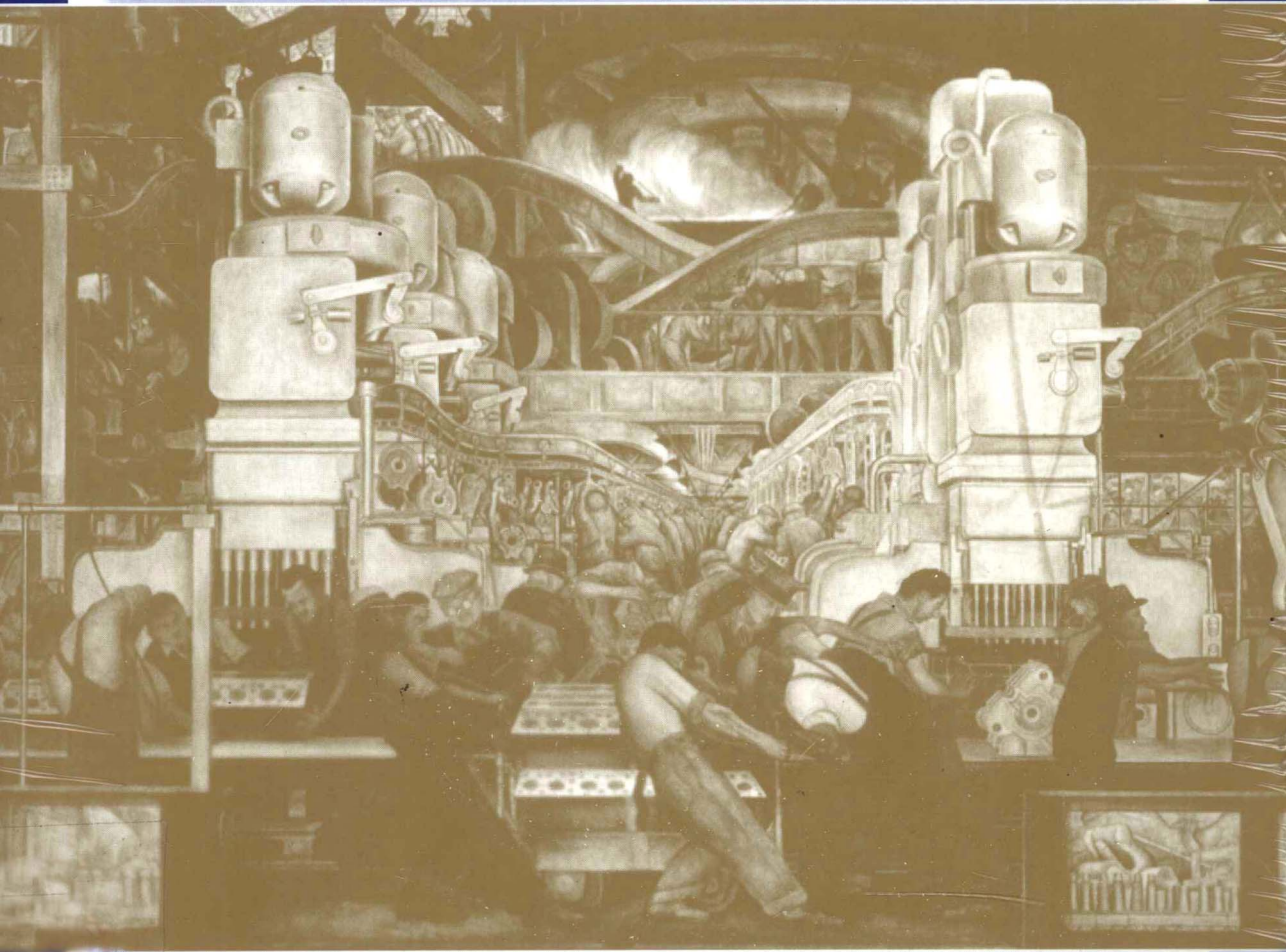


STUDY GUIDE •

America

A NARRATIVE HISTORY

Brief Fifth Edition



Tindall / Shi

CHARLES W. EAGLES

VOLUME TWO

AMERICA

A NARRATIVE
HISTORY

TINDALL and SHI



STUDY GUIDE

VOLUME II / BRIEF FIFTH EDITION

CHARLES W. EAGLES
UNIVERSITY OF MISSISSIPPI



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INTRODUCTION

This *Study Guide* is designed to help you learn the important concepts in *America: A Narrative History*, Brief Fifth Edition, by George B. Tindall and David E. Shi. It is not intended as a replacement for the textbook, but as an aid to be used along with the text. When used conscientiously, this *Study Guide* will help you to understand the major themes in American history and to do well on quizzes based on your reading.

STRUCTURE OF THIS STUDY GUIDE

Each chapter of the *Study Guide* contains the following sections:

- Chapter Objectives
- Chapter Outline
- Key Items of Chronology
- Terms to Master
- Vocabulary Building
- Exercises for Understanding:
 - Multiple-Choice Questions
 - True-False Questions
 - Essay Questions
- Document(s) or Reading(s)

The purpose of each of the sections, along with the instructions for its use, is explained below.

Chapter Objectives

For each chapter you will find about five objectives, or key concepts, on which you should

focus your attention as you read. You should read the whole of each chapter, taking in details as well as major themes, but by keeping the chapter objectives in mind, you will avoid getting bogged down and missing the key ideas.

Chapter Outline

Skim this outline carefully before you begin reading a chapter. The outline provides a more detailed overview than do the objectives. Often headings in the outline are worded to suggest questions about the material. For example, "Duties of the King" and "patterns of Colonization" raise the questions "What were the duties of the king?" and "What were the patterns of colonization?" Look for the answers to such questions as you read the text. This approach will help those of you who are new to reading history.

Key Items of Chronology

Each chapter of this *Study Guide* will include a list of dates. You need not learn every date you encounter in the chapter, but if you learn the key ones listed here and any other dates emphasized by your instructor, you will have the sound chronological framework so important for understanding historical events.

