SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC FACTORS INVOLVED IN THE
RECONSTRUCTION OF THE SOUTH FOLLOWING
THE CIVIL WAR

THESIS

Presented to the Graduate Council of the North
Texas State Teachers College in Partial
Fulfillment of the Requirements

For the Degree of

MASTER OF SCIENCE

BY

119386
Nell Rowan, B. S.
Murchison, Texas

August, 1944
# TABLE OF CONTENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chapter</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I. THE SETTING FOR RECONSTRUCTION</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A Preview of the Problems of Reconstruction</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ruin and Desolation Throughout the South</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II. SOCIAL DISRUPTION AND CHAOS AMONG BLACKS AND WHITES AFTER APPOMATTOX</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Social and Economic Aftermath of Emancipation</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Black Codes&quot;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Southern Whites in Confusion</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III. SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC PHASES OF RADICAL RECONSTRUCTION</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Political Framework of Reconstruction</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Freedmen's Bureau</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Personnel of the Reconstruction Governments</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Union Leagues</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education and Religion During Reconstruction</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV. THE END OF RECONSTRUCTION</td>
<td>131</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anarchy</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Disfranchisement of the Freedmen</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White Supremacy Regained</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BIBLIOGRAPHY</td>
<td>162</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
CHAPTER I

THE SETTING FOR RECONSTRUCTION

A Preview of the Problems of Reconstruction

Since the introduction of bonded labor into the United States, slavery and the semi-feudal social organization which necessarily accompanied it had been conditioning factors in determining the total economic and social framework of the South. The presence and labor of the Negro had been inextricably woven into every experience of life, until the acceptance of slavery was no longer a question but a necessity to the maintenance of life as it had developed in the South. Slavery, of course, produced in the Southerners the belief that the black man is inferior, and for that reason it was thought to be absolutely necessary that he be disciplined by the white man in order to maintain a proper adjustment in society. All classes of Southerners, whether they were active champions of slavery or not, seemed to believe that slavery as an institution was the most satisfactory means of imposing the necessary discipline upon the members of the supposedly inferior race.¹

¹Paul H. Buck, The Road to Reunion, 1865-1900, p. 27.
In short, slavery had become accepted in the South, though not always approved. Since the entire social structure and all the wheels of the economic machinery had been erected upon the basic premise of black bondsmen and white masters, any effort to destroy slavery without a gradual adjustment to the new order of things would inevitably leave a disrupted, uprooted, and broken-down social and economic structure. Any sudden demolition of slavery would be equivalent to tearing the vitals out of the social-economic-political body of the South.

This is exactly what happened at the conclusion of the Civil War. When the armies of the North and of the South were disbanded in 1865, two matters had been settled beyond further dispute: the Negro was to be free, and the Union was to be preserved. It was only natural that the liberation of the slaves and the resultant destruction of the society that had long been characteristic of the South should produce a state of chaos, uncertainty, and bewilderment. It would be long before the South could gather together the scattered fragments of the old and add some elements of the new to produce a lasting civilization from the ruins of the slave economy.

What had taken place in the war and in the liberation of slaves was the collapse of a civilization. "The breakup

---

of estates, the exaltation of the less worthy element to power, the deflation of economic values, made it evident that an era in American social history had been concluded. Now it was necessary to build up a "whole new form of civilization" under the most difficult of conditions.

These difficult conditions were not necessarily inherent in the nature of the situation as it existed, but they stemmed rather from the stubbornness, hatred, and selfishness of men. In 1865 the public mind, even in the North, was ready for a quick restoration of the South without serious penalties, despite the bitterness of the war, which had been intensified by the assassination of Lincoln and the outrageous accusations which sought to hold Davis responsible for the war. Lee, in a post-war interview, expressed an earnest wish for the restoration of peace and fraternity, and for the revival of industry. When he surrendered, he had told Grant that if the United States authorities desired it, the entire South could be restored to peace and harmony within thirty days. Obviously, this sensible solution to the problem of national harmony did not meet with ready acceptance, for the trying ordeal of reconstruction was drawn out over a period of more than a

---


decade because of the selfishness and frenzy of radical leaders who sought to boost their own political aspirations at the expense of a prostrate and subdued South.

For the years that followed Lincoln the word "reconstruction" is a misnomer. The word implies repairing the damage of war, returning to normal acting and sane thinking, undoing wartime blunders, rebuilding the nation. Recent books describe the period as an "age of hate," a "tragic era." The historian knows it as a time of party abuse, of corruption, of vindictive bigotry. It was the aftermath of war; and it offers many parallels to the years that followed the World War. The period after Lincoln may be compared to the period after Wilson in such matters as prevalence of crime, intolerant mass psychology, speculative excess, business depression, moral slump, official sinning, . . . 6

When the colors of the Confederacy were furled in surrender at Appomattox, the United States was confronted with a problem that was wholly new in the experience of the nation. For the first time in its history the country was called upon to deal with a disaffected people who had fought for independence and failed. The restored Union was based visibly and frankly upon force -- force which the North tended to exert in an arrogant manner over the spent and exhausted South. Though completely vanquished by the conflict, the South was still ready and able to offer stolid resistance to the unfriendly gestures of its assailant who was determined to make it pay dearly for its

6Ibid., p. 689.
effort to remove itself from the Union.\(^7\)

The war itself had exacted a high toll from the South. During the conflict, the population of the eleven Southern states shrank from approximately 5,500,000 to slightly fewer than five million. Of the million Southern men who had actively participated in the war, over 250,000 had been killed or had died from wounds, exposure, or disease while the war was still in progress. Many survivors of the war were left crippled or diseased. The more than 170,000 men in ragged gray, the total strength of the Confederate armies at the close of the war, were exhausted and utterly disheartened, many of them fearing horrible punishments from the Northern victors -- imprisonment, banishment, or death. Not until May, 1865, when President Johnson stated that there would be no widespread proscription of the Southern people, were their apprehensions somewhat allayed.\(^8\)

The South was forced to enter upon a strategic period of adjustment without the political guidance of its natural and experienced leaders. Lincoln's famous "ten per cent plan" provided that when ten per cent of the 1860 voting population of any state had sworn allegiance to the Union and had pledged compliance with all executive and

\(^7\)Buck, op. cit., Preface, p. vii.

legislative actions regarding slavery, they could form a new state government loyal to the United States. But excluded from the privileges of the "ten per cent plan" were military officers above the rank of colonel, naval officers above the rank of lieutenant, and all civil officials of the Confederacy or of the states within the Confederacy. Only three of the states complied with these requirements, but the others, later in 1865, set up governments in conformity with Johnson's plan of reconstruction, which was virtually the same as Lincoln's. Hence the first governmental organizations in the South following the war were composed of private soldiers, lower officers, and non-participants. Most members of the former controlling group in the South, the planting aristocracy, were deprived of all political rights in the months following Appomattox. However, by the end of 1865, executive clemency left only a small number of unpardoned men in the South.  

In applying for amnesty under the President's proclamation, Lee urged all other Southerners to forget their bitterness, swallow their pride, and apply also for such amnesty, to the end that the Union might be restored and perpetuated with a minimum of difficulty and antagonism. In September, 1865, Lee wrote to a personal friend the sentiments which he was publishing throughout the South:

9Ibid., pp. 583-584.
... The war being at an end, the Southern States have laid down their arms, and the question at issue between them and the Northern States having been decided, I believe it to be the duty of every one to unite in the restoration of the country, and the re-establishment of peace and harmony. ...

It seems to me that the allayment of passion, the dissipation of prejudice, and the restoration of reason will alone enable the people of the country to acquire a true knowledge and form a correct judgment of the events of the past four years. I have too exalted an opinion of the American people to believe that they will consent to injustice; and it is only necessary, in my opinion, that truth should be known, for the rights of every one to be secured. I know of no surer way of eliciting the truth than by burying contention with the war.10

Although Lee's reasoning was sane and judicious, it met with a cool reception in the North; and future events were to demonstrate how fragile were his earnest hopes. The South, however, listened when Lee spoke, and it was largely through his influence that many high-spirited Southerners suppressed their bitterness and willingly humiliated themselves for the sake of national unity. Grant, in his report to Johnson following his tour of the South, planned for the purpose of studying conditions for the information of the President, stated that his observations led him to the conclusion that the citizens of the Southern states were eager to return to self-government, within the Union, as soon as possible; and that they would pursue in good faith any course of action opened to them which was designed to restore them completely to the Union without undue hardship

10Robert E. Lee, as quoted in Francis W. Halsey, editor, Great Epochs in American History, TX, 57-58.
and humiliation.\footnote{Walter L. Fleming, editor, \textit{Documentary History of Reconstruction}, I, 53.} The South, having had enough of trouble, worry, and deprivation, was seeking a way to peace and unity. In the North, however, certain radical leaders were soon to scrap the President's lenient policy and chart a rough and rugged road over which the South must travel before peace would come and suffering would be over.

Southerners of the Confederacy everywhere . . . accepted the destruction of slavery and the renunciation of state sovereignty; they welcomed an early restoration of the Union, without any punishment of leaders of the defeated cause. But they were proud of their Confederate records . . . ; they considered the negro as free but inferior, and expected to be permitted to fix his status in the social organization and to solve the problem of free labor in their own way. To embarrass the easy and permanent realization of these views there was a society disrupted, economically prostrate, deprived of its natural leaders, subjected to a control not always wisely conceived nor effectively exercised, and, finally, containing within its own population unassimilated elements which presented problems fraught with difficulty and danger.\footnote{Fleming, \textit{The Sequel of Appomattox}, pp. 32-33.}

Beyond the slightest doubt, the Negro was the central figure in the Civil War and in the period of reconstruction which followed. Without him as the predominant actor on the stage, reconstruction would have been comparatively simple. Since he was present, however, in large numbers, reconstruction meant more than the restoration of the Union and the rebuilding of resources -- it meant likewise the more or less successful attempt to obtain and secure for
the freedman civil and political rights, and to improve his economic and social status. In 1861 the American Negro was everywhere regarded as inferior, and most of his race were slaves; four years later he was no longer a slave, but whether he was to be serf, ward, or citizen was still an unsettled problem; by 1868 he was, in the South, the legal and political equal, and frequently the superior, of the whites. Such an upheaval of society could not escape being fraught with complicated problems; and the difficulty of the situation was further enhanced by the unprincipled leadership of certain white elements from the North who were little concerned with the Negro or with the nation, but who had an abiding interest in their own personal enrichment or political advancement.

Thus it is seen that the problems of reconstruction were many and varied. Chief among them were the following: (1) the restoration of Southerners as citizens of the United States and the readmission of the Southern states to the Union; (2) the welding of a united people from two embittered sections whose citizens refused to permit the end of the war to remove their animosities; (3) the determination of the legal, political, economic, and social status of the Negro who was now a freedman and no longer a slave; (4) the working out of satisfactory adjustments between the two

13 Ibid., pp. 34-35.
races, whose relationships in the South were now drastically altered; and (5) the decision as to whether the South would be permitted largely to work out its own solution to the problems under a policy of lenient guidance and assistance from the Federal government, as advocated by Lincoln, Johnson, and Lee, or whether the victor would insist upon asserting his right to dictate what should be done and how the various issues should be met. On these five points, principally, rested responsibility for the regrettable debacle of the next twelve years. It was soon evident that the radical element in the North had no intention of permitting the South to slip quietly back into the Union; instead, she could not be forgiven for her folly and must be made to pay a severe penalty for having divorced herself from the Union.

Ruin and Desolation Throughout the South

The difficulties of reconstruction were rendered more complicated by the fact that they had to be dealt with in a region which had been ruinously devastated by the ravages of war and the depredations of invading armies. Even during the war the devastation and economic ruin that were enthralling the South became horribly apparent. In the wake of the invading Union armies was a state of deplorable desolation. Suffering and privation were abundantly manifest on every hand. There was practically no grain
left, and fertile fields were overgrown with weeds. Cattle, hogs, sheep, and horses were few in number. Fences left standing were indeed a rarity. Houses were in smouldering ruin, barns were demolished, and farm tools and machinery were broken or rusted from disuse. Wide stretches of desolate country were dotted with blackened and crumbling chimneys where once had stood plantation "big houses" or humble cottages.

At home during the war, women shouldered the double burden of work as they struggled to manage and operate their farms and plantations, supply vital war needs, and offer comfort to fighting men and to those who had been wounded. Often even church services were interrupted by the sexton delivering messages to worshipers telling of relatives who had been brought in wounded, dying, or dead. Many women gave all the time they could to nursing in the hospitals, and many were wounded or killed while ministering to the fallen on the battlefields.

Maintaining their stricken household, kept on a tension by hourly apprehension, supplying social gaiety as in "starvation parties" to give pleasant diversion to soldiers, some even driving a team or following a plow so that men could be released for fighting, the women of the South, while witnessing daily the backwash and ruin of war, showed often a sustained morale and cheerfulness exceeding that of the men.14

When at last the war had ended, the returning veterans

came home not in orderly columns of marching men, proud in bearing and strong in spirit. Instead, they came singly or in small groups, straggling into all parts of the South. They did not sit down in ragged gray to a fatted calf amid scenes of riotous celebration, but they begged crusts from people who had not enough crusts to supply their own needs. There was no thrilling music of fife and drum, but everywhere the silence of exhaustion and despair, broken now and then by sobs that welled up from the broken hearts of a crushed people. The ruin of the war was by no means purely physical. True, the material prostration of the South was very real in its various manifestations, such as general devastation, burned cities, financial bankruptcy, torn-up railways, depleted farms, and a disrupted labor force; but even more disastrous was the severe impoverishment of the spirit that came upon the heels of defeat and that continued to show itself in the depressed standard of living after the war.\textsuperscript{15}

Straggling wearily homeward, the disbanded Confederate soldiers beheld on every hand disorganization, ruin, starvation, and utter dejection. In Virginia, where the contending armies had fought bitterly, the country was almost deserted and forsaken in its desolation. In the eighty miles from Harper's Ferry to New Market, barns, mills, haystacks,

\textsuperscript{15}Buck, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 31.
and many houses had been burned to the ground. Livestock, fences, and bridges were destroyed. The whole region between Washington and Richmond was likewise a wasteland -- villages, farm buildings, churches, and timber had been swept away. Through Georgia and the Carolinas, where Sherman's army had blazed a wide trail of destruction, the severity of the scene rendered it "heart-sickening." Splendid plantation homes had been pillaged and left in ashes. Wide areas in Arkansas and in northern Alabama, where guerilla bands and scouting parties of the two armies had roamed, were scenes of appalling ruin. The beautiful Tennessee Valley was completely devastated and almost devoid of human habitation. 16

Southern towns did not escape. Richmond, having been largely destroyed when the Confederates evacuated the city, was a mass of blackened ruins. Columbia, usually considered the most beautiful city in the South before the war, had an area of eighty blocks, containing 1,386 buildings, which had been converted by fire into a dreary waste of blackened chimneys and crumbling walls. Grimness was added to the picture by the broken and partially burned trunks of the stately old trees that had lined the streets of this city for generations. Charleston had undergone repeated bombardments and two disastrous fires; what before the war

16 Sidney Andrews, The South Since the War, p. 1.
had been rich men's homes became ruins or vacant and untended shells. To the eyes of a Northern visitor, Charleston was a city of "ruins, of desolation, of vacant houses, of widowed women, of rotting wharves, of deserted warehouses, of weed-wild gardens, of miles of grass-grown streets, of acres of pitiful and voiceless barrenness."\(^{17}\)

In Atlanta masses of sooty brick and mortar, charred timber, twisted scraps of metal roofing, and thousands of tons of debris of all kinds marked the trail of Sherman's passage. Said a Georgian who surveyed the scene in Atlanta: "Hell has laid her egg, and right here it hatched." Conditions on the Gulf were as disheartening. In Mobile nine blocks had been demolished by a terrific explosion; wharves had been torn up and used for firewood; Federal forces blocked the harbor, and half of the warehouses and shops were closed; a hopeless atmosphere of decay characterized the dirty streets in which men loafed despondently. Galveston was a city of "dogs and desolation," a place "entirely insignificant and God-forsaken." Although New Orleans had suffered comparatively little physically, the spirit of the people was broken. Half the stores were locked and empty. Dire want drove many women to the streets. The bustle and energy of pre-war days were completely lacking. Almost the only sign of animation was supplied by

\(^{17}\)Ibid.; also Carman, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 578.
the profusion of flashy gamblers who preyed upon the desire of many citizens to risk what little they had saved in an effort to recoup their finances. 18

Straggling back to their respective communities in all parts of the South, the Confederate soldiers found few satisfactory dwelling places for civilized people. Many found their families scattered or in deep sorrow or distress; many of the best of their former neighbors were missing; property was destroyed, labor was disorganized, and in many places there was dire suffering from want and actual hunger. White people were demoralized and sometimes divided into bitter factions, while the Negroes were free, bewildered, and disorderly.

Beneath the disorganized society lay a devastated land. Affecting all classes, the widespread destruction of property reduced the once affluent to the poverty level and took away from the poor the little that they once had possessed. The accumulated capital of the South had vanished into worthless Confederate stocks, bonds, and currency. Early in the war, almost all banks had failed. Factories had been destroyed or dismantled by Federal troops because they had been furnishing supplies to the Confederate armies. The mining industries were completely paralyzed. Public buildings which had been used for war purposes had been

18 Carman, op. cit., pp. 577-579; also Fleming, The Sequel of Appomattox, pp. 5-6.
destroyed or confiscated for use by the Federal army or the new freedmen's schools. It was months before courthouses, state capitols, and school and college buildings were available for their normal uses.\textsuperscript{19}

Everywhere the planters were without money or credit; they could not borrow, and they had no means of hiring or maintaining workers. Many had to divide their holdings through the pressure of economic necessity, and thus the great plantation system, long a fundamental factor in the life of the South, suffered a partial breakdown.\textsuperscript{20}

Transportation, meager and primitive enough before the war, was now in a pitiful state as a result of military operations. Roads were in a serious condition of disrepair; horses and mules and the feed to support them became "scarce and dear"; wagons and ambulances were about the only vehicles now existing, and often these could not be used because of lack of horses or mules. Railroads were at a standstill because of widespread destruction of the roadbeds, rails, rolling stock, and bridges and trestles.\textsuperscript{21}

Everywhere throughout the South were found want, sickness due to undernourishment, hunger, nakedness, and suffering from cold, exposure, and homelessness. Haggard women walked ten, fifteen, or twenty miles to obtain from

\textsuperscript{19}Fleming, \textit{The Sequel of Appomattox}, pp. 2-3.
\textsuperscript{20}Randall, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 694.
\textsuperscript{21}\textit{Ibid.}, p. 695.
government distribution centers a little food for their
starving children at home. Often they had to return empty-handed. During the winter of 1865, in some regions, whole communities were without any food at all except what could be had from the government or from charitable agencies. A severe drought had further impoverished the land, causing widespread crop failures. For several years in many sections of the South, crops were uniformly bad because of labor shortage, lack of equipment and seeds, and land which had deteriorated through disuse.22

When the war ended, there were few stocks of merchandise left in the South, and Northern creditors had lost so heavily because of the failure of Southern merchants that they were very cautious about extending credit again. Long before 1865 all coin had been sent out in contraband trade through the blockade. Something of the great need of supplies from the outside world is indicated in the following statement from General Boynton:

Window-glass has given way to thin boards, in railway coaches and in the cities. Furniture is marred and broken, and none has been replaced for four years. Dishes are cemented in various styles, and half the pitchers have tin handles. A complete set of crockery is never seen, and in very few families is there enough to set a table. . . . A set of forks with whole tines is a curiosity; clocks and watches have nearly all stopped. . . . Hair brushes and tooth brushes have all worn out; combs are broken. . . . Pins, needles, and thread, and a thousand such articles, which seem indispensable

to housekeeping, are very scarce. Even in weaving on the looms, corncobs have been substituted for spindles. Few have pocket knives. In fact, everything that has heretofore been an article of sale at the South is wanting now. At the tables of those who were once esteemed luxurious providers you will find neither tea, coffee, sugar, nor spices of any kind. Even candles, in some cases, have been replaced by a cup of grease, in which a piece of cloth is plunged for a wick.23

Sidney Andrews, a New England journalist who made a tour of the South in 1865, stated while observing the desolation in Charleston that the material and money with which to rebuild the devastated city and the wrecked South were non-existent throughout the region. "If Northern capital and Northern energy do not come here, the ruin, they say, must remain a ruin," stated Andrews.24 Despite almost insurmountable obstacles, Andrews found business reviving slowly; some merchants had gone North for goods and money, and others were planning to go. But principally the renewed business operations were being carried on by Northern men who had come South to seize the opportunity presented by the peculiar condition of the times and of the region.

