

Choose the letter of the best answer.

1. According to the Constitution, which branch of government is responsible for readmitting states that have seceded from the Union?
 - A) The Constitution does not address this question.
 - B) The executive branch
 - C) The judicial branch
 - D) The legislative branch

2. Which of the following describes Lincoln's Ten Percent Plan, which he announced in December 1863?
 - A) The plan offered general amnesty to all Confederate citizens who agreed to comply with federal laws.
 - B) Lincoln created the plan to appeal to southern Democrats, many of whom had served with Lincoln in Congress.
 - C) It specified that a state could return to the Union when 10 percent of its voters took an oath of loyalty to the Union.
 - D) The plan declared that a state could reorganize its government when 50 percent of its voters took an oath of loyalty to the Union.

3. How was the Wade-Davis Bill of 1864 different from Lincoln's Ten Percent Plan?
 - A) This proposal created an amnesty plan that was more lenient than Lincoln's earlier plan.
 - B) It stipulated that new southern governments could be formed only by those who had not fought against the North in the Civil War.
 - C) It required loyalty oaths from 90 percent of a southern state's adult white men before that state could hold a constitutional convention.
 - D) This more generous plan specified that former slaveholders would receive compensation for their property losses.

4. How did Abraham Lincoln respond to the Wade Davis Bill in 1864?
 - A) He vetoed it, but his veto was overridden by Congress, which insisted that Confederates be punished.
 - B) Lincoln reluctantly agreed to accept it, but the Senate failed to pass it and it never came before him.
 - C) He did not sign it and he opened talks with key congressional representatives to find a compromise solution.
 - D) Lincoln publicly refused to sign it and announced in a major speech that he sought a lenient approach to Reconstruction.

5. Southern whites responded to the end of slavery by enacting
 - A) Black Codes.
 - B) the Freedmen's Bureau.
 - C) the Ordinance of Nullification.
 - D) the Civil Rights Act of 1866.

6. Under President Johnson's restoration plan, high-ranking Confederate leaders and wealthy southerners
 - A) were generally imprisoned for a period of time ranging from one month to three years.
 - B) could avoid punishment by taking a special oath of allegiance to the Union and the president.
 - C) could serve as delegates to conventions that were called to consider ratification of the Thirteenth Amendment.
 - D) could request and expect to receive presidential pardons that exempted them from punishment.

7. Which of the following statements describes the Freedmen's Bureau, which originated in 1865?
 - A) Founded by ex-Confederate states, the organization helped rebuild the South.
 - B) Created by private citizens, the agency provided aid to former slaves.
 - C) It was originally proposed in Lincoln's Ten Percent Plan, which Congress defeated.
 - D) Created by Congress, it helped ex-slaves adjust to freedom and secure their basic civil rights.

8. The Civil Rights Act of 1866
 - A) guaranteed suffrage for all adult freedmen.
 - B) required freedmen, like immigrants, to wait five years for U.S. citizenship.
 - C) declared freedmen to be citizens and gave them full access to the courts.
 - D) asserted that all former slaves would receive equal protection under the law.

9. Why did President Johnson veto the Freedmen's Bureau law and Civil Rights Act in 1866?
 - A) Johnson did not get along with the Radical Republicans.
 - B) He sought revenge against the Radical Republicans for opposing his Reconstruction plan.
 - C) These two pieces of legislation posed too great a challenge to his deeply racist views.
 - D) He believed they violated the core tenets of the Republican Party.

10. Which of these events spurred Congress to pass the Civil Rights Act in April 1866?
- A) The emergence of the Ku Klux Klan
 - B) Johnson's threat to impose Reconstruction through military force
 - C) The eruption of antiblack violence in various parts of the South
 - D) A precipitous decline in Johnson's political support
11. Which of the following scenarios took place in the federal government immediately after Congress passed the Civil Rights Act in April 1866?
- A) Congressional Republicans enacted the Freedmen's Bureau law over Johnson's veto.
 - B) Radical Republicans formulated a plan to seek Johnson's impeachment.
 - C) Republican leaders decided that they had accomplished all they could before the midterm election.
 - D) Republicans introduced an amendment declaring that "all persons born or naturalized in the United States" were citizens.
12. Which of the following statements describes Radical Reconstruction?
- A) It aimed to reform the South and increase federal power.
 - B) It demonstrated that even Radical Republicans would sacrifice the rights of freed slaves.
 - C) The program gave each freed slave forty acres of land and a mule.
 - D) There was no way the South could have avoided the institution of Radical Reconstruction.
13. Which of the following was the final outcome of the congressional campaigns and elections of 1866?
- A) Conservative Republicans and Democrats united to form the National Union Party and won 105 seats in the House.
 - B) Johnson's personal campaigning from Washington to St. Louis and Chicago won back supporters to the Republican Party.
 - C) Johnson suffered a humiliating defeat as Republicans gained a three-to-one margin in Congress.
 - D) Voters expressed their disapproval of the Freedmen's Bureau law and the Fourteenth Amendment.
14. Which of the following pairs identified with the Radical Republicans?
- A) President Lincoln and Andrew Johnson
 - B) Charles Sumner and Thaddeus Stevens
 - C) Lyman Trumbull and Nathan Bedford Forrest
 - D) James M. Pike and Hiram Revels

15. Which of the following was the official reason Congress cited for impeaching Andrew Johnson?
- A) He infringed on the powers of Congress.
 - B) He attempted to undermine Radical Reconstruction.
 - C) Johnson dismissed Secretary of State William Seward.
 - D) He refused to support any of the Civil War amendments.
16. Which of the following statements characterizes the congressional impeachment of Andrew Johnson?
- A) Johnson was the only president ever to be impeached and removed from office in American history.
 - B) Radical Republicans failed to remove Johnson from office, but they damaged his power and authority.
 - C) Moderate Republicans joined with the Radicals to impeach Johnson, but the Supreme Court overturned his impeachment on appeal.
 - D) In return for Johnson's promise not to oppose the Radical Republicans' plans, the Senate acquitted him.
17. What was the outcome of the 1868 election?
- A) Democrats swept the South, promising that southern states could reorganize their own governments.
 - B) Republicans lost their two-thirds majority in the Senate due to the readmission of rebel states.
 - C) Republicans won the presidency and retained their two-thirds majority in both houses.
 - D) Democrats gained a Senate majority but were unable to capture the presidency or the House.
18. Ratified in 1870, the Fifteenth Amendment
- A) prohibited state governments from using property requirements to disqualify blacks from voting.
 - B) granted voting rights to all adult African Americans in every state.
 - C) prohibited state governments from using literacy tests to prevent blacks from voting.
 - D) forbade states from denying any citizen the right to vote on the grounds of race, color, or previous condition as a slave.

