

Name: _____ Date: _____

1. Union general Carl Schurz believed that to protect themselves from white oppression, newly freed blacks would need
 - A) voting rights.
 - B) access to an unbiased judicial system.
 - C) employment contracts.
 - D) social equality.

2. What was the significance of pardons granted to rebel soldiers under the terms of Lincoln's Proclamation of Amnesty and Reconstruction?
 - A) The pardons permitted the rebels to return home with limited currency.
 - B) The pardons restored property (except slaves) to rebel soldiers.
 - C) The pardons kept ex-Confederate leaders from returning to political power.
 - D) The pardons forgave debts incurred during the war.

3. In Lincoln's plan for reconstruction, what did a Confederate state need to do to qualify for readmission into the Union?
 - A) The state legislature had to guarantee the right to vote to all former slaves.
 - B) Fifty percent of the voting population needed to pledge allegiance to the United States before forming a new government.
 - C) Ten percent of the voting population needed to take an oath of allegiance before forming a new government.
 - D) High-ranking Confederate officials had to renounce their allegiance to the government in Richmond.

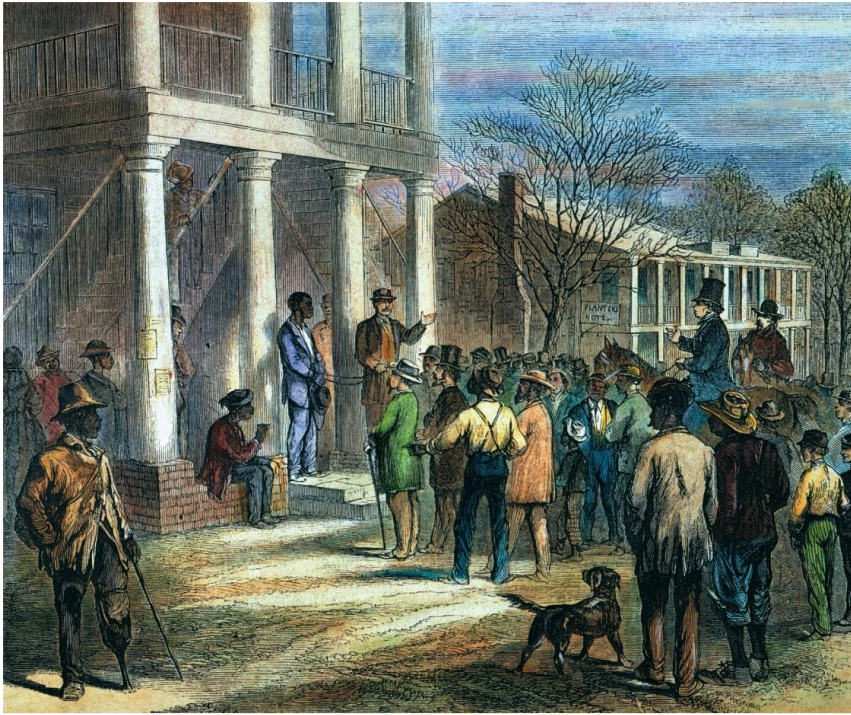
4. What was the goal of the Wade-Davis bill?
 - A) To guarantee freedmen equal protection before the law
 - B) To confiscate the property of ex-Confederates
 - C) To force three-fourths of voters in a former rebel state to take a loyalty oath
 - D) To grant forty acres and a mule to every male ex-slave

5. What was outlawed under the army's system of compulsory free labor in the South during and after the Civil War?
 - A) Whipping
 - B) Wage labor
 - C) Social discrimination
 - D) Verbal abuse

6. "I have been in troble for about four yars my Dear wife was taken from me Nov 19th 1859 and left me with three Children and I being a Slave At the time Could Not do Anny thing for the poor little Children for my master it was took me Carry me some forty mile from them So I Could Not do for them and the man that they live with half feed them and half Cloth them & beat them like dogs & when I was admitted to go to see them it use to brake my heart & Now I say again I am Glad to have the honour to write to you to see if you Can Do Anny thing for me or for my poor little Children. . . ."
- What aspect of slavery did this letter writer focus on?
- A) The backbreaking labor on plantations
 - B) Its brutal effect on family life for slaves
 - C) The sexual exploitation of slave women by white masters
 - D) Its economic unfairness
7. What did "Sherman land" and the establishment of the Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands demonstrate to southerners about Reconstruction?
- A) That whites would soon regain their control over black laborers
 - B) That freedmen would have to work for their land
 - C) That ex-slaves would become independent landowners
 - D) That Congress was committed to punish former slaveholders
8. "In the contest between the nation and slavery, our unfortunate people have sided, by instinct, with the former. . . . We will work, pray, live, and, if need be, die for the Union, as cheerfully as ever a white patriot died for his country. The color of our skin does not lessen in the least degree, our love either for God or for the land of our birth. . . . We know the burdens of citizenship, and are ready to bear them. We know the duties of the good citizen, and are ready to perform them cheerfully, and would ask to be put in a position in which we can discharge them more effectually. . . . This is a democracy—a government of the people. It should aim to make every man, without regard to the color of his skin, the amount of his wealth, or the character of his religious faith, feel personally interested in its welfare. Every man who lives under the Government should feel that it is his property, his treasure, the bulwark and defence of himself and his family. . . ."
- Which of the following did the authors of the 1865 petition to the Union Convention of Tennessee use to justify black enfranchisement?
- A) That free blacks paid taxes
 - B) That other countries' democracies allowed all men to vote
 - C) That to not allow black men to vote is to equate them with women
 - D) That blacks have proven themselves ready and willing to be active, participatory citizens

