

The UNION in CRISIS

THE BIG PICTURE

The conflict over slavery divided North and South. In 1861 the Civil War erupted.

Four years of fighting left over 600,000 American soldiers dead. In the end the Union was restored, and 4 million enslaved people gained their freedom. After the war, however, Reconstruction plans for the South were only partially successful.



California Standards

History-Social Sciences

11.1 Students analyze the significant events in the founding of the nation and its attempts to realize the philosophy of government described in the Declaration of Independence.

11.3 Students analyze the role religion played in the founding of America, its lasting moral, social, and political impacts, and issues regarding religious liberty.

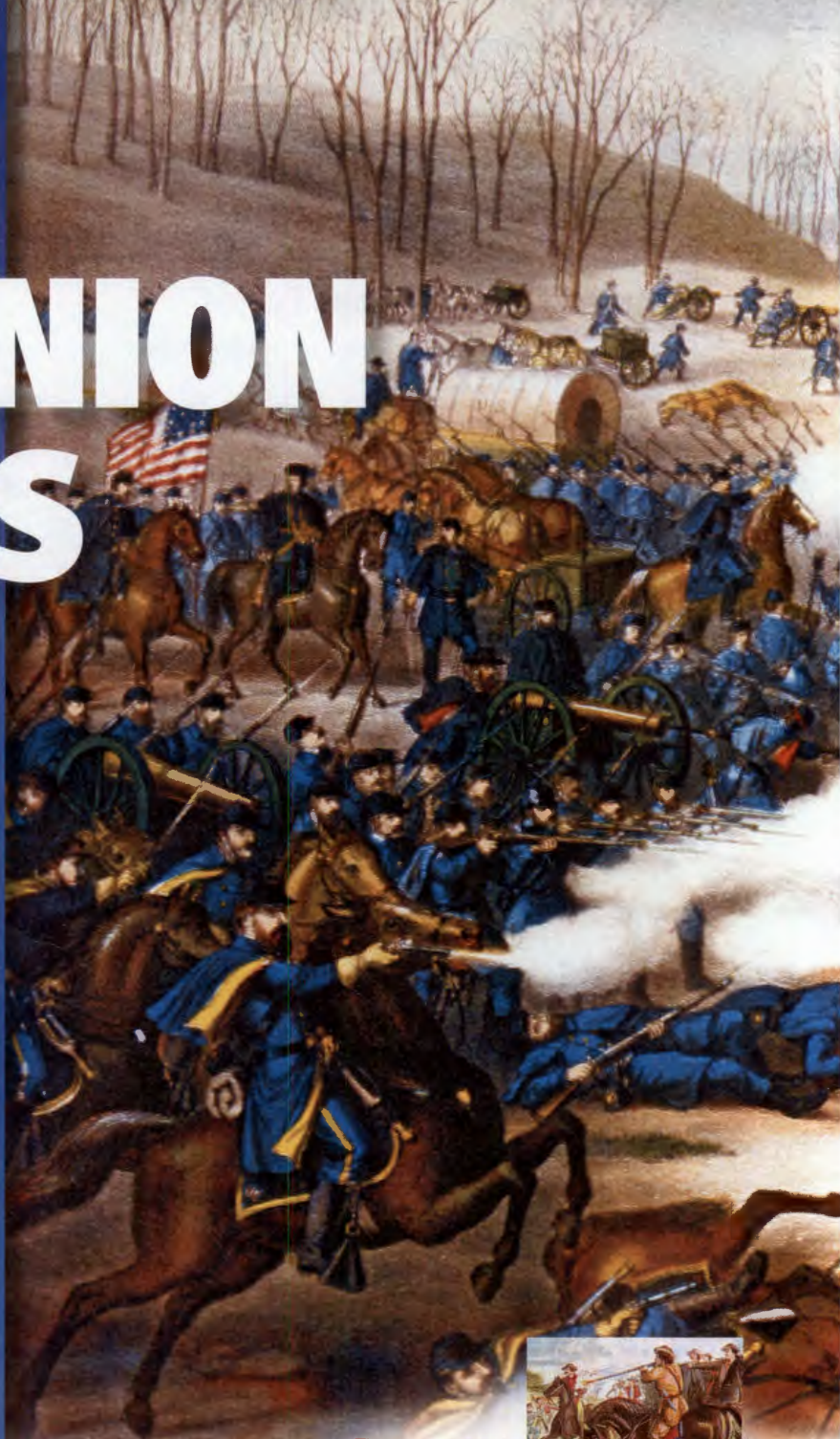


READING LIKE A HISTORIAN

In early March 1862, some 26,250 soldiers clashed in the Battle of Pea Ridge in Arkansas. Nearly 6,000 were killed or wounded in what one soldier described as a “harvest of death.” On the left side of the painting are the victorious northern forces.

Interpreting Visuals What advantage did the northern forces have in this battle?

See **Skills Handbook**, p. H30



March 1850

California is admitted to the Union as a free state; Fugitive Slave Act passes.

May 1854

Kansas-Nebraska Act becomes law.

U.S.



1850



World

1852

South African Republic is established.

History's Impact video program

Watch the videos to learn more about American history from 1850 to 1877.



March 1861

Abraham Lincoln becomes the 16th president.

April 1861

The Civil War begins when Confederate troops open fire on Fort Sumter.

April 1865

Lee surrenders to Grant at Appomattox; Lincoln is assassinated.

June 1866

Congress passes the Fourteenth Amendment, granting citizenship to former slaves.



1877

Compromise of 1877 puts Rutherford B. Hayes in the White House and removes federal troops from the South.

1855

1857

Indian uprising against British rule begins with Sepoy Rebellion.

1860

1861

Italy becomes a unified nation under king Victor Emmanuel II.

1865

1867

Canada becomes a self-governing dominion.

1870

1875

1877

The last Russo-Turkish war begins.

1880

The Nation Splits Apart

BEFORE YOU READ

MAIN IDEA

By 1850 the issue of slavery dominated national politics, leading to sectional divisions and, finally, the secession of the southern states.

READING FOCUS

1. How did the issue of slavery influence expansion in the 1850s?
2. How did other sectional conflicts influence national politics in the 1850s?
3. What was Abraham Lincoln's path to the White House?
4. How and why did the South secede and form the Confederacy?

KEY TERMS AND PEOPLE

Compromise of 1850
Fugitive Slave Act
Stephen A. Douglas
popular sovereignty
Kansas-Nebraska Act
James Buchanan
Abraham Lincoln
Lincoln-Douglas debates
Jefferson Davis
Confederate States of America



HSS 11.1.3 Understand the history of the Constitution after 1787 with emphasis on federal versus state authority and growing democratization.

Bleeding KANSAS

THE INSIDE STORY

How did the conflict over slavery result

in violence? Nowhere was the fight over slavery more pronounced than in the Kansas Territory. There the government left the issue of slavery to be decided by the residents. Some residents were firmly in favor of slavery while others were firmly opposed.

During the 1850s large bands of pro-slavery and antislavery forces ranged over the territory. Several violent battles took place. Many settlers on both sides saw their property looted or destroyed. In the Marais des Cygnes Massacre, named for a river in Kansas, a gang of 30 pro-slavery men rounded up a group of 11 antislavery settlers and gunned them down in a small ravine. Five people died.

By 1856 so much violence had occurred in the territory that it was often called Bleeding Kansas. Northerners and southerners alike realized what Kansas meant for the nation. "We are playing for a mighty stake," Missouri senator David Atchison noted. "If we win we carry slavery to the Pacific Ocean, if we fail we lose . . . all the territories." Northerners were just as eager to keep Kansas free. "We will engage in competition for the virgin soil of Kansas," said New York senator William Seward. "God give the victory to the side which is stronger in numbers as it is in right." ■



▲ **A pro-slavery gang guns down 11 unarmed antislavery settlers, May 19, 1858, in what became known as the Marais des Cygnes Massacre.**

Expansion and Slavery

The struggle over Kansas illustrated the deep divisions that existed in the United States during the 1850s. Victory in the Mexican-American War in 1848 had raised the question of expansion. The Mexican Cession added more than 500,000 square miles of territory to the United States. New states would eventually be formed. Would they allow slavery?

The issue of slavery also affected control of Congress. At the time, the number of free and slave states was

equal. New states would mean additional pro-slavery or antislavery seats in Congress. Neither side wanted the other to gain control in Congress because it could mean new national policy on slavery.

The Compromise of 1850 The gold rush had swelled the population of California. The settlers quickly approved a constitution banning slavery, and in March 1850 California applied to Congress to become a state. That led to a historic debate between pro-slavery and antislavery legislatures.

In January 1850 Kentucky senator Henry Clay introduced a compromise plan that would preserve the balance of power. Two political giants—Daniel Webster of Massachusetts and John C. Calhoun of South Carolina—led the debate. Webster opposed slavery but believed that preserving the Union was more important. After months of debate, Congress passed the **Compromise of 1850**.

One provision, the **Fugitive Slave Act**, was highly controversial. The law made it a federal crime to aid runaway slaves and allowed the arrest of escaped slaves. Many northerners openly broke the law, angering slaveholders.