19. Which of the following pairs is correctly matched?
- A) Thirteenth Amendment—citizenship for African Americans
 - B) Fourteenth Amendment—abolished slavery
 - C) Fifteenth Amendment—gave African American males the right to vote
 - D) Civil Rights Act of 1866—allowed formerly enslaved people full access to the courts
20. Through which of the following practices did southerners avoid giving former slaves the right to vote?
- A) Collecting poll taxes
 - B) Ending right-to-work laws
 - C) Driving African American men out of the state
 - D) Waving the bloody shirt
21. Why was it necessary to add the Thirteenth, Fourteenth, and Fifteenth Amendments to the U.S. Constitution following the Civil War?
- A) The Constitution outlawed the federal government's interference with state laws.
 - B) The Bill of Rights gave state laws precedence over federal laws.
 - C) The Constitution had condoned slavery and allowed states to set voting requirements.
 - D) It wasn't necessary; they were passed merely for emphasis and propaganda.
22. Which of these reforms originated with the Grant administration?
- A) Securing the right to vote for all male U.S. citizens regardless of race
 - B) Granting equal property rights for women
 - C) Enacting compulsory school attendance laws for all states
 - D) Providing for the direct election of U.S. senators
23. Which of the following was Elizabeth Cady Stanton's response to the denial of women's suffrage while freedmen and immigrant men were being enfranchised?
- A) She urged women to be patient and remain loyal to the Republican Party.
 - B) She felt that men were better suited to vote than women and supported the Republican Party.
 - C) She made a racist attack on the uneducated black men who could vote while educated white women could not.
 - D) She understood the value of granting the right to vote to all men but still remained a supporter of women's suffrage.

24. Granting suffrage to African American males caused
- A) joyful celebrations throughout the North.
 - B) hundreds of women's protests in the Northeast.
 - C) a split in the women's movement.
 - D) antiblack rioting in New York City.
25. Which of the following statements characterizes the women's suffrage movement after the Civil War?
- A) Many feminists who had been abolitionists were disappointed that the Fifteenth Amendment made no reference to gender and permitted states to continue to deny suffrage to women.
 - B) Most suffragists agreed that they should concentrate on securing voting rights for African American men as a means to press for the same rights for all women.
 - C) Most feminists opposed the ratification of the Fourteenth Amendment because it did not give equal protection to women.
 - D) Disappointed with the Republican Party's failure to win voting rights for women, most suffragists aligned with the Democratic Party after 1869.
26. Expecting freedom from slavery near the end of the Civil War, most African Americans were eager to
- A) find the means to move to the North and seek employment.
 - B) elect African American politicians in order to secure their political rights.
 - C) vote and secure land for economic independence.
 - D) form charities to help former slaves establish independence from their masters.
27. Which of the following statements describes the resettlement of former slaves in the South?
- A) Under Johnson's amnesty plan, ex-Confederates were allowed to recover their land, and freedmen were forced to work for them or leave.
 - B) The Freedmen's Bureau permanently resettled 10,000 African American families on "Sherman lands."
 - C) Bands of ex-Confederate soldiers and plantation owners drove African Americans from the confiscated land that they were occupying.
 - D) Every former slave was given forty acres and a mule in compensation for their years of forced labor.

28. Why were many congressional leaders unwilling to consider breaking up plantations and distributing plots for independent farms to freed slaves?
- A) The leaders did not think slaves were capable of farming their own land.
 - B) They hoped to restore cotton cultivation and the export of American cotton.
 - C) Most congressional representatives wanted to see the Industrial Revolution transform the South.
 - D) Freed slaves had expressed their desire to work in occupations other than farming.
29. Which of these statements describes the status of African American women in the Reconstruction-era South?
- A) Most freedmen refused to allow their wives to work alongside them in the fields.
 - B) In the Reconstruction-era South, freedwomen had the same rights and status as freedmen.
 - C) Emancipation may have increased the subordination of African American women in the black household.
 - D) Freedwomen valued their new right to marry legally and their opportunity to create a stable family life.
30. Many African American sharecroppers became trapped in a vicious cycle of debt after the Civil War mainly because
- A) southern banks charged blacks much higher interest rates than they charged whites.
 - B) they could not pay the high prices and interest that whites charged as the price of cotton declined in the 1870s.
 - C) state laws required blacks to pay for purchases by establishing credit lines that they could pay off only once annually.
 - D) federal banking laws included “usury” regulations that in fact allowed southern banks to cheat freedmen.
31. Which statement describes the sharecropping system that emerged to replace slavery in the South after the Civil War?
- A) It created an equal partnership between tenant farmer and owner.
 - B) Most sharecroppers believed it was preferable to a wage labor system.
 - C) Sharecroppers were often worse off than slaves had been.
 - D) Through sharecropping, freed slaves were able to advance very well economically.
32. Which of the following groups composed the largest percentage of registered voters in Alabama and Mississippi in the late 1860s?
- A) Former Confederates
 - B) White Unionists
 - C) White Republicans
 - D) Black Republicans