Keep in mind that dates, while important, are not the sole subject matter of history. Seldom will any of the quizzes in this *Study Guide* ask

for recall of dates. On the other hand, term papers and answers to essay questions should include important dates and show that you are familiar with the chronology of your subject.

Terms to Master

This section of the *Study Guide* gives you a list of important terms to study. (Remember, of course, that your instructor may emphasize additional terms that you should learn.) After reading each chapter, return to the list of terms and write a brief definition of each. If you cannot recall the term readily, turn to the relevant pages in the textbook and reread the discussion of the term. If you need or want to consult another source, go to the annotated bibliography at the end of the relevant chapter, or ask your instructor for suggestions.

Vocabulary Building

This is a section of the *Study Guide* that you may or may not need. If you do not know the meaning of the words or terms listed in Vocabulary Building, look them up in a dictionary before you begin reading a chapter. By looking up such words and then using them yourself, you will increase your vocabulary.

When the terms in Vocabulary Building are not readily found in the standard dictionary or when their use in your text lends them a special meaning, we have defined them for you. We've used the *American Heritage Dictionary*, Second College Edition, as a guide to determine which terms should be defined here for you.

Exercises for Understanding

You should reserve these exercises to use as a check on your reading after you study the chapter. The multiple-choice and true-false questions included here will test your recall and understanding of the facts in the chapter. The answers to these questions are found at the end of each *Study Guide* chapter.

Essay Questions

The essay questions that come next may be used in several ways. If you are using this *Study Guide* entirely on your own, you should try to outline answers to these questions based on your reading of the chapter. In the early stages of the course you may want to consider writing formal answers to these essay questions just as you would if you encountered them on an exam. The questions will often be quite broad and will lead you to think about material in the chapter in different ways. By reviewing the essay questions in this *Study Guide* before attending class, you will better understand the class lecture or discussion.

