Chapter 15: Reconstruction, 1865-1877

- **Presidential Reconstruction**

  - The Founding Fathers could not foresee the need for reconstruction, and thus said nothing of the matter when writing the most important documents in American history.

  - As a result of this separation of power in the American government, there were huge political battles over who was to be in charge of the task – which was just one of the many fault lines in Reconstruction’s stormy history.

- **Presidential Initiatives**

  - An initiative that was proposed by Lincoln to the Confederate states to be reentered into the Union offered a “general amnesty to all but high-ranking Confederates willing to pledge loyalty to the Union”.

  - When at least 10% of the state’s 1860 votes pledged, the state reentered the Union, so long as it agreed to the thirteenth amendment which abolished slavery.

  - However, the majority of the Southern states did not take advantage of this opportunity known as Lincoln’s Ten Percent Plan, and instead the Wade-Davis Bill was passed upon them as a harsher substitute.

  - The Wade-Davis Bill’s conditions were…

    - An oath of allegiance to the Union by a majority of each state’s adult white men.

    - New governments formed only by those who had never borne arms against the North.

    - Permanent disfranchisement of Confederate leaders.

    - It served notice to the president that Congressional Republicans were not about to hand over Reconstruction policy to him.

    - However, Lincoln executed a pocket veto of the Wade-Davis Bill by not signing it before Congress adjourned.

    - In the last speech Lincoln gave, he pleaded for Republican flexibility when it came to Reconstruction; however, he never had the chance to enact his plans for three short days later he was assassinated by John Wilkes Booth.

    - Andrew Johnson, now acting President, was free to act on his convictions of believing that Reconstruction was the president’s prerogative, and he was able to do so with little resistance due to one thing…

    - The fact that the Congress elected in November of 1864, was not forced to convene until the following December, in 1865.
Andrew Johnson and Reconstruction

- Andrew Johnson was a self-made man from the hills of eastern TN.

- He entered local politics when his tailor shop became a gathering place for local politicians, and in 1857, after a relentless climb up the political ranks, he became a U.S. Senator.

- Even when his state seceded, Johnson refused to follow them and was the only Southern Senator or Representative to remain in Washington.

- Because of this choice, Lincoln rewarded him by naming him military governor and tasking him with the job of holding Tennessee together although it was split bitterly, with Unionists in the west and rebels in the east.

- However tough, Johnson succeeded in controlling TN, and was further rewarded by Lincoln by being selected as his Vice Presidential running mate for the 1864 election.

- A month after Lincoln’s death, Johnson offered his version of Reconstruction…

- Offered amnesty to all Southerners who took an oath of allegiance to the Constitution, except for high-ranking Confederate officials and wealthy planters.

- Appointed provisional governors for the southern states, requiring as conditions for their restoration only that they…

  - Revoke their ordinances of secession.

  - Repudiate their Confederate debts.

  - Ratify the Thirteenth Amendment.

- Within a few months, all the former Confederate states had met these terms and enjoyed functioning governments.

- The response to Johnson’s version of Reconstruction was…

- Initially, incredibility favorable.

  - Both the moderates and the radicals (Republicans) found the goings of Reconstruction as acceptable, and hoped that the new southern governments would show good faith by generous treatment of the freed slaves.

- However, as time went on, Republicans found Johnson doing a poorer and poorer job.

  - The new southern governments quickly set to restore slavery in all but name by enacting laws – known as black codes – designed to drive the former slaves back to plantations.

  - As well as that, Republicans found that Johnson forgave more and more ex-
Confederate leaders, so as long as he got the satisfaction of humbling them when they appealed for pardons.

- Ex-Confederate leaders now packed the delegations to the new Congress: nine members of the Confederate Congress, seven former officials of Confederate state governments, four generals and four colonels, and even the VP of the Confederacy, Alexander Stephens.

- “This was the last straw for Republicans.”

**The Battle Joined**

- “Under the Constitution, Congress is “the judge of the Elections, Returns, and Qualifications of its own Members””.

- Because of this the Republican majorities in both houses refused to admit the southern delegations when Congress convened in early December 1865.

- In response to this, southern states reduced their Black Codes, replaced them with regulatory ordinances silent on race yet, in practice, applying only to blacks and not to whites.

- During this time, a wave of white-on-black violence was sweeping across the South.

