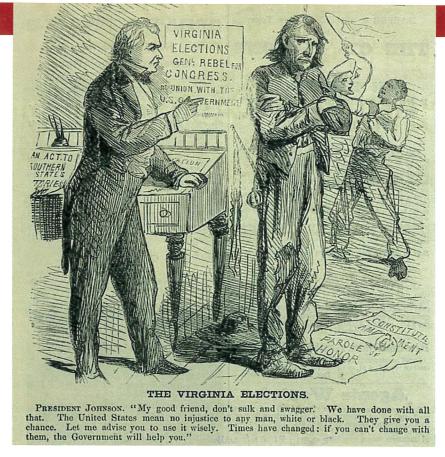
Republicans in Congress were outraged. The men who had led the South out of the Union were being elected to the House and Senate. Plus, no southern state allowed African Americans to vote.

When the new Congress met, Republicans refused to let southern representatives serve. Instead, they set up a Joint Committee on Reconstruction to form a new plan for the South. The stage was set for a showdown between Congress and the President.

and Contrast Which key difference between Lincoln's and Johnson's Reconstruction plans caused problems in 1865?



Analyze Political Cartoons In this cartoon, President Johnson sympathizes with a former rebel while ignoring cruelty to a former slave. Draw Conclusions Which side of the debate between Johnson and Congress does the cartoonist support? How do you know?

Lesson Check

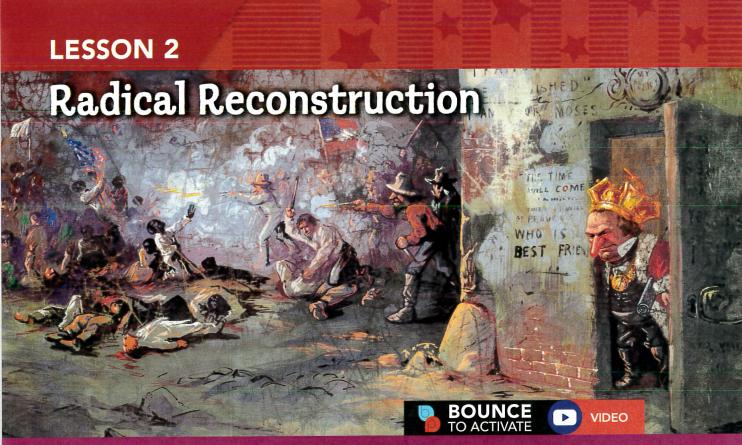
Practice Vocabulary

- 1. In what ways was amnesty an important part of Reconstruction?
- **2.** Who were the **freedmen**, and what was the purpose of the **Freedmen's Bureau**?
- **3.** What was the purpose of the **Thirteenth** Amendment?

Critical Thinking and Writing

4. Identify Main Ideas What problems did the South face after the Civil War that the North did not?

- **5.** Understand Effects Why did Republicans in Congress refuse to let newly elected southern representatives take their seats?
- 6. Writing Workshop: Generate Questions to Focus Research You will be writing a research paper on the Freedmen's Bureau and its effects, and the restrictions placed on the rights and opportunities of African Americans in the Reconstruction-era South. In your Active Journal, write questions that will help you narrow your research on the topic.



GET READY TO READ

START UP

According to the cartoon, what role did President Johnson (shown with a big, red nose) have in the 1866 New Orleans race riots?

GUIDING QUESTIONS

- How did Congress react to the black codes?
- Why was President Johnson impeached?
- How did Reconstruction redefine what it meant to be an American?

TAKE NOTES

Literacy Skills Identify Supporting Details

Use the graphic organizer in your Active Journal to take notes as you read the lesson.

PRACTICE VOCABULARY

Use the vocabulary activity in your Active Journal to practice the vocabulary words.

Vocabulary		Academic
black codes	Reconstruction	Vocabulary
Radical	Act	capability
Republicans	impeach	imposition

Fourteenth Fifteenth Amendment Amendment

Under Johnson's Reconstruction plan, most southern states promptly ratified the Thirteenth Amendment. However, southern legislatures also passed **black codes**, laws that severely limited the rights of freed African Americans. Their purpose was to preserve African Americans as an underclass and a source of cheap labor.

Continuing Conflict Over Reconstruction

The black codes did grant some rights. For example, African Americans could marry legally and own some kinds of property. Still, the codes were clearly meant to keep freedmen from gaining political and economic power.

Restrictions in the South Black codes forbade freedmen to vote, own guns, and serve on juries. In some states, African Americans were permitted to work only as servants or farm laborers. In others, they had to sign contracts for a year's work. Those without contracts could be arrested and sentenced to work on a plantation.