Documents and Readings

All the chapters in this *Study Guide* contain a section of documents or readings. The documents are sources from the time period of the chapter (primary sources), chosen to illumine some aspect of the period covered in the text. The readings are excerpts from works of historians (secondary sources), chosen either to illustrate the approach of a master historian or to offer varying interpretations of an event. Study the document or reading after you have completed the chapter, and consult the headnotes given in this *Study Guide* before each document. Then attempt to answer the questions that follow the documents.

STUDYING HISTORY

The term "history" has been defined in many ways. One way to define it is "everything that has happened in the past." But there are serious problems with this definition. First, it is simply impossible to recount *everything* that has happened in the past. Any single event is a combination of an infinite number of subevents. Each of these is itself composed of an unlimited number of subevents. The past, which includes everything that has happened, is shapeless; history is a way of lending shape to the past by focusing on significant events and their relationships.

Second, the historical record is limited. As you will discover, there is much we don't know about everyday life in nineteenth-century America. History must be based on fact and evidence. The historian then, using the evidence available, fashions a story in which certain past events are connected and take on special meaning or significance. If we accept this definition, we will recognize that much history is subjective, or influenced by the perspective and bias of the historian attempting to give meaning to events.

This is why there is so much disagreement about the importance of some past events. You may have been taught in high school that it was important simply to learn dates and facts: that the Declaration of Independence was adopted on July 4, 1776, or that Franklin Roosevelt was inaugurated on March 4, 1933. But these facts by themselves are limited in meaning. They gain significance when they become parts of larger stories, such as why the American colonies revolted against England, or how America responded to the Great Depression. When historians construct stories or narratives in which these facts or events take on special significance, room for disagreement creeps in.

Since it is valid for historians to disagree, you should not automatically accept what any one historian writes. You should learn to apply general rules of logic and evidence in assessing the validity of different historical interpretations. This *Study Guide* will at times give you an opportunity to assess different interpretations of events. By doing this, you will learn to question what you read and hear, to think critically.

HOW TO READ A TEXTBOOK

Reading a textbook should be both pleasurable and profitable. The responsibility for this is partly the author's and partly yours, the reader's. George Tindall and David Shi have written a text that should teach and entertain. In order to get the most out of it, you must read actively and critically. One way to avoid passive, mindless

reading is to write, underline, or highlight material by hand. Simply by highlighting or underlining pertinent passages in the textbook, you will later be better able to recall what you have read, and you will be able to review important material quickly. The key to effective highlighting is to be judicious about what you choose to mark. You should highlight key words and phrases, not whole sentences unless all the words are important. For example, the two paragraphs below show the way we would highlight them:

During the second half of the nineteenth century, an **unrelenting stream of migrants** flowed into the largely Indian and Hispanic West. Newspaper editors described western migration as a "flood tide." Millions of Anglo-Americans, African Americans, Mexicans, and European and Chinese immigrants transformed the patterns of western society and culture. **Most of the settlers were relatively prosperous white, native-born farming families.** Because of the expense of transportation, land, and supplies, the very poor could not afford to relocate. **Three-quarters of the western migrants were men.**

The largest number of foreign immigrants came from **northern Europe and Canada.** In the northern plains, Germans, Scandinavians, and Irish were especially numerous. Not surprisingly, these foreign settlers tended to **cluster together according to ethnic and kinship ties.** Norwegians and Swedes, for example, often gravitated toward others from the same home province or parish to form cohesive rural communities. In the new state of Nebraska in 1870, a quarter of the 123,000 residents were foreign-born. In North Dakota in 1890, 45 percent of the residents were immigrants. Compared to European immigrants, those **from China and Mexico were much less numerous** but nonetheless significant. More than 200,000 Chinese arrived in California between 1876 and 1890.

Probably no two persons would agree on exactly what words in the passage should be underlined,

but you can readily see that we have emphasized only the major points concerning immigrants.

Highlighting like this can be helpful, but even more useful in increasing your retention of the

material is to jot down brief notes about what you read. Taking notes makes it easier to commit important points to memory. This will help especially when you review for a test.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I wish to thank George B. Tindall and David E. Shi for having written the excellent text around which I developed this *Study Guide*. My hope is that the text and the *Study Guide* will combine to promote in students a clear understanding of the

history of the United States. I have a great debt to Steven Forman and John Durbin, my editors at W. W. Norton & Company, who have again used their considerable skill to fashion the final product.

