

process of law. The amendment did not specifically give African Americans the vote. However, it did specify that if any state prevented a portion of its male citizens from voting, that state would lose a percentage of its congressional seats equal to the percentage of citizens kept from the polls. Another provision barred most Confederate leaders from holding federal or state offices unless they were permitted to do so by a two-thirds-majority vote of Congress. **D**

Congress adopted the Fourteenth Amendment and sent it to the states for approval. If the Southern states had voted to ratify it, most Northern legislators and their constituents would have been satisfied to accept them back into the Union. President Johnson, however, believed that the amendment treated former Confederate leaders too harshly and that it was wrong to force states to accept an amendment that their legislators had no part in drafting. Therefore, he advised the Southern states to reject the amendment. All but Tennessee did reject it, and the amendment was not ratified until 1868.

**1866 CONGRESSIONAL ELECTIONS** The question of who should control Reconstruction became one of the central issues in the bitter 1866 congressional elections. Johnson, accompanied by General Ulysses S. Grant, went on a speaking tour, urging voters to elect representatives who agreed with his Reconstruction policy. But his train trip from Washington to St. Louis and Chicago and back was a disaster. Johnson offended many voters with his rough language and behavior. His audiences responded by jeering at him and cheering Grant.

In addition, race riots in Memphis, Tennessee, and New Orleans, Louisiana, caused the deaths of at least 80 African Americans. Such violence convinced Northern voters that the federal government must step in to protect former slaves. In the 1866 elections, moderate and Radical Republicans won a landslide victory over Democrats. The Republicans gained a two-thirds majority in Congress, ensuring them the numbers they needed to override presidential vetoes. By March 1867, the 40th Congress was ready to move ahead with its Reconstruction policy. **E**

**RECONSTRUCTION ACT OF 1867** Radicals and moderates joined in passing the Reconstruction Act of 1867, which did not recognize state governments formed under the Lincoln and Johnson plans—except for that of Tennessee, which had ratified the Fourteenth Amendment and had been readmitted to the Union. The act divided the other ten former Confederate states into five military districts, each headed by a Union general. The voters in the districts—including African-American men—would elect delegates to conventions in which new state

**MAIN IDEA**  
Summarize  
**D** What were the main benefits of the Fourteenth Amendment offered African Americans?  
**D. Answer** The amendment made them citizens; protected them from discrimination; and tried to encourage states to accept it from denying them suffrage.

**E. Answer** The election gave them a major large enough to pass laws to override veto.

**MAIN IDEA**  
Analyzing Effects  
**E** What effects did the election of 1866 have on Republicans' ability to carry their plan for Reconstruction?

## Major Reconstruction Legislation, 1865–1870

### Legislation

**Freedmen's Bureau Acts (1865–1866)**

**Civil Rights Act of 1866**

**Fourteenth Amendment**  
(ratified 1868)

**Reconstruction Act of 1867**

**Fifteenth Amendment**  
(ratified 1870)

**Enforcement Act of 1870**

### Provisions

Offered assistance, such as medical aid and education, to freed slaves and war refugees

Granted citizenship and equal protection under the law to African Americans

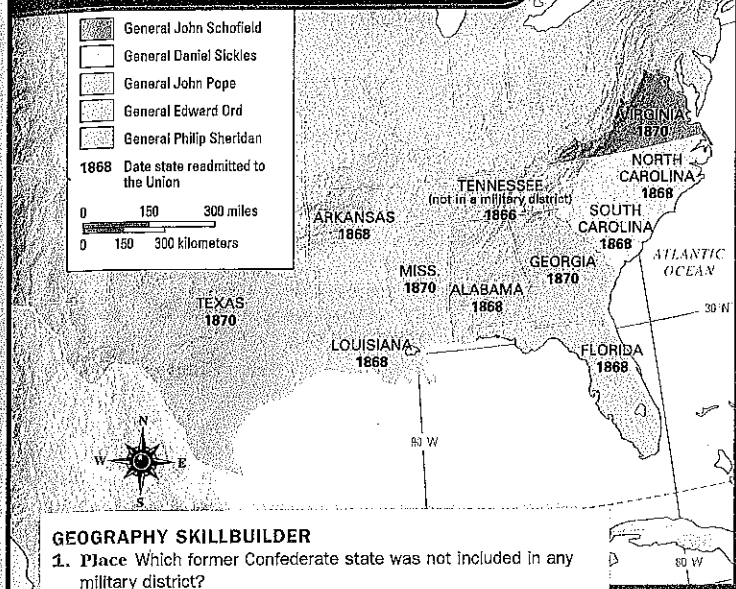
Makes all persons "born or naturalized in the United States" citizens; stipulates that states that prevented male citizens from voting would lose a percentage of their congressional seats; barred most Confederate leaders from holding political offices

Abolished governments formed in the former Confederate states; divided those states into five military districts; set up requirements for readmission to the Union

States that no one can be kept from voting because of "race, color, or previous condition of servitude"

Protected the voting rights of African Americans and gave the federal government power to enforce the Fifteenth Amendment

## Southern Military Districts, 1867



### GEOGRAPHY SKILLBUILDER

1. Place Which former Confederate state was not included in any military district?
2. Place When were the latest readmissions of former Confederate states? Which states were readmitted in this year?

