Reconstruction—the process by which the Confederate states returned to full membership in the Union—jolted along not under the generous and steady leadership of Abraham Lincoln but under the late president’s successor, Andrew Johnson. Johnson, a Southerner, thwarted almost all congressional moves to assure African Americans the rights of full citizenship.

The South was in ruins, its economy flattened. Fields were empty, and so were Southern pocketbooks. Many Southerners were angry; they had lost their enslaved work force and political clout, and now they had to accept former slaves as equals. While Johnson looked the other way, Southern legislators created black codes, which restricted the civil rights of African Americans. Other white men, hiding under white hoods, terrified African Americans by using violence and intimidation. African Americans saw the hard-earned reforms of Reconstruction evaporate under black codes, voting restrictions, and the intimidation of the Ku Klux Klan and other white supremacy groups.

Johnson’s successor, Civil War hero Ulysses S. Grant, was an ineffective president whose administration was immobilized by the corruption of those he appointed. Reconstruction policies eventually determined the disputed election of 1876 between Samuel Tilden and Rutherford B. Hayes; when Hayes promised to pull federal troops out of the South, an election commission awarded him all the disputed votes and thus the presidency.

Teacher Directions

1. Use the following questions to guide class discussion.
   - Which amendment gave African American men the right to vote?
   - What obstacles did African Americans in the South face?
   - What were Redeemers?
   - Why was Ulysses S. Grant not a strong president?
   - What happened in the disputed election of 1876?
   - What happened after this election?

2. Make sure students understand the following points.

   The Fifteenth Amendment gave African American men the right to vote. African Americans in the South faced economic problems, lynching, black codes, and opposition from white supremacy groups like the Klan. Sometimes black men are denied the right to vote. Democrats who opposed Reconstruction called themselves Redeemers – they intended to
save the South from the changes that Congress was trying to force on them. Because some of the men President Grant appointed to office were corrupt, his presidency was weak. His successor, Rutherford B. Hayes, took office after a controversial election. After he promised to withdraw federal troops from the South if elected, he was awarded disputed votes. After this election, Redeemer Democrats took office and passed laws that restricted the voting rights and civil rights of African Americans.

**Teacher Directions**

**Activity One**

1. Distribute the Student Sheet: *But It's the Law! Reconstruction Amendments*. Students read the amendments and discuss the questions.

2. Make sure students understand the following points.

   The Fourteenth Amendment tells Southern states that they cannot make their own laws that contradict those of the federal government. It also assures all citizens of any origin that their rights cannot be taken away from them. The Fifteenth Amendment does not specifically say that all African Americans must be allowed to vote. The states were free to set qualifications for voters — a loophole that allowed Southern states to establish literacy laws and poll taxes. The Fifteenth Amendment did not grant women the right to vote. Women did not receive the franchise until the passage of the Nineteenth Amendment in 1920. Johnson, a Southerner, opposed the Fourteenth Amendment because it granted African Americans all the rights of citizenship.

3. Help students fully grasp the chaos of Reconstruction under Johnson rather than Lincoln. Reconstruction probably would have been chaotic for Lincoln as well; however, many historians believe that Lincoln would have handled events far better than Johnson, who ultimately was impeached for his actions — or lack thereof. If available, students read Chapters 1-3 in Joy Hakim’s Book 7, *Reconstruction and Reform*.

**Activity Two**

1. Distribute the Student Sheet *Not So Free At Last*. Working in small teams, students discuss the following:

   • How did the KKK create difficulties for blacks and whites alike?

2. Working with teammates, students create a brief skit summarizing the problems faced by African Americans during Reconstruction.
Teacher Directions

Distribute the Student Sheet: *If Lincoln Had Lived.* Students read about the Reconstruction plans of the two presidents and discuss the following questions.

- How did the plans differ? In what ways were they similar?

**Speculate:** In your opinion, how might history have been different if Lincoln had lived?

Teacher Directions

1. Distribute Student Sheets: *A Few Earnest Words from Frederick Douglass.* Explain to students that in 1865, the nearly fifty-year-old Frederick Douglass was still fighting for civil rights for black Americans.

2. Students read the Student Sheet. Working in teams, students discuss the following question.

   How did Frederick Douglass move America toward freedom?