Following the Civil War most farmers and planters found themselves "land poor." The soil, of course, remained; but everywhere there was a severe lack of labor, of agricultural equipment, of farm stock, of seeds, and of money with which to begin anew. Many men who owned hundreds of acres of

23Fleming, The Sequel of Appomattox, pp. 5-6.
24Henry Steele Commager and Allan Nevins, editors, The Heritage of America, p. 801.
land were as poor as the Negro refugees who thronged the roads of the deep South. Much land was placed on the market at exceedingly low prices -- three to five dollars per acre for land easily worth at least fifty dollars per acre. The poorer lands could not be sold at all, and thousands of farms and plantations were deserted by their owners, who could neither operate their property nor dispose of it. Everywhere recovery from this universal agricultural depression was slow.25

The owners who were able to remain on their farms or plantations often sold portions of their holdings in order to obtain money to operate their remaining lands. Now they had to resort to a system which hitherto had been virtually unknown in the South -- tenancy. Since there were no longer slaves to work the land, the owners rented out portions of their holdings to tenants, either white or black. These tenants received compensation either in money or in shares of the crops produced. Although this plan was by no means a satisfactory solution to the problem of abundance of land with scarcity of labor, it seemed to be the only thing that could be done at the time, and it was accepted as a last resort in an attempt to rebuild the disrupted agricultural economy of the South. In fact,

As far as the landlord was concerned the resort to tenancy was a necessary evil rather than a deliberate choice. He was in no position to control the

---

agricultural reformation. Not only had his property resources been largely destroyed by emancipation, but frequently he was burdened by debt, and he was further crippled by a fall in land values of some forty-eight per cent between 1860 and 1870. He was without liquid capital to finance, or experience to direct, a wage system by which alone the plantation could have been kept intact. Instead of a docile labor class he found the freedmen rebelliously independent and insistent upon greater exemption from control. Poverty and urgent necessity compelled him to salvage what he could from the debacle. Tenancy seemed the only way by which the inefficient elements of Southern agriculture -- an ignorant, unpropertied labor force and a land-owning class without capital or authority -- could be fused into a productive combination. It at least permitted life.

At best, however, the situation was not an attractive one for the planting aristocracy. Many threw their lands upon the market for sale and sought other means of livelihood. Others moved into the cities, and absentee landlordism took its place among the ills from which the South suffered. The agricultural well-being of the South rested in the hands of the Negroes and the small white farmers. On the one hand this gave the energetic and capable poor men of both races greater opportunity for progress. But it also meant a weakening of intelligent control. The poverty and ignorance of the farming classes were soon reflected in a steady decline in the efficiency of Southern agriculture, especially in the more fertile areas where slavery had planted the Negroes in largest numbers. Even from this misfortune, however, came some good. Need for better educational facilities became a pressing problem now that it affected the economic welfare of the section. Ere long a common school movement would sweep the South in much the same manner the North had experienced a generation before.26

Throughout the South "economic demoralization was . . . a marked feature of the situation"27 which confronted the people of the region following the Civil War. Most of the economic goods of pre-war days were no longer in existence, and there was in their place the necessity of rebuilding the

26 Buck, op. cit., pp. 146-147.
27 James F. Rhodes, History of the United States, VI, 77.
economic structure. Unfortunately, there was little left upon which to build. But, undaunted and courageous, the people of the South set to work with what they had and, despite tragedy and hardship, slowly evolved a new economic order to replace the old slave economy. That they succeeded as well as they did speaks well for their character.

When the Confederate soldier returned to his home, or to the place where his home had once stood, he encountered discouragement and disappointment on every hand. But, in spite of all that he had suffered, all the grief of a devastated home, and all the uncertainties of the future, "when at last he reached the lane, or stood at gate or door, joy and gladness, tears of rejoicing, shouts of welcome, prayers of gratitude that could not be restrained, buried the sorrows of the past in the happiness of reunion."28

There were many homes, of course, to which weary and ragged soldiers did not return; and these represented in a true manner the pathos of the South. Yet even in these instances the necessity for doing something to earn a bit of bread caused the women, grief-smitten though they were, to smile bravely as they went about the tasks that once had been performed by slaves.

Women who had been social queens, who had had everything heart could wish, and a retinue of servants happy to obey their behests and needing nothing,

28 William H. T. Squires, Unleashed at Long Last, p. 46.
now found themselves reduced to harder case than their negroes had ever known, and gratefully and gracefully availed themselves of the lowliest tasks by which they might earn enough to buy a dress for the baby, a pair of shoes for little bare feet, coffee or tea or other luxury for an invalid dear one, or a bit of any sort of food to replenish a nearly empty larder.29

An outstanding example of courage and pride as displayed by Southerners is that of Thomas Dabney, the great Mississippi planter, who had lost all of his money in the cause of the Confederacy, although his plantation home was still standing at the close of the war. The house, however, had been denuded of almost every article of furniture, and the plantation had been stripped of the means of cultivating any but a small portion of its vast acreage. There were a few mules and one cow left on the place. A few necessary articles were bought as soon as possible, and many homemade articles were constructed, but no attempt was ever made to refurnish the house in anything like its former splendor. Dabney had nothing that could be turned into cash except five bales of cotton. Most of his freed slaves stayed with him, receiving at Christmas, 1865, such compensation as seemed just; afterward fixed wages were offered to them and accepted by them. Many freedmen whom he had not owned came to live and work on his plantation, eager to be in his employ because of his fair treatment.

29Myrta Lockett Avary, *Dixie After the War*, p. 150.
Having two sons and two daughters yet to be educated, Dabney employed a tutor and took in several neighbors' children to make up the salary. His entire household was operated on an economical basis. His chivalrous nature always revolted at the sight of women doing hard work, and when Sherman boasted that he would bring every Southern woman to the washtub, Dabney exclaimed, "He shall never bring my daughters to the washbath! I will do the washing myself." He actually did all the family washing for two years, beginning at the age of seventy. Often the meals were so coarse and ill prepared by his inexperienced daughters that he could scarcely eat the food, but he always said, earnestly and reverently, upon rising from the table, "Thank the Lord for this much." At seventy, he determined to learn to cultivate a garden; he had never performed manual labor, but now he learned to use the hoe and the plow as a means of supplying his family with fresh vegetables. He was painstaking and careful in his work, often, in case of drought, carrying bucket after bucket of water from the well a quarter of a mile away in order to save his precious plants. He was able to supply the family with vegetables almost the year 'round, and he sold barrels of his surplus products in New Orleans. At first this strenuous labor was almost too difficult for him to perform at his advanced age, but as he grew accustomed to it, he
actually seemed to thrive upon it. And certainly he was happy in the feeling of worthwhile accomplishment. Often, at the end of a strenuous day in his garden or over the washtub, he would smile and say: "General Sherman has not brought my daughters to the washtub. I could not stand that." 30

Throughout the South there were many other Dabneys who courageously set about to reconstruct Southern society on different lines compared to its previous organization. The South was defeated, it was devastated and barren, its people were steeped in sorrow and despair; but they had within them an invincible spirit which enabled them to rise from their defeat like a phoenix from its ashes. That they, in their planning and building, encountered obstacles placed in their pathway by others only renewed their strength and caused them at last to gain control of the reins of their own destiny.

CHAPTER II

SOCIAL DISRUPTION AND CHAOS AMONG BLACKS AND WHITES AFTER APPOMATTOX

The Social and Economic Aftermath of Emancipation

Emancipation of the slave population completely blasted the cornerstone of ante-bellum Southern society. Far-reaching consequences were inevitable. The small, rich, land-owning aristocracy was deprived of its privileged position. The people of the South were divorced from the oftentimes difficult necessity of defending a peculiar institution from Northern and European criticism, which had caused them to have contempt for and suspicion of all things labeled as "free." Free labor proved incompatible with the maintenance of the great estates, and almost immediately the plantation system disintegrated into an economy of small holdings. The individual working his tract and directing his own activity, perhaps with hired help, replaced gangs of slaves working under overseers. "The quiet rise of the small farmer" has been defined as the most "notable circumstance of the period." Despite the low price of the
land and the low prices at which it was now made available, few Negro or white farmers were financially able to purchase farms and thus become actual owners themselves. Out of this condition developed a system of tenancy, in which the laborer worked assigned tracts and shared the produce with the owner of the land. The system of "share-cropping" was and is a virtual economic slavery in the South.¹

In none of the seceding states did the war leave an economic organization that could carry on the ordinary operations of production, or a political system that could hold society together, or a social order that was harmonious and equitable.²

In view of the fact that "the social discipline of the community was disrupted by the destruction of slavery,"³ the entire social order was at the edge of chaos.⁴ In fact, in all the length and breadth of the ravaged territory of the old Confederacy, the ancient social structure lay in "obvious and irremediable ruin."⁵

Reconstruction had an unfortunate beginning, for its

¹Buck, op. cit., pp. 145-146.
²William A. Dunning, Reconstruction, Political and Economic, p. 10.
³Francis B. Simkins and Robert H. Woody, South Carolina During Reconstruction, p. 9.
⁴Julia E. Johnsen, Ku Klux Klan, p. 103.
⁵Dunning, Reconstruction, Political and Economic, p. 4.
policies were inaugurated among a people possessing a heritage of economic chaos from the war and from the resulting emancipation of their slaves and of social chaos as a result of the uncertainty regarding the status that should be assumed by the freedmen who only yesterday had been slaves.\textsuperscript{6}

In such circumstances, it is not surprising that reconstruction, as finally framed by an unsympathetic Congress, was neither a political, a social, nor an economic success.

The war had left the South in utter chaos: the old planter families who had so long ruled the South and even the nation, were ruined; their wealth was gone, their lands ravished, their slaves freed -- "a dark mass, bewildered and irresponsible, scattered over the land, or controlled in some measure by the Freedmen's Bureau."\textsuperscript{7} The Confederate soldiers returned to their desolated homes with little immediate prospect of rebuilding them; the masses of Confederate soldiery had neither homes nor employment, but an uncertain future of suffering and privation. Unemployment, desolation, and want bred social unrest and confusion.

After the Civil War the slavery problem was supplanted by the race problem; four million freed blacks in a total population of over nine millions kept the Southern mind concentrated on the race question,\textsuperscript{8} for the Negroes, now

\textsuperscript{6}The South in the Building of the Nation, VI, 390.

\textsuperscript{7}Maurice S. Evans, Black and White in the Southern States, p. 49.

\textsuperscript{8}James T. Adams, America's Tragedy, p. 393.
embarking on their new course, found "the world turned upside down with themselves proclaimed to be on top." 9

When the war was over, the Negro knew himself for a free man -- Northern agitators had seen to that; and the Southern white found himself faced with the problem of dealing with the Negro as a free laborer -- a situation wholly bewildering to most ex-slaveholders, for they could not at first comprehend the fact that their slaves were actually free. 10 It was a hopeless enigma to many Southerners that the Negroes no longer belonged to any one: "They had to belong to somebody. It was out of decency and humanity that they should have nobody to belong to!"11

Freedom left for the Negro fully as many problems as for the whites. Most of these problems centered in the one consuming question, What was he going to do now? In any Southern community after emancipation four distinct classes of freedmen might be identified: (1) those who recognized the necessity of labor, and therefore went about it with cheerfulness and forethought; (2) those comprehending the necessity of labor, but requiring considerable encouragement to follow it steadily; (3) those who preferred idleness, yet were not altogether averse to doing dull job work around the plantation or in the city; and (4) those who

9Ibid., p. 391.
10Carl Schurz, Reminiscences, III, 169.
11Avary, op. cit., p. 152.
avoided labor as much as possible, living by charity, persistent begging, or systematic pilfering. The blacks were ignorant, inexperienced, and uncertain as to the meaning of freedom; and hordes of them wandered aimlessly here and there in an effort to discover subsistence or to find themselves in the bewilderment of their new status.

For many of the Negroes freedom meant idleness, and gathering in noisy groups in the streets of villages and cities. Soon they were living like rats in ruined houses, in miserable shacks under bridges built with refuse lumber, in the shelter of ravines, and in caves in the banks of rivers. To many, freedom meant throwing aside all marital obligations, deserting wives and taking new ones on the whim of the moment, and an indulgence in sexual promiscuity that soon took its toll in the victims of consumption and venereal disease. Jubilant and happy, the Negro who had his dog and a gun for hunting, a few rags to cover his nakedness, and a dilapidated hovel in which to sleep, was in no mood to discuss work.

Even before the close of the war the exodus of the blacks from the plantations had begun. At first cautiously and in small numbers, and later by hundreds, slaves had made their way to Federal army camps for protection.


subsistence, or mere gratification of idle curiosity. Some were taking flight from their masters, some had been left on plantations whence their masters had been driven by Northern armies or by Confederate conscription, some came to the army camps of their own accord, while others had been lured from their homes by over-zealous abolitionist soldiers.

All these came penniless, ignorant, inexperienced in directing the labor of their own hands. Believing the union army an army of emancipation and filled with confidence in the northern soldiers, they sought with them the protection formerly afforded by their masters.

Obviously the desertion of their slaves in large numbers at a time when the Southern whites were struggling for their very existence, presented a trying problem with which the whites were scarcely able to cope. And with emancipation the situation grew more complicated. Now the principal source of trouble and anxiety to the Southern white was the problem of setting up an entirely new set of relationships with the white population and with nearly four million freed slaves. How were these untutored masses to be absorbed into the social, economic, and political life of the nation and of the South? Neither the North nor the South had an answer when the Confederacy ceased to exist in April, 1865. The majority of the freedmen were too ignorant or too bewildered at first even slightly to appreciate

\[1\] Paul S. Peirce, The Freedmen's Bureau, a Chapter in the History of Reconstruction, p. 1.
the meaning of their new situation. To some, freedom meant a new name, a new mate or several mates, no more work, and the right to do what they wanted to do and go where they pleased when the notion hit them. Most of the "I'se free as a bird" type wandered aimlessly about the country and soon were naked and hungry. Hunger drove many to thievery. "Spilin' de gypshuns" (despoiling the Egyptians), as the Negroes called stealing from the whites, quickly became an approved means of support -- approved, that is, by the Negroes themselves and by their white henchmen from the North. Many blacks had been led to believe that freedom meant education and a sudden elevation to social equality with the whites. Countless others, happily reunited with their families, which slavery had often mercilessly torn asunder, confidently awaited the day when their Northern friends would fulfill their promise of "forty acres and a mule" to the head of every Negro family. Many, because of contentment, affection for their former masters, inertia, or utter helplessness -- or because of all four factors combined -- remained on the plantations where they had been slaves. For these the situation was less precarious than that of the dissatisfied migrants and wanderers. Many felt a new sense of self-importance which produced boisterousness, obstreperousness, and impudence. All of these factors, together with the freedmen's utter indifference
toward work and the pilfering and immorality which frequently accompanied their religious meetings and emotional orgies, produced grave concern and apprehension among the whites of the South.\textsuperscript{15}

In their effort to comprehend their new freedom the Negroes were severely handicapped by their extreme poverty and ignorance. In 1860 the total value of property owned by free Negroes amounted to millions, but most of the blacks owned nothing and were liberated into a propertied society in which the man who owned nothing was a nonentity. Most of the blacks who deserted the plantations when freedom came would have fared better had they remained with their former masters, who were begging for laborers and who would have supplied their needs. In the South there were a few educated Negroes, and more in the North and in Canada; but the masses of the race were too densely ignorant to furnish their own leadership as freedmen. This lack of preparation for freedom provided an opening for Northern leadership and paved the way for unscrupulous schemers to tyrannize the Negro and to subjugate the white.

The case of the Negro, though, was not hopeless. He was able to work when he happened to be in the mood to do so, and in many fields of labor he met with little competition. Wages were comparatively high, although principally

\textsuperscript{15}Carman, \textit{op. cit.}, pp. 582-583.
paid in shares of the crop; and the cost of living was low and land was cheap. With determination and effort, the Negro in the South could hew out for himself a position of respect and independence. Many at once set about to do this. Thousands seemed to be thirsty for an education and crowded the available schools. However, it was too much to expect the ex-slave to take immediate advantage of his new opportunities. Most of all, he wanted a long holiday from labor, a gun and a dog, and plentiful hunting and fishing. On Saturdays he must go to town or to a picnic; he did not relish the idea of continuing to be a servant. When he had a little money, he permitted his feeling of independence to harm his own interests, for he was ready prey for swindlers who sold him worthless finery, cheap guns, preparations to bleach his skin or to straighten his hair, and striped pegs which, when set up in the ground anywhere in the South, would entitle the purchaser to "forty acres and a mule." The Negro listened with interest to all such proposals, and his gullibility was phenomenal.

Not only were the idleness, vagabondage, thievery, impudence, and lack of dependability of the Negro alarming to the whites, but they were dangerous, almost murderous, to the welfare of the freedman himself; for they placed a

stigma upon his name that the South has never forgotten and made him the victim of unwholesome practices. When he unthoughtedly left his quarters to follow after sugar-tongued breeders of dissension and dissatisfaction, he immeasurably victimized himself and his own welfare. Samuel Chapman Armstrong of Hampton Institute saw the situation and defined it thus: "The North thinks the great thing is to free the negro from his former owner; the real thing is to save him from himself." Yet the freedman cannot be condemned, for he was wholly uneducated in the ways of freedom. The black masses of unschooled Negroses were "like sheep without a shepherd."

The Southern white believed that some means of disciplining the freedman and of forcing him to assume responsibility in the production of economic goods was the most pressing problem following Appomattox. In their thinking, this social and economic imperative even superseded their own vast need to find a way of earning a livelihood, of rebuilding their desolated homes, and of reconstructing their pattern of living to omit slavery as the central theme. This was true because the typical Southerner felt that all constructive effort in the rebuilding of the South rested upon the determination of the status that the Negro should

occupy in the new society. The solution to this problem seemed to lie in the passage of laws governing the activities of the blacks, and as soon as possible after the conclusion of the war Southern legislators set about to enact such laws, which came to be known in the North as contemptible "black codes."

"Black Codes"

Emancipation placed the freedman in a singularly puzzling position: liberated from slavery, he constituted the gravest problem in the South; but because he was unenlightened, unlettered, and unpropertied, he was denied a part in the solution of the problem of which he himself was the nucleus. He had to stand by, outside the councils, while those who had ruled his life in slavery fixed his status in freedom.¹⁹

The South desired to fit the emancipated Negro into the new social order by frankly recognizing his inferiority,²⁰ for the mere fact that he was now free could not be construed to mean that he was to be granted equality with the whites. In Southern opinion, four years of warfare, "conducted on principles of vandalism, disgraceful to the civilization of the age," were no worse than the "black

incubus" of free Negroes who, directed by the Freedmen's Bureau, were a "hideous curse"; and the only remedy was seen to be in laws to protect the whites as well as to discipline the blacks. Southern legislatures promptly undertook remedies of their own, for the liberation of the slaves and the reconstruction policies of Congress had placed the South on the defensive.

Two of the many perplexing problems arising out of the Civil War were pre-eminent; both were highly difficult of solution because they concerned the Negro. Probably the more important of these two problems was the question of labor, touching, if not controlling, the economic welfare of the community as well as of every individual. But scarcely less important in the minds of Southern leaders was the question of the legal status of the freedmen. Therefore, under the pressure of the moment, all Southern conventions and legislatures promptly turned their attention to these problems, and, in their earnest attempts to work out solutions, unconsciously furnished to the North one of its most important and effective points of attack upon the South. Everywhere it was apparent that specific and speedy action was imperative. The South was completely prostrated, and the one hope for the future consisted of

---

21Ellis P. Oberholtzer, A History of the United States Since the Civil War, I, 126.
22Virginius Dabney, Liberalism in the South, p. 162.
the immediate rehabilitation of the South's principal industry, agriculture. Here Negro labor was indispensable, but in 1865 there was a strong reason for believing that Negroes generally would either refuse to work or else would work so irregularly that agricultural interests would be seriously impaired. Another important consideration was the overpowering burden of supporting the idle population either through public relief of paupers, or through private charity. If neither of these methods was undertaken on a large scale, it seemed inevitable that huge segments of the black population would be compelled to resort to thievery for a livelihood. Of course, the basis for this belief rested partially in the widespread attitude toward the blacks that had resulted from the intimate acquaintance with the nature, habits, and characteristics of the Negro which long association with the black race had given to the whites of the South. But this was not the only basis, for the conduct of a very large part of the Negro population furnished proof of the correctness of this feeling.

Wherever federal troops were stationed, the Negroes flocked, and, relying, as they did, upon the army for food, clothing, and shelter, abandoned all thought of labor, which they deemed too confining and entirely incompatible with their new-found freedom. 23

The more intelligent blacks realized, with the whites, that when directive oversight was withdrawn and the Negro was left to his own volition, his productiveness and reliability as a worker, for obvious reasons, deteriorated. He had no ambition to excel -- slavery had not permitted him to have any -- and to him labor was bondage; idleness, freedom.

The post-war "black codes" of the seceded states are almost invariably mentioned by apologists for Congressional reconstruction as a fundamental justification for the radical policies. The radicals denounced the codes as an attempt on the part of President Johnson's reorganized state governments to re-establish virtual slavery and thus refute the outcome of the war.

It is hazardous to attempt generalizations concerning the effect of emancipation upon the slave population as a whole, for the matter varied with individuals, with communities, and with rural and urban situations. In some cases there was no apparent change, the Negros working the crops as before, though now as employees instead of slaves, and continuing to refer to their former owners as "master." Often freedom brought sadness and disillusionment instead of joy, and the Negros, not caring to take advantage of their new-found liberties, begged for permission to remain with and to work for their "masters."

