

The Civil War Begins

Guide to Reading

Big Ideas Struggles for Rights After Lincoln's election to the presidency, many Southerners placed state loyalty above loyalty to the Union.

Content Vocabulary

- martial law (p. 126)
- habeas corpus (p. 128)
- attrition (p. 129)

Academic Vocabulary

- sufficient (p. 127)
- implement (p. 129)

People and Events to Identify

- Crittenden's Compromise (p. 124)
- Jefferson Davis (p. 125)
- Confederacy (p. 125)
- Fort Sumter (p. 125)
- Robert E. Lee (p. 126)
- Anaconda Plan (p. 129)

Reading Strategy

Taking Notes Use the major headings in this section to record information about the events that led to the Civil War and the status of the opposing sides.

The Union Dissolves
I. The Election of 1860
A.
B.
C.

In the end, all attempts at compromise between the North and South over slavery failed. The outcome of the 1860 election triggered the first shots of the long, bloody Civil War.

The Union Dissolves

MAIN Idea The election of Abraham Lincoln led the Southern states to secede from the Union.

HISTORY AND YOU Think of a time when you were unable to compromise over an issue. Read on to learn why Southern states refused to compromise in 1861 and instead decided to secede from the Union, sparking a bloody civil war.

John Brown's raid on Harpers Ferry became a turning point for the South. Many Southerners were terrified and enraged by the idea that Northerners would deliberately try to arm enslaved people and encourage them to rebel. Although Republican leaders quickly denounced Brown's raid, many Southern newspapers and politicians blamed Republicans for the attack. To many Southerners, the key point was that both the Republicans and Brown opposed slavery.

The Election of 1860

In April 1860, with the South still in an uproar, Democrats from across the United States gathered in Charleston, South Carolina, to choose their nominee for president.

The Democrats Split Southern Democrats wanted their party to uphold the *Dred Scott* decision and defend slaveholders' rights in the territories. Northern Democrats, led by Stephen Douglas, preferred to continue supporting popular sovereignty. When Northerners also rebuffed the idea of a federal slave code in the territories, 50 Southern delegates stormed out of the convention. The walkout meant that neither Douglas nor anyone else could muster the two-thirds majority needed to become the party's nominee.

In June 1860, the Democrats reconvened in Baltimore. Again, Southern delegates walked out. The remaining Democrats then chose Stephen Douglas as their candidate. The Southerners who had bolted organized their own convention in Richmond and nominated John C. Breckinridge of Kentucky, the sitting vice president.

Meanwhile, many former Whigs and others were alarmed at the prospect of Southern secession. They created a new party, the Constitutional Union Party, and chose former Tennessee senator John Bell to run for president. The party took no position on issues dividing

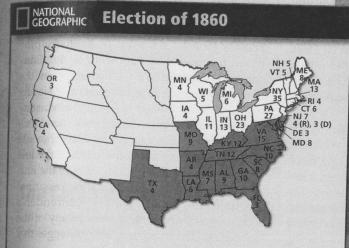
POLITICAL CARTOONS PRIMARY SOURCE

The Election of 1860

After the slavery issue split the Democratic Party, the election of 1860 evolved into a four-way race. In the cartoon, the artist implies that Lincoln won because he had the best bat, which is labeled *equal rights and free territories," while the other candidates were for compromise or the extension of slavery.

Stephen Douglas holds a bat labeled "Nonintervention" and blames Lincoln's rail for his loss.

John Breckinridge's bat is labeled "slavery extension" and his belt says Disunion Club.



Presidential Candidate	Political Party	Popular Votes	% of Popular Vote	Electoral Votes
Lincoln	Republican	1,866,452	39.83%	180
Breckinridge	Southern Democratic	847,953	18.10%	72
Bell Bell	Constitutional Union	590,901	12.61%	39
Douglas	Democratic	1,380,202	29.46%	12



John Bell's bat is labeled "Fusion" and his belt says Union Club.

Abraham Lincoln, the winner, stands on home base holding a rail labeled "Equal Rights and Free Territory."

Analyzing VISUALS

DBQ

- 1. Interpreting How does the map show that Lincoln was a sectional candidate?
- 2. Identifying Points of View Do you think that the artist was sympathetic to abolition or not? Explain.

North and South. Their purpose, they said, was to uphold the Constitution and the Union.

Lincoln Is Elected The Republicans, realizing they stood no chance in the South, needed a candidate who could sweep most of the North. The most prominent Republican at the time was Senator William Seward from New York, but many Republicans did not think Seward had a wide enough appeal. Instead, they nominated Abraham Lincoln, who had gained a national reputation during his debates

with Douglas. Although he was not an abolitionist, Lincoln believed that slavery was morally wrong, and he opposed its spread into the western territories.

During the campaign the Republicans remained true to their free-soil principles, but they reaffirmed the right of the Southern states to preserve slavery within their borders. They also supported higher tariffs to protect manufacturers and workers, a new homestead law for settlers in the West, and federal funds for a transcontinental railroad.

The Republican proposals angered many Southerners, but with the Democrats divided, Lincoln won the election by winning the electoral votes of all the free states except New Jersey, whose votes he split with Douglas.

Secession Begins Many Southerners viewed Lincoln's election as a threat to their society and culture, even their lives. They saw no choice but to secede. The dissolution of the Union began with South Carolina. Shortly after Lincoln's election, the state legislature called for a convention. On December 20, 1860, amid marching bands, fireworks, and militia drills, the convention voted unanimously to repeal the state's ratification of the Constitution and dissolve its ties to the Union.

By February 1, 1861, six more states in the Lower South—Mississippi, Florida, Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, and Texas—had also voted to secede. Although a minority in these states did not want to leave the Union, the majority of Southerners viewed secession as similar to the American Revolution—a necessary course of action to uphold people's rights.

Compromise Fails

Although Lincoln was elected president in November 1860, he would not be inaugurated until the following March. The Union's initial response to secession was the responsibility of President Buchanan. Declaring that the government had no authority to forcibly preserve the Union, Buchanan urged Congress to be conciliatory.

Crittenden's Compromise In December, Senator John J. Crittenden of Kentucky proposed a series of amendments to the Constitution. **Crittenden's Compromise**, as the newspapers called it, would guarantee slavery where it already existed. It would also reinstate the Missouri Compromise line and extend it all the way to the California border. Slavery would be prohibited in all territories north of the line and protected in all territories south of the line.

At Lincoln's request, congressional Republicans voted against Crittenden's Compromise. Accepting slavery in any of the territories, Lincoln argued, "acknowledges that

Steps to Civil War, 1846-1860



▲ David Wilmot

1846Wilmot Proviso proposing to ban slavery in Mexican cession enrages

Southerners

1848
Free-Soil Party is founded by Northern antislavery Whigs, Democrats, and members of the Liberty Party

1850

Compromise of 1850 allows California to enter Union as a free state, giving free states a Senate majority, but the new Fugitive Slave law enrages Northerners



1846

1847

Vice President George Dallas proposes popular sovereignty; Democrat Lewis Cass popularizes the idea, angering Northern antislavery Democrats

California Gold Rush brings flood of settlers; California applies for statehood



1852 Uncle Tom's Cabin is published slavery has equal rights with liberty, and surrenders all we have contended for."

Founding the Confederacy On February 8, 1861, delegates from the seceding states met in Montgomery, Alabama, where they declared themselves to be a new nation—the Confederate States of America. They drafted a constitution similar to the U.S. Constitution but with major changes. The Confederate Constitution acknowledged the independence of each state, guaranteed slavery in Confederate territory, banned tariffs, and limited the president to a single six-year term.

The convention delegates chose former Mississippi senator Jefferson Davis to be president. In his inaugural address, Davis declared, "The time for compromise has now passed." He then called on the remaining Southern states to join the Confederacy.

The Civil War Begins

In his inaugural address on March 4, 1861, President Lincoln again promised not to inter-

1856

fere with slavery where it existed but insisted that "the Union of these States is perpetual." Lincoln encouraged reconciliation:

PRIMARY SOURCE

"In your hands, my dissatisfied countrymen, and not in mine is the momentous issue of civil war. The government will not assail you. You can have no conflict, without yourselves being the aggressors. . . . We must not be enemies. Though passion may have strained, it must not break our bonds of affection."

-from Lincoln's First Inaugural Address

Fort Sumter Falls In April Lincoln announced that he intended to resupply Fort Sumter in Charleston Harbor, one of the few federal military bases that Southerners had not already seized. Confederate President Jefferson Davis now faced a problem. To tolerate U.S. troops in the South's most vital Atlantic harbor seemed unacceptable for a sovereign nation. However, firing on the supply ship would undoubtedly provoke war. Jefferson decided to demand the surrender of Fort Sumter before the supply ship arrived.



is founded





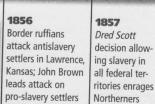
Abraham Lincoln wins national attention during Lincoln-Douglas debates

1859 John Brown raids Harpers Ferry

1860 Lincoln is elected; secession begins

Charles Sumner is

caned in the Senate



in Pottawatomie

Creek, Kansas



Analyzing TIME LINES

- 1. Specifying How many years elapsed between the Compromise of 1850 and the beginning of the Civil War?
- 2. Identifying Which came first—the Dred Scott decision or the Wilmot Proviso?