C.W.E.

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RECONSTRUCTION: NORTH AND SOUTH

CHAPTER OBJECTIVES

After you complete the reading and study of this chapter, you should be able to

1. Assess the impact of the Civil War on both the South and the North and on the status of freed blacks.
2. Outline the circumstances that led to Radical Reconstruction.
3. Describe the nature and extent of Radical Reconstruction.
4. Explain the process that returned control of the South to the conservatives.
5. Evaluate the contributions and failures of the Grant administration.
6. Understand the outcome of the election of 1876, the effects of that election, and the special arrangements made to conclude it.
7. Evaluate the overall impact of Reconstruction.

CHAPTER OUTLINE

I. The war's aftermath

A. The North

1. Friendly to business
2. National power centralized

- a. Morrill Tariff
- b. National Banking Act
- c. Transcontinental railroad
- d. Homestead Act
- e. Morrill Land Grant Act

B. The South

1. Property destroyed
2. Worthless money and bonds
3. Slaves freed
4. Relationships transformed
5. Confederates embittered

C. The freed slaves

1. New status
 - a. Legal rights
 - b. Lack of property
2. Freedmen's Bureau
 - a. Help freedmen
 - b. Limited powers

II. Battle over Reconstruction

A. Lincoln's plan

1. Provisions
2. Implementation

B. Congressional reaction

1. Radical critics
2. Wade-Davis Bill
3. Lincoln's response

C. Assassination of Lincoln

D. Johnson's plan

1. Johnson's background
 - a. Tennessee
 - b. Jacksonian
 - c. Unionist
 - d. Election
2. Ideas on Union
 - a. Indestructible
 - b. No Reconstruction
3. Similar to Lincoln's plan
- E. Southern resistance
 1. Elects ex-Confederates
 2. "Black codes"
- F. Congressional Radicals
 1. Joint Committee on Reconstruction
 2. Motivation
 3. Constitutional theory
- G. Johnson vs. Congress
 1. Veto of Freedmen's Bureau extension
 2. Johnson attacks Radicals
 3. Veto of Civil Rights Act overridden
 4. The Fourteenth Amendment
- III. Congressional Reconstruction
 - A. Elections of 1866
 - B. Legislation
 1. Military Reconstruction Act
 2. Command of the Army Act
 3. Tenure of Office Act
 4. Limits on Supreme Court review
 - C. Impeachment and trial of Johnson
 1. Mutual hostility
 2. Initial effort failed
 3. Violation of Tenure in Office Act
 4. Political purposes
 5. Trial
 6. Role of Edmund Ross
 7. Effects of trial
 - D. Republican rule in South
 1. Readmission of states
 2. Role of Union League
- IV. The reconstructed South
 - A. The life of freedmen
 1. Military experience
 2. Independent organizations
 3. Families reaffirmed
 4. Farm workers
 - a. Wage laborers
 - b. Tenant farmers
 5. Schools
 - B. Black political life
 1. Illiterate and inexperienced
 2. Increasing participation
 3. Divisions among blacks
 4. Limited political role
 - C. White Republicans in South
 1. Carpetbaggers
 2. Scalawags
 - D. The Radicals' record
 - E. White terror
 1. Ku Klux Klan
 2. Enforcement Acts
 - F. Conservative resurgence
 1. Weakened morale
 2. Mobilized white vote
 3. Decline of northern concern
- V. The Grant years
 - A. The election of 1868
 1. Reasons for support of Grant
 2. The Grant ticket and platform
 3. Democratic programs and candidates
 4. Results
 5. The character of Grant's leadership
 - B. Proposal to pay the government debt
 - C. Scandals
 1. Jay Gould's effort to corner the gold market
 2. The Crédit-Mobilier exposure
 3. Secretary of War and the Indian Bureau
 4. "Whiskey Ring"
 5. Grant's personal role in the scandals
 - D. Reform and the election of 1872
 1. Liberal Republicans nominate Greeley in 1872
 2. Grant's advantages
 - E. Economic panic
 1. Causes for the depression
 2. Severity of the depression
 3. Democratic control of the House in 1874