9. Why did many slaves flee the biracial Methodist church soon after emancipation?
- A) They disagreed with its theological teachings.
 - B) They wanted religious autonomy.
 - C) The Methodist Church rejected the newly freed blacks.
 - D) They associated Christianity with slavery and therefore abandoned it.
10. Who opposed President Andrew Johnson's reconstruction plan?
- A) Democratic legislators
 - B) Southern newspaper editors
 - C) Republican legislators
 - D) Southern planters
11. Why did President Johnson's quick reconstruction of ex-Confederate states shock reformers?
- A) His lenient terms for reconstruction belied his earlier states' rights stance.
 - B) He had long expressed a desire to destroy the southern planter aristocracy.
 - C) His harsh terms for reconstruction belied his earlier promises of leniency.
 - D) He failed to follow through on his promise to grant the freedmen voting rights.
12. Although Johnson had left the Democratic party before becoming president, he seemed more a Democrat than a Republican as president because he
- A) advocated limitations on federal power.
 - B) vetoed the Wade-Davis bill and supported federal subsidies.
 - C) refused to support any aspect of Lincoln's reconstruction plan.
 - D) attempted to empower the Freedmen's Bureau.
13. Abraham Lincoln's and Andrew Johnson's reconstruction plans shared an emphasis on
- A) full amnesty to all former rebel soldiers.
 - B) limited voting rights for blacks.
 - C) the confiscation of rebel property.
 - D) ratification of the Thirteenth Amendment.
14. What did President Johnson do after Mississippi's rejection of legislation that outlawed slavery and South Carolina's refusal to renounce secession?
- A) He refused to intervene.
 - B) He denied the states' new constitutions.
 - C) He refused to pardon planters and Confederate officials.
 - D) He sent the military into Mississippi and South Carolina.

15. The 1868 drawing *Selling a Freeman to Pay His Fine at Monticello, Florida*, equated the newly instated black codes to what?



The Black Codes
The Granger Collection, New York
Chapter 16, *The American Promise: A History of the United States*, Seventh Edition
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- A) Reenslavement
 - B) The enfranchisement of women
 - C) The establishment of a government dominated by blacks
 - D) The rehabilitation of the southern economy
16. How did moderate Republicans and Republican Radicals differ in 1865?
- A) Moderates championed black equality, while Radicals wanted to limit the rights of black Americans.
 - B) Moderates supported states' rights and limited federal involvement in the economy, while Radicals wanted to expand federal powers.
 - C) Moderates supported Andrew Johnson's reconstruction plan, while Radicals wanted to write their own.
 - D) Moderates did not actively support black voting rights and the distribution of confiscated lands to the freedmen, while Radicals did.

17. Why was the Civil Rights Act of 1866 extraordinary?
- A) It made discrimination in state laws illegal.
 - B) It declared martial law in the South.
 - C) It expanded the states' authority to write their own civil rights laws.
 - D) It prolonged the life of the Freedmen's Bureau.
18. How did the Fourteenth Amendment deal with voting rights?
- A) It explicitly granted all black adults the right to vote.
 - B) It gave Congress the right to reduce an intransigent state's representation.
 - C) It granted the vote to adult black males in all states.
 - D) It phased in voting rights for blacks over a five-year period.
19. Who was disappointed in the voting rights provisions in the Fourteenth Amendment?
- A) Northern members of the Republican party
 - B) Advocates of female suffrage
 - C) Frederick Douglass and other abolitionists
 - D) Ex-slaves in the South
20. What was the result of President Johnson's plan to unite white opponents against the Fourteenth Amendment for the election of 1866?
- A) The Democratic party made unlikely gains.
 - B) The National Union party won all northern states.
 - C) The Republicans won a resounding victory.
 - D) Northern whites turned against Reconstruction.
21. According to the Military Reconstruction Act of 1867, what did a state have to do before gaining readmission to Congress?
- A) Allow men and women to vote on a new constitution
 - B) Write a new constitution that guaranteed black suffrage
 - C) Elect a Republican governor
 - D) Guarantee permanent employment for African Americans
22. Who was disappointed in the Military Reconstruction Act of 1867?
- A) Radical Republicans who supported black suffrage
 - B) Those who believed the law should not provide blacks with their own land
 - C) Black men who did not own enough property to meet voting requirements
 - D) Those who advocated the redistribution of southern plantations to ex-slaves

