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Chapter 15  
Chapter Outline

- I. The Meanings of Freedom
  - A. For southern blacks, an expansive quest
    - 1. Self-ownership
    - 2. Autonomous institutions
      - a. Family
        - i. Reuniting families separated under slavery
        - ii. Adopting separate gender roles
      - b. Church
        - i. Worship
        - ii. Social events
        - iii. Political meetings
      - c. Schools
        - i. Motivations
        - ii. Backgrounds of students and instructors
        - iii. Establishment of black colleges
    - 3. Political participation
      - a. Right to vote
      - b. Engagement in political events
    - 4. Land ownership
  - B. For southern whites, an imperiled birthright
    - 1. Masters without slaves
      - a. Loss of life
      - b. Destruction of property
      - c. Draining of planters' wealth and privilege
      - d. Psychic blow of emancipation
        - i. Inability to accept
        - ii. Intolerance of black autonomy or equality
  - C. For northern Republicans, "free labor" vision
    - 1. Middle approach between aspirations of freedpeople and planters
    - 2. Ambiguous role of federal government; Freedmen's Bureau
      - a. Achievements in education and health care
      - b. Betrayal of commitment to land reform
  - D. Post-emancipation labor systems
    - 1. Task system (rice)
    - 2. Wage labor (sugar)
    - 3. Sharecropping (cotton, tobacco)
  - E. Subversion of independent white yeomanry
    - 1. Spread of indebtedness, dependence on cotton production
    - 2. Sharecropping and crop lien systems
  - F. Urban growth
    - 1. Growth of towns in the South
    - 2. Rise of a middle class in the South
  - G. Aftermath of slavery
    - 1. Parallels of end of slavery elsewhere in the western hemisphere
      - a. Former planters encouraged freed slaves to stay and work
      - b. Former slaves sought as much freedom as possible
      - c. Former slaves sought to become land owners
    - 2. Differences of end of slavery elsewhere in the western hemisphere
      - a. Within two years, freed slaves given full citizenship within two years
      - b. Freed slaves given the right to vote
      - c. Freed slaves given the right to hold office, and do

## II. Presidential Reconstruction

- A. Andrew Johnson
  - 1. Background and character
    - a. Humble origins
    - b. "Honest yeoman" identity
    - c. Political career
    - d. Hostility to southern secession and racial equality
  - 2. Approach to Reconstruction
    - a. Pardons
    - b. Reserving of political power to whites
- B. Southern white response
  - 1. Restoration of Confederate leaders and Old South elite
  - 2. Violence against freedpeople and northerners
  - 3. Black Codes
- C. Northern reaction
  - 1. Johnson satisfaction
  - 2. Republican outrage
- D. Republican goals and principles
  - 1. Moderate *and* Radical Republicans
    - a. Equality of races before the law
    - b. Federal enforcement
  - 2. Radical Republicans only
    - a. Dissolution of Confederate-run state governments
    - b. Enfranchisement of blacks
    - c. Redistribution of land to former slaves
- E. Congressional Republicans vs. Johnson
  - 1. Passage of bill extending life of Freedmen's Bureau
  - 2. Passage of Civil Rights Bill
  - 3. Vetoes and override
  - 4. Fourteenth Amendment
    - a. Terms and significance
    - b. Approval by Congress, transmission to states
    - c. Controversy in North
      - i. Democrats vs. Republicans
      - ii. Congress vs. Johnson
  - 5. 1866 midterm election
    - a. Bitter campaign
    - b. Republican sweep
    - c. Growing breach between Johnson and Republicans

## III. Radical Reconstruction

- A. Reconstruction Act
  - 1. Placement of South under federal military authority
  - 2. Call for new state governments, entailing black right to vote
- B. Tenure of Office Act
- C. Impeachment of Johnson
  - 1. Charges
  - 2. Acquittal
- D. 1868 presidential election
  - 1. Republican waving of "bloody shirt"
  - 2. Democratic race-baiting
  - 3. Ulysses S. Grant victory
- E. Fifteenth Amendment

## IV. Significance of "Great Constitutional Revolution"

- A. Idea of national citizenry, equal before the law

- B. Expansion of citizenry to include blacks
  - C. Empowerment of federal government to protect citizens' rights
  - D. New boundaries of American citizenship
    - 1. Exclusion of Asian immigrants
    - 2. Exclusion of women
      - a. Unfulfilled campaigns for women's emancipation
      - b. Split within feminism over Reconstruction amendments
- V. Radical Reconstruction in the South
- A. Black initiatives
    - 1. Mass public gatherings
    - 2. Grassroots protests against segregation
    - 3. Labor strikes
    - 4. Political mobilization
    - 5. Forming of local Republican organizations
      - a. Union League
      - b. Voter registration
  - B. Reconstructed state governments
    - 1. Composition
      - a. Predominance of Republicans
      - b. Black Republicans
        - i. Officeholding at federal, state, and local levels
        - ii. Varied backgrounds
      - c. White Republicans
        - i. Carpetbaggers
        - ii. Scalawags
        - iii. Varied motivations of each
    - 2. Achievements
      - a. Public education
      - b. Affirmation of civil and political equality
      - c. More equal allocation of public services and resources
      - d. Measures to protect free labor
      - e. Fairer system of justice
      - f. Improvement in public facilities
    - 3. Shortcomings
      - a. Uneven enforcement of laws
      - b. Economic stagnation
      - c. Persistence of black poverty
- VI. Overthrow of Reconstruction
- A. Southern white opposition
    - 1. Grievances expressed
      - a. Corruption
      - b. Incompetence
      - c. High taxes
      - d. Black supremacy
    - 2. Underlying motivations
      - a. Antipathy for racial equality
      - b. Desire for controllable labor
    - 3. Reign of Terror
      - a. Against any perceived threat to white supremacy
      - b. Against Republicans, black and white
      - c. Ku Klux Klan and other secret societies
  - B. Northern response
    - 1. Measures to protect blacks' rights
      - a. Enforcement Acts of 1870 and 1871
      - b. Civil Rights Act of 1875

2. North's retreat from Reconstruction
  - a. Liberal Republicans; Horace Greeley
  - b. Resurgence of northern racism
  - c. Economic depression
  - d. Supreme Court decisions
    - i. *Slaughterhouse Cases*
    - ii. *U.S. v. Cruikshank*
- C. Death throes of Reconstruction
  1. 1874 Democratic gains in South; "Redeemers"
  2. Resurgence of terror
  3. Rise of electoral fraud
  4. Election of 1876 and Bargain of 1877
  5. The end of Reconstruction