4. Reissue of greenbacks

5. Resumption of specie payments approved in 1875

VI. The Compromise of 1877

A. Election of 1876

1. Republicans nominate Hayes
2. Democrats run Tilden

3. Parties' stances

4. Uncertain results

B. Electoral Commission

C. Compromises

D. End of Reconstruction

KEY ITEMS OF CHRONOLOGY

Lincoln's plan for Reconstruction announced	1863
Thirteenth Amendment ratified	1865
Creation of Freedmen's Bureau	1865
Assassination of Lincoln	April 14, 1865
Johnson's plan for Reconstruction announced	May 29, 1865
Veto of Freedmen's Bureau Extension Bill	February 1866
Congress overrode Johnson's veto of Civil Rights Act	April 1866
Ku Klux Klan organized in the South	1866
Military Reconstruction Act	March 2, 1867
Johnson replaces Stanton with Grant as secretary of war	August 1867
House votes to impeach Johnson	February 1868
Trial of Johnson in Senate	March 5 to May 26, 1868
Fourteenth Amendment ratified	1868
All southern states except Mississippi, Texas, and Virginia readmitted to Congress	June 1868
Texas v. White decision of Supreme Court	1868
Grant administrations	1869–1877
Mississippi, Texas, and Virginia readmitted	1870
Fifteenth Amendment ratified	1870
Resumption Act	1875

TERMS TO MASTER

Listed below are some important terms or people with which you should be familiar after you complete the study of this chapter. Explain or identify each.

1. Freedmen's Bureau

2. Wade-Davis Hill

3. "iron clad" oath

4. black codes

5. Radicals
6. Fourteenth Amendment

7. Military Reconstruction

8. Command of the Army Act

9. Tenure of Office Act

10. carpetbaggers and scalawags

11. Ku Klux Klan

12. Liberal Republicans

13. Jay Gould

14. Crédit-Mobilier

15. Samuel J. Tilden

16. Compromise of 1877

VOCABULARY BUILDING

Listed below are some words used in this chapter. Look in the dictionary for the meaning of each.

1. profundity
2. anarchy
3. intransigence
4. affiliation
5. indulgence
6. impenitence
7. petulant
8. perversity
9. inversion
10. immunity
11. boor
12. dilute
13. tedious
14. impeach
15. harangue
16. resilience
17. lenient
18. castigate
19. factious
20. cormorant

EXERCISES FOR UNDERSTANDING

When you have completed reading the chapter, answer each of the following questions. If you have difficulty, go back to the text and reread the section of the chapter related to the question.

Multiple-Choice Questions

Select the letter of the response that best completes the statement.

1. After emancipation, the freed slaves received
 - A. forty acres of land under the Confiscation Act.
 - B. individual homesteads under the Morrill Land Grant Act.
 - C. the right to vote under the Fourteenth Amendment.

- D. help with labor contracts from the Freedmen's Bureau.
2. The Reconstruction policies of the Radical Republicans were probably motivated by
 - A. a humanitarian concern for the former slaves.
 - B. hopes for Republican power in the South.
 - C. bitterness over having to fight the costly war.
 - D. all of the above
3. Before becoming president, Andrew Johnson had been
 - A. a Democrat.
 - B. an abolitionist.
 - C. a senator from Maine.
 - D. all of the above
4. Andrew Johnson's plan to restore the Union
 - A. closely resembled Lincoln's.
 - B. was quite similar to the Radicals' program.
 - C. involved total reconstruction of the South.
 - D. did not include any black suffrage.
5. The Radical southern governments during Reconstruction
 - A. were unusually honest and moral.
 - B. operated frugally and did not go into debt.
 - C. refused to aid private corporations such as railroads.
 - D. gave unusual attention to education and poor relief.
6. As a result of his impeachment, President Andrew Johnson
 - A. was removed from office.
 - B. gained the upper hand in his fight with Congress over Reconstruction.
 - C. lost considerable power and influence.
 - D. decided to leave politics.
7. U. S. Grant was guilty of
 - A. refusing to turn documents over to Congress for its investigation.
 - B. trying to block the implementation of Reconstruction laws.
 - C. choosing his appointees unwisely.
 - D. taking funds from the federal treasury.