- And even the most moderate of Republicans were convinced that the federal government had to intervene.

- And intervene they did. Through voting, Congress extended the Freedmen’s Bureau (which they had established in 1865 in order to help ex-slaves), directly funded it for the first time, and authorized its agents to investigate mistreatment of blacks.

- Perhaps even more important, was moderate Republican Senator Lyman Trumbull’s, leader of the Freedmen’s Bureau, civil rights bill.

- This bill declared…

  - The ex-slaves to be citizens and granting them, along with every other citizen...

    - Equal rights of contract.

    - Access to the courts.

    - Protection of person and property.

**Acting on Freedom**

- While Congress debated, emancipated slaves had their own ideas about what their freedom should mean.

- Since they were now free, blacks all across the south formed schools, churches, clubs, and
began to engage in politics.

- They increasingly campaigned for their right to vote, which is “an essential and inseparable element of self-government.”

**Struggling for Economic Independence**

- One of the most important things to freed blacks was the ownership of land.

- In the final months of the war, land was seized by large groups of ex-slaves and they began to settle.

  - They were aided by General Sherman, who settled them on 40-acre plots, in an attempt to rid himself of the refugees as he drove his army across the lower South.

- After the war, the Freedman’s Bureau was given the task of distributing confiscated lands to freed blacks and loyal southerners.

  - However, when President Johnson began pardoning many southerners, those confiscated lands were returned to their previous owners, and freed blacks once again faced a dilemma.

- Many places in the south, the blacks resisted efforts to evict them from their newly acquired lands.

  - Battles were fought with plantation owners and bands of ex-Confederate soldiers who were often assisted by federal troops.

  - Eventually, the local whites prevailed in this land war.

**Resisting Wage Labor**

- As planters prepared for a new planting season, a debate grew about what labor system would replace slavery.

  - Many planters sought to pay blacks low wages in lieu of providing shelter, clothing, and food, and keeping the gang labor system of the past.

  - The Freedman’s Bureau, unfortunately, sided with the planters.

- Numerous ex-slaves however, did not wish to so, because unlike the north where wage work is the norm, working for wages in the south was seen as debasing.

  - It was seen as debasing because it implied their dependency on another.

- Freedwomen were sometimes ordered by freedman employers to begin working in the fields as well.

  - However, in response to this, freedmen would leave and their former employer would lose workers, for “if [a freedman] could not rule his own domestic affairs on that
place” he would leave and find work elsewhere.

- Freedwomen were well willing to accept this, for they would rather take the chance with their own men than with their ex-masters.

- The large majority of ex-slaves refused to work under the hated gang-labor systems, leaving many planters with insufficient hands to work their fields because of their continued attempts to oppress free blacks.

- In this unequal struggle, blacks turned to Washington, stating that they once stood by it (in the Civil War), and “Now… will it stand by us?”

- **Congress Versus President**

- Andrew Johnson’s racism now came forward, stating “This is a country for white men, and by God, as long as I am president, it shall be government for white men.”

- He vetoed the Freedman’s bureau bill in 1866 and also Trumbull’s civil rights bill.

- However, as Johnson attacked legislation, the Republicans went into action…

- In early April, they mustered enough votes for the two-thirds majorities in both houses and enacted the Civil Rights Act over the president’s veto.

- And in response to ever growing violence in the south, an angry Congress, once again, captured enough votes to override the president in July to renew the Freedmen’s Bureau when he vetoed it for a second time.

- **The Fourteenth Amendment**

- At the core of the Fourteenth Amendment, was...

  - That “all persons born or naturalized in the United States” were citizens.

  - That no state could abridge “the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States.”

  - That no state could deprive “any person of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law.”

  - Deny anyone “the equal protection of the laws.”

- While Johnson went on a rampage campaigning against the Fourteenth Amendment, the Republicans won largely in the 1866 Congressional elections.

  - Republicans now outnumbered Democrats three-to-one in Congress, and they also had vast popular support from the public.

  - They “were now free to proceed “entirely regardless of [Johnson’s] opinions or wishes.””
• Radical Republicans

- The majority of the Radical Republicans hailed from New England or from the upper Midwest, which was heavily settled by New Englanders.

- In the Senate they were led by Charles Summer of MA and in the house by Thaddeus Stevens of PA.

  - To them, Reconstruction was primarily about relaying the very institutions that comprised the South.