▲ Antislavery settlers in Kansas

The fort's commander, U.S. Army Major Robert Anderson, refused. Confederate forces then bombarded Fort Sumter for 33 hours on April 12 and 13, until Anderson and his exhausted men gave up.

The Upper South Secedes After the fall of Fort Sumter, President Lincoln called for 75,000 volunteers to serve in the military for 90 days. This created a crisis in the Upper South. Many people in those states did not want to secede, but they were not willing to take up arms against fellow Southerners. Between April 17 and June 8, 1861, four more states chose to leave the Union-Virginia, Arkansas, North Carolina, and Tennessee. The Confederate Congress then established Richmond, Virginia, as the capital.

Holding the Border States With the Upper South gone, Lincoln could not afford to lose the slaveholding border states as well. Delaware seemed safe, but Lincoln worried about Kentucky, Missouri, and particularly Maryland. Virginia's secession had placed a Confederate state across the Potomac River from the nation's capital. If Maryland joined the South, Washington, D.C., would be surrounded by Confederate territory. To prevent Maryland's secession, Lincoln imposed martial law-military rule-in Baltimore, where angry mobs had already attacked federal troops. Fearing that Confederate agents in Washington, D.C., were plotting against the Union government, Lincoln suspended the right of habeas corpus, which protects citizens from illegal imprisonment without evidence. Dozens of suspected secessionist leaders were imprisoned. Chief Justice Robert Taney ruled against the suspension, but Lincoln ignored this in the face of impending war.

Kentucky initially declared neutrality in the conflict, but when Confederate troops occupied part of Kentucky, the state declared war on the Confederacy, and Lincoln sent troops to help. In Missouri, despite strong public support for the Confederacy, the state convention voted to stay in the Union. Federal troops then ended fights between the pro-Union government and secessionists.

Reading Check **Explaining** Why did Southern Democrats walk out of the Democratic Convention?

The Opposing Sides

MAIN Idea The North and South each had distinct advantages and disadvantages at the beginning of the Civil War.

HISTORY AND YOU Do you believe limiting civil liberties during wartime is justified? Read on to learn how President Lincoln decided to suspend writs of habeas corpus during the Civil War.

On the same day that he learned his home state of Virginia had voted to secede from the Union, Robert E. Lee—one of the best senior officers in the United States Army—received an offer from General Winfield Scott to command Union troops. Although Lee had spoken against secession and considered slavery "a moral and political evil," he refused to fight against the South. Instead, he offered his services to the Confederacy.

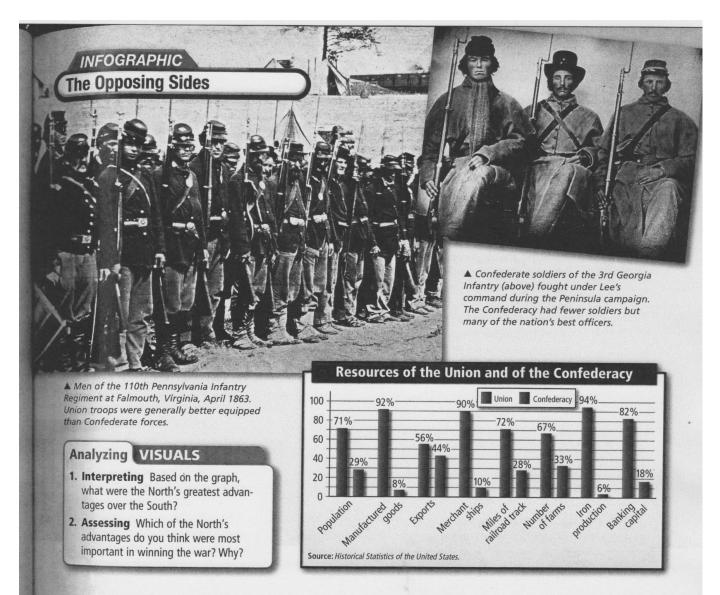
Lee was one of hundreds of military officers who resigned to join the Confederacy. In 1860 seven of the nation's eight military colleges were in the South. These colleges provided the region with a large number of trained officers to quickly organize an effective fighting force.

Just as the South had a strong military tradition, the North had a strong naval tradition. More than three-quarters of the Navy's officers came from the North, and the crews of American merchant ships were almost entirely from the North. They provided a large pool of trained sailors for the Union navy as it expanded.

The Opposing Economies

Although the South had many experienced officers to lead its troops in battle, the North had several economic advantages. In 1860 the population of the North was about 22 million, while the South had about 9 million people. The North's larger population gave it a great advantage in raising an army and in supporting the war effort.

Industry The North's industries also gave the region an important economic advantage over the South. In 1860 almost 90 percent of the nation's factories were located in the Northern states. The North could provide its troops with ammunition and other supplies more easily. In addition, the South had only half as many miles of railroad track as the North and had only one line—from Memphis



to Chattanooga—connecting the western states of the Confederacy to the east. This made it much easier for Northern troops to disrupt the Southern rail system and prevent the movement of supplies and troops.

Financing the War The Union also controlled the national treasury and could expect continued revenue from tariffs. Many Northern banks also held large reserves of cash, which they lent the government by purchasing bonds.

In order to make more money available for emergency use, Congress also passed the Legal Tender Act, creating a national currency and allowing the government to issue paper money. The paper money came to be known as greenbacks, because of its color.

In contrast to the Union, the Confederacy's financial situation was poor, and it became

worse over time. Most Southern planters were in debt and unable to buy bonds. Southern banks were small and had few cash reserves; as a result, they could not buy many bonds either. The best hope for the South to raise money was by taxing trade. Then, shortly after the war began, the Union Navy blockaded Southern ports, which reduced trade and, as a result, tax revenues. The Confederacy had to resort to direct taxation of its people, but many Southerners refused to pay.

Lacking sufficient money from taxes or bonds, the Confederacy was forced to print paper money to pay its bills. This caused rapid inflation in the South, and Confederate paper money eventually became almost worthless. By the end of the war, the South had experienced 9,000 percent inflation, compared to only 80 percent in the North.

The Political Situation

Although many Republicans wanted to end slavery, Lincoln wanted to preserve the Union, even if it meant allowing slavery to continue. The president also had to contend with the Democrats. A faction known as the War Democrats supported a war to save the Union but opposed ending slavery. Peace Democrats wanted to negotiate instead of fighting a war.

One major disagreement between Republicans and Democrats concerned conscriptionor forcing people through a draft into military service. In 1862, Congress passed a militia law requiring states to use conscription if they could not recruit enough volunteers, but many Democrats opposed it.

Criticism also greeted President Lincoln's decision to suspend writs of habeas corpus. A writ of habeas corpus is a court order that requires the government to charge an impris-

oned person with a crime or let the person go free. When writs of habeas corpus are suspended, a person can be imprisoned indefinitely without trial. In this case, President Lincoln suspended the writ for anyone who openly supported the rebels or encouraged others to resist the militia draft. "Must I shoot a simple-minded soldier boy who deserts," the president asked, "while I must not touch a hair of a wily agitator who induces him to desert?

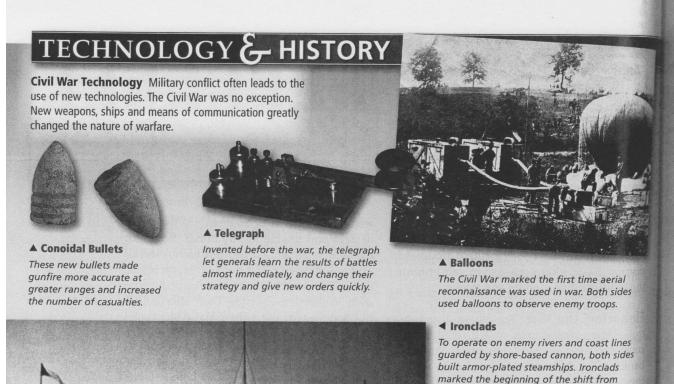
Although the South had no organized opposition party, Confederate president Jefferson Davis also faced political problems. The Confederate constitution protected states' rights and limited the central government's power. This interfered with Davis's ability to conduct the war. Some Southern leaders opposed Davis when he supported conscription and established martial law early in 1862. They also opposed the suspension of writs of habeas corpus, which the South, like the North, had introduced.

wooden ships to steel ships.

