪 Lincoln: wait and see
      2. John J. Crittenden: Crittenden Compromise
         1. Proposed Constitutional amendment:
            1. Never abolish slavery, protected in South: AL fine with this
            2. Permanently enshrine 36’30”: AL rejects this

AL at his most radical?

* 1. Start of the War
     1. Fort Sumter: federal fort in SC
        1. Surrender or fight way out?
        2. AL: resupply, peaceful
        3. South responds by firing at Union resupply
        4. Lincoln calls for 750,000 troops🡪Upper South leaves
           1. Confederate States of America
     2. Why risk war by resupply?
        1. It’s an unimportant federal outpost
        2. Help Union? Show of federal force? Secret anti-slavery agenda?
     3. Bloody early battles
        1. Battle of Manassas (Bull Run), 1861
           1. Not going to be an easy victory…
  2. Border state balance
     1. States that allowed slavery but stayed in Union
     2. AL: keep those states, allow slavery to keep them happy
        1. Must hold KY: “I want God on my side, but I must have KY”
           1. Home state AND important military outpost
        2. Keep MD or lose DC
           1. Jail secession politicians in MD
        3. Fremont issue
           1. Fremont freed slaves in MO, AL: made him return slaves

1. Politics and the Economy during War
   1. Northern domestic issues
      1. Advantages: industry, manpower (22 million), ¾ of RRs
         1. Let’s see what old Willy T. Sherman has to say about this…
      2. Border state balancing act
      3. Fear of foreign support for Confederacy
         1. British/French: want cotton
         2. However, UK has cotton in India and public is opposed to slavery
      4. Anti-war movement
         1. Hard to get people motivated
         2. Unpopular war time measures
            1. Public appalled by massive causalities
            2. Suspension of habeas corpus
            3. Conscription Act

Is this war about slavery??? Anger from whites

Rich man’s war, poor man’s fight🡪 New York Draft Riots (1863)

* + - 1. Copperheads: anti-war Dems (Clement L. Vallandingham)
         1. Pro-South, want a negotiated peace
         2. War is about slavery!
         3. Charged with treason
  1. The slavery question: how anti-slavery is North?
     1. Lincoln’s changing tune?
        1. Start of conflict: War is about UNION! Nothing else
           1. AL to African Americans: maybe leave? Africa? Or Caribbean?

Wendell Phillips: AL is a first-rate second-rate man

* + - 1. AL senses a change
         1. Radicals unencumbered by South: end slavery in DC
         2. Wilmot Proviso passes
         3. AL to border states: compensated emancipation?

Border states: lol no

* + - * 1. Lincoln’s frustration to Horace Greeley

“If I could save the Union…”

* + 1. Northern generals: we need black troops
    2. AL: fine, Emancipation Proclamation (1862)
       1. Text
          1. Frees slaves in rebelling areas, not everywhere
          2. Gives CSA option to come back (until 1/1/63)

Lol no🡪 “Forever free”

* + - 1. Impact
         1. War is about slavery now

UK/France can’t side with CSA, could get cancelled if they do

CSA: worst thing ever

* + - * 1. Black soldiers recruited

Douglass and the 54th Massachusetts

* + - * 1. Radicals: didn’t go far enough
        2. North shocked

1862 election: Dems win in HOR election

Lincoln downplays emancipation

* + - 1. Alternative interpretation
         1. Moral action by Lincoln
         2. Firm opponent to slavery
         3. Wanted to raise war to higher purpose

House Divided Speech, 1858

Gettysburg Address, 1863

Second Inaugural, 1865

* 1. The Union Economy
     1. Unprecedented growth🡪 need military supplies
        1. Important for growth of industry after the war
     2. South’s gone🡪implement the American System
        1. Bank/Tariff
           1. Need to pay for war
           2. National Banking system (operated through state banks)

Printed greenbacks (paper money) and bonds

* + - * 1. Income tax and tariffs
      1. Internal improvements: expand railroads
         1. Homestead Act
         2. Morill Land Grant Act
  1. Confederate woes
     1. “Herrenvolk republic”—Alexander Stephens
     2. No industry and little manpower (6 million, inc. 3.5 million slaves)
     3. Political divisions
        1. No political parties, but factions (state govts. vs. Pres. Jeff Davis)
        2. Resistance from state govs. over everything (main weakness)
     4. Economic problems
        1. National govt. refuses to tax
        2. Inflation
     5. Class divisions
        1. “20 Negro Law”🡪 rich man’s war, poor man’s fight
           1. Free State of Jones
        2. Inadequate food supplies: Richmond Bread Riots

