

# Change in the South

## Essential Question

How did the South change politically, economically, and socially when Reconstruction ended?

## Reading Guide

### Content Vocabulary

cash crop  
(p. 539)

grandfather clause  
(p. 539)

poll tax  
(p. 539)

segregation  
(p. 540)

literacy test  
(p. 539)

lynching  
(p. 540)

### Academic Vocabulary

outcome  
(p. 536)

commission  
(p. 536)

### Key People and Events

Amnesty Act (p. 535)

Rutherford B. Hayes (p. 536)

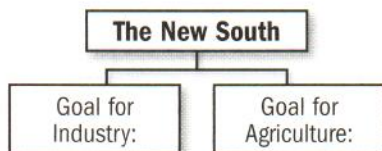
Compromise of 1877 (p. 536)

Jim Crow laws (p. 540)

Plessy v. Ferguson (p. 540)

### Reading Strategy

**Taking Notes** As you read, use a diagram like the one below to summarize the goals for industry and for agriculture that leaders hoped to achieve in the “New South.”



## American Diary

In 1875 Mississippi's governor, Adelbert Ames, appealed for federal troops to end racial violence in his state. The attorney general responded: "The whole public are tired out with these . . . outbreaks in the South. . . . Preserve the peace by the forces in your own state." His sharp tone revealed the desire of the Grant administration to end the federal government's involvement with Reconstruction.

—quoted in *The Great Betrayal*



Intent on securing white rule in Louisiana, a group called the “White League” takes over the statehouse in 1874.

# The End of Reconstruction

**Main Idea** Democrats steadily regained control of Southern governments as support for Radical Reconstruction policies decreased.

**History and You** Would you lose respect for a famous sports star if you learned he or she was cheating? Read how scandals weakened public support for the Radical Republicans.

**D**uring the Grant administration, Northerners began losing interest in Reconstruction. Many believed it was time for the South to solve its own problems.

Reconstruction declined for other reasons as well. The old Radical leaders began to disappear from politics. Thaddeus Stevens died in 1868. Others retired or lost elections.

Opponents of Reconstruction also exploited racial prejudice in the North. They argued that only Southerners really knew how to deal with African Americans and that the fate of the freed people should be left to the South. Southerners protested what they called “bayonet rule”—the use of federal troops to support Reconstruction governments. Grant tried to avoid any clashes with the South.

## Republican Revolt

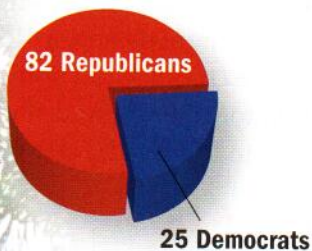
In the early 1870s, reports of corruption in Grant’s administration and in Reconstruction governments spread. Some Republicans split with the party over the issue of corruption. Another group broke with the party over Reconstruction, proposing peaceful reconciliation—coming together again—with Southern whites. Calling themselves Liberal Republicans, these two groups nominated Horace Greeley, a newspaper editor, to run against Grant in 1872. Despite the split among Republicans, Grant was reelected.

## Democrats Regain Power

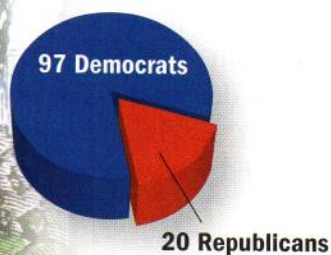
In 1872 Liberal Republicans helped pass the **Amnesty Act**, which pardoned most former Confederates. Nearly all white Southerners could vote and hold office again. The amnesty changed the political balance in the South by restoring full rights to people who supported the Democratic Party.

In Southern states where a majority of voters were white, Democrats soon regained control of state governments. In states where African Americans held a majority, the Ku Klux Klan helped the Democrats take power by terrorizing Republican voters.

**Mississippi House of Representatives 1870**



**1875**



## By the Numbers Politics in Mississippi

**End of Reconstruction** After the Civil War, Republican state governments in Mississippi and other Southern states set up schools, built hospitals, and ended racial discrimination laws. By 1880, these reforms that began under Reconstruction came to an end as the more conservative Democrats returned to power throughout the South.

**Mississippi State Budgets**

1870	\$1,061,250
1871	\$1,729,046
1876	\$518,709
1877	\$697,019
1880	\$803,191

Source: *Cyclopaedia of Political Science*, 1899.