- Black suffrage especially seemed out of reach since the northern states themselves denied blacks the right to vote.

- However, as violence continued against blacks in the south and in the wake of their smashing congressional victory in 1866, Republicans became ever more radicalized until they embraced the Radicals’ vision of a reconstructed South.

• Radical Reconstruction

- Afterward, thoughtful Southerners realized that the South had brought radical reconstruction upon itself.

  - Their “great blunder” was not to “have at once taken the negro right under the protection of the laws.

- Every state legislature but that of TN rejected the 14th amendment, as if they could not imagine that governments installed under the presidential imprimatur and fully functioning might be swept away.

- However, that is exactly what the Republicans mean to do.

• Congress Takes Command

- The Reconstruction Act of 1867 divided up the South into five territories; known as military districts, and put them under the command of five Union generals.

- Now the price for reentering the Union had been raised, now a state had to grant the vote to freedmen and disfranchise those of the South’s prewar leadership class who had participated in the rebellion.

- Each military commander was ordered to register all males, supervise the election of state conventions, and make certain that new state constitutions protected black suffrage.

- Congress would readmit a state to the Union when…

  - Its voters ratified their constitution.
- Their constitution was deemed acceptable by Congress.
- If the new state legislature ratified the Fourteenth Amendment.
- President Johnson vetoed this bill, but Congress overrode the veto.

- **Impeachment**
  - The Tenure of Office Act was a companion act to that of the Reconstruction Act of 1867.
  - President Johnson, in an effort to resume control of Reconstruction, suspended his Secretary of War Edwin M. Stanton, and replaced him with General Ulysses S. Grant, who he hoped to have more influence over.
    - However, Grant began to openly oppose his decisions as Johnson began to replace the military generals ruling over the southern districts, and when Congress reconvened they overrode the President’s suspension, and Grant resigned so Stanton could resume his position.
    - In response to this, President Johnson fired Stanton, and soon after charges of impeachment were brought against him.
  - The House of Representatives brought eleven counts of presidential misconduct against him, and when it went to the senate to judge him on those counts, President Johnson only avoided being impeached by one vote.
    - Despite being acquitted, President Johnson had been “defanged” and for the rest of his term he was powerless to later the course of Reconstruction.

- **The Election of 1868**
  - As the impeachment controversy made Grant, who was already the North’s war hero, a Republican hero as well, he easily won the Republican nomination and then won the Presidential election as well.
    - His Democratic opponent, Horatio Seymour (former governor of NY) almost refused to run because of the disgrace the Democratic Party had fallen into of late.
  - Grant captured 52.7% of the popular vote and received 214 of the 294 electoral votes, as well as the Republicans retaining a 2/3 majority in both houses of Congress.

- **The Fifteenth Amendment**
  - The Fifteenth Amendment was perhaps the last major piece of Reconstruction legislation – it forbade either the federal government or the states from denying citizens the right to vote on the basis of race, color, or “previous condition of servitude.”
  - It joined the Constitution in 1870, albeit grumbling by Radical Republicans because of the room left for poll taxes, property requirements, or literacy tests that may be used to
prevent blacks or the lower classes from voting.

- **Woman Suffrage Denied**

  - As the Fifteenth Amendment was added to the Constitution, women’s rights advocates went ballistic.

  - They had fought the good fight for the abolition of slavery for so many years, only to be abandoned when the chance finally came to get the vote for women.

  - Not even famous black males supported their cause…

    - Frederick Douglass said, “When women, because they are women, are hunted down… dragged from their homes and hung upon lamp posts… when their children are not allowed to enter schools; then they will have an urgency to obtain the ballot equal to their own.”

  - At this point in time, women’s rights advocates split into two factions…

    1. One faction, led by Lucy Stone and Julia Ward Howe, reconciled themselves to disappointment and accepted the priority of black suffrage. They aligned themselves even further with the Republican Party, in hopes one day they would gain suffrage.

    2. The second faction, led by Susan B. Anthony and Elizabeth Cady Stanton, declared that women “must not put her trust in man.” They headed a new organization, known as the National Woman Suffrage Association, in which they accepted only women, focused only on women’s rights, and resolutely took up the battle with the federal government for women’s suffrage.

  - The splitting of the women’s movement obscured the fact that the two groups shared much common ground, and although radical Reconstruction seemed a barren time for women’s rights, it had planted the seeds of the modern feminist movement.

