1948

The Effect of the Election of 1876 Upon the South

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THE EFFECT OF THE ELECTION OF 1876 UPON THE SOUTH

By

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A THESIS SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF
THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF MASTER
OF ARTS IN LOYOLA UNIVERSITY

June
1948
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VITA

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INTRODUCTION

In order to discuss the effect of the Election of 1876 upon the South, I felt it necessary to give a picture of the South between 1865-1876. The conditions existing there will explain why "In 1865 the South was singularly lacking in ill-feeling; yet in 1876 the land was consumed with hatred; hatred of South for North, of North for South, of black for white, of white for black." Since the election of 1876 is unique in the history of our country, a resume of the chief events connected with it is very important. Shall we, like the Republicans, accept the decision of the Electoral Commission, and declare Hayes a lawful president? Or shall we be on the side of the Southern leaders who claimed "that Tilden was elected in 1876, and was defrauded of his just rights?" Or shall we take the stand of those who hold that "neither side honestly won the election, and had there been a legal way out both Hayes and Tilden should have been disqualified?"

No matter what opinion one holds about the Election,

whether the decision was valid or invalid, almost unanimously one must agree that it was fortunate for the South that Hayes became president. The Republican Hayes did give the Democratic South "home rule". The effect of the Election of 1876 upon the South may be fittingly summed up in these few words, "There was a South of slavery and secession -- that South is dead. There is a South of union and freedom -- that South, thank God, is living, breathing, growing every hour." 4

CHAPTER I

REPUBLICAN RECONSTRUCTION AND DEMOCRATIC REACTION

On April 9, 1865, Lee surrendered to Grant at Appomattox Court House, Virginia. The terms of the surrender were simple and generous. The officers were not to be deprived of their swords; both officers and men were released upon parole and their horses were left to them, "because," said Grant, "they would need them on their farms for the spring plowing." When some of the excited Northern soldiers wanted to fire salutes to show their joy at the surrender of the enemy, Grant stopped them, saying, "The war is over, the rebels are our countrymen again, and the best sign of rejoicing after the victory will be to abstain from all demonstration in the field." Thus the war ended. What a different South the historian would have to chronicle in 1876 if this attitude prevailed throughout the entire country!

Lincoln likewise wished to have the transition of these southern states from illegal secession to re-establishment in the Union as simple as possible. In his first

inaugural address he had said, "The union of these states is perpetual. . . . No state of its own mere motion can lawfully get out of the Union." Thus he added it would be very inconsistent to talk about how the states were to be brought back into the Union after denying that it was possible to withdraw. He proposed that in each of the southern states a new government should be formed when one-tenth of the voters of 1860, either those who had remained loyal or ex-Confederates who had taken the oath of allegiance, should draw up a constitution in which slavery was forbidden. Congress did not like this "shorthand method of reconstruction" because in the first place it seemed to them that the rebellious states were getting off too easily, and in the second place they said it was the duty of Congress and not of the President to dictate the terms upon which the states were to be pardoned. If Lincoln had lived, would we have had the dark days of Congressional Reconstruction? Had he not said, "We must extinguish our resentments if we expect harmony and union. There is too much desire on the part of some of our good friends to be masters, to interfere with and dictate to those states, to treat the people not as fellow-citizens; there is too little respect for their

But Lincoln was assassinated, and Congress dictated the terms.

Congress was full of extremists who preached hatred of the South, and who exalted the welfare of the Negro above that of his former master. The leaders of this group were Representative Thaddeus Stevens of Pennsylvania and Senator Charles Sumner of Massachusetts. The attitude was, "She willed the conflict, and must abide the consequences." Again the North sent its armies into the South, this time to overthrow the moderate Reconstruction governments established under the Lincoln and Johnson plans, and to rule by martial law until new governments based upon negro rule and directed by Republicans might subdue the southern spirit. The result was disorder worse than war, and oppression unequalled in American history.

It had been bad enough at the close of the war for the southern soldier to return "to the fenceless and stockless and often homeless plantation, with health shattered, money gone, and nothing left but God, family, honor and barren fields." But now picture the southern people during the days

of Republican Reconstruction. Their labor system had suddenly and arbitrarily changed, and the slaves had been made equals before the law by a decree of the government against which they had vainly fought, with those same former slaves seizing control of each state government. One can appreciate why the southerners were discontented and bitter, and how almost humanly impossible it was to carry on this struggle for existence. Although the abolition of slavery produced a profound shock, the harsh reconstruction measures of Congress convinced the South that instead of receiving assistance in her work of self-restoration, she must continue to suffer a course of absurd and vicious legislation.

Did Congress present the Thirteenth, Fourteenth, and Fifteenth Amendments as a philanthropic gesture on the part of the Republican party to aid the Negro, or were they based upon a special desire to protect human rights? Did Congress really feel that they were measured to promote reconciliation? On the contrary, historians feel that they are monuments of political futility and injustice, and political bait for the Republican party to get the freed Negroes on their side. A certain writer says that these amendments "mar the sacredness of the Constitution", and to show how impossible they are, no Republican

president has ever had the courage to enforce them. These amendments did not preserve the Republican party in the South; they weakened the Republican party in the South.

Reconstruction is a term used to describe the building up of a country after a war, or putting it back on a peace basis. Is the name "Reconstruction" an appropriate one for what actually took place in the South between 1865 and 1876? By the very Reconstruction acts of Congress, large numbers of the more influential whites were disqualified from voting, while the colored race was given the franchise, thus making it possible for the blacks to get control of the government in most of the southern states and to rule them in the most ignorant and extravagant manner. How different and how equally false is this state of affairs from that existing in March, 1861, when Alexander Stephens said, "Its foundations (Confederacy) are laid; its corner-stone rests upon the great truth that the negro is not equal to the white man; that slavery -- subordinate to the superior race -- is his natural and normal condition."

The black voters were often utilized by unprincipled white adventurers from the North, who flocked to the South after the close of the war. These northern immigrants came to be called "carpetbaggers" by the native whites, because they were believed to have all their worldly possessions in a carpet-bag. Not all of these immigrants were bent upon plunder, but all sided with the Negro in political matters, and undertook to destroy his confidence in the southern white man. A few ex-Con federates also became Republicans in order to share the offices with the white "carpetbagger" and Negroes. These were called "scalawags". Congress gave the Negro the vote, but it could not make him an intelligent voter. The Negroes became a prey to the above-mentioned groups, and from pulpit and platform, from press and teacher's desk, they were taught to hate their late masters "as the worst enemy of their race".

The colored voters soon demanded some offices for themselves, inasmuch as they furnished the votes. They began to fill important positions. In South Carolina there were said to have been 200 trial justices who could not read, and there were counties in Mississippi in which not one of the justices

of the peace could write his name nor could any member of the board of supervisors read the ordinances which they passed. 18

The Negroes occupied seats in the legislatures of all the southern states, that of Mississippi in 1871, having as many as 64 colored members, while South Carolina had 85 blacks as against 72 white members in 1868. In 1872, out of 124 members in the legislature in Columbia, South Carolina, 94 were colored, 7 were their white allies, and 23 were respectable southerners. "The Speaker was black, the clerk was black, the door-keepers were black, the little pages were black, the chairman of the Ways and Means was black, and the chaplain was black." 19 When we consider that in only 6 of the Northern or Western states did the Negroes, whose numbers were small, possess the franchise, and that in 1865, Connecticut, Minnesota and Wisconsin voted against granting it, we can understand more readily why the southerners rebelled so against negro dominance. 20

With the state and local governments controlled by ignorant Negroes and scheming white men, an era of extravagance, misrule, and corruption set in, which in some instances amounted to outright robbery and plunder. Gigantic schemes of public

improvements were launched, marked by frauds and extravagance, and bonds were issued as if they created no obligation to pay. The rate of taxation was increased out of all proportion to the impoverished condition of the people resulting from four years of destructive war. In South Carolina, to fit up the legislative chambers, clocks were purchased at six hundred dollars each; sofas, each costing two hundred dollars, were placed in the lobbies; handsome mahogany desks, costing $175 each, replaced the ten-dollar desks of the aristocratic ante-bellum law-makers; and $125,000 was spent in maintaining a restaurant and barroom for the convenience of members and their friends. Under "legislative supplies" were included such articles as hams, perfumes, suspenders, bonnets, baskets of champagne, and a coffin. Large sums were voted to officials and private individuals in the form of gratuities, while millions were squandered in reckless schemes of public improvement.

In Louisiana, the results of negro and carpetbag rule were but little better than in South Carolina. Before the war, the average annual state expenditures never reached one million dollars; from 1866 to 1872, they averaged six millions. The

debt in Louisiana before the war never exceeded 6 or 7 millions; in 1872, the debt was 50 millions. In 1871, the legislative session in Louisiana cost $958,956.50; the average cost of a senator amounting to $5300; of a member of the Lower House, $7300; with the average cost of a member per day, $113.50. The rate of taxation in New Orleans increased from 15 mills on the dollar in 1868 to 30 mills in 1873, notwithstanding the enormous decline in the value of all taxable property. In North Carolina, the chief crime of the reconstructionists was the wholesale squandering of public funds in improvements of various kinds. The legislature authorized the issue of over $25,000,000 in bonds for railway construction, and $14,000,000 were actually issued, although not a mile of railroad was built.

Under these conditions the whites, who paid 99% of the taxes and who were driven almost to desperation, resorted to violent means for ridding themselves of negro rule. This was accomplished by the organization of secret bands of which the Ku Klux Klan was the most effective. Exaggerated tales were circulated among the freedmen in regard to the character and powers of the Klan. The idea was also spread that the Ku Klux

Klan members were the spirits of dead Confederates and were possessed of supernatural powers. Just after the war, when the South was threatened with grave disorder on account of the sudden emancipation of the entire slave population and the collapse of civil authority, the Ku Klux might have been justifiable; but when it degenerated into political persecution, it became a menace to all law and order. Whom shall we blame for the Ku Klux Klan disorders? Should the southern whites remain subject to the absolute control of their least respected members? Law or no law, they made up their minds that they alone could restore the South, and that the restoration of the South could come about only when white people were in control of the government. Besides the Ku Klux Klan, there were the Knights of the White Camelia, the White League, the White Line, the Pale Faces, and the Order of the White Rose. These resorted to tarring and feathering, beating, and even murdering obstreperous Negroes, unpopular scalawags, and offensive carpetbaggers. The terrorized Negroes were unable to identify their assailants, and the secrecy of their movements rendered official action against them impotent. In 1871, in 99 counties of the South,

there were reported 526 killings and 2000 whippings.

For a time the Republicans in the South were able, with the aid of Federal troops, to maintain their power; but as the extravagance and corruption of their rule increased, the discontent of the whites grew. It is a vexed question whether negro violence or white was first to appear, but by 1876, organized intimidation and ballot box frauds were openly committed for the purpose of defeating the Republicans in the elections, and of eliminating negro control at all costs. Race collision and election riots were of frequent occurrence. In several states rival governments were set up and civil war was threatened. Negro militia companies were organized to sustain the Republican governments, but they proved useless and but increased the determination of the whites to overthrow the Republicans by violence. In 1870, the Democrats had regained control of North Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, Georgia, and Virginia. In 1874, Alabama and Arkansas were carried by the Democrats. In 1875, after a remarkable campaign characterized by violence, riots and wholesale intimidation, Mississippi was redeemed, and the newly elected Democratic legislature speedily got rid of three of the state officers, including the governor.


32. Eckenrode, 99.
groaning under negro control would soon be restored to white domination. New York, Indiana, and the Solid South looked like victory for Tilden. Thus the three southern states which still had Republican governments became of supreme importance. 33

South Carolina, ruled by blacks, was certainly worse off in 1876 than in 1865, and conditions there were approaching the impossible. In fact, the period from 1868 to 1874 in South Carolina is known as the "Rule of the Robbers". During this time the public debt leaped from 5 millions to 20 millions. Votes in the legislature were bought at prices, varying from "the cost of man's liquor and cognac to that of a house and lot". Furniture, jewelry, clothing, and groceries were purchased with public funds, while patients in southern hospitals suffered for want of food, and threats were made to turn convicts out of the penitentiary because they could not be fed. Rifle Clubs formed by the whites were their sole means of defense against their negro masters. Before the election, the whites of South Carolina held a torchlight parade in which they carried banners on which was inscribed, "1776 Again in 1876", and "What we did in

1776 we will do in 1876". Chamberlain, the Republican governor of South Carolina, called on President Grant for more troops. The leading citizen of South Carolina, Wade Hampton, was running for Democratic governor. As the election day drew nearer, law hardly existed in South Carolina. The whites terrorized the blacks; the blacks terrorized the whites. The election was one of intimidation and trickery.

In Louisiana, Governor Warmouth had been in office from 1868 to 1872. This had been a period of "racial strife, official plundering, crushing taxation, scandalous bribery, and complete disregard for the rights of whites". The Democrats now took for their motto, "If the Republicans can be put in by Negroes, a Democratic governor can be put in by fraud". John McEnery was elected on the Democratic ticket. The Republicans also elected their candidate, W. P. Kellogg, and then appealed to Grant for help. Kellogg was installed as governor, supported by the bayonets of United States troops. On September 14, 1874, the White League rose against their black masters. In the disorder which ensued, 16 whites and 11 blacks were killed. General Sheridan was sent to Louisiana, and kept Kellogg in

power by force. Under forms of peace, therefore, race war existed. With the presence of troops, the election of 1876 was the most orderly in several years.

In Florida, for weeks before the election, the United States War Department distributed federal troops over the state, stationing small bodies in different towns. The colored were told that if they did not vote Republican, they would surely be thrown back into slavery. Anyone could vote at any voting booth in the county. Owing to the Republican canvassing board, the Democrats could not possibly win the election because no matter what the polls showed, Republican candidates would be declared elected. Excitement rose high in Florida, as she looked forward to the election of a Democratic president as her one means of salvation from the intolerable oppression which she was suffering.

Republicans naturally went to vote for Hayes, believing they were saving the country from rebellion; Democrats supported Tilden, hopeful that election day would see the end of military rule and corruption. On November 8, 1876, all the newspapers, except the New York Times, declared Tilden elected. The New York Tribune on Wednesday, November 8, said, "Tilden

38. Eckenrode, 162.
Elected -- His Electoral Majority Small". The very next day the *New York Tribune* had for its headlines: "Hayes Possibly Elected". The *New York Times* alone had printed on the first day "A Doubtful Election". If the election were declared doubtful, the Republican leaders could easily claim the three carpetbag states. Thus they wired to their southern allies to "hold" their states, and brazenly claimed the election for themselves. Zach Chandler, the head of the Republican National Convention, proclaimed that Hayes had 185 electoral votes, and therefore was president. Before the election of 1880, a pamphlet issued by the Democrats, called *The Great Steal* describes:

The voice of the people for Tilden was 4,282,159 votes; for Hayes, 4,029,685. Samuel J. Tilden, President-Elect, by the grace of God and a majority of Electoral and popular votes of the people of the U. S. of America counted out at Washington by fraudulent returning boards and a perjured commission! Down with Garfield because he occupied toward the election a double relation!

This shows the feeling existing in the country as late as 1880 over this disputed election. I thoroughly agree with the statement made by McClure, that the true history of the struggle for...

41. *New York Tribune*, Nov. 8, 1876.
42. Eckenrode, 182.
44. Morison & Commager, 77.
the control of the electoral votes of South Carolina, Florida, and Louisiana has never been written, and now never can be fully written.

The Republicans were claiming the election, the Democrats were certain that Tilden had been elected. The Senate which was Republican declared for Hayes; the House of Representatives, for Tilden. A battle ensued in each house. It soon began to look as if the country was drifting toward war. The only thing that prevented the war was the war that had ended a decade before. Memory of that terrific struggle made any other solution of the difficulty preferable. Especially were the southern members of Congress against any thought of armed resistance. When the northern Democrats, enraged at the idea of having an election which they so firmly believed they had won, taken from them, made threats of violence, the southern Democrats tried to pacify them. The South had had enough of war. They were for peace at any price. The year 1876 ended before either candidate was declared elected. How true was Governor Seymour's statement, "The Republicans have lost the confidence of the country, and the Democrats have not gained it." As the days passed, the outlook became more dark.

46. Eckenrode, 199.
47. Buck, 100.
The Democratic Veteran Soldiers Association, a body of Union veterans, became most belligerent, but they could not have done much because there were so many more Republican veterans. Henry Watterson of Kentucky threatened to come to Washington with 100,000 men to inaugurate Tilden. The Republicans made fewer threats, but they clung stubbornly to their claim that Hayes was elected. On December 13, 1876, the Democratic National Chairman, Abram Hewitt, announced that Tilden had been elected. Both parties refused to budge. If the southern Democrats had been as irate as the northern Democrats, war would have occurred. The southern Democrats felt greater interest in getting control of their local governments of South Carolina, Louisiana, and Florida, than of national administration. Home rule meant more to them than anything else. Petitions began to flow into Congress, asking for some settlement of the dispute. On December 7, George W. McCrary, a Republican member of the House of Representatives, introduced a resolution providing for the selection of a committee from the House and the Senate to establish a tribunal to decide the election. Thus the Compromise of 1877 was the first great compromise which the Republican party, the enemy of compromise, had drawn up. Neither Hayes nor Tilden wanted compromise. However, some means of

solving the difficulty had to be found. The resolution passed both houses of Congress. On December 21, 1876, the president of the Senate appointed a Senate Committee. Speaker Randall selected the House Committee. Tilden said, "I may lose the presidency, but I will not raffle for it."49

The country was in serious danger of war, of riots, and bloodshed. If war had come, it would be a true civil war between parties instead of between sections. Almost any state would have been the scene of fighting, and the final result would have been incalculable. The Republicans would have won, and the government measures that would have followed, would have been worse than those of Reconstruction. Both Hayes and Tilden were persuaded to uphold the commission.

The Electoral Commission was hailed with relief by the country at large. The Democrats for the most part favored it, because it was now their sole possible chance to win. It was felt by the Republicans, that the Democrats, accustomed to repression, would submit if the decision went against them; they would be angry but they would yield. Davis, the one unprejudiced justice of the Supreme Court, was made senator of Illinois. Tilden's one chance was gone, but the danger of war was also gone. Justice Bradley voted Republican and he paid

49. Eckenrode, 204.
for what was really a patriotic service by such a storm of abuse that his whole later life was embittered. The Electoral Commission accomplished the surrender of the Democrats. It was a surrender, but a dignified surrender. Beyond doubt, the decision of the Commission would be 8 Republicans against 7 Democrats. The southern element in Congress was strong enough to bring about a peaceful admission of Hayes election.

Some historians affirm that Hayes had already held out the "olive branch" to the South; in fact that an actual bargain had been made between Hayes and several southern representatives, in order to secure their allegiance to him and their withdrawal from Tilden. On the other hand, Williams asserts that no bargain whatever was made, and that certainly Hayes did nothing to ingratiate himself with the South. His explanation is that Foster Matthews had but said what he thought Hayes would do if he became President, and that this had pleased the southerners. At 12 o'clock on March 1, 1877, Blackburn of Kentucky closed the case in the House of Representatives. "Today", he said, "is Friday. Upon that day the Saviour of the world suffered crucifixion between two thieves. On this Friday, constitutional government, honesty, fair dealing, manhood and decency suffer crucifixion amid a number of

52. Williams, 67.
On March 2, 1877, the President of the Senate declared that Hayes had received a majority of the electoral votes.

The South has often been censured for its ready submission to the decision of the Electoral Commission, but I think the following quotation will satisfy most objectors:

Yes, the South did yield to the memorable electoral crime of 1876; but had all the interests of home, of property, of peace and self-respect appealed to the North as they appealed to the South, where the state governments of South Carolina, Florida, and Louisiana trembled in the balance of fraud, it would have been quite as prompt to render submission to a fraudulent presidential title north of the Potomac as south of its historic banks. For the South to have refused submission would have been stamped as a supplementary rebellion against lawful authority under color of the law, and another army would have been sent down to put the South once again in subjection.

Even to this day, Americans do not look back with pride to this Election of 1876. The Republican governors and the Republican returning boards of the South had done their

work well, and now a Republican president was finally in office. Southern Democrats did not like the decision of the Electoral Commission, but they yearned for peace, and this they would accept at any price.

CHAPTER II
THE NORTH GOES HOME

Hayes was elected. Was it fortunate or otherwise for the South? Hayes felt that the time for Federal interference in the South must end. Yet if it had been ended by any other than a Republican president, the matter would have been attended by the gravest dangers. Ex-soldiers were taught to believe that the election of Tilden would mean not only the freeing of the South but its re-establishment as the dominant section of the United States. All the results of Appomattox would be thrown away. Filled with this propaganda, civil war might have followed if Tilden had removed the troops from the South. Hayes was a Republican, and a Union soldier, and he was called the "Isaacot" of his party for doing just this. In no uncertain terms did the Republicans show Hayes that they violently disapproved of his policy towards the South. The Republicans could not accuse a Republican of treason, but if the "Confederate" Tilden had brought Reconstruction to an end by the removal of the Union forces, the whole country would feel that

he had betrayed them, and a political struggle of unexampled bitterness would result. If the Republicans were successful in the next election, there would have been renewed persecution in the southern states. From all of these dangers, the country was saved by the accession of Hayes. As the leader and restorer of the Democratic party, Tilden was more bitterly hated by the Republicans than anyone except Jefferson Davis. So, although the Democrats lost the presidency, they gained peace in the South, expulsion of the carpetbag governments, and restoration of law and order.

How was it possible for Hayes to change the tide of events? Was he stronger than Johnson or Grant? Congress had reduced Johnson to a nonentity and it had controlled Grant. Fortunately for Hayes, Thaddeus Stevens, the "thorough" reconstructionist was dead; Morton was dying, and Conkling was declining. Nevertheless, Hayes had to reckon with a group that was "cynical, lawless, and resolute".

We can hardly appreciate today the boldness of Hayes in selecting David M. Key of Tennessee as Postmaster-General in his cabinet. We must remember that James Blaine, "the

5. Oliver Perry Morton probably did more than any other man to obtain the ratification of negro suffrage amendment to the Constitution. Roscoe Conkling was a sturdy War-Republican, and an ardent advocate of vigorous repressive measures in the Reconstruction period.
6. Eckenrode, 239.
plumed knight" of the Republican party, delivered a 'bloody shirt' speech during the election of 1876, in which he denounced Jefferson Davis and unnecessarily stirred up sectional animosity by reviewing all the bitterness of the Civil War. What a shock it was to everybody in 1877 for a Republican president to admit to his cabinet a Democrat and an ex-Confederate!

The final act of the war drama had come at last; and it was played by Hayes and not by Grant. Hayes restored the oppressed states, and gave the South a place in the nation. He had the insight to realize that the Lower South could not remain subject to negro control, and he also had the courage to grapple with the situation. Hayes removed the troops because he realized that the Negro, as a ruler, would not have been tolerated in the North, and he was honest enough to admit that negro rule was just as distasteful to the people in the South. The removal of the troops ended carpetbag government in the South, and allowed the three still reconstructed states to set up white governments. After a period of 8 years, semi-civil, semi-military rule came to an end, and the South began its long climb back to prosperity.

7. Fuess, 223.
Florida was white again. The Republican administration fell of its own weight. George F. Drew, a Democratic governor from New England, got into office without any resistance. The Republicans had elected M. L. Stearns as governor, but they made no attempt to inaugurate him. The people of Florida had accepted the results of the war; they had endured the humiliations of reconstruction, but they now worked for the re-establishment of home rule "guided by intelligent citizens and for the restoration of the statute book to its place". No more trouble rose between the blacks and whites of Florida. In his inaugural address, Governor Drew voiced the wish of all the people of Florida for peace and union.

A Northern man by birth, and a Union man from principle, I recognize that the Democracy of Florida in placing me in this position demonstrates their desire for a true and fraternal union of all sections of our common country.

For months, two hostile executives and two legislatures had existed in South Carolina and Louisiana. Grant declined to decide between them; detachments of the army were stationed in Columbia and New Orleans, with instructions to keep the peace and not suffer the Republicans to be dispossessed by

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violence. Was the Republican Chamberlain the true governor of South Carolina, or the Democratic Wade Hampton? Both groups claimed they had won. The Republicans were in control of the real State House. This did not discourage the Democrats. They hired a hall, organized their own house, and with a Speaker, clerks, and sergeant-at-arms, forced their way into the Republican's Chamber. For three days and three nights, the rival Houses sat side by side, every man armed to the teeth, and ready to shoot if the rival sergeant-at-arms laid his hand on one of his colleagues. The Democrats finally withdrew, leaving the carpetbag Governor Chamberlain and legislature in possession of the State House, but the people of the state obeyed the government of the Democratic Wade Hampton.

Definitely Chamberlain could not have remained one day in office without the protection of bayonets, and it was evident that the Republican administration maintained itself only by the constant threat of armed intervention. Hayes did not consider it to be his duty to compel the southern states at the point of a bayonet to accept a Republican party form of government. Although he did believe that "The United States shall

guarantee to every state in this Union a republican form of
government", yet he felt that the Constitution does not say that
the president shall guarantee to every state a just decision of
contested elections. 14

Hayes dealt promptly with South Carolina. Although
the Republican press said, "The prostrate state was prostrate no
longer -- she had been raised from the ground. Her saviour had
come. D. H. Chamberlain was the man"; 15 still everyone knew
that the Democratic strength had increased to such a point that
some solution to the whole affair had to be found. 16 On March 4,
1877, Chamberlain was told to arrange some compromise with the
Democrats, or to come to some agreement that he would not need
troops. Chamberlain effected nothing. On March 23, Hayes in-
vited both Chamberlain and Hampton to come to Washington.
Hampton, the "Defender of South Carolina", received one ovation
after another on his journey north, because he was recognized as
the representative of the Lower South going to the Capital to
obtain his rights, and the novel spectacle of a southerner,
attempting to assert any rights, cheered the whole South. 17
Chamberlain traveled as a private person, not a conquering hero.

14. Walter Allen, "Two Years of President Hayes", The Atlantic
17. Williams, Hampton and His Red Shirts, 41.
He had a plan for submitting the election to a commission, but the Democrats had had enough of commissions, and refused. Chamberlain assured Hayes that the withdrawal of the troops would mean the end of Republican rule in the South. Hampton urged the President to remove the troops, and pledged himself to respect the fifteenth amendment. Hayes brought the matter before his cabinet which agreed that it was best for the soldiers to go. On April 3, the President informed Secretary of War McCravy that "domestic violence did not exist in South Carolina", and that the troops should be withdrawn. On April 10, 1877, the soldiers marched out of the State House, amid the great rejoicing of the people. The next day, Chamberlain, helpless without the blue-coats, surrendered his office. South Carolina was once more under the sway of the whites.

In Louisiana, great disorder reigned. On January 1, 1877, the day of the convening of the legislature, the Republican boss, W. P. Kellogg, had the Capitol garrisoned by the police and negro militia. No persons were to be admitted to the legislature unless they bore certificates of election from the Republican canvassing board. The Democrats withdrew to another building and organized apart, and they admitted such members as had been pronounced elected by the Democratic canvassing board. On January 2, 1877, the Republican legislature declared that

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J. B. Packard and Antoine had been elected governor and lieutenant-governor; and on the very same day the Democratic legislature proclaimed the election of Francis T. Nicholls and Wiltz. Both sets of candidates were inaugurated, and war loomed on the horizon. The Packard government was upheld by the soldiers, who alone maintained the carpetbag government from mob violence.

The situation in Louisiana was embarrassing to Hayes. If Hayes refused to recognize the Packard government, in other words, if he considered that Packard had not been elected governor, then the implication would be that Hayes had not carried the state and he was not really President. It was difficult to put Packard out of office, and yet hold that Hayes' electors had been chosen. Yet the citizens of Louisiana were armed and waiting; and even the presence of troops might not keep them from violence. On the other hand, the people of the United States had accepted the government of Hayes. Hayes appointed a commission to work on the matter. When the commissioners reached New Orleans on April 5, 1877, the Democrats knew that it had come to help them. Members of the Packard legislature, which were actually elected, were cordially invited to join the Nicholls' legislature and receive back pay. To the negro legislators of a bankrupt government the offer of pay was irresistible, since they were penniless. The Packard Legislature melted

away. Packard withdrew and all opposition to Nicholls was abandoned. On April 24, 1877, the troops filed out of New Orleans to the ringing of bells and the thundering of cannon. Seitz says rather ironically, "The President took the troops from their capitals and sent them out to hunt Indians".

Hayes realized that loyalty and patriotism are inward, and do not come from "coercion, distrust, or the multiplication of tests and oaths". So, with the departure of the troops, the Old South had ended; a New South had already appeared on the horizon.

CHAPTER III
WHITE SUPREMACY

In his letter of accepting the presidential nomination, Hayes said:

What the South most needs is peace, and peace depends upon the supremacy of law. There can be no enduring peace if the constitutional rights of any portion of the people are habitually disregarded. If elected, I shall consider it not only my duty, but it will be my ardent desire, to labor for the attainment of this end.¹

He had also pledged himself "to wipe out forever the distinction between North and South, in our common country".² Hayes "far from being the chosen champion of his party, and more likely an accidental intruder into the highest honors", fulfilled his campaign pledges by bestowing "home rule" upon the South. Although he was one of the most amiable, genial and companionable of our presidents, he became one of the most isolated, expressly because he threw the extreme radicals of his party into a frenzy of rage by wiping out the carpetbag

governments and restoring self-government in the South.\footnote{Chauncey M. Depew, \textit{My Memories of Eighty Years}, Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, 1922, 101.} Within six weeks after the election, Hayes was without a party because of his clemency towards the South; yet his own slogan was, "He serves his party best, who serves his country best".\footnote{Charles Ramsdell Lingley & Allen Richard Foley, \textit{Since the Civil War}, (Third Edition), D. Appleton-Century Company, New York, 1935, 137.}

After 1876, there was no Republican administration in the South, and the Republican party itself almost disappeared at this time from the South. A bare organization, manned by Negroes, enjoyed any offices which the Republican national administration could bestow, and contributed a pliant delegation to the national convention of the party.\footnote{Paxson, 54.} Restored to themselves the southern governments ceased to play much part in national affairs, and contented themselves with the economic rebuilding of their region. When the southern states were left free to settle their own electoral contests, or in other words, to govern themselves, tranquillity was restored, decent government was established, and everyone's thoughts and energies were directed toward industrial and commercial development.\footnote{Williams, \textit{The Life of Rutherford Birchard Hayes}, II, 64.} The granting of Home Rule by Hayes was "the beginning of a new era of reconstruction which brought into being a New South not
different politically and sentimentally from the Old South, but challenging any other section of America economically™. But above all, Home Rule meant white domination and the maintenance of white supremacy. In order to keep the white man supreme, southerners felt that they must vote a "straightout" Democratic ticket and pursue a "straightout" Democratic policy. To secure united action against negro rule, southerners believed that they "must think and say and do what the Democratic party did."  

This allegiance to the Democratic party brings up the question of the "Solid South". Writers have condemned this phrase because they say it teaches the doctrine that a privileged few should govern the incapable many, or the Bourbon idea of government. The North made the South solid by attempting to found a new government for the South upon the votes of an ignorant negro electorate, an injustice to both whites and blacks. The Solid South party is accused of arousing sectional hatred; also of dividing the North by holding themselves together by old

8. Robertson, 60.
13. Davis, 737.
war memories, state-rights, and local pride and prejudice. Yet the South could say:

You legislated against us; you lost no opportunity to insult us. Well, if the North can stand it; the South can. We detest and distrust you Republicans; detest you for your mean pursuit of us; distrust you for your hypocrisy and corruption. We will not degrade ourselves by alliance with you. In seeking to dishonor us, you have dishonored yourselves. The Republican party is the sectionalist.14

A Solid South replaced each Republican candidate by a Democrat, so much so, that by 1881, there was not one Republican member from the South in the Senate, and in the election of 1880, not one Republican electoral vote was cast in the South.15 Henry Watterson defends the Solid South by saying, "The South is simply what the Republican party has made it. The Republican party fell to pieces by its own rottenness. The South must be solid in its own defense."16 The fact that the Republican party boasted about being "thorough" in their reconstruction measures, only made the South more determined to be "solid" in their stand against the military protectorates which were entirely foreign to the spirit and forms of constitutional liberty in America.17

16. Watterson, 47-58.
17. Allen, 190-199.
The "Solid South", for which John Calhoun had worked in vain, came into being through Republican reconstruction in all the states of the South. Southern farmers, planters, business and professional men fused into one party, the Democratic party, and created the Solid South to prevent further federal interference in local affairs and to eliminate the Negro from politics. Hence the southerners maintain that a Solid South means white control; whereas, a divided South might mean a return of negro domination.

Who came into power when Hayes withdrew the troops from the South? It has been remarked that, as the Federal soldiers marched out of the public buildings of the South, the Confederate soldiers marched in. The year 1876 marks the beginning of the reign of the "Confederate Brigadiers", the men who had worn gray from 1861-1865 and who had achieved a reputation for military prowess under the Stars and Bars. In most states the organization of the voters was almost military. There was a feeling on the part of the whites that "to fail to vote was

shameful, to scratch a ticket was a crime, and to attempt to organize Negroes was treason to one's race." At every election, the rallying cry for all southerners was the military record of the candidates. A military record became almost a requisite for political preferment. In 1882, fourteen out of the twenty-two United States Senators from the former seceded states had military records, and three had been civil officers of the Confederacy. The "Confederate Brigadiers" were in the saddle, and the whites, in order to keep white dominance in the South, were determined to keep them there.

Three states, South Carolina, Mississippi and Louisiana, had negro majorities. The problem of black and white hung like a dark cloud on the southern horizon, and the necessity of keeping his state a "white man's country" dominated southern psychology. The native whites, willing to go to any lengths to remain in control, began to substitute craft for force, in dealing with the black voters. The South knew that if she had been left to herself after the War she would not have given the Negro the vote; now that she was left to herself she would take

23. Morison and Commager, 29.
away what had been imposed by force. The southerners felt that as the franchise had come to the Negro through no exertion of their own, denial of its right violated no long-cherished conviction of the race. "Never in the history of the world", one author says, "had civil and political rights been conferred at one stroke, or upon so large a body of men; nor had any people been less prepared to assume their new status." Consequently, the southerners deemed it their duty to deter thousands of Negroes from appearing at the polls. In South Carolina particularly, the whites decreed that the Negroes "just had to lose the political habit", and anything was legal that kept the blacks away from the polls. In almost all the southern states, the blacks were threatened with loss of employment, eviction from a house or plantation, or a refusal of credit.

On election day, determined men with rifles or shotguns, ostensibly intending to go hunting after they had voted, gathered around the polls. An occasional random shot might kick up dust near the approaching Negro. Polling places were far removed from colored communities. Whites were permitted to

27. Schlesinger, 252.
stuff the ballot box with what was called a "tissue ballot". At least six of these ballots could easily be dropped into the box at one time. If there was a surplus of ballots, they were withdrawn by a blindfolded official, so that the difference in length or texture or quality, could not be readily perceived. The whites also began to demand the payment of poll taxes. Multiple ballot box laws were passed which required the voter to put correctly his votes for candidates in eight or more separate boxes. As over 75% of the adult colored males were unable to read or write, most of their votes were eliminated because they could not read enough to put their votes in the correct boxes. It is not therefore surprising that the Negro soon got the impression that it was unwise to vote; nor that there have been numerous conflicts between the blacks and whites in the South.

Judge McClure in an address before the Lincoln Club on "The Old and New South", stormed against these "ballot box stuffers, and ballot thieves." He upheld the men of the Old South, whom he described as "giants in debate, adepts in statecraft, and masters of rhetoric and oratory." He condemned

30. Ibid., 20.
31. Weeks, 692.
32. Buck, 284.
34. Bruce, 437.
severely both the "Democrat and nigger", the chief source of irritation since the war. McClure complained that honest voting could be possible in the South, if the Democratic party there would be overthrown. He called all the southerners, "not Americans, but of the South." Shall we agree wholeheartedly with McClure, or shall we remember that the blacks and whites in the South are "the two members of a pair of shears, so clumsily put together that they gnash against each other continually?" 

To try to escape from the problem of the dual races does not help matters. The Negro still influences the whole development of the South, and the ideas of the two distinct races and the two civilizations in the South will not easily be effaced. The emancipation of their four million Negroes changed the attitude of the South toward them. Because the blacks were put on a par with the best citizens of the South, they were looked upon as enemies. The granting of suffrage to the Negro was considered "a crime and a farce for the ages." From 1865 to 1876 "loyal" white men could not secure justice in

36. Joel Chandler Harris, Henry W. Grady including his Writings and Speeches, Cassell Publishing Company, New York, 1890, 96.
37. Robertson, 75.
the courts against the Negro; after 1876, no black man could get justice in the courts.\(^{39}\) Such conditions created bitterness on both sides, and one can readily understand why the race issue is an explosive subject in Southern affairs.

President Hayes understood perfectly the difficulty of the problem of the colored race in the South. He wrote, "The troops are ordered away, and I now hope for peace, and what is equally important, security and prosperity for the colored people."\(^{41}\) Although he had great faith in the future of the blacks, he felt that their uplifting depended upon education, and that an education effected and controlled by a race that had been their masters.\(^{42}\) Even Booker T. Washington, the great negro educator, felt that education was the only real salvation for his race. He said in his *Autobiography*:

> The ignorance of my race was being used as a tool with which to help white men into office, and there was an element in the North which wanted to punish the Southern white men by forcing the Negro into positions over the heads of the Southern whites.\(^{43}\)

Therefore he counsels the Negroes that instead of protesting

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41. Fuss, 243.
against the wrongs which they then suffered, they should do everything in their power, by their skill, intelligence and character, to produce something which the white man wanted, and then the white men would respect them. 44 Many in the South were utterly opposed to the education of the Negro. Dire poverty in each southern state made the education of the blacks impossible, even if it were desirable. The lower class whites especially fought against any education for the Negro, because they felt they would become their competitors.

The blacks were certainly suffering wrongs, particularly in those states in which the vote of the Negro exceeded 50% of the total number of votes. We must consider them as political wrongs, or as the southerners styled them, "political necessities". Reconstruction had left deep scars upon the South. It poisoned race relations, and retarded the colored race in its progress towards useful citizenship by at least a generation. The white men exhausted their energy in their efforts to keep the Negroes down. However, although the freedmen were deprived of their political rights, the new governments did enable them to enjoy the civil rights which hitherto had been denied them; the right to live peaceably, earn a living, and accumulate

44. Buck, 291.
45. Dabney, Liberalism in the South, 166.
47. Morison and Commager, 55.
property. They also received stable state governments which they never experienced during the turbulent days of reconstruction.

During the first years after the establishment of Home Rule, the people of the South were keenly interested in the social segregation of the Negro. The southerners did not pass laws against the Negro in order to bring about race antagonism, but they did pass them in order to keep down the black man's aspirations for equality. State legislation stringently prohibited interracial marriages. The educational system was revised to make it of obligation for separate schools for whites and blacks. In 1889, seventeen southern states had separate school systems, and the average monthly salary for white teachers was $45 and for black teachers, $20. This separation was also extended to some churches. The Negroes were barred from admittance to hotels, inns, restaurants, and amusement places which catered to white people. Local ordinances and customs

50. Bruce, 447.
52. These United States: A Symposium, 35.
supplemented these general phases of segregation, and everywhere throughout the South, a color line separated the races. Booker T. Washington urged the colored to put up with everything, even the unpleasantnesses, and "in all things that are purely social we can be as separate as the fingers." As time goes on, the two races are drawing closer to each other. The northerner says, "Let the South take care of the Negro." The southerner says, "The main question is not what to do for the Negro, but what to do for the white man living among the Negroes." The doctrine that "the white and black races must walk apart" has caused dissension and injustice. There is a growing disposition on the part of the whites to judge more leniently of the blacks, to attribute their faults and shortcomings to ignorance, incapacity and the effect of evil influences. They feel that they must remember the many motives which should unite them, rather than the few which divide them. The whites are beginning to realize the grave responsibility cast upon them -- to look upon the Negro as a great trust, as human beings and in no degree responsible for their original coming. The unnatural and purely manufactured interest that the

53. Johnson, 56.
54. Dabney, Liberalism in the South, 172.
55. Brown, 250.
Negro took in politics immediately after the war is dying out, and the old sentiment of depending upon the whites is slowly reviving. After the Civil War, the Negroes did not seek power, but they became easy tools in the hands of unscrupulous leaders who played upon their ignorance and credulity. As the Negro was forced out of politics, an increasing number of southern leaders took the position that in order to make the Negro a useful citizen, the freedman must be encouraged to acquire an education and property. The whites and blacks are beginning to work together on friendly terms, providing the Negro accepts the role of the dependent. Economically and morally the Negro has made commendable progress, and it must not be forgotten that the whole colored race cannot be civilized in a day. Curiously enough, southern literature, art and music are dominated by the Negro.

It has been said that Sumner, Stevens and Ben Butler have much to answer for, and not the least of their responsibilities is that for their share in the creation of the "Solid South". The South's one-party system is the fruit of the grim necessity of Reconstruction. The "Undoing of Reconstruction"

57. Gorton, 131-150.
58. Ramsdell, 10.
60. DuBois, 708.
61. George Fort Milton, "Also There Is Politics", Culture in the South, 117.
is the phrase best applied to the course political action has taken in the South since 1876, in order to secure white supremacy and to maintain it.

The South after 1876 really came home to stay, as is seen in the words of Benjamin H. Hill, a representative from Georgia before the United States Congress in 1877:

_There are no Confederates in this house; there are no Confederates anywhere; there are no Confederate schemes, hopes, ambitions, desires, or purposes here. Yet the South is here, and here she intends to remain. The South will never seek a remedy in the madness of another secession. We are here; we are in the house of our fathers; our brothers and our companions, and we are at home to stay, thank God!_ 63

The effect of the election of 1876 upon the South was the restoration of the white man to power, and the gradual deprivation of all the political rights which the Negroes had enjoyed during the days of Reconstruction.

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CHAPTER IV
THE NEW SOUTH IS BORN

Each southern state could say after 1876 what Governor W. D. Simpson of South Carolina said, "We have certainly touched the bottom but the rebound has commenced." In the foregoing chapter, one can readily see why history, not geography, created the Solid South. The Democratic party meant white supremacy for the South versus a dreaded return to black domination. During the next twenty years, warnings of a return to negro control served to keep all varieties of Democratic opinion working together, and differences of opinion were branded as disloyalty to the party. In view of all the excesses committed by the Republican party during the days of Reconstruction, it is no surprise to learn that in all the southern states after 1876 a very different policy was pursued.

Home Rule was followed by a period of indifference, if not of hostility, to a course of public education, and a

2. Rupert B. Vance, "Profile of Southern Culture", Culture in the South, 24.
marked conservatism toward public expenditures of any kind, a strenuous reaction against the extravagance of Reconstruction. The South had traveled a weary way because of the corruption and spendthrift laxity of "carpetbag" days. The leaders of the new South were determined that economy and financial efficiency must be the order of the day. The Democrats were going to demonstrate to the country at large that they, an able body of lawmakers, were not in favor of the Spoils System. They set out immediately to reduce the exorbitant salaries, abolish needless positions, and eliminate waste and graft in the carrying out of all governmental enterprises. In Georgia, for example, Democratic legislators under Robert Toombs so restricted the power of taxation and incurring of public debt as to lead to the expression that Georgia "had locked her treasury and thrown away the key." Florida's motto was "to spend nothing unless absolutely necessary and pay all bills when made, or at least the earliest possible moment thereafter."

This new government represented the rising business

8. Abbey, 324.
men, merchants, planters, and local industrialists. They favored cheap government, low taxes, and wanted the new factories exempt from all regulation or taxation. These men had no desire to see an educated laboring class. The cost of government was reduced to the lowest terms. The salaries of the state officials were set at a ridiculously small figure. Inadequate school taxes were levied; asylums could not take care of those admitted; appropriations for higher education, if made at all, were small; there was little or no social legislation.

Politicians taught the people that low taxes were the greatest possible good, and even when prosperity began to return, and a heavier burden of taxation might be expected, the belief that efficiency of government was measured by parsimony had become such a fixed idea, that it could not be changed. There was little scandal anywhere. No other government in American history conducted itself with more economy and more fidelity than these southern governments during the first days of Home Rule. Few treasurers defaulted, and the few who did, committed the blunder through financial incompetence rather than through dishonesty. Few fortunes were founded on state

contracts. The public buildings which were erected were honestly built, and were completed within the limits of the original appropriation. So small an amount of money was allowed to be spent on government that there was little to steal, even if the inclination was present.  

Rigid economy was practiced. After Home Rule was established in the South, so intimately were politics related to the welfare of individuals and families, so necessary was ability and honesty in office, that the strongest sort of public sentiment demanded putting good men into positions of trust, and there was little intriguing among whites. This was an era of domestic politics; one of absorption of both people and politics in the welfare of the masses at home. The men who created the new South were wise in their day and generation, showed high qualities of statesmanship and were exemplars of struggle, courage and integrity.

As each southern governor took office after Reconstruction, he found huge state debts. Each governor considered that his first great work was a vigorous assault upon these state debts. The unpaid interest amounted to many millions.

Should these governors pay debts of over $140,000,000 which had been incurred by the Republican legislatures? Virginia's debt was the largest, and she had the greatest difficulty in reducing it. Her great system of public works, once the pride of the state, was in utter ruin. The railroads of Virginia were practically useless. Investments in the internal improvement companies were almost, if not entirely, worthless. A movement for repudiation began. In 1879, North Carolina repudiated $13,000,000, and funded the remainder at less than 40%. The debt of South Carolina had never been accurately estimated. She also repudiated $9,000,000 of her debt. When Alabama came back under Democratic sway, she had a debt of $20,000,000, of which, she immediately repudiated $13,000,000. The $4,000,000 debt of Florida was destroyed by the State's Supreme Court without any further legislative action. These repudiations ruined the credit of the southern states, because foreign investors would not risk any more money on people who would not pay their debts, and northern capitalists were hesitant about making any southern investments.

The new Democratic governments justified these repudiations. They claimed that these bonds were issued by "carpetbag" legislatures, and voted by a government imposed by

18. Morison and Commager, 54.
military force. Many of the bonds were fraudulent on their face; those who purchased them at great discount were gambling upon the chance that the government issuing them would endure. In Florida, apart from the social disorder and widespread corruption in office, the worst heritage of the Republican regime was the financial mismanagement which took two forms -- increased expenditure and exploitation of natural resources. Opening new lands to settlement involved a series of shady transactions between unscrupulous state officials and northern financiers. Acres of good Florida land were sold at ten cents an acre, when the market price was $1.25. Railroad bonds were bought up at a pittance, but even that money never went to the railroads. Why should these Home Rule governors be responsible for the debts left by governments which had never been wanted in the South? All they remembered were the sufferings imposed upon the whites of the South by these same governments. They felt that they had brought little or no benefit to the states during the years 1865 to 1876. As a result, each governor went to work to correct the corrupt and vicious legislation of the Reconstruction period.

As the three states of South Carolina, Louisiana and Florida were so important in the election of 1876, a description

19. Abbey, 322.
of the condition of these states during the days of Reconstruction has been included in these pages. Naturally if a true picture of the new South is desired, it will be obtained by showing the condition of these same states under the Home Rule governors. To make the story more complete, the political history of several other southern states will be described.

Wade Hampton became Democratic governor of South Carolina in 1876. At the close of the Civil War with his fortune gone, and his splendid mansion near Columbia in ashes, Hampton accepted defeat and did everything in his power to put an end to intersectional bitterness. He had done great things for South Carolina, and when South Carolina needed him most, he became her governor. As governor, he began to clean house, to make South Carolina a habitable state. Hampton's election re-established the leadership of what was left of the old conservative planter class. Economy must prevail in order to relieve the overburdened taxpayers.

Hampton in South Carolina signalized his resumption of home rule by reducing the pay of the members of the General Assembly from $600 per annum with mileage to $5 a day. The state debt was investigated; a tax was levied for the support of free schools, and steps were taken toward the construction

of a college for colored people. Three former Republican officials, two of them Negroes, were prosecuted for bribery, fraud and forgery. Hampton did not want to repudiate the state debts, but there seemed to be no other solution to the problem.

Hampton made an excellent governor, and the leading men who were his advisors were of like calibre -- Johnson Haggard, Comptroller General; James Conner, Attorney General; Hugh S. Thompson, State Superintendent of Education. Thompson developed the public school system of the state between 1878 and 1879, and in August, 1880, organized the First State Normal in the city of Spartanburg. These men were called the "Bourbons." They were described as aristocrats, but their one thought was the restoration of the state of South Carolina to the people. From the salaries these men received, and the services that they rendered to the people of the state, all must agree that they were a "great race". The governor received $3500 per annum and a house; the other state officers, $2100.

The first legislature under Hampton passed acts of broad usefulness. One law provided that all cattle pastures had to be fenced, and livestock to be kept within enclosures.

23. Sparks, 94.
25. Ibid, 969
Before this law, each farmer had to fence his farm to keep the livestock out. Lien laws were also passed which enabled farmers to obtain credit at reasonable rates. Authorization was given to private parties to hire convicts at fixed salaries. The federal government was asked to restore the Citadel at Charleston which was held as conquered territory. The state held it was private property, and that it should be given back. This was done four years later.

Governor Hampton was reelected in 1878, and immediately after, the legislature elected him United States Senator. Upon his resignation, Lt. Governor William D. Simpson succeeded. He was a man of wide experience in public service. Simpson congratulated the officials of South Carolina upon the reduction of expenses from $351,000 in 1875 to $124,895 in 1879; development of industry, building of railroads, deepening of rivers, draining of swamps and reclamation of lands in low country, for the extension of education, and the fair, just and impartial administration of law. Governor Simpson continued the acts and measures of Hampton. In 1880, he resigned to be chief justice of the State Supreme Court.

Comptroller General Johnson Hagood became governor in 1880. He had been the guiding spirit in raising voluntary

27. History of South Carolina, V, 967.
contributions to lift the state out of its critical financial condition. Hagood will always be remembered in South Carolina as one of the best of its long line of governors. His inaugural address was brief, practical, and direct. He praised the work that had been done, and with firm determination said, "South Carolina cannot and will not again become a prostrate State." 29

One could list the other governors of South Carolina during the '80's, but the same high standards of conduct, the same reduction of taxes, the same wise and just laws, the same energy and lack of corruption marked all of them. As has been said above, these men between 1876 and 1890 who lifted the "Prostrate State" to her feet were the "Bourbon Democracy". They restored the state's credit, reestablished its good name for justice and peace, made it secure for the investment of northern capital in cotton mills and railroads, created a department of agriculture and experimental stations. They re-opened the South Carolina College and expanded it into a university. They instituted the pension system for needy Confederate veterans and widows. They stamped out dueling. These Bourbons did all in their power to put down lynching, pistol-carrying, and violence, the harmful legacies of war and Reconstruction. If they did not fully succeed, at least they made great

29. History of South Carolina, V, 973.
30. Ball, 182.
progress considering the bi-racial population of the state which
was almost evenly divided between whites and Negroes.  

Although Governor Francis T. Nicholls was inaugurated
on January 8, 1877, he did not actually become the real governor
until April 24, 1877, the day on which the federal troops were
removed from Louisiana. Nicholls began clearing house by cut-
ting down the extravagant fees established by the Reconstruction
officials, arranging payment of the enormous state debt, creat-
ing new election laws, and investigating affairs in subordinate
state offices. The Louisiana state debt was twelve millions;
the city debt of New Orleans was twenty-two millions. Proceed-
ings were instituted against the members of the returning board
which turned the state over to the Hayes' electors, charging
them with perjury, forgery, and altering returns. Governor
Nicholls said in his message to the Legislature on January 8,
1878:

Today peace and quiet prevail throughout the
State; political excitement has ended; the
voice of the people is respected; the rights
of all are fully guaranteed; the laws are
properly and impartially administered; a
strong feeling of hope, relief, and content
exists among all classes.  

31. G. Croft Williams, *A Social Interpretation of South Caro-
lina*, University of South Carolina Press, Columbia, 1946,
391. 
32. Sparks, 93. 
of *A History of Louisiana*, Manzi, Joyant & Co., New York,
1904, 195.
These words are very different from those expressed by Henry Clay Warmouth who was Republican governor of Louisiana from 1868 to 1872. When others criticized the corruption in his administration, Warmouth replied, "Why, everything is demoralizing down here. Corruption is the fashion."  

In reconstructing itself, Louisiana adopted a new constitution in 1879 in which the threat of the late negro vote was lessened by curbing the powers of the legislature and increasing the appointive power of the governor. The Convention which drew up the Constitution decreed that no debt was to be contracted except to "repel invasion or for the repression of insurrection." State tax on property was not to exceed six mills on the dollar.

In 1875 James B. Eads with many workers began to attempt to harness the mouth of the Mississippi River. By 1879, these jetties were practically completed. Eads deserves the gratitude of the people of the whole Mississippi Valley. In 1882, preparations were made to celebrate the two hundredth anniversary of the discovery of the mouth of the Mississippi.

35. Louisiana - A guide to the State, 49.
36. Fortier, 198.
37. Kane, 139.
River by La Salle. Suddenly the great river broke through its barriers, and inundated 203,000 acres of land. The flood spread destruction far and wide, and the people of Louisiana were discouraged and greatly disappointed that the levees did not hold. By the time the flood of 1882 subsided, the water had swept through 284 crevasses and washed away 56 miles of levee. Then both the federal government and the states concerned began a concerted and aggressive campaign to control the river. The work begun by James B. Eads in deepening the channel at the mouth of the Mississippi was an important factor in the recovery of Louisiana from the prostrate condition in which war and Reconstruction had left her.

Baton Rouge again became the capital of Louisiana in 1882, and in the same year New Orleans received a new charter. New Orleans began to prosper, not only with the facilities of her port, but also by increased railroad expansion. By 1880, five trunk lines served New Orleans; three years later, with the completion of a line linking New Orleans with California, the city had rail service with East, North, and West. Railroad tonnage increased from 937,634 tons in 1880 to 5,500,000 tons in 1899, which helped New Orleans regain most of her former

38. Fortier, 209-211.
commercial importance. Paul Tulane, formerly of Princeton, New Jersey, a successful merchant in New Orleans gave property in that city for the education of the white youth of Louisiana. In addition to the property, he also bestowed $1,050,000 for the same purpose. New Orleans was also benefitted by the World's Industrial and Cotton Centennial Exposition which was held in that city between December, 1884, and May, 1885.

The men of the new South were working hard in the state of Louisiana. Slowly, but surely, she was recovering from her days of suffering and black domination. Governor Louis A. Wiltz summarizes the activities of these Democratic legislators in his address to the House of Representatives of the state of Louisiana:

> The State has studied economy and reform, seeking to do justice to all classes of citizens. Jealousy of races has been allayed; confidence in home government restored; industry encouraged; public schools are prospering, all because the government has been true to the people. A just, wise and frugal government has been returned to Louisiana.

Before taking up the political history of Florida, one incident of note, which took place in New Orleans on

40. Ibid., 50.
December 6, 1889, should be mentioned. It was on that day that Jefferson Davis died. His body was taken immediately to the Council-chamber, viewed by a long procession of mourners, and then on December 11, conveyed to the tomb of the Army of Northern Virginia at Metairie County. The governors of Louisiana, Georgia, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Florida, Kentucky and Arkansas, and representatives from the other southern states, attended the burial. The remains of Jefferson Davis were afterwards transferred to Richmond, Virginia. He will always be remembered by the southern people for his service as a patriot of the South, and for his devotion to the cause which has disappeared forever.

In 1877, George F. Drew was elected governor of Florida, and no better selection could have been made. He was first of all a good business man, interested in lumbering and sawmilling, and brought wide business experience to state affairs. The administration of Drew was a welcome change to the people of Florida. The state tax rate was reduced from twelve and one-half to nine mills during the first year of Drew's term, and in 1879 to 7 mills; the floating debt from $250,000 to $30,000, and the bonded debt of the state cut down

43. Fortier, 219.  
44. Dau, 278.
$50,000. Florida's six per cent bonds rose from eighty to par, and her seven per cent rose to $1.06. 45 A convention of colored men also seemed glad of the change in regime as is shown by a resolution it adopted on July 4, 1877.

We are aware that recently throughout the South a political revolution has taken place, and it is our hope that now the race issue in politics with all its accompanying evils will pass away and that intelligence and integrity will now dominate without regard to color and previous conditions. 46

Under Governor Drew, the removal of state convicts from Chattahoochee was commenced, and the practice of leasing them where they could work under more humane conditions. This saved the state $35,500 per year for their maintenance. Other constructive acts were the passage of an election law whereby a representative of each political party must be present at the polls; the establishment of a state hospital for the insane; greater interest in public school education, through the activity of Superintendent W. P. Haisley, who visited each county in the state twice during the term. 47

The people of Florida did not like the Constitution that the Republican regime had formulated for them. Two provisions especially, that of the extensive appointive powers of the executive and the high salaries fixed for state officials, troubled the conservative Floridians. As soon as white supremacy was restored, agitation for amendment began. The process by which this was to be achieved became a matter of controversy. Many decided that a series of amendments would iron out the undesirable places, but general sentiment favored a convention. There was also a division over the appointive power. There might be purer democracy in elected officials, but the "black" counties of Duval, Alachua, Marion, Madison, Jefferson and Leon could see many worse things than appointed officials to disturb their dreams. They expected to fare better at the hands of a Democratic governor than at those of their own dusky citizens. Consequently, the legislature of 1879 refused to hold a constitutional convention for fear of the colored. When the issue was put before the people in 1880, it was rejected 23,281 to 14,713 votes. The defeat came not only from dread of reopening the door to negro domination but also from opposition to the expense of a convention. By 1883, reform had to come, not only in the interest of economy, but to meet the requirements of the

48. Abbey, 325.
49. Ibid., 326.
people and of representative government. Again the people voted on the convention in 1884, with 29,708 votes in favor and 6,365 opposed. 51

The constitutional convention in Florida lasted fifty-six days, from June 9 to August 3, 1885, and it was longer than expected, and more costly. Although based on the old, the new constitution made such changes that would give the state government back to the people of Florida. 52 It provided for thirty-two senators and sixty-eight representatives apportioned according to the census every ten years; the Legislature met biennially for sixty days, on per diem basis rather than fixed rate; the salary of state senators was cut from $500 to $360 every other year; the governor was not eligible for reelection, and his salary was cut from $5000 to $3500; the office of the Lieutenant Governor was abolished; Cabinet officers were made elective and increased by a commissioner of agriculture; the salary of Cabinet members was cut from $3000 to $2000 for comptroller and treasurer, and $1,500 for secretary of state, attorney general and commissioner of agriculture; judges of the supreme court and county officials were to be elected by the people. With reference to education, a state board of education was created, composed of the governor, secretary of state,

51. Abbey, 327.
treasurer, attorney general and superintendent of public instruction. 53 This Constitution of 1885 together with other legislative measures completely eliminated the Negro from politics in Florida.

Governor Drew had a very worthy successor in William D. Bloxham. Immediately he had a tremendous problem to face. The Internal Improvement Fund of Florida was bankrupt, and could not pay its obligations to the stockholders. In 1881, these stockholders appealed to the United States Circuit Court for an order to force the sale of all lands held by the Internal Improvement Fund. Bloxham needed money, so he concluded an agreement with Hamilton Disston, a Philadelphia capitalist, who purchased four million acres of land at twenty-five cents per acre. By the terms of the contract, the selection of land could begin with the payment of $200,000. By the end of 1882, the entire debt of one million dollars had been paid to the trustees and the Internal Improvement Fund cleared from debt. Hamilton Disston saved Florida from bankruptcy, agreed to drain 15,000 acres, and to dig some canals. 58 On the other hand, Bloxham was severely criticized because people said that the

53. Abbey, 329.
54. Patrick, 96.
56. Patrick, 85.
57. Abbey, 351.
58. Kennedy, 16.
land should have been sold in small tracts and not to such a large corporation for trifling cash considerations. Bloxham in his message to the Legislature of Florida in 1885 was proud of his achievement.

Florida's growth is a source of gratification to us all. The release of the Internal Improvement Fund from bankruptcy augmented our taxable resources. It has placed a large amount of land on our taxbooks. It has given an impetus to railroad building. Taxable values of 1880 were $31,000,000. Taxable values of 1884 are $60,000,000. Florida stands alone in its unprecedented growth.60

Much was accomplished by 1885, but Florida needed men with money, who would "dream dreams and see visions." It seems incredible but in 1885, delegates to the Legislature in Tallahassee from Monroe County (Key West) were compelled to travel on a steamer from there to New York and thence south by rail to Tallahassee, and the mileage to and from Key West was 3000 miles and the round trip consumed the best part of two weeks. At this important juncture, three great railroad builders became smitten with the possibilities of Florida, and worked along similar lines in the building of railroads and hotels. William D. Chipley, general manager of the Pensacola and Atlantic.

59. Dau, 279.
60. Florida - Messages and Documents, 1885, W. E. Bloxham, on January 5, 1885, 3.
61. Dau, 280.
Railroad, supervised the building of a road from Pensacola to the Apalachicola River. Henry B. Plant, a shrewd, money-seeking, Connecticut Yankee, began buying up short-line railroads at foreclosure sales in 1879. He developed the famous "Plant System", linking Jacksonville and Savannah for the first time, then developed his railroad to Palatka, from Palatka to Sanford, and from Sanford to Tampa, thus creating a continuous connection from Tampa to the North. Henry Morrison Flagler spent the first fifty-three years of his life amassing a huge fortune. Then, with his millions accumulated, he came to Florida to pass the next thirty years in trying to do for human beings more than they could do for themselves. He did for the east coast of Florida what Plant did for the west coast. He developed the Florida East Coast System. Irritated by the poor hotel facilities, Flagler built two hotels, the Ponce de Leon and the Alcazar, unequaled at that time in beauty of design, solidity and comfort.

These railroads brought pleasure-seekers, but they also brought settlers to Florida. A concerted effort was made by the various governors to drain the swampland, especially from the Caloosahatchee River toward Lake Okeechobee, so that immigrants would be attracted by the fertile soil.

64. Dau, 280.
65. Florida - House Journal 1887, E. A. Perry, Governor, on April 5, 1887, 261.
Florida improved greatly during the years 1865 to 1890. The Home Rule Governors did their work well. The widespread dissatisfaction with the free spending and heavy taxation of Republican days has been replaced by a Democratic program of economy and of low taxes. Governor William D. Bloxham paid the entire floating debt of Florida by the end of his administration, and left $50,000 besides in the Treasury.

Georgia also received its home governor in 1877. A Bourbon triumvirate, Alfred H. Colquitt, Joseph E. Brown, and John B. Gordon, ruled Georgia between 1877 and 1890. These three men monopolized the governorship and the United States senatorship throughout the major part of the two decades prior to 1890. Colquitt had been a Confederate Major-General, a veteran of the Mexican War, and was one of the largest planters of the State. Joseph E. Brown was a successful business man, and although he did not participate in the actual fighting in the Civil War, as governor of Georgia he did take an active part in the formation of the Confederacy. John B. Gordon for forty years was the idol of the people of Georgia, and he was noted for his lack of sectional bitterness, generosity, and

68. Ibid., 156.
friendliness toward friend and foe alike. He had been a military leader of outstanding ability, and for the inhabitants of Georgia he was a symbol of the Lost Cause.

In 1877, a convention met in Georgia to form a new constitution. This was just one hundred years after she had formed her first constitution. A group of able Georgians came to Atlanta, and under the presidency of Charles J. Jenkins, resolved itself into thirteen committees. These men put together a collection of statutes, rather than a body of fundamental principles, so fearful were they of letting any constituted government rule fully over the people. When people developed confidence in the government, it was necessary to be constantly amending the Constitution, so that it came to be Joseph's coat of many colors. As was discussed above, the power to tax was so decreased that the cost of government was reduced to a minimum. The term of the governor was lowered from four to two years with a salary of $3000 a year.

By 1880, such progress had been made in Georgia that Governor Colquitt could say in his message to the General Assembly:

The State of Georgia is blessed with order, thrift, progress and contentment. All industries have thrived. Our resources have

70. Coulter, 361.
multiplied and developed. The different sections of the State have more wealth and greater population. Our credit maintains an exalted standard; the public debt is diminishing, and crime is steadily on the decrease. 71

Colquitt as governor also had a hard time. There were thirty appointments at his disposal, while 3000 office seekers wanted them. At the very beginning of his term therefore, he had thirty friends and made 2970 enemies. 72 There were charges of corruption leveled against his administration. After a special commission investigated the charges, it reported that they were "vile and malignant slanders"; that the school commissioner, Gustavus J. Orr, had traveled over the state at his own expense in the interest of public education, and that the secretary of state, N. C. Barnett, might have "been too generous in the use of wax for affixing to documents the great seal of state." 73 When the Convention met to nominate a governor, a long and bitter fight took place. Insurgents in the Democratic party would not give in to Colquitt, so the Convention adjourned without a nomination. A minority remained in the hall, and chose Thomas M. Norwood as its candidate for governor. In less than ten years after Republican misrule, the Democratic party

72. Coulter, 365.
73. Ibid., 366.
was splitting, giving the Republicans and Negroes a chance to take over again. However, Colquitt was reelected by a majority of more than 54,000 votes.

Two years later, there was again trouble, but as both groups of Democrats finally chose the same candidate, Alexander Stephens, peace was restored. A vigorous campaign went on for the overthrow of the Bourbons and the "Atlanta ring of politicians." No one could complain about the steady reduction of the rate of taxation, or that a new and permanent capitol had been erected at a cost of one million dollars within five years time with no increase in taxation. Nevertheless, the farmers of the mountain and hill districts of northern Georgia were discontented with the system of land tenure in many parts of the State, and they organized into the Farmers' Alliance. The reign of the Bourbons ended when the Alliance put William J. Northen into the governor's chair, and elected 160 out of 219 members of the legislature.

In August, 1876, Governor Houston had an easy victory over his opponent, Woodruff, in Alabama. The legislature immediately gave much attention to the educational system of the

74. Ibid., 367.
78. Coulter, 371.
State. Funds were derived from "school lands" given by Congress, escheats and from poll-taxes. The people of Alabama were content to leave politics alone, while they bent their energies to business. Political conditions were quiet, and the Democrats had no trouble staying in power. 79 Alabama had suffered tremendous losses in the war. It has been estimated that she lost more than 25,000 men, that is, 20% of her white male population, and that thousands of helpless women and children were left without means of livelihood in the midst of indescribable wreckage. However, during the years 1876 to 1890, the whole state was caught up in a spirit of progress, and new hopefulness lifted up the people.

Tennessee also had her financial problems due to the irregular methods exercised by the Radical lawgivers during the days of Reconstruction. Governor James D. Porter in two different messages to the General Assembly stressed the financial distress of the state, and the effort that was being made to reduce the current expense account in order to save the taxpayer. Various measures curtailing the expenses of different government officials which were passed by the General Assembly.

80. Hawk, 428.
82. Message of James D. Porter, Governor of Tennessee, to the Fortieth General Assembly of the State of Tennessee, 1877, 4.
are here inserted to show how cheaply these home rule legislators wanted to run the government. Judges of the Supreme Court were to receive $3000 per annum; a law giving the privilege of a clerk to the Secretary of State was repealed; an act "to more cheaply collect the State, County and Municipal revenue" was passed; act repealing one of 1870 which allowed the Comptroller to employ a clerk; the salary of the Superintendent of the Penitentiary reduced to $1800 per annum; State Superintendent of Public Instruction reduced to $1995 per annum from $3000; salary of the Superintendent of the Tennessee Hospital for Insane from $3000 to $2000 per annum.

For twenty years, Tennessee tried to come to some solution of her debt problems. Governor James D. Porter, elected in 1874 and reelected in 1876, tried hard to pay off the debt. Albert Smith Marks, governor from 1878 to 1880, believed in scaling down the debt. In the election of 1880, the dispute was so bitter over the question of debt settlement that the Democrats split, and the Republicans who promised repudiation of all State debts came into power with Alvin Hawkins as governor. Thus the political history of Tennessee is bitter

83. Acts of the State of Tennessee passed by the Forty-First General Assembly of 1879, 4-84.
85. The South in the Building of the Nation, The Southern Historical Publication Society, Richmond, Virginia, 1909, 161.
86. Dyer, 192.
factionalism within the ranks of the Democrats, and repeated, but mostly unsuccessful threats of Republican control. 87 The Democratic party remains the dominant party in the State of Tennessee.

With regard to Virginia, Claiborne gives a sad picture of the lack of progress during the days of Reconstruction:

No monument was erected to the public good; no colleges, no schools, no seminaries built with stolen treasuries; no lofty edifices or durable roads constructed; no massive bridges built; no rice swamp ditched; no harbors improved; no works of utility or patriotism erected. The debts after the War were $87 million; in 1872, they were $362 million.

Governor James L. Kemper in a letter to the Senate and House of Delegates of Virginia in 1877-78 tried to convince them that the future was full of hope if "extraordinary caution, economy and vigilance were exercised in meeting current expenses, enforcing the laws, and holding society together." 89

The people of Virginia went a long way by their thrift,


88. John Herbert Claiborne, Seventy-Five Years in Old Virginia, with some account of the life of the author and some history of the people amongst whom his lot was cast — their character, their condition, and their conduct before the war, during the war, and after the war, The Neale Publishing Company, New York, 1904, 329.

frugality and industry in working out the material restoration of the state.

It can be observed from the description of the various southern states during the years 1876 to 1890 that real progress was made in the South. Home Rule brought a new impulse of hope, a sense that now the land belonged to themselves. They had time to breathe freely and to look about them. Within a year or two, they realized that progress had been made during the dark Reconstruction days. Under the Home Rule governors, an era of hope opened for the South, and even when financial troubles beset them, they all resolved that "the South will not despair".

The election of 1876 had given a Republican president to the country, but the effect of that election was the granting by that same president of Home Rule to the South. The election of 1876 brought the Republican Hayes to the White House, but resulted in placing Democratic governors and legislators in all the southern states.

"The old South is dead; it is buried." The new South with its industry, trade, and finance, did not come upon the scene as quickly as this statement suggests. For twenty-five years after Home Rule was reestablished in the South, there was an ever increasing conflict between those southerners who looked to the past and those who looked to the future. With its property almost destroyed, its population decimated, its labor system entirely changed, the South had two alternatives — one to recreate the social, economic and political structure of the old South, and the other to imitate the North. Many believed that it was a new South in one sense only — a new system of labor substituted for one largely founded on slave labor. These maintained that the old economic order should endure, with cotton and tobacco the dominant money crops. They wanted the new South to be a restoration of the ante-bellum

scene as much as possible, and were appalled at the idea that the tranquillity of southern life might be upset by the "ugly industrialism and mad commercialism" of a northern city. To them, the South must remain agricultural. Southern conservatism demanded that the old agrarian regime must continue, and they would seriously discourage any innovators who wanted to disturb the old fundamental economic order.

The greater number of southerners realized that agriculture was doomed to a subordinate and impotent role in the new South. To these new leaders, the old South seemed but a sacred memory, deserving of tears and eulogy upon special occasions. They taught that the former civilization, "once splendid but medieval", must give place to "progress and prosperity".

Men who really thought realized that they should use their energies in building up the South and making a new South through industrial forces, rather than remaining dormant and destitute under its unchanging and poverty-stricken agricultural system. These men saw that the South would always remain submerged, always walk economically and socially in the "valley of the shadow of death", unless a change could be effected in the new South. The South must emerge from its poverty and hopelessness.

5. Kendrick and Arnett, 106.
which it could only do if each state became interested in developing its natural resources and turning to manufacturing.

For a quarter of a century, the conflict between the two traditions was waged. Both traditions survived — the old South is still represented in agriculture, in the raising of cotton, sugar, and rice; the new South by its industrial life which takes place in the mountain regions and in the cities. Planters and industrialists finally united in their attitude toward and cooperation in political affairs in order to keep down the cost of government.

Many southerners still protest against the abandonment of agriculture and the wholesale turning over to manufacturing. Others protest that:

the South never wanted to be the competitor of the North in business, but to go into the world as your brother and helper. . . The South, your co-worker in an industrial empire, is walking proudly by your side. We are brothers in the Republic of Trade. The great heart of the South is full and yearns for its once estranged brother with a love that passeth all understanding.

From 1876 on, there was a period of agricultural expansion, but there also were years of uncertainty and discontent. The Progressive Farmer of Raleigh, North Carolina:

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contains this interesting information:

There is something radically wrong in our industrial system. There is a screw loose. The wheels have dropped out of balance. The railroads have never been so prosperous, and yet agriculture languishes. The banks have never done a better or more profitable business, and yet agriculture languishes. ... Towns and cities flourish and 'boom' and grow and 'boom' and yet agriculture languishes. 12

The new South dates from 1880, and it retains the old and new traditions. Interest in land is slowly but surely giving place to an industrial development built on a wide variety of agricultural products, mineral deposits of many sorts, and large areas of virgin forest land.

When the Civil War was over, it was thought that recovery would come through agriculture, for cotton had been bringing high prices. The result was disappointing, because the labor of rebuilding houses, barns, gins and fences took so much time, and the cost involved absorbed the small profits as fast as they came. Landowners had no money to pay for labor and the laborers had no land. An adjustment to entirely new economic standards consumed the energy formerly devoted to production. The system of share-farming or cropping came into

12. Hawk, 472.
13. Parkins, 328.
general vogue in the South. Under this system, the planters could obtain labor without paying wages, and the landless farmers could get land without paying rent. Instead of the interchange of money for labor and rent, the crop was shared. The large southern estates were subdivided into small holdings, and were rented to persons without regard to race. The Negroes especially liked to be tenants, because they were free from supervision and could work with many intervals of rest and amusement. When the planter became landlord to these tenants or croppers, he usually had to furnish them with teams, tools, food, clothing and shelter, while they grew their crop. The planter often had to appeal to a local merchant for credit, as he did not have sufficient money to provide the essential things needed by the cropper. Thus was inaugurated a large scale system of agricultural credit.

The small farmer also bought on credit from the merchant and gave in payment a lien upon his crop. This lien system was disastrous in its economic and social consequences. A farmer mortgaged the ungrown crop in order to obtain supplies

15. Lingley and Foley, 66.
17. Bruce, 31.
for the year. The rates of interest were usurious high, and
the man who supplied the food, clothing, seed, and other neces-
saries, continually charged from 20% to 50% above the normal
price. A chain of credit extended from the merchant to the
wholesaler or jobber, and then to the northern manufacturer or
banker. The rates of interest rose higher and higher. No
ordinary business could stand such a strain, and as the price of
the farm products decreased, farm owners fell hopelessly into
debt. Economic power passed rapidly from the owner and tiller
of the soil to the merchant, banker and professional man of
town.

Diversified farming, new crops, experimentation, all
were discouraged. It was decided that the South must remain a
single crop section. The merchants desired the single crop be-
cause it kept the tenant more dependent upon the store for all
types of goods than general farming. Under the tenant system,
the farmers had to grow cotton. More and more cotton was grown.
Its acreage was limited only by the ability of hands and fingers
to pick it. The system of yearly contract, frequent moving from
farm to farm, with use of commercial fertilizer, intended to

22. Ramsdell, 12.
23. Shippee, 63.
24. Edward Chase Kirkland, A History of American Economic Life,
stimulate the crop rather than to conserve the land, with the result that the soil suffered grievous injury to the landlord, the tenant, and the public. By the middle 80's, cotton was produced in such vast quantities that it was selling at only nine cents a pound. Though farmers received small return for their efforts, they showed little desire to experiment with other crops. By 1880, two-thirds of the farmers of South Carolina had mortgaged their ungrown crops.

The mortgage era had come into being. The system of supply merchants was one of the worst ever developed. All business was carried on by credit; high rates of interest were charged; mortgages on land on which crop was to be grown saddled the South with a crushing burden. So much cotton was put on the market at the same time of year that it became a glut in the world's market. From 1875 to 1890, the price of cotton kept going down, and there was not a year in which the average return per acre was more than fifteen dollars. The tenants were really in a state of perpetual bondage to the large planters, merchants, and bankers. The result was an increasing impoverishment of the large part of the farming population, growing

distinction among the different classes, and tremendous decline in the agricultural prosperity of the entire section. 30

The lot of the tenants was hard, and the landowners found themselves in scarcely a better position. Prices were dropping and taxes increasing. The tenants, white and black, found it difficult to remedy their sad plight, while the landlords, merchants and bankers who lived under the same economic order were just as powerless to control it as were the tenants. Isolation, poverty, and ignorance characterized the lives of most of these croppers or tenants. After everyone in the family worked hard from early morning to late at night, the profit from the farm was practically nothing, because one-half went to the landlord for rent, and the other half, less the cost of supplies or cash advanced, went to the cropper. 32

The cropper's house was usually a mere hovel, built of logs or of cheap framework, with one to three or four rooms. The house was unpainted, and the roof likely to leak. The windows were small, and if designed for glass, the panes were usually broken, and replaced by pieces of cardboard, old rags,

30. Hawk, 473.
32. Morison and Commager, 24.
newspapers, or planks. The inside of the house was no better than the outside. The floor was extremely rough, and the walls unplastered. The furniture was scant and of very poor quality.

By 1890 almost seventy per cent of the cotton farmers were tenants, who were seldom able to break away from their economic bondage. The tenant system was hurtful to the fertility of the soil, and it was the stumbling block in the way of progressive or diversified farming. The farms were deteriorating; the soil was being depleted and eroded; the fencing was in decay; the storehouses and barns were in ruin. There seemed absolutely no relief for the ignorant, downtrodden and virtually destitute tenant farmers, who were eking out a bare subsistence on the clay hills and pine-barrens of the South. They were firmly wedded to the one-crop system, to inefficient and antiquated methods of agriculture, and they could find no leader to unify them.

It was an era when American plutocracy was more completely in control than at any time in our history, and the poorer classes were exploited. Mr. Frederick Townsend Martin, a northern millionaire, said:

34. Couch, "The Negro in the South", 444.
35. Bruce, 35.
We are not politicians or public thinkers; we are the rich; we own America; we got it, God knows how, but we intend to keep it if we can by throwing all the tremendous weight of our support, our influence, our money, our political convictions, our purchased Senators, our hungry Congressmen, our public-speaking demagogues into the scale against any legislation, any political platform, any presidential campaign that threatens the integrity of our estate.

When the outlook seemed darkest for the South, a group of southern men began to encourage the development of local resources and a diversity of crops, and finally convinced the leaders of the new South of the need for manufacturing and a logical adjustment of the negro question. These men became "the prophets of the new South". They began to write about the South, in order to defend her, to bolster up the pride of the southern people in the eyes of the world. These were men of vision, and each strove to outdo the other in preaching a crusade to save a decaying society, and especially the poor whites who were being submerged under their agricultural burdens. Between 1880 and 1900, these prophets began a mighty folk movement, in which they endeavored to give the white man hope by putting him in employments closed to the Negro.

37. Dabney, Liberalism in the South, 203.
must experience an epochal change, an economic revolution, and these far-seeing dreamers with all their energy and enthusiasm would not be content until this had been effected.

The first of these prophets was Henry W. Grady of Georgia. More than any other man, he might well be called the "peacemaker and healer of wounds between the North and South." Grady championed the new South, and he bade both sections forget their quarrel and join hands for their mutual betterment. Although intensely a southerner, he saw the South's future in terms of concessions to northern points of view. For this, Thomas W. Watson, the agrarian, classed him with "those who would betray the South with a Judas kiss." Grady was an ardent exponent of the idea that the future of the South lay not in politics, but in an industrial order. Although he became a national leader, he was never a political figure. As editor of The Atlanta Constitution, he gained fame as the first industrial pleader of the South, its champion of progress, its "No North - No South" proclaimer.

Henry Grady's speeches were most appealing, and they

40. Builders of Georgia, edited and published by Gregory Murphy, Atlanta, Georgia, n.d., 59.
43. Slappey, Pearce, and Slappey, 322.
44. Hesseltine, The South in American History, 542.
stirred the southerners to renewed hope in the South and also in the future:

As ruin was never before so overwhelming, never was restoration swifter. The soldier stepped from the trenches into the furrow; horses that had charged Federal guns marched before the plow, and fields that ran red with human blood in April, were green with the harvest in June.⁴⁵

He was filled with the hope and expectancy of the new South, and with the eyes of a statesman and the heart of a patriot, he buoyed up the courage and confidence not only of the citizens of Georgia but of all the other southern states, particularly in his talk, "The New South".

From the ashes of this city Atlanta, we have raised up a brave and beautiful city; that somehow or other, we have caught the sunshine in the bricks and mortar of our homes, and have builded therein not one ignoble prejudice or memory. . . . The South has nothing to take back. . . . Webster said, 'Standing hand to hand and clasping hands, we should remain united as we have been for sixty years, citizens of the same country, members of the same government, united, all united now and united forever.'⁴⁶

The last speech of Henry Grady was full of two thoughts — southern poverty in the midst of nature's plenty and his own death. This prophet who loved the nation into peace again, at the very end of his life, could complain that

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⁴⁵. Morison and Commager, 23.
⁴⁶. Harris, 87-93.
the only thing that the South provided for a man's funeral was
the corpse and the hole in the ground; everything else came
from the North. 47 His last words were, "Tell her (his mother) if
I die, that I died while trying to serve the South, that land
that I love so well." 48

Joel Chandler Harris was also on the watchtower of
progress, to turn from agriculture to manufacturing, and above
all to "mow" down old prejudices. 49 He deplored the fact that
Georgia editors were "harping steadily on the same old preju-
dices and moving in worn ruts of a period that was soul-destroy-
ing in its narrowness." 50 Harris pleaded for a saner attitude
on the part of the South toward its own shortcomings, and greater tolerance toward those who were critical of Southern institu-
tions. 51 He not only worked for better understanding between the
North and the South, but he strove to develop more sympathetic
interracial relations. In order to understand the Negro more
thoroughly, he began an intensive study of negro folklore and
dialect, and to write stories about them. 52 His first tales,

47. Graves, 56.
48. Ibid., 51.
49. Julia Collier Harris, "Joel Chandler Harris", Southern Pio-
   neers in Social Interpretation, edited by Howard W. Odum,
The University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill, 1925,
   151.
50. Dabney, Liberalism in the South, 233.
51. Ibid., 234.
52. The Rise of Realism, American Literature from 1860 to 1888,
   edited by Louis Wann, The Macmillan Company, New York,
   1933, 793.
later published in book form as his first volume of *Uncle Remus: His Songs and Sayings*, were immensely popular in both northern and southern newspapers.

Walter Hines Page came down from the North to write a series of articles to prove that the Civil War and Reconstruction were forgotten, but after traveling through the region, he abandoned the whole project as incompatible with reality. He repeatedly urged the South to "accept our own conditions without illusions, to face our own problems like men, and when necessary, with all respect for the past, to lift dead men's hands from our life." Page was a North Carolinian by birth, who tenderly loved the South. Because of his intense loyalty he felt bound to reveal the inferiority of the South in comparison with the rest of the United States. He called his beloved North Carolina a "mummified community" and he never tired of exhorting the people of the South to leave the dead alone and to devote their energies to stimulate the activities of the living. Walter Hines Page in his *State Chronicle* heaped ridicule on the heads of the South. Instead of confining themselves to rose-tinted eulogies of their region and people, he implored them to forget the past and concentrate all their'

53. Harris, "Joel Chandler Harris", 143.
efforts upon the development of better schools, roads, farms, and industries. 57

Page realized that the South, illiterate, unhealthy, poverty-stricken, was a national peril, and that she should be encouraged and helped to build schools, establish boards of health, develop her natural resources, and make adequate provision for the social and spiritual welfare of the average man. He believed that a special charge had been placed upon him to search out philanthropists, publicists and experts in finance, education, sanitation, and agriculture, whom he could interest in the South. He was also interested in political reform, the uplift of the Negro, and better relations between blacks and whites. Although spending most of his life in the North, he requested that his body be brought back to North Carolina and laid to rest in the soil from which it had sprung. 58 Page showed his real affection for the South in his outspoken criticism of her faults, in constructive suggestions for her improvement, and in genuine service.

Another prophet of the new South was Charles Brantley Aycock. He preached the doctrine of universal education. Aycock went to a tax-hating people and convinced them that ignorance is no remedy for anything; that taxation, though a

57. Dabney, Liberalism in the South, 235.
58. Connor, 53.
curse, when used wisely and sanely, was the greatest asset to civilization in achieving high public ends, and that the South needed trained men and women. It has been said that "Aycock made the bells of hope ring in the hearts of thousands of his fellow citizens." 59

Last but not least of these men of vision was Sidney Lanier. He suffered poverty and neglect; he went down into "the valley of humiliation with the people of the South, and helped to inaugurate a new era." 60 Although his life was hard, and he never had a chance to express his best, he always was serene and brave. He was poor with the South, but he spent his life making her better known.

The new South must be progressive; the new South must be broad; the new South must forget its prejudices. Again and again the cry went forth in the South to become national, not sectional. Colonel Robert Bingham was one voice among the many who tried to down sectionalism and adopt nationalism:

I plead with the men of the South for a broad and national spirit to expel the narrow and sectional spirit which prevails, too much, in the South, a spirit which has dwarfed our statesmen so that the Nation, as a Nation, has no need for

factories. Chambers of commerce, merchant associations, and town councils tried to encourage industry by granting free factory sites, exempting the factories from tax control, and not hampering them by minute regulations.

Nowhere was advancement in business and prosperity reflected so much as in Georgia, which came to be called the "Empire State of the State", and especially in Atlanta. Burned by Sherman, left a desolate ruin by a northern army, it had risen to a position, in point of population and wealth, scarcely dreamt of by its inhabitants before its day of calamity.

In 1881, there was a "World's Fair" in Atlanta, to popularize the processes of cotton production from the opening boll to the finished cloth. A total of 286,000 visited the Exposition. The Fair made a profit of $20,000. The purpose of the Exposition was not only to show what Georgia and the South had done, but also to fire the soul of the southern people to go forward in manufacturing. The Exposition building later became the home of The Exposition Cotton Mills. The Exposition succeeded beyond all dreams. The southerners became intensely interested in the new industrialism, and a sympathetic attitude

65. Oberholtzer, 506.
toward the North developed which destroyed the bitterness of former years.

The new South, the South under home rule, was at the dawn of a new mechanical development, and it rose exultantly to meet the new conditions. The South discovered that untold wealth was lying right at her feet. South Carolina had been selling her cotton crop to Massachusetts for $30,000,000 and Massachusetts had made it into cloth and thread, selling it for $100,000,000. South Carolina asked herself a very sensible question, "Why not keep this money in her own State?" That is what each southern state kept asking herself in the late '70's and '80's.

Cotton milling became the most important among southern manufacturing enterprises. By 1880, the South had 184 cotton mills, or 24% of the total in the United States, and the number increased and increased. In 1880 also, 11% of capital was invested in cotton milling. Its rapid rise was due to the change in the attitude of the southern people themselves toward industrialization, and to the effort on the part of cotton manufacturers to reduce the cost of production. If self-government was to be restored to the southern states, cotton culture

67. Morison and Commager, 29.
68. Charles Morris, The Old South and the New, 1907, 433.
also had to be reorganized to meet new conditions. So many editors of the South began cautiously and then more bravely to present to their readers arguments for industrialism, and plans for financing and operating new factories. As has been said above, the Cotton Exposition held at Atlanta in 1881 was most successful, and resulted in the immediate purchase of two million dollars worth of machinery. This machinery was paid for in mill securities or stock certificates issued to northern manufacturers. In some instances, mills were built in a community and machinery purchased by selling mill stock upon installment payments ranging from twenty-five cents to two dollars a week.

Between 1880 and 1890, cotton mill spindles in North Carolina tripled. From 1876 to 1890, Georgia quadrupled her capital engaged in manufacturing, and her chief centers, Columbus and Augusta, became famous not only for their cotton goods, but also for their cotton oil, sulphuric acid, fertilizer and farm machinery.

The men of the new South were now producing what their people needed, and they did not have to import it. They accomplished this great industrial upheaval with local resources, capital and manhood.

71 Hawk, 477.
72 Ibid., 478.
73 Lingley and Foley, 70.
74 Coulter, 387.
75 Confederate Military History, 338.
The wisdom, courage, enterprise of soldiers and their sons, this irrepressible land now waking up the world to gaze upon the sunrise of a Southern day, and calling it to participate in its coming splendor. Arable soil, stately forests, water power, climate salubrious and soft; marble, stone coal and mineral ores; great rivers, ample harbors, ocean shores and gulf coasts; mountain ranges, hills and valleys. The Greater South! 76

The old South was giving way to a new South -- a South of timber products, of coal and iron mining, iron manufacturing, cotton manufacturing, of child labor, of foreign immigration. 77

From 1880 to 1890, coke furnace construction was active in the Appalachian Valley from Alabama to Virginia. Oil production moved West and South, and the southern timber resources became the basis of an extensive sawmill industry, and of a less important woodworking industry. The production of naval stores became a flourishing business. The construction of iron and steel mills went forward so rapidly that General Willard Warner, one of the pioneers in that industry, said that in 1870 the site of Birmingham was a cotton field which could have brought but ten dollars an acre. By 1886, the city had a

76. General Clement A. Evans, "Contribution of the South to the Greatness of the American Union", an address delivered before The Association of the Army of Northern Virginia, October 10, 1895, at Richmond, Virginia.
77. Wilson, 294.
78. Hawk, 482-488.
population of 30,000 and the taxable value of the property in the "Magic City" was over $33,000,000. Steel rails and other finished products were made in its mills. The output of coal, iron, and marble almost transferred to the South the control of the mineral industry of the country.

The people of the South came to the realization that a new South meant a South that would be new in this; that it would be so rich and powerful that it would command the respect of the countries of the world. The South found that it had practically inexhaustible mines -- rich deposits of ore, salt, sulphur, marble and coal. Progressive capitalists and textile manufacturers of the North combined with the capitalists of the South to establish factories of all kinds in the South. The year 1880 can be said to be the beginning of the industrial revolution in the South. Within the next five years throughout the South, there was a continued increase in textile mills, the establishment of tobacco factories in the upper South, molasses and sugar refineries in and near New Orleans, and cottonseed oil factories in Texas.

D. A. Tompkins of Charlotte, North

79. Oberholtzer, 510.
82. Merry, 7.
83. T. G. Bush, "Address on the South, and its Resources", given before the Commercial Club of St. Louis, Missouri, on June 5, 1897.
84. Dabney, Liberalism in the South, 313.
Carolina, has been credited with "being directly responsible for building more cotton mills than any other one man".85

The new South was taking its rightful place in the industrial life of the nation. The South could agree with Stewart L. Woodford when he addressed the Chamber of Commerce in Boston in 1878:

Our nation is to grow bread for the world. We are to mine coal and iron for the world. We are to dig and refine gold and silver for the world. The stars in their courses sing the prophecy of our coming commercial, agricultural, and manufacturing success.86

This industrial development had its problems. At first, southern men regarded the management of an industrial firm as a deep mystery. They did not realize that the management of their large plantations had fitted them admirably to manage various types of labor in the factories. Merchants, bankers, planters, cotton buyers and even teachers and preachers were put in charge of these mills. Gradually as the mills and factories made money, the southerners convinced themselves that they were better equipped than the northern superintendents because they understood their own fellow-citizens, and were closer to them in every way. When the southern mills proved successful, northern capitalists were also encouraged to

85. Ibid., 314.
87. Thompson, "The Civil War and Social and Economic Changes".
The second problem the southern industrialist had to face was the acquiring of laborers. The cotton industry in the South needed many, many workers. Consequently, it hired them at all ages. The cotton industry in the South employed the greatest number of children in this country. The number of children under sixteen employed in her mills increased from 2300 to 27,500 between 1870 and 1890. Child labor became one of the great problems facing the South.

The third problem was the industrial worker. Although the building of mills came to symbolize recovery and new life, and men burst into poetry at the hum of the spindle and eulogized the builders of these mills, the persons who went to work in the cotton mills were considered to have taken a step down in the social order. Workers in the cotton mills were despised and looked down upon by everybody. Into these mills went the ignorant and thriftless, the despairing tenant farmer, the discouraged small landowner, and members of the aristocratic families who needed bread. The inhabitants of a cotton mill village were usually shiftless and nomadic, unambitious for themselves and children, and preferred isolation to mingling in the

88. Kirkland, 516.
89. Haworth, The United States in Our Own Times, 98.
90. Harriet L. Herring, "The Industrial Worker", Culture in the South, 348.
life of the community. They continued poor and ignorant, and their wages were not high enough to raise their standards of living or to educate their children. Class consciousness became acute during 1880 to 1890, and finally broke into rebellion in the various political outbursts in the 90's.

Agrarian or industrial — which was it to be for the South? The arrival of industry brought pulls and counterpulls which involved agriculture, the status of the poor whites, the future of the Negro, education, religion, political thought and behavior, shifts in population, and many other items. Cotton as cotton pauperized the people of the South. Cotton as yarn and cloth made greater gains for the South. Agriculture was to continue, but the inauguration of industry was inevitable, and it has been the South's salvation.

Even today, however, one thinks of the South as the "Land of Cotton":

So deeply is cotton stamped on the face of the South that its ranking servitors wear its first letter if not its livery. "C" which is for cotton is for the Cannons, Cones, and Cramers, great cotton manufacturing families in North Carolina, Coker of South Carolina, educated the South to longer staples, and for Carver of Tuskegee,

92. Herring, 348.

Yet the new South has had a healthy growth, because of its incorporation of a varied industrial regime in spite of southern prejudice against manufacturing, her lack of capital or skill. Industry built up the cities of the South; new business enterprises, railway shops, machine shops, wholesale houses, department stores, banks, hotels, insurance firms, have changed the South from a rural community to a developing urban community. The new South became one of free labor, economic enterprise, industry, quick transportation, and a decided advance in education.

The New South has been begotten of industrial forces. The New South was built, not with sword and gun, nor with voice and pen, but with steam and electricity, with skilled labor and machinery, with new roads . . . with thrift and economy, with courage, spirit and cooperation, with a democratic government and democratic ideals.

95. Graves, 172.
96. Harriet L. Herring, "Early Industrial Development in the South", The Coming of Industry to the South, 10.
97. Ramsdell, 19.
98. Broadus Mitchell, "A Survey of Industry", Culture in the South, 81
The new South is more unified than the old South. There are still those romantic writers who long for a rebirth of the old order, the old plantation days with its manor houses and its "banjo-strumming Negroes", and with agriculture in the ascendancy. But the greater number realize that the South is in a "state of becoming", that silent forces are at work, and that traditions are toppling.

Perhaps the greatest effect of the election of 1876 upon the South was the realization among several prominent southerners that the North and the South could work together, and that it was vital to each section to do so. The South, although agricultural, could learn from the industrial North, and real progress would be made.

100. Hesseltine, The South in American History, 541.
CHAPTER VI
FACING THE FUTURE

Before the Civil War, a southerner thought of himself first as part of the South, and only then, if at all, as a part of the Union. Before 1860, there was a leisure class in the South with a genius for politics and the highest positions in the nation were open to them. After 1860, there was no leisure class in the South, and the door of hope in national politics was closed by sectionalism. In order to regain local autonomy, a thing of paramount importance, all energies had to be concentrated on local affairs, and national affairs were neglected. There were giants in the old South, but there were giants also in the new South. The men of the new South had to fight against overwhelming odds, overthrow negro and carpetbag dominion, and with no capital except the land on which they lived. The wealth of the new South was "in the cotton mill, the rice field, the cotton field, the cotton exchange, the sugar mill, the cattle ranch, the smelting furnace and it is stable." 2

Southern men became men of industry not to be bribed by offers of government positions, and not to be brought before the nation. Before 1861, the South furnished nine of our fifteen presidents and six of our fourteen vice-presidents. Since 1861, not one president or vice-president has come out of the South.

The "Lost Cause" is romantically cherished by the Daughters of the Confederacy and other organizations, but few southerners regret that the nation is united. Against every advance in industrialism, the United Confederate Veterans and the United Daughters of the Confederacy took up the defeatist cause and vigorously defended the social system of the old South. They looked back wistfully to the good old days when the South had an integral and important place in the life of the nation. The Lost Cause became more glorified to the older generation. Proud of the records of desperate valor, survivors of the Confederate armies organized to perpetuate the memories of the War between the States. Throughout the South, pathetic monuments arose to adorn courthouse and capitol lawns. For thirty years after the war, an almost indispensable qualification

6. Haworth, The United States in Our Own Times, 98.
8. Ramsdell, 15.
office from Virginia to Texas was a good record as a Confederate soldier. The Southern Bivouac (1882-1887) seems very futile and pathetic now. This magazine took defeat hard, and the contest lost on the battlefield was fought again with pen and ink. Even Jefferson Davis, though never really reconstructed, said near the end of his life, "The Union, Esto perpetua!" Reconstruction was not over in a day; slowly, through the 80's, then more rapidly, southerners began to "grasp the northerner's hand, display our country's flag, and renew its loyalty to the Republic."

The South is not one region, but many. It has been said that one should not speak of "the South", but more correctly of the "many Souths". There is no single South, no distinct country, but a puzzling region, full of contradictions and sharp contrasts. However, in one respect, the South has been knit together as a concrete whole, and it would have been better if it lacked this characteristic. The South is "provincial". The South has been sensitive and still is sensitive against things that are progressive, and the things that are not her own. The

11. Haworth, The United States in Our Own Times, 98.
15. Dunning, 315.
The South has been pessimistic, afraid of herself, and afraid of outside criticism. The South looks on its imperfections and infirmities with a tolerance "not unlike that felt by a doting parent for a backward child." She did not want foreign immigration, because it would destroy the homogeneity of the people of the South; she did want to weld the native whites into a perfect oneness for the preservation of all that they cherished. Some southerners are still sentimental and narrow-minded, incapable of seeing anything bad in the South, or anything good in the North. This attitude is largely responsible for the backwardness of the South in many fields of endeavor. Yet many in the South resent this excessive sensitiveness to criticism:

The people of the South are tired of wrong impressions, tired of defense complex and mechanism, tired of unending ridicule, tired of taking the second and third and fourth rate places in achievement, tired of undeveloped potential, tired of lack of opportunity, tired of complacency, ignorance, poverty and all the paradoxes that now flower out of soil which can produce better. The wonder is that the South has done as much as it has.

Another drawback which the South suffered to its detriment was the migration of over three million of its southern-

18. Bruce, 5.
born whites into the North and West. This drain was worse in effect upon the South than the loss and destruction of the war itself. The South could not afford to give these men away. White labor did not care to compete with low-class negro labor. In fact, the Negro was preferred to the native or foreign white, as he would work in less comfortable quarters, eat coarser food, and work for smaller wages. Richer folk in the South believed that teachers, professors in colleges and universities, or literary folk, ought to be thankful for whatever salaries or financial rewards might be apportioned them. In order to obtain better positions and more lucrative salaries, these men went out of the South, temporarily or permanently, and yet they were the very ones that the South needed to raise its intellectual standards. The departure of these men created a dearth of learned men in the South, and led to poverty of scholarship and a real spirit of ignorance throughout the entire section.

"The South was poor; the war caused it. The South was ignorant; the war made us too poor to educate." Murphy,

21. Richard H. Edmonds, "Success Avenue in Dixieland", an address delivered at Atlanta, June 8, 1910, at the Commencement of the Georgia School of Technology, 16.
22. Parkins, 326.
23. Bruce, 27.
in his book, *The Present South*, said that the public school system in the South was an attempt, a feeble beginning, and in no sense could be called an achievement in the education of the rich and poor, white and black of that section. The economy which characterizes all government expenditures in the South caused niggardliness in the appropriations for schools, and a state of deplorable illiteracy enveloped the people of the South. Southern institutions of all kinds are very poor, and the number of illiterate voters in the South is almost as great as in 1850. Great disproportion exists "between wheel work for making money and our machinery for turning out ideas." Dire poverty in all the southern states retarded the advancement of education, and the schools of the South today are still in painful contrast with those of the North.

In this question of education, although poverty was a deterrent to the establishment of schools, a greater problem was the race problem. White prejudice dictated against negro schools, especially as these schools would have to be supported by white taxpayers. As we have already said, back of politics

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27. Shippee, 68.
30. Ramsdell, 17.
was always the Negro, and in like manner, back of education was always the Negro. White men of the South could not forget that the Negro joined with the Republicans of the North during the frightful days of Reconstruction, and that it was during this period that state universities either ceased to exist, or were manned by skeleton faculties. Why should these same white men now be taxed for the education of the colored who helped in the debacle of Reconstruction? The color line in the South is and continues to be as sharp as ever, and the white man of the South deems the Negro so far inferior to him that he refuses to believe that the colored has any rights which must be respected.

Dr. W. T. Harris, Commissioner of Education, said in 1890, "It is believed that since 1870 the southern states have expended about $100 million for the education of colored children." In comparison with the high school rate of expenditure in the North, the fact that Mississippi spends $2 per head on education seems most inadequate. Instead of resting on the "rosy" tradition of "Befo' de wah", the South should face the future as if there had been no war. The illiterate among both races

34. Couch, "The Negro in the South", 471.
37. Ratliff, 27.
should be educated, and progress and advancement will come more quickly to the South. The "prophets" of the new South labored earnestly to show how important education was, how peaceful interracial relations could be, and what good will could exist between North and South. 38

The South during this entire period remained the "Solid South" in order to maintain white supremacy. 39 Writers gradually tried to convince the South that there was no longer any reason for the Solid South, and that she should try to emancipate herself from the one party system. 40 One author said that the Solid South was a calamity to the nation as a whole, as well as to the South, and that it ceased to be of any value to anybody. 41 Southern irregular election methods have been denounced again and again, because they create an impossible division -- black solidarity opposed by white solidarity with bigoted partisanship dominating both races. 42 In the future, the South should turn its attention toward a healthy incorporation of the Negro into its political life. 43 The Negroes are making

38. Dabney, Liberalism in the South, 418.
40. Dabney, Below the Potomac, 28.
41. Taylor, 1-10.
progress in the ownership of small tracts of land, why not give them some voice in the government of the states in which they own this land? 44 Each southerner should be encouraged to examine his vote to see if it is sincere, or based on traditions and prejudices engendered by the Civil War and Reconstruction. 45 It has been suggested that if politics were taken out of business, the South would make steady progress in industry. Young men of the future in the South should regard the solidarity of the South, with its unfortunate one-party system, a drawback to the growth of their section and a hindrance to efficient government.

As time passed, writer after writer took up the argument against a Solid South. Secretary Taft's speech in Greensboro, North Carolina, described the state of impotence in national affairs, to which the South had subjected itself by its indiscriminating allegiance to one political party, especially after all fear of negro domination was over. 46 Again, distinction and discrimination remain in the South; stagnation and retrogression mark every step because the Democratic party will not

44. George W. Cable, "The Southern Struggle for Pure Government", an address delivered before the Massachusetts Club, Boston, on Washington's Birthday, 1890, 6.
46. "For Political Freedom in the South", The Outlook, LXXXIII, 629-630, (May-August, 1906).
bury the race prejudice issue. Walter H. Page, that great friend of the South, said that progress would never come to the South until she forgot her obsession of being "afflicted by three ghosts -- the Ghost of the Confederate dead, the Ghost of religious orthodoxy, and the Ghost of negro domination." Another author writes that "the fear of race grips the South, and as as long as this endures, it is perfectly useless to expect southern voters to be independent politically."

The following few extracts have a bracing sound of hope for the colored:

Let us offer the simple plan of justice to the Negro . . . The fears which once appalled us we may now dismiss and let reason resume its sway . . . It is on this miserable bare-faced scheme of fraud that our proud and noble people are asked to 50 rest their safety and their civilization.

Edgar Gardner Murphy said that the South shudders at "negro domination", yet it is not the Negro but the demagogue who perpetuates this fear:

Here is this colored man, whom you and I know to be "a good negro"—industrious, sensible, self-respecting. He is making his way. He counts for something; we know him and we know that we can trust him. He is right here with us on the soil of the same state. Do we want him? We do. Do we want him to stay? We do. How shall we deal with him? Treat him justly. Give his children a chance. Let him vote. It is his due, and it will help other negroes to be like him.

Atticus G. Haywood pleaded with the people of the South to develop habits of political and social toleration:

If someone votes against us, he can still be our friend. . . Cease from politics as a trust and trade, because politics bring little reward to the masses of the people. . . Look forward. Only rational way is to live for country they died for. We have received no divine call to stand eternal guard by the grave of dead issues. The true golden day of the South is yet to dawn.

Definitely the new South needs mechanical, not political power. Southerners are beginning to realize their wealth, but they want people to develop their resources. They desire teachers to teach them to make "two stalks of corn to grow where only one grew before, but also to make three grow where none ever grew before."

Immigrants are needed who can give available value to mountains of coal, iron, copper, lead, and marble. More and more helpers are necessary to convert the timber of the huge forests of pine, oak, cypress, chestnut, and walnut into manufactured goods. The general condition of the South is unsatisfactory, because it needs more schools, more railways, more banks, more capital, and if persevering efforts are made in this direction, the future of the South will be most promising. Credit is sorely missing in the South, and when one considers what the South has achieved without credit, imagine what she could do with it. The South must plan wisely for the future, because if she does not properly develop her system of railroads, her great natural wealth will forever lie dormant.

The South is a land of accomplishment and opportunity, and the southern people should endeavor to make the most of their manifold advantages. The South is at work, and its vast resources are gradually being opened up, so that new work is

57. Michael Mulhall, "Progress of the United States III - The Southern States", *North American Review*, CLXV, 43-51, (July, 1897)
being created for hitherto idle hands. The day for the technical man has arrived in the South. They must become great industrial leaders, and nothing can now stop the modern industrial era.

A quick glance at some pertinent statistics will show us what the South can do and should do in the future. In 1879, the agricultural products of the South amounted to $773,000,000; in 1899, $1,354,000,000. Real and personal property increased from $6,448,000,000 in 1880, to $9,621,000,000 in 1890. In 1882, the number of tons of coal mined in the South was 6,569,316; in 1889, 19,497,418. The growth of mills was also a sure sign of progress; from 180 in 1880, to 254 in 1890. Cottonseed products jumped from $5,291,178 to $25,834,281. In 1870, the South produced 184,000 tons of pig iron; in 1890, 1,750,000 tons. From 1880 to 1910, the southern population

rose from 16,369,900 to 27,529,800; its school expenditures almost tripled, and the capital invested in manufacturing soared from $257,000,000 to $8 billion. 69 Between 1880 and 1890, the number of laborers increased from 215,415 to 537,086. 70

From the above brief resume of the material advancement of the South, one can predict that the South should have a prosperous future. With all her advantages, the fault will be with the South if she fails to reach out her hands to take what nature has so kindly offered her. 71 The southern states are in the remaking; they have their big chance, and it is to be hoped that the people of the South gradually but unerringly will bridge the great gap between what might be and what is. 72 The advance of one section of the United States means a step forward in the right direction for all the states. 73 Although Sidney Lanier is supposed to have said, "With us in the South it has been for the past ten years a question simply of not dying", why should not the southerners take courage:

71. Mather, 121-125.
73. K. M. McLane, "The Prosperous South", The Nation, LIII, no. 1349, 374-75, (May 7, 1891).
for is not the limitless future ours? And of the heritage