## Critical Thinking

**Interpreting** Why do you think state government spending in Mississippi declined around 1876? How do you think the state’s African American population was affected by this and other changes?

The Republicans had other problems as well. In 1873 a series of political scandals came to light. Investigations uncovered top government officials making unfair business deals, scheming to withhold public tax money, and accepting bribes. One scandal involved the vice president and another the secretary of war. These scandals further damaged the Grant administration and the Republicans.

In addition to political scandals, Grant and the nation endured a severe economic depression. The crisis began in 1873 when a series of bad railroad investments forced the powerful banking firm of Jay Cooke and Company to declare bankruptcy. A wave of fear known as the Panic of 1873 quickly spread through the nation's financial community. The panic forced small banks to close and the stock market to plummet. Thousands of businesses shut down, and tens of thousands of Americans were thrown out of work. Blame for the hard times fell on the Republicans.

In the congressional elections of 1874, Democrats gained seats in the Senate and won control of the House. For the first time since the Civil War, the Democratic Party controlled a part of the federal government. This situation further weakened Congress's commitment to Reconstruction and protecting the rights of African Americans.

## The Election of 1876

President Grant considered running for a third term in 1876. Most Republican leaders preferred a new candidate—one who could win back the Liberal Republicans and unite the party. The Republicans nominated **Rutherford B. Hayes**, governor of Ohio. A champion of political reform, Hayes had a reputation for honesty, and he held moderate views on Reconstruction. The Democrats nominated New York governor Samuel Tilden. Tilden gained fame for fighting political corruption in New York City.

After the election, Tilden appeared to be the winner, receiving almost 250,000 more votes than Hayes. However, disputed returns from four states—representing 20 electoral

**Extending Liberties** Laws and amendments were passed during Reconstruction to extend civil liberties to African Americans.

## Civil Rights Amendments and Laws

### Civil Rights Act of 1866

Granted citizenship and equal rights to all persons born in the United States (except Native Americans)

### Fourteenth Amendment (1870)

Granted citizenship and equal protection of the laws to all persons born in the United States (except Native Americans)

### Fifteenth Amendment (1870)

Protected the voting rights of African Americans

### Civil Rights Act of 1875

Outlawed racial segregation in public services  
Ensured the right of African Americans to serve as jurors

votes—kept the **outcome**, or results, in doubt. Tilden had 184 electoral votes, only 1 short of what he needed to win. Yet if Hayes received all 20 of the disputed votes, he would have the 185 electoral votes required for victory.

To review the election results, Congress created a special **commission**, or group, of 15 persons made up equally of members of the House of Representatives, the Senate, and the Supreme Court. The commission had 7 Republicans, 7 Democrats, and 1 independent. But the independent resigned, and a Republican took his place. The commission voted 8 to 7 to award all 20 electoral votes, and the election, to Hayes. The vote followed party lines.