- **Republican Rule in the South**

  - Between 1868 and 1871 each and every state that was formerly part of the Confederacy rejoined the Union; meeting each stipulation that Congress required them to.

  - Protecting Republican organizations in the South were federal troops, which allowed them to take hold across the vast South, and the Reconstruction administrations remained in power ranging from a few months (VA) to nine years (SC, FL, LA).

  - Those states with the longer lasting Reconstruction administrations had the majority of their support come from African Americans, who constituted a majority of registered votes in AL, FL, SC, and MI.

- **Carpetbaggers and Scalawags**

  - Scalawags, was an ancient Scots-Irish term for runty, worthless animals, and it was what ex-Confederates named Southern whites who supported Reconstruction.
Carpetbaggers were what ex-Confederates named Whites who had come from the North who were self-seeking interlopers who carried all their property in cheap suitcases called carpetbags.

- Some of these carpetbaggers, while motivated by personal profits, also brought capital and their skills.
- Others were Union army veterans that had taken to the South during the Civil War and sought to settle there.
- The scalawags were even more diverse then carpetbaggers, they were…
  - Former slave owners
  - Ex-Whigs
  - Ex-Democrats

- The majority, however, were yeomen farmers from the backcountry districts who wanted to rid the South of its slaveholding aristocracy.

- **African American Leadership**

- The Democrats held a large amount of scorn against black leaders, claiming them as “ignorant field hands”.
- The first African American leaders in the South came from an elite of free blacks, and were soon joined by northern blacks who moved south because of the arrival of Radical Reconstruction.
  - Many of these were Union army veterans.
  - Some had taken part in antislavery crusades.
  - A number were formerly employed by the Freedmen’s Bureau or northern missionary societies.
  - Others had escaped slavery and were returning home.
- For example, Blanche K. Bruce escaped from slavery in Mississippi, went to Missouri and established a school for ex-slaves. After the war, he returned to MI in 1869 and became involved in politics, becoming Mississippi’s second black U.S. senator.
- Although they were never truly representative of their numbers in the population, black officeholders were prominent across the South.
  - In SC, African Americans constituted a majority in the lower house of the legislature in 1868.
- Over the entire course of Reconstruction, twenty African Americans served in state
administrations, such as…

- Governor
- Lieutenant Governor
- Secretary of State
- Treasurer
- Superintendent of Education
- More than 600 served as state legislators
- 16 were U.S. Congressmen

• The Radical Program

- The Republicans had ambitious plans for a reconstructed South – they wanted to end Southern dependence on cotton agriculture, and build an entrepreneurial economy like that of the North’s.

- In order to pay for this ambitious program known as Radical Reconstruction, the Republicans copied taxes that Jacksonian reformers had earlier introduced in the North – of which, property tax on both real estate and personal wealth was the largest.

- Their goal was to make planters pay their fair shares and to broaden the tax base.

- Corruption began to run rampant in governments as public credit collapsed, especially in the Grant administration.

- In the free-spending atmosphere of the southern Republican regimes, corruption was especially luxuriant and damaging to the cause of radical Republicanism.

• Schools and Churches

- Radical Reconstruction achieved, perhaps, the most in the field of public education.

- Of all the ex-Confederate states, only TN had a system of public schooling.

- African Americans of all ages rushed to the newly established schools, even when they had to pay tuition.

- Southern Blacks often built churches that separated them from the white churches in which they had been segregated to different balconies.

- They also used these churches as schools, social centers, and political meeting halls.

- Black clerics were community leaders and often political leaders as well.

- Calling forth the special destiny of the ex-slaves as the new “Children of Israel,” black
ministers provided a powerful religious underpinning for Republican politics of their congregation.

- **The Quest for Land**

  - Reconstruction governments in the South established land commissions empowered to buy property and resell it on easy terms to the landless.
    - Through these means about 14,000 black families acquired farms in South Carolina.
    - However, the results in South Carolina were not typical.

  - Federal efforts proved equally feeble, they passed the Southern Homestead Act of 1866 which offered 80-acre grants to settlers and also was limited for the first year to freedmen and southern Unionists.

  - President Johnson restored confiscated lands to ex-Confederates, and there was no reversing that.
    - It seemed that property rights trumped everything, even for most radical republicans.