23. Andrew Johnson was impeached on what charge?
- A) That he attempted to block Republican Reconstruction plans
 - B) That he undermined the Freedmen's Bureau
 - C) That he violated the Tenure of Office Act
 - D) That he replaced Union generals with conservative officials in the South
24. What was the result of the impeachment trial of President Johnson?
- A) The Court found him guilty of violating the Tenure of Office Act.
 - B) He was found guilty of the misuse and abuse of constitutional powers.
 - C) He no longer interfered in Reconstruction.
 - D) A not guilty verdict made him more powerful than ever.
25. The Fifteenth Amendment
- A) prohibited the states from infringing on the rights of citizens.
 - B) defined U.S. citizenship.
 - C) extended black male suffrage to the entire nation.
 - D) outlawed slavery.
26. What was the real result of the Fifteenth Amendment?
- A) It effectively restructured political power in the South until 1920.
 - B) It was undermined by literacy and property qualifications in southern states.
 - C) It immediately allowed women to vote in national elections.
 - D) It made the United States the first nation with universal adult suffrage.
27. How did passage of the Fifteenth Amendment shape future Republican policy?
- A) It allowed Republicans to ignore black rights in the future.
 - B) It encouraged Republicans to take on southern labor policies.
 - C) The Republican party turned to land redistribution as its new central issue.
 - D) It ensured that the Republicans would become a primarily southern political party.
28. Who made up the majority of the Republican party in the South in the late 1800s?
- A) Scalawags
 - B) Owners of small businesses
 - C) Carpetbaggers
 - D) African Americans

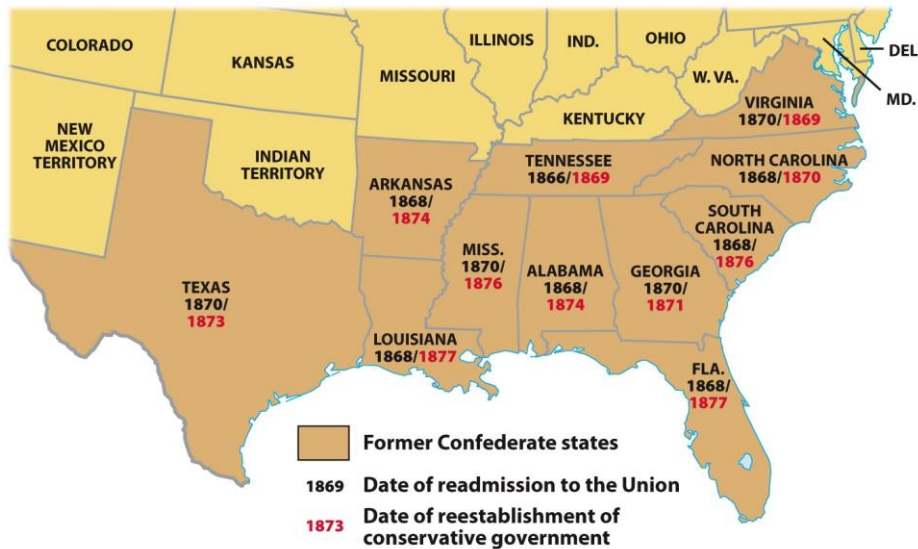
29. The Ku Klux Klan developed into a paramilitary organization, but it began as
- A) a group of yeoman farmers who were angry about Radical Reconstruction.
 - B) a fraternity in Tennessee that wanted to intimidate blacks.
 - C) an elitist order that wanted to destroy the Republican party by lynching blacks.
 - D) a social club for Confederate veterans who wanted to restore white supremacy.
30. The new southern state constitutions mandated by the Reconstruction Acts introduced which of the following reforms?
- A) Mandatory education
 - B) Universal male suffrage
 - C) Wholesale disfranchisement of ex-rebels
 - D) The redistribution of property
31. How influential were African American politicians during the period southern whites derisively called “Negro domination”?
- A) Only six percent of southerners in Congress during Reconstruction were black.
 - B) Blacks held a majority in over half the state legislatures for a short time.
 - C) African Americans held no elected office during Reconstruction.
 - D) Only states with black majorities elected blacks to office.
32. What was the result of Republican campaigns for public education in the South during the Reconstruction period?
- A) Very few blacks had the opportunity to attend school.
 - B) Literacy rates rose sharply across the South.
 - C) Southern schools had the same funding as northern schools.
 - D) The South desegregated its public schools.
33. What problem plagued the Republican governments of the Reconstruction South?
- A) Lack of support from poor blacks
 - B) Indifference toward racial discrimination
 - C) Corruption
 - D) Lack of ambition
34. Within months of the end of the Civil War, about one-third of black women in the South
- A) moved to the North.
 - B) filed for divorce.
 - C) obtained a factory job.
 - D) abandoned fieldwork.