3. Ask students to imagine that Frederick Douglass is still alive. Using a classroom cassette player and microphone, ask a representative from each team to record a message to Mr. Douglass. Students tell Douglass what they think of his ideas, his devotion to the cause of civil rights, and how they will help him achieve his goals today.

4. Allow time for students to listen to the recording.

**Note to the Teacher:** Teachers may wish to use a video recorder rather than a tape recorder for this exercise in critical thinking and speaking. Teachers also may ask students to review the Student Sheet: *If Only Lincoln Had Lived* for additional information on the actions of President Andrew Johnson that Douglass criticized.

Teacher Directions

Use the following activities with your students.

**Language Arts** — Students read the poem by Langston Hughes, *A Dream Deferred*. After class discussion, students write about three major dreams they have for their own lives and how they will go about accomplishing those dreams rather than “deferring” them or allowing them to “dry up like a raisin in the sun.”

**Art** — Using the *Harper’s Weekly* drawing of Rutherford B. Hayes taking the oath of office, students draw a pen and ink caricature of Hayes. Students choose a quote from the Student Sheet: *The Healer President* to add to their drawing.

**Math** — Students write “Sharecropper Math Problems” using the sharecropper’s payment of one-half or one-third of his harvest to the landowner. For example: How many bales of cotton would a sharecropper pay if he raised two hundred bales and paid the landowner one-third of his harvest?

**Music** — Laborers have always sung work songs to make their toil seem easier. Many freed slaves farmed or did other manual labor. Students research and perform the work songs that farmers and laborers sang during the late 1800s.

**Library** — Students research first person accounts about slavery and the Reconstruction period by consulting the book and tape *Remembering Slavery* (edited by Ira Berlin). Some accounts depict freedom as harder than slavery. How would students explain this?

Amendment 13
(adopted 1865) Section 1. Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist within the United States, or any place subject to their jurisdiction.

Amendment 14
(adopted 1868) Section 1. All persons born or naturalized in the United States and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and of the state wherein they reside. No state shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States; nor shall any state deprive any person of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law, nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws.

Amendment 15
(adopted 1870) Section 1. The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or any state on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude.

Questions for discussion
1. Study each amendment. What do the words actually say?
2. Does the Fifteenth Amendment state that all blacks must be allowed to vote? Could requirements for voter registration discourage voting?
3. If the Constitution already declared all men equal, why was it necessary to pass three additional amendments? Didn’t our founding fathers get it right the first time?
4. The Fifteenth Amendment states that no citizen can be denied the right to vote based on “race, color, or previous condition of servitude.” Who was left off this list?
5. President Andrew Johnson opposed the Fourteenth Amendment. Why? What was so controversial about this amendment?
### If Lincoln Had Lived…

How did Abraham Lincoln and Andrew Johnson differ?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Lincoln</th>
<th>Johnson</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Wanted to “bind the nation’s wounds” and urged “malice towards none…and charity for all.”</td>
<td>Wanted to see normal governments established in the South as soon as possible but wanted citizens to take an oath of allegiance.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>After citizens take an oath of loyalty to the Constitution, they can vote and create a new state government.</td>
<td>Believed in complete political justice for African Americans, and wanted all blacks placed on voting rolls instantly. He said that the vote would be their “only protection.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gave amnesty (forgiveness) to all who would take an oath of allegiance.</td>
<td>Blamed the Civil War on a small number of wealthy Southerners.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ordered plantations returned to their original owners.</td>
<td>Took away lands that were to be given to former slaves.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vetoed the Civil Rights Bill of 1866. It passed over his veto.</td>
<td>Tried to block the passage of the Fourteenth Amendment.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Allowed Southerners to reorganize their local and state governments as they wished. This allowed the restrictive black codes to be passed.</td>
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</tbody>
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Not So Free At Last!

After the Civil War ended, freedmen and their families lived lives filled with fear. What would happen if they broke one of the black codes, new rules set up immediately after the end of the war to restrict the rights of African Americans? What would happen if they tried to buy land or compete with white businesses? Or if they tried to vote? Many in the South seemed intent on revenge. Newly freed blacks were the target.