  - Even the Freedman’s Bureau which was once the champion of getting freedmen property now devoted itself to teaching them how to be good agricultural laborers.

- **Sharecropping**

  - While they yearned for farms of their own, freedmen had no option but to return to the field and work as farm hands.

  - However, they vowed that they would not work under the conditions of slavery.

  - This became then norm in certain parts of the South, such as the cotton plantations in LA.

  - The distinctive laboring system of cotton agriculture was called as sharecropping.

  - Sharecropping allowed the freedmen to work as renters, exchanging their labor for the use of land, house, implements, seed, and fertilizer, and typically turning over one-half to two-thirds of their crops to the landlord.

  - The sharecropping system joined laborers and the owners of land and capital in a common sharing of risks and returns.

  - The owners of the land took a lien on the crops, which effectively assumed ownership of the cropper’s share and leaving him only the process that remained after his debts had been paid.

  - Peonage, or forced labor, was what occurred when the debt owed by the tenants to the merchant or landowner was somewhat high.

  - Sharecropping worked to a small extent, and by the end of Reconstruction, black
families saved enough to pay in cash payments and also owned about a third of the land they cultivated.

- **A Comparative Perspective**

  - The battle between recently freed slaves and planters was not unique to the American South for it also occurred in…
    - Haiti, after the slave revolt in 1791.
    - British Caribbean by abolition in 1833.
    - In Cuba and Brazil by gradual emancipation during the 1880s.
    - The American South was however unique in one manner – sharecropping, which was not practiced by any other of the afore mentioned countries.
    - There are two ways to explain why the South turned to sharecropping…
      1. Political reasons. Outside America, freedman rarely got civil or political equality, and thus when sharecropping took shape during Reconstruction, there was no going back.
      2. It was a good fit for cotton agriculture.
    - Sharecropping, to freedmen, was not the worst choice, for it certainly beat laboring for their former owners.
    - However, because sharecropping locked the south into cotton agriculture only, it one-dimensionalized their economy, and proved harmful to the soil in the regards of nutrient depletion.

- **The Undoing of Reconstruction**

  - Albeit the success of Radical Reconstruction, ex-Confederates still saw it as nothing but an abomination, undertaken without their consent and denying them their rightful place in southern society.
  - They staged a massive counterrevolution, led by the planters, which was designed to “redeem” the South and restore them to political power under the banner of the Democratic Party.
    - The only reason this succeeded was because of a combined effort from the acquiescent North and the ex-Confederates in the South.

- **Counterrevolution**

  - Southern Democrats attempted to return to their places of political power through the power of the ballot by putting forth a platform that appealed to southern patriotism and shower their
opposition of black power.

- However, ex-Confederates, planters, and their supporters, organized in secret to also terrorize blacks and their white allies.

- Nathan Bedford Forrest and the Politics of Terror
  
  - Nathan Bedford Forrest was the Confederacy’s most decorated cavalry general – however, he was also the first Grand Wizard of the Ku Klux Klan that originated in his home state of TN.

  - The reason Forrest formed the KKK was to strike back at TN Republican Governor William G. Brownlow with a campaign of terror.

  - The KKK released a murderous campaign of terror against Republican sympathizers, most especially black people, until Brownlow retreated to the U.S. Senate, and the Democratic Party took control over TN.

  - From its origin in TN, the KKK began to spread all across the South, where Republicans politicians were murdered, black schools and churches burned, and attacking party gatherings, which garnered more or less the same results that had been seen in TN.

- The Federal Reaction
  
  - Congress responded to the KKK with the Ku Klux Klan Act of 1871, which was designed to…

  - Enforce the rights of ex-slaves under the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments.

  - Authorized…

    - Federal prosecutions.

    - Military interventions.

    - Martial law.

  - While the Grant administration’s assault on the KKK raised southern Republican’s spirits, it was not to last.

    - Northerners grew weary of the bloodshed being spilled during Reconstruction, and many of the KKK members that were prosecuted faced all-white juries and sympathetic federal judges – a large percentage were pardoned.

    - Soon after, the federal government stated they had overstepped their boundaries when attempting to enforce the Fourteenth Amendment, saying that it was a state issue.

    - After that, Republican governments in the South fell one by one to their ex-Confederate enemies.

    - By 1876, only three states in the South still had a Republican government – LA, SC, and
FL – everywhere else, the former Confederates had regained power.