A book by Harriet Beecher Stowe added to public tensions. Her stories about slavery's cruelties were published in a novel called *Uncle Tom's Cabin*. Although it outraged most southerners, the book became a huge success.

The Kansas-Nebraska Act Another issue was the proposed railroad to link California with the rest of the nation. Illinois senator **Stephen A. Douglas** thought that a northern route would make Chicago an urban center. He proposed organizing the western lands into two territories, Kansas and Nebraska. To win southern support, he suggested dropping the Missouri Compromise's ban on slavery. Instead, **popular sovereignty**—the vote of the residents—would decide the issue.

In May 1854 the **Kansas-Nebraska Act** became law. It outraged northerners, weakened the Democrats, and destroyed the Whig Party. Soon after, northern Whigs joined the Free-Soil Party and other antislavery parties to found the Republican Party.

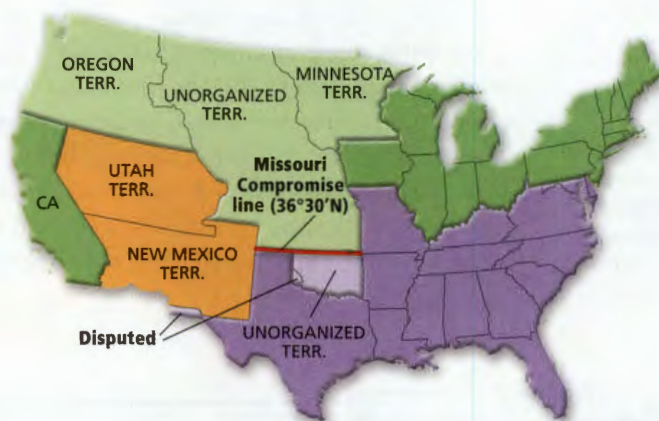
READING CHECK Summarizing How did the Kansas-Nebraska Act affect political parties?

The Conflict over Slavery

During the 1850s Congress attempted to solve the conflict over slavery by compromise. But the Compromise of 1850 and the Kansas-Nebraska Act of 1854 only fueled sectional divisions.

The Compromise of 1850

- Admitted California to the Union as a free state
- Set Texas–New Mexico border
- Organized New Mexico and Utah territories with slavery to be decided by popular sovereignty
- Imposed heavy penalties on persons who aided runaway slaves (Fugitive Slave Act)
- Outlawed the buying and selling of slaves, but not slavery itself, in the nation's capital



Kansas-Nebraska Act

- Organized Kansas and Nebraska territories
- Popular sovereignty to decide the issue of slavery



GEOGRAPHY SKILLS INTERPRETING MAPS

Region How did the Kansas-Nebraska Act change the balance of free and slave states?

See **Skills Handbook**, p. H20

Sectional Conflicts and National Politics

THE IMPACT TODAY

Government

Two constitutional amendments overturned the *Dred Scott* decision. The Fourteenth Amendment granted citizenship to people born in the United States, regardless of race, and the Fifteenth Amendment granted voting rights to African American men. Today the Voting Rights Act of 1965 enforces and expands the voting protections of the Fifteenth Amendment.

As you read in the “Inside Story,” the Kansas-Nebraska Act made Kansas Territory the center of the struggle over slavery. Pro-slavery forces and free-soilers—advocates of territories free from slavery—were fighting for control.

In what became known as the Sack of Lawrence, a sheriff’s posse attacked anti-slavery newspapers and burned buildings in free-soil Lawrence, Kansas. In response, John Brown, a committed abolitionist, led an attack that killed five pro-slavery settlers on Pottawatomie Creek in Kansas.

There were also political struggles in the territory. Before Kansas could apply for statehood, voters had to approve a constitution to allow or ban slavery. To win votes, both sides raised money and organized to bring in more settlers. Fraud and violence marked early elections. Armed pro-slavery Missourians crossed into Kansas to vote. By 1856 Kansas had two governments—one pro-slavery, the other led by free-soilers.

The election of 1856 Events in Kansas dominated the election of 1856. Disgusted northern Democrats refused to support either Stephen Douglas or President Franklin Pierce for the presidential nomination. They eventually nominated **James Buchanan**, a former senator and diplomat. The new Republican Party nominated explorer and war hero John C. Frémont. The American Party (the Know-Nothings) nominated former president Millard Fillmore. The Democrats won the election of 1856 by characterizing the Republicans as extremists on the slavery issue. Buchanan became president.

Dred Scott decision Buchanan had pledged not to interfere with slavery where it existed, but events during his term made tensions worse. The first was a controversial Supreme Court case, *Dred Scott v. Sandford*. Scott, a slave, had lived on free soil for many years. He sued for freedom, arguing that living on free soil made him free. In 1857 the Court ruled against him, saying the Fifth Amendment protected the property rights of slaveholders.

PRIMARY SOURCES

Political Cartoon

As tensions over slavery increased, violence even broke out in Congress. In 1856 South Carolina representative Preston Brooks attacked Massachusetts senator Charles Sumner over an antislavery speech Sumner had made. It took Sumner three years to recover from the beating.

Although the Senate chamber was nearly empty when the attack occurred, the artist added observers in this portrayal.



Skills FOCUS

READING LIKE A HISTORIAN

- 1. Identifying Points of View** What does the caption suggest about the artist’s opinion of Sumner’s actions?
- 2. Interpreting Visuals** Why do you think the artist added observers to the scene?

See **Skills Handbook**, pp. H28–H29, H30

Meanwhile, Kansas was still in turmoil. Late in 1857 a pro-slavery convention tried to push through a state constitution that would allow slavery in Kansas. The Lecompton constitution, named for a town in Kansas, protected slavery and also included a bill of rights that excluded freed slaves. It was never ratified. A deadlock in Congress eventually led to the admission of Kansas as a free state. The debate deepened sectional divisions.

John Brown's raid At the same time, abolitionist John Brown was planning a raid on the U.S. arsenal at Harpers Ferry, Virginia, to get guns for a slave revolt. Brown and his followers easily captured the arsenal but failed to start a revolt. A company of U.S. Marines later stormed the arsenal and captured Brown and his surviving followers. They were tried for murder and treason against Virginia and sentenced to death. Brown was executed on December 2, 1859. While some people questioned Brown's sanity, many northerners saw him as a hero.

READING CHECK Identifying the Main Idea

Why did the slavery debate center in Kansas?

Lincoln's Path to the Presidency

Abraham Lincoln was born in 1809 in a one-room cabin near Louisville, Kentucky. His family's attitudes and his own experiences as a young man had a lifelong effect on his feelings about slavery.

A frontier upbringing Lincoln once summarized his early life as "the short and simple annals [record of events] of the poor." His parents were poor, and like many white southerners, they held no slaves. Their opposition to slavery was one of the reasons the Lincoln family moved from Kentucky to the Indiana Territory in 1816.

In 1828 Lincoln took a job on a riverboat moving farm produce from Indiana to New Orleans. There he had his first contact with slavery when he observed a slave auction.

Lincoln's early political career As a young man, Lincoln moved to New Salem, a village near Springfield, Illinois. He took a job as



Dred Scott (left) "had no rights which the white man was bound to respect," Chief Justice Roger Taney ruled in the controversial Supreme Court case *Dred Scott v. Sandford*.

a store clerk and then ran for a seat in the state legislature. In December 1834 Lincoln began the first of four terms in the Illinois General Assembly, while at the same time studying law at home. In 1842 he married Mary Todd, the daughter of a Kentucky slaveholder.

In 1846 Lincoln was elected to Congress. During his first year in Congress, the Mexican-American War ended. Though Lincoln did not take part in the debates on the Wilmot Proviso to ban slavery in the territory gained from Mexico, he did vote in favor of the proposal. Lincoln believed that Congress could regulate slavery in the territories and in Washington, D.C. However, he felt that only the states had the right to end slavery within their borders.

Lincoln proposed ending slavery in the nation's capital by paying slaveholders to free their slaves. This approach was called compensated emancipation. It answered the argument that the Constitution protected slaveholders' property rights. In the late 1840s, however, this idea was still a bit too radical to gain widespread support.

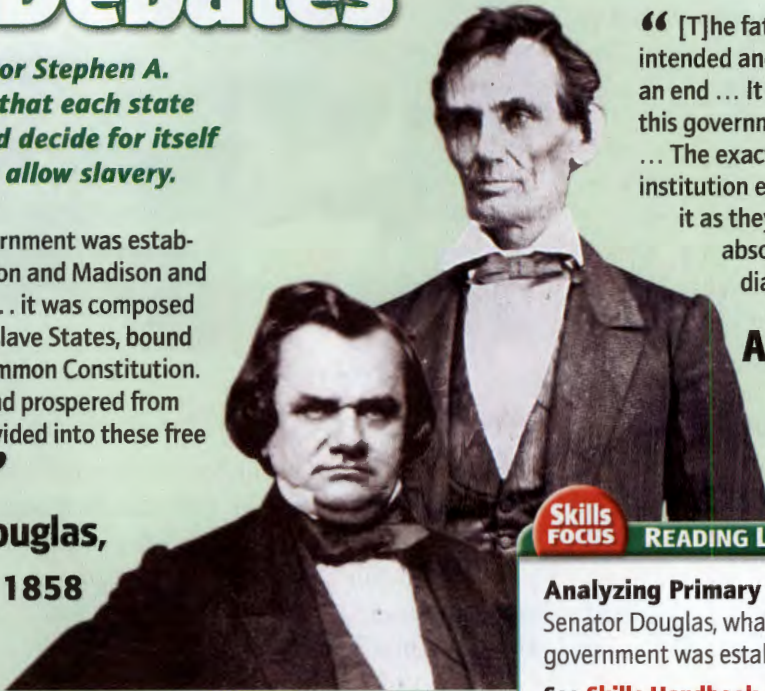
Lincoln also worked hard campaigning for the Whigs' presidential candidate, Zachary Taylor, in 1848. He expected a job in the new administration as a reward for his hard work and was disappointed when he was not offered the position he sought. Lincoln resigned from Congress in 1849 and returned home to Illinois to practice law.