33. Some southerners used the term *scalawags* to describe
- A) freed slaves who were demanding equality.
 - B) northerners in the South during Reconstruction.
 - C) southerners who supported the process of Reconstruction.
 - D) Freedmen's Bureau officials and teachers.
34. During Reconstruction, why was southern Democrats' dismissal of black politicians as ignorant field hands misguided?
- A) While all had been slaves, some had been house servants.
 - B) Many had been free artisans or tradesmen.
 - C) The majority of politicians were free blacks from the North.
 - D) Those elected to public office had served in the Union army.
35. Those who participated in the creation and implementation of Radical Reconstruction intended to
- A) achieve a new southern society in the North's image .
 - B) bring the South back into the Union with minimal bitterness.
 - C) rebuild the South's shattered infrastructure.
 - D) create a new South with full equality and without racism.
36. Southern Republican state Reconstruction governments pursued which of the following goals?
- A) Ending the sharecropping system
 - B) Expanding the legal rights of married women.
 - C) Giving ex-slaves a mule and forty acres of land
 - D) Strengthening cotton agriculture
37. A secret organization that functioned as the grassroots wing of Radical Republicanism in the South was called the
- A) Union League.
 - B) Populist Party.
 - C) Republican Brotherhood.
 - D) Carpetbaggers Club.

38. The Republican state Reconstruction governments in the South made significant and long-lasting achievements in
- A) public education.
 - B) African American civil rights.
 - C) labor organizing.
 - D) black leadership development.
39. One critical flaw of southern Reconstruction governments was their
- A) failure to address the issue of women's rights.
 - B) emphasis on promoting public education for black but not white children.
 - C) support of the convict leasing system.
 - D) failure to exclude religious institutions from government.
40. Which of the following became critical community institutions for African Americans throughout the South during Reconstruction?
- A) Local boards of health
 - B) Churches
 - C) New black colleges
 - D) City parks
41. Why was the Civil Rights Act of 1875 significant?
- A) The act required the desegregation of both churches and schools throughout the South.
 - B) It failed to address the issue of women's suffrage and add the word *sex* to the Constitution.
 - C) The legislation was the last congressional effort to address civil rights until the 1960s.
 - D) It failed to achieve ratification and broke Charles Sumner's heart and health.
42. Which politician's death marked the waning of Radical Reconstruction?
- A) Abraham Lincoln
 - B) Charles Sumner
 - C) Andrew Johnson
 - D) William Seward
43. In the 1872 presidential election, the still disorganized Democratic Party
- A) demanded civil rights for African Americans.
 - B) allied with the reform-minded Liberal Republicans.
 - C) supported Samuel Tilden for president.
 - D) exposed the Whiskey Ring scandals.

44. Ex-Confederates who sought to return political and economic control of the South to white southerners after the Civil War were known as
- A) nullifiers.
 - B) carpetbaggers.
 - C) Redeemers.
 - D) secessionists.
45. What was the goal of the Ku Klux Klan under the leadership of former Confederate general Nathan Bedford Forrest in 1866?
- A) To fight against the advancement of all blacks in the South
 - B) To use any means to damage the Republican government of Tennessee
 - C) To renew the Confederate cause and fight for independence from the Union
 - D) To persuade the Republic government in Tennessee to repeal some Reconstruction legislation
46. In the Reconstruction South, the Ku Klux Klan was
- A) often indistinguishable from the Democratic Party.
 - B) organized in Texas in 1868 and spread quickly throughout the South.
 - C) never the object of federal legislation to suppress it.
 - D) careful to avoid arousing congressional ire.
47. Reconstruction ended in 1877 because
- A) African American government leaders in the South were incompetent.
 - B) the North lost interest in the cause.
 - C) the Democratic Party lost its political base in the South.
 - D) the northern government had achieved all it had planned.
48. Why did Republicans nominate Rutherford B. Hayes for president in 1876?
- A) He had won a reputation for honesty and appeared to be safe from charges of corruption.
 - B) His state, New York, was crucial to winning the election.
 - C) He promised to end Reconstruction, which had become a Republican liability.
 - D) His relationship with Grant would protect prominent but corrupt Republicans.

49. Which of the following statements describes the election of 1876?
- A) President Grant ran for, but failed to win, an unprecedented third term.
 - B) The Democratic candidate won the popular vote but not the electoral vote.
 - C) The Republican candidate won the popular vote, but several minor parties siphoned off enough electoral votes to force the election into the House of Representatives.
 - D) The Democratic candidate won the popular vote, but Republican officials in three southern states certified Republican victories, sending two sets of electoral votes to Congress.
50. Why was the election of 1876 significant?
- A) The election was proof that most voters wanted to continue military Reconstruction in the South.
 - B) The outcome was determined by an electoral commission established by Congress.
 - C) It was disrupted by the third-party candidacy of Horace Greeley.
 - D) It served as proof that southern Republican leaders were incompetent.

Answer Key

1. A
2. C
3. B
4. C
5. A
6. C
7. D
8. D
9. C
10. C
11. D
12. A
13. C
14. B
15. A
16. B
17. C
18. D
19. D
20. A
21. C
22. A
23. C
24. C
25. B
26. C
27. A
28. B
29. D
30. B
31. B
32. D
33. C
34. B
35. D
36. B
37. A
38. A
39. C
40. B
41. C
42. B
43. B
44. C

- 45. B
- 46. A
- 47. B
- 48. A
- 49. D
- 50. B

Answer each of the following questions with three or four sentences.

1. Lincoln is frequently considered our best president for his handling of the Civil War. How effective were his early attempts at Reconstruction?
2. Why can the enactment of southern Black Codes in 1865 be considered a turning point in the course of Reconstruction?
3. To what extent was President Johnson responsible for the radicalization of the Republican Party in 1866?
4. To what extent may it have been predictable in 1865 that, five years later, ex-slaves would receive the constitutional right to vote? Or that, having gone that far, the nation would deny the vote to women?
5. Why did ex-slaves struggling for freedom after emancipation resist working for wages?
6. Why did the ex-slaves' struggle for land end with the creation of the sharecropping system?
7. Why did the Redeemers resort to terror in their campaign to regain political control of the South?
8. Explain how the contested presidential election of 1876–1877 brought an end to Reconstruction.
9. Do you believe that the failure of Reconstruction was primarily a failure of leadership? Or, to put it more concretely, that the outcome might have been different had Lincoln lived or had chosen a different vice president?
10. Was there any way of reconciling the Republican desire for equality for ex-slaves with the ex-Confederate desire for self-rule in the South?