35. Why did African Americans prefer sharecropping to wage labor?
- A) Sharecropping placed blacks on equal footing with whites.
 - B) Most black sharecroppers became very wealthy.
 - C) White landlords provided black sharecroppers with housing for life.
 - D) Sharecropping freed blacks from the day-to-day supervision of whites.
36. What happened to most sharecroppers once they borrowed goods on a crop lien?
- A) They made enough money to buy their own land.
 - B) They paid back their debt within a year.
 - C) They ended up in a cycle of debt.
 - D) They began growing food rather than cotton.
37. After Ulysses S. Grant, the former Union general, was elected president in 1868, he
- A) proved a decisive leader.
 - B) sought justice for blacks.
 - C) surrounded himself with skilled politicians.
 - D) became known for his anticorruption activities.
38. To challenge Grant's reelection campaign in 1872, both the Liberty party and the Democratic party endorsed
- A) Horatio Seymour.
 - B) Schuyler Colfax.
 - C) James A. Garfield.
 - D) Horace Greeley.
39. How did Congress respond to southern Republicans' pleas for federal protection from the racism and violence of the Ku Klux Klan?
- A) It passed the Ku Klux Klan Act and the Civil Rights Act of 1875.
 - B) It failed to respond because lawmakers felt they lacked the power to do anything.
 - C) It ignored the request for fear of alienating southern Democrats.
 - D) It passed the Compromise of 1877 in an attempt to stop Klan violence.
40. By 1872, many Republican leaders had come to believe that which group offered the best hope for honesty, order, and prosperity in the South?
- A) Educated African Americans
 - B) Upcountry yeoman farmers
 - C) Urban union leaders
 - D) Traditional white leadership

41. Supreme Court decisions in the years following the Civil War largely
- A) promoted the Republican Radicals' agenda for civil rights.
 - B) expanded the power of the federal government.
 - C) undermined Reconstruction.
 - D) expanded voting rights.
42. What was the result of the Supreme Court's ruling in the *Slaughterhouse* cases (1873)?
- A) It limited the authority of federal courts in cases involving the civil rights of state citizens.
 - B) It extended the Fourteenth Amendment's due process protections to make state governments compliant.
 - C) It extended the Fourteenth Amendment's equal protection clause to education.
 - D) It reinforced that the rights of national citizenship took precedence over the rights of state citizenship.
43. What was the result of the election of 1874?
- A) Republicans maintained slight majorities in both houses of Congress.
 - B) Democrats won a majority in Congress and took most state governorships.
 - C) Democrats gained control of the House of Representatives.
 - D) Democrats won a majority of seats in the Senate.
44. By the early 1870s, the congressional reconstruction goals of 1866
- A) had been mostly met.
 - B) had been mostly abandoned by northerners.
 - C) had been expanded to include women's suffrage.
 - D) were still the nation's first priority.
45. Who were the Redeemers in the South?
- A) Reformers who hoped to establish public education in the South
 - B) Politicians who believed Confederate dollars should be redeemed for U.S. dollars
 - C) Ministers who hoped to heal the breach between northern and southern churches
 - D) Southern Democrats who wanted to restore white supremacy in the South
46. How did southern Democrats appeal to white small farmers in the early 1870s?
- A) They convinced poor whites that they paid taxes for blacks.
 - B) They promised to enlarge the government budget to help their plight.
 - C) They gave them the confiscated property of Confederate leaders.
 - D) They promised to raise taxes on blacks and on rich whites.

47. What happened to the whites who killed eighty-one blacks during the Colfax massacre?
- A) African Americans broke them out of jail and killed them.
 - B) They received lifetime prison sentences.
 - C) They went free because nobody would prosecute them.
 - D) The Supreme Court found them guilty on all charges.

48. According to Map 16.3: The Reconstruction of the South, which former Confederate state was first to be readmitted to the Union?



- A) Florida
 - B) Georgia
 - C) Virginia
 - D) Tennessee
49. The election controversy ended with the Compromise of 1877, in which
- A) the Republican party was promised majority rule in Congress, and the Democratic party was promised lower taxes and home rule in the South.
 - B) southern Democrats accepted a Republican president in exchange for federal subsidies and the removal of federal troops from the South.
 - C) Republicans accepted Democratic rule in the White House in exchange for majority rule in Congress.
 - D) Republicans won lasting control of Florida, South Carolina, and Louisiana in exchange for supporting a Republican president.

50. What was the result of the Compromise of 1877?
 - A) It ended the political momentum of the Redeemers.
 - B) It allowed the Republicans to dominate southern politics.
 - C) It allowed the Democrats to repeal the Fifteenth Amendment.
 - D) It spelled the end of Reconstruction.
51. After emancipation, what did freedom mean to former slaves in terms of their work, family, religion, and education?
52. From the perspective of white southerners, what were the stated purposes and goals of the black codes?
53. List differences in the perspectives of moderate Republicans and the Republican Radicals in Congress during the mid- to- late 1860s.
54. Identify three important provisions of the Fourteenth Amendment.
55. The Reconstruction Acts required southern states to draw up new constitutions. Identify the two general categories in southern life that were extensively changed by these constitutions, and cite two examples from each category.
56. Explain why women's suffrage advocates were unhappy with the wording of the Fifteenth Amendment.
57. Identify the positive and negative outcomes of the ambitious economic development programs launched by Republican governments in the South.
58. Explain the following statement: "By 1870, northerners had begun a retreat from the ideals of Reconstruction."
59. Identify and briefly explain two Supreme Court cases that essentially undermined Reconstruction.