Lincoln-Douglas Debates

Democratic senator Stephen A. Douglas believed that each state or territory should decide for itself whether or not to allow slavery.

“When this government was established by Washington and Madison and Jay and Hamilton . . . it was composed of free States and slave States, bound together by our common Constitution. We have existed and prospered from that day to this, divided into these free and slave States.”

Stephen A. Douglas,
September 18, 1858



Republican Abraham Lincoln challenged Douglas for his seat in the Senate. He countered that the framers had intended a gradual end to slavery.

“[T]he fathers of the government intended and expected [slavery] to come to an end . . . It is not true . . . that [they] made this government part slave, and part free . . . The exact truth is that they found the institution existing among us and they left it as they found it . . . because of the . . . absolute impossibility of the immediate removal of it.”

Abraham Lincoln,
October 15, 1858

Skills
FOCUS

READING LIKE A HISTORIAN

Analyzing Primary Sources According to Senator Douglas, what united the states when the government was established?

See **Skills Handbook**, pp. H28–H29

The Lincoln-Douglas debates Lincoln had come home to practice law but said he was “thunderstruck and stunned” by the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska Act. He then decided to return to politics. Because the new Republican Party seemed to be in line with his beliefs, he helped organize the Illinois party. In 1858 he decided to oppose Douglas, who was seeking reelection to the Senate. Lincoln’s acceptance speech focused on the divisive controversy over slavery. Quoting from the Bible, he said:

HISTORY’S VOICES

“‘A house divided against itself cannot stand.’ I believe this government cannot endure, permanently half slave and half free. I do not expect the Union to be dissolved—I do not expect the house to fall—but I do expect it will cease to be divided. It will become all one thing or all the other.”

—Abraham Lincoln, June 16, 1858

Many people saw this statement as a threat to slavery. For months afterward, Lincoln tried to explain its **context**—that he was making a

prediction, not stating a position. But many slaveholders were convinced that Lincoln was a secret abolitionist.

Lincoln’s “house-divided” speech attracted national attention. National newspapers reported on the **Lincoln-Douglas debates**, which took place from late August to mid-October 1858 in towns across Illinois. Thousands of people gathered to hear the debates. Lincoln and Douglas were very different in their debating styles. Douglas spoke dramatically, clenching his fists and stamping his feet. In contrast, Lincoln spoke mildly, sprinkling his remarks with humor.

Lincoln challenged Douglas on the workability of popular sovereignty. In what became known as the Freeport Doctrine, Douglas said that people could exclude slavery simply by refusing to pass laws allowing it. Douglas also tried to characterize Lincoln as a dangerous radical. Lincoln frequently spoke about the immorality of slavery but at the same time denied proposing racial equality.

ACADEMIC VOCABULARY

context related or surrounding conditions

The election of 1860 Two years later, Lincoln and Douglas would meet again in the presidential race of 1860. Both candidates faced hard battles to win their party's nomination.

The Democrats were so divided that they soon split completely. Many southern Democrats walked out of their nominating convention. The remaining delegates met again and nominated Douglas. Southern Democrats then chose John Breckinridge of Kentucky as their candidate. Southern moderates formed the Constitutional Union Party, nominating Tennessee senator John Bell for president.

At the Republican convention, William Seward seemed to be the leading candidate for the nomination, but his abolitionist views were too radical for most voters. The Republicans chose Lincoln as the candidate with the best chance to win.

As in 1856, the election of 1860 was really two sectional elections. In the North it was Lincoln versus Douglas. In the South the contest was between Breckinridge and Bell. The vote was almost completely along sectional lines. Lincoln carried the more populous North and won the presidency. Many northerners celebrated, but many southerners were dismayed.

READING CHECK

Summarizing What were Lincoln's beliefs on regulating slavery?

The South Secedes

A week after Lincoln's election, the South Carolina legislature called a convention to consider leaving the Union. On December 20, 1860, they passed a resolution stating that "the union now subsisting between South Carolina and the other states under the name of the 'United States of America' is hereby dissolved."

The rest of the Lower South quickly followed. By February 1, Mississippi, Florida, Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, and Texas had all seceded. Four other states—Virginia, North Carolina, Tennessee, and Arkansas—warned that they might also secede.

Reactions to secession Many southerners opposed secession. The decision to secede was made by state conventions, not directly by the voters in each state. In some states, 30 to 40 percent of delegates voted against secession. Still, the radical secessionists prevailed.

CAUSES AND EFFECTS OF SECESSION

QUICK FACTS

CAUSES

The Compromise of 1850

- Admits California as a free state, ending the equal number of free and slave states
- Tries to settle the dispute over expansion of slavery into the Mexican Cession by using popular sovereignty

The Kansas-Nebraska Act (1854)

- Uses popular sovereignty to decide the question of slavery in Kansas and Nebraska territories
- Causes the North and the South to compete to settle the territory
- Leads to guerrilla warfare between pro- and antislavery settlers

The Lincoln-Douglas Debates (1858)

- Emphasize the divisions over the Kansas-Nebraska Act and the *Dred Scott* decision
- Bring Lincoln's opposition to slavery's spread to a national audience
- Cause Douglas to lose support in the North and the South

The Election of 1860

- Northern and southern Democrats split over running Douglas for president
- Democratic Party splits, allowing Lincoln's election as president
- Both houses of Congress are in northern hands, and an opponent of slavery now will head the executive branch

EFFECTS

Secession (1860–1861)

- South Carolina fears a northern-controlled government will act against slavery and withdraws from the Union
- Several other slave states follow South Carolina's lead and form the Confederate States of America

Northern reactions to secession were also varied. Some northerners felt the nation would be better off without the slave states. Others wanted to let the South secede in peace. "If the Cotton States shall become satisfied that they can do better out of the Union than in it, we insist on letting them go," wrote Horace Greeley in the *New York Tribune*.

But other northerners worried about the long-term effects of letting Southern secession take place. President Lincoln told the leaders of the Republican Party, "We must settle this

question now, whether in a free government the minority have the right to break up the government whenever they choose.”

Buchanan, the outgoing president, agreed that secession was illegal but said that the Constitution gave the federal government no power to prevent it. He also questioned whether a Union held together by force was worth saving.

Forming the Confederacy In February 1861, representatives of the seven seceded states met in Montgomery, Alabama, to form a new nation. They quickly wrote a constitution that specifically recognized slavery and guaranteed the rights of citizens to own slaves. They chose **Jefferson Davis**, a former United States senator from Mississippi, as president, with Alexander Stephens of Georgia as vice president. The new constitution created an association of states called the **Confederate States of America**, also known as the Confederacy.

The Confederacy soon faced challenges and many internal disagreements. It had no currency, and the job of printing Confederate money was at first contracted out to a company in New York. President Davis had to hold the first meeting of his cabinet in a hotel room. He named one man from each state to the cabinet so that all seven Confederate states would be equally represented.

Attempts at compromise fail As the North and the South drew further apart, some Americans desperately sought ways to resolve the crisis and avoid war. In December 1860 both the House and Senate appointed special committees to suggest possible solutions.

One plan, the Crittenden Compromise, proposed several constitutional amendments. One would ban slavery north of the old Missouri Compromise line and guarantee that slavery would not be interfered with south of that line. Others would compensate slaveholders for escaped slaves and would stop Congress from interfering with the transport of slaves between states.

Powerful leaders in both North and South opposed the Compromise. For many southerners, no compromise could undo their main reason for secession—Lincoln’s election. Lincoln remained publicly silent on the suggested compromises but privately opposed any plan that allowed the extension of slavery. The Senate defeated it and other compromise plans.

On March 4, 1861, Lincoln became president. In his inaugural address, he again promised not to interfere with slavery where it existed. Would this promise save the Union?

READING CHECK

Identifying the Main Idea

What was the principle behind the Confederacy?

SECTION 1 ASSESSMENT

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Online Quiz

Keyword: SE7 HP4

HSS 11.1.3

Reviewing Ideas, Terms, and People

- a. Define** Briefly define each of these terms: **Compromise of 1850**, **Fugitive Slave Act**, **Kansas-Nebraska Act**

b. Analyze What effect did the Mexican War have on the issue of slavery in the United States?

c. Evaluate Was **popular sovereignty** a good solution to the question of slavery in new states?
- a. Identify** Who were John Brown, Dred Scott, and James Buchanan?

b. Explain How did the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments affect the *Dred Scott* decision?
- a. Recall** What were the Lincoln-Douglas debates, and why were they important?

b. Explain How did Abraham Lincoln’s background influence his views on slavery?

c. Predict Was Lincoln an abolitionist? Explain.