Answer Key

1. *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Ten Percent Plan:* His Ten Percent Plan would have allowed rebellious states to return to the Union after 10 percent of voters had taken a loyalty oath and the state approved the Thirteenth Amendment. Conceived in 1863, before the Union had really embraced the notion that the war would end slavery, this plan did not do enough to create any significant change in the South's economy, political system, or social organization. Lincoln sought only to restore the Union.

- *Wade-Davis Bill:* The Wade-Davis Bill called for the disfranchisement of Confederate leaders, state governments run by those who had never fought the Union, and oaths of allegiance from a majority of every southern state's population. When presented with the bill in 1864, Lincoln defeated it because he found it too strict and punitive. He opened talks with key congressional representatives to find a compromise, but he was assassinated before this took place.

- *Assessment:* Lincoln's approach to Reconstruction evolved between 1863 and 1865, as the war's aims broadened. There was a great deal of patriotic support in the Union when the war ended in April 1865. People respected him as a leader and he might have had considerable influence shaping Reconstruction at that point.

2. *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Summary of Black Codes:* These laws were implemented by Confederates after the Civil War to prevent substantial black mobility and to reduce the ability of African Americans to improve their conditions. They imposed severe penalties on blacks who did not hold full-year labor contracts and set up procedures for taking black children from their parents and apprenticing them to former slave masters.

- *The Impact of Black Codes on National Politics:* Black Codes essentially threatened to restore slavery-like conditions in the South, and Andrew Johnson did nothing to challenge them. The Black Codes were a turning point because they spurred Republicans in Congress to challenge Johnson and work to bring more federal intervention into the Reconstruction process. They helped to create a Radical Reconstruction backlash against the attempts of white southern Democrats to reduce black rights and mobility.

3. *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Johnson's Actions:* Johnson vetoed the Freedmen's Bureau law and other civil rights bills. He defied the will of the people on several occasions and acted against the wishes of and legislation passed by the majority party in Congress, which held a three-to-one ratio of seats over the Democratic Party.

- *Johnson's Influence:* Johnson's unwillingness to compromise and his racism toward blacks alienated his administration from leading Republicans. Radical Republicans

responded by passing the Civil Rights Act of 1866 and the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments. Radical Republicans stepped into leadership roles and implemented a much more stringent approach to Reconstruction that, for a brief time, empowered African Americans politically and made steps toward creating real change in the South.

4. *Answer would ideally include:*

- *State of Politics in 1865:* Black suffrage appeared unlikely in 1865. Conflicts raged over Reconstruction, and it was still unclear how far reforms would go. Black people lacked education and economic autonomy and their status was in flux. Southern states had enacted Black Codes, and most of the nation was still quite hostile to the notion of black equality. The restoration of Confederates to power in the South made the idea of black suffrage unlikely.

- *Black Rights and Women's Rights:* By 1870, after Radical Republicans' and freed slaves' struggles to direct Reconstruction and ensure black civil rights, the Fifteenth Amendment was ratified, giving black men the right to vote. Though it may seem surprising that suffrage was granted to black males before white women in a still deeply racist nation, black men were clearly loyal to the Republican Party. White women did not have a clear party loyalty, which made them less appealing to the Republicans. Racism was powerful, but so was sexism, which assumed women's lack of autonomy and political interest.

5. *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Federal Visions for the New South:* Congressional leaders imagined that the postwar South would consist of plantation agriculture based on cotton, and that former slaves would serve as wageworkers on those plantations. With the exception of the more radical Republicans, most in Congress did not endorse land grants to former slaves, leaving them little choice but to work for others.

- *Freedmen's Efforts to Shape Their Own Lives:* Freed slaves without land or geographic mobility were presented with two options: working for rock-bottom wages, or working as sharecroppers. Working for wages meant that former slaves would engage in an unequal bargaining relationship with their former master, would suffer from fear of being re-enslaved, and would experience debasement. They wanted freedom, not dependency, and many chose sharecropping instead.

6. *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Conflicts over Land:* Freedmen wanted land because they saw it as the basis for their economic independence and freedom. In the mid-1860s, some Republican leaders and some freed slaves believed that freedmen could expect to receive land grants as part of the Reconstruction process. During the War, Union forces had confiscated Confederates' land in some areas and distributed it to freed slaves who set up farming operations. Johnson restored Confederate landowners' property and former slaves were evicted. Most Republicans were unwilling to "give" land to freed slaves.

- *Poor Economy in Reconstruction South:* Former masters lacked cash to pay for wages,

so they allowed freedmen to rent land and grow a crop that would be paid for at the end of the season after cotton was sold.

- *Black Question for Autonomy*: Blacks wanted to be masters of their own time and be independent, so they demanded that they pay for their rented land in shares of the cotton crop. Sharecropping came about because most blacks were unable to own land, forcing them to rent land from whites. Blacks did not want to work the gang system, as former white masters wanted them to, because of the constant supervision and punishments.

7. *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Background on Redeemers*: Southern whites who had been excluded from power during Radical Reconstruction took advantage of the political scandals and economic panics of the 1870s to take back control of southern politics. These Democrats, who believed that the Reconstruction governments were illegitimate regimes and sought to restore Confederate power in the South, were known as Redeemers.

- *Reasons for Terror*: Given the high number of black voters in the South, it was difficult for the Redeemers to use the ballot box to take power. They did not hesitate to use force when necessary, and many white southern leaders, like Nathan Bedford Forrest, the founder of the Ku Klux Klan, had military experience. Ex-Confederates shot, hanged, and beat black political leaders. Black and white Republicans went into hiding or fled for their lives. White Democrats essentially used paramilitary tactics to overthrow the democratically elected governments and took power themselves.