VISUALS 1. Explaining How did balloons change

2. Describing How did the telegraph help both sides fight the war?

Analyzing



The outbreak of the Civil War put the major governments of Europe in a difficult situation. The Union government did not want the Europeans interfering in the war, but Southern leaders wanted them to recognize the Confederacy and provide it with military aid. Southern leaders knew that European textile factories depended on Southern cotton. To pressure the British and French, many Southern planters agreed to stop selling their cotton in these markets until the Europeans recognized the Confederacy. Despite these efforts, both countries chose not to go to war against the United States.

The First Modern War

The North and South were about to embark on what was, in many respects, the first modern war. Unlike earlier European wars, the Civil War involved huge armies that consisted mostly of civilian volunteers and required vast amounts of supplies.

Military Technology By the 1850s, French and American inventors had developed an inexpensive conoidal—or coneshaped—bullet that was accurate at much greater distances. At the same time, instead of standing in a line, troops defending positions began to use trenches and barricades to protect themselves. This resulted in much higher casualties. **Attrition**—the wearing down of one side by the other through exhaustion of soldiers and resources—also played a critical role as the war dragged on.

The South's Strategy Early in the war, Jefferson Davis imagined a struggle similar to the American war for independence. Southern generals would pick their battles carefully, attacking and retreating when necessary to avoid heavy losses. By waging a defensive war of attrition, Davis believed the South could force the Union to spend its resources until it became tired of the war and agreed to negotiate. Although this strategy made sense, Davis felt great pressure to strike for a quick victory. Many Southerners believed that their military traditions made them superior fighters. In the war, Southern troops went on the offensive in eight battles, suffering 20,000 more casualties than the Union by charging enemy lines. These were heavy losses the South could not afford.

The Union's Anaconda Plan The general in chief of the United States, Winfield Scott, suggested that the Union blockade Confederate ports and send gunboats down the Mississippi River to divide the Confederacy in two. The South, thus separated, would gradually run out of resources and surrender. Many Northerners rejected the strategy, which they called the Anaconda Plan, after a snake that slowly strangles its prey to death. They thought it was too slow and indirect for certain victory. Lincoln eventually agreed to implement Scott's suggestions and imposed a blockade of Southern ports. He and other Union leaders realized that only a long war that focused on destroying the South's armies had any chance of success.

Reading Check Comparing In what areas did the opposing sides have advantages and disadvantages?

Section 1 REVIEW

Vocabulary

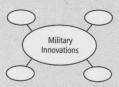
1. Explain the significance of: Crittenden's Compromise, Jefferson Davis, Confederacy, Fort Sumter, martial law, Robert E. Lee, habeas corpus, attrition, Anaconda Plan.

Main Ideas

- 2. **Identifying** Where and under what circumstances did the American Civil War begin?
- **3. Explaining** Why did the South resort to using paper money during the war?

Critical Thinking

- **4. Big Ideas** How did the Southerners' belief in states' rights hamper the Confederate government during the war?
- **5. Organizing** Using a graphic organizer similar to the one below, list the military innovations of the Civil War era.



6. Analyzing Visuals Examine the conoidal bullets shown on page 128. How did conoidal bullets affect the war effort? What other innovations made the Civil War the first "modern" war?

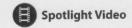
Writing About History

7. Persuasive Writing Suppose you are living in one of the border states at the beginning of the Civil War. Write a letter to a relative explaining why you are planning to join either the Union or Confederate army.



Study Central™ To review this section, go to <u>glencoe.com</u> and click on Study Central.





Fighting the Civil War

Guide to Reading

Big Ideas

Individual Action In the final year of the war, Grant refused to let up the pressure the Union forces were putting on Lee's weary troops.

Content Vocabulary

- blockade runner (p. 130)
- siege (p. 134)
- mandate (p. 137)

Academic Vocabulary

- crucial (p. 133)
- guarantee (p. 137)

People and Events to Identify

- "Stonewall" Jackson (p. 130)
- Ulysses S. Grant (p. 131)
- Battle of Antietam (p. 133)
- Emancipation Proclamation (p. 133)
- Gettysburg (p. 134)
- William Tecumseh Sherman (p. 136)
- Thirteenth Amendment (p. 137)

Reading Strategy

Categorizing Complete a graphic organizer similar to the one below by filling in the results of each battle listed.

Battle	Results	
First Battle of Bull Run		
Battle of Shiloh		
Seven Days' Battle		
Second Battle of Bull Run		
Antietam		

Despite early losses, with the help of key victories at Vicksburg and Gettysburg, the North defeated the South after four long years of fighting. Debate over slavery continued until President Lincoln decided that the time was right for emancipation.

The Early Stages

MAIN Idea With Union casualties rising, President Lincoln issued the Emancipation Proclamation.

HISTORY AND YOU Do you know someone who experienced rationing during World War II? Read on to learn how the war affected daily life.

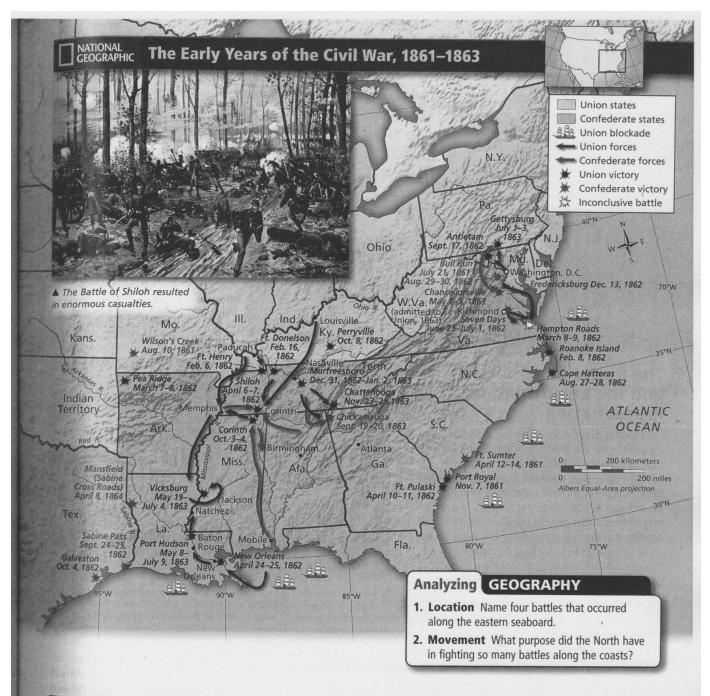
Soon after the Civil War began, President Lincoln approved an assault on Confederate troops gathered near Manassas Junction, Virginia, only 25 miles (40 km) south of Washington, D.C. The First Battle of Bull Run, as it came to be called, started well for the Union as it forced Confederate troops to retreat. Then the tide turned when reinforcements under the command of **Thomas J. "Stonewall" Jackson** helped the Confederates defeat the Union forces. This outcome made it clear that the North would need a large, well-trained army to prevail against the South.

Lincoln had originally called for 75,000 men to serve for three months. The day after Bull Run, he signed a bill for the enlistment of 500,000 men for three years. The North initially tried to encourage voluntary enlistment by offering a bounty—a sum of money given as a bonus—to individuals who promised three years of military service. Eventually both the Union and the Confederacy instituted the draft.

The Naval War

While the Union and Confederacy mobilized their armies, President Lincoln proclaimed a blockade of all Confederate ports in an effort to cut Confederate trade with the world. Although the blockade became increasingly effective as the war dragged on, Union vessels were thinly spread and found it difficult to stop all the blockade runners—small, fast vessels the South used to smuggle goods past the blockade. The South could ship at least some of its cotton to Europe in exchange for shoes, rifles, and other supplies.

As part of its effort to close Southern ports, the Union navy decided to seize New Orleans—the South's largest city and a center of the cotton trade. In April 1862, forty-two warships under the command of Admiral David G. Farragut fought their way up the Mississippi to New Orleans and unloaded some 15,000 Union troops. Six days later, the troops took control of the city.

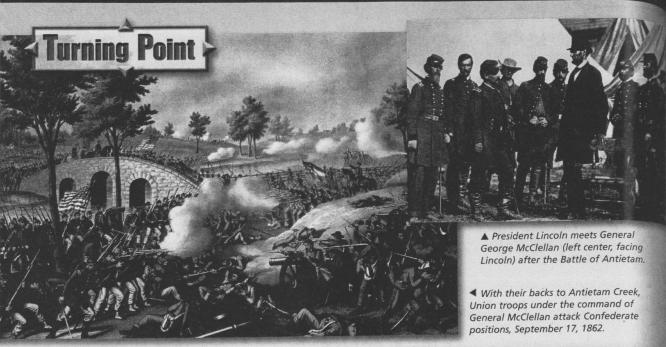


The War in the West

In February 1862, as Farragut prepared for his attack on New Orleans, Union general Ulysses S. Grant began a campaign to seize control of the Cumberland and Tennessee Rivers. Control of these rivers would cut Tennessee in two and provide the Union with a river route deep into Confederate territory.