8. Reconstruction came to an end in
 - A. 1870.
 - B. 1877.
 - C. 1888.
 - D. 1890.

True-False Questions

Indicate whether each statement is true or false.

1. After the Civil War, many Confederates left the South.
2. The black codes were laws enacted by southern legislatures that were controlled by the former slaves.
3. Congress generally accepted the “forfeited rights theory” in explaining secession.
4. During “Black Reconstruction,” blacks controlled most southern state governments.
5. Scalawags were white, southern-born Republicans.
6. In 1868, President Johnson missed being removed from office by one vote.
7. The Crédit-Mobilier was involved in trading greenbacks to France for gold.

8. The Compromise of 1877 included a southerner as Speaker of the House.

Essay Questions

1. Did the Civil War have a greater impact on the North or on the South? Explain.
2. How did the Reconstruction plans of Lincoln, Johnson, and the Radicals differ? Which was the best? Why?
3. Radical Reconstruction was not imposed until two years after the end of the Civil War and caused bitter opposition from the whites in the South. Would it have been better accepted if it had been imposed in May 1865 instead of March 1867? Explain why or why not.
4. Was either Grant or Johnson a successful president? Who was the more successful? How?
5. Why was Andrew Johnson impeached? What was the outcome?
6. What were the major provisions of the Fourteenth Amendment?
7. Explain the provisions of the Compromise of 1877 and its effects on the South.

READINGS

Reading 1. William A. Dunning Explains the Failure of Reconstruction in Terms of Corruption and Failure of the Governments

Like other significant periods in U.S. history, Reconstruction has gone through cycles of interpretation. Some of the earliest scholarly work on the period was carried out by William A. Dunning and his students, who believed that the Radicals in Congress sought to impose their rule on the South for selfish motives of personal gain. Dunning’s synthesis of Reconstruction, written in the early 1900s when he was a professor at Columbia University, presented a

southern point of view. Dunning also directed a group of scholars who investigated developments in the southern states from a similar point of view. In the excerpts below from one of his articles, Dunning, while explaining the failure of Reconstruction, reveals his attitude about the corruption and inadequacy of Reconstruction governments and his reservations about the abilities of African Americans.

The leading motive of the reconstruction had been, at the inception of the process, to insure to the freedmen an effective protection of their civil rights,—of life, liberty, and property. In the course of the process, the chief stress came to be laid on the endowment of the

blacks with full political rights,—with the electoral franchise and eligibility to office. And by the time the process was complete, a very important, if not the most important part had been played by the desire and the purpose to secure to the Republican party the permanent control of several Southern states in which hitherto such a political organization had been unknown. This last motive had a plausible and widely accepted justification in the view that the rights of the negro and the “results of the war” in general would be secure only if the national government should remain indefinitely in Republican hands, and that therefore the strengthening of the party was a primary dictate of patriotism.

Through the operation of these various motives successive and simultaneous, the completion of the reconstruction showed the following situation: (1) the negroes were in the enjoyment of the equal political rights with the whites; (2) the Republican party was in vigorous life in all the Southern states, and in firm control of many of them; and (3) the negroes exercised an influence in political affairs out of all relation to their intelligence or property, and, since so many of the whites were disfranchised, excessive even in proportion to their numbers. At the present day, in the same states, the negroes enjoy practically no political rights; the Republican party is but the shadow of a name; and the influence of the negroes in political affairs is nil. This contrast suggests what has been involved in the undoing of reconstruction.