Reconstruction Turns Radical Republicans charged that Johnson's Reconstruction plan was so lenient that it had encouraged southern legislatures to pass the black codes. Republicans were also outraged by reports of violence against freedmen. In 1866, white police officers in Memphis, Tennessee, attacked African American Union soldiers, who fired back at the officers. A protest against the police ended in violence, and rioting broke out. Angry whites burned homes and schools in a black section of the city. Similar riots broke out in New Orleans when freedmen met to support the right to vote.

A report by the Joint Committee on Reconstruction accused the South of trying to "preserve slavery . . . as long as possible." When President Johnson ignored the report, members of Congress called **Radical Republicans** vowed to take control of Reconstruction.

READING CHECK Understand Effects Why were Radical Republicans outraged at President Johnson's approach to Reconstruction?

The Radical Reconstruction Congress

The Radicals were led by Thaddeus Stevens of Pennsylvania in the House and Charles Sumner of Massachusetts in the Senate. Radical Republicans had two main goals. First, they wanted to break the power of wealthy planters who had long ruled the South. Second, they wanted to ensure that freedmen received the right to vote.

Legislative Reform Radicals needed the support of moderate Republicans, the largest group in Congress. Moderates and Radicals disagreed on many issues, but they shared a strong political motive. Most southerners were Democrats. With southerners barred from Congress, Republicans could control both houses.

To combat the black codes, Congress passed the Civil Rights Act in April 1866. It gave citizenship to African Americans. When Johnson vetoed the bill, Congress overrode the veto.



The Massacre of New Orleans

▼ Senator Charles Sumner of Massachusetts



The Fourteenth Amendment Republicans feared that the Supreme Court might use its power of judicial review to declare the Civil Rights Act unconstitutional. To avoid such a ruling, Republicans supported the **Fourteenth Amendment**. It defines citizens as "all persons born or naturalized in the United States." Thus, the amendment voided the Dred Scott decision of 1857, in which Chief Justice Roger B. Taney wrote that African Americans were not and never could be citizens.

The Fourteenth Amendment guarantees citizens "equal protection of the laws" and forbids states to "deprive any person of life, liberty, or property without due process of law." Thus, states could not legally discriminate against a citizen on unreasonable grounds, such as race. The amendment did not apply to most American Indians.

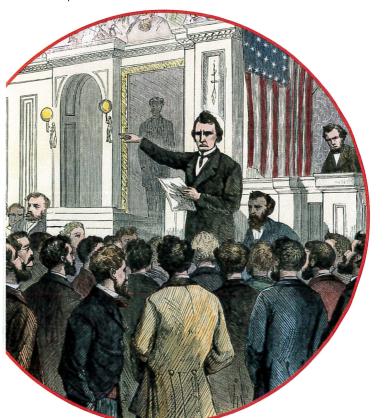
Under the Fourteenth Amendment, any state that denied any male citizen age 21 or older the right to vote would have its representation in Congress consequently reduced. Republicans believed that freedmen would have the **capability** to defend their rights if they could vote.

The Fourteenth Amendment was proposed by Congress in 1866. It was not ratified for another two years. Republicans hoped the amendment would secure basic political rights for African Americans in the South. That goal would take a century to achieve. In the 1950s, the Fourteenth Amendment's Equal Protection Clause became a powerful tool in the struggle for citizenship rights.

READING CHECK Identify Cause and Effect Why did Republicans believe that the Fourteenth Amendment was necessary?

Academic Vocabulary capability • n., ability, capacity

Analyze Images Thaddeus Stevens led the House in nullifying President Johnson's Reconstruction plan. Draw Conclusions What ideals motivated Stevens and the Radical Republicans?



New Rules for the South

President Johnson encouraged former Confederate states to reject the Fourteenth Amendment. He also decided to make the amendment an issue in the 1866 congressional elections.

Republicans Take Over Congress Across the North, Johnson urged voters to reject the Radicals. When a heckler yelled for Johnson to hang Jefferson Davis, Johnson shouted, "Why not hang Thad Stevens?"

In July, riots in New Orleans killed 34 African Americans who had gathered in support of a convention backing voting rights. White mobs attacked the crowd and fired into the convention. The violence convinced many northerners that stronger measures were needed. In the end, Republicans won majorities in both houses of Congress. African Americans were beginning to participate in elections. Almost all were Republicans and helped contribute to the Republicans' majority in Congress.