All of Kentucky and most of western Tennessee fell into Union hands. Grant next headed up the Tennessee River to attack

Corinth, Mississippi. Seizing Corinth would cut the Confederacy's only rail line connecting Mississippi and western Tennessee to the east. Early on April 6, 1862, Confederate forces launched a surprise attack on Grant's troops, near a small church named Shiloh. The Union won the Battle of Shiloh the following day, but both sides paid an enormous cost. Twenty thousand troops had been killed or wounded. When newspapers demanded Grant be fired because of the high casualties, Lincoln refused, saying,"I can't spare this man; he fights."



The Battle of Antietam and the Emancipation **Proclamation**

The Battle of Antietam marked an important turning point in the war. The Union's victory kept Britain from recognizing the Confederacy as a separate nation. If Britain had taken this action, the balance in the struggle might have tipped in favor of the Confederacy. Also, the victory at Antietam and the terribly high casualties brought President Lincoln to the decision that the time had come to end slavery in the South by issuing the Emancipation Proclamation. The Proclamation was the first step toward finally outlawing slavery throughout the United States.

ANALYZING HISTORY How did emancipation change the war? Write a brief essay explaining your opinion.



▲ Lincoln reads the Emancipation Proclamation to members of his cabinet. Left of Lincoln are Secretary of War Edwin M. Stanton and Secretary of the Treasury Salmon P. Chase. In front of the table sits Secretary of State William Seward.

For the text of the Emancipation Proclamation, see page R49 in Documents in American History.

The War in the East

While Grant fought in the West, Union General George B. McClellan's forces set out to capture Richmond, Virginia, the Confederate capital. In late June 1862, Confederate General Robert E. Lee began a series of attacks on McClellan's forces that became known as the Seven Days' Battle. Lee's attacks forced the Union troops to retreat. Together the two sides suffered over 30,000 casualties.

As McClellan's forces withdrew, Lee marched toward Union forces defending Washington. The maneuver led to another battle at Bull Run. The South again forced the North to retreat, leaving the Confederates only 20 miles (32 km) from Washington, D.C. Soon after, Lee's forces invaded Maryland.

Both Lee and Jefferson Davis believed that an invasion would convince the North to accept the South's independence. They also thought that a victory on Northern soil might help the South win recognition from the British and help the Peace Democrats gain control of Congress in the upcoming elections. Lee could also feed his troops from Northern farms and draw Union troops out of Virginia during harvest season.

On September 17, 1862, Lee's forces met Union troops under the command of General McClellan at Antietam (an·TEE·tuhm) Creek. The fight was the bloodiest one-day battle in American history, ending with over 6,000 men killed and another 16,000 wounded. McClellan did not break Lee's lines, but he inflicted so many casualties that Lee decided to retreat to Virginia.

The Battle of Antietam was a crucial victory for the Union. The British government had been ready to intervene in the war as a mediator if Lee's invasion had succeeded. Britain also had begun making plans to recognize the Confederacy should the North reject mediation. Now the British decided to wait and see how the war progressed. With this decision, the South lost its best chance at gaining international recognition and support. The South's defeat at Antietam had an even more important political impact in the United States. It convinced Lincoln that the time had come to end slavery in the South.

Proclaiming Emancipation

Most Democrats opposed any move to end slavery, while Republicans were divided on the issue. With Northern casualties rising, however, many Northerners began to agree that slavery had to end, in part to punish the South and in part to make the soldiers' sacrifices worthwhile. On September 22, 1862, encouraged by the Union victory at Antietam, Lincoln publicly announced that he would issue the Emancipation Proclamation—a decree freeing all enslaved persons in states still in rebellion after January 1, 1863.

Because the Proclamation freed enslaved African Americans only in states at war with the Union, it did not address slavery in the border states. Short of a constitutional amendment, Lincoln could not end slavery in the border states, nor did he want to endanger their loyalty. The Proclamation, by its very existence, transformed the conflict over preserving the Union into a war of liberation.

Life During the Civil War

As the war intensified, the economies of the North and South went in different directions. By the end of 1862, the South's economy had begun to suffer greatly. The collapse of its

transportation system and the presence of Union troops in several important agricultural regions led to severe food shortages in the winter of 1862. In several communities, food shortages led to riots. Hearing of such hardships, many Confederate soldiers deserted to return home to help their families.

In contrast, the North actually experienced an economic boom because of the war. With its large, well-established banking industry, the North raised money for the war more easily than the South. Its growing industries also supplied Union troops with clothes, munitions, and other necessities.

Daily Life Both Union and Confederate soldiers endured a hard life with few comforts. They faced the constant threat of disease and extreme medical procedures if injured in battle. Life for prisoners of war was just as difficult, especially in Southern prisons that faced food shortages.

Innovations in agriculture helped minimize the loss of labor as men left to fight. Greater use of mechanical reapers and mowers made farming possible with fewer workers, many of whom were women. Women also filled labor shortages in various industries, particularly in clothing and shoemaking factories.

African Americans While the war brought hardship to many Americans, it offered new opportunities for African Americans. The Emancipation Proclamation officially permitted African Americans to enlist in the Union army and navy. Almost immediately, thousands of African Americans rushed to join the military.

Women Women helped in the war effort at home by managing family farms and businesses. Perhaps their most important contribution to the Civil War was in serving as nurses to the wounded. One of the most prominent war nurses was Clara Barton, who left her job in a Washington patent office to aid soldiers on the battlefield. The Civil War was a turning point for the American nursing profession. The courage shown by women helped break down the belief that women were emotionally weaker than men.

Reading Check Analyzing Why do you think African Americans were willing to volunteer to fight?

History **Student Web Activity** Visit glencoe.com and complete the activity on Civil War letters.

The Turning Point

MAIN Idea Key victories at Vicksburg and Gettysburg helped the North defeat the South.

HISTORY AND YOU Recall a time when you faced a situation you had been dreading. Did the outcome surprise you? Read on to learn about Confederate General Robert E. Lee's surrender to Ulysses S. Grant.

As 1863 began, there was no end to the war in sight. More than two years of battle lay ahead for Americans, and the casualties would continue to rise steeply. Still, 1863 marked the turning point of the war. Three major Union victories put the Confederacy on the defensive and set the stage for its surrender.

Vicksburg

PRIMARY SOURCE

Gaining control of the Mississippi River was a vital element of the Union strategy for winning the Civil War. If the Union could capture Vicksburg, Mississippi, the last major Confederate stronghold on the river, then the North could cut the South in two.

In May 1863, Grant launched two assaults on Vicksburg, but the city's defenders repulsed both attacks and inflicted high casualties. Grant decided to put the city under **siege**—to cut off its food and supplies and bombard it until its defenders gave up. On July 4, 1863, with his troops starving, the Confederate commander at Vicksburg surrendered.

Gettysburg

Meanwhile, in Virginia, Lee had been able to defeat Union forces at Fredericksburg and Chancellorsville. Emboldened by these victories, Lee decided in June 1863 to launch another invasion of the North. At the end of June, as Lee's army foraged in the Pennsylvania countryside, some of his troops headed into **Gettysburg**, hoping to seize a supply of shoes. When they arrived near the town, they discovered two brigades of Union cavalry. On July 1,

The bloody victory at Gettysburg was a major turning point in the Civil War. It kept Britain out of the war, inflicted serious losses on the Confederacy and helped restore Union morale. In November 1863 Lincoln went to Gettysburg to dedicate part of the battle-field as a cemeter, His speech, the Gettysburg Address, became one of the best-known orations in American history. ▼ On July 3, 1863, the Confederate forces launched an attack known later as Pickett's Charge. Charging up Cemetery Ridge into withering cannon fire, the Confederates suffered nearly 7,000 casualties in less than two hours. Soon after the attack failed, General Lee ordered Southern forces to withdraw.

1863, as Confederates pushed the Union troops out of the town, the main forces of both armies hurried to the scene of the fighting.

On July 2, Lee attacked, but the Union troops held their ground. The following day, Lee ordered nearly 15,000 men under the command of General George E. Pickett and General A.P. Hill to make a massive assault. The attack, known as Pickett's Charge, caused 7,000 casualties in less than half an hour, but failed to break the Union lines."It is all my fault," said Lee. "It is I who have lost this fight." Lee's troops retreated to Virginia. At Gettysburg, the Union suffered 23,000 casualties, the South an estimated 28,000, more than one-third of Lee's entire force.

The disaster at Gettysburg proved to be the turning point of the war in the East. The Union's victory strengthened the Republicans politically and ensured once again that the British would not recognize the Confederacy. For the remainder of the war, Lee's forces remained on the defensive, slowly giving ground to the advancing Union army.