60. Explain the reason for the appointment of a special presidential electoral commission in 1877 and state the outcome of its vote. Identify the effect of the informal understanding known as the Compromise of 1877 on Reconstruction.
61. None of the many shortcomings of Reconstruction disappointed former slaves more than the failure of the U.S. government to provide them with land of their own. Discuss events and legislation that occurred during the latter part of the Civil War and immediately following the Union victory (1864–65) and explain how they indicated to freedmen that the federal government intended to make some form of land ownership available to former slaves. Contrast those early promises with the realities of the later Reconstruction era, which in effect placed land ownership beyond the reach of all but a small fraction of blacks.
62. The collapse of Reconstruction began in 1868, when Ulysses S. Grant was elected president. Explain how Grant's inept administration, his lack of political willpower, and the economic depression that occurred during his administration empowered southern Democrats to adopt home rule and end the Reconstruction experiment.
63. When the South returned to the Union, it did so as a junior partner; however, southerners did have a distinct impact on the various Reconstruction plans implemented after the war. Identify the viewpoints of white southerners during this time period and explain how and why they were able to influence the transition in the South from slavery to freedom. Include their opinions about the behavior of ex-slaves and the impact of Reconstruction on their way of life.
64. Reconstruction represents a tragedy of enormous proportions based on many divisive issues. The various Reconstruction plans faced problems such as northern apathy, southern defiance, and a lack of unity from northern politicians. Identify and compare the different goals for Reconstruction and the specific actions taken by Lincoln, Johnson, and Congress. In addition, discuss the strengths and weaknesses of each of these plans.
65. Although moderate Republicans did not champion black equality, southern obstinacy and President Johnson's leniency toward the South forged unity among Republican factions. Rather than accept Johnson's claim that the "work of restoration" was done, Congress challenged his executive power. Discuss Congress's passage of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth amendments. What were the basic tenets of these amendments, and what were the reactions to them?

Use the following to answer questions 66-77:

- A) black codes
- B) carpetbagger
- C) Civil Rights Act of 1866
- D) Compromise of 1877
- E) Fifteenth Amendment
- F) Fourteenth Amendment
- G) Freedmen's Bureau
- H) Ku Klux Klan
- I) Military Reconstruction Act
- J) Redeemers
- K) scalawag
- L) sharecropping

Match the term with the definition.

- 66. Southerners' pejorative term for a northern migrant who sought opportunity in the South after the Civil War. Northern migrants formed an important part of the southern Republican party.
- 67. Government organization created in March 1865 to distribute food and clothing to destitute southerners and to ease the transition of slaves to free persons. Early efforts by the organization to distribute land to the newly freed blacks were later overturned by President Johnson.
- 68. A derogatory term that southerners applied to southern white Republicans, who were seen as traitors to the South. Most were yeoman farmers.
- 69. A social club of Confederate veterans that quickly developed into a paramilitary organization supporting Democrats. With too few Union troops in the South to control the region, the group went on a rampage of violence to defeat Republicans and restore white supremacy.
- 70. Legislation passed by Congress that nullified the black codes and affirmed that black Americans should have equal benefit of the law. This expansion of black rights and federal authority drew a veto from President Johnson, which Congress later overrode.

71. Laws passed by state governments in the South in 1865 that sought to force freedmen back to the plantations and keep ex-slaves subordinate to whites.
72. Congressional act of March 1867 that initiated military rule of the South. Congressional reconstruction divided the ten unreconstructed Confederate states into five military districts, each under the direction of a Union general. It also established the procedure by which unreconstructed states could reenter the Union.
73. Constitutional amendment passed in 1866 that made all native-born or naturalized persons U.S. citizens and prohibited states from abridging the rights of national citizens. The amendment hoped to provide guarantee of equality before the law for black citizens.
74. Informal pact in which Democrats agreed not to block Rutherford B. Hayes's inauguration and to deal fairly with freedmen. Hayes vowed not to use the army to uphold the remaining Republican regimes in the South and to provide the South with substantial federal subsidies for railroads. The agreement brought Reconstruction to an end.
75. Name taken by southern Democrats who harnessed white rage in order to overthrow Republican rule and black political power and thus, they believed, save southern civilization.
76. Labor system that emerged in the South during Reconstruction. Under this system, planters divided their plantations into small farms that freedmen rented, paying with a share of each year's crop. The system gave blacks some freedom, but they remained dependent on white landlords and country merchants.
77. Constitutional amendment passed in February 1869 prohibiting states from depriving any citizen of the right to vote because of "race, color, or previous condition of servitude." It extended black suffrage nationwide but did not enfranchise women, which disappointed woman suffrage advocates.