- a. Identify** Who was Jefferson Davis?

b. Analyze Why did the states of the Lower South secede and form the **Confederate States of America**?

c. Evaluate How did attitudes toward secession vary in northern and southern states?

Critical Thinking

- Sequencing** Copy the chart below and use it to trace Lincoln’s rise from state legislator to president.



FOCUS ON SPEAKING

ELA W.1.1

- Expository** As a senator from a northern state, write and present a speech explaining your views on the principle of popular sovereignty.

SECTION
2

The Civil War

BEFORE YOU READ

MAIN IDEA

The Civil War broke out following a Confederate attack on Fort Sumter, leading to widespread fighting, heavy casualties, and the eventual defeat of the Confederacy.

READING FOCUS

1. How did the Civil War begin, and what were some early battles?
2. What was life like during the Civil War?
3. How did continued fighting turn the tide of the war?
4. What happened in the final phase of the war?

KEY TERMS AND PEOPLE

Fort Sumter
Robert E. Lee
Battle of Bull Run
Ulysses S. Grant
Battle of Shiloh
Battle of Antietam
Emancipation Proclamation
Battle of Chancellorsville
Battle of Gettysburg
Thirteenth Amendment



HSS 11.1.4 Examine the effects of the Civil War and Reconstruction and of the industrial revolution, including demographic shifts and the emergence in the late nineteenth century of the United States as a world power.

HSS 11.3.2 Analyze the great religious revivals, including the Civil War revivals.



SHOWDOWN at Fort Sumter

◀ Confederate cannons fire upon Fort Sumter.

THE INSIDE STORY

Where was the first shot of the Civil War fired?

Fort Sumter, in Charleston harbor in South Carolina, was one of the few places in the South still in Union hands in April 1861. It had become a symbol of the South's rebellion against the federal government, and Confederate leaders demanded its surrender. Abraham Lincoln, the new president, faced a dilemma. The fort was desperately short of supplies. If Lincoln surrendered the fort, it might reassure the South that the North did not want war. On the other hand, it would anger northerners who did not want to treat the Confederacy as a separate nation.

So, Lincoln said that he would send in only nonmilitary supplies. That left the decision to fight up to Confederate

president Jefferson Davis. Davis decided on action, and on April 12, 1861, Confederate artillery opened fire on Fort Sumter. The fort's defenses were no match for the massive guns, and it quickly surrendered. On April 14, Confederates hauled down the American flag and raised a Southern flag in its place. ■

The Civil War Begins

The shots fired at **Fort Sumter** marked the beginning of the Civil War. In response, Lincoln called for 75,000 volunteers to serve in the army for 90 days. Northerners rushed to enlist. The call for volunteers forced slave

Abraham LINCOLN

1809–1865



Throughout his presidency, Abraham Lincoln struggled with personal tragedies while striving to hold his family and the nation together dur-

ing the Civil War. In 1862 Abraham and Mary Todd Lincoln's 11-year-old son William died of typhoid fever in the White House.

Struck with grief over the loss of their son, the Lincolns sunk into depression. The First Lady took William's death especially hard. The president struggled in the midst of a war that was going badly to care for his wife and to grieve for the loss of his son. Lincoln often resorted to humor and storytelling to overcome his grief. He explained to a friend that "if it were not for these stories [and] jokes . . . I should die."

Summarize Why was Lincoln's presidency especially difficult?

states still in the Union to choose a side. All refused to provide troops to fight against fellow southerners. Then on April 17, Virginia seceded. In May, the Confederate states Arkansas, Tennessee, and North Carolina followed.

Border states choose sides Leaders on both sides wondered what Delaware, Kentucky, Maryland, and Missouri would do. They were border states—slaveholding states still in the Union, on the border of the Confederacy. Delaware had few slaveholders, and most people believed it would stay in the Union. In the other border states, however, secessionist sympathies were strong.

Maryland was the most critical state. If it seceded, Washington, D.C., would be surrounded by Confederate territory. Lincoln took strong steps. He sent federal troops to guard sites with military value and placed parts of Maryland temporarily under military rule. In November 1861, the military oversaw new elections in which a pro-Union state legislature was elected.

Missouri was important because it could control the lower Mississippi River, while Kentucky controlled some 500 miles of the Ohio River, its northern border. Loyalties were divided in both states. Missouri secessionists never were politically strong enough to force the state to withdraw from the Union. Kentucky joined the Union side after Confederate troops invaded it in September 1861.

Goals of the North and South As war began, the North and South had different goals. Lincoln defined the Union goals very carefully. To keep the support of border states and non-abolitionists, he avoided making slavery the central issue. Instead, he asked northerners to fight to save the Union.

The South's war goals were simple: to be left alone with slavery unchanged. The Confederates were ready for a defensive war. That meant northern armies would have to invade the South. Still, the North was better equipped for war than the South. It had a larger population. The Northern also contained most of the nation's factories and most of its railroad lines.

The Confederates had fewer resources than the North, but they were fighting to preserve their way of life. They also believed in their military superiority. Many of the nation's best army officers were from the South. Many, like **Robert E. Lee** of Virginia, chose to side with their home states and fight for the Confederacy.

Some southerners thought the South's greatest advantage was its huge cotton exports to textile mills in Britain and France. They thought that if war disrupted that supply, both nations would come to their aid. Foreign aid and the recognition of southern independence became important goals in the Confederate war strategy.

When Britain and France did not recognize the Confederacy, the South stopped exporting cotton to them. Nonetheless, efforts to gain or block foreign help remained important in the strategies of both sides during the Civil War.

Tactics and technology Most of the top generals on both sides had been trained at the U.S. Military Academy at West Point. They had learned tactics from earlier wars, and many had used them in the Mexican-American War.

The weapons on Civil War battlefields, however, were far more deadly than in earlier wars. Weapons makers had redesigned gun barrels, increasing the range and accuracy of the new rifles. Other new weapons were exploding shells, flamethrowers, and machine guns. The Civil War also saw the first use of observation balloons. Camouflage was used to disguise tents and guns from airborne observers.

The telegraph, invented by Samuel Morse in the 1840s, allowed officers in the field to communicate quickly with government leaders. For

the first time in history, railroads were used to move large numbers of troops and supplies. This collision of tactics and technology is why some historians call the Civil War the last of the old-time wars and the first of the modern ones.

The Battle of Bull Run The first major battle of the Civil War came in July 1861 at the Bull Run, a small stream about 25 miles from Washington, D.C. Confederate troops waited at the small town of Manassas Junction. Neither army was trained nor ready for battle, and inexperienced troops could not carry out their generals' plans.

The battle soon became chaos. The Union retreat turned into a panicky stampede as soldiers and onlookers fled the battlefield. The **Battle of Bull Run** ended both sides' hopes for a short war.

War in the West Gaining control of the Mississippi River Valley would split the Confederacy in two. In early 1862 Union forces under General **Ulysses S. Grant** opened two important water routes into the western Confederacy. Then Grant moved south, winning a major victory at the **Battle of Shiloh** in Tennessee. But the fierce battle ended northern hopes that the rebellion would collapse on its own.

A Union fleet under Admiral David Farragut moved north along the Mississippi. They captured New Orleans and other river cities.

War in the East Union general George B. McClellan had a plan to attack the Confederate capital at Richmond, but he delayed, asking for more troops. In May 1862 Confederate general Robert E. Lee took command of the Confederacy's Army of Northern Virginia. Lee took advantage of McClellan's caution. In August



Interactive Map

THE WAR IN THE EAST, 1861-1863



- Union state
- Confederate state
- Gained statehood and admitted to the Union, 1863
- Union controlled, 1863
- Union forces
- Confederate forces
- Union victory
- Confederate victory
- Union naval blockade

0 25 50 Miles
0 25 50 Kilometers
Albers equal-area projection



The Battle of Antietam halted Lee's advance toward the Union capital, but at a high cost.

GEOGRAPHY SKILLS

INTERPRETING MAPS

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Interactive Map
Keyword: SE7 CH4

Location What was the significance of the battles of Antietam and Gettysburg?

See **Skills Handbook**, p. H20

1862 he lured a Union force into battle near Manassas, Virginia. In the Second Battle of Bull Run, Confederates won another victory.

The defeats in Virginia hurt morale in the North. Lee suggested to President Davis that it was time to take an offensive strategy and invade Maryland. A victory on Union soil might force the North to ask for peace, or it might convince Great Britain and France to recognize Confederate independence.

In early September 1862, Lee's army crossed the Potomac River into western Maryland. The 70,000 Union troops there dwarfed Lee's army of 40,000. But the always-cautious McClellan again delayed, giving the Confederates time to organize their defenses. The

Battle of Antietam, on September 17, 1862, was the bloodiest day of the Civil War. Union and Confederate casualties combined exceeded 23,000. In the end Antietam was considered a Union victory, but only because Lee's invasion was stopped and he returned to Virginia.