Grant Secures Tennessee

After the Union's major victories at Vicksburg and Gettysburg, fierce fighting erupted in Tennessee near Chattanooga. Chattanooga was a vital railroad junction. Both sides knew that if the Union forces captured Chattanooga, they would control a major railroad running south to Atlanta. Following several battles, Union forces under the command of General Grant succeeded in scattering the Confederate soldiers who blocked the way to the city.

By the spring of 1864, Grant's capture of Vicksburg had given the Union control of the Mississippi River, while his victory at Chattanooga had secured eastern Tennessee and cleared the way for an invasion of Georgia. Lincoln rewarded Grant by appointing him general in chief of the Union forces and promoting him to lieutenant general, a rank no one had held since George Washington. The president had finally found a general he trusted to win the war.

PRIMARY SOURCE

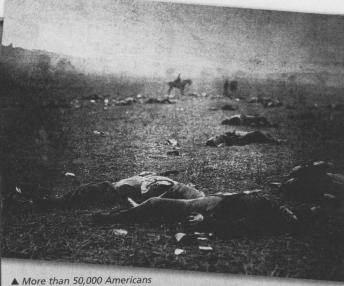
"Four score and seven years ago our fathers brought forth on this continent a new nation, conceived in Liberty, and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal.

Now we are engaged in a great civil war, testing whether that nation, or any nation so conceived and so dedicated, can long endure. We are met on a great

battle-field of that war. We have come to dedicate a portion of that field, as a final resting place for those who here gave their lives that that nation might live. It is altogether fitting and proper that we should do this.

But, in a larger sense, we cannot dedicate—we cannot consecrate—we cannot hallow—this ground. The brave men, living and dead, who struggled here, have consecrated it, far above our poor power to add or detract. The world will little note, nor long remember what we say here, but it can never forget what they did here. It is for us the living, rather, to be dedicated here to the unfinished work which they who fought here have thus far so nobly advanced. It is rather for us to be here dedicated to the great task remaining before us-that from these honored dead we take increased devotion to that cause for which they gave the last full measure of devotion—that we here highly resolve that these dead shall not have died in vain—that this nation, under God, shall have a new birth of freedom—and that government of the people, by the people, for the people, shall not perish from the earth."

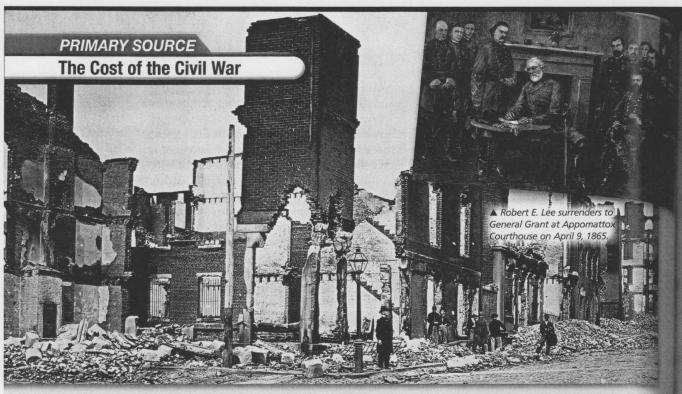
—The Gettysburg Address, November 19, 1863



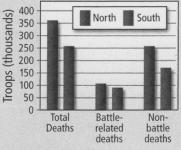
were killed or wounded during the Battle of Gettysburg.

Document-Based Questions

- 1. Specifying To what event is Lincoln referring that occurred "fourscore and seven years ago"?
- 2. Identifying Central Issues What does Lincoln say is the main purpose of the Civil War and the reason for the sacrifices at Gettysburg?







Source: For the Common Defense.

American War Deaths*



*approximate figures Sources: United States Civil War Center; For the Common Defe

▲ The war devastated the South. Hundreds of thousands of people were dead, and several major cities, including Richmond (above), lay in ruins.

Analyzing VISUALS

- 1. Identifying The Civil War cost more American lives than any other conflict. What were the next two most deadly wars?
- 2. Specifying Which region suffered the highest number of battlerelated deaths?

Grant Versus Lee

"Whatever happens, there will be no turning back," Grant promised Lincoln. He was determined to march southward, attacking Lee's forces relentlessly, regardless of the cost, until the South surrendered.

Grant kept his forces on the move and gave Lee's troops no time to recover. He attacked them first in the Wilderness, a densely forested area near Fredericksburg, Virginia, then at Spotsylvania Courthouse, then at Cold Harbor, a strategic crossroads northeast of Richmond. He then put the town of Petersburg under siege knowing that once it fell, Richmond, Virginia, would be cut off from supplies.

Sherman's March to the Sea

General Grant had put his most trusted subordinate, William Tecumseh Sherman, in charge of Union operations in the west while he headed east to fight Lee. In early August 1864, Sherman marched into Georgia, heading toward the city of Atlanta. After capturing the city, Sherman's troops set fires to destroy its railroads, warehouses, mills, and factories. The fires spread, however, destroying more than one-third of Atlanta.

On November 15, 1864, Sherman led his troops east across Georgia in what became known as the March to the Sea. The purpose of the march was to make Southern civilians understand the horrors of war and to pressure them into giving up the struggle. Sherman's troops cut a path of destruction through Georgia that was at times 60 miles (97 km) wide. By December 21, 1864, they had reached the coast and seized the city of Savannah. Sherman now turned north and headed into South Carolina, the state that many people believed had started the Civil War.

The South Surrenders

The capture of Atlanta revitalized Northern support for the war and for Lincoln, who was elected president to another term. Lincoln interpreted his reelection as a mandate to end slavery permanently by amending the Constitution. On January 31, 1865, with the help of Democrats opposed to slavery, the Thirteenth Amendment to the Constitution, banning slavery in the United States, passed the House of Representatives and was sent to the states for ratification.

Appomattox Courthouse Meanwhile, Lee knew that time was running out. On April 1, 1865, Union troops led by Philip Sheridan cut the last rail line into Petersburg at the Battle of Five Forks. The following night, Lee's troops withdrew from their positions near the city and raced west.

Lee's desperate attempt to escape Grant's forces failed when Sheridan's cavalry got ahead of Lee's troops and blocked the road at Appomattox Courthouse. With his ragged and battered troops surrounded and outnumbered, Lee surrendered to Grant on April 9, 1865. Grant's generous terms of surrender guaranteed that the United States would not prosecute Confederate soldiers for treason. When Grant agreed to let Confederates take their horses home "to put in a crop to carry themselves and their families through the next winter," Lee thanked him, adding that the kindness would "do much toward conciliating our people."

Lincoln's Assassination With the war over, Lincoln delivered a speech describing his plan to restore the Southern states to the Union. In the speech, he mentioned including African Americans in Southern state governments. One listener, actor John Wilkes Booth, sneered to a friend, "That is the last speech he will ever make."

Although his advisers had repeatedly warned him not to appear unescorted in public, Lincoln went to Ford's Theater with his wife to see a play on the evening of April 14, 1865. Just after 10 P.M., Booth slipped quietly behind the president and shot him in the back of the head. Lincoln died the next morning.

The North's victory in the Civil War saved the Union and strengthened the power of the federal government over the states. It transformed American society by ending slavery, but it also left the South socially and economically devastated, and many questions unresolved. Americans from the North and the South tried to answer these questions in the years following the Civil War—an era known as Reconstruction.

to the sea?

Reading Check **Examining** Why did General Sherman march his army

Section 2 REVIEW

Vocabulary

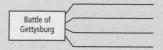
1. Explain the significance of: "Stonewall" Jackson, blockade runner, Ulysses S. Grant, Battle of Antietam, Emancipation Proclamation, siege, Gettysburg, William Tecumseh Sherman, mandate, Thirteenth Amendment.

Main Ideas

- 2. Identifying Central Issues What was the significance of the Battle of Antietam for the South?
- 3. Explaining Why was capturing Vicksburg important to the Union?

Critical Thinking

- 4. Big Ideas How did northern military strategy change after Ulysses S. Grant took command of the Union Army.
- 5. Organizing Using a graphic organizer, list the results of the Battle of Gettysburg. Make sure that you consider both the Union and the Confederacy.



6. Analyzing Visuals Examine the graphs of war deaths on page 136. What would account for the thousands of noncombat deaths?

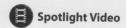
Writing About History

7. Descriptive Writing Take on the role of a reporter living in Georgia during Sherman's March to the Sea. Write a brief article describing the Union's actions and their effects on the people.



Study Central™ To review this section, go to glencoe.com and click on Study Central.





Reconstruction

Guide to Reading

Big Ideas Economics and Society After
Reconstruction, the South tried to build a new economy, but many problems remained.