Answer Key

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

45. D
46. A
47. C
48. D
49. B
50. D
51. *Answer would ideally include:*
Post-Slavery Freedom: Freed slaves wanted to own their own land that they could plant and work autonomously. They wanted to restore their families, which had often been divided under slavery. Freed slaves wanted to retain their Christian faith but to worship in their own black churches, free from white oversight. Finally, they wanted access to education, especially for their children, so they could gain literacy and skills.
52. *Answer would ideally include:*
Purpose and Goals of the Black Codes: At the core of the codes was an attempt to maintain a captive black labor force by limiting ex-slaves to farm work or domestic service. The black codes sought to keep ex-slaves subordinate to whites through discrimination, such as outlawing gun ownership for blacks, barring them from jury service, and denying the franchise. Whites were adamantly opposed to black land ownership, and laws were passed to ensure that the plantations could continue to depend on the black labor force.
53. *Answer would ideally include:*
Moderate Republicans: Moderate Republicans in Congress primarily wanted assurance that slavery and treason were dead. They did not champion black equality, the confiscation of plantations, or black voting rights.
Radical Republicans: Radical Republicans, on the other hand, were interested in creating more substantial change in the South through the redistribution of confiscated Confederate property to free slaves, through color-blind voting rights, and through civil and political equality.
54. *Answer would ideally include:*
Fourteenth Amendment: First, the Fourteenth Amendment made all native-born or naturalized persons American citizens. Second, it prohibited states from abridging citizens' privileges and immunities or denying them equal protection of the laws. Finally, it gave Congress the right to reduce the congressional representation of states that withheld suffrage from some of its adult male population.
55. *Answer would ideally include:*
Transforming Social Hierarchies: The Reconstruction constitutions introduced two broad categories of changes in the South. First, they reduced aristocratic privilege and increased democratic equality by adopting universal male suffrage and abolishing property qualifications for holding office, and they made more offices elective and fewer appointed.
Welfare Initiatives: Second, they expanded the states' responsibilities for general welfare by enacting prison reform, making the states responsible for caring for orphans and disabled people, and exempting debtors' homes from seizure.
56. *Answer would ideally include:*
Denied Suffrage Rights: Women's suffrage advocates were unhappy with the Fifteenth Amendment because it prohibited states from depriving citizens of the right to vote

because of “race, color, or previous condition of servitude” but not because of sex, thereby failing to extend voting rights to women.

57. *Answer would ideally include:*

Positive Outcomes: Republican governments in the South launched ambitious programs of economic development that aimed to achieve diversified agriculture, roaring factories, and booming towns. On the positive side, Republican legislatures chartered scores of banks and industrial companies, appropriated funds to fix ruined levees and drain swamps, and built many miles of railroad.

Negative Outcomes: These efforts did not solve the South's economic problems, however, and public spending to stimulate economic growth meant rising taxes and enormous debt that drained funds from public schools and other state-sponsored programs.

58. *Answer would ideally include:*

Waning Support for Reconstruction in the North: By the 1870s, northerners began to lose interest in the issues of Reconstruction, and they wanted to put “the southern problem” behind them. The party had lost its leading champions of African American rights to death or defeat at the polls, and many Republicans concluded that the quest for black equality was mistaken or hopelessly naive. Many northerners also thought that by passing the Thirteenth, Fourteenth, and Fifteenth amendments and sponsoring various types of federal protection in the South, they had essentially taken care of the basic issues of Reconstruction, and that it was time to turn their attention to more pressing issues, such as political corruption and economic instability.

59. *Answer would ideally include:*

Slaughterhouse Cases: The first set of Supreme Court cases to substantially undermine reconstruction were the *Slaughterhouse* cases (1873), which distinguished between national and state citizenship and ruled that the Fourteenth Amendment protected only those rights that stemmed from the federal government, such as voting in federal elections and interstate commerce. It determined that most rights derived from the states and curtailed the federal government's authority to protect black citizens.

United States v. Cruikshank: The second ruling, *United States v. Cruikshank* (1876) said that the reconstruction amendments gave Congress power to legislate against discrimination only by states, not by individuals. This meant that the suppression of ordinary crime, such as assault, remained a state responsibility and not a federal one, which undermined the legal foundation of Reconstruction.

60. *Answer would ideally include:*

Cause of the Electoral Commission: Congress created the special presidential electoral commission in 1877 to arbitrate the disputed returns in the presidential election of 1876, in which Samuel Tilden won the popular vote but fell one vote short of victory over Rutherford B. Hayes in the Electoral College. All of the commissioners appointed to the body voted their party affiliation, giving every state to the Republican Hayes and putting him over the top in electoral votes.

Compromise of 1877: This vote was allowed to stand after informal negotiations behind the scenes resulted in the Compromise of 1877, in which Democrats promised not to block Hayes's inauguration and to deal fairly with the freedmen. In exchange, Hayes promised to refrain from using the army to uphold the Republican regimes in the South and vowed to provide the South with substantial federal subsidies for internal

improvements. The Compromise of 1877 brought about the end of Reconstruction.

61. *Answer would ideally include:*

Wartime Confiscation Acts: These acts took the property of Confederate traitors, raising the question of what to do with such federally occupied land and how to organize it in the future.

Sherman's Designation of Land for Black Settlement: In January 1865 General Sherman set aside part of the coast south of Charleston, South Carolina, for black settlement. By June of 1865, 40,000 freed slaves had settled on 400,000 acres of "Sherman land."