READING CHECK Drawing Conclusions

Why did Lee want to invade the North?

Life during the Civil War

The Civil War presented challenges, hardships, and opportunities for people in the North and the South. Both soldiers and civilians were affected as the war progressed.



African American Union Soldiers

Company E of the District of Columbia 4th U.S. Colored Infantry defends Fort Lincoln. About 10 percent of the Union forces were African American.

African Americans and the war In the South, the labor of enslaved African Americans helped to provide the food the South needed and allowed white males to fight in Confederate armies. Thousands of slaves, however, escaped to join invading Union troops. Many were hired to drive wagons, build forts, or serve as guides.

As the fighting continued, some northerners came to believe that preserving the Union was not enough. They wanted to punish the South and free its enslaved workers. On January 1, 1863, President Lincoln issued the **Emancipation Proclamation**. This document freed enslaved people in all areas that were in rebellion against the United States. Reactions in the North were mixed. Some northerners opposed the Emancipation Proclamation; others believed it did not go far enough.

The Emancipation Proclamation encouraged freedmen (the term for emancipated slaves) to join the Union forces. African American soldiers served in segregated units, usually commanded by white officers. Nearly 180,000 African Americans served in the Union armies during the war.

Conditions for soldiers Most soldiers who died during the Civil War did not die from wounds. Disease was by far the greatest killer. Epidemics of mumps, measles, and smallpox swept through army camps. Other illnesses were caused by poor sanitation and polluted water. Volunteers in the new U.S. Sanitary

Commission, mostly women, worked as nurses and ambulance drivers. They distributed food, clothing, and medical supplies to Union troops and inspected hospitals and army camps.

Civil War soldiers spent most of their time in camp. Days were long and frequently boring. The men took part in drills, practicing battlefield maneuvers. Between drills, they wrote letters and played card games or baseball. In both the North and the South, prayer meetings were held in army camps, and a religious revival took place.

Conditions for prisoners of war were far worse than conditions in the camps. A large number of major battles in 1863 and 1864 overwhelmed camps that were already inadequate. The most notorious prisons were the Confederate stockade near Andersonville, Georgia, and the Union prison camp near Elmira, New York.

The home front The Civil War meant sacrifice and hardship for people on both sides. Conditions in the South, however, were quite different than they were in the North.

Since most Civil War battles were fought in the South, there was widespread property damage there. Also, shortages of both food and goods made life extremely difficult. Food riots took place in Richmond and other cities. Southerners also faced serious inflation, an increase in prices as the value of money fell. To pay for the war, the Confederate government had printed a great deal of paper money, which soon lost its value.

THE GENERALS

QUICK FACTS

Ulysses S. Grant

- Graduated West Point in 1843
- Rank: 21 in a class of 39
- Age in May 1864: 42
- Previous major victories: Battle of Shiloh, Siege of Vicksburg, Battle of Look-out Mountain, Battle of Missionary Ridge
- Grant's wife was a cousin of Confederate general James Longstreet.

Robert E. Lee

- Graduated West Point in 1829
- Rank: 2 in a class of 46
- Age in May 1864: 57
- Previous major victories: Second Battle of Bull Run, Battle of Fredericksburg, Battle of Chancellorsville
- Lee's great uncle, Richard Henry Lee, proposed and signed the Declaration of Independence.

In 1862 the Confederate Congress enacted the first military draft in United States history. In 1863 the Union also began to draft soldiers, causing riots across the North. The unrest added to an antiwar movement led by some Democrats in Congress and state legislatures. Their supporters called them Peace Democrats, but critics compared them to poisonous snakes, calling them Copperheads. Copperhead propaganda seriously threatened the Union war effort. The federal government arrested and jailed without trial some of the most vocal Copperheads.

Women and the war Women in both North and South contributed to the war in many ways. Some disguised themselves as men and enlisted in the army. A few served as spies. Women took over farms, plantations, stores, and businesses while men went to fight. Some did factory work or staffed government offices. About 3,000 women served the Union army as nurses. Some women, like Clara Barton, who later began the American Red Cross, cared for the wounded on the battlefield.

READING CHECK **Making Inferences** How did the Emancipation Proclamation affect the war?

Fighting Continues

The Civil War tore apart American society, but it was also an international event. Union naval blockades disrupted the South's trade with the rest of the world. At the beginning of the war, it was fairly easy to run, or slip through, the Union blockade. Gradually, the blockade of southern ports became tighter and tighter.

Blockade runners To get scarce goods, southerners depended on blockade runners. These low, sleek ships carried southern cotton to Caribbean ports, where it was unloaded and shipped to Europe. They returned with silk, soap, pepper, and other needed goods, making large profits. Later, blockade runners brought medicine and military supplies.

Hoping to break the Union blockade, the Confederates made an ironclad ship, which could withstand cannon fire. They covered a captured Union ship, the USS *Merrimack*, with thick iron plates and renamed it the *Virginia*. Union officials then built their own ironclad. On March 9, 1862, the Union's ironclad *Monitor* confronted the *Virginia* in the world's first battle between ironclads. The battle ended with no winner but changed naval warfare forever.

West of the Mississippi While most action was in the East, Union and Confederate forces also clashed west of the Mississippi River. There they fought over natural resources and additional soldiers for their armies. In 1861 Congress admitted Kansas to the Union as a free state, followed by Dakota, Colorado, and Nevada territories. It then created Idaho, Arizona, and Montana territories.

Lincoln appointed pro-Union officials to head the new territorial governments. To help ensure western loyalty, he did not enforce the draft in the West. Still, some 17,000 Californians joined the Union army. Moreover, western mines provided gold and silver to pay Union war costs.

More than 10,000 Native Americans took part in the Civil War, but issues of loyalty and slavery made the war controversial. Some nations saw it as a chance to take back land they had lost. Confederate agents negotiated treaties with the Cherokee, Creek, Choctaw, and others. But many Indian units fought with the Union army.

Three major battles After a disastrous loss at Fredericksburg in December 1862, the Union forces were ready to fight again by spring. General Joseph Hooker was now in command. Three major battles followed in 1862 and 1863:

- **Chancellorsville** Hooker hoped to surprise the Confederates from behind and take Richmond. But Lee marched most of his army west. He left 10,000 troops in Fredericksburg, ordering them to light campfires so Union forces would think a larger army was still there. Lee then ordered a surprise attack at dinnertime on May 2, 1862. The **Battle of Chancellorsville** was Lee's greatest victory (see illustration below).
- **Gettysburg** Lee then decided to invade the North again. The two armies met near Gettysburg, Pennsylvania. The skirmish that took place on July 1, 1863, developed into the historic three-day **Battle of Gettysburg**.

For two days, the armies held their positions facing each other on opposite ridges. Casualties were high. Then Lee ordered General George Pickett to take his 15,000 troops to attack the center of the Union lines on Cemetery Ridge. As Pickett's men charged across the open field, a storm of bullets and artillery shells tore huge holes in their ranks. Less than half returned to the Confederate lines.

The next day, the Confederates began their retreat to Virginia. Lee's 75,000 troops had suffered 28,000 casualties. The Union had about 23,000 casualties out of some 85,000 soldiers.

- **Vicksburg** Meanwhile, Grant was carrying on a siege of Vicksburg, a Confederate stronghold on the Mississippi. He aimed to starve its residents and defenders into surrender. For weeks, Union artillery and gunboats shelled the city. On July 4, as Lee began his retreat from Gettysburg, the Confederates at Vicksburg surrendered.

Battle of Chancellorsville

3 Jackson's troops turn back north and surprise the unprepared Union forces by attacking from the west.

1 Facing a larger force, Lee takes a risk and divides his army, sending troops under Thomas "Stonewall" Jackson on a long march around the Union army.

2 Union troops see Jackson's column march southwest into the woods and believe the Confederates are retreating.

Skills Focus

INTERPRETING INFOGRAPHICS

Human/Environment Interaction Why were Jackson's troops able to surprise the Union army?

See **Skills Handbook**, p. H18

CAUSES AND EFFECTS OF THE CIVIL WAR

CAUSES

- Conflicts over slavery and states' rights
- Lincoln's election as president
- The secession of southern states
- The attack on Fort Sumter

EFFECTS

- The end of slavery
- More than 600,000 deaths
- Physical and economic devastation of the South
- The reuniting of the nation

Chattanooga campaign The Confederate losses at Gettysburg and Vicksburg were a turning point, pointing toward a Confederate defeat in the war. Then in September 1863, the Union army retreated to Chattanooga, an important railroad center in Tennessee, after being defeated at the Battle of Chickamauga in northwest Georgia. A Confederate siege trapped them in the city.

Confederate general Braxton Bragg prepared to starve the Union troops out. But in late October, Grant arrived with reinforcements and opened a supply line to the troops in Chattanooga. By late November 1863, Grant had enough troops to end the siege. Control of Chattanooga was an important step in his plan to invade Georgia, the heart of the Lower South.

READING CHECK **Drawing Conclusions** Why were Gettysburg and Vicksburg significant battles?

The Final Phase

Grant's victory at Chattanooga convinced Lincoln that the Union finally had a general who could win. In March 1864, Lincoln gave him command of all Union armies. Grant named General William T. Sherman to take his place on the western front.