Content Vocabulary

- amnesty (p. 140)
- pocket veto (p. 142)
- black codes (p. 143)
- carpetbagger (p. 145)
- scalawag (p. 145)
- sharecropper (p. 149)

Academic Vocabulary

- commissioner (p. 145)
- infrastructure (p. 147)

People and Events to Identify

- Reconstruction (p. 140)
- Radical Republicans (p. 140)
- Freedmen's Bureau (p. 142)
- Fourteenth Amendment (p. 143)
- Fifteenth Amendment (p. 145)
- Compromise of 1877 (p. 148)

Reading Strategy

Organizing Complete a graphic organizer similar to the one below to explain how each piece of legislation listed affected African Americans.

Legislation	Effect
black codes	
Civil Rights Act of 1866	
Fourteenth Amendment	
Fifteenth Amendment	

President Lincoln, moderate Republicans, and Radical Republicans had different ideas about how to rebuild the South and to secure the rights of African Americans. As Democrats regained power in the South, Reconstruction ended.

Reconstruction Begins

MAIN Idea In the months after the Civil War, the nation began the effort to rebuild and reunite.

HISTORY AND YOU Think of a war you have studied in a history course. What were the terms of the peace treaty, and who benefited? Read on to learn about President Lincoln's policies after Union victory in the Civil War.

Helping freed African Americans find their way as citizens of the United States was only one of a myriad of problems the nation faced. At the end of the Civil War, the South was a defeated region with a devastated economy. While some Southerners were bitter over the Union military victory, for many rebuilding their land and their lives was more important. Meanwhile, the president and Congress grappled with the difficult task of **Reconstruction**, or rebuilding the nation after the war.

Lincoln and the Radical Republicans

In December 1863, President Lincoln offered a general **amnesty**, or pardon, to all Southerners who took an oath of loyalty to the United States and accepted the Union's proclamations concerning slavery. When 10 percent of a state's voters in the 1860 presidential election had taken this oath, they could organize a new state government. Certain people, such as Confederate government officials and military officers, could not take the oath or be pardoned. In March 1865, in his Second Inaugural Address, President Lincoln spoke of ending the war"with malice toward none, with charity for all." Therefore, President Lincoln wanted a moderate plan to reconcile the South with the Union instead of punishing it for treason.

Resistance to Lincoln's plan surfaced at once among a group of Republicans in Congress known as **Radical Republicans**. Led by Representative Thaddeus Stevens of Pennsylvania and Senator Charles Sumner of Massachusetts, the radicals wanted to prevent the leaders of the Confederacy from returning to power after the war. They also wanted the Republican Party to become a powerful institution in the South. Finally, and perhaps most importantly, they wanted the federal government to help African Americans achieve political equality by guaranteeing their right to vote in the South.

INFOGRAPHIC

Three Plans for Reconstruction

After the Civil War, three plans were proposed to restore the South to the Union. The political struggle that resulted revealed that sectional tensions had not ended with the Civil War.

1. Lincoln's Plan for Reconstruction

- · Amnesty to all but a few Southerners who took an oath of loyalty to the United States and accepted its proclamations concerning slavery
- When 10 percent of a state's voters in the 1860 presidential election had taken the oath,
- they could organize a new state government Members of the former Confederate government, officers of the Confederate army, and former federal judges, members of Congress, and military officers who had left their posts to help the Confederacy would not receive amnesty

Analyzing VISUALS

- 1. Identifying Which plan made the most provisions for formerly enslaved African Americans?
- 2. Specifying Which plan was most forgiving of former Confederate political and military leaders?

2. Congressional Reconstruction

- Passed the Fourteenth and Fifteenth **Amendments**
- Military Reconstruction Act divided the South into five military districts
- New state constitutions required to guarantee voting rights
- Military rule protected voting rights for African Americans
- Empowered African Americans in government and supported their education









3. Johnson's Plan for Reconstruction

- Amnesty for those taking an oath of loyalty to the United States; excluded high-ranking Confederates and those with property over \$20,000, but they could apply for pardons individually
- · Required states to ratify the Thirteenth Amendment abolishing slavery



Congressional Republicans knew that the abolition of slavery would give the South more seats in the House of Representatives. Before the Civil War, enslaved people had only counted in Congress as three-fifths of a free person. Now that African Americans were free, the South was entitled to more seats in Congress. This would endanger Republican control of Congress unless Republicans could find a way to protect African American voting rights in the South.

Although the radicals knew that giving African Americans in the South the right to vote would help the Republican Party win elections, most were not acting cynically. Many

of them had been abolitionists before the Civil War and had pushed Lincoln into making emancipation a goal of the war. They believed in a right to political equality for all Americans, regardless of their race.

The Wade-Davis Bill

Many moderate Republicans considered Lincoln too lenient, but they also thought the radicals were going too far in their support for African American equality and voting rights. By the summer of 1864, the moderates and radicals had come up with a plan for Reconstruction that they could both support.

This alternative to Lincoln's plan was the Wade-Davis Bill of 1864, which required the majority of the adult white males in a former Confederate state to take an oath of allegiance to the Union. The state could then hold a constitutional convention to create a new state government. The people chosen to attend the constitutional convention had to take an "ironclad" oath asserting that they had never fought against the Union or supported the Confederacy in any way. Each state's convention would then have to abolish slavery, reject all debts the state had acquired as part of the Confederacy, and deprive all former Confederate government officials and military officers of the right to vote or hold office.

Although Congress passed the Wade-Davis Bill, Lincoln blocked it with a pocket veto. Although Lincoln sympathized with some of the radicals' goals, he believed that imposing a harsh peace would only alienate many whites in the South.

History **Student Web Activity** Visit glencoe.com and complete the activity on Southern Reconstruction.

The Freedmen's Bureau

Lincoln realized that the South was already in chaos, with thousands unemployed, homeless, and hungry. At the same time, the victorious Union armies had to try to help the large numbers of African Americans who flocked to Union lines as the war progressed. As Sherman marched through Georgia and South Carolina, thousands of freed African Americans—now known as freedmen-began following his troops seeking food and shelter.

In March 1865, Congress established the Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands, better known as the Freedmen's Bureau. The Bureau was directed to feeding and clothing war refugees in the South using surplus army supplies. Beginning in September 1865, it issued nearly 30,000 rations a day for the next year.

The Bureau helped formerly enslaved people find work on plantations and negotiated labor contracts with planters. Many Northerners argued that people who had been enslaved should receive land to support themselves now that they were free. To others, however, taking land from plantation owners and giving it to freedmen seemed to violate the nation's commitment to individual property rights. As a result, Congress refused to confirm the right of African Americans to own the lands that had

been seized from plantation owners and given to them.

Johnson Takes Office

Shortly after Congress established the Freedmen's Bureau, Lincoln was assassinated Although his successor, Vice President Andrew Johnson, was a Democrat from Tennessee, he had remained loyal to the Union. Like Lincoln. he believed in a moderate policy to bring the South back into the Union.

In the summer of 1865, with Congress in recess, Johnson began implementing his reconstruction plan. He offered to pardon all former citizens of the Confederacy who took an oath of loyalty to the Union and to return their property. He excluded from the pardon the same people Lincoln had excluded. Like Lincoln, Johnson required Southern states to ratify the Thirteenth Amendment.

The former Confederate states, for the most part, met Johnson's conditions. They then organized new governments and held elections. By the time Congress gathered for its next session in December 1865, Johnson's plan was well underway. Many members of

The Fourteenth **Amendment**

The passage of the Fourteenth Amendment was a turning point in American political and legal history. Since its ratification, the amendment has been used to expand federal power over the states and to extend civil rights through its equal protection clause. It also provided the foundation for the doctrine of incorporation—the concept that the rights and protections in the Bill of Rights apply to the states. This doctrine was first upheld by the Supreme Court in Gitlow v. New York in 1925. In the 1950s and 1960s, the Warren Court used the clause extensively to extend civil rights in cases such as Brown v. Board of Education, Gideon v. Wainwright, and Reynolds v. Sims, among others.

ANALYZING HISTORY What is significant about the ratification of the Fourteenth Amendment? Write a brief essay to explain your answer.

Congress were astonished and angered when they realized that Southern voters had elected dozens of Confederate leaders to Congress. Moderate Republicans joined with the Radical Republicans and voted to reject the new Southern members of Congress.

Congressional Republicans were also angry that the new Southern legislatures had passed laws, known as black codes, which seemed to be intended to keep African Americans in a condition similar to slavery. They required African Americans to enter into annual labor contracts. Those who did not could be arrested for vagrancy and forced into involuntary servitude. Several codes established specific hours of labor and also required them to get licenses to work in nonagricultural jobs.

Radical Reconstruction

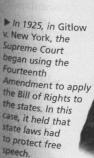
With the election of former Confederates to office and the introduction of the black codes. more and more moderate Republicans joined the radicals. Finally, in late 1865, House and Senate leaders created a Joint Committee on Reconstruction to develop their own program for rebuilding the Union.