Before the last state was restored to the Union the process was well under way through which the resumption of control by the whites was to be effected. The tendency in this direction was greatly promoted by conditions within the Republican party itself. Two years of supremacy in those states which had been restored in 1868 had revealed unmistakable evidences of moral and political weakness in the governments. The personnel of the party was declining in character through the return to the North of the more substantial of the carpet-baggers, who found Southern conditions, both social and industrial, far from what they had anticipated, and through the very frequent instances in which the “scalawags” ran to open disgrace. Along with this deterioration in the white element of the party, the negroes who rose to prominence and leadership were very frequently of a type which acquired and practiced the tricks and knavery rather than the useful arts of politics, and the vicious courses of these negroes strongly confirmed the prejudices of the whites. But at the same time that the incapacity of the party in power to administer any government was becoming demonstrable the problems with which it was required to cope were made by its adversaries such as would have taxed the capacity of the most efficient statesmen the world could produce. . . . No attention was paid to the claim that the manifest inefficiency and viciousness of the Republican governments afforded a partial, if not wholly adequate explanation of their overthrow. Not even the relative quiet and order that followed the triumph of the whites in these states were recognized as justifying the new regime.

[From William A. Dunning, “The Undoing of Reconstruction,” *Atlantic Monthly*, October 1901, pp. 437–38.]

Reading 2. La Wanda Cox Questions Whether Reconstruction Could Have Been Effective

In a strong departure from Dunning's racial arguments, most historians in recent years have come to see the failure of Reconstruction as the refusal to establish a sound basis for black equality. According to this view, Reconstruction as a reform movement aiming to improve the status of former slaves was undermined by events at the end of the nineteenth century.

Several key historians have argued that the declining fortunes of blacks in the 1890s stemmed from the political failure to provide land for the freed slaves. In the excerpt below, La Wanda Cox, writing in 1981, takes issue with that view, finding other reasons for the failure of Reconstruction. As you read, carefully identify each of her other arguments.

. . . Yet there can be no question but that the equality of citizenship embodied in national and state law during the 1860s lay shattered and apparently unmendable as the South entered the twentieth century. Most former slaves and their children still lived in agrarian dependence and poverty, poorly educated, increasingly disfranchised and segregated, with little protection against a new surge of white violence.

All accounts of Reconstruction recognize the intensity of white southern resistance to the new status of blacks imposed by Republicans upon the defeated South. Curiously, in explaining the outcome, generally characterized by modern historians as the failure of Reconstruction (though with qualification and some dissent), they tend to place major responsibility not upon the South but upon "the North." By "the North" they usually mean the Republican party, which held national political power, and sometimes say as much. Their explanation is not free of moral stricture, often patently implicit when not expressly stated. Since the mid-1960s there has seldom been missing from accounts of the "First Reconstruction" the pejorative term "betrayal." . . .

Failure to enforce black civil and political rights in the South is often attributed to a lack of will on the part of Republican leaders and their constituencies due to their racial views. The explanation may not be susceptible of definite disproof, but it has not been proven and probably cannot be. Many factors entered into the abandonment of the cause of the black man in the South, and Republicans gave up neither quickly nor easily. The voting record of regular Republicans in Congress through 1891 remained remarkably consistent and cohesive behind efforts to strengthen federal enforcement of Reconstruction legislation. Democratic party obstruction was equally consistent and created a major roadblock. Republicans enacted a drastic enforcement law in 1870 and another in 1871. For most of the twenty years after the elections of 1870 they did not have the power in Congress to pass additional legislation supportive of black rights but they kept the issue alive. It is true that as early as 1872 some Republicans, notably those who joined the Liberal Republican movement, broke with the policy of national action in support of black rights. But race prejudice was neither a conscious nor a major determinant of their new attitude toward federal intervention in the South. Indeed, the Liberal Repub-

lican Platform of 1872 tried to reconcile a policy of national retreat with loyalty to the Reconstruction amendments. When Republicans regained control of both houses of Congress in 1890–1891 by only a narrow margin, they passed in the house an enforcement bill to protect black voters but narrowly lost it in the Senate by the perfidy of a few who broke ranks to gain support for silver legislation. On the local front in the northern states, in keeping with party tradition, the Republican record on black rights remained stronger than that of their opponents.