Rival Plans for Reconstruction

PLAN	TEN PERCENT PLAN	WADE-DAVIS BILL	JOHNSON PLAN	RECONSTRUCTION ACT
Proposed by	President Abraham Lincoln (1863)	Republicans in Congress (1864)	President Andrew Johnson (1865)	Radical Republicans (1867)
Conditions for Former Confederate States to Rejoin Union	 10 percent of voters must swear loyalty to Union Must abolish slavery 	 Majority of white men must swear loyalty Former Confederate volunteers cannot vote or hold office Wartime debts by states will not be recognized 	 Majority of white men must swear loyalty Must ratify Thirteenth Amendment Former Confederate officials may vote and hold office Each state would be appointed a governor chosen by the president 	 Must disband state governments Must write new constitutions Must ratify Fourteenth Amendment African American men must be allowed to vote Must disqualify former officials of the Confederacy from holding public office

Military Rule in the South In 1867, Republicans in Congress prepared to take charge of Reconstruction. With huge majorities in both houses, Congress could easily override vetoes. The period that followed is often called Radical Reconstruction.

Congress passed the first **Reconstruction Act** in March 1867. It threw out the state governments that had refused to ratify the Fourteenth Amendment—all the former Confederate states except Tennessee. The Military Reconstruction Acts of 1867 divided the southern states into five military districts, each governed by a military general.

Military rulers in these military districts had nearly unlimited power. They sometimes conducted trials without juries. Many southerners bitterly resented the **imposition** of military rule. They argued that the military occupation violated their rights because it was done without their consent or representation.

Congress, however, continued to impose new rules. To rejoin the Union, former Confederate states had to write new constitutions and ratify the Fourteenth Amendment. The Reconstruction Act also required that southern states allow African Americans to vote.

With the new constitutions in place, reconstructed states held elections to set up new state governments. The Fourteenth Amendment barred former Confederate officials from voting. Many other white southerners stayed away from the polls in protest. Protected by the army, freedmen proudly exercised their new right to vote. Most favored the Republican party, since it had supported their rights. As a result, Republicans gained control of all of the new southern state governments.

READING CHECK Generate Explanations On what basis did the southern states argue against the Military Reconstruction Acts?

Analyze Charts Four plans for reconstructing the states that had seceded were proposed. Compare and Contrast In what ways did the Reconstruction Act of 1867 place more restrictions on former Confederate states than had previous plans?

Academic Vocabulary

imposition • n., something applied or created based on authority

Did you know?

As a U.S. senator in 1861, Andrew Johnson continued to serve in the Senate even though his home state of Tennessee had seceded.

Analyze Graphs Once the Radical Republicans got into office, Congress's stand on protecting African Americans' rights was surprisingly consistent. Summarize How would you describe congressional support for the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments?

Political Problems and a New President

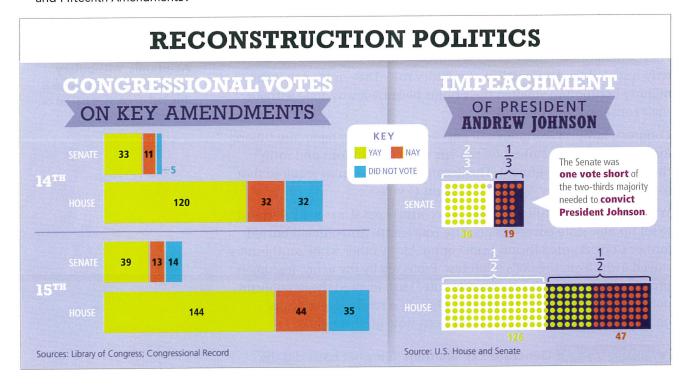
Congress passed other Reconstruction acts over Johnson's veto. As President, Johnson had a duty to execute, or carry out, the new laws. However, Johnson did what he could to limit their effect. For instance, he fired military commanders who supported Radical Reconstruction. Republicans in Congress decided to try to remove Johnson from office.

President Johnson on Trial On February 24, 1868, the House of Representatives voted to **impeach**, or bring formal charges against, Johnson. According to the Constitution, the House may impeach a president for "treason, bribery, or other high crimes and misdemeanors." The president is removed from office if found guilty by two thirds of the Senate.

During Johnson's trial, it became clear that he was not guilty of high crimes and misdemeanors. Even Charles Sumner, Johnson's bitter foe, admitted that the charges were "political in character." Despite intense pressure, seven Republican senators refused to vote for conviction. The Constitution, they said, did not allow Congress to remove a president just because they disagreed with him. In the end, the vote was 35 to 19—one vote shy of the two thirds needed to convict.