The Fourteenth Amendment In March 1866, congressional Reconstruction began with the passage of an act intended to override the black codes. The Civil Rights Act of 1866 granted citizenship to all persons born in the United States except for Native Americans. The act guaranteed the rights of African Americans to own property and stated that they were to be treated equally in court. It also gave the federal government the power to sue people who violated those rights. Johnson vetoed the act, arguing it was unconstitutional and would "[cause] discord among the races." The veto convinced the remaining moderate Republicans to join the radicals in overriding Johnson's veto, and the act became law.

Fearing that the Civil Rights Act might later be overturned in court, however, the radicals introduced the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution. This amendment granted citizenship to all persons born or naturalized in the United States and declared that no state could deprive any person of life, liberty, or property "without due process of law." It also declared that no state could deny any person "equal protection of the laws." In 1868, the amendment was ratified.

The Fourteenth Amendment

"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."





▲ Benjamin Gitlow



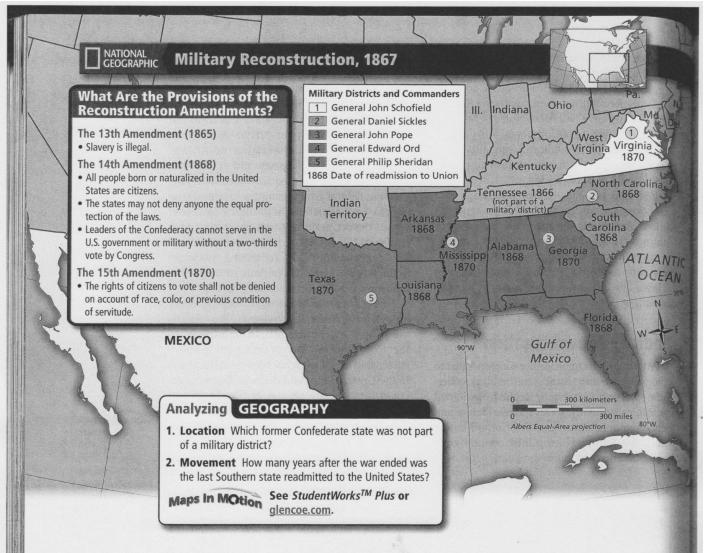
▲ In 1964, in Reynolds v. Sims, the Court used the Fourteenth Amendment's equal protection clause to ensure that state voting districts were of equal size.



◄ Clarence Gideon ► Ernesto Miranda

▲ In two major cases, Gideon v. Wainwright in 1963 and Miranda v. Arizona in 1966, the Court clarified that the Fifth and Sixth Amendments of the Bill of Rights had to be upheld by the states.

◀ In 1954 the Supreme Court based its decision ending school segregation, Brown v. Board of Education, on the Fourteenth Amendment's equal protection clause.



President Johnson attacked the Fourteenth Amendment and made it the major issue of the 1866 congressional elections. He hoped Northerners would vote out the Radical Republicans and elect representatives who supported his plan for Reconstruction. Instead, the Republicans won approximately a threeto-one majority in Congress. They now could override any presidential veto and could claim that they had a mandate, or command, to enact their own Reconstruction program in place of Johnson's plan.

Military Reconstruction Begins In March 1867, Congress passed the Military Reconstruction Act, which essentially nullified Johnson's programs. The act divided the former Confederacy, except for Tennessee—which had ratified the Fourteenth Amendment in 1866into five military districts. A Union general was placed in charge of each district with orders to maintain peace and "protect the rights of persons and property."

In the meantime, each former Confederate state had to hold another constitutional convention to design a constitution acceptable to Congress. The new state constitutions had to give the right to vote to all adult male citizens, regardless of race. Each state also had to ratify the Fourteenth Amendment before it would be allowed to elect people to Congress.

Johnson's Impeachment Republicans knew that they had the votes to override presidential vetoes, but they also knew that President Johnson could still refuse to enforce the laws they passed. To restrict Johnson, Congress passed two new laws: the Command of the Army Act and the Tenure of Office Act. The Command of the Army Act required all orders from the president to go through the headquarters of the General of the Army. This

was the headquarters of General Grant, whom the Republicans trusted. The Tenure of Office Act required the Senate to approve the removal of any official whose appointment had required the Senate's consent.

In order to challenge the Tenure of Office Act, Johnson fired Secretary of War Edwin M. Stanton, who supported the Radical Republicans. Three days later, the House of Representatives voted to impeach Johnson, meaning that they charged him with "high crimes and misdemeanors" in office. They accused Johnson of breaking the law by refusing to uphold the Tenure of Office Act.

As provided in the Constitution, the Senate then put the president on trial. If two-thirds of the senators found the president guilty of the charges, he would be removed from office. In May 1868, the Senate voted 35 to 19 that Johnson was guilty of high crimes and misdemeanors. This was just one vote short of the votes needed for conviction.

Although Johnson remained in office, he finished his term quietly and did not run for election in 1868. That year, the Republicans nominated Ulysses S. Grant. During the campaign, Union troops in the South enabled African Americans to vote in large numbers. As a result, Grant won six Southern states and most Northern states. The Republicans also retained large majorities in Congress.

The Fifteenth Amendment With their majority secure, and a trusted president in office, congressional Republicans moved rapidly to expand their Reconstruction program. Recognizing the importance of African American suffrage, Congress passed the Fifteenth Amendment. This amendment declared that the right to vote "shall not be denied . . . on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude." By March 1870, the amendment had been ratified.

Radical Reconstruction had a dramatic impact on the South, particularly in the short term. It brought hundreds of thousands of African Americans into the political process for the first time. It also began to change Southern society. As it did so, it angered many white Southerners, who began to fight back against the federal government's policies.

Reading Check Analyzing Why did congressional Republicans pass amendments to the Constitution?

Republican Rule

MAIN Idea As African Americans entered politics, some white Southerners began to resist Republican reforms.

HISTORY AND YOU Have you heard of recent activities of the Ku Klux Klan? Read on to find out when and why the KKK was founded.

By late 1870, all former Confederate states had rejoined the Union. With many issues unresolved, reunification did little to restore harmony between the North and South.

Carpetbags and Scalawags

During Reconstruction, a large number of Northerners traveled to the South. Many were eventually elected or appointed to positions in the new state governments. Southerners, particularly supporters of the Democratic Party, called these newcomers carpetbaggers because some arrived with their belongings in suitcases made of carpet fabric. Local residents saw them as intruders seeking to exploit the South for their own gain.

Some white Southerners did work with the Republicans and supported Reconstruction. Other Southerners called them scalawags an old Scots-Irish term for weak, underfed, worthless animals. The scalawags were a diverse group. Some were former Whigs who had grudgingly joined the Democratic Party before the war. Others were owners of small farms who did not want the wealthy planters to regain power. Some were business people who favored Republican economic plans.

African Americans

Having gained the right to vote, African American men entered into politics with great enthusiasm. They served as legislators and administrators for nearly all levels of government. Hundreds served as delegates to the conventions that created the new state constitutions. They also won election to many local offices, from mayor to police chief to school commissioner. Dozens served in the South's state legislatures, 14 were elected to the House of Representatives, and two, Hiram Revels and Blanche K. Bruce, were elected to the Senate.

PRIMARY SOURCE

African Americans Enter Politics

Reconstruction provided African Americans with new opportunities to participate in politics. Many took part in the state constitutional conventions and were elected to state legislatures—achieving a majority in South Carolina's state assembly—and to local offices.



▲ This sketch from 1868 shows African Americans campaigning. African Americans were excited to participate in politics. The sketch shows women and children as well, suggesting that the entire community regarded political issues as important, even though only adult males could vote.

Analyzing VISUALS

- 1. Identifying Central Issues Why do you think African Americans were so enthusiastic about participating in politics?
- 2. Explaining What about the illustration above indicates the political position of women?



▲ This drawing from 1867 depicts the primary groups that became political leaders of the South's African American community—artisans (shown with tools). the middle class, and Union soldiers.



▲ The sketch above from the 1870s shows South Carolina's legislature—the only state legislature with an African American majority during Reconstruction.

As formerly enslaved people entered Southern politics, many white Southerners claimed that "Black Republicanism" ruled the South. Such claims were greatly exaggerated. No African American ever served as governor. In South Carolina, where African Americans were a majority of the population, they did gain control of the legislature, but it lasted for only one term. African Americans participated in government, but they did not control it.

Many African Americans wanted an education, something they had been denied under slavery. As Reconstruction began, the Freedmen's Bureau, with the help of Northern charities, established schools for African Americans across the South. In the 1870s, Reconstruction governments built a public school system in the South, and by 1876 about 40 percent of all African American children (roughly 600,000) students) attended school.

Formerly enslaved people across the South also began building their own churches. Churches frequently served as the center of many African American communities, as they housed schools and hosted social events and political gatherings.