8. *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Explanation of Contested Election*: Republicans nominated Rutherford B. Hayes because he was untainted by connections to scandal, corruption, or economic panics. Democrats nominated Samuel Tilden of New York. After the election, the electoral votes of Florida, Louisiana, and South Carolina remained in doubt because both Democrats and Republicans claimed electoral victory. A congressional commission was appointed to decide the winner and ultimately elected Hayes. Hayes quickly pulled troops out of the South, and Republican administrations in the South collapsed.

9. *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Presidential Reconstruction*: Lincoln would likely have allied himself with the moderate Republicans in support of an amnesty program less lenient than his initially plan, but also less severe than the Radical Republican plan. Lincoln would likely have remained committed to full citizenship for ex-slaves; he would not have backed down before the Ku Klux Klan and would have used the force necessary to control it. He might have enlisted Lee and other southerners to help him rebuild the Union.

- *Congressional Reconstruction*: Reconstruction ultimately failed because of a lack of congressional leadership. As Radical Republicans left office, their replacements were moderates who wanted to abandon the South and end Reconstruction in favor of industrial development and participation in big business.

10. *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Slavery and Confederate Self-rule as Mutually Exclusive*: Slavery and the suffering of the Civil War prevented any reconciliation between former slaves and their masters. Slavery was based on the idea of abject servitude by one race, deemed inferior, to that of another, leading to violence, rape, and the sale of family members. White southerners and black slaves never understood one another because of the profound ideological differences created by slavery. Whites would never tolerate true equality, and blacks would never settle for anything but real equality and freedom.

Use the following to answer questions 1-3:

To My Old Master, Colonel P. H. Anderson, Big Spring, Tennessee.

Sir:

I want to know particularly what the good chance is you propose to give me. I am doing tolerably well here. I get twenty-five dollars a month, with victuals and clothing; have a comfortable home for Mandy,—the folks here call her Mrs. Anderson,—and the children—Milly, Jane, and Grundy—go to school and are learning well. . . .

Mandy says she would be afraid to go back without some proof that you were disposed to treat us justly and kindly; and we have concluded to test your sincerity by asking you to send us our wages for the time we served you. This will make us forget and forgive old scores, and rely on your justice and friendship in the future. I served you faithfully for thirty-two years, and Mandy twenty years. At twenty-five dollars a month for me and two dollars a week for Mandy, our earnings would amount to eleven thousand six hundred and eighty dollars. Add to this the interest for the time our wages have been kept back, and deduct what you paid for our clothing, and three doctor's visits to me, and pulling a tooth for Mandy, and the balance will show what we are in justice entitled to. Please send the balance by Adams Express, in care of V. Winters, esq., Dayton, Ohio. If you do not pay us for faithful labors in the past we can have little faith in your promises in the future. . . .

In answering this letter, please state if there would be any safety for my Milly and Jane, who are now grown up, and both good-looking girls. . . . I would rather stay here and starve—and die, if it come to that—than have my girls brought to shame by the violence and wickedness of their young masters. You will also please state if there has been any schools opened for the colored children in your neighborhood. The great desire of my life now is to give my children an education, and have them form virtuous habits.

From your old servant,

Jourdon Anderson

P.S. Say howdy to George Carter, and thank him for taking the pistol from you when you were shooting at me.

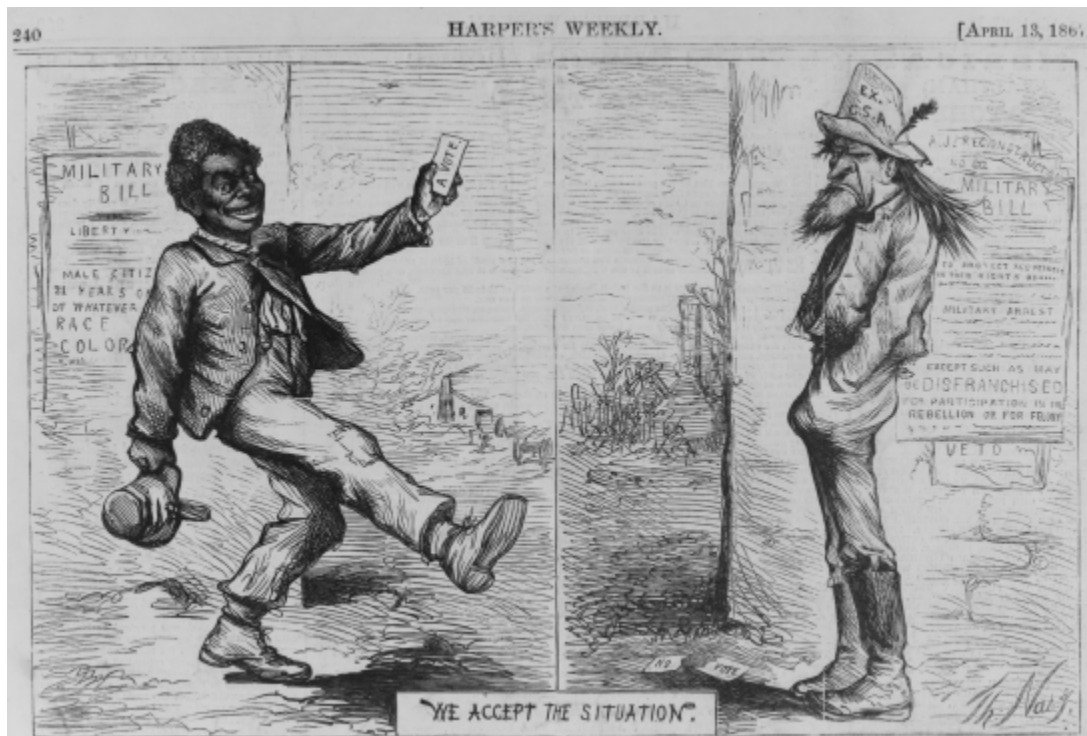
Letter written by Jourdon Anderson, escaped slave, residing in Dayton, Ohio, August 7, 1865

1. The passage above best serves as evidence of
 - A) determined Southern resistance to change.
 - B) the stripping away of rights granted to blacks through segregation, violence, and local political tactics.
 - C) African Americans challenging their prescribed “place.”
 - D) an opening of political opportunities to former slaves.