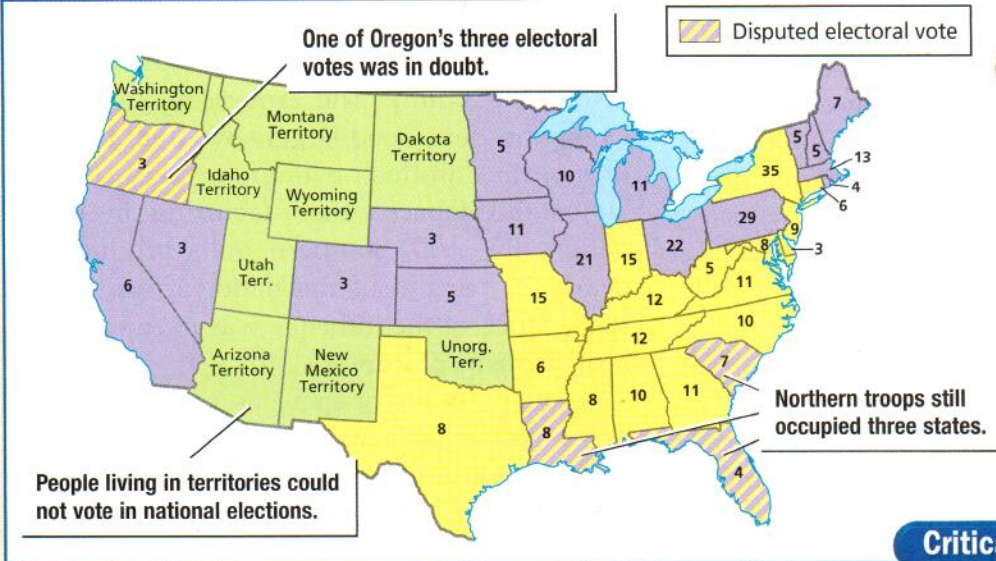
## Compromise of 1877

Democrats in Congress threatened to fight the commission's decision. Republican and Southern Democratic leaders reportedly met in secret to work out an agreement. On March 2, 1877, Congress declared Hayes the winner.

The agreement—called the **Compromise of 1877**—included some favors to the South.



**Disputed Election of 1876** NATIONAL GEOGRAPHIC



**Critical Thinking**  
**Comparing** Which laws are most similar to each other?

Candidate	Electoral Vote	Popular Vote	Political Party
Hayes	185	4,036,572	Republican
Tilden	184	4,284,020	Democrat

The new government would give more aid to the South. Republicans agreed to withdraw all remaining troops from Southern states. Without soldiers to support them, the remaining Republican governments in South Carolina and Louisiana quickly collapsed. The Democrats, in turn, promised to maintain African American rights.

**A New Policy**

In his Inaugural Address, Hayes declared that what the South needed most was the restoration of "wise, honest, and peaceful local self-government." During a goodwill trip to the South, Hayes announced his intention of letting Southerners handle racial issues. Hayes's message was clear. The federal government would no longer attempt to reshape Southern society. Reconstruction had come to an end.

**Reading Check** **Summarizing** How did the Compromise of 1877 affect Reconstruction?

**Change in the South**

**Main Idea** After Reconstruction, the South experienced a political shift and industrial growth.

**History and You** Do you recall that lack of industry put the South at a disadvantage during the Civil War? Read to learn how Southerners vowed to create a strong industrial "New South."

**M**any Southern whites hated Republicans for their role in the Civil War and in Reconstruction. When Reconstruction ended, power in the South shifted to the Democrats.

**Democrats in Control**

In some regions, the ruling Democrats were the large landowners and other groups that held power before the Civil War. In many areas, however, new leaders took charge. Among their ranks were merchants, bankers, and other business leaders who supported economic development.

## Change in Politics

These Democrats called themselves “Redeemers” because they had “redeemed,” or saved, the South from Republican rule. The Redeemers adopted conservative policies, such as lower taxes and reduced government spending. They drastically cut, or even eliminated, many social services started during Reconstruction, including public education. Their one-party rule and conservative policies dominated Southern politics well into the 1900s.

## Rise of the “New South”

By the 1880s, forward-looking Southerners were convinced that their region must develop a strong industrial economy. They argued that the South lost the Civil War because its industry did not match the North’s. Henry Grady, editor of the *Atlanta Constitution*, headed a group that urged Southerners to “out-Yankee the Yankees” and build a “New South.” This “New South” would have industries based on the region’s abundant coal, iron, tobacco, cotton, and

lumber. Southerners would create this new economy by embracing a spirit of hard work and regional pride.

Industry in the South made dramatic gains in the 1880s. Textile mills sprang up across the South. The American Tobacco Company, developed largely by James Duke of North Carolina, eventually controlled almost all tobacco manufacturing in the nation. By 1890, Southern mills produced nearly 20 percent of the nation’s iron and steel. Much of the industry was in Alabama near deposits of iron ore.