1. The End of the War, 1862-1865
   1. Conflict itself
      1. Terrible fighting, high causalities
         1. Cold Harbor: in twenty minutes, more Americans die there than all previous wars combined
      2. Old strategies with new technologies (Minnie Ball)
      3. Amputations common
   2. Union military strategy
      1. Anaconda Plan (blockade), control Mississippi River, take Richmond
      2. Slow war at first (George B. McClellan)
      3. Antietam (1862)
         1. Union victory🡪 Emancipation Proclamation + UK/France distance themselves from CSA
      4. Battles of July 1863: turning point for war
         1. Gettysburg: major Union victory, furthest CSA advance
         2. Vicksburg: Union controls Mississippi, rise of US Grant
      5. Grant and Sherman: total war
         1. March to the Sea: destruction of railroads/plantations
   3. The Election of 1864
      1. AL renominated🡪 changes Republican Party to Union Party
         1. Scared of pro-black label: nominated Andrew Johnson as running mate (pro-Union Southerner)
      2. Legit fear of losing election
         1. Conservatives want war over
         2. Radicals upset too
            1. Wade Davis Bill: admit states back into Union with 50% loyalty oath (implies black voting rights)
            2. Lincoln vetoed🡪 radicals want new party
         3. Need to appeal to radicals and conservatives
            1. Peace negotiators (secretly delayed), but also work on 13th Amendment
         4. Dems nominate George B. McClellan
            1. Negotiate peace and more distance from Radicals
            2. Mistake: peace=unpatriotic

Sherman’s victory in Atlanta and March to the Sea

* + 1. Lincoln wins as a moderate again
  1. Grant outlasts Lee🡪 Surrender at Appomattox Courthouse (1865), war is over!
  2. The End: Lincoln’s Apotheosis and Unanswered Questions
     1. 600,000-750,000 dead, 700,000 wounded (3% of population)
     2. Lincoln’s plan for Reconstruction
        1. 10% loyalty pledge
        2. Maybe, just maybe some black suffrage\*
           1. \*educated and veterans only, oh and only men too
           2. Enough to anger John Wilkes Booth (CSA sympathizer)
     3. Assassination and Martyrdom
        1. Lincoln’s murder? Best thing to happen to his legacy
           1. So many questions that needed to be answered
        2. What comes next?
           1. “The emancipated slaves own nothing because nothing but freedom has been given to them…”

**Chapter 14: A Fool’s Errand: Reconstruction Without Radicalism, 1865-1877**

“In 1870, the former slave stood free; stood a brief moment in the sun; then moved back again toward slavery. The whole weight of America was thrown to color caste. The colored world knelt down before America; new slavery arose, and Democracy died remembered only in the hearts of black folk.”

—W.E.B. DuBois, historian, 1935

**Lesson Objectives**

Explain the causes and consequences of Reconstruction.

Explain the racial and political developments during Reconstruction.

Explain continuity and change in the period 1865-1877.

**Thesis**

The Era of Reconstruction could have been a tremendous reshaping of the United States into a truly multi-racial democracy had it fully embraced the ideas of Republican Radicals. Yet, Reconstruction would largely fail due to the intransigence of white supremacy, North and South. When Reconstruction ended, a form of slavery returned to the South, if not in name, then in practice. While the Civil War may not have been inevitable, the way Reconstruction ended was.

1. Historiography
   1. Unanswered questions after Civil War
      1. How would South rejoin the Union?
      2. What change is necessary in South? Gradual or drastic?
      3. What would be the status of the Freedmen? Equal citizens?
   2. Interpretation
      1. Radical interpretation: Albion Tourgee: *Fool’s Errand*
         1. It would take a generation to change S. culture
         2. Doomed to fail: North didn’t care
      2. The Dunning School: dominant interpretation until 1960s
         1. Mythologizing Civil War, downplaying role of slavery
         2. The “tenacious myth” of Reconstruction
            1. Margaret Mitchell and *Gone with the Wind*

South=poor ol’ Scarlett O’Hara

“aww wittle slave-owner doesn’t own human beings as chattel anymore”

South abused by North

Corruption by Carpetbaggers, Scalawags, and Freedmen

* + - 1. Discredit Republican Radicalism
    1. Revisionist: 1960s optimism
       1. Kenneth Stampp: Democracy comes to Mississippi
          1. Pre-Civil War South: extremely undemocratic
          2. Debunks myth of “Black Republican” dominance (5%)
          3. Corruption way worse in North
    2. Post-Revisionist🡪 back to Radical
       1. Late-1960s: pessimism about Civil Rights Movement
          1. “Second Reconstruction” ended in failure