Campaigns of 1864 Grant's first campaign moved the Army of the Potomac toward Richmond. Union and Confederate armies met in a dense forest near Chancellorsville. In May 1864 the fighting in the Battle of the Wilderness was so fierce that the woods caught fire. Despite heavy losses, Grant continued to push south. The two armies soon met again in a long and bloody series of clashes known as the Battle of Spotsylvania.

Fierce fighting and heavy loss of life continued. In June the armies met at the Battle of Cold Harbor. After a month of marching and fighting—without a victory—the Union soldiers' high spirits were gone. But Grant pressed on. Although he failed to capture Petersburg, a rail center south of Richmond, he began a siege of the city. This siege would cut supplies to the Confederate capital.

The next phase of the war began when Sherman set out on the long-expected invasion of Georgia. His army marched toward Atlanta, the South's second-most important manufacturing and rail center. By mid-July, they were just eight miles from Atlanta. Sherman laid siege to the city, and his artillery shelled it daily. Finally, he was able to close the last railroad line into Atlanta, forcing Confederate general Hood's troops to abandon the city. On September 2 the Union army entered Atlanta.

The election of 1864 While Sherman was besieging Atlanta, the Democratic Party was holding its national convention in Chicago. It chose George McClellan, a popular general, as its candidate and adopted a platform calling for an immediate end to the war.

The Republicans, hoping to broaden Lincoln's appeal, chose Andrew Johnson, a pro-Union Democrat from Tennessee as their vice-presidential candidate. But many believed it would not be enough. The Emancipation Proclamation and the mounting casualties from Grant's Virginia campaign had made the war highly unpopular in the North. Lincoln himself expected to lose the election.

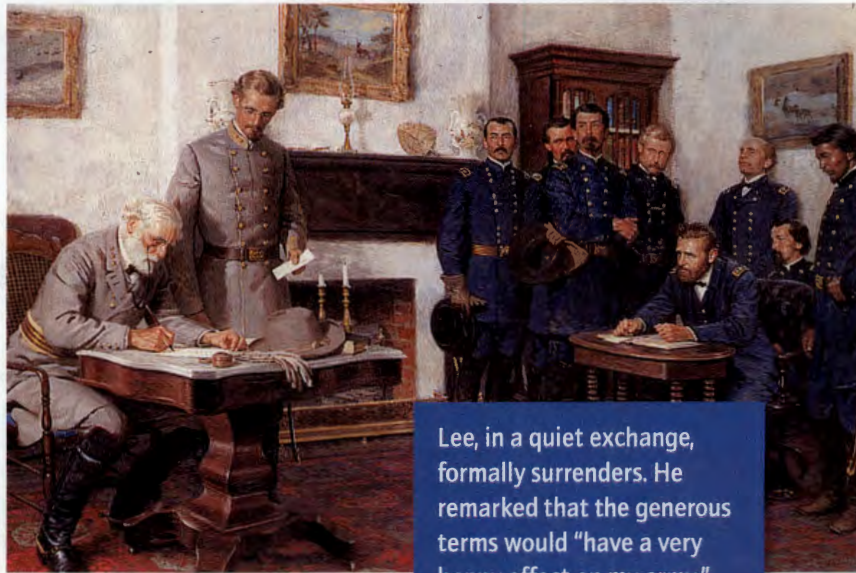
Then word of Sherman's capture of Atlanta turned opinions around. The president easily defeated McClellan in the election. Lincoln's victory enabled Congress to finally pass the **Thirteenth Amendment**, which ended slavery in the United States.

As Lincoln began his second term in March 1865, the war seemed nearly over. He announced his intention to be forgiving to the South: “With malice toward none, with charity for all . . . let us strive on to finish the work we are in, to bind up the nation’s wounds.”

The war ends After the November 1864 election, Sherman and some 60,000 troops set out to march across Georgia—Sherman’s March to the Sea. As they left Atlanta, his troops burned much of the city. It was Sherman’s belief that he had to strike at the enemy’s economic resources. Over the next three weeks, Sherman’s soldiers slaughtered livestock, destroyed crops, and looted homes and businesses. The army captured Savannah in December and then moved on to South Carolina.

In April 1865, the long siege of Petersburg succeeded. Confederate leaders fled Richmond. Union troops entered the city the next day. Lee tried to escape with what was left of his army, but he found himself surrounded. He surrendered rather than lose more lives.

Lee and Grant met in a home in Appomattox Court House, Virginia, on April 9. The two generals chatted briefly, then Grant presented the terms of the surrender. They were very generous for such a long, bitter conflict. Lee’s troops merely had to turn over their weapons



Lee, in a quiet exchange, formally surrenders. He remarked that the generous terms would “have a very happy effect on my army.”

and leave. In cities across the North, news of Lee’s surrender brought wild celebrations. Fireworks filled the sky in Washington, D.C. Tragically, President Lincoln did not live to see the official end of the war, when the last Confederates surrendered. Lincoln’s assassination in April 1865 would change the course of American history.

READING CHECK Summarizing What were the major events of Sherman’s invasion of the South?

SECTION 2 ASSESSMENT go.hrw.com
Online Quiz
Keyword: SE7 HP4

HSS 11.1.4, 11.3.2

Reviewing Ideas, Terms, and People

- a. Recall** Why was Fort Sumter important to both the North and the South?

b. Identify Identify Ulysses S. Grant and Robert E. Lee.

c. Evaluate What was the strategic importance of the border states?
- a. Identify** What did the Emancipation Proclamation do?

b. Compare Which region—North or South—experienced greater hardship during the war? Why?

c. Evaluate Did conditions on the home front have an effect on the Civil War? Why or why not?
- a. Recall** Explain the importance of these battles: Chancellorsville, Gettysburg, Vicksburg, Chattanooga.

b. Explain How did Lincoln encourage loyalty to the Union in the West?

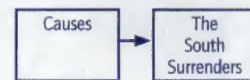
c. Elaborate Why do you think the Battle of Chancellorsville was considered Robert E. Lee’s greatest victory?
- a. Identify** Who was William T. Sherman, and what was his role in the final phase of the war?


- b. Sequence** What events led to Lee’s final surrender?

c. Elaborate Why do you think Grant offered Lee such generous surrender terms?

Critical Thinking

- Identifying Cause and Effect** Copy the graphic organizer below and use it to identify causes and effects of the South’s surrender.



FOCUS ON WRITING  **ELA W1.1**

- Expository** As President Lincoln, write a letter to a friend describing your thoughts about issuing the Emancipation Proclamation. Use details from the section to help explain your position on slavery.

BEFORE YOU READ

MAIN IDEA

Conflicting plans for dealing with the post–Civil War South had long-lasting effects on government and the economy.

READING FOCUS

1. What were the differing plans for presidential Reconstruction?
2. What was congressional Reconstruction?
3. What happened when Radical Republicans took charge of Reconstruction?
4. Why did Reconstruction end, and what were its effects on American history?

KEY TERMS AND PEOPLE

Reconstruction
 Ku Klux Klan
 Civil Rights Act of 1866
 Fourteenth Amendment
 Fifteenth Amendment
 scalawag
 carpetbagger
 sharecropping
 tenant farming
 Liberal Republicans



HSS 11.1.3 Understand the history of the Constitution after 1787 with emphasis on federal versus state authority and growing democratization.

HSS 11.1.4 Examine the effects of the Civil War and Reconstruction and of the industrial revolution, including demographic shifts and the emergence in the late nineteenth century of the United States as a world power.

Rebuilding the South

THE INSIDE STORY

What was the state of the South after the Civil War? The nation

faced great challenges at the end of the Civil War. The postwar recovery period, known as Reconstruction, lasted from 1865 to 1877. In the South the land had been ravaged; Richmond and other southern cities lay in ruins. Widespread fighting had devastated farms and plantations. Railroad lines had been destroyed. More than one-fifth of the South's white male population had perished.

The nearly 4 million African Americans living in the former Confederacy had won their freedom, but they faced an uncertain future with few job opportunities. Most had no money or education.

The nation also needed to answer many legal and political questions. What place would African Americans have in political life in the South? Were the former Confederate states conquered territories, or were they once again states in the Union? Should Confederates be forgiven or punished for starting the war? ■

▼ **Southern cities such as Richmond needed rebuilding after the Civil War.**

FINANCIAL COST OF THE CIVIL WAR

Southern livestock killed: **40%**

Southern farm machinery destroyed: **50%**

Drop in South's total property wealth: **66%**

Total national wealth held by the South, 1860: **30%**

Total national wealth held by the South, 1870: **12%**

Presidential Reconstruction

In December 1863 Lincoln issued a Proclamation of Amnesty and Reconstruction. It offered forgiveness to all southerners (except high-ranking Confederate leaders) who pledged loyalty to the Union and support for emancipation. When 10 percent of a southern state's voters had taken this oath, they could organize a new state government, which had to ban slavery. Under this Ten-Percent Plan, Lincoln readmitted three southern states—Arkansas, Louisiana, and Tennessee—before the war ended.