The masses of the freed Negros, however, were ignorant, poor, and intoxicated by the new freedom which they
possessed but did not understand, and in which they lacked training and ability to assume their new status with wisdom and efficiency. Vagrancy and irresponsibility were trying factors everywhere. Many freedmen crowded around the military posts, hoping for favors from their Northern benefactors; they engaged in carousals and revelries, and were frequently seized with religious paroxisms; and in great numbers they wandered away from the plantations at a time when their labor was so sorely needed. Thousands became vagabonds, wandering from camp to camp, becoming unmanageable, impudent, and criminally inclined. They purposelessly congregated in towns and cities, where they caused trouble. Leaving home without money, knowing nothing of labor contracts, the freedmen were tossed about, suffering heavy mortality, turning to thievery, indulging in excesses and immoral escapades, and sometimes committing serious crimes. "Under these circumstances the passing of new Negro codes was a social and economic necessity with which the Southern states had to deal in setting their houses in order."\textsuperscript{24}

It was a menace to society itself that the negroes should thus of a sudden be set free and left without tutelage or restraint. Some stayed very quietly by their old masters and gave no trouble; but most yielded, as was to have been expected, to the novel impulse and excitement of freedom and made their way straight to the camps and cities, where the

\textsuperscript{24}Randall, op. cit., p. 726.
blue-coated soldiers were, and the agents of the Freedmen's Bureau. The country filled with vagrants, looking for pleasure and gratuitous fortune. Idleness bred want, as always, and the vagrants turned thieves or importunate beggars. The tasks of ordinary labor stood untouched; the idlers grew insolent, dangerous; nights went anxiously by, for fear of riot and incendiary fire. It was imperatively necessary that something should be done, if only to bring order again and make the streets of the towns and the highways of the country-sides safe to those who went about their tasks. The southern legislatures, therefore, promptly undertook remedies of their own -- such remedies as English legislatures had been familiar with time out of mind.25

After emancipation had lifted them out of bondage, the freedmen were neither slaves, serfs, nor citizens, and it was necessary that their status and rights should be precisely defined. All of the Southern legislatures took the position that because of their long period of bondage the vast majority of the blacks were socially and intellectually inferior to the whites and that they should therefore receive education and training before being advanced to equal status with the whites. Everywhere there was an urgent anxiety to curb the restlessness of the excited Negroes and to set them to steady work as soon as possible. Any delay would only make an unfortunate situation more intolerable.

Beginning with Mississippi, the politically restored states which had formed new governments under the presidential plan of reconstruction, "conscientiously and straight-

forwardly" enacted a series of laws establishing the status of the Negro which were soon known in the North as "black codes."

... This legislation, designed to bring some semblance of order out of the existing social and economic chaos, granted the negroes the ordinary civil rights -- to make contracts, to sue and be sued in regular state courts, to acquire and hold property, and to be secure in person and estate. But at the same time various restrictions and qualifications were imposed on the blacks which put them on a different plane from the whites. Intermarriage of the races was prohibited. In some states negroes were forbidden to carry weapons without a license; in many states they could not be witnesses in court against a white; and in practically all states they were subject to special formalities and penalties in connection with contracts for labor. The laws concerning vagrancy were discriminatory and, in many cases, gave magistrates wide discretion in ordering blacks held as vagrants and in assigning them to the highest bidder to work out fines. The most drastic codes were those enacted by Mississippi, Louisiana, and South Carolina -- the states in which the blacks outnumbered the whites. In Mississippi, for example, a freedman could not own land or even rent it except in incorporated towns and cities. South Carolina forbade persons of color to engage in any trade or business other than husbandry and farm or domestic service except under a license requiring a substantial annual fee.26

Had the Southern states not passed these laws dealing with the domestic relations of the Negro, with his position in court, with his obligations to his employer, with his relationship to labor contracts, and with his liability in case of vagrancy or pauperism, dire chaos would have resulted; and there would indeed have been justifiable occasion for rebuke from the North on the ground that the

Negro, while technically free, was denied the rights which freedom implies. To a large extent these laws, which constituted a big block of social legislation, served to protect the Negro; in general, they extended rather than restricted his rights. That they were enacted in haste without due consideration of all the issues involved, and that they contained unfortunate and perhaps unjust provisions, is evident. In the main, however, the "black codes" represented a logical outgrowth of many decades of social experience in white-black relationships in the South. They were devised by men who were thoroughly acquainted with conditions in the South, and they were not, in their main intent, enacted or enforced in any spirit of oppression.

One historian has pointed out that the fundamental characteristic of these laws was that they designated the hitherto servile class as a distinct group in society, usually termed "persons of color," consisting of all who had a specified proportion, usually one eighth, of Negro blood. In other words, society in the South was to continue to be composed of two distinct classes of persons -- whites and blacks -- just as, under slavery, there had been bond and free. In general, the laws already on the statute books governing the whites were extended to the blacks,


28 Dunning, Reconstruction, Political and Economic, p. 55.
although certain discriminations were made against the latter where such were thought to be compatible with the welfare of society in view of the freedman's ignorance, inexperience, and supposed inferiority. Throughout all this mass of legislation one principle was never lost sight of -- the two races were unlike and unequal and should be kept rigidly separated. It was believed that in some matters laws should not be uniform for the two races, in view of the distance that separated them on the social ladder. 29

In Mississippi the special committee appointed to prepare such laws and constitutional amendments as seemed necessary in view of the abolition of slavery, reported to the legislature that its labors had been made very difficult because of the unique situation which had to deal with a large class of freedmen afflicted with "poverty of mind, poverty of thought, poverty of means, poverty of self-government, poverty of energy, and rich in idleness with all their miseries." The committee declared that it had "labored earnestly to secure justice, employment, labor, income, reward, home, comfort, security, health, sobriety, good morals, and protection to persons and property." 30 These were the fundamental objectives which inspired all

29Fleming, Documentary History of Reconstruction, I, 243-244.
30James W. Garner, Reconstruction in Mississippi, pp. 112-113.
of the "black codes" formulated by legislation throughout the South. The greatest fault in the legislation was not that it was fundamentally unwise or excessively oppressive, but that the legislators had failed to consider and be guided by the prejudices of their conquerors. The wisest among the Southerners were loud in their warnings that some phases of the legislation would produce dangerous reactions in the North. But the personnel of the new governments did not contain the shrewdest and most experienced men of the South, and consequently the legislatures did not always weigh carefully certain "very urgent considerations of political expediency." 31

To a distrustful northern mind such legislation could very easily take the form of a systematic attempt to relegate the freedmen to a subjection only less complete than that from which the war had set them free. The radicals sounded a shrill note of alarm. . . . The "black codes" were represented to be the expression of a deliberate purpose by the southerners to nullify the result of the war and to re-establish slavery, and this impression gained wide prevalence in the North.

Yet, as a matter of fact, this legislation, far from embodying any spirit of defiance towards the North or any purpose to evade the conditions which the victors had imposed, was in the main a conscientious and straightforward attempt to bring some sort of order out of the social and economic chaos which a full acceptance of the results of the war and emancipation involved. In its general principle it corresponded very closely to the actual facts of the situation. The freedmen were not, and in the nature of the case could not for generations be, on the same social, moral, and intellectual plane with the whites; and this fact was recognized by constituting them a separate class in the civil order. . . . 32

32 Ibid., pp. 57-58.
In the North little effort was made to understand the purpose and spirit of either the laws or the lawmakers. Horace Greeley in the New York Tribune declared that the South would not "stop short of the extermination of the black race," and many there were who agreed with him. Warned the Chicago Tribune:

We tell the white men of Mississippi that the men of the North will convert the state of Mississippi into a frog-pond before they will allow any such laws to disgrace one foot of soil in which the bones of our soldiers sleep and over which the flag of freedom waves.

Although most Southern whites favored legislation for the freedmen, some believed that certain of the enactments were oppressive and politically unwise. Many Southern newspapers called the measures "unfortunate" and branded the legislators responsible for them as "shallow-headed," which indeed they sometimes doubtless were. Legislation was obviously necessary to cope with the manifold problems of the time, but with more careful thought on the part of the legislators, a system of laws might have been evolved which would have been more acceptable to the North and might, indeed, have averted the debacle of radical reconstruction which was soon to be thrust upon the South in retaliation for the "black codes."

The "black code" laws were never in complete effect

33 Carman, op. cit., p. 592.  
34 Ibid.  
35 Ibid.
in any of the Southern states, for the Freedmen's Bureau virtually suspended them, in so far as possible, until 1868, when the reconstructed state governments repealed them. After reconstruction had been completed, however, the "black codes" in all their essential implications were re-enacted throughout the South for purposes of race separation in schools, churches, and public conveyances in order to perpetuate the traditional dual type of society in the South.36

John Wallace, an intelligent Negro politician in Florida during the reconstruction era, wrote Carpet Bag Rule in Florida, in which he stated that some of the laws included in the "black codes" appeared to be diabolical and oppressive to the freedmen; but he was of the opinion that any other people, under like circumstances as the Southern whites, would have passed similar laws relative to a group of people of another race in their midst who had been suddenly freed from slavery without the necessary training or intelligence to know how to use freedom. Many of the laws, believed this sane and tolerant Negro, had been enacted for the purpose of deterring freedmen from committing crimes.37 The laws prohibiting firearms were often necessary and justified; those governing labor contracts seemed to be sane and just, and were, for the most

36 Fleming, Documentary History of Reconstruction, I, 245.
37 Ibid., pp. 271-272.
part, administered by the whites in an equitable manner. But, "these laws were taken advantage of by the carpet-baggers to marshal the freedmen to their support after the freedmen had been given the right to vote."38

The "black codes" unwittingly aided radical reconstruction, the leaders of which held up the most extreme codes as typical of all the South, and the Northern masses never knew the difference, but formed their hostile opinions from the distorted and misrepresented statutes publicized for them to inspect. Two Southern states, Tennessee and Arkansas, had no codes at all to speak of, and some of the other states had codes more liberal than those in the North. But the North steadfastly refused to believe that the South could have worthy motives or kindly feelings toward the Negroes, or any sincerity in accepting defeat and its consequences. It used the ill-fated "black codes" as justification for venomous attacks and harsh legislation.39

The Negroes, aided by Northern agitators, could see only the undesirable features of the codes, and feel their power as a result of violation. The North came to their aid, repudiated the codes, and suddenly elevated the Negro for a time; but when reconstruction was over, the Negro had difficulty in deciding whether, as a result of these momentous days, he had been advanced or retarded in progress.

Certainly the "black codes" represent, in their simplest interpretation, an attempt on the part of the Southern whites to hold together the diverse remnants of a suddenly disrupted society. They comprised an effort on their part to find a way whereby the social, economic, and political functions of the South could be resumed on an equitable and harmonious basis that could no longer take into account the institution of slavery. If the radical leaders of the North had tried to understand the underlying principles connected with the "black codes," it is entirely possible that they would have permitted the codes to function as a wise and significant phase of reconstruction instead of attacking the codes with vengeance and thrusting upon the South a radical program which was far more regrettable in its operation than the "black codes" could ever have been. The codes were an attempt on the part of the Southern whites to feel their way through uncertainty and to stabilize an unstable society.

Southern Whites in Confusion

Southern whites, the natural leaders of their respective communities, were grievously confused at the turn that events had taken when the war was over and their slaves were free. Slavery, which had long been the basis of Southern civilization, had been outlawed by their conquerors, the labor supply was totally disorganized, all
society was in upheaval, and they themselves were threatened with political impotence. The pressing problem of defining one's own status and that of the freedmen was acute.

The Civil War meant more than the emancipation of four million slaves, with all the perplexing problems that that liberation brought with it; in involved the overturning of the whole economic system of the South. A stroke of the pen had declared the bondmen free; but to educate these people, to train them in citizenship, and to give them a place in the new labor system, was all a problem for the wisest statesmanship and the largest and most intelligent patriotism. The Southern man, whose fortune was swept away, whose slaves were free, and whose father, son, or brother had died in battle, not unnaturally looked upon any legislation by the North as adding to his cup of humiliation. The North on the other hand was quick to interpret any effort on the part of the white South in the readjustment of social and labor conditions as evidence of a refusal to accept in good faith the results of the war. To increase the complication and the delicacy of the situation there were sometimes present personal or other peculiar elements which seemed to contradict all the leading tendencies of the period. Some Negroes, for instance, personally attached to their masters, were unwilling to accept their freedom; and generally throughout the South the white people, who laid most of their ills at the door of the Negro, resisted violently any considerable effort toward migration on the part of the former slaves. Such were but some of the things which increased the difficulties of the problem in this era of shifting status.40

Now that slavery was outlawed in the South, many of the people were relieved that it was gone. Mrs. Smedes, a Southerner herself and the daughter of one of the South's greatest planters and slaveholders, ventured the opinion

40Benjamin Brawley, A Short History of the American Negro, pp. 118-119.
that, since slavery had been swept away, "there is not an intelligent man or woman in the South who would have it recalled, if a wish could do it."\textsuperscript{41} She found those who had suffered and lost most -- those reduced from a life of affluence to one of grinding poverty -- more than willing to pay the price. In reality, perhaps the majority of the Southerners had, before emancipation, begun to feel that slavery had lasted as long, probably, "as it was beneficial to the black men, as long as the white men could stand it without losing strength; that the white man was emancipated rather than the black man."\textsuperscript{42}

Regardless of attitude, felt or assumed, new methods of paying and employing labor had gradually to take shape. Nature gave encouragement to the general ruin; droughts and insects wrought havoc with the crops for the first two years after Appomattox, and want and hunger claimed the land. During the four years after peace had been declared, the Freedmen's Bureau alone distributed over 21,000,000 rations to the destitute, of which three fourths went to Negroes.\textsuperscript{43}

During the war and reconstruction periods, a marked transition toward the severe occurred in the Southern

\textsuperscript{41}Smedes, op. cit., p. 191.

\textsuperscript{42}Robert Bingham, "Sectional Misunderstandings," The North American Review, CLXXIX (September, 1904), 357.

\textsuperscript{43}Adams, op. cit., p. 385.
attitude. Hospitality declined, and largely through the demands of necessity, this most pleasant side of Southern life was severely curtailed. Affairs in the old South had never been administered on a business scale, but the new South adjusted itself to a stricter economy. The old individuality was partially lost, but class distinctions were less obvious in the more homogeneous society that rose from the ashes of the old. 44

Almost as soon as the Confederate armies came straggling home, the planters began to reconstruct the old plantation system, but were faced with the problems of discovering some new method of getting the Negro to work, for the coercive procedures of slavery could no longer be used. Those who could raise sufficient cash tried paying wages, but found that money in the hands of the laborers dissipated the labor supply. Taking note of the situation, the Freedmen's Bureau began advocating employment on contract, but before the Bureau ceased to function the planters had largely resorted to share-cropping. To raise money, the landowner pledged his crops to the merchant or banker, and on this basis loans were freely given, though at from forty to one hundred per cent interest. As a result, the merchants and bankers soon owned much of the land, and fortunate planters who had made money under these adverse

conditions became merchants, letting their land to "croppers," whom they forced to trade at the landlord's store. Often, at the end of the year the tenant -- a Negro or a landless white -- had to turn over his share of the crop to apply on his account at the store, and usually was not permitted to move to another plantation until he had paid in full. Out of this unjust system grew the practice of "peonage," a form of virtual economic slavery which curses the South to this day.

The "cropper's" share depended upon his capital in the enterprise; if he furnished only his labor, he received a fourth; if he had his own tools and provisions, half. But in most instances he had to plant specified crops and could not plant foodstuffs to free him from dependence upon the merchant, whose prices were usually "marked up" from fifty to one hundred per cent.45

Some planters, in attempting to rehabilitate their plantations, found that they could not find Negroes who would contract to work for them at any wage; even former slaves often declined to work now that freedom had come. As a consequence, the planter was faced with the necessity of choosing between two alternatives: to run the Negroes off as trespassers, or to lease to Northern capitalists. Usually

the planters chose the latter course. But certain others were ingenious and learned the trick of turning large numbers of hogs into pastures and fields near the roads. Every freedman who passed was likely to stop, and soon the planter would have his desired quota of workers. The reason. "They all like to hire out where there is plenty of pork," explained Trowbridge.46

Despite many indications of the courage and industry of the Southern people following the war, large numbers continued to some time to be idle and starving. Unlike Thomas Dabney and others who swallowed their pride and found happiness and success in physical labor, many men were indispended to put their hands to any useful task. Some there were who professed their determination to starve rather than do an honest day's work. They had never worked, and they had no intention of working now. Labor was looked upon as fit only for "niggers." Although times had changed, these men declined to change to meet the demands of the new economy.

It was only natural that many of these men, especially the younger ones, should resort to criminal pursuits in order to live. Particularly was this true in view of the fact that with the fall of the Confederacy, civil government practically disappeared from the South for a time, and

the little governmental control that remained was exercised by those in charge of the armies of occupation. As a consequence of this condition and of the complete disruption of the South's economic system, guerrilla and outlaw bands overran many sections of the countryside, plundering and killing. It was reported that in Texas alone some five thousand men maintained themselves and their dependents by organized murder and robbery. Almost every neighborhood north of the Arkansas River was pillaged by guerrillas. In Alabama and Mississippi, traders and others were afraid to travel over the roads because of the numerous thieves and robbers who lurked there. Horse-stealing and cattle-rustling flourished until lynch law somewhat reduced the prevalence of these activities. Many of the outlaws were members of families which before the war had been wealthy and socially prominent.  

Some planters were criminals in another manner. Instances were not lacking of actual slavery having been continued for years after emancipation, until the Freedmen's Bureau or some other organization discovered the fact and saw to it that the wronged Negroes were given redress in the form of wages for the period of their enforced servitude.  

---

woman as his concubine or wife in order to exploit her children, who, however, in the new order of things, had to be maintained by their white father, who could not legally profit from them as chattels. 49

And here and there was a former master who could not forget or relinquish his old authority, but continued to punish the blacks who worked for him as though they were still slaves. True, these instances were rare, the exception rather than the rule, and rested rather upon the peculiarities of individual temperament than upon any fixed condition or conduct inherent in the disrupted social system. 50

Previously mentioned has been the disinclination of an important element of the able-bodied white men of the South to work, which constituted one of the social attitudes that seriously retarded progress. People were condemned and ostracized for "working in the field, just like a nigger. If you work with a nigger, he despises you for equalizin' yourself with him. Any man is a doggoned fool to work, when he can make a nigger work for him." 51 The fundamental cause of this attitude was a failure to realize the full significance of the outcome of the Civil War --

\[49\text{Ibid., p. 339.}\]
\[50\text{William H. Trescot, "The Southern Question," North American Review, CXXIII (October, 1876), 274.}\]
\[51\text{Simkins and Woody, op. cit., p. 323.}\]
that the gentlemanly leisure of the old regime could be no more, that the Negro was made for some other purpose than to serve the white man. A few even dared to dream of a time when "the landed aristocracy will, in a measure, be reinstated in their position of independence and influence," and argued that "an elevated race . . . based upon landed proprietorship, is the life and light of society."\footnote{Ibid., p. 324.}

Some of the families not immediately prostrated by the war tried to keep up the old styles: they rode in carriages with liveried outriders, gave dinners, entertained their guests with rare wines. But gradually the elegance diminished: the men became their own drivers, opened their own gates, spoiled their fine horses by plow service, did not -- could not -- replace the decayed vehicles preserved during the war. The carriages of the "best-off" citizens became lumbering, shabby, old ante-bellum coaches, drawn by two shabby mules; the harness was patched, the whip was worn down half and perhaps spliced -- all because of the gospel of labor and thrift which was preached so fervently, and because of a changed ideal concerning social position.\footnote{Ibid., pp. 318-319, 328.}

There were those who tried to throw off the outmoded aspects of their old civilization, advocating abandonment of the large plantations and of the concentration of effort on the production of cotton, and the substitution of
small farms, mining, and diversification of industry and crops. Some of these things were accomplished, though chiefly through the pressure of economic necessity rather than because of the theories of reformers. Likewise discarded were certain aspects of social life, some of which have already been indicated. Gentlemen were no longer required by the code of honor to engage in "extraordinary conduct" -- the number of duels in eleven years following the war was less than the number in one year prior to the war. Men would rarely fight duels when their death might mean the starvation of their families; they were slower to challenge and to draw; the war had given deliberation and control over impulses and hot blood, and economic conditions exerted a profound influence upon social customs. Care was exercised in the spending of money, and lavishness decreased, partially through necessity and partially through choice. More economical refreshments were served at social gatherings; betting rapidly declined, and gambling almost entirely disappeared. Aristocrats who formerly would not wait to receive their change when making a purchase, or would thrust it into their pockets uncounted, now counted it over carefully when it was handed to them. 54

In contrast to these indications of an improved social attitude among the whites of the South, in many communities

54 Ibid., p. 319.
a kind of moral and social stagnation set in -- "an unhealthy, hopeless acquiescence in the worst that might come. . . . Whites, as well as blacks, drank recklessly. Few of any class cared much for education." On Saturdays the otherwise quiet streets of the villages became bedlams; farmers spent their money as readily for drink as for necessities. Men who were usually law-abiding became profane and noisy and tumbled into the ditches in helpless stupor. The worst characters brandished their pistols and sometimes committed crimes. The pent-up anger of the whites against the blacks frequently flared up into violence because the Negro was assuming new liberties, most of which rightfully belonged to him as a freedman. So real were the dangers of such occasions that it became traditional for ladies and children not to venture out on the streets on Saturday afternoons. A prosecuting officer observed: "I believe drunkenness to be the cause, on the average, of not less than nine-tenths of the crimes of violence prevailing among the whites since the war." Many, attempting to gain oblivion from misfortune, were driven to drink.

In an analysis of the whole life of the Southern people, even down to the commonest aspects, evidences of

---

56 Simkins and Woody, op. cit., p. 322.
57 Ibid., p. 321.
uncertainty, of laxness in ideals, of confusion as to proper courses to follow, of disruption of all phases of the time-honored civilization of the South would be everywhere present. The Civil War, bringing its heritage of confusion and chaos, bred untold evils to plague the people, forcing them to undertake the erection of new social, economic, and political structures, for "an old age had passed away, a new age had come in, with the sweep of that stupendous storm." 58

58 Emory Q. Hawk, Economic History of the South, p. 425.
CHAPTER III

SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC PHASES OF RADICAL RECONSTRUCTION

The Political Framework of Reconstruction

Since the present study is concerned primarily with the social and economic factors in the reconstruction era following the Civil War, comparatively little emphasis is placed upon political activities of the time. At this point, however, it appears necessary to discuss in brief certain of the political and governmental actions which brought to the South that decade of its history known as "radical reconstruction." Throughout this era the social and economic fabric of Southern society was inseparable from what the radical politicians were bringing to pass in Washington, and Southern society at this time cannot be accurately analyzed without a knowledge of the political background responsible for this society.