Congressional Authorization of Freedmen's Bureau to Divide Confiscated Land: Congress established the Freedmen's Bureau in March of 1865. It was intended to distribute food and clothing to ease the transition of blacks from slavery to freedom. Congress authorized it to divide abandoned and confiscated land into 40-acre plots, rent them to freedmen, and eventually to sell them. By June of 1865 the bureau had situated 10,000 black families on half a million acres abandoned by fleeing planters, and other free slaves anticipated receiving similar grants.

Johnson Reneges on His Confiscation of Confederate Land: Johnson's eagerness to normalize relations with southern states and his lack of sympathy for blacks led him to instruct military and government officials to return to pardoned ex-Confederates all confiscated and abandoned land, even if it was in the hands of freedmen. These instructions reversed the promising beginnings made by Sherman and the Freedmen's Bureau.

Military Reconstruction Act of 1867: This act, passed by Congress in March 1867, made bold provisions to ensure black suffrage in the South, but it made no provision to redistribute southern plantations to freed slaves.

Shortcomings in Reconstruction Constitutions: Forward-looking state constitutions written during Republican rule in the South provided blueprints for a new South but stopped short of land redistribution.

Institutionalization of Sharecropping System: The system of sharecropping, in which planters rented plots of land to freedmen in exchange for a share of each year's crop, became the primary mode of economic subsistence for most freed slaves living in rural areas.

62. *Answer would ideally include:*

Grant's Troubles: Grant's battlefield talents—decisiveness, clarity, and resolution—were less obvious in the White House. Although he hoped to secure justice for blacks as well as reconciliation with the South, he came into office at a time when the North had grown weary of the politics of Reconstruction.

Grant's Corrupt Administration: Grant's administration was filled with inept and corrupt people, but Grant was blind to the problems and loyal to even his most corrupt cabinet officers. These problems allowed southern Democrats to brand Republicans as extravagant, wasteful, and fraudulent and to persuade southern white Republicans to vote for Democrats instead.

Split in the Republican Party: Anti-Grant Republicans left the party in 1872 and formed the Liberal party, which demanded that the federal government remove its troops from the South and restore home rule. This division among Republicans diluted their power and their ability to fend off Democrats' advances.

Northern Weariness of Reconstruction: By the time of the 1868 election, white

northerners were already tired of conflicts over reconstruction issues and were increasingly willing to let southern whites manage their own affairs. The economic depression of 1873 shifted northerners' attentions even further toward economic issues and away from Reconstruction. It also allowed southern Democrats to exploit the economic plight of white farmers, blaming it on Republican financial policies.

Redeemers: The retreat of Republicans and northerners from Reconstruction permitted southern Democrats to resurge in the South. Using anti-Republican rhetoric, fanning the flames of racial prejudice to dislodge southern whites from the Republican party, and terrorizing both white and black southern Republicans, the Redeemers helped the Democratic party take control of the House of Representatives in 1874 and allowed Democrats to retake control of all but three southern state governments by 1876.

63. *Answer would ideally include:*

Views of Planters: This group, which said that blacks could not be “transformed by proclamation,” was interested in restoring slavery because they thought blacks were lazy, irresponsible, and wild, and that they would only act differently under the threat of coercion and the fear of punishment. The planters, who often controlled state governments, had the most to lose from radical Reconstruction and fought it the hardest with legislation such as the black codes and apprenticeship laws.

Views of Common Whites: Most non-planter whites condemned Reconstruction politics as illegitimate and fought to stamp out Republicanism. They, like planters, thought blacks were intellectually inferior to whites and physically better able than whites to withstand hard labor. The possibility of black equality threatened to overturn a system that guaranteed even the poorest whites that they were not at the bottom of the social ladder. This group resisted blacks' gains from Reconstruction through violence, such as the terrorist attacks of the Ku Klux Klan.

Southern White Republicans: Some southern whites joined the Republican party to reduce aristocratic privilege, increase democratic equality, and expand the state's responsibility for the general welfare. These people worked with blacks to pursue political change and, in some cases, to attack racial discrimination and defend civil rights, but they stopped short of disfranchising ex-Confederates or redistributing land to freed slaves.

White Resistance to Presidential Reconstruction: White resistance to Johnson's policies in 1865–66 boosted the standing of radicals within the Republican party and unwittingly set the stage for the more extreme congressional Reconstruction that began in 1867, which gave freed male slaves citizenship and the right to vote.

Southern Democratic Strategies: Southern Democrats organized in the 1870s to overthrow Republican state governments by fanning the flames of racial prejudice, blaming white small farmers' problems on Republican financial policy, and terrorizing both black and white Republicans. These strategies allowed Democrats to regain control of Republican state governments, to turn back most of the gains made by congressional Reconstruction, and to restore white supremacy in the South.