Lincoln's plan upsets Congress Lincoln's actions set off a debate in Congress over the best way to help the South after the war. The period of time when the United States made policies to rebuild the South is known as **Reconstruction**. Lincoln's Reconstruction plans were controversial for several reasons. Some Congressmembers noted that re-admitting states to the Union was a power of Congress, not the president. Others said that since secession was unlawful, Confederate states had never legally left the Union. Still others thought the states should go through the same admission process as territories.

In 1864 Congress responded with its own Reconstruction plan, the Wade-Davis Bill. It required a majority of a state's white male citizens to pledge loyalty to the Union before elections could be held. Lincoln killed the Wade-Davis Bill with a pocket veto—that is, by ignoring the bill for 10 days.

Lincoln is assassinated Abraham Lincoln did not live to see the war end or to carry out his Reconstruction plans. On April 14, 1865, John Wilkes Booth, a southerner, shot Lincoln while the president sat watching a play at Ford's Theater in Washington, D.C. Lincoln died the following morning.

Johnson's plan Lincoln's vice president, Andrew Johnson, was sworn in as president a few hours after Lincoln's death. Even though he was a Democrat, Republican leaders in Congress at first thought they could work with him. He did not seem to share Lincoln's forgiving attitude.

But Republican leaders did not understand his views. A Tennessean from a poor family,

Johnson held no ill will toward the South but hated the wealthy planter class. In turn, many white southerners considered him a traitor. Johnson was determined to keep control of Reconstruction. His plan was similar to Lincoln's, but he added wealthy southern men to those who had to apply for a presidential pardon.

Charles Sumner, Thaddeus Stevens, and other powerful Republicans in Congress were troubled by Johnson's plan. One reason was that they felt it did not provide any role in government for freedmen, those who had been freed from slavery.

READING CHECK **Making Inferences** How did Johnson's background influence his views on Reconstruction?

Congressional Reconstruction

White southerners welcomed Johnson's plan, which let them form state governments on their own terms. They hoped to restore their old way of life. Former Confederates took state offices and were even sent to Congress.

Southern reaction Although southern leaders could not restore slavery, they passed laws called Black Codes. These gave freedmen certain rights, but their intent was to keep the former slaves in a dependent position and give planters a supply of cheap labor.

Black Codes varied from state to state. In most states, for example, former slaves—and sometimes whole families—had to sign one-year work **contracts** as plantation workers, which they could not break. In some states, freedmen could not own guns.

Throughout the South, local sheriffs and war veterans enforced the enactment of the Black Codes, invading homes and seizing property. Other white citizens formed private groups to maintain white control in the South. One such group was the **Ku Klux Klan**, which formed in 1866 and began terrorizing African Americans and whites who supported their rights.

Congress takes control At first, most northerners also supported Johnson's Reconstruction plan. They were eager to put the Civil War behind them and reunite the nation. But soon they were upset by Black Codes and the return of former Confederates to power.

ACADEMIC VOCABULARY
contract legal agreement

That strengthened the Radical Republicans, members of Congress who wanted a stronger Reconstruction program. They favored tougher rules for restoring state governments. They wanted to reshape southern society, giving freedmen political and economic equality.

After Congress reconvened in 1866, moderate Republicans, who controlled both the House and the Senate, proposed two bills. One supported the Freedmen's Bureau, the organization created by Congress in 1865 to help former slaves and poor whites in the South. The new bill allowed the Freedman's Bureau to continue building schools and providing other aid. The second bill was the **Civil Rights Act of 1866**. This bill gave African Americans citizenship and guaranteed them the same legal rights as white Americans.

Both bills easily passed Congress, but President Johnson vetoed them. This dispute ended attempts by moderate Republicans to work with the president. They decided instead to help the Radical Republicans take control of Reconstruction plans.

Radical Reconstruction Worried that the Civil Rights Act of 1866 might be overturned, Republicans in Congress passed the **Fourteenth Amendment**. This amendment required states to grant citizenship to "all persons born or naturalized in the United States" and promised "equal protection of the laws." In effect, it wrote the Civil Rights Act of 1866 into the Constitution.

Johnson tried to make control of Reconstruction an issue in the 1866 congressional elections. But race riots in Memphis and New Orleans weakened his arguments. The election gave the Radicals enough votes in Congress to take control of Reconstruction. During 1867–1868 they passed, over Johnson's veto, four Reconstruction Acts.

These acts divided the South into five military districts. Three conditions for readmission were set: (1) ratify the Fourteenth Amendment; (2) write new state constitutions that guarantee freedmen the right to vote; (3) form new governments to be elected by all male citizens, including African Americans.

COUNTERPOINTS

Views on Reconstruction

Representative Thaddeus Stevens, a Radical Republican leader, insisted that the South be treated as a conquered territory.

“ [W]e hold it the duty of the Government to inflict . . . punishment on the rebel belligerents, and so weaken their hands that they can never again endanger the Union . . . This can be done only by treating and holding them as a conquered people.”

Thaddeus Stevens, 1865

President Andrew Johnson, a southerner, argued that the southern states should not be denied their rights.

“ [T]he policy of military rule over a conquered territory [implies] that the States [who took] part in the rebellion had by the act . . . ceased to exist. But the true theory is that all pretended acts of secession were from the beginning null and void.”

Andrew Johnson, 1865



Skills FOCUS

READING LIKE A HISTORIAN

Recognizing Bias Why might President Johnson have been biased in favor of the South?

See **Skills Handbook**, p. H33

Voting Rights

The Thirteenth Amendment ended slavery, and the Fourteenth Amendment granted citizenship to former slaves. Voting, however, remained under the control of the states. Although southern states had to grant African Americans voting rights in order to rejoin the Union, many southern whites objected. Many northern states also avoided granting voting rights to blacks.

In 1870 the Fifteenth Amendment established that “the right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States

or by any State on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude.”

Still, many states set other requirements that kept many African Americans from voting. Also, the Fifteenth Amendment did not give the vote to women. Native Americans could not vote because they were not considered citizens. Women were not granted the vote nationwide for another 50 years, and Native Americans did not have suffrage until after World War II.

Making Generalizations Why was the Fifteenth Amendment necessary?



Freedmen cast their votes, 1867

Afraid that Johnson might use his authority over the military to interfere with Reconstruction, Congress also passed the Tenure of Office Act in 1867. It required the Senate’s permission to remove any official whose appointment it had approved.

This law set off the final battle between the president and Congress. Its focus was Secretary of War Edwin Stanton, an ally of congressional Republicans. Johnson believed the law was unconstitutional and to test it, fired Stanton. The House of Representatives then voted in February 1868 to impeach him for violating the act. After a six-week trial, the Senate fell one vote short of the two-thirds majority needed to convict Johnson and remove him from office.

READING CHECK **Making Inferences** Why was President Johnson impeached?

Republicans in Charge

Because Republicans had lost some support following the impeachment fight, they chose the hero of the Civil War, Ulysses S. Grant, as their presidential candidate in the election of 1868. The popular vote was close, but about a half million African American votes in the South gave Grant the victory.

To protect African American voting rights, Republicans quickly pushed the **Fifteenth Amendment** through Congress in February 1869. It protected the voting rights of African American males and went into effect in 1870.

New governments in the South As Congress took control of Reconstruction, political power in the South shifted. White southerners who supported the changes were labeled **scalawags**, or scoundrels, by ex-Confederates. The supporters were a varied group. Some were farmers who had not owned slaves and had opposed secession. They hoped to take power from the planter class. But some were planters who had been ruined by the war. Others were business leaders who wanted to end the South’s dependence on agriculture.

Scalawags had allies—northerners who came south to take part in the region’s political and economic rebirth. Southern critics called these northerners **carpetbaggers**, referring to a type of suitcase made of carpet fabric. They came from varied backgrounds, including politicians, teachers, Freedmen’s Bureau officers, and former soldiers. Some of them were African American.

As carpetbaggers and scalawags took control of new state governments, they were joined by freedmen who wanted to utilize their new

ACADEMIC VOCABULARY
utilize make use of

ACADEMIC VOCABULARY

prejudice unfair judgments

rights. Nearly 700 African Americans served in southern state legislatures during Reconstruction. Sixteen were elected to Congress.

The new governments brought many changes to the South. They created the region's first public school systems and eliminated property requirements for voting and holding office. New laws made it illegal for railroads, hotels, and other public facilities to discriminate against African Americans. The Black Codes were repealed in every state.

Responses to freedom Freedom meant different things to formerly enslaved African Americans. For some, it meant the chance to search for long-lost relatives. For others

it meant owning land or having a job. Many freedmen moved to urban areas, mainly in the South, but met **prejudice** and low-paying jobs. Some went West, becoming business owners, miners, soldiers, or cowboys. But most African Americans remained in the rural South.

Freed African American slaves eagerly sought education. The Freedmen's Bureau alone started more than 4,000 schools. Other groups, both black and white, founded schools and colleges in the South.

African Americans were now able to establish churches, which became centers of community life. They also created trade associations, fire companies, employment agencies, and mutual aid societies.