MLK assassinated

Northern whites abandon Civil Rights

* + - 1. Democracy doomed and impossible
         1. Phillips is right…USA is a white man’s country
      2. Some optimism after Election of 2008
         1. Back in the toilet with 2020

1. Presidential Reconstruction
   1. Lincoln’s model: 10% loyalty oath…that’s it
   2. Andrew Johnson: The Worst President
      1. Little man who hated rich disloyal planters…but also black people
      2. Johnson’s Reconstruction Plan
         1. Repudiate Confederate debt
         2. Repeal secession orders
         3. Ratify 13th Amendment: no more planter class
         4. Keep black people under control…
   3. Southern fears relieved
      1. Blanket pardons issued, no one punished
         1. Jeff Davis: 2 years in prison, Henry Wirz: executed
      2. Former Confederates elected to state govts./Congress
      3. 13th Amendment ratified but Black Codes instituted
         1. “Apprenticeship laws”
      4. Violence reigns
         1. White paramilitary groups: Red Shirts, White League, and the KKK
         2. Race riots (Memphis, 1866)
         3. Lynching, castration, whipping
      5. Nothing changes…
2. Congressional Reconstruction
   1. Radicalism
      1. Thaddeus Stevens and Charles Sumner
         1. Need stronger measures to protect freedmen
      2. Radical steps proposed
         1. Full black equality, esp. voting rights
         2. Land ownership (40 acres and a mule?)
         3. Punishment for traitors
   2. Moderate response: Joint Committee on Reconstruction
      1. Scared of congressional defeat in 1866
      2. Freedmen’s Bureau (1865)
         1. Assist freedmen/poor whites with education
         2. Supply food to poor
      3. Civil Rights Act of 1866
         1. Undo Dred Scott
         2. Black men can testify in court, own property, can sue in court
            1. No vote
      4. Johnson vetoes CR and Freedmen’s Bureau🡪 alienates Moderates
         1. Congress overrides vetoes (first time in history)
      5. Increasing radicalism
         1. Congress handles all pardons
         2. CSA dept repudiated
         3. 14th Amendment
            1. Citizenship for all people (men) born in USA
            2. Bill of Rights applies to state governments as well
            3. Equal protection for all citizens (applies to corporations as well…more on this later)
   3. Debates about 14th Amendment
      1. Johnson opposed to amendment: “Swing around the Circle”
         1. “Vote for Democrats! “
         2. “Radicals are the real enemy”
         3. Moderates further alienated from Johnson
            1. Sympathy for freedmen
      2. 1866 Congressional Elections: Republicans win big
         1. 3/4th of Congress
         2. Northerners: some rights for black people are okay
            1. But not social equality
   4. Reconstruction Acts (1867)
      1. South divided into 5 military districts: further occupation
      2. Southern states had to
         1. Create new constitutions with voting rights
         2. 50% loyalty pledge (Wade-Davis)
         3. Ratify 14th Amendment
   5. Johnson’s impeachment: protect Reconstruction
      1. Johnson fires Stanton, illegal “Tenure in Office Act”
      2. HOR impeaches🡪 Senate
      3. Results
         1. Johnson spared (by one vote)
         2. But he’s quiet down significantly, doesn’t run in 1868
   6. Election of 1868: who should run Reconstruction?
      1. Ulysses S. Grant (war hero) or Horatio Seymour (war Democrat)
      2. Dirty campaign
         1. Dems: return to white supremacy, Republicans want miscegenation
         2. Reps: Dems are traitors (Bloody Shirt)
            1. Radicals want Black voting rights amendment, moderates shush them
      3. Grant wins by the “Negro Factor”
         1. 3 million to Seymour’s 2.7 million
         2. 700,000 African Americans vote for Grant
            1. Moderates open to Black voting amendment now
      4. 15th Amendment
         1. All men can vote!
         2. Alienation of women’s suffrage movement…
            1. Susan B. Anthony tries to vote🡪 arrested
            2. White women’s movement separates from racial equality movement…

Feminist movements tend to not include AAs

* + 1. Civil Rights Act of 1875
       1. Equal treatment legally and in public accommodations
  1. Southern society during Reconstruction
     1. Political reorganization
        1. Southern Republicans: divided interests
           1. Scalawags, Freedmen, Carpetbaggers
        2. State govts. face challenges of rebuilding
           1. Need revenue for bridges, railroads, and artificial limbs
           2. Public spending goes up, taxes go up