### Skillbuilder Answers

1. Tennessee.
2. 1870; Georgia, Texas, Virginia, and Mississippi.

constitutions would be drafted. In order for a state to reenter the Union, its constitution had to ensure African-American men the vote, and the state had to ratify the Fourteenth Amendment.

Johnson vetoed the Reconstruction Act of 1867 because he believed it was in conflict with the Constitution. Congress promptly overrode the veto.

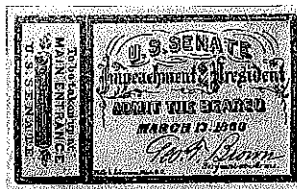
**JOHNSON IMPEACHED** Radical leaders felt President Johnson was not carrying out his constitutional obligation to enforce the Reconstruction Act. For instance, Johnson removed military officers who attempted to enforce the act. The Radicals looked for grounds on which to **impeach** the president—that is, to formally charge him with misconduct in office. The House of Representatives has the sole power to impeach federal officials, who are then tried in the Senate.

In March 1867, Congress had passed the Tenure of Office Act, which stated that the president could not remove cabinet officers “during the term of the president by whom they may have been appointed” without the consent of the Senate. One purpose of this act was to protect Secretary of War Edwin Stanton, the Radicals’ ally.

Johnson, along with many others, was certain that the Tenure of Office Act was unconstitutional. To force a court test of the act, Johnson fired Secretary of War Stanton. His action provided the Radicals with the opportunity they needed—the House brought 11 charges of impeachment against Johnson, 9 of which were based on his violation of the Tenure of Office Act. Johnson’s lawyers disputed these charges by pointing out that President Lincoln, not Johnson, had appointed Secretary Stanton, so the act did not apply.

Johnson’s trial before the Senate took place from March to May 1868. On the day the final vote was taken at the trial, tension

The lucky holders of tickets like this one could see Johnson’s impeachment proceedings in 1868.





A campaign poster supporting the Republican ticket in the election of 1868

mounted in the jammed Senate galleries. Would the Radicals get the two-thirds vote needed for conviction? People in the Senate chamber held their breath as one by one the senators gave their verdicts. When the last senator declared "Not guilty," the vote was 35 to 19, one short of the two-thirds majority needed.

**ULYSSES S. GRANT ELECTED** The Democrats knew that they could not win the 1868 presidential election with Johnson, so they nominated the wartime governor of New York, Horatio Seymour. Seymour's Republican opponent was the Civil War hero Ulysses S. Grant. In November, Grant won the presidency by a wide margin in the electoral college, but the popular vote was less decisive. Out of almost 6 million ballots cast, Grant received a majority of only 306,592 votes. About 500,000 Southern African Americans had voted, most of them for Grant, bringing home the importance of the African-American vote to the Republican Party.

After the election, the Radicals feared that pro-Confederate Southern whites might try to limit black suffrage. Therefore, the Radicals introduced the **Fifteenth Amendment**, which states that no one can be kept from voting because of "race, color, or previous condition of servitude." The amendment would also affect Northern states, many of which at this time barred African Americans from voting.

The Fifteenth Amendment, which was ratified by the states in 1870, was an important victory for the Radicals. Some Southern governments refused to enforce the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments, and some white Southerners used violence to prevent African Americans from voting. In response, Congress passed the Enforcement Act of 1870, giving the federal government more power to punish those who tried to prevent African Americans from exercising their rights.

Such political achievements were not, however, the only changes taking place during Reconstruction. The period was also a time of profound social and economic changes in the South.



## ASSESSMENT

**1. TERMS & NAMES** For each term or name, write a sentence explaining its significance.

- Andrew Johnson
- Thaddeus Stevens
- black codes
- Reconstruction
- Wade-Davis Bill
- Fourteenth Amendment
- Radical Republicans
- Freedmen's Bureau
- Impeach
- Fifteenth Amendment

## MAIN IDEA

### 2. TAKING NOTES

Fill in a chart like the one shown with features of presidential Reconstruction and congressional Reconstruction.

Presidential Reconstruction	Congressional Reconstruction

Why did presidential Reconstruction fail?

## CRITICAL THINKING

### 3. HYPOTHESIZING

Describe how Reconstruction might have been different if Abraham Lincoln had lived.

### 4. INTERPRETING CHARTS

Look again at the chart on page 380. What was the primary focus of the major Reconstruction legislation?

### 5. EVALUATING DECISIONS

Do you think the Radical Republicans were justified in impeaching President Johnson? Why or why not? **Think About:**

- the controversy over Reconstruction policies
- the meaning of the Tenure of Office Act
- Johnson's vetoes