The Ku Klux Klan, a name that meant “family circle,” was especially cruel. The KKK intimidated African Americans and kept them from enjoying new freedoms. In the dark of night, the KKK would arrive at the home of a black family or a white family considered too sympathetic to black causes. Holding torches aloft, yelling, and shooting guns, men wearing hoods and white robes would light a wooden cross in the yard as a warning. A burning cross was merely an omen of worse things to come such as beatings and lynching.

The first leader or Grand Wizard of the KKK was Nathan Bedford Forrest, a Confederate hero who quit the KKK shortly after joining because he believed it too violent. In 1871, Congress passed a law stating that federal troops could fire at will against KKK members who were breaking the law.
A Few Earnest Words From
Frederick Douglass

Frederick Douglass, the great abolitionist and speaker, criticized the progress of Reconstruction in the South under President Johnson.

- "A treacherous president stood in the way [of successful Reconstruction]."
- "He [Johnson] advocated everywhere his policy as against that of the Congress....perhaps the most disgraceful exhibition ever made by any President."
- "He [Johnson] stands today before the country as...a political criminal, guilty of a bold...attempt to possess himself of the legislative powers solemnly secured to Congress by the Constitution."
- "Fortunately, the Constitution of the United States knows no distinction between citizens on account of color."

Library of Congress

Frederick Douglass (center), with Blanche K. Bruce and Hiram Revels, the first two African Americans to serve as United States senators.
Rutherford B. Hayes
1877-1881

Rutherford B. Hayes of Ohio served as president from 1877-1881. A major general in the Union Army during the Civil War, Hayes is remembered as “the healer president.” In the disputed election of 1877, his supporters promised to pull the government troops out of the South in return for Hayes winning the office. Although Hayes vowed to protect the rights of African Americans, withdrawing government troops from the South ended Reconstruction and hopes for equal treatment under the law. Hayes was religious, hardworking, and honest. After the death of Lincoln, the impeachment of Johnson, and the corruption of the Grant administration, Americans were happy to have Hayes leading the country.

Quotes from Hayes’ Inaugural Address on March 5, 1877

“It must not be forgotten that only a local government which recognizes and maintains...the rights of all is a true self-government.”

“It must be a government which guards the interests of both races carefully and equally.”

“...a moral obligation rests upon the National Government to...establish the rights of the people it has emancipated and to protect them in the enjoyment of those rights.”

“I...trust...that party ties and the prejudice of race will be freely surrendered in behalf of the great purpose to be accomplished.”

“At the basis of all prosperity...lies the improvement of the intellectual and moral condition of the people.”

“...it is my earnest desire...to forever wipe out...the color line and the distinction between North and South, to the end that we may have...a united country.”
Reporting the News
The Five W’s and the H

Imagine this situation: You are a reporter for your hometown newspaper. You have been sent to cover the inaugural address of President Rutherford B. Hayes in 1877. The only way to get your “scoop” (your story) in before others is to use the telegraph. (Horseback would have been a little slow, don’t you think?) You really want to get your story in first and impress the newspaper editor!

Here is what you do! You focus on the 5 W’s and the H: Who — What — When — Where — Why — and — How. Your editor does not want to know that the President’s wife sneezed twice during his speech. He does want to know who said what, where, when, why and how.

Look at the inverted triangle below. It is upside down to show that all the really important information in a news story must come first. The fact that the President’s wife sneezed would be very unimportant. It might go at the little pointy end.

Another reason why good newspaper reporters use the 5 W’s and the H (and the inverted triangle) is because people get bored. Sometimes they do not read all of the story. They read just the beginning because they know it contains the most important information.

The FIRST paragraph is the LEAD paragraph. It is the most important because it answers the five W’s and the H.

The FIRST sentence is the HOOK. It attracts the reader’s attention.

The MIDDLE paragraphs contain important details that are interesting and add information for the reader.

The LAST paragraphs contain the least important information. Also, news stories often have to be shortened to fit into the space allowed for it in the newspaper. It makes sense to cut information that is not so important.
Directions: Using the five W’s and H, write a newspaper article about the inaugural address of President Rutherford B. Hayes. Use quotes and discuss what he said he will do for the country as president. Add lots of details!