“Aww, poor Scarlett is so poor she needs to make a dress out of curtains”

* + - * 1. Railroad subsidies
        2. Dems: actually spending taxpayer money to improve the lives of taxpayers??? Corruption!
      1. Stampp: few African Americans in office
         1. Whites: “South is being humiliated”
    1. Economic challenges
       1. Greenbacks and inflation🡪 intensified by Panic of 1873
       2. Slavery’s gone, but we need labor still…
          1. Apprenticeship laws? Unconstitutional
          2. Refusal to give land to AAs
          3. Solution: sharecropping

Cycle of poverty and debt

* + 1. Violence still common
       1. Colfax Massacre, Battle of Liberty Place
       2. “Mississippi Plan”
       3. Grant’s Response: Force Acts (1870-1871), aka KKK Acts

1. The End and Legacy of Reconstruction
   1. Northern indifference
      1. We did enough, 15th Amendment will keep Republicans in power…right?
      2. Focus on Western development: Indian Wars
      3. Panic of 1873 and financial difficulties
      4. Grant’s corruption scandals
         1. Credit Mobilier collapse
         2. Whiskey Ring
      5. Grant wins again in 1872, but Dems win HOR in 1874
   2. Constitutional and political challenges
      1. US v Cruikshank, 1876: 14th Amendment doesn’t mean Bill of Rights applies to State govts.
      2. Slaughterhouse Cases, 1883: Civil Rights Act of 1875 is unconstitutional
      3. 1875: states already starting to abandon Reconstruction
         1. Fraud and violence🡪 Dems back in power
         2. 15th Amendment under fire
            1. Grandfather Clauses
            2. Poll Taxes
            3. Literacy Tests
   3. The Election of 1876
      1. Rep. Rutherford B. Hayes vs. Dem: Samuel Tilden
      2. “Mississippi Plan” returns to SC, FL, LA
         1. Only states with Union troops stationed
         2. Dem response: Violence, fraud, corruption
            1. SC: 150 AA men were murdered trying to vote
            2. 101% of eligible voters had their votes counted…
      3. Hayes: 165 electoral votes, Tilden: 184 and won popular vote
         1. Disputes in SC, FL, LA (20 electoral votes)🡪 Electoral Commission
         2. Commission finds Hayes vote those states (889 margin)
      4. Truce plan: Compromise of 1877
         1. Hayes would be president
         2. Southerner in Cabinet
         3. Remove federal troops
         4. South had right to deal with black people without Northern interference…
   4. Victory of the Redeemers
      1. Nadir of American Race Relations (1877-1923)
      2. Jim Crow laws across South, violence and intimidation
      3. Slavery by another name

**WEB DuBois *Black Reconstruction***

After that glorious moment, when men threw off the chains of oppression from mother England, America thus stepped forward in the first blossoming of the modern age and added to the gifts of the Renaissance and to the vision of democratic self-government. What an idea! And what a land of promise! The new nation possessed endless natural resources such as earth seldom exhibited before; it held a population infinite in variety, self-reliant and unafraid of man or devil.

Yes, America was the supreme adventure in the last great battle of the West, which would release the human spirit from lower lust and set it free to dream and sing.

And then some unjust God leaned, laughing, over the ramparts of heaven and dropped a black man in the midst.

It transformed America. It turned democracy back toward Fascism; it restored caste and oligarchy; it replaced freedom with slavery; it removed the name of humanity from the vast majority of human beings.

But not without struggle. Not without the writhing and the pitiful wail of lost souls. White men said: “Slavery was wrong but not all wrong. God made black men; God made slavery; the will of God be done; Slavery to the glory of God and black men as his servants; slavery as a way to freedom--the freedom for whites; white freedom as the goal of the world and black slavery as the path thereto. Up with the white world, down with the black!

In 1870 the former slave stood free; Stood a brief moment in the sun; then moved back again toward slavery. The whole weight of America was thrown to color caste. The colored world knelt down before America; A new slavery arose, and Democracy died remembered only in the hearts of black folk.

**Langston Hughes “The Long View: Negro”**

Emancipation: 1865

Sighted through the

Telescope of dreams

Looms larger,

So much larger,

So it seems,

Than truth can be.

But turn the telescope around,

Look through the larger end--

And wonder why

What was so large

Becomes so small

Again.