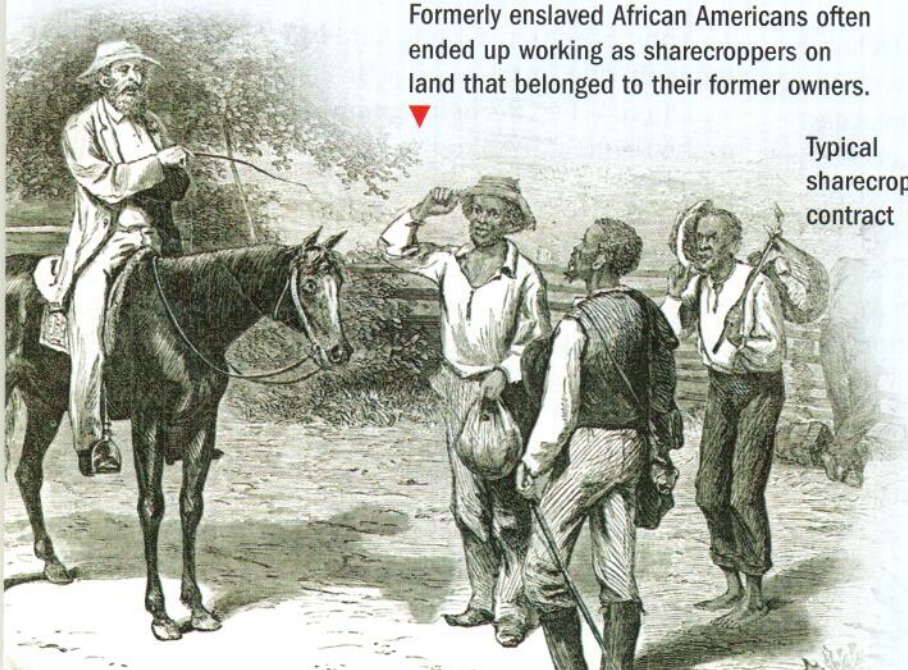
Southern industry grew as a result of a cheap and reliable workforce. Most factory workers put in long hours for low wages. A railroad-building boom also aided industrial development. By 1870, the Southern railroad system, which had been destroyed during the war, was largely rebuilt. The miles of rail track more than doubled between 1880 and 1890. Still, the South did not develop an industrial economy as strong as the North’s. Agriculture remained the South’s main economic activity.

## Primary Source Sharecropping

**Denied Land** During the Civil War, formerly enslaved African Americans hoped to acquire abandoned or confiscated Confederate lands. The government under President Johnson, however, returned Southern plantations to their former slaveholders.

Formerly enslaved African Americans often ended up working as sharecroppers on land that belonged to their former owners.

Southern laws forced sharecroppers to work the land until they paid off their debts. A system emerged in the South that closely resembled slavery. ▼



Typical sharecropper contract ►



To secure payment of said rent and supply bill, the said Dawson [the sharecropper] grants unto said Solid South [the landowner] a special privilege and right of pledge on all the products raised on said land, and on all his stock, farming implements, and personal property, and hereby waives in favor of said Solid South the benefit of any and all homestead laws and exemption laws now in force, or which may be in force, in Louisiana, and agrees that all his property shall be seized and sold to pay said rent and supply bill in default of payment thereof as herein agreed. Any violation of this contract shall render the lease void.

## Rural Economy

Supporters of the New South hoped to change Southern agriculture as well as industry. Their goal was small, profitable farms raising a variety of crops rather than large plantations devoted to cotton. A different economy emerged, however. Some plantations were broken up, but many large landowners held on to their land. When estates were divided, much of the land went to sharecropping and tenant farming, neither of which was profitable.

Debt also caused problems. Poor farmers used credit to buy supplies. Merchants who sold on credit charged high prices, and farmers' debts rose. To repay debts, farmers grew **cash crops**—crops that could be sold for money. As in the past, the main cash crop was cotton. Too much cotton forced prices down, however. Farmers then had to grow even more cotton to try to recover their losses. Sharecropping and reliance on one cash crop kept Southern agriculture from advancing.

**Reading Check** **Describing** Why did industry in the South grow during this period?

## A Divided Society

**Main Idea** As Reconstruction ended, true freedom for African Americans became a distant dream.

**History and You** How would you feel if you had to pass a test on a subject you never studied in order to graduate? Read to learn about a test African Americans in the South had to pass in order to vote.

As Reconstruction ended, African Americans' dreams for justice faded. In the last 20 years of the 1800s, racism became firmly set in the culture. Individuals took steps to keep African Americans separated from whites and to deny them basic rights.

## Voting Restrictions

The Fifteenth Amendment prohibited any state from denying an individual the right to vote because of race. Southern leaders, however, found ways to get around the amendment and prevent African Americans from voting.