64. *Answer would ideally include:*

Abraham Lincoln: Lincoln believed he had the responsibility for reconstructing the Union. He had compassion for white southerners and was focused on the restoration of national unity through a program of speedy, forgiving political reconciliation. Lincoln's goals were to shorten the war and end slavery. His Proclamation of Amnesty and

Reconstruction, issued in December of 1863, offered a full pardon to most rebels willing to renounce secession and accept emancipation. He wanted to allow southern states to organize new governments after only 10 percent of the state's voting population had taken an oath of allegiance and attempted (without success) to seat state representatives from Louisiana, Arkansas, Tennessee, and Virginia in Congress. His plan did not require ex-rebels to extend social or political rights to ex-slaves. He did not publicly endorse suffrage for southern blacks until four days before his death. This plan could not have solved the problems that led to the Civil War in the first place.

Andrew Johnson: Like Lincoln, Johnson believed it was his job to direct Reconstruction. He was the only senator from a Confederate state to remain loyal to the Union; he held the planters responsible for secession, but he was a steadfast defender of slavery. Also like Lincoln, he wanted reconciliation between the Union and the defeated Confederacy and rapid restoration of civil government in the South. He wanted to pardon most ex-rebels and recognize the state governments Lincoln helped create, but he required citizens of those states only to renounce the right of secession, deny the legality of the Confederacy's debts, and ratify the Thirteenth Amendment. Unlike Lincoln, Johnson did not accept the idea of black voting. In the end, despite his anti-planter rhetoric, he pardoned many powerful whites and he returned confiscated land to pardoned ex-Confederates, even if it was already in the hands of freedmen. He was a staunch defender of states' rights and backed down when some southern states like South Carolina and Mississippi resisted his requirements for re-admittance to the Union. He did not discourage southern governments' enactment of the black codes or various efforts to bring freedmen back to the plantations. Johnson's plan, like Lincoln's, failed to address the fundamental problems that divided the country and exploited African Americans.

U.S. Congress: Most representatives wanted to end slavery but, except for the most radical, did not champion black equality, the confiscation of plantations, or black voting rights. They chafed at presidential efforts to make Reconstruction fast and easy. They proposed the Wade-Davis bill, which required 50 percent of voters in southern states to take an oath of allegiance, banned ex-Confederates from participating in drafting new state constitutions, and guaranteed equality of freedmen under the law. In 1865, Congress challenged Johnson's executive power and refused to seat the southern representatives elected by voters. They created the Freedmen's Bureau; passed the Civil Rights Act over a presidential veto to nullify the black codes; passed the Fourteenth and Fifteenth amendments, which granted citizenship and voting rights; overturned the Johnson state governments and initiated military rule in the South; and impeached Johnson. Although it did not successfully oust Johnson from office, Congress did take control of Reconstruction. Its plans were much stronger than either Lincoln's or Johnson's in that they addressed the major social and political issues at hand. In the end, however, Congress's Reconstruction strategy did not resolve those issues.

65. *Answer would ideally include:*

Fourteenth Amendment and Response: This amendment made all native-born or naturalized persons American citizens and prohibited states from abridging the "privileges and immunities" of citizens, depriving them of "life, liberty, or property without due process of law." Citizens were also given "equal protection of the laws." This gave blacks a national guarantee of equality before the law. Although it provided

for punishment of any state that excluded voters on the basis of race, it did not guarantee voting rights. Johnson counseled the southern states to reject the amendment. Violence against blacks in the South and Johnson's decision to make the amendment the overriding issue of the 1866 elections led to an overwhelming Republican victory at the polls. Each act of defiance by southern whites boosted the radicals within the Republican party, and in 1867, Congress initiated military rule of the South.

Fifteenth Amendment and Response: This amendment prohibited states from depriving any citizen of the right to vote because of “race, color, or previous condition of servitude.” Military reconstruction already required black suffrage in the South; the amendment extended black voting nationwide. As with the Fourteenth Amendment, however, absolute suffrage was not guaranteed; the amendment merely prohibited voting restrictions on the basis of race. Southerners would find many loopholes, such as literacy and property laws, which would effectively disenfranchise black voters. Black voting was not the only issue at hand. Many states were reluctant to give up voting restrictions due to anti-immigrant sentiment in both the Northeast and California. With the Fifteenth Amendment, most Republicans felt that the “Negro Question” had been erased from the national agenda.

Women's Outrage: Susan B. Anthony and Elizabeth Cady Stanton, through the American Equal Rights Association, lobbied Congress to include women in the Fourteenth Amendment. Antislavery allies refused to work with the women, feeling, as Fredrick Douglass expressed, that “it was the Negro's hour.” Senator Sumner suggested that women's suffrage could be “the great question of the future.” The word *male* was introduced into the Constitution with this amendment, and Stanton was convinced that it would be one hundred years before it was taken out. Their dismay was felt again with the passage of the Fifteenth Amendment with no inclusion of women. The women's movement also felt betrayed by their abolitionist friends and allies. Over the next several decades, feminists established an independent suffrage crusade that drew millions of women into political life.

- 66. B
- 67. G
- 68. K
- 69. H
- 70. C
- 71. A
- 72. I
- 73. F
- 74. D
- 75. J
- 76. L
- 77. E