A complete reconstruction of the Union and a rehabilitation of the South were the urgent and difficult tasks that followed immediately upon the end of the war. It was necessary, in solving these problems, to satisfy the sentiment of the powerful "Union" party in the North and at the same
time to produce a solution acceptable to the South.\footnote{Rhodes, op. cit., V, 516.}

Two fundamental purposes of the Civil War had been the restoration of the Union and the abolition of slavery; but after the war those states which had abolished slavery, repudiated their acts of secession, and petitioned for admission to the Union were repulsed and denied admittance under the charge that their citizens had been wartime traitors.\footnote{Randall, op. cit., p. 689.} In the South the most pressing need at first was police control of the freedmen, and after that, the restoration of the disrupted political structure.\footnote{Peter J. Hamilton, The Reconstruction Period, p. 432.} For this reason, how to treat and train the liberated slaves became a central problem of reconstruction, though by no means the only one. The first major act of the drama of reconstruction was "the attempt of the native whites to build a new political society out of the wreck of the old."\footnote{Simkins and Woody, op. cit., p. 3.} But when these attempts were repudiated by the radicals in Congress, who substituted their own harsh plan, it became reconstruction, rather than the Civil War, that destroyed the old South.\footnote{Hesseltine, op. cit., p. 573.} For reconstruction in its final form meant not only political, but also social and economic destruction. The South was thus compelled to begin the
process of rebuilding all her social, economic, and political structures at the bottom. If the presidential plans of reconstruction had been permitted to function, the South could have been restored without bitterness and strife. Lincoln's plan was a perfect embodiment of generosity and liberalism to those lately in rebellion. It granted full amnesty to all who had taken up arms against the Federal Government, on the condition of their taking oath to support the Constitution and all laws and proclamations relating to slavery until such should be overruled. Certain important exceptions to amnesty, however, were enumerated: diplomatic and high military and naval officials of the Confederacy, those who had withdrawn from Congress or the United States Army or Navy to aid the Confederacy, and those who had mistreated Negro prisoners of war. Any seceded state might resume its former relationship in the Union when ten per cent of its 1860 voting population had registered and taken the oath of allegiance to the Constitution and had organized a "loyal" state government.

Lincoln's proposed leniency provoked wrath in the ranks of the Republican party, whose radical members wanted

---


7Merriam, op. cit., p. 269.
something more than mere restoration of the South -- they wanted a restoration that would serve their own economic and political ambitions. These men maintained that Lincoln's plan was "nothing short of an open-armed welcome to the prodigals," and at first were delighted when Johnson came upon the scene breathing hatred and vengeance upon "odious traitors." But underneath his fiery words Johnson was fundamentally generous and tender, and when he adopted the main features of Lincoln's plan as his own, the praises of radical congressmen turned to complaint and ridicule.9

These men, professing to believe that the main object of reconstruction should be to help the Negro, were ill pleased with the little that had been done in that direction. The provisions of Johnson's plan encouraged government by the whites who had formerly governed and who had been in rebellion, with, at first, no recognition of the Negro as a political force. Finally, however, the President was prevailed upon to urge the provisional governors in the South to extend the suffrage to all persons of color who could read the Constitution, who paid taxes on real estate valued at $250 or more, and who could write their names.10 This rule, of course, would apply to only

8Louis M. Hacker and Benjamin B. Kendrick, The United States Since 1865, p. 12.
9Rhodes, op. cit., V, 525-526.
10James G. Blaine, Twenty Years of Congress, II, 81.
a small minority of the blacks, and Johnson approved it only as a concession to the powerful radical group, whose recognized leaders, Sumner in the Senate and Stevens in the House, demanded that Congress "should be just to negroes before they were generous to rebels." Finally, the radicals succeeded in persuading Congress that a joint committee of fifteen should be appointed to study the situation. This committee, when it reported, declared that the Negro was badly treated in the South; that the whites were essentially disloyal; that if the whites were left in control of the South, the Negro, free labor, the nation, and the Republican party would be endangered. The army of occupation and the Freedmen's Bureau must be kept indefinitely in the South; a policy of "radical reconstruction" was obviously necessary. The committee made no serious effort to discover the true state of conditions in the South, but cleverly guided public sentiment toward radicalism.

As their first effort to substitute a plan of their own for Johnson's policy of lenient reconstruction, the radicals managed to obtain the enactment of the Fourteenth Amendment over the President's veto. The great mistake here and in later radical legislation was the exclusion from power of the very men in the South who should have

11Don C. Seitz, *The Dreadful Decade*, p. 36.

been included and counselled with. Some few conservatives in Congress insisted that no persons who had received amnesty should be excluded from functioning politically. But the conservatives lacked courage, while the radicals lacked sense.

It was the angry rejection by the South of the proposed Fourteenth Amendment that did more than "anything and everything else" to convince the people of the North that Congress must undertake the program of reconstruction, to proceed on the basis of a new Southern electorate that Congress would create. Garfield, speaking on February 8, 1867, expressed the sentiment of the main body who were gradually being influenced to a determination to follow the radicals: "The last one of the sinful ten has at last with contempt and scorn flung back into our teeth the magnanimous offer of a generous nation. It is now our turn to act." Congress now believed, without any foundation of facts, that actual conditions in the South called for sterner remedies than the Presidents had provided. Sumner and Stevens contemptuously spoke of Johnson's attempt at rehabilitation of the South as "whitewashing the rebels";

14 Gideon Welles, Diary, III, 327.
15 John W. Burgess, Reconstruction and the Constitution, 1866-1876, p. 106.
16 Rhodes, op. cit., VI, 13.
while their own policy was apparently to be one of white-
washing the Negroes:17

By some means they meant to thrust their hands into southern affairs to control them, to make good the freedom and the privilege of the negroes, even at the cost of all privilege to those who had been their masters. To some such a course seemed a mere dictate of humanity; the nation owed it to the negro that he be supported by the federal power until he was able to make his freedom good for himself, unassisted. To others it seemed but the plain way of prudence in statesmanship. How else could a lasting structure of law be built about the new citizenship of the one-time slave: how else could he be kept safe from the intellectual and even physical domination of the white men who once had owned him? To others it was the course of personal satisfaction: in no other way could they bring upon the spirits of southern men the punishment merited by their rebellion. To others it was but the obvious means of party mastery.18

By the time Congress met in 1865, the leading radicals had agreed that Negro suffrage should be forced upon the South; one radical even declared that "our safety and the peace of the country requires us to disfranchise the rebels and enfranchise the colored citizens of the revolted states."19

It is difficult to believe that the reconstructionists deliberately and intentionally created such an unfortunate state of affairs wherein the Southern white man was rendered impotent in government and politics. Because the South would not grant civil liberty and equality to the freedman,

17Peter J. Hamilton, op. cit., p. 221.
18Wilson, op. cit., V, 8.
19Hesseltine, op. cit., p. 592.
because it would not accept the proposed Fourteenth Amend-
ment, because it passed laws creating a new type of slavery
or quasi-slavery for the blacks, the radical Congressmen
felt that they were placed between the alternatives of
continuing military government in the South indefinitely,
or of giving the Negro political power with which to main-
tain for himself his own civil rights. 
Perhaps the re-
sulting political debauchery in the South was unintentional,
but among some, at least, Negro supremacy was frankly the
thing that was wanted. Senator Doolittle declared, just
after the Congressional plan had been set in operation,
that "the existing fabric of reconstruction legislation in
general is to put the negro in power over the white race
in all the States of the South and keep him there." 

In order to be able to put its ideas into operation,
Congress had first of all to nullify the presidential plan
and to open the way for its own program of reconstruction.
No difficulty was encountered in doing this, for the radic-
cal leaders merely engineered through Congress a decision
to the effect that any measure aimed at the reconstruction
of the nation should originate in the legislative rather
than in the executive branch of the government. With this
done, the way was clear.

20 Burgess, op. cit., p. 245.
21 Randall, op. cit., p. 760.
As finally perfected and set in motion, the Congressional plan of reconstruction was contained in the well-known Reconstruction Act of March, 1867. It is plain that the chief features of the plan were the enforcement of Negro suffrage throughout the South and the disfranchisement of the whites who had been leaders in the old South.\textsuperscript{22} Thinking men of the North denounced the policy as odious and ill-advised. General Grant, an advocate of tolerance, said, "The true policy should be to make friends of enemies."\textsuperscript{23} But any voices recommending that the problem be met with lenience and tolerance were not considered seriously by those who were now in a fair way to realize their fondest hopes -- to subjugate the rebels and to win power for themselves and their party. Conscience did not enter into the matter, and any method which secured the desired end was justified.

The Freedmen's Bureau

An institution which functioned throughout the South during most of the reconstruction era was the Freedmen's Bureau, which performed many commendable functions in an effort to make satisfactory adjustments in an unstable society, and at the same time indulged in practices which

\textsuperscript{22}Merriam, \textit{op. cit.}, pp. 306-308.

\textsuperscript{23}Rhodes, \textit{op. cit.}, V, 561-562.
were highly questionable in so far as they contributed to
the solution of the many problems that cropped up on every
hand.

Established by an act of Congress as a part of the
War Department on March 3, 1865, the Bureau came into ex-
istence only after heated debate and lengthy discussion.
It was to continue in operation for one year after the
close of the war, but later it was extended for additional
periods of time, continuing to operate in some regions
longer than in others, depending upon the need for its
services. The organization and function of the Bureau con-
sisted of four main divisions: (1) administration of lands
abandoned, confiscated, or otherwise acquired by the United
States; (2) supervision of labor, schools, and supplies
for the freedmen and for certain classes of needy whites;
(3) oversight of the blacks' financial affairs and business
transactions; and (4) provision for medical and hospital
services for the freedmen. The Bureau's program of relief
work was comprehensive in scope, consisting primarily of
three phases of help for the poor of both races: (1) car-
ing for the sick; (2) feeding, clothing, and sheltering the
destitute; and (3) transporting black and white refugees
to their homes and to better fields of labor.\textsuperscript{24}

That the country was in dire need of such services as
the Bureau might render was everywhere evident. An official

\textsuperscript{24} Peirce, \textit{op. cit.}, pp. 44, 48, 69-70, 73, 86.
of the Bureau, traveling through the desolate back country of the South, described as "an every-day sight" that of women and children, most of whom had formerly been in good circumstances, begging for bread from door to door. Many Southerners had not tasted meat for many months. The harvest was poor in 1865, for three reasons principally: the soldiers had returned too late in the spring to do an efficient job of planting; the Negroes, recently freed, were not dependable as farm workers; and a severe drought had further impaired the already unpromising prospects for a harvest. In some localities the whites suffered much more than the blacks, for the latter, their scanty supplies exhausted, looked to the government alone for support. Many were without homes of any description, and had no inclination to earn a livelihood by hiring out to former masters. 25 It was primarily to help these destitute, bewildered, and ignorant people that the Freedmen's Bureau had been established. When it extended its services to the whites as well, it was because the need was so great and the suffering so appalling.

The Bureau provided timely relief to many sick, infirm, and penniless individuals in the camps and on the plantations. Beginnings were made in the education of blacks and whites.

That it saved thousands of destitute blacks from starvation is unquestionable. During the single month of September, 1865, for example, over 1,400,000 rations were issued under its auspices; three years later the Bureau had distributed nearly 21,000,000 rations, of which more than 15,000,000 went to freedmen.26

Throughout the South military commanders, treasury agents, and benevolent and religious societies, all working under the auspices of the Freedmen's Bureau, dealt with abandoned and confiscated lands, abandoned and fugitive blacks, and white refugees. Everywhere they attempted to regulate the sales, leasing, and cultivation of the lands; the employment of Negroes by planters on plantations, by the government on plantations, and by the government in military camps, home colonies, and infirmary farms; the distribution of medicines, rations, and supplies of all kinds; and the transportation of freedmen, refugees, and teachers. They also sought to provide for the intellectual, moral, and religious education of the freedmen, the promotion of justice, and the care of freedmen's savings. Another important service rendered was the collection of freedmen's claims against the government and against individuals. Local branches of the Bureau were thick throughout the South, and, in addition to administering the Bureau's own program of relief, served to coordinate the similar efforts of all other benevolent organizations.

26 Carman, op. cit., p. 595.
working among the freedmen.\textsuperscript{27}

Many poverty-stricken whites in the South still clung to their pride to the extent that they declined to appeal for help to the Freedmen's Bureau or to any other agency. Consequently, they were sought out by benevolent groups and were given help. In Richmond a federal relief commission was formed, the city was marked off into thirty districts, and house-to-house canvassing was instituted in an effort to discover those who were in dire need. By April 21, 1865, 128,000 rations had been issued to an estimated 15,000 persons. In the region around Atlanta 35,000 persons depended upon the Federal Government for subsistence, and in Atlanta alone there were 15,000 recipients of relief. Many Confederate soldiers, discharged from the Northern prisons, were given rations. Quite often this act was regarded with surprise and gratitude by the soldiers and their families, as was the generous relief administered throughout the stricken areas to the poor and distressed. These relief measures helped to lessen the bitter sting of defeat.\textsuperscript{28}

In so far as the Freedmen's Bureau provided necessities to both races, the Southern whites in general approved of it in a hearty manner. But there were other aspects of the Bureau which were not so favorably regarded. For

\textsuperscript{27}Peirce, \textit{op. cit.}, pp. 32-33.

\textsuperscript{28}Randall, \textit{op. cit.}, pp. 694-695.
one thing, it had vast powers in the settlement of disputes between whites and blacks; and the whites, always accustomed to managing their own affairs, considered the Bureau an intrusive organization and a symbol of their humiliation under the yoke of the conqueror. The Bureau naturally incurred the enmity of many planters, who, taking advantage of the black man's ignorance, hired him for inadequate wages, promised but never paid remuneration for labor, formed combinations aimed at the reduction of wages, practiced intentional fraud upon him, and even proposed by means of a rigid enforcement of vagrancy laws to reduce him to a condition of peonage or modified slavery. Denouncing and actively opposing all of these procedures, the Bureau insisted upon written contracts between white employers and black employees. Many Negroes were suspicious of contracts, and would not work under one until a Bureau agent was able to explain to them the nature of the contract and to convince them that it was a protection for their own interests.

Many in the South thought that a system of free labor was wholly unsuited to the fickle, unreliable, improvident, and lazy freedmen. Knowing the character, previous condition, and former experiences of the Negro and understanding

---

30 Peirce, op. cit., p. 136.
the management and economy of plantations, these persons felt it was inexpedient, if not impossible, to set up in the South a plan of free labor such as existed in the North; nor did it seem wise to permit Negroes to enjoy all the rights of Northern laborers. Some Southern planters, therefore, continued to employ virtual overseers, to inflict punishment, and to impose restraints which often were really necessary in directing and disciplining the newly freed Negroes, but which, if administered by unscrupulous individuals, could easily become a menace to liberty and which, to the Northern observer, looked suspiciously like a return to slavery. This impression was thought to be confirmed by the enactment of the "black codes" and by the rash acts and utterances of planters who were unfriendly to the Negro in his new status.32

The antagonism of many whites to the Bureau and to the idea of free labor for the freedmen was softened by the behavior of some of their former slaves. For, many Negroes, finding employment either through their own initiative or through the efforts of the Bureau's agents, shared their meager earnings with their former master's destitute family; especially was this true if their former mistress was now left to work out her difficulties alone. Many Negroes, knowing the pride of their white friends, left money in the

house anonymously, while some openly presented part or all of their earnings at regular periods, stating that it was in appreciation for what the whites had done for them. Some would never knowingly permit a repayment of these loans. Be it said to the credit of the freedmen that many white families received their first cash after the war from their old servants.33

It was highly typical of reconstruction politics that the real merits of the Freedmen's Bureau were marred by the excesses of its administrative personnel, and it may be added that "the whole career of the bureau was a mixture of welfare and abuse, of genuine service and shameful corruption."34

... the local agents, whose function it was to apply the general policy of the bureau to concrete cases, displayed, of course, the greatest diversity of spirit and ability. It was from these lower officials that the southern whites formed their general estimate of the character and value of the institution, while the people of the North were guided more by the just and practical policy outlined in the orders from headquarters. However much tact and practical good sense the local agent was able to bring to the performance of his delicate duties, he in most cases, being a northern man, was wholly unable to take a view of the situation that could make him agreeable to the whites of the neighborhood. He saw in both freedman and former master qualities which the latter could never admit. Hence the working of the bureau, with its intrusion into the fundamental relationships of social life, engendered violent hostility from the outset on the part of the whites. The feeling was enhanced by the conduct of the ignorant, unscrupulous,

33Avary, op. cit., pp. 150-151.
34Randall, op. cit., p. 733.
and deliberately oppressive agents who were not rare. As soon, therefore, as it became established, the bureau took the form, to the southern mind, of a diabolical device for the perpetuation of the national government's control over the South, and for the humiliation of the whites before their former slaves.35

Avary, who lived through the period of reconstruction in the South and saw the Freedmen's Bureau in action, declared that

An agency's efficiency depended upon the agent's personality. If he were discreet and self-respecting, its influence was wholesome; if he were the reverse, it was a curse. If he were inclined to peculate, the agency gave opportunity; if he were cruel -- well, negroes who were hung up by the thumbs, or well anointed with molasses and tied out where flies could find them had opinions.36

Again Avary states:

It is not fair to overlook benefits conferred by the Bureau because it failed to perform the one great and fine task it might have accomplished, as the freedman's first monitor, in teaching him that freedom enlarges responsibility and brings no exemption from toil. If much harm, great good was also done in distribution of Government rations, in which whites sometimes received shares with blacks. In numbers of places, both races found the agent a sturdy friend and wise counsellor.37

There were thousands of Negroes, of course, who thought the Bureau was a godsend -- as indeed it was, to them. Many of these blacks were, through the generosity of the Bureau, kept alive without working for their bread, and these lazy good-for-nothings asked for no greater happiness in life.

35Dunning, Reconstruction, Political and Economic, pp. 33-34.
36Avary, op. cit., p. 211.
37Ibid., p. 216.
Many others, however, were helped to find worthwhile employment so that they could make their own way in society; and to these the Bureau was an indispensable aid in setting them right in their state of bewilderment. John Wallace, a Negro politician in Florida, says in his book, *Carpet Bag Rule in Florida*, that although the Bureau was intended as a protection to the freedmen, as a means of preparing them for their new responsibilities and privileges, it proved to be, in the hands of "bad" men, not a blessing, but "the worst curse of the race," as under it the Negro was "misled, debased, and betrayed."38 Certainly it is true that many Negroes were encouraged to shiftlessness and to vagrancy by the Bureau's custom of providing for their needs without demanding work in return. Likewise, unscrupulous Bureau agents incited the blacks to impudence, to crime, and to a craving for social equality with the whites. The Bureau assuredly performed a great work in caring for many helpless and destitute persons, but it likewise did much to add to the dissension, the uncertainty, and the bitterness that characterized the period of adjustment between the two races in the South. In many instances the Bureau was utilized by unprincipled agents as a means of inciting the blacks against the whites.

The chief objection of the Southern whites centered in

the fact that the Bureau established a sort of espionage over their conduct. They could not enter into contract with a freedman, no matter how advantageous the terms might be to both, without approval of a Bureau agent, whose headquarters might be fifty miles away, and who probably understood nothing of the contract he was asked to approve. If a colored employee neglected his work and was discharged, his employer was almost sure to be arrested and brought before a Bureau court. Police regulations for checking the demoralization of the freedmen and compelling them to work, were often regarded by the Bureau agents as attempts to deprive the Negro of his new rights. Now that they were released from the old slave laws that forbade their assembling at night, freedmen wandered about and held meetings of various kinds, often under white carpetbag or Bureau sponsorship; and the Bureau usually prevented the enforcement of restrictions against this new type of behavior, which was looked upon with apprehension by the Southern whites.39

Although the Freedmen's Bureau was put into operation even before the end of the Civil War in order to supply relief to the stricken population of the South, especially the blacks, it was retained by the radical reconstructionists as one of the best means of seeing that the Negro

received justice. While it continued its constructive work of benevolence and general assistance to the blacks, it was also used by the radicals to foster their own interests and to woo the Negroes away from loyalty to the Southern whites. Like all of the reconstruction institutions, the Bureau brought its bitterness along with its blessings. This, of course, produced much opposition in the South, but it was "the attempt of the bureau to set up a state within a state that seems to have caused most dissatisfaction."\textsuperscript{40} In other words, the Southerners resented the great powers which were vested in the Freedmen's Bureau and looked upon them as the assumption of undue authority by those who had no right to exercise it. The man who has long been accustomed to governing himself and those about him in his own way does not look favorably upon the imposition of authority from without; for, although this outside power is likely to bring some benefits along with its injustices, such a man is likely to brood upon the latter and to forget the former.

Personnel of the Reconstruction Governments

The types of people who comprised the reconstruction governments in the South provided an index to some of the social and economic problems of the era. Of course,

\textsuperscript{40}Willie M. Caskey, *Secession and Restoration of Louisiana*, p. 194.
society then, as at any other time, was composed of all kinds of people, but certain distinct groups were outstanding in so far as they contributed to the social and economic complexities of that chaotic period in national history.

Everywhere throughout the South were indications of defeat, despair, and ruin. Many were despondent because of bereavements and because of the utter collapse of all that meant most to them. But, on the other hand, there were many thousands who refused to be defeated and who bravely smiled as they surveyed the wreckage about them and began to build anew upon the hopeless ruin of the past. The spirit of the women seemed especially invincible, and it was their courage, their hope, and their optimism which inspired the men to shrug their shoulders at the destruction of the past and to lift their hands to the building of the future. "Our women never were whipped!" many Southern men exclaimed with pride. And it was literally true. While the men were experiencing the indescribable horrors of war, their women were at home suffering anxiety, privation, hunger, and outrage, many times being left homeless by the fortunes of war -- but they were undefeated still. They clung to hope. They discovered within themselves the type of courage which is invincible. And when the men

41Avery, op. cit., p. 115.
returned, they were met with a smile by the women, who said by their attitudes and by their actions, "Let us not waste time in crying over spilled milk, but rather let us start at once to build a new South and a new place for ourselves in the changed order of things." Avary writes graphically of the spirit of the Southern women at this time:

With cannons at our gates and shells driving us into cellars, guitars were tinkling, pianos were not dumb, tripping feet were not stayed by fear and sorrow. When boys in gray came from camp, women felt it the part of love and patriotism to give them good cheer, wearing smiles while they were by, keeping tears for them when absent. . . . With the war over and our boys coming home for good, ah, it was not hard to laugh, sing, and dance, poor as we were!42

There was hospitality for all who came, and many a woman took from her larder the last piece of bread in order to relieve the hunger of a Confederate soldier returning from war. "Starvation parties" were common and were thoroughly enjoyed by all who participated in them. They demonstrated the ability of the Southerners to find happiness and pleasure in the very little that was left to them from the devastation of the war. These "starvation parties" consisted of music, singing, dancing, and the playing of group games. Refreshments -- which gave the parties their name -- were crude, usually such things as cornbread and milk, mush, or potatoes. To these affairs the entire community came,

42 Ibid., p. 167.
many families rejoicing in the return of loved ones from
the war, and many others suppressing their sorrow because
their men did not return. So long as a people can snatch
happiness from the ruin and sorrow of their environment,
they have the ability and the courage to overcome their
hardships.

For purposes of administration of reconstruction poli-
cies, Congress divided the South into military districts,
over each of which presided a military governor, supported
by lesser officials and by an army of occupation. Some
military governors, like Sheridan in the Texas-Louisiana
district, rendered themselves "exceedingly obnoxious" by
their rule of "absolute tyranny." The general plan of the
military administration of the South, which superseded
the defunct civil governments which had functioned under
the Confederacy, caused Rhodes to state that "military gov-
ernment at the South may be described as possessing all
powers and no responsibilities."43

However, the relationships of the army of occupation
with the native white population were not so unhappy as
might have been expected. If the commanding officer was
well-disposed, there was usually little danger of serious
friction, although the troops sometimes got out of hand.
The men of the South and the men of the Northern army might

43Rhodes, op. cit., VI, 68, 78.
get on harmoniously together, but the Southern women would have nothing to do with the "Yankees," and ill feeling naturally resulted from the women's antipathy. The soldiers had ingenious ways of annoying the whites. Women who for some reason had to go to headquarters on business were made to take the oath of allegiance and the "ironclad" oath before their requests were granted; Northern flags were fastened over doors, gates, or sidewalks to irritate the Southerners; and Confederate songs and color combinations were forbidden. The order forbidding the wearing of the Confederate uniforms caused trouble. The tattered remnants of uniform were the only clothes that many of the men had or could get for months after the war was concluded. Buttons and insignia of rank were ordered removed, or were forcibly taken off by Union soldiers, and in some communities the order was issued that the gray clothes were to be dyed some other color. As a rule, the commanders issued these orders but paid no more attention to the matter, and such conflicts as arose over the Confederate uniform were usually caused by adventuresome and rowdy enlisted men and Negro troops who seemed to take delight in annoying the former Confederates.

No easy task was that which confronted the Federal forces in the South following Appomattox. Garrisons were neither large enough nor numerous enough to maintain order in the absence of civil governments. Commanders asked in
vain for cavalry to police the rural districts. Much of the disorder, violence, and incendiarism for which, at the time, lawless soldiers were blamed was actually the work of discharged soldiers and of others pretending to be soldiers in order to carry out robberies. The Southerners repeatedly complained of the garrisons, and mass meetings and state legislatures devised many petitions to Washington asking for their removal. The high commanders were, in the main, gentlemen who conscientiously tried to make the best of an unhappy situation by striving for justice, understanding, and harmony. The Southern whites were on the most amicable terms with the garrison commanders, but they had no love for the Federal troops who were insolent, profiteering, and generally objectionable.44

As the Federal troops were mustered out and left the South, the forces remaining in the South as an army of occupation contained an ever-increasing percentage of Negro regiments. For this situation two chief causes may be mentioned: (1) the Negroes, in the main, were not eager to leave the army, whereas the white soldiers were anxious to be free to return to their homes in their respective communities in the North or to remain in the South as private citizens; and (2) there was evident here a deliberate effort to emphasize the completeness of the catastrophe which

44Fleming, The Sequel of Appomattox, pp. 19-20, 22.
had come to the South. There were many protests concerning Negro troops from the very beginning, and these protests increased with the insolence and lack of discipline of the black soldiers. 45

The presence of Federal troops in the principal towns only emphasized the fact that the South was being treated as a conquered province. Naturally the presence of these soldiers was a constant source of irritation to the people, especially in view of the fact that the Southern armies had been disbanded and the wearing of the Confederate uniform prohibited. Violence and even death were not unknown as a result of clashes between Federal soldiers and ex-Confederates; and the people were shocked and insulted by the presence of Negro troops in their midst, being "jostled from the sidewalks by dusky guards," among whom they sometimes recognized their own former slaves. 46

The Negro troops, even at their best, were everywhere considered offensive by the native whites. General Grant, indeed, urged that only white troops be used to garrison the interior. But the negro soldier, impudent by reason of his new freedom, his new uniform, and his new gun, was more than Southern temper could tranquilly bear, and race conflicts were frequent. A New Orleans newspaper thus states the Southern point of view: "Our citizens who had been accustomed to meet and treat the negroes only as respectful servants, were mortified, pained, and shocked to encounter them . . . wearing Federal uniforms and bearing bright muskets and gleaming bayonets. . . .

45 Dunning, Reconstruction, Political and Economic, p. 30.

46 Randall, op. cit., p. 694.
They are jostled from the sidewalks by dusky guards, marching four abreast. They were halted, in rude and sullen tones, by negro sentinels."

The following excerpts from Carl Schurz' report to President Johnson, after Schurz had made a personal investigation of conditions in the South, indicate something of the feeling of the Southerners toward the Federal army of occupation:

... no instance has come to my notice in which the people of a city or a rural district cordially fraternized with the army. Here and there the soldiers were welcomed as protectors against apprehended dangers; but general exhibitions of cordiality on the part of the population I have not heard of. There are, indeed, honorable individual exceptions for this rule. Many persons ... are honestly striving to soften down the bitter feelings and traditional antipathies of their neighbors; others, who are acting more upon motives of policy than inclination, maintain pleasant relations with the officers of the government. But, upon the whole, the soldier of the Union is still looked upon as a stranger, an intruder -- as the "Yankee," the "enemy." ... The existence and intensity of this aversion is too well known to those who have served or are now serving in the south to require proof. ...

This feeling of aversion and resentment with regard to our soldiers may, perhaps, be called natural. The animosities inflamed by a four years' war, and its distressing incidents, cannot be easily overcome. But they extend beyond the limits of the army, to the people of the north. I have read in southern papers bitter complaints about the unfriendly spirit exhibited by the northern people. ... But, as far as my experience goes, the "unfriendly spirit" exhibited in the north is all mildness and affection compared with the popular temper which in the south vents itself in a variety of ways and on all possible occasions. No observing northern man can come into contact with the different classes composing southern society without noticing it. He may be received in social circles with great politeness, even with

apparent cordiality; but soon he will become aware that, although he may be esteemed as a man, he is detested as a "Yankee," ... the word "Yankee" still signifies to them those traits of character which the southern press has been so long in the habit of attributing to northern people; and whenever they look around them upon the traces of the war, they see in them not the consequences of their own folly, but the evidence of "Yankee wickedness." ... 48

The restlessness and discontent of the Southerners were made more difficult to bear by the fact that the members of the highest social class in the South -- men of brains, of character, and of experience -- were disfranchised, while the lowest of the low were given a vote. Even among the whites, the illiterates were permitted to cast ballots, while the intelligent were excluded from the polls. The strongest political note in the South before the war had been leadership, and this it was frankly the aim of the various reconstruction measures to destroy. 49

In all probability the Southerners would have borne their political, social, and economic humiliation without undue resentment had it not been for the fact that they saw, on every hand, the most mediocre of men being elevated to the highest positions of trust and responsibility in the South. Many men from the North were taking over the affairs of the South into their own hands; some of these men were respectable and honest, but the majority of them

48Fleming, Documentary History of Reconstruction, I, 43-44.

49Rhodes, op. cit., VI, 83.
were political profiteers without scruples. The South was further outraged when illiterate Negroes were armed with the ballot and many of them even sat in legislative halls as the lawmakers of the land. Against a situation of this type the temperamental and still-proud South could be expected to revolt. Even General Sherman, knowing something of the South and still more of the type of men who were there being elevated to power, was of the opinion that "some political power might be given to the young men who served in the rebel army, for they are a better class than the adventurers who have gone South purely for office."\textsuperscript{50}

But the radical reconstructionists were having the time of their lives, and had no intention of listening to the objections of even so prominent a man as General Sherman.

The Southern people were forced to endure the rank thieveries and peculations of some of the fiscal agents of the United States Government. For the purpose of collecting the special sales, shipping, and revenue taxes levied upon the South, the former Confederacy was divided into districts, which also served as administrative units for the disposal of confiscated Confederate property. To these districts were sent treasury agents who were to collect the taxes, look after the disposal of the Confederate property, and discover and seize Confederate army stores. Their compensation was to be approximately twenty-five per cent

\textsuperscript{50}Avary, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 115.
of the revenues they were instrumental in obtaining for the government. Instead of honestly performing their duties, many of them seized and disposed of private property to which they had no claim whatever. Horses, mules, wagons, tobacco, rice, sugar, cotton -- anything they could lay their hands on -- were taken in spite of the protests of the rightful and often destitute owners. "I am sure I sent some honest . . . agents South," said Secretary of the Treasury McCulloch, "but it sometimes seems doubtful whether any of them remained honest very long." Some were apprehended, fined, and imprisoned for their dishonest practices, and over 40,000 Southerners eventually received indemnities for personal property taken illegally. Many thousands of others, unable to prove that they had suffered at the hands of unprincipled agents, received nothing.51

Naturally, the exploitation of the South by men of the North provided a serious cause of discord. Many Federal soldiers, when mustered out of the army, proposed to stay in the South and make what profit they could from the disorganized society in which they found themselves. The prospect was indeed appealing for those who did not permit conscience or scruples to stand in the way of "business." All kinds of speculators followed the withdrawing armies

51Carman, op. cit., pp. 580-582.
of the Confederacy and, when peace came, overran the country. They were not cordially received by the people of the South, although some of them were honest and respectable men. However, the conduct of some of these newcomers, who felt that the Confederate defeat had opened all doors to them, very freely expressed their opinions, gave unwanted advice, condemned old customs, and were generally offensive, did much to bring all Northerners into disrepute. Of course, in the topsy-turvy state of things in the South, discord was played up and instances of accord passed with little notice; consequently, one now reads little of the thousands of Northern men who, through their honesty and fairness, overcame the reluctance of the South to hold social intercourse with them. Many Southern planters began to operate their plantations with the assistance of a Northern partner, while others sold portions of their plantations to Northerners in order to obtain the money to operate the holdings they still possessed. 52

One of the worst scandals connected with the early stages of radical reconstruction arose from the order, after Appomattox, that all cotton which had been sold to the Confederate government or to governmental units within the Confederacy should be confiscated. Whereupon, treasury agents, or pretended agents, flooded the South to take possession of this cotton. Had they adhered strictly to the purpose

for which they ostensibly came into the South, there would have been little complaint, for the seizure of government cotton would have been accepted by the South as one phase of the price that had to be paid for military defeat. But cotton was seized indiscriminately, from private owners as well as from government warehouses. Most protests were unavailing, and even the Federal courts usually refused redress, even when proof was indisputable that cotton had been seized illegally, or that the confiscating "officer" had been only a private individual masquerading as a treasury agent. Plunder was the order of the day, and if a Northern man could not obtain an appointment as a treasury agent, he could easily claim to be one and thus seize cotton as though he had complete authority. Needless to say, the cotton confiscated by such men did not enrich the Federal treasury. Not nearly all the cotton seized was ever recorded in the treasury books. The law permitted the holders of cotton owned or bargained for by the Confederate states to keep one fourth of it as compensation for having kept it safely during the war and relinquishing it to the government afterwards; but in many sections this law was evaded and the agents kept the one fourth for their own enrichment. Some even kept as much as half. One local agent in Alabama, typical of many others in all sections of the South, received for one month's services four hundred bales of cotton valued at $80,000.53

Avary gives some indication of the general contempt in which the Southerners held the so-called "carpetbaggers" from the North:

Newcomers were upon us like the plagues of Egypt. Deserters from the Federal Army, men dismissed for cause, followers in its wake, political gypsies, bums and toughs... everybody knew what became of vanishing trampdom; it joined the army. ... when, after conquest, the Federal army returned North, it left behind much riff-raff. Riff-raffs became politicians and intellectual and spiritual guides to the negroes. 54

If it was not a predetermined purpose, it certainly was an effect, of the carpetbag policy "to aggravate race jealousies and sectional misunderstandings." 55 The men from the North seemed to take delight in sponsoring the elevation of the freedmen above the native whites. As a corollary to this intention was the enforced political unimportance of the natural leaders of the South, who were now virtually powerless. Northern men regarded Southern men as unsafe friends of the freed slaves. They had not noted "how quiet, how unexcited, how faithful and steady at their accustomed tasks, how devoted in the service of their masters" the vast majority of the Negro people had remained even amid the storm, uncertainty, and upheaval of war; and even in the first days of freedom, before Northern agitation had confused them, they had continued in much the same

54 Avary, op. cit., p. 312.
55 Halsey, op. cit., p. 68.
manner. The Northerners had noted only how thousands of freedmen had crowded into the army camps in every stage of pitiful destitution. It was an act of humane mercy to give them food from army stores, but this largess only increased the number of camp followers, lured by the appeal of food without work. When the fighting neared an end and it appeared likely that the South would be in charge of Federal commanders during a long period of unsettled affairs, it became obviously necessary that Congress should, for a time at least, take the Negroes under the direct care and supervision of the government. This led to the creation of the Freedmen's Bureau, whose powers were most elastic and paternal. Though the services performed by the Bureau were often commendable, this organization also provided an additional opening for unscrupulous men to engage in low practices. The Freedmen's Bureau came to be corrupt with evil practices.

A host of vagrant political adventurers from the North, known in America as carpet-baggers, poured into the Southern provinces, and, in company with the refuse of the mean whites, they undertook the direction of the Negro votes. Then followed, under the protection of the Northern bayonets, a grotesque parody of government, a hideous orgy of anarchy, violence, unrestrained corruption, undisguised ostentation, insulting robbery, such as the world had scarcely ever seen.

The carpetbagger was the all-important figure in Dixie.

56 Wilson, op. cit., V, 17-18.
after the war; he was ruler of the Southern domain. He in-
cited discord between the races, kept up war between the
sections, and created riots and published the stories of
them, laying all the blame on the Southern whites. Neither
he nor the "scalawag" Southerner who was his running-mate
was accepted socially; but sentence fell harder upon the
scalawag when old friends insulted him for his Northern
sympathies and his family was socially ostracized and ig-
nored.58

Many of the carpetbaggers were undoubtedly men of per-
sonal honesty and integrity, but these had to bear the
odium of those coming South solely for the purpose of pecu-
lation and plunder. The charge that they were all thieves
and plunderers had no foundation in fact. But at the same
time it is unquestioned that, as a class, they unneces-
sarily multiplied the burdens of the Southern people, did
not exhibit an over-delicacy in their desire for the re-
wards of public office, and by their alliance with Negroes
against the whites, finally brought on revolution and reac-
tion -- the final result of the Congressional policy of
reconstruction.59 Some of them considered that the result
of the war had opened the entire South to them and for this
reason they assumed that they had the right to say and do

58Avary, op. cit., p. 325.
all sorts of things to annoy the people of the South. 60

There grew up in the South a popular definition of a carpetbagger that described him as a Yankee, in a linen duster and with a carpetbag, appearing suddenly on a political platform in the South, and calling upon the Negroes to vote him into office. 61

These carpetbaggers were considered as "strangers to the interests and aliens to the sympathies of those they governed." 62

Many of the Northern migrants, hoping to profit from the high price of cotton, had seized abandoned plantations and had attempted the cultivation of that crop, but few of them were successful. Entering the political arena, they observed such perfect fraternization with the Negroes that they drank whiskey from the same bottle, some of their wives played the piano for the amusement of their dark-skinned sisters, and at Negro picnics carpetbaggers mingled with Negro men and danced with Negro women -- all for mere political advantage! 63

The scalawag, in alliance with the carpetbagger, controlled the Freedmen's Bureau and the Union Leagues. In the main, he was from the scum of Southern society -- one

60 Fleming, The Sequel of Appomattox, p. 414.
61 Avary, op. cit., p. 326.
62 Trescot, op. cit., p. 276.
who could readily take the oath of allegiance, either truthfully or by perjury. Oberholtzer describes him well:

... viler yet were the blatant, vindictive, unprincipled characters gathered up from the South itself who, cloaking themselves in a pretense of "loyalty" to the Union, took up the task of winning office in the reorganized states by base and hypocritical appeals to the new voters. For the most part these men were turncoats. They had been small slaveholders, and secessionists. But, failing on the rebel side to gain the prominence they craved, they had gone North to sell their tongues to the Republicans, while the war still had not come to an end, or, if not this, were now ready to do so. Such men came to be known to the Southern people as "scalawags."

For a decade the Northerners and their allies were "absolute masters of the situation" in Florida, Alabama, Louisiana, Arkansas, and the Carolinas; in Georgia, Mississippi, and Tennessee their grip was less firm but nevertheless powerful, whereas in Texas and Virginia they accomplished comparatively little.

Although the Negroes constituted the majority of the electorate under radical reconstruction, their power actually gave them little advantage. Multitudes of adventurers were always at hand to influence, beguile, and use them; gaining the Negroes' confidence, they became the blacks' new masters, took over the most lucrative offices, and lived upon the treasury, contracts, and the easy

64 Randall, op. cit., p. 847.
65 Oberholtzer, op. cit., II, 24.
manipulation of affairs of state. Their Negro henchmen got only occasional allotments of abandoned or forfeited land, the remuneration from petty offices, the wages of domestic servants, and the proceeds of bribery. Because of their ignorance and credulity, they could be easily duped: any petty favor, small stipend, trifling reward, bit of poor land, or piece of money satisfied and silenced them, and afforded an opportunity to play upon their fervent passions. They could easily be taught to hate the men who had once held them in slavery, and without difficulty were persuaded to follow blindly the political party which had brought on the war for their emancipation.67

At times discord, strife, and contention prevailed among the ranks of the radicals themselves: carpetbaggers were aligned against scalawags, and both against the Negroes. As a result of this situation, legislation giving the Negroes equal rights in hotels, places of amusement, and common carriers was often introduced by the carpetbaggers to rid the radical ranks of certain scalawags who were bitterly opposed to such measures.68

Thomas Nelson Page, after having made "a survey of the field and a careful consideration of the facts," reached the conclusion that the Southern states, with the possible

67Wilson, op. cit., V, 46.
exception of one or two, had been "better off" in 1868 at the beginning of the most radical phase of reconstruction than they were in 1876, when the carpetbag governments were finally overthrown; and that Negro domination had cost the South more than the entire cost of the war, including the loss of values in slave property.  

Undoubtedly, with the coming of the carpetbagger into the South as the embodiment and agent of radical reconstruction, a period of darkness settled upon the unhappy Southern people blacker and more hopeless than had been the war's worst horrors. The conduct of the men now on the scene was "tyrannic, corrupt, mean, and vulgar."  

Unwritten social codes were evolved in the South to govern the relationships of the sexes. Everywhere a Southern girl who seemed to prefer Northern suitors came under a ban. Such an attitude on the part of the girls appeared neither true nor dignified. Those who did not regard it as treason to the lost Confederacy looked upon it as treason to the South's "own poor boys in gray" for Southern girls "to flutter over to prosperous conquerors."  

A few snapshots should perhaps be taken to illustrate the most extraordinary phase of radical reconstruction,

---

69 Thomas Nelson Page, *The Old South*, p. 333.
70 Burgess, *op. cit.*, p. 246.
71 Avary, *op. cit.*, pp. 117-118.
namely, the black men who sat in legislative halls and helped to shape the destinies of the South. Comparatively few of the intelligent blacks found themselves in positions of power, for they could not be so readily duped as their more ignorant brothers; hence the lowest of the Negroes were used by the carpetbaggers and scalawags to serve their own ends. These low blacks in high places constituted the most revolting phase of reconstruction in the eyes of the Southern whites.

Pike, watching the South Carolina legislators emerge from the capitol, saw that about three fourths were Negroes. All types of faces and all shades of coloring were represented, and their dress was fully as varied as their facial features -- second-hand frock coats, well-worn, and sometimes patched and threadbare; battered stovepipe hats; slouch hats of field laborers; coarse and dirty garments of field hands; heavy brogans; short, torn, patched trousers. When respectable whites gazed from the gallery upon the activities and bedlam of the state legislature, their involuntary ejaculation was almost invariably something like: "My God, I wish you would look at that! I knew the Negro, and I predicted much that has happened, but I never thought it would come to this! Let me go!"

Pike observed that the legislative halls surprisingly resembled an exceedingly active and noisy circus. The incessant chatter, which could hardly be dignified by the
term, "fluency of debate," was always out of hand and could not be controlled by the ignorant black speaker of the House. Shouts, yells, loud talking, profanity, and fist-fights characterized the legislative procedure. The intellectual level was "that of a bevy of fresh converts at a negro camp-meeting." Almost every member had much to say about every matter brought up before the assembly, and sometimes the blacks' reasoning was amazingly sane and logical, though usually expressed in the most ungrammatical language imaginable. Loud laughter broke out at frequent intervals. Peanuts and tobacco were everywhere in evidence; speakers were often busily engaged in shelling and chewing peanuts or spitting tobacco juice while gesticulating wildly in the impassioned flow of oratory. Riot and confusion were ever present.

Yet not all was sham and burlesque. Many of the Negro lawmakers took a genuine interest and a sincere earnestness in the business of the assembly. At heart, they felt the dignity of their position and perceived something of its responsibility, though usually they did not know how to give expression to these feelings and resorted to comic antics and to loud bawlings to emphasize their impassioned interest in what was going on. Many of them were sobered by the fact that their status in society was not yet assured, and they thoughtfully tried to feel their way through a novel situation in such a way as to make themselves
and their race acceptable to society. A few years before, most of them were employed in raising corn and cotton under the lash of an overseer; now they raised points of order and rose for questions of privilege. They preferred the latter occupation -- it was easier and more remunerative.

It is indeed true that the rise of barbarians to power did not produce a worse condition than actually existed in the South for a few years. When the barbarians overran Rome and destroyed her civilization, the dark ages followed throughout Europe. True, in the South there were dark days also, but it is really remarkable that the ignorant lawmakers accomplished so much and made comparatively few serious blunders. Paradoxically, both the accomplishments and the blunders were largely due to white guidance.  

In South Carolina, as elsewhere, the Negroes, carpetbaggers, and scalawags stole "with a recklessness and audacity without parallel." The state laws required a combination of the state's chief authorities to get at the treasury, but they brazenly raided the coffers and all had a share in the plunder. The state's bonded debt rose from five to fifteen millions during the carpetbag-Negro-scalawag regime. There was no attempt to conceal the plunderings that were going on everywhere in governmental

---

circles, for which the Negroes were by no means chiefly responsible. All sorts of contracts for buildings, railroads, highways, and public utilities were let, many of which were never fulfilled, but the money voted was used for graft and bribery.\textsuperscript{73}

So tainted is the atmosphere with corruption, so universally implicated is everybody about the government, of such a character are the ornaments of society at the capitol, that there is no such thing as an influential local opinion to be brought against the scamps. They plunder and glory in it. They steal, and defy you to prove it. The legalization of fraudulent scrip is regarded simply as a smart operation. The purchase of a senatorship is considered only as a profitable trade. Those who make the most out of the operation are the best fellows. "How did you get your money?" was asked of a prominent legislator and lobbyist. "I stole it," was the prompt reply. . . \textsuperscript{74}

These unscrupulous lawmakers often banded together to defeat some public project, such as a railroad charter, merely because their votes had not previously been bought in support of the undertaking. There was an entire lack of moral tone; almost everyone was looking for opportunities to steal, to enrich themselves, and to extort money or privilege.\textsuperscript{75}

Although these conditions were more prevalent in South Carolina than elsewhere, similar conditions obtained to a lesser degree, or even to the same extent, in other

\textsuperscript{73}\textit{Ibid.}, pp. 25-27. \hspace{1cm} \textsuperscript{74}\textit{Ibid.}, p. 28. \hspace{1cm} \textsuperscript{75}\textit{Ibid.}, p. 49.
states. Pike's words concerning the situation in South Carolina are equally applicable to practically all of the South during the days of radical reconstruction:

The rule of South Carolina should not be dignified by the name of government. It is the installation of a huge system of brigandage. The men who have had it in control, and who now have it in control, are the picked villains of the community. They are the highwaymen of the state. They are professional legislative robbers. They are men who have studied and practised the art of legalized theft. They are in no sense different from, or better than, the men who fill the prisons and penitentiaries of the world. They are, in fact, of precisely that class, only more daring and audacious. They pick your pockets by law. They rob the poor and the rich alike, by law. They do none of these things even under the tyrant's plea of the public good or the public necessity. They do all simply to enrich themselves personally. The sole, base object is, to gorge the individual with public plunder. Having done it, they turn around and buy immunity for their acts by sharing their gains with the ignorant, pauperized, besotted crowd who have chosen them to the stations they fill, and which enable them thus to rob and plunder.\(^76\)

Pike, who was a Northern newspaperman sent to report on conditions in the South, described radical reconstruction as "barbarism overwhelming civilization by physical force."\(^77\)

Dixon, another Northerner sent to investigate and report on conditions in the South for his newspaper, wrote from South Carolina that "Negro ascendancy is complete; the African and his bastard brother the Mulatto reign supreme."\(^78\) He stated that the most recent census had given

South Carolina ten blacks to seven whites throughout the state. In seven counties the whites had a substantial majority, in three others a slight majority, while in twenty-two counties Negro majorities were large. In Louisiana Dixon saw confusion in the legislative halls no less pronounced than that witnessed by him and by Pike in South Carolina. He witnessed a near-riot in the Louisiana House led by Negroes who were insistent on knowing why they had not received their promised "forty acres and a mule." The carpetbaggers had considerable difficulty in satisfying their inquiries. Dixon had difficulty in entering the Senate chamber, for the black police fancied that he and his party of whites must be spies. The Senate met in a long, uncarpeted, filthy room, in which the air was foul with tobacco smoke (despite rules against smoking posted in conspicuous places), with odors from spittoons, and with stenches from sweating and dirty bodies. Each senator had a chair with his name in big letters, but all seemed incapable of sitting still. They loafed about, rose to points of order, chattered or argued with their neighbors. Five or six spoke on the floor at the same time, each accusing the other of lying and deception, despite the frantic efforts of the chair to maintain order.  

The reports of Pike and Dixon, when published in the  

79 Ibid., pp. 101-103.
North, produced a sensation that meant the beginning of the end of radical reconstruction, although years were to pass before the situation was to be wholly in hand by respectable people of the South. As early as July 7, 1865, the Chicago Times featured an editorial which upheld the immediate need to relieve twenty-eight millions of whites held in cruel bondage by four million blacks, a bondage which retards our growth, distracts our thoughts, absorbs our efforts, drives us to war, and ruptures our government, disturbs our tranquility, and threatens direfully our future. There never was such a race of slaves as we; . . . Our Negro masters crack their whips over our legislators and our religion. 80

The use of the pronoun our in this editorial is significant, in that it demonstrates the feeling that gradually was developing in the North -- that the nation was one, and that the injustices that the South was forced to endure placed a stigma upon the respectability of the North. In time, reports of outrages perpetrated upon the South were to alter the attitude of the North to one of sympathy, and to inspire active efforts to aid the South in overthrowing the peculiar tyranny exercised over it by the singularly unique personnel of the radical reconstruction program.

80Avary, op. cit., p. 211.
The Union Leagues

Left to themselves, the freedmen would undoubtedly have turned for leadership to the native whites, who understood them best. This, to the power-crazed and unscrupulous radicals, was the danger in the situation. It was imperative, then, that the blacks should be taught to hate -- and teachers of hatred were plentiful.\textsuperscript{81}

Most of the ex-slaves were willing to remain quiet during the turbulence of reconstruction, but the carpetbaggers and ambitions Southern scalawags tried to arouse them against the planters. One method was by the formation of "Union Leagues," secret political societies composed mainly of Negroes who became members by taking an oath to support the new political order -- which meant, in reality, that they pledged themselves to be puppets in the hands of the carpetbaggers and scalawags, robbing and committing other crimes at their command and on their own initiative. These leagues practiced a certain amount of violence against the former masters, burning houses and barns, stealing personal property, and even waylaying white men for purposes of assault. In the latter days of reconstruction, the Ku Klux Klan was to prove an effective means of counteracting this organization and finally of putting it out of business.\textsuperscript{82}

\textsuperscript{81} Bowers, op. cit., p. 198.

\textsuperscript{82} Hawk, op. cit., p. 443.
Meeting at night in some out-of-the-way place, where the membership was harangued by white Republican speakers, these organizations remarkably solidified the black vote. A league grew up in almost every Southern community, and a vast majority of the colored men were coerced into membership.

Meetings were held at midnight in churches and school houses, in deserted barns, in half-burnt buildings, or, perhaps, in the woods around brush fires, where by incantation and recourse to African fetichism the negroes became ready victims of the Radical leaders.

Union League methods resembled those of the Ku Klux Klan, its ultimate destroyer: anonymous warnings to obnoxious persons, burning of houses, posting of notices at night in public places and on houses of those incurring the hostility of the order. To destroy the influence of the whites where kindly relations still existed, the local league issued "exodus orders" directing all members to leave the community and seek work elsewhere. None dared refuse.

Often, after having had military drill at the league meetings, the Negroes would march home along the country roads, shouting, firing their guns, and making boasts and threats against disliked persons. These midnight marches

---

83 Garner, op. cit., p. 338.
84 Oberholtzer, op. cit., II, 13.
gradually developed into military daytime parades, in which several hundred Negroes would march up and down the streets or country roads, abusing whites and shoving them off the walks or out of the road. Although little actual violence was ever committed, the whites were sometimes highly alarmed. That outrages were few was due, not to their leaders' sensible teachings, but to the fundamental good nature of the blacks, who were usually content with mere impudence.

The influence of the leagues over the Negroes was largely due to the mysterious secrecy of the meetings; and the weird initiation ceremonies made them feel exultant from their head to their heels after having been conducted through a most imposing ritual. The emblems of the order were explained: an altar, the Bible, the Declaration of Independence, the Constitution of the United States, the United States flag, a censer, a sword, a gavel, a ballot box, a sickle, a shuttle, an anvil, and other emblems of industry and patriotism. To the accompaniment of clanking chains and groans issuing from the darkness, the initiate was told of the objectives of the order: to preserve liberty, to perpetuate the Union, to maintain the laws and the constitution, to secure the ascendancy of American institutions, to protect and defend all members of the league.

---

86 Ibid., p. 187.
and all loyal men in all personal and property rights, to demand the elevation of labor, to aid in the education of laboring men, and to teach the duties of American citizenship. With a solemn oath he swore to support the principles of the Declaration of Independence, to pledge himself to resist all attempts to overthrow the United States, to strive for the maintenance of liberty, the elevation of labor, the education of all people in the duties of citizenship, to practice friendship and charity to all members of the order, and to support for election or appointment to office only such men as were supporters of these principles and measures. 87

The freedman's pledge was "to defend and perpetuate freedom and the Union, I pledge my life, my fortune, and my sacred honor, so help me God." The complex initiation ceremony was well planned and presented so as to be the most effective means of impressing and controlling the Negro through his mingled fear and love of secret, mysterious, midnight mummeriy. It was largely due to the impressiveness of the ceremony and to his fear of the consequences if he failed to live up to his pledges that he usually remained faithful to the order.

Wholesale intimidation was one of the methods employed by the Union League. Freedmen were made to understand that the death penalty was required of those voting the Democratic ticket. This, of course, immeasurably strengthened Republicanism in the South, as did the habit of some of the white organizers of the leagues of giving midnight

87Tbid., pp. 182-184.
warnings to the blacks that the native whites were their deadly enemies. And woe to the Negro who held back, remonstrated, was lukewarm, or who consulted with his old master for advice! He was taught that such behavior was treason to his race and to his party. Persuasion failing, recourse was not infrequently had to the lash.  

By 1867 the Union Leagues had become strongly entrenched in the South as a powerful instrument of control in the organization of the blacks for radical Republicanism. Every member was oath-bound to vote for the nominees endorsed by the League. One member even admitted that the organization existed "for no other purpose than to carry the elections." Through its ritualistic grasp upon their simple minds, the league had a remarkable success in capturing and delivering the Negro vote, voting the freedmen "like herds of senseless cattle."  

As a race, the Negroes moved into the Union Leagues, to the disgust and apprehension of the Southern whites, until fully nine tenths of them were finally enrolled -- "oath-bound, impervious to reason, race-conscious, dreaming of domination."  

The leagues' iron discipline held the blacks together for several years. Having been established in 1862 as a

89 Randall, op. cit., p. 848.
movement to organize and make effective the loyal sentiment among the whites of both North and South, the league, after the war, began to admit Negroes as members; and as the blacks came in, the Southern whites withdrew until the league consisted almost entirely of blacks, with a comparatively few carpetbag and scalawag leaders. After 1866, the league rapidly disintegrated in the North, where the war had been won and the aggressive organization of Union sentiment was no longer needed.  

With promises of equality, property, and power, Union League organizers were busy among the blacks, drawing them into the secret political clubs. Many of the clubs were converted into military organizations under white leadership, drilling day and night in the highways and causing widespread apprehension among the Southern whites. A planned, purposeful, premeditated "consolidation of the blacks against the whites" seemed to be the general goal of the Union League.

Perhaps the only really worthwhile result of the Union League was the development within the blacks of a feeling of their own sense of importance and responsibility in the social order -- and more often than not, even this was misdirected and perverted into unwholesome channels. John

---

91 Fleming, *Documentary History of Reconstruction*, II, 3-5.

Wallace, author of *Carpet Bag Rule in Florida*, and himself a Negro politician during the time of reconstruction, observed that the teachings of the Union League made many Negroes "obnoxious and overbearing members of society." Thousands of dollars were wrung from them by initiation and other types of fees, which, apparently, the white leaders pocketed. The Negroes were assured that all of the lands and property of their former masters would be divided among them, and this led many to indolence, shiftlessness, and crime. They were assured that their oath forbade them to vote for any Southern white man for office; to do so would return them to slavery. There were fiery speeches in league meetings against former masters, who, at the same time, were trying to persuade the blacks that the men who were organizing them into secret lodges were mere demagogues who were seeking personal gain, and were in reality the blacks' worst enemies. Some of the Negroes were set to thinking by this reasoning and began to question some of the league procedures.

There is no disputing the fact that the fears of the whites were well founded; for the men who controlled them had really nothing in view but public plunder.  

The influence of the unscrupulous white leaders in the leagues was responsible for much of the disorder caused

---

by the blacks. Insults, burnings, thefts, and murders were blamed upon the league by the Southern whites. The Ku Klux Klan developed largely as a result of the fear of the influence of the league upon the Negroes, and after 1869 the league gradually broke up in the face of determined attacks by the Klan. The local councils of the league disbanded or became public political clubs with more wholesome purposes and activities than the secret societies had had. As a result of the existence of the Union League, the Negro had received a training which he long remembered, and the two races were politically alienated in the South. Aside from its political significance, the league was important as the first of the great secret societies for Negroes, and was the model for most of them, many of which still function usefully in Negro life today.  

94

Education and Religion During the Reconstruction Era

Northern educators considered the need for schools in the South a fair-fields' challenge for missionary endeavors. The Southern aristocrats' opposition to free schools had been so emphasized in Northern war propaganda that it had come to seem the duty of the victors to force public education upon the conquered South. Even before the war, public schools in the South had been rudimentary, and

94 Ibid., pp. 3-5.
free education had borne the taint of being suited only for paupers who could not afford anything better. Now, after the war, little remained of the South's public educational system save here and there the charred remains of a one-time schoolhouse, in most cases a crude log cabin. 95

Concerning the problem of public education in the South, the Northern view may be summarized as follows: (1) the South had had no public education to speak of, was opposed to it, and such education as had been given had been based upon wrong principles and had resulted in secession and rebellion; (2) the poor whites in the South were densely ignorant; and this ignorance, exploited by unscrupulous leaders, had provided the basis of the Confederacy; (3) Southern leaders were opposed to the general education of the white masses, and all classes were opposed to any education at all for the freed Negroes; and (4) the main difference between the Negro and the white was due to the enforced ignorance of the former -- a situation which, it was thought, could speedily be remedied.

On the other hand, the Southern view toward education during this period may be set forth as follows: (1) the leaders of the South recognized the changes status of the Negroes and favored education, under Southern supervision, to fit the Negro race for citizenship, and hence they had

95 Hesseltine, op. cit., pp. 624-625.
established schools, with numerous white teachers instructing the Negroes; (2) the masses of the whites were undecided about or indifferent toward the question of education for the Negroes; (3) the lower and more ignorant classes of whites strongly opposed Negro education; and (4) in the Black Belt the whites were generally favorable to Negro education, while the strongest opposition prevailed in the predominantly white districts. The Negroes themselves were eager for education, and seemed to prefer that offered by the Northerners who had freed them, although this frame of mind was undoubtedly the result of propaganda released through the Freedmen's Bureau and the Union League. A Hampton teacher declared that when the Yankee school ma'ams followed the Northern armies, the business of educating the Negroes was a continuation of hostilities against the vanquished South, and was so regarded, to a considerable degree, on both sides.  

The Freedmen's Bureau was the first organization to undertake the rehabilitation of the demolished educational system of the South, with its series of plantation schools, which served the purpose well until something better could be had. Planters furnished the schoolhouses, usually log cabins, and Northern benevolent societies supplied the teachers. A plantation with as many as 150 hands and forty

---

or fifty children had its own schoolhouse, but smaller plantations would unite in constructing a schoolhouse in some central location, where the Negro children could easily go back and forth. For the planters soon learned that there was "nothing so encouraging and harmonizing to the freedmen as the establishment of schools for their children."97

The Negro school rose as the first expression of missionary activity on the part of Northern religious bodies. Seldom in the history of the world has an almost totally illiterate population been given the means of self-education in so short a time.

Many southern whites felt that the dreadful poverty into which the entire section had been plunged rendered impossible the education of the blacks, even if it were desirable; and most of them questioned its desirability. Especially was this true of the lower-class whites, who were beginning to recognize in the freedman an economic competitor.98 And, until the close of reconstruction, the South was overshadowed by a constant fear and dread that the radicals would demand the establishment of mixed schools. This one fact alone was one of the most nearly insurmountable obstacles in the way of public educational progress.99

97Trowbridge, op. cit., p. 289.
98Dabney, op. cit., p. 166.
99Edgar W. Knight, Public Education in the South, p. 333.
In the schools which he supported with the exorbitant taxes that he was obliged to pay, the Southern white man saw the children of his former slaves being given book-learning, which he deemed unwise, from strangers "who would be sure to train them into discontent with the only lot he thought them fit for and the only sort of work which, in the world he knew, they ever had a chance to do." 100 Outside the schoolroom he saw the Union Leagues coaching the freedmen in the assumption of the powers and duties of citizenship which, when he had relinquished his sword at the close of the war, he had never understood emancipation to imply for them.

The progress of education for the Negro was not without opposition from the whites, many of whom were unfavorable toward education for the free black man. "Learning will spoil the Negro for work," they said; "Negro education would be the ruin of the South; the elevation of the blacks would be the degradation of the whites." And in a political application of these views, Negro schools were frequently broken up and the schoolhouses burned; in many places the schools were unsafe except under the immediate protection of Federal troops. 101

The blacks early showed themselves very desirous of


learning and enlightenment, and often to learn to read was one of the first uses to which they put their new freedom. Travelers sometimes saw Negroes, who had in some manner learned to read, seated by the roadside teaching less enlightened relatives or friends the alphabet. In the first formal convention of the race in South Carolina, November of 1865, the delegates advocated the establishment of "good schools for the thorough education of our children, . . . since an educated and intelligent people can neither be held in nor reduced to slavery."102

For all their ignorance and folly, their rascality and venality, the "black-and-tan" legislatures of the reconstruction era performed much constructive service. The constitutions they framed were thought to be distinct improvements upon the previous documents, and were so acclaimed by some observers; and though much of the school legislation was ineffective and ill-planned, it was these so-called travesties of legislative assemblies that finally established the principle of free public education for both white and black in the South.103

The following excerpt indicates something of the peculiar type of education which seemed to be required for the Negro in the South:

... here is a race to be educated in the very elements of manhood. They have to be taught positively and negatively. The education they require is the formation of a race the opposite of the existing race. They have to be taught not to lie, not to steal, not to be unchaste. To educate them properly is to revolutionize their whole moral nature. The groundwork of that education: will not even have been laid when they shall be taught reading and writing. It is the reading and writing negroes of the South Carolina Legislature who lead in its most infamous venalities and corruptions. This sort of education merely lends a cutting edge to their moral obtuseness. Education, to be what it ought to be with the existing race of negroes in the South, means to educate them out of themselves, means to undo the habits and practices and modes of thought and want of thought engendered by centuries of slavery. It means the moral enlightenment and regeneration of a whole people debauched and imbruted for ages. Such is the gigantic task demanded of an education suited to existing circumstances. 104

A wholesome Southern attitude toward Negro education — more wholesome, in fact, than was generally true — was reflected in the inaugural address of Governor D. S. Walker of Florida in 1865, in which he said:

I think we are bound by every consideration of duty, gratitude, and interest to make these people as enlightened, prosperous, and happy as their new situation will admit. ... They have been attached to our persons and our fortunes, sharing with us all our feelings — rejoicing with us in our prosperity, mourning with us in our adversity. ... Not only in peace, but in war, they have been faithful to us. ... It is not their fault they are free; they had nothing to do with it; that was brought about by "the results and operations of the war." ... They are now a discontented and unhappy people, many of them houseless and homeless, roaming about in gangs over the land, not knowing one day where the supplies for the next day are to come from; exposed to the ravages of disease and famine; exposed to the temptations of theft and robbery, ...

104 Ibid., p. 63.
without the intelligence to provide for themselves when sick, and doomed to untold sufferings and ultimate extinction unless we intervene for their protection and preservation. . . .

We ought to encourage our colored people to virtue and industry by all means in our power. We ought to protect them in all their rights, both of person and property, as fully as we do the whites. 105

Though at first, like everything else having to do with the program of radical reconstruction in the South, the educational systems of the time were steeped in corruption and characterized by gross inefficiency, they remain as the most socially desirable contribution of the radical governments to the new Southern civilization created out of the wreck of the old. 106

Whereas the blacks were the chief beneficiaries of the new educational systems of the various states, the whites paid the costs through taxation, even though they thought of the education of the Negro as carried on in the public schools to be either useless or even dangerous to society. To supply the Negroes' demands, schools were one of the chief items in the budgets of the reconstructed states. 107 Thus the South, "with the gravest problems of our civilization challenging her existence and her peace, was expected to assume the task of the education of two populations (the black and white) out of the poverty of

105 Fleming, Documentary History of Reconstruction, I, 257-258.

106 Hesseltine, op. cit., p. 625.

107 Dunning, Reconstruction, Political and Economic, pp. 206-207.
This situation, difficult and unfavorable though it was, gave birth to some worthwhile educational undertakings in the South.

To meet the peculiar needs of the problem of education for the Negro, the Freedmen's Bureau sponsored four different types of schools: (1) day schools for the instruction of the younger and unemployed children; (2) night schools for older children, parents, and other working people; (3) industrial schools, where women were taught to sew and make garments; and (4) Sunday schools for instruction in the rudiments of education and Christianity.109

To carry on this varied educational program, hundreds of teachers -- "schoolmarms" -- came pouring down from the North to organize schools and teach the freedmen's children. Many of them possessed the highest character, were devoted and self-sacrificing, going to the blacks because their need was greater. But because they moved exclusively among the freedmen and ignored the needs of the whites, they incurred fierce opposition from the Southern whites, who insulted the "nigger teachers" and frequently burned their schools. "The better social elements looked askance at those whose presence was a reminder of conquest and humiliation."110

protection of Federal troops, the teachers were usually driven out of the community, and their despised schools demolished bodily or fired.\textsuperscript{111}

Of all those who were victims of reconstruction, the white teachers of Negro schools comprised the class suffering most innocently, not violence ordinarily, but in countless other ways in which Southern society informed them that they were unwelcome and their mission heartily disapproved. Since they associated constantly with the freedmen, they should not have expected, as they did, kindly recognition from those who otherwise might have been their friends. Too often they not only disregarded, but even criticized and attacked, "those usages and traditions that gave to Southern life a charm and distinction not elsewhere found in America." Yet the South should have had more sympathy for what these teachers were trying to do; it should have made a wise, candid study of the conditions of their work. Most of the teachers, unlike the political adventurers, came South not to exploit the Negro but to help him. The worst work performed by the Ku Klux Klan was its active opposition to Negro schools, and its occasional expulsion or even handling of their teachers.\textsuperscript{112}

Yankee schoolmarms overran the country. Their spirit was often noble and high as far as the black

\textsuperscript{111}Schurz, \textit{op. cit.}, III, 189.

\textsuperscript{112}Brown, \textit{op. cit.}, pp. 216-218.
man's elevation -- or their idea of it -- was concerned; but toward the white South, it was bitter, judicial, unrelenting. Some were saints seeking martyrdom, and finding it; some were fools; some, incendiaries; some, all three rolled into one; some were straight-out business women seeking good-paying jobs; some were educational sharps.\textsuperscript{113}

Teachers of Negro schools were unable to secure board and room in the homes of respectable white citizens, hence they usually had to lodge with their colored patrons; their living on terms of social equality with the blacks gave offense to the mind of the Southern whites, and was sure to cost the offender whatever respect the community might otherwise have entertained for him. Too often the teacher's association with blacks was taken as an indication of loose moral character, when nothing of the kind was true, for the great majority of Northern men and women in the schoolrooms of the South were persons of high moral and intellectual character.\textsuperscript{114} In most cases their only offense was what the Southerners termed the effort to teach the Negro "to struggle indecorously for the semblance of a non-existent equality."\textsuperscript{115}

One of the strongest arguments for the education of the Negro during reconstruction was that he should be enlightened so as to be able efficiently to assume the role

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{113}Avary, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 312.
\item \textsuperscript{114}Garner, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 359.
\item \textsuperscript{115}Avary, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 312.
\end{itemize}
of intelligent voter and member of society.

If the negro is to vote and exercise the duties of a citizen, let him be educated to it. The measure of universal Negro suffrage should not, even if the government should be empowered to act, be precipitated when he is stolidly ignorant and wholly unprepared.116

Many parents, especially among the whites, declared themselves too poor to send their children to the new public schools, which were for whites as well as for blacks, and pay the small tax assessed for each one; but those same parents smoked, chewed up, and spat away more than the means needful for the purposes of education. For them, "tobacco was a necessity of life; education wasn't."117

But many of the Negroes sacrificed beyond conception to enable their children to attend the schools. The superintendent of schools in Chattanooga, Tennessee, wrote:

The colored people are far more zealous in the cause of education than the whites. They will starve themselves, and go without clothes, in order to send their children to school.118

Something of the efficiency of Negro schools may be gleaned from the fact that in 1860 nine tenths of the Negroes in the South were wholly illiterate; but in 1915, two thirds of them could read and write,119 and by 1930,

116Welles, op. cit., II, 303.
118Ibid.
the percentage of illiteracy among the Southern Negroes had been reduced to 16.3. 120

Thus wrote Samuel Chapman Andrews, a witness of the reconstruction era and of its imprints upon the character and accomplishments of the Southern Negro:

Hereafter, it will be seen that negro suffrage was a boon to the race, not so much for a defense, but as a tremendous fact that compelled its education. There is nothing to do but attempt its education in every possible way. In their pinching poverty the Southern states have seized the question of negro education with a vigor that is the outcome of danger. 121

Just as the acquisition of the ballot impelled Negro education, his rank in Southern society will depend, even more in the future, upon his acquisition of culture and his application of intelligence.

After 1868, attempts were made to force the attendance of whites and blacks in the same schools, but only in South Carolina, Florida, Mississippi, and Louisiana were mixed schools legalized. This policy, not demanded by the Negroes, was opposed by the scalawags. It was advocated by many of the carpetbaggers and by a few Negro leaders, chiefly mulattos. Naturally, the whites refused to attend such schools. In all of the states the school systems broke down for lack of funds; nowhere were teachers paid in full, and after 1870 salaries were rarely paid at

120 Encyclopaedia Britannica, 14th ed., XII, 94.
121 Merriam, op. cit., p. 367.
all except in the cities. The schools were revived after the overthrow of the reconstruction program, but they were hampered by the heavy debts incurred by the carpetbag regime, and for a decade or more were poorer than the ante-bellum schools had been.

Southern whites opposed the kind of education provided by Northern teachers in reconstruction schools, complaining that the teachers were political emissaries who taught social equality of the races, who made the blacks dislike the whites, who often were fanatical or of bad character, who caused the schools to be centers of trouble, who in the white schools used textbooks that were hostile to the South, who made the pupils sing Northern songs about the war, and other such charges. On the other hand, the Northern teachers complained that they were socially ostracized and sometimes mistreated, and that their schoolhouses were burned by the Ku Klux Klan.122

Many good people came down to do good to us and the negroes; we were not always so nice to these people as we ought to have been. But very good people can try other very good people sorely sometimes. Besides, some who came in sheep's clothing were not sheep, and gave false ideas of the entire flock.123

During the course of reconstruction the number of whites who opposed Negro education increased, and the Northern teachers, who at first were enthusiastic, became discouraged


123Avary, op. cit., p. 311.
not only because of the way they were treated in the South, but also because of the lack of results. The education they had tried to give the Negro would have been better suited to people higher in the scale of civilization than the freedmen. Many teachers went back to their homes in the North, disillusioned and defeated. By the end of reconstruction, however, there was a great decline in Negro illiteracy, but an increase of white opposition because of the type of education and its results. The most promising sign for the future was the development of the Hampton-Tuskegee plan of education for the Negroes, featuring practical values as well as cultural.\textsuperscript{124}

Brief mention should be made of the religious situation in the South during the reconstruction era. By 1861 all of the important religious organizations except the Catholic had divided into Northern and Southern bodies because of dissension over the problem of slavery and abolition. Before 1865 the Negro members of the various churches were usually attached to the white organizations or to mission groups supported by the Southern churches. Negro membership increased greatly after the sectional separation of the church bodies. The war and its results temporarily weakened the churches in the South; membership had been seriously depleted by death, and buildings had been destroyed

or confiscated, since many had been utilized as Confederate hospitals. As early as 1863, Secretary Stanton inaugurated the policy of turning over to the various Northern churches the buildings and other property of the corresponding Southern denominations, and many Northern ministers were then appointed to fill Southern pulpits, displacing the Southern pastors whose views were opposed to the Northern way of thinking. Bitter disputes naturally arose from this action and from the enforced military regulation of church worship, lasting until 1866.

After the war, efforts at reunion of the religious bodies having failed, the Northern churches planned to extend their work into the South, but little could be done except in the border states, where sectional antagonisms were not so strong. The Northern and Southern churches became immediate rivals for the religious control of the blacks. The Southern churches naturally wished to retain their Negro membership and the resulting influence over the freedmen, and all of the denominations began organized mission work among the blacks. Northerners, in general, believed that the Southern whites were not safe guides for the blacks in religion any more than in politics and in education, and their churches entered the mission field in opposition to the missionary enterprises of the Southern groups. Because of the heated competition among the various religious movements, most Southern mission work among
the Negroes ceased before 1875, and most of the Negro members allied themselves with the churches established for the blacks by the Northern organizations and with independent religious bodies formed by Southern religious groups specifically for the Negroes, both North and South having reached the conclusion that it would be preferable to have Negroes in separate churches.

During reconstruction, Southern whites complained of the "disintegration and absorption" policy by which Northern churches tried to force Southern members into the Northern organizations of the same denomination, but refused admittance to Southern ministers. Frequent objections were voiced also to the Northern missionaries, who, it was asserted, stirred up strife between races, taught doctrines of social equality, encouraged the Negroes to be impudent, were "emissaries of Christ and of the Radical party," gave unfair reports of Southern conditions, and in general were of unsound judgment and often not of the best character. The missionaries also had complaints: the Southern whites were bitterly hostile to them, ostracized them socially, murdered them, and burned their churches. Negro members under the guardianship of Southern white churches were ostracized and otherwise mistreated. For years it seemed that there was little possibility of harmony between Northern and Southern religious interests; but when the Roman Catholic Church entered the field, both set about
to oppose it with characteristic zeal.\textsuperscript{125}

Thus it has been shown that the educational and religious aspects of Southern society during reconstruction comprised but another phase of the general disruption of the social order and served to contribute complicated problems to a time that was replete with riddles of every description.

\textsuperscript{125}Ibid., pp. 215-217.
Anarchy

For a decade the South suffered under radical rule; then, rising up and demanding control of her own affairs, devised cunning means whereby her territory was evacuated by those who had usurped the powers of government under the pretense of "reconstructing" her governments and rehabilitating her states in the Federal Union. After 1877, the South was to have power over her own destinies and control of her own fate. One of the first things she did was to attempt the undoing of certain evils of reconstruction, followed by a rehabilitation of social and economic life patterned after her own ideals.

The South, oppressed and dominated by the agents of reconstruction, awoke at last to the necessity of striving to regain its freedom if it would save any remnant of its former culture, civilization and political order from the obvious wreckage. The Southern people, being politically impotent, could not accomplish this purpose through legislation or balloting; but there must be a way! In seeking
a medium through which to attain their rights, they began slowly to discover possibilities in secret societies that would indirectly serve their purpose through preying upon the fears and superstitions of the colored electorate who, being frightened from the polls, would bring about the fall of the carpetbagger and the scalawag, both of whom depended upon the freedmen's votes to maintain them in power.

Waging its opening battle in the struggle for white supremacy by means of secret societies, the South would ultimately return to the control of the responsible Southerners who had formerly guided its destinies; for these secret organizations were "in large measure the South's answer to the unscrupulous carpetbaggers and other thieves and demagogues who preyed upon the region for a decade after the war."¹ The men who went about in masks and robes were, for the most part, former members of the Confederate army, which under other names came forward in a determined effort to preserve the white civilization of the South.² Having failed on the battlefield to defend that civilization successfully, these men were now consolidating again for the purpose of salvaging it from the clutches of would-be destroyers. It was the old Confederate army which now

¹Dabney, op. cit., p. 163.
"flitted before the eyes of the people in this weird and midnight shape of a Ku Klux Klan."  

For the name "Ku Klux," although there were dozens of similar secret societies in the South, came to be applied to any group of masked riders who sought to rescue the whites from Negro domination. Had it not been for the propertyless class from the North, without reputation or character at home, who came South to excite animosity and strife, the great Ku Klux movement, which became South-wide in scope, could never have existed; there would have been no need for it.  

The corrupt conditions which gave rise to it have been described in earlier sections of this account.

The Congressional reconstruction policy must bear the ultimate responsibility for Ku Klux disorders in the South, since it took political power from the hitherto dominant class and gave it to an ignorant race just emerging from slavery, and thus conducted one of the most dangerous experiments ever undertaken by the lawmakers of any country.

That such a policy could have been carried through, unattended by social and political disorders, especially in view of all the attending circumstances, no intelligent man will for a moment expect. History abounds with illustrations of the

---

4Oberholtzer, op. cit., II, 357.
truth that the secret conclave, the league, and the conspiracy are the sequence of political proscription and disfranchisement.⁵

Sometimes bands of freedmen, goaded on by carpetbag leaders, invaded a Southern home, captured and bound the men, and committed outrages upon the women while their men looked on in helpless agony, or else were killed outright. It was as much to escape from these lustful fiends as from the South's dark-skinned rulers that the Ku Klux movement was organized.⁶

That the Ku Klux movement had its background and rise in a maze of political anarchy, of social upheaval, of disordered society, and of a bewildered people, is unquestioned. It was too universal, too spontaneous, too clearly a popular movement to have originated with any one man or with any conspiracy of a few men. Had it existed in only one small corner of the South, or drawn its membership from a small and sharply defined class, such an explanation might suffice. "But we know enough of its extent, its composition, and the various forms it took, to feel sure that it was neither an accident nor a mere scheme. It was no man's contrivance, but an historical development."⁷ "It was anarchy; but self-preservation is the first law of nature."⁸

Growing out of a society in which lawlessness prevailed and militia attempted to keep order, the Ku Klux Klan and its kindred movements aimed at the substitution of a new and more effective type of anarchy for that already in existence. They were to use ghosts, goblins, robes, masks, fire, and shrouded horses to save the property of the South and to maintain its civilization -- not the old, aristocratic, ante-bellum civilization, but a new culture that was slowly evolving from the wreck and chaos of the old.

It is tragic to contemplate the haughty states that had flaunted their defiance in the face of the Union a few short years before, now decimated by war, their beautiful estates laid waste, many of their cities burned and destroyed, their aristocracy robbed of its wealth and resources, their government in the hands of Northern adventurers, and ignorant negroes, their men and women of education and refinement subject to insult from their former slaves and under the domination of unscrupulous politicians. The flame of vengeance still burned in the North, fanned by politicians who were determined to keep the vote of the Southern states, and this prevented any fair discussion or clear understanding of the situation and of the disaster that Military Reconstruction had worked. Robbed and plundered as they were and sunk in poverty, with their country wrecked about them, the old spirit of the men of the South was yet unbroken. Since there were no legal means of righting their wrongs and protecting their women from insult, as strong men of their type have always done, in the lack of just laws, they made and enforced their own laws. . . .

The Ku Klux movement, the term applied to that form of opposition to reconstruction that was centered in secret revolutionary societies, had its causes in the disordered

\[ J. \ H. \ Denison, \ \textit{Emotional \ Currents \ in \ American \ History}, \ pp. \ 146-147. \]
political, social, economic, and industrial conditions that prevailed in the South from the surrender of the Confederate armies until the whites were again in control of the state and local governments. The movement was the South's reply to the Union League, which played upon the ignorance, superstition, and gullibility of the blacks for political advantage to the radicals. The Ku Klux movement would do the same -- for another purpose.

The original purpose of the movement was to regulate and not to punish. But the radicals' crusade of hatred and of social equality of the races was playing havoc with a race naturally kindly and trustful. Throughout the war, when the white women were alone on the plantations with the slaves, hardly a woman in all the South was attacked. But with the coming of the scum of Northern society -- emissaries of politicians, soldiers of fortune, and many degenerates -- the Negroes were inflamed and soon began lustful assaults upon Southern women. Rape became "the foul daughter of reconstruction." The unprincipled whites from the North egged the Negroes on to commit rape against Southern women as an expression of the new doctrine of racial equality. Many Negroes began to speak impudently

---

10Fleming, Documentary History of Reconstruction, II, 327.

11Squires, op. cit., p. 286.

and insultingly to white women, many of whom carried guns for protection and slept with guns under their pillows when their men were away. In the black belt, after the Union League had spread its poison, no respectable white woman dared to venture out unprotected. Among the poor, the white women of the farms, taking their produce to markets, traveled in large companies as protection against rape. In many places Negroes who had been sent to the penitentiary for criminal assaults upon white women were released after a few days of imprisonment. Not until the Ku Klux movement got well under way did white women feel some sense of security.\textsuperscript{13} To meet such horrible conditions as these, the Ku Klux began to mete out punishments and even became recklessly lawless in its effort to control the situation.

As "the great idea of American reconstruction,"\textsuperscript{14} the Ku Klux movement, with all of its shortcomings and abuses, succeeded at last in accomplishing its purpose, in rehabilitating the Southern whites, from whose hands the ballot had been removed. The Ku Klux movement was an effort on the part of the Southern whites to destroy the control of the combination of Negroes, carpetbaggers, and scalawags.

Armed resistance on the part of the South was out of the question, and staging another rebellion was unthinkable; yet some control must be had of the ruinous situation. When

\textsuperscript{13}Ibid., pp. 307-308.

\textsuperscript{14}Johnsen, op. cit., p. 30.
the South hit upon the Ku Klux idea it had discovered its medium.

The Ku Klux Klan and other similar organizations served to center, direct, and crystallize public opinion, thus uniting the whites upon a platform of white supremacy. It frightened the Negroes and objectionable whites into better conduct, encouraged the conservatives in the South, and helped them to regain control of society. Without the operations of these societies, certain "black districts" of the South would probably have been lost forever to white control.\textsuperscript{15} As a result of Ku Klux activity,

The lawless class assumed the habits of good behavior. Under their fear of the dreaded Ku Klux the Negroes made more progress in a few months in the needed lessons of self-control, industry, and respect for the rights of property and general good behavior, than they would have done in as many years but for this or some equally powerful impulse. The "Union League" relaxed its desperate severity and became more moderate.\textsuperscript{16}

There can be little doubt that the Ku Klux movement aided some of the Southern states to turn Democratic instead of Republican, in spite of the reconstruction acts, which operated largely to disfranchise the Southern whites.\textsuperscript{17} Yet the Klan did not play the sole part in assisting the old ruling class to regain their position of leadership in the South; other factors were also present, tending in this

\textsuperscript{15}Fleming, \textit{The Sequel of Appomattox}, pp. 263-264.


\textsuperscript{17}Fleming, \textit{The Sequel of Appomattox}, p. 260.
direction: through the reconstruction years more and more Southerners were asking for and receiving amnesty from the Federal Government, and their pardon opened the way to their participation in politics; too, many young men had reached manhood since the war and now possessed the franchise, unencumbered by the restrictions that limited the political activities of many of their elders; again, the North was becoming aroused by repeated exposures of corruption in the Federal Government and was questioning the advisability of continuing radical policies in the South. All of these factors operated hand in hand to free the South and to restore it to its old leaders. Nevertheless the Ku Klux Klan is sometimes said to have done more than any other organized force in cementing the alienated states of the American nation into a new and indissoluble Union.18

That the Southern white man of the post-reconstruction era holds the Ku Klux in high esteem is indicated by the following paragraph:

"The Ku Klux saved the South" is the expression in which he sums up in a phrase a point of view which has grown into a fixed tradition in the states of the former Confederacy. To the average southern white man of today the name of the Ku Klux Klan, after the lapse of half a century, typifies all that was best and finest in the chivalry of the old south. It conveys to him the impression of valiant men resisting tyranny, of the salvation of the white race from the threatened negro domination (with all that that implied socially as well as politically), and of the rescue of the white womanhood of the South from a frightful and ever-present peril.19

18Johnsen, op. cit., p. 33. 19Ibid., p. 19.
Whatever may be the judgment of history, those who were acquainted with the actual facts in the case will ever remain firm in the conviction that the Klan performed an immense and necessary service during the turmoil of reconstruction. "Without it life to decent people would not have been tolerable. It served a good purpose, for wherever the Ku Klux appeared the effect was salutary." 

Despite abundant evidence that the Ku Klux movement was in large measure but "the unorganized and sporadic expression of social demoralization," it was made to serve political objectives; and when the Federal Government, aroused by its unlawful depredations, undertook to curb its activities, the political motive was seized upon as dominant to such an extent that the famous "Ku Klux Act" of April 20, 1871, assumed to deal with a new rebellion in the South. Upon the publication of this act, which authorized state officials to arrest and try all persons found going about the country in disguise, the Grand Cyclops of the Klan sent forth an edict to all the dens dissolving the "invisible empire of the South." He was happy to find an excuse to disband the unwieldy "empire," for it had long been out of control and demoralized. But even

20D. L. Wilson, op. cit., p. 404.
21Dunning, Reconstruction, Political and Economic, p. 187.
22Ibid.
after official dissolution, the monstrous depredations of evil-bent masked men continued in some sections of the South.23

Disappearing from Southern life as it had come into it -- shrouded in the deepest mystery -- the Klan passed from the Southern stage not without an untarnished reputation. It had been the greatest enigma of American politics: its members, even after its dissolution, would not disclose its secrets, and others lacked the information to do so; even the investigating committee appointed by Congress was, after tedious and diligent inquiry, baffled.24 So the secret order had remained practically a closed book even to inquiring minds.

Disfranchisement of the Freedmen

As a result of the success of the Ku Klux movement in again subordinating the Negro to those who had formerly controlled him, the black, though a freedman, was now definitely held in subordination both by his lack of cultural opportunities and by the white man who, working primarily through "the invisible empire," had placed a restraining hand upon his activities.

Chief among the contentions of the whites was that the Negro was not capable of voting intelligently, of ruling

23Hesseltine, op. cit., p. 636.
efficiently, of serving the public welfare faithfully. Yet, for almost a decade the freedman had been attempting to do those very things, for, as chance would have it, his was almost the only hand that could grasp the ballot under the new policy. And he had wielded it forcefully, to the dismay of his white subjects, who saw in the dark-skinned electors and legislators the ruin of the South and the destruction of honored traditions. Through an ingenious scheme for combatting anarchy and corruption with lawlessness and determination, the whites were again on the verge of claiming political superiority. For a decade they had been dreaming of the time when they might again play a part in the drama of the political and social life of the South; and now that the time had come when they were definitely on the ascendancy, their consuming desire was to right the courses of Southern society by returning the Negro to a subordinate position. This they proposed to do through an elaborate system of disfranchisement.

Essential as was the ballot to the uplifting of the Negro race, it was far better that the Negro should be compelled to achieve for himself political influence and social prestige through education, industry, and morality, than that he should be "permanently sustained in a position of unhealthy and adventitious importance" by the aid of

Federal troops. It was not the enfranchisement of the freedmen nor the imposition of conditions for the readmission of the prodigal South to the Union that constituted the cardinal error of reconstruction, but the systematic breeding of enmity between the races by unjustifiable discrimination against the whites while nothing was being done to educate the Negroes whom the national power had freed and placed in control of affairs in the South.

The net result of radical reconstruction was Negro rule\(^{26}\); that of white ascendancy was to be Negro disfranchisement and social subordination. The radical state governments, operating for the most part under highly practical constitutions and upheld by the Federal Government, failed primarily because of their personnel: the carpetbaggers were contemptible parasites; the Negroes had just been liberated from slavery; and the scalawags were looked upon with disgust and hatred.\(^{27}\)

Many of the strongest and ablest carpetbaggers, finding social and economic conditions in the South far different from their expectations, had returned to the North, leaving a weakened political organization to cope with obstinate, underground, determined, and organized opposition.

\(^{26}\)Peter J. Hamilton, op. cit., p. 547.

\(^{27}\)Simkins and Woody, op. cit., pp. 112-113.
in the form of secret societies. 28 This situation played
directly into the hands of the Southern whites, who capi-
talized upon it.

Throughout the South much contention was heard about
a "white man's government," though in many sections the
whites were greatly outnumbered by the blacks. The Southern
philosophy at this time, built up during reconstruction
while the Negroes were in power, was, "I believe in white
men only, I believe this country was made for white men
only; this is a white man's government, and no Negro shall
have any part in it." 29

In 1873 several of the Southern states adopted and suc-
cessfully worked the so-called "Mississippi plan," whose
aim was, by whatever means necessary, "to nullify black
votes until white majorities were assured." 30 This plan
was less violent than that of the Ku Klux, but equally
thorough.

The plan, as indicated by its name, had its origin
in Mississippi, where the whites were having difficulty
in preventing Negroes from "jumbling" important local elec-
tions. At last a plan was suggested by a bright young fel-

28 William A. Dunning, "The Undoing of Reconstruction,"
Atlantic Monthly, LXXXVIII (October, 1901), 438.


of Negro hair from barber shops and waste blood from slaughter-pens; and on the night before the election a committee went out from town a mile or so on every road and pathway, scattering the hair and blood generously on the ground, and pawing up the turf with foot-tracks and distinct imprints of human bodies. Next day, hundreds of Negroes quit their fields to proceed to the polls, but stopped aghast at the signs of such an awful battle, exclaimed over the blood and Negro hair, and fled back to their cabins in terror and confusion. Not a Negro vote was cast that day.31

The Mississippi plan was designed to play upon the easy credulity of the freedmen and terrorize them so that they would either vote the Democratic ticket or else remain absent from the polls. The whites were determined to win -- "peaceably if they could, forcibly if they must."32

After 1872, when the Freedmen's Bureau went out of existence, the Negroes were compelled to remain on the land, usually as tenants of the whites, for they could no longer rely upon the Bureau for assistance in emergencies. Hence, by threats of ejection, many landlords found it easy to persuade their tenants and share-croppers to abstain from political activity of a kind unapproved by the whites.

31 Avary, op. cit., p. 291.
Employers in industry began to use similar means of coercion. But many Negroes, gradually beginning to realize that they might expect more fairness and kindness from their former masters than from the carpetbaggers, were voluntarily leaving the ranks of the reconstructionists.33

Some state legislatures in which the radicals had been ousted from supreme control made the rules of elections so complicated that the average Negro could not comprehend them. In South Carolina, for example, with eight or more boxes before him, the voter must choose the proper one for each ballot to insure its being counted. This alone was effective in neutralizing the black vote. The Negroes, unable to read the lettering, might learn the relative positions of the boxes by means of coaching from their carpetbag promptors, but a moment's work by election officials in interchanging the boxes rendered useless an hour's laborious instruction.34 Polls were often set up so far from Negro communities that the blacks might have to travel from twenty to forty miles to vote. At ferries on election day, when he attempted to cross over on his way to the polls, the Negro was likely to find the boats undergoing repairs. There were so few polling-places that rapid voting was necessary; so the whites, by staging realistic

33Hacker and Kendrick, op. cit., pp. 41-42.
34Dunning, "The Undoing of Reconstruction," Atlantic Monthly, LXXXVIII (October, 1901), 443.
fights and quarrels among themselves, often kept the Negroes amused as they gathered about the polls until only time enough remained for the white votes to be cast. Again, the place of voting might be changed without the blacks having been informed, or the report of a change might be circulated when none had actually been made. Open bribery on a large scale was too prevalent to excite much comment. 35

The process of undoing reconstruction may be divided into three periods: (1) the successful struggle of the Southern whites to regain their position in the government of their own state; (2) a period in which the political equality of the Negro was still recognized by law, though not in fact, and in which the Republican party was practically out of business in the South; and (3) the termination of equal rights in law as well as in fact. 36 In this latter period the procedures rested upon legislation and fraud instead of upon intimidation and force, as during the Ku Klux era.

Supplementing, on occasion, deliberate and high-handed fraud for exploitation of the poverty, credulity, ignorance, and general childishness of the Negroes, the stuffing of ballot boxes with illegal ballots and the manipulation of figures in making the count were developed into serious work. No regulations were made in those days as to the

size and nature of the ballots, hence miniature ballots of tissue paper were secretly prepared and given to trusted voters who, folding fifteen or twenty of the small tickets into one ordinary large one, passed the whole, without detection, into the ballot-box. The use of the tissue ballot was usually explained as being a means of assisting the Negro who desired to vote the Democratic ticket to do so secretly and so escape the penalties usually overtaking those who deserted the radical ranks. The tissue ballot actually liberated great numbers of the blacks from carpet-bag tyranny, for it permitted them to vote as they chose without detection.

The stuffing of ballot-boxes had been practiced by the Union League in the interest of radical reconstruction, and then had been taken up by the Southerners in self-defense. Such methods had been known hardly at all before the war and prior to the coming of the carpetbaggers. Much fraud and intimidation were practiced, and some violence was committed, but always in such a manner as not to provoke the calling of Federal troops to the scene.

There can be no contention that methods employed in

37 Ibid., pp. 444-445.
40 Burgess, op. cit., p. 275.
winning superiority and supremacy for the white race were legal and without blemish; but in being questionable and extra-legal they were but conforming to the tendency of the times -- reconstruction was characterized by illegal measures and procedures on the part of all parties in attempting to gain advantage and to suppress opponents. Many regretted the measures that seemed so necessary to the winning of white supremacy; others attempted to justify them:

Those who thought it worthwhile to offer an explanation very wisely said that it was more humane to manipulate the ballot box against the Negro than to use brute force to drive him away from the polling place. In short, election frauds were considered a good substitute for Ku Klux methods. It was generally accepted as the only solution, at that time, of a most dangerous situation.41

"Race integrity" was the special cry of the South at the time when it was struggling for ascendancy for the whites. There should be no intercourse whatever with blacks on terms of equality. Many Negro leaders, including Washington and Moton, his successor at Tuskegee, desired social segregation for awhile for a different reason from that held by the whites. To the white, Negro segregation means Negro inferiority; to the Negro, it means separate railway coaches, schools, churches, and so on -- but more, it means a better chance for the Negro to find himself in a white man's world, in which he insists on

41Skaggs, op. cit., p. 119.
equal, if separate, accommodations. 42

Since reconstruction, the Negro has possessed no form of social equality in the South, and "Jim Crow" laws and segregation acts are to be found on the statute books of every Southern state. Under these, the Negro is compelled to use separate hotels, restaurants, public places of amusement, and street and railway cars, and to refrain from establishing residence in certain prescribed localities. 43 Many former owners of slaves were willing to help the Negro only if he would recognize his state of subordination to the white man.

The freedman, so easily manipulated by persuasive personalities, had the misfortune to be started at the top of the political ladder when first he was given his rights as a free man. He became a ruler before he learned the first duties of a private citizen; he was controlling others before he had mastered the art of controlling himself. Under such adverse circumstances he could not long retain his powers -- the powers that had been placed in his hands by others, having been virtually unasked for on his own part. Finding himself in a strange situation, he groped about for a way out; and, becoming lost in a maze of political intrigues, corruption, and venality, he was easily overthrown.


43 Hacker and Kendrick, op. cit., p. 68.
in time by those who, all the while, had been organizing their forces to contest his position of authority. "In spite of all the warnings of science and political experience, he was started at the top and, as is the fate of most such unfortunates, he fell to the bottom."\textsuperscript{44}

White Supremacy Regained

One of the strangest errors of the reconstruction era was embodied in the fact that the Congressional leaders of the radical policy failed to see in advance that Southern men of their own stock would bitterly resist such a policy as they planned to inflict upon the seceded states, and that sooner or later they would find some means of making their resistance effective.\textsuperscript{45} The former slaveholding element of the Southern population, having learned to combine, conspire, and command, could not be kept suppressed and voiceless for long, and would inevitably rise again to the top in society. Then, too, the tendencies toward submission and dependence on the part of the freedmen, and that of domination in the whites, were too strong to permit such a reversal of the familiar relations and of the natural, traditional order.\textsuperscript{46}

\textsuperscript{44}Rhôdes, op. cit., VII, 170.
\textsuperscript{45}Brown, op. cit., p. 199.
\textsuperscript{46}Merriam, op. cit., p. 322.
By the close of 1870, the North had imposed its system of reconstruction in its entirely objectionable features upon all the South, but actually, "the South was rapidly carrying out a counter-revolution."  

Broadly speaking, the carpetbag and Negro governments fell because they were too weak to withstand the well-organized, determined minority who were fighting for what they firmly believed was their social, economic, and political existence. Even in the height of their power, the radical governments had been undermined by corruption and venality, and had felt secure only when protected with Federal troops. Had those governments as a class been more capable, efficient, and honest, the whole story of reconstruction and its overthrow might have been far different.

Other factors in reconstruction were operating to aid the Southern whites in their struggle. The mass of the Negroes, rapidly being forced by circumstances to become share-croppers, were comparing their return to virtual slavery with the rosy dreams that the carpetbaggers had promised to fulfill. As a result, many of the freedmen lost interest in the whole reconstruction program, and many of them turned again to their old masters for advice.

---

47 West, op. cit., p. 563.
48 Simkins and Woody, op. cit., p. 112.
and protection. At the same time that the Negroes were becoming luke-warm regarding the program that at first had won their ignorant loyalty, the better elements of the native white loyalists in the South were being sickened by the rising tide of corruption. Johnson's program had promised to deliver the South into the hands of these small farmers, but the radical policy had been based upon the votes of their enemies, the Negroes. Like the Negroes, these men saw that the carpetbaggers held the best offices and enriched themselves by raids upon the public treasury. And, since the rising tax rate affected small property-holders as well as great ones, these people slowly came to accept again the old leadership that they had known before the war -- not through any love of the aristocrats, but through a revival of their ancient enmity with the Negro, who had now become their economic competitor. It was a matter of choosing the lesser of two evils.

The storms and fires of reconstruction fused the whites of the South into a more homogeneous society, socially as well as politically. The former slaveholder was still more considerate of the freedman that was struggling with many problems than was the poor white; but, as misrule continued, all classes tended to unite against the Negro in politics. The whole South was tired of reconstruction,

of new amendments, of force bills, of Federal troops --
tired of being ruled as a conquered province by incompetent
and dishonest demagogues. Every measure aimed at the South
seemed to mean that its people were considered incorrigible
and unworthy of trust. 50

For a number of years before the final withdrawal of
Federal troops, Northern voters had been coming to realize
that the effort to intimidate and force the South into "the
northern political mold was both costly and futile." 51 Per-
haps without a definite reaction in Northern sentiment, the
restoration of white supremacy in the South would have been
impossible; certainly it would not have occurred so soon.
Seeing the evils that the radical policy had brought upon
the South, moderates in the North urged moderation and am-
nesty as the means of bringing the South to accept a real
economic reconstruction. They pointed out the fact that
"capital and intelligence must lead," and advocated aban-
donment of the Negroes as political tools and suggested an
appeal to "the thinking and influential native Southerners,"
the "intelligent, well-to-do, and controlling class."
Horace Greeley, one of the leading advocates of this policy,
toured the South to study actual conditions, and returned


51 W. E. Hesseltine, "Economic Factors in the Abandon-
ment of Reconstruction," Mississippi Valley Historical Re-
view, XXII (September, 1935), 191.
home to report that that section was suffering from "de-cayed aristocracy and imported rascalit"; that both the Ku Klux and the carpetbaggers must be removed from Southern life, was Greeley's verdict.52

After ten years, the radical program of reconstruction ended in failure, more largely perhaps because of a change of public opinion in the North than because of any really effective resistance on the part of the Southern whites. The North developed a far more tolerant attitude toward the troubles of the South as the North passed through its own scandalous period of gross misgovernment, when practically all of the large cities were subject to "boss" rule, such as that exerted by "Boss" Tweed in New York City and by "Boss" Shepherd in the District of Columbia. Even the Federal system of civil service was seriously discredited by all sorts of scandals and corrupt practices, while many high state officials and leaders in Congress were proved guilty of swindles, extortion, and greed. As early as 1869 the "liberal" Republican movement originated in the West, with demands for amnesty and fair treatment in the South and for reform in the North. This movement was opposed to the corruption of Grant's administration and fought his renomination. Although defeated in this instance by "machine" rule, its influence spread

52Hesseltine, A History of the South, pp. 637-638.
rapidly throughout the North, where the people were growing tired of bickering, sectional strife, and shady practices in government. The liberal sentiment was responsible for the amnesty act of May 22, 1872. From 1869-1871, over three thousand Southerners were amnestied so that they might hold office and vote, these being mostly scalawags, for most of the more respectable whites would not accept an amnesty that required self-humiliation. The pressure of growing public opinion and the necessity for meeting liberal arguments caused the act of 1872, by which approximately 150,000 whites were eventually re-enfranchised, leaving out only about five hundred of the most prominent Confederate leaders, most of whom were never restored to citizenship.\textsuperscript{53}

It has been maintained by some that the greatest single factor in the downfall of the radicals was the acquisition by the Southern conservatives of the techniques of revolution. The old planter aristocracy had feared Negro rule because it was ignorant, and would have preferred a military regime. Excesses on the part of the radicals drove the Southerners to desperation. The rising tax rate brought about taxpayers' conventions to petition the government to curtail expenditures, but "the black taxmakers in the legislature were not property-holders and had no sympathy with the plight of their former masters." At

first the old leaders had hoped to control the Negro vote, but the Freedmen's Bureau and the Union League had defeated that purpose. At length, as a last resort, they turned to extra-legal means to secure the redemption of their states and powers for themselves in the management of their own affairs.\footnote{Hesseltine, \textit{A History of the South}, pp. 633-634.}

To do this, of course, the radical regime must be broken in the South. At least five important factors contributed to the failure of the reconstruction governments: (1) the growing weariness of the Northern people of the eternal Southern problem, which caused enthusiasm to wane, and a growth of sympathy with the victims of the Congressional theorizers; when they saw what he had done with his freedom, they lost most of their zeal for the elevation of the Negro; (2) wholesale fraud, coupled with the incompetency of the new Southern governments; (3) increasing confidence on the part of the South that it could manage the situation in its own way much better than it was being handled according to the Northern plan; (4) the deterioration of the Southern Republican party, the more respectable carpetbaggers and scalawags having given way to more corrupt men; and (5) the rise of the Ku Klux movement, which struck at the activity of the freedmen and paralyzed their worst efforts, giving courage to the whites and showing
them how to neutralize Negro suffrage. Still another fac-
tor might be mentioned, for it exerted a significant in-
fluence upon the fall of radicalism, indirect though it
might have been. This was the fact that Sumner and Stevens,
the most radical of the radicals, had died, leaving the
Congressional reconstructionists without such fiery and
vehement leadership as they had supplied. Only their com-
bined vindictive power had kept the hate fest going for so
long, and when they passed from the scene, the fervor per-
ceptibly cooled.

With the disappearance of carpetbag and Negro govern-
ments, the third era in the political history of the South
since the Civil War began. The first had been character-
ized by exclusively white suffrage; the second, by pre-
dominantly Negro suffrage; and now, in the third, "univer-
sal suffrage and complete legal equality were soon per-
ceived to mean in practice the full supremacy of the
whites." This supremacy had been acquired through bribery,
intimidation, and other questionable procedures, of which
one Southerner said:

These things are all wrong, but there was no
other way. Some stood off and kept clean hands.
But a thing had to be done, and we did it, not
minding the theoretical dirt. The negroes were
armed with ballots and bayonets, and the bayonets
were at our breasts. Our lands were taxed until we

55 Bassett, op. cit., p. 626.
56 Historians' History of the World, XXIII, 476.
were letting our homes go because we could not pay the taxes, while corrupt officials were waxing fat. We had to take our country from under negro rule any way we could.  

In the new civilization of the South the white people were to have control, absolute and undisputed, of every state, and of most of the counties in them. Not only was this control to include authority over the political affairs of the South, but over the social and economic as well, for the one result of the white man's struggle for supremacy was to return the South into his hands for administration. Where Negroes were not numerous, the work of "redemption" was not long delayed, for in these sections the carpetbaggers could not hope, by any activity, to marshall enough blacks to outvote the white inhabitants, when the latter at last escaped from political disabilities and earned the franchise for themselves, determined that, when they had reconstructed the South according to their own way of thinking, "under no circumstances would they admit to equality those who had been their slaves, and who for a few short years had been their rulers."

After Hayes had withdrawn the last of the Federal troops from the South in the spring of 1877, after a decade of radical rule and military occupation,

57 Avary, op. cit., p. 292.
58 The South in the Building of the Nation, VI, 656.
59 Oberholtzer, op. cit., III, 191.
60 Evans, op. cit., p. 54.
Order and peace were quickly established everywhere, and the plundered and impoverished South could at last take hope and feel courage to make new effort to recover some degree of prosperity and some measure of domestic content. For ten years the dark night of domination by the negro and adventurer had rested upon the unhappy section, until it had been reduced to the very abomination of desolation. Broken in health and fortune, sick at heart, conscious of the terrible degradation which had been imposed upon them, and politically ostracized, the better part of the white population of the South had staggered and groped through the hideous experiences of this period, and such of them as had not perished during the awful passage had now at last been relieved of the frightful scourge, and half dazed, as if just recovering from a terrible nightmare, found themselves again in the places of power and responsibility.  

The haste with which the Southern states had recalled their representatives from Congress just at the outbreak of the Civil War was more than equalled by their eagerness to get them back into their seats after the orgy of reconstruction had been brought to a close. Having re-established themselves at home, the Southerners were eager to rehabilitate their states in the Federal Union.

Having accomplished this, the South was left to itself to deal with its own peculiar problems in a manner that would be compatible with its own interests and welfare. The Negro, having enjoyed a brief interim of prominence, was relegated to the bottom of Southern society, economics, and politics. Whereas the fruit of reconstruction had

---

61 Burgess, op. cit., p. 296.

been Negro rule and supremacy, that of regained power for the whites was Negro abasement.
BIBLIOGRAPHY


Andrews, Sidney, The South Since the War, Boston, Ticknor and Fields, 1866.


Buck, Paul Herman, The Road to Reunion, 1865-1900, Boston, Little, Brown and Company, 1937.

Burgess, John William, Reconstruction and the Constitution, 1866-1876, New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1902.


Caskey, Willie Malvin, Secession and Restoration of Louisiana, University, La., Louisiana State University Press, 1938.


Smedes, Susan Dabney, *Memorials of a Southern Planter*, Baltimore, Cushings and Bailey, 1887.


Studies in Southern History and Politics, inscribed to William A. Dunning by his former pupils, the authors, New York, Columbia University Press, 1914.

The *South in the Building of the Nation*, Vol. VI, Richmond, Southern Historical Publication Society, 1909.