Grant Wins the Election of 1868 Johnson served out the few remaining months of his term. In May 1868, Republicans nominated the Union's greatest war hero, Ulysses S. Grant, for president.

In July 1868, the Fourteenth Amendment was ratified, granting citizenship to African Americans and guaranteeing equal protection of the laws. Former Confederate states were still required to ratify the amendment before they could be readmitted to the Union.



By election day, Texas, Mississippi, and Virginia had still not ratified the Fourteenth Amendment and were unable to vote. Most southern states had ratified the amendment and rejoined the Union, but some former Confederates in these states were still not allowed to vote. In addition, as required by the 1867 Reconstruction Act, the southern states allowed African American men to vote. About 500,000 blacks voted—nearly all of them for Grant. Grant won six states that had been part of the Confederacy. With support from most northerners as well, he easily won the election.

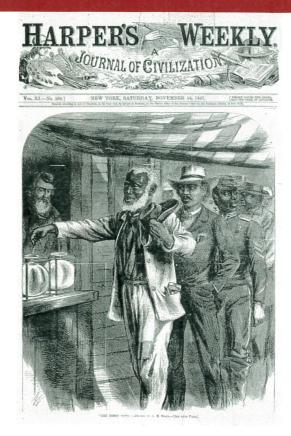
The Fifteenth Amendment In 1869, Congress proposed the **Fifteenth Amendment**. It forbids any state to deny any citizen the right to vote because of "race, color, or previous condition of servitude."

Republicans had moral and political reasons for supporting the Fifteenth Amendment. They remembered the great sacrifices made by African American soldiers in the Civil War. They also felt it was wrong to let African Americans vote in the South but not in the North. In addition, Republicans knew that if African Americans could vote in the North, they would help Republicans win elections there.

The Fifteenth Amendment was ratified in 1870. At last, all African American men over age 21 had the right to vote.

The Fifteenth Amendment was difficult to enforce, and southern conservatives were determined to find ways around it. It was not until the mid-1900s that new legislation began to effectively protect voting rights and the full impact of the amendment was felt.

READING CHECK Identify Cause and Effect Why did some Republican senators refuse to vote to convict Johnson?



Analyze Images This illustration shows African Americans voting for the first time in 1868. **Draw Conclusions** Why did the artist show different types of African American citizens?

Lesson Check

Practice Vocabulary

- 1. What rights were secured for African Americans by the Fourteenth Amendment and the Fifteenth Amendment?
- 2. Why did Republicans impeach President Johnson?

Critical Thinking and Writing

3. Generate Explanations Why were the black codes so restrictive?

- 4. Draw Conclusions Why was the Republican plan for Reconstruction called Radical Reconstruction?
- 5. Writing Workshop: Find and Use Credible Sources Begin doing research on your paper on the Freedmen's Bureau. Look for reliable sources. Take notes on information you may use in your paper. Record web addresses and other source information in your 🗐 Active Journal so you can find them again.

Primary Sources



Frederick Douglass, "What the Black Man Wants"

In April 1865, millions of enslaved Americans were on the verge of being freed. White Americans wondered what to do with them. Douglass spelled out what the black man wanted.

◀ Frederick Douglass

Reading and Vocabulary Support

- ① Deprivation means the fact of having something valuable taken away.
- 2 To "exercise the elective franchise" means to make use of the right to vote.
- 3 Benevolence is kindness.
- 4 What is the meaning of this metaphor about the apples?

We may be asked, I say, why we want [the right to vote]. I will tell you why we want it. We want it because it is our right, first of all. No class of men can, without insulting their own nature, be content with any deprivation 1 of their rights. We want it, again, as a means for educating our race. Men are so constituted that they derive their conviction of their own possibilities largely from the estimate formed of them by others. If nothing is expected of a people, that people will find it difficult to contradict that expectation. By depriving us of suffrage, you affirm our incapacity to form an intelligent judgment respecting public men and public measures; you declare before the world that we are unfit to exercise the elective franchise 2, and by this means lead us to undervalue ourselves, to put a low estimate upon ourselves, and to feel that we have no possibilities like other men. . . .

What I ask for the negro is not benevolence ③, not pity, not sympathy, but simply justice. The American people have always been anxious to know what they shall do with us. . . . I have had but one answer from the beginning. Do nothing with us! Your doing with us has already played the mischief with us. Do nothing with us! If the apples will not remain on the tree of their own strength, if they are worm-eaten at the core, if they are early ripe and disposed to fall, let them fall! ④ . . . And if the negro cannot stand on his own legs, let him fall also. All I ask is, give him a chance to stand on his own legs! Let him alone! If you see him on his way to school, let him alone,—don't disturb him! If you see him going to the dinner-table at a hotel, let him go! If you see him going to the ballot-box, let him alone,—don't disturb him!