- **The Acquiescent North**

  As time went on, Northern Republicans tired of Reconstruction as the new generation of Republicans (such as Roscoe Conkling of NY) came to the national spotlight, who only supported aspects of Reconstruction that were advantageous to the Republican Party.

  Also, among the north were distributed propaganda, such as James M. Pike’s *The Prostrate State* (1873), which was a one-sided racist “report” against the south being victim to “a mass of black barbarism.”

  The advocates for “free labor,” once zealous for black freedom and equal rights, now clambered to the safer ground of civil-service reform and took upon the name of liberals.

    - Liberals described themselves as believers in free trade, market competition, and limited government.

- **The Liberal Republicans and the Election of 1872**

  Grant’s administration was extremely corrupt, displaying much of the “spoils system” seen in the early days of the presidency.

  From this, a revolt took shape inside the Republican Party, led by an assortment of influential intellectuals, journalists, and reform-minded businessmen.

    - They broke away from the Republican Party, who had renominated Grant for president, and formed the Liberal Republicans which nominated Horace Greeley for president.

    - Coincidentally, the Democrats also nominated Greeley.

    - However, Greeley was a horrible campaigner, and Grant won overwhelmingly by capturing 56% of the popular vote and every electoral vote.

    - The Liberal Republicans did leave their mark on politics, for their platform of civil service reform, a limited government, and reconciliation with the South was adopted by the Democrats as they once again became a contending political party.

- **Scandal and Depression**

  Republican corruption had been mounting every since Grant’s reelection and peaked in 1875.

    - This 1875 scandal involved the Whiskey Ring, which was a network of liquor distillers and treasury agents who defrauded the government of millions of dollars of excise taxes on whiskey.

    - The ringleader was Grant’s very own secretary.
Now the stink of corruption had officially engulfed the White House.

On top of this, a financial panic struck in 1873, when the Northern Pacific Railroad and its main investor, Jay Cooke, went bankrupt.

The Freedman’s Savings and Trust Company was also a casualty of the bad economy, and when the deposits of thousands of ex-slaves were lost, the federal government refused to compensate them, costing many of them their life savings.

This signaled that national politics had “moved on”, and the newest concerns were the economy and political corruption.

The Political Crisis of 1877

In the election of 1876, the Republicans ditched Grant and nominated instead Rutherford B. Hayes, a bland character and governor of Ohio.

However, Hayes had a history free of corruption, which Grant could not claim truthfully.

Against him, the Democrats nominated Samuel J. Tilden, who was governor of NY, and a wealthy lawyer with ties to Wall Street who also had a reform reputation for his role in cleaning up NYC politics.

Tilden openly favored home rule for the south.

Hayes, ever so discreetly also favored home rule for the south.

Once the returns started coming in on election night, however, it looked as if Tilden was destined to become President, until the Republicans realized that if they kept FL, LA, and SC (which all still had Republican governments), then Hayes would win by one electoral vote.

Thus the controversy began, as all three of those state governments cited Democratic fraud and intimidation, which certified Republican victories.

The controversy was deepened when newly elected Democratic officials also sent in electoral votes for Tilden, and, when Congress reconvened in early 1877, they faced two sets of electoral votes from those states.

The Constitution had never stated what to do if this issue arose, and thus an electoral commission was founded to settle the issue.

This commission was comprised of seven Republicans, seven Democrats, and David Davis who was a Supreme Court justice with no known party affiliation.

However, Davis then accepted an IL seat in the Senate and was replaced by Republican justice Joseph P. Bradley, and the commission awarded the votes to Hayes by a vote of 8-7.

Outraged Democrats, determined to be a thorn in the side of Republicans, still controlled the House and thus set about to stall the final count of the electoral votes so as
to prevent Hayes’ inauguration on March 4th.

- However, for reasons still unknown, on March 1st, the House Democrats suddenly ended their delaying tactics, and Hayes was inaugurated on schedule.

- It is believed that an under the table deal was struck between Republicans and Democrats that may or may not have included Hayes and to what extent if he was.

- Soon after his election, Hayes withdrew federal troops from SC and LA, and the new Democratic regimes took over, thus ending Reconstruction.

- Reconstruction resulted in three rights-defining amendments to the Constitution, some elbow room to advance economically, and a stubborn confidence among blacks that, by their own efforts, they could lift themselves up.