Republican Reforms

Because of past disloyalty, some Southern whites were barred from participating in the new Southern governments, and many others simply refused to do so. Republicans did have the support of many poor white farmers, who resented the planters and Democratic Party that had dominated the South before the war. This enabled a coalition of poor Southern-born whites, African Americans, and Northern carpetbaggers to elect Republican candidates.

The Republican governments in the South instituted a number of reforms. They repealed the black codes, and established state hospitals and institutions for orphans. To improve the infrastructure, they rebuilt roads, railways, and bridges damaged during the Civil War and provided funds for the construction of new railroads and industries in the South.

Many white Southerners scorned these reforms, which did not come without cost. Many state governments had to borrow money and impose high property taxes to pay for the repairs and new programs. Many landowners, unable to pay these new taxes, lost their land.

Southern Resistance

Unable to strike openly at the Republicans running their states, some Southern opponents of Reconstruction organized secret societies to undermine Republican rule. The largest of these groups was the Ku Klux Klan. Started in 1866 by former Confederate soldiers in Pulaski, Tennessee, the Klan spread rapidly throughout the South. Hooded, white-robed Klan members rode in bands at night terrorizing African Americans, white Republicans, carpetbaggers, teachers in African American schools, and others who supported the Republican governments. Republicans and African Americans responded by organizing their own militias to fight back.

As the violence increased, Congress passed three Enforcement Acts in 1870 and 1871, one of which outlawed the activities of the Klan. Although local authorities and federal agents arrested more than 3,000 Klan members, only about 600 were convicted, and fewer still served any time in prison.

Reading Check Explaining Why did only some Southerners support Republican reforms?

Reconstruction Ends

MAIN Idea Reconstruction ended as Democrats regained power in the South and in Congress.

HISTORY AND YOU What values and policies do you associate with the Republican and Democratic parties? Read to learn about the roles these parties played during the Reconstruction period.

As commander of the Union forces, Ulysses S. Grant had led the North to victory in the Civil War. His reputation had then carried him into the White House in the election of 1868. Unfortunately, Grant had little experience in politics. He believed that the president's role was to carry out the laws and leave the development of policy to Congress. This approach pleased the Radical Republicans in Congress, but it left the president weak and ineffective when dealing with other issues. Eventually, Grant's lack of political experience helped to divide the Republican Party and to undermine public support for Reconstruction.

During his first term, Ulysses S. Grant faced a growing number of Republicans who were concerned that interests in making money and selling influence were beginning to dominate the Republican Party. These critics also argued that the economic policies most Republicans supported, such as high tariffs, favored the rich over the poor. In 1872, these critics, known as Liberal Republicans, split from the Republican Party and nominated their own candidate, the influential newspaper publisher Horace Greeley. Despite this split, Grant easily won reelection to a second term.

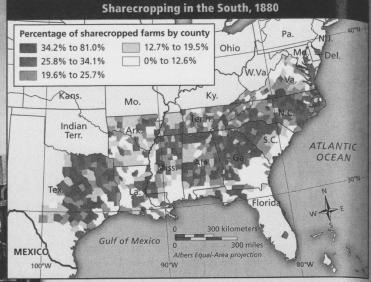
During Grant's second term, a series of scandals damaged his reputation. In addition, the nation endured a staggering and longlasting economic crisis that began during Grant's second term. After a powerful banking firm declared bankruptcy, a wave of fear known as the Panic of 1873 quickly spread through the nation's financial community. The panic soon set off a full-fledged depression that lasted until almost the end of the decade.

The scandals in the Grant administration and the nation's deepening economic depression hurt the Republicans politically. In the 1874 midterm elections, the Democrats won back control of the House of Representatives and made gains in the Senate.

PRIMARY SOURCE

The New South

The New South was a blend of the old and the new. Industry began to develop, but agriculture remained vital to the economy. By the 1890s, the South was exporting more cotton, rice, and tobacco than before the Civil War. Although slavery had ended, many African Americans were poor sharecroppers who harvested crops for landowners.





▲ The industry of the "New South" was still driven by agricultural products, such as tobacco. The workers shown above are processing tobacco in a Richmond tobacco factory in 1899.

Analyzing VISUALS

- 1. Specifying In which three states was sharecropping most common?
- 2. Explaining Why do you think the South's economy remained so dependent on agriculture after Reconstruction?



▲ Sharecroppers harvest cotton in Georgia in 1898.

The Compromise of 1877

The rising power of the Democrats in Congress and Republican concerns over scandals made enforcing Reconstruction more difficult. At the same time, many Northerners were becoming more concerned about the economy than the situation in the South.

In the 1870s, Democrats began to regain power in the South. They did so in part through intimidation and fraud, and in part by defining elections as a struggle between whites and African Americans. They also won back support by promising to cut the high taxes the Republicans had imposed and by accusing Republicans of corruption. Southern Democrats viewed their efforts to regain power as a crusade to help save the South from Republican rule. By 1876, the Democrats had taken control of all but three Southern state legislatures.

That year, the nation's presidential election pitted Republican Rutherford B. Hayes, a former governor of Ohio, against Democrat Samuel Tilden, a wealthy corporate lawyer and former governor of New York. On Election Day, twenty electoral votes were disputed. Nineteen of the votes were in the three Southern states controlled by Republicans. As a result, congressional leaders worked out a deal known as the Compromise of 1877.

Historians are not sure if a deal really took place or what its exact terms were. The Compromise of 1877 reportedly included a promise by the Republicans to pull federal troops out of the South, if Hayes was elected, and that is in fact what happened within a month of Hayes taking office. However, it is also true that the nation was tired of the politics of Reconstruction and that Republican leaders were ready to end Reconstruction. Indeed, President Grant had pulled troops out of Florida even before Hayes took office.

A "New South" Arises

Many Southern leaders realized the South could never return to the pre–Civil War agricultural economy dominated by the planter elite. Instead, they called for the creation of a "New South"—a phrase coined by Henry Grady, editor of the *Atlanta Constitution*. They believed the region had to develop a strong industrial economy.

An alliance between powerful white Southerners and Northern financiers brought great economic changes to some parts of the South. Northern capital helped to build railroads, and by 1890, almost 40,000 miles of railroad track crisscrossed the South—nearly four times the amount there in 1860. Southern industry also grew. A thriving iron and steel industry developed around Birmingham, Alabama. In North Carolina, tobacco processing became big business, and cotton mills appeared in numerous small towns.

In other ways, however, the South changed little. Despite its industrial growth, the region remained agrarian. As late as 1900, only 6 percent of the Southern labor force worked in manufacturing. For many African Americans in particular, the end of Reconstruction meant a return to the "Old South," where they had little political power and were forced to labor under difficult and unfair conditions.

The collapse of Reconstruction ended African American hopes of being granted their own land in the South. Instead, many returned to plantations owned by whites, where they either worked for wages or became tenant farmers, paying rent for the land they farmed. Most tenant farmers eventually became **share-croppers**. Sharecroppers did not pay their rent in cash. Instead, they paid a share of their crops—often as much as one-half to two-thirds—to cover their rent as well as the cost of the seed, fertilizer, tools, and animals they needed.

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Many sharecroppers needed more seed and supplies than their landlords could provide. Local suppliers, known as furnishing merchants, provided the supplies on credit, but at interest rates as high as 40 percent. To make sure sharecroppers paid their debts, laws allowed merchants to put liens on their crops. This meant the merchant could take crops to cover the debts. The crop lien system and high interest rates trapped sharecroppers on the land because they could not pay off their debts and leave, nor could they declare bankruptcy. Failure to pay off debts could lead to imprisonment or forced labor. The Civil War had ended slavery, but Reconstruction had left many African Americans trapped in poverty.

Reading Check **Explaining** What major issue was settled by the compromise of 1877?

Section 3 REVIEW

Vocabulary

 Explain the significance of: Reconstruction, amnesty, Radical Republicans, pocket veto, Freedmen's Bureau, black codes, Fourteenth Amendment, Fifteenth Amendment, carpetbaggers, scalawags, Compromise of 1877, sharecroppers.

Main Ideas

- 2. Identifying Points of View What was President Lincoln's attitude toward the Reconstruction goals of the Radical Republicans?
- 3. Explaining What was the goal of one of the Enforcement Acts, passed in 1870–1871?
- 4. Determining Cause and Effect What was the cause and effect of the Panic of 1873?

Critical Thinking

- 5. Big Ideas What factors contributed to the improving economy of the South after Reconstruction?
- **6. Organizing** Use a graphic organizer similar to the one below to identify the problems faced by Grant's administration.



7. Analyzing Visuals Review the map on page 144. In what year were most southern states readmitted to the Union, and which states were they?

Writing About History

8. Expository Writing Write a short essay explaining what you consider to be the three most important events of Reconstruction and why you chose them.



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