2. The passage above was most likely written in reaction to
- A) temporary changes in the relationships between white and black people in the South.
 - B) the efforts of radical and moderate Republicans to reconstruct the defeated South.
 - C) the stalling of judicial principals established in the Civil War amendments in the period immediately after the Civil War.
 - D) the replacement of slavery with the exploitative sharecropping system.
3. The belief expressed by the author in the excerpt above has the most in common with
- A) the efforts of immigrants to both “Americanize” and maintain their unique identities.
 - B) the opposition to liberal social and political trends by evangelical and fundamentalist Christian groups in the 1980s.
 - C) young peoples' rejection of many of the social, political, and economic values of their parents' generation in the 1960s.
 - D) efforts by Progressive reformers to reform political institutions at local and state levels in the early 1900s.

Use the following to answer questions 4-5:

Thomas Nast cartoon from *Harper's Weekly*, April 14, 1867



Library of Congress

4. The controversy depicted in the cartoon above led most directly to
- A) a waning of resolve on the part of the North to secure African American rights and change southern culture.
 - B) the permanent opening up of political opportunities to former slaves.
 - C) increasingly prominent racist and nativist theories being used to justify discrimination and segregation.
 - D) the call by southern leaders for a “New South.”
5. Which of the following groups would be most likely to support the perspective of the cartoon?
- A) Women activists
 - B) Union movements
 - C) Immigrants
 - D) Ex-Confederates

Answer Key

1. C
2. A
3. C
4. C
5. A

Answer each of the following questions with an essay. Be sure to include specific examples that support your thesis and conclusions.

1. Why did the debate over Reconstruction devolve into an institutional struggle between the presidency and the Congress?
2. Before 1865, abolitionists and woman suffragists were generally allies. Why did the Radical Republicans abandon the issue of women's suffrage in 1869? What accounted for the animosity between women's rights advocates and Radical Republicans after that time?
3. To what extent did the emancipation of slaves actually transform southern society after 1865? How did emancipation alter the organization of southern politics and labor? How did slaves try to shape their own lives and how did white southerners try to limit them?
4. What do you regard as the principal achievements of Radical Reconstruction in the South? Do you think the achievements outweigh the failures?
5. What changes in the North explain why the Republicans abandoned the battle for Reconstruction?

Answer Key

1. *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Constitutional Crisis:* As a constitutional issue, it was unclear whether the president or Congress held primary authority over restoring the nation.

- *The Struggle Between the President and Congress:* Lincoln's assassination placed Andrew Johnson, a racist southerner, into office. He did not agree with his party in terms of its Reconstruction outlook and policies. Johnson prevented the Republican Party, which held a three-to-one majority over the Democrats in Congress, from passing legislation into law. He used his veto power several times in an attempt to kill Reconstruction.

2. *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Background on Relationship Between Abolitionism and Women's Suffrage:* Since the 1830s, women reformers had participated in social movements, including abolitionism, and through that activity identified their own position as a subjugated group exploited by legal, social, and political inequalities. Politicized by abolitionists, they remained loyal to the abolitionist cause even as they organized on their own behalf. Major abolitionist figures, including William Lloyd Garrison, Frederick Douglass, and others, embraced women's suffrage and other feminist demands.

- *Women's Assumptions About Postwar Suffrage:* Northern women played key roles during the Civil War as nurses, participants in the Sanitary Commission and Freedmen's Aid Society, and workers in the growing federal bureaucracy. They expected that they would win the right to vote after the war as a reward for their wartime contributions and sacrifices.

- *Republican Approaches to the Fifteenth Amendment:* In their efforts to pass and ratify the Fifteenth Amendment, Radical Republicans were concerned that the inclusion of women's suffrage might alienate moderates. Republicans thought that this "side issue" would overburden their program for equality for black men. Frederick Douglass and others insisted that women needed to defer to the needs of black men before those of women.

- *Postwar Animosities:* Some woman suffragists, such as Lucy Stone, cooperated with the Republicans and reconciled themselves to disappointment. Others, including Elizabeth Cady Stanton, made racist and nativist arguments in their objections to the Fifteenth Amendment. These tensions led to a split in the women's suffrage movement and the creation of two organizations, the National Woman Suffrage Association and the American Woman Suffrage Association. The animosities remained until the 1890s.

3. - *Free Labor and Sharecropping:* It was not clear at the end of the war what system would replace slavery. Congressional Republicans envisioned freed slaves as free laborers, but former slaves envisioned themselves as independent farmers. Former slave owners still envisioned them as servants and inferiors. Ultimately, freed slaves did not receive land grants, but most rejected exploitative wage labor and became tenant

farmers who farmed on whites' land in exchange for a share of their harvest.

- *Former Slaves' Pursuits of Personal Freedom*: Freed slaves welcomed emancipation because it provided new personal autonomy. For all its problems, sharecropping did insulate them from whites' intrusion into their private lives. They were happy for the chance to create stable family lives, and women and men both embraced the domestic ideal. They sought to protect women from sexual exploitation by whites, educate their children, and control their private lives.

- *White Efforts to Limit Black Autonomy*: Whites sought to limit black autonomy during Reconstruction by passing the Black Codes. They were tenacious in trying to preserve their power over blacks whenever possible, using exploitative contract arrangements, discrimination, and violence.

- *Freedmen's Political Participation*: In the wake of the Black Codes, Congress reinforced emancipation with the Civil Rights Act of 1866 and the Fourteenth Amendment, which established citizenship for everyone born or naturalized in the United States and guaranteed citizens' civil rights and equal protection under the law. The Fifteenth Amendment, ratified in 1869, forbade states to deny the right to vote on the grounds of race, color, or "previous condition of servitude." Black voters and nonvoters supported the Republican Party as the party that would support their rights and became active in local and state governments in the Reconstruction South.