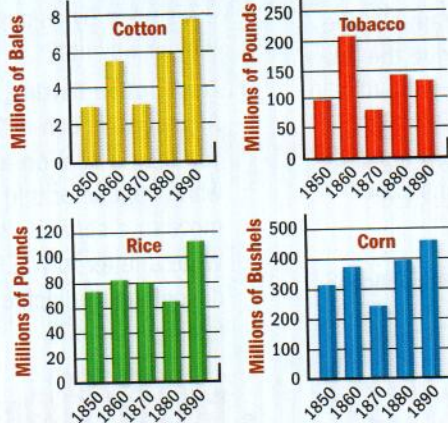
Many Southern states required a **poll tax**, a fee people had to pay to vote. Because many African Americans could not afford the tax, they could not vote. The tax also kept many poor whites from voting.

Another approach was to make prospective voters take a **literacy test** in which they had to read and explain difficult parts of state constitutions or the federal Constitution. Because most African Americans had little education, literacy tests prevented many from voting.

Literacy tests could also keep some whites from voting. For this reason some states passed **grandfather clauses**. These laws allowed people who did not pass the literacy test to vote if their fathers or grandfathers voted before Reconstruction. Because African Americans could not vote until 1867, they were excluded. By the end of the 1800s, such laws and the constant threat of violence caused African American voting to decline drastically.

### Agricultural Production in the South, 1850–1890

Increased production lowered cotton prices and left much of the rural South in poverty after the Civil War.



Source: Historical Statistics of the South

### Critical Thinking

**Comparing and Contrasting** How was the South after the Civil War similar to and different from the South before the Civil War?

**Graphs in Motion** See StudentWorks™ Plus or [glencoe.com](http://glencoe.com).

## Jim Crow Laws

By the 1890s, **segregation**, or the separation of the races, had become a common feature of the South. Southern states passed so-called **Jim Crow laws** that required African Americans and whites to be separated in almost every public place.

In 1896 the Supreme Court upheld segregation laws in **Plessy v. Ferguson**. The case involved a Louisiana law requiring separate sections on trains for African Americans. The Court ruled that segregation was legal as long as African Americans had access to public places equal to those of whites.

One problem, however, was that the facilities were separate but in no way equal. Southern states spent much more money on schools and other facilities for whites than on those for African Americans. This “separate but equal” doctrine gave legal support to Southern segregation for more than 50 years. White violence against African Americans

also rose. One form of violence was **lynching**, in which an angry mob killed a person by hanging. African Americans were lynched because they were suspected of crimes—or because they did not behave as whites thought they should behave.

## Reconstruction's Impact

Reconstruction was both a success and a failure. It helped the South rebuild its economy. Yet much of the South remained agricultural and poor. African Americans gained greater equality, created their own institutions, and shared in government with whites. Their advances, however, did not last. In the words of African American writer and civil rights leader W.E.B. Du Bois, “The slave went free; stood a brief moment in the sun; then moved back again toward slavery.”

 **Reading Check** **Describing** How was segregation applied?

## Section 4 Review

**History ONLINE**  
Study Central™ To review this section, go to [glencoe.com](http://glencoe.com).

### Vocabulary

1. Use each of these terms in a sentence that will help explain its meaning: **outcome**, **commission**, **cash crop**, **poll tax**, **literacy test**, **grandfather clause**, **segregation**, **lynching**.

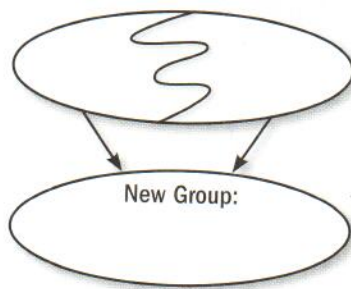
### Main Ideas

2. **Explaining** How did the Amnesty Act help Democrats regain control of Southern state governments?
3. **Describing** How did forward-thinking Southerners want to change the South's economy?
4. **Explaining** Why did African American voting in the South decline drastically by the late 1800s?

### Critical Thinking

5. **Determining Cause and Effect** Use a diagram like the one below to describe the two issues that split the Republican Party for the 1872 election. Then name the group these dissatisfied Republicans came together to form.

#### Issues That Divided Republicans



6. **Analyzing** Did agriculture in the New South achieve the shift envisioned by its supporters? Why or why not?
7. **Descriptive Writing** You are an African American in 1899. When you took a seat on a train, the white conductor told you to move to a separate section. Write a letter to W.E.B. Du Bois, describing the incident and your feelings about it.

### 8. Answer the Essential Question

How did the South change politically, economically, and socially when Reconstruction ended?