Sharecropping and Poverty

QUICK FACTS



Economic changes For many freedmen, owning land was a symbol of freedom. But even freedmen with money found landowners unwilling to sell land to them because land would give former slaves economic independence. A new labor system gradually arose. Instead of working for wages, freedmen could receive a share of their employer's crop, a system known as **sharecropping**. By the end of the 1870s, most freedmen and many poor white southerners were sharecroppers. In this system, the employer provided land, seed, tools, a mule, and a cabin. The sharecropper provided labor.

A sharecropper who saved some money might switch to **tenant farming**. Tenant farmers rented their land from the landowner and could grow any crop. Many grew food crops, not cotton, to provide both food and income. It was hard for sharecroppers and tenant farmers to get out of poverty.

While the rural South suffered economic hardship, southern cities grew rapidly during Reconstruction. As railroads linked North and South, cities like Atlanta became business centers. Southern business leaders and northern investors joined to build textile mills and other ventures. But this industrial growth did not greatly benefit freedmen or other poor southerners.

HOPES RAISED AND DENIED

Slavery

- No rights
- Forced labor
- No freedom of movement without permission
- Family members sold away from one another
- No representation in government

Freedom

- Slavery banned
- Free to work for wages
- Could move and live anywhere
- Many families reunited
- Could serve in political office

Rights Denied

- Sharecropping system put in place
- Ability to vote and hold office restricted
- White leadership regained control of southern state governments

READING CHECK

Contrasting How did sharecropping and tenant farming differ?



Much of Atlanta had been burned during the Civil War, but after the war it became the center of Reconstruction activity and Georgia's new state capital.

Reconstruction Ends

Violence plagued the South throughout the Reconstruction era. The hooded night riders of the Ku Klux Klan were the most active terrorists, but there were many similar groups. Many planters, merchants, and poor white farmers and laborers were united by a common desire to restore the old political and social order. Only a small minority of white southerners were active members, but others supported their goals.

African American leaders were the main targets of terrorist groups, but those groups threatened people of both races with house burnings and violence. They beat Freedmen's Bureau teachers and murdered public officials. Frightened state and local officials resigned.

When state governments could not control the violence, Congress passed three Enforcement Acts during 1870 and 1871. These laws set heavy penalties for anyone trying to prevent a qualified citizen from voting. The Enforcement Acts also gave the army and federal courts the power to punish Klan members.

Discontent with Reconstruction Eventually, almost everyone became dissatisfied with Reconstruction. Many people were dismayed that the army was still needed to keep peace in the South and that the Republican state governments appeared to be ineffective.

African Americans were unhappy about their poverty and lack of land reform. Both white and black southerners were discouraged by the South's poor economic condition, in spite of costly building programs and other reforms. Southern critics also charged that Reconstruction governments were inefficient and corrupt.

Conditions in the South strengthened the **Liberal Republicans**, those who broke with the party over the Enforcement Acts and corruption scandals in the Grant administration. They helped Democrats regain power in Congress in 1872. Then a depression that began in 1873 turned Republican leaders' attention away from Reconstruction.

Impact of Reconstruction By the mid-1870s it was clear that Reconstruction was on the decline. Its fiercest leaders, Thaddeus Stevens and Charles Sumner, had died. Supreme Court decisions had weakened its protections. In the Slaughterhouse Cases (1873), the Court said that most civil rights were under state control and so were not protected by the Fourteenth Amendment.

As support for Reconstruction declined, southern Democratic leaders and their supporters grew bolder. Lawlessness increased, and terrorists openly threatened and even murdered Republican candidates. When Mississippi's governor asked for help from the

CAUSES AND EFFECTS OF RECONSTRUCTION

QUICK FACTS

CAUSES

- President Johnson allows ex-Confederates to take control of southern states.
- Ex-Confederates treat freedmen badly.
- Congress and Radical Republicans take charge of southern states and help freedmen.
- Freedmen join northern Republicans to control state governments.
- White southerners resist and regain control.

EFFECT

Freedmen lose many of their gains.

federal government in 1875, President Grant refused, saying that the South's continuing problems had tired the northern public.

Divided rule in the South also directly affected the disputed presidential election of 1876. In the election, Ohio's Republican governor, Rutherford B. Hayes, ran against Democratic candidate Samuel J. Tilden, who was the governor of New York. Tilden narrowly won the popular election and also finished ahead in the electoral college vote. Yet

because of several disputed votes, Tilden was one vote short of the majority he needed to win the presidency.

The election of 1876 was finally resolved by a compromise. A Republican-dominated commission gave the disputed votes to Hayes. In return, Republicans agreed to withdraw the remaining federal troops from the South. Without federal protection, the last Republican state governments collapsed. Reconstruction came to an end.

Despite its failures, Reconstruction did affect the nation's future development. The Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments, which were part of the Radical program to give former slaves citizenship and the right to vote, also gave those rights to African Americans in the North. The passage of the Fifteenth Amendment also increased calls for women's voting rights.

After Reconstruction ended some southerners referred to their region as the New South. Nevertheless, while the late 1800s and early 1900s were a time of industrialization and economic change in the South, in other ways the region remained just as it had been before the Civil War.

READING CHECK

Making Inferences

In what ways did states' rights issues affect civil rights laws during Reconstruction?

SECTION 3 ASSESSMENT

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Online Quiz

Keyword: SE7 HP4

HSS 11.1.3, 11.1.4

Reviewing Ideas, Terms, and People

- Identify** Who was John Wilkes Booth?
 - Explain** What legal and political questions had to be answered after the war ended?
 - Elaborate** What were some objections to Lincoln's original plan for Reconstruction?
- Describe** Write a brief description of each term: Black Codes, Freedmen's Bureau, Ku Klux Klan
 - Explain** What was the relationship between the Civil Rights Act of 1866 and the Fourteenth Amendment?
 - Evaluate** How valid were Congress's reasons for trying to impeach President Johnson?
- Recall** Who were scalawags and carpetbaggers?
 - Compare** What were the differences between sharecropping and tenant farming?
 - Predict** What did freed African Americans do to improve their own futures?

- Recall** What groups in the South wanted a return to pre-war conditions?
 - Make Inferences** Why were violent acts against African Americans often not punished?
 - Predict** What were the lasting effects of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments?

Critical Thinking

- Identifying Cause and Effect** Copy the flowchart below and record the events that led to the end of Reconstruction.

Reconstruction
ends

FOCUS ON WRITING

ELA W1.1

- Persuasive** As a newspaper editor in the South in the 1870s, write an editorial criticizing or defending Reconstruction.

History's Impact video program

Review the videos to answer the closing question: How did the three amendments passed after the Civil War help the civil rights movement a century later?



Reviewing Key Terms and People

Match each numbered definition with the correct term from the chapter.

1. Five laws to preserve the nation based on Henry Clay's resolutions
2. A law making it illegal to help runaway slaves
3. The winner of the 1860 presidential election
4. The president of the Confederacy
5. Announcement freeing enslaved African Americans in all areas that were in rebellion against the United States
6. Southern general in command at Gettysburg
7. A farming system that replaced the wage labor system
8. Group of white citizens that terrorized African Americans
9. Northern Republicans who came to the South to take part in the region's rebirth
10. Southerners who supported changes brought by Reconstruction
11. Amendment requiring states to grant citizenship to "all persons born or naturalized in the United States," promising "equal protection of the laws"

Comprehension and Critical Thinking

SECTION 1 (pp. 116–122) HSS 11.1.3

12. **a. Identify** What political issue was behind the question of the expansion of slavery after the Mexican War?
 - b. Analyze** How did the Fugitive Slave Act cause more divisions between the North and South?

SECTION 2 (pp. 123–131) HSS 11.1.4, 11.3.2

13. **a. Identify** What major events of the Civil War occurred in 1863?
 - b. Predict** How might the war have been different if Lee had decided not to fight at Gettysburg?

SECTION 3 (pp. 132–138) HSS 11.1.3, 11.1.4

14. **a. Describe** How did legal challenges contribute to the decline of Reconstruction?
 - b. Draw Conclusions** In what ways was the election of 1876 a victory for the Democrats?

Using the Internet

go.hrw.com
Practice Online
Keyword: SE7 CH4

15. The Civil War was a long, complicated conflict marked by many complex battles. Using the keyword above, do research to learn more about one of the most important battles of the war. Then create a report on the fighting, people involved, or consequences of the Battle of Gettysburg.

Critical Reading HSS 11.1.4; ELA R.2.4

Read the passage in Section 3 that begins with the heading "Economic changes." Be sure also to look at the accompanying visual, titled "Sharecropping and Poverty." Then answer the question that follows.

16. According to the passage, instead of working for wages, some freedmen could
 - A** receive benefits from the government.
 - B** receive a share of their employer's crop.
 - C** buy land of their own.
 - D** move to another state.

WRITING FOR THE SAT ELA W.1.1

Think about the following issue:

Three important amendments—the Thirteenth, Fourteenth, and Fifteenth—were passed during Reconstruction. Under Johnson's Reconstruction program, however, the southern states passed Black Codes restricting the rights of African Americans. Subsequent laws continued to weaken the impact of the Reconstruction amendments.

17. **Assignment** Did Reconstruction ultimately help African Americans gain more rights? Write a short essay in which you develop your position on this issue. Support your point of view with reasoning and examples from your reading and studies.