QUEST CONNECTIONS

What did Frederick
Douglass want
Reconstruction to achieve?
How did his goals for
Reconstruction compare
with those of others?
Record your findings in
your Active Journal.

Analyzing Primary Sources

Cite specific evidence from the document to support your answers.

- **1. Understand Effects** What effect does depriving black men of suffrage have on them?
- **2. Determine Author's Point of View** What is Douglass's main message in this excerpt?

Distinguish Essential from Incidental Information



Identify Evidence

Follow these steps to help you distinguish essential from incidental information.

- **Identify a focus or topic.** Set a purpose for your research. What exactly are you trying to find out? What key questions are you trying to answer? What idea or event are you trying to understand?
- Locate your sources. The sources you choose will depend on your focus and topic.
- Identify information that is essential to your topic. Based on your focus, what information will help you achieve your goal? What kinds of data will answer questions or increase your understanding?

Identify Information that is incidental to your topic. Remember the focus you have set for your research. Information that is not related to this focus is incidental. For example, suppose you want to use the information in the chart to learn about Andrew Johnson's plan for Reconstruction. Information about Johnson's impeachment might be accurate, but it is incidental to your topic. Which of the statements are incidental to your research? Which are essential?

President Andrew Johnson and Radical Reconstruction

Johnson supported a mild Reconstruction plan that called for a majority of voters in each southern state to pledge loyalty to the United States.

Johnson required states to ratify the Thirteenth Amendment as a condition of re-entering the union.

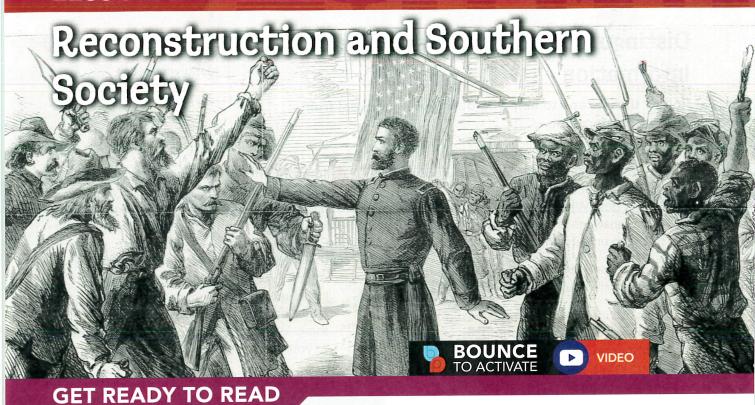
When southern states met his requirements for readmission to the Union, Johnson quickly approved their new state governments.

When President Lincoln was assassinated, Johnson became President. He took over the task of implementing Reconstruction.

Republicans were outraged when southern states that had been readmitted elected former Confederate officeholders to Congress.

The Radical Republicans were led in the House by Thaddeus Stevens of Pennsylvania and in the Senate by Charles Sumner of Massachusetts.

Republicans were angry when southern states enacted black codes that restricted the rights of freedmen.



START UP

In this image, a member of the Freedmen's Bureau holds off outraged white men. Look at other images and headings in this topic, then write two predictions of what you will read about.

GUIDING QUESTIONS

- How did conservatives resist Reconstruction?
- What economic, political, and social challenges faced Reconstruction governments?
- How did Reconstruction redefine what it meant to be an American?

TAKE NOTES

Literacy Skills Summarize

Use the graphic organizer in your 🗾 Active Journal to take notes as you read the lesson.

PRACTICE VOCABULARY

Use the vocabulary activity in your 🗾 Active Journal to practice the vocabulary words.

Vocabulary

scalawag carpetbagger Ku Klux Klan sharecropper

Academic Vocabulary

notorious anticipate Before the Civil War, a small group of rich planters dominated politics in the South. During Reconstruction, however, new groups tried to reshape southern politics.

How Did New Political Groups Shape the South?

The state governments created during Radical Reconstruction were different from any governments the South had known before. The old leaders had lost much of their influence. Three groups stepped in to replace them.

White Southern Republicans One group to emerge consisted of white southerners who supported the new Republican governments. Many were businesspeople who had opposed secession in 1860. They wanted to forget the war and get on with rebuilding the South.

However, many whites in the South felt that any southerner who helped the Republicans was a traitor. They called the white southern Republicans **scalawags**, a word used for small, scruffy horses.