In 1877 when President Hayes withdrew federal troops and acquiesced to “home rule” for the South, racism was not the key to presidential decision. . . . The will to continue the battle was undermined by growing doubt of the wisdom of immediate universal black enfranchisement, increasingly seen as the source of corruption. There was revulsion against the turmoil of disputed elections and the force used to settle them. Many Republicans were discouraged as state after state came under “Redeemer” control, or distracted by the pressure of problems closer at home. There was a general desire in the North for the peace and national reconciliation that Grant had invoked but could not attain as president. Whatever part race prejudice played in weakening Republican support for continuing military intervention, its role was peripheral rather than central.

A critical question needs to be addressed. Could a greater use of force have brought white southerners to accept civil and political rights for blacks? Neither history nor theory can answer this question with certainty. A number of historians have implied that direct coercion could have effected a fundamental change, that Reconstruction was the nation’s great missed opportunity. . . . Given the nation’s traditional commitment to civilian control and majority rule, “the use of force was self-defeating.”

Force *and* consent, how to achieve the one by use of the other, posed a dilemma which by the 1870s strained the bounds of the possible. The outcome would have been only a little less problematic had Reconstruction been formulated in early 1865 and backed by force, i.e., by force alone. Particularly vulnerable is the assumption that by eliminating the power of the landed aristocracy, resistance would have been broken and a new order of equal rights for blacks securely established. There would still have remained for the South as a whole a white majority with prejudices and interests inimicable to the advancement of blacks. . . .

Certainly by the mid-1870s the use of coercion had intensified a deep and bitter reaction. Instead of passive resignation, coercion led to a “negative consensus” that rejected the legitimacy of national authority, over the status of blacks, fed resistance and united white southerners to an unprecedented degree. It is well to be reminded that the coercion used had been considerable. . . .

The force employed in the 1870s was grossly insufficient for the task at hand. Too often local officials and courts sidestepped justice

for blacks without interference. Troops stationed in the South were woefully inadequate in number to contain violent resistance wherever it erupted. . . .

Nonetheless, the direct coercion mobilized by the national government in the 1860s and 1870s was substantial, far greater than any similar action in support of desegregation and black voting in the 1950s and '60s. It was large enough to give strong support to the contention that a century ago the amount of force necessary to realize equal civil and political rights in the South was impossible to sustain in a nation whose democratic traditional and constitutional structure limited the use of power, exalted the rule of law, and embodied the concept of government by the consent of the governed. Neither national institutions nor public opinion could be expected to have sustained a military intervention of indefinite length and of sufficient strength to crush all local resistance. And by the mid-1870s, the issue at stake no longer appeared clear-cut, even to northern Republicans.

. . . No explanation for the tragic outcome of the postwar decades for black America has been more generally accepted in modern scholarship than that Reconstruction failed because the federal government did not provide land for the freedman. The thesis has been sharply challenged, and the challenge has not been met. The work of historians and economists in exploring afresh the roots of poverty, particularly of black poverty, in the postbellum South afford some relevant perspectives. Between 1974 and 1979 six book-length studies appeared with significant bearing on the problem of black poverty, and others were in progress; conference papers and published articles also reflected the vigor of scholarly interest in the question.

No consensus has developed either as explanation for the continuing dependence and poverty of southern blacks or as an analysis of the potential economic effect of land distribution. However, four of five econometricians who addressed the latter question concluded that grants of land, while desirable and beneficial, would not have solved the predicament of the freedmen and their children. . . .

More than a land program was needed to insure the freedman's economic future. Although areas of land with high fertility prospered, it seems doubtful that income from cotton between the close of the war and the turn of the century, even if equitably distributed, could have sustained much beyond a marginal level of existence for those who worked the cotton fields whether as wage earner, cropper, tenant, or small owner. And the lower South because of its soils and climate, . . . had no viable alternative to cotton as a commercial crop until the scientific and technological advances of the twentieth century. Nor could nonmarket subsistence farming offer much by way of material reward. The "more" that was needed can be envisaged in retrospect, and was glimpsed by contemporaries, but it is not clear how it could have been achieved. . . . Despite scholarship, new and old, there is no certain explanation of why the South failed to catch up with the North. If historians and economists should agree upon a diagnosis, it