- *Redeemers*: White Southerners were horrified by black political participation and called Reconstruction governments illegitimate. Calling themselves Redeemers, they fought back against black political leaders and voters and were ultimately successful in restoring white supremacist governments in the South.

4. *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Achievements*: Reconstruction's achievements included passage of the Fourteenth Amendment and citizenship for blacks; the dispersal of aid through the Freedmen's Bureau; the creation of schools to educate former slaves; the passage of the Reconstruction Act, which nullified southern racist legislatures; federal occupation and protection of freedmen and freedwomen; the creation of Republican governments favoring free-labor values in the South; and the increase of black politicians to organize the black community.

- *Evaluation*: The achievements were considerable, especially given the major challenges of racism, white southern resistance, lack of funding, and the administrative mismanagement that characterized the functioning of the Freedmen's Bureau. Unfortunately they were not lasting and, after 1877, went essentially unenforced. Freedmen and freedwomen resisted gang labor and worked on their own terms. They gained the right to marry, and established their rights to read and write, worship as they pleased, and travel. The black community thrived through black churches, schools, and mutual aid societies. Nevertheless, political rights vanished, and it would take ninety years and another civil rights movement before these achievements could be realized in

a lasting way.

5. *Answer would ideally include:*

- *Economic Factors:* The North experienced a recession in 1873 and again in 1877. These downturns had a devastating impact on American workers and farmers, and Republicans in government refused to alleviate the suffering by increasing the money supply or providing relief from debt and unemployment. Depression undercut confidence in the industrial economy and Republican policies in the North and the South.

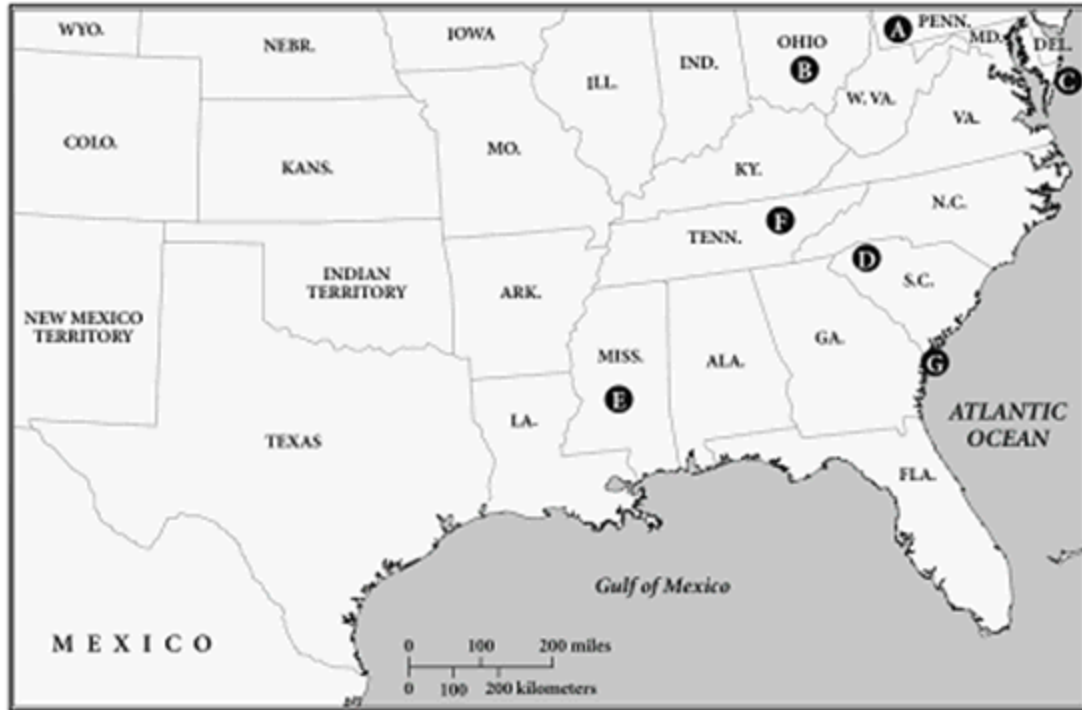
- *Political Factors:* In addition to economic trouble, Republicans faced corruption scandals during the Grant administration that weakened the party and its policies. The Liberal Republicans criticized big government and high taxes and ultimately split from the party. This shifted the debate away from Reconstruction and toward issues that resonated with Democrats. Furthermore, the original Radical Republicans had aged, and the new generation of Republicans was not as interested in the South.

- *Social Factors:* Political and economic changes, the waning of middle-class reform energies, and the passing of the abolitionist generation led to the end of Reconstruction. Northerners lost the will to continue to challenge white supremacy in the South.

Use the following to answer questions 1-5:

Reconstruction

Choose the letter on the map that correctly identifies each of the following.



1. First former Confederate state readmitted to the Union in 1866
2. Area of Sea Islands and coastal plantations where General Sherman settled freedmen on forty-acre tracts in 1865
3. Home state of Radical Republican Thaddeus Stevens
4. Birthplace of the Ku Klux Klan in 1866
5. Home state of Republican party presidential candidate Rutherford B. Hayes in 1876

Answer Key

1. F
2. C
3. A
4. F
5. B

Use the following to answer questions 1-27:

Matching

Select the word or phrase from the Terms section that best matches the definition or example provided in the Definitions section.

Terms

- a. Ten Percent Plan
- b. Wade-Davis Bill
- c. Black Codes
- d. Freedmen's Bureau
- e. Civil Rights Act of 1866
- f. Fourteenth Amendment
- g. Reconstruction Act of 1867
- h. Fifteenth Amendment
- i. American Woman Suffrage Association
- j. National Woman Suffrage Association
- k. *Minor v. Happersett*
- l. sharecropping
- m. Union League
- n. scalawags
- o. carpetbaggers
- p. convict leasing
- q. Civil Rights Act of 1875
- r. Freedman's Savings and Trust Company
- s. classical liberalism
- t. *laissez faire*
- u. Crédit Mobilier
- v. "Redemption"
- w. Ku Klux Klan
- x. Enforcement Laws
- y. *Slaughter-House Cases*
- z. *U.S. v. Cruikshank*
- aa. *Civil Rights Cases*

1. A suffrage group headed by Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony that stressed the need for women to lead organizations on their own behalf. This group focused exclusively on women's rights—sometimes denigrating men of color in the process—and took up the battle for a federal women's suffrage amendment.

2. The idea that the less government does, the better, particularly in reference to economic policies such as tariffs and incentives for industrial development. Attacking corruption and defending private property, late nineteenth-century liberals generally called for elite governance and questioned the advisability of full democratic participation.
3. A series of 1883 Supreme Court decisions that struck down the Civil Rights Act of 1875, rolling back key Reconstruction laws and paving the way for later decisions that sanctioned segregation.
4. A sham corporation set up by shareholders in the Union Pacific Railroad to secure government grants at an enormous profit. Organizers of the scheme protected it from investigation by providing gifts of its stock to powerful members of Congress.
5. Government organization created in March 1865 to aid displaced blacks and other war refugees. Active until the early 1870s, it was the first federal agency in history that provided direct payments to assist those in poverty and foster social welfare.
6. An act that divided the conquered South into five military districts, each under the command of a U.S. general. To reenter the Union, former Confederate states had to grant the vote to freedmen and deny it to leading ex-Confederates.
7. Acts passed in Congress in 1870 and signed by President Grant that were designed to protect freedmen's rights under the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments. Authorizing federal prosecutions, military intervention, and martial law to suppress terrorist activity, these laws largely succeeded in shutting down Ku Klux Klan activities.
8. Laws passed by southern states after the Civil War denying ex-slaves the civil rights enjoyed by whites. They punished vague crimes such as “vagrancy” or failing to have a labor contract, and tried to force African Americans back to plantation labor systems that closely mirrored those in slavery times.
9. The labor system by which landowners and impoverished southern farmworkers, particularly African Americans, divided the proceeds from crops harvested on the landowner's property. With local merchants providing supplies—in exchange for a lien on the crop—this labor system pushed farmers into cash-crop production and often trapped them in long-term debt.

10. Legislation passed by Congress that nullified the Black Codes and affirmed that African Americans should have equal benefit of the law.
11. A decision in which the Supreme Court ruled that voting rights remained a state matter unless the state itself violated those rights. If former slaves' rights were violated by individuals or private groups, that lay beyond federal jurisdiction. Like the *Slaughter-House Cases*, the ruling undercut the power of the Fourteenth Amendment to protect African American rights.
12. Ratified in 1868, it made all native-born or naturalized persons U.S. citizens and prohibited states from abridging the rights of national citizens, thus giving primacy to national rather than state citizenship.
13. A private bank founded in 1865 that had worked closely with the Freedmen's Bureau and Union army across the South. When the bank failed in June 1874, Congress refused to compensate its 61,000 depositors, including many African Americans.
14. A bill proposed by Congress in July 1864 that required an oath of allegiance by a majority of each state's adult white men, new governments formed only by those who had never taken up arms against the Union, and permanent disenfranchisement of Confederate leaders. The plan was passed but pocket-vetoed by President Abraham Lincoln.
15. A law that required "full and equal" access to jury service and to transportation and public accommodations, regardless of race.
16. A white supremacist group that arose in the South after the Civil War. It terrorized Republican leaders and voters and sought to roll back Reconstruction, for example, by policing interracial sexual relationships and attacking teachers in African American schools.
17. Ratified in 1869, it forbade states to deny citizens the right to vote on grounds of race, color, or "previous condition of servitude."
18. A group of decisions begun in 1873 in which the Court began to undercut the power of the Fourteenth Amendment to protect African American rights.

19. A plan proposed by President Abraham Lincoln during the Civil War, but never implemented. It would have granted amnesty to most ex-Confederates and allowed each rebellious state to return to the Union as soon as a certain percentage of its voters had taken a loyalty oath and the state had approved the Thirteenth Amendment.
20. A secret fraternal order in which black and white Republicans joined forces in the late 1860s. It became a powerful political association that spread through the former Confederacy, pressuring Congress to uphold justice for freedmen.
21. Notorious system, begun during Reconstruction, whereby southern state officials allowed private companies to hire out prisoners to labor under brutal conditions in mines and other industries.
22. A term used by southern Democrats for the overthrow of elected governments that ended Reconstruction in many parts of the South. Participants in this process terrorized Republicans, especially in districts with large proportions of black voters, and killed and intimidated their opponents to regain power.
23. A Supreme Court decision in 1875 that ruled that suffrage rights were not inherent in citizenship and had not been granted by the Fourteenth Amendment, as some women's rights advocates argued. Women were citizens, the Court ruled, but state legislatures could deny women the vote if they wished.
24. French for "let do" or "leave alone." A doctrine espoused by classical liberals that the less the government does, the better, particularly in reference to the economy.
25. A women's suffrage organization led by Lucy Stone, Henry Blackwell, and others who remained loyal to the Republican Party, despite its failure to include women's voting rights in the Reconstruction amendments. The leaders of this group stressed the urgency of voting rights for African American men and held out hope that once Reconstruction had been settled, it would be women's turn.
26. Southern whites who supported Republican Reconstruction and were ridiculed by ex-Confederates as worthless traitors.
27. A derisive name given by ex-Confederates to northerners who, motivated by idealism or the search for personal opportunity or profit, moved to the South during Reconstruction.

Answer Key

1. J
2. S
3. AA
4. U
5. D
6. G
7. X
8. C
9. L
10. E
11. Z
12. F
13. R
14. B
15. Q
16. W
17. H
18. Y
19. A
20. M
21. P
22. V
23. K
24. T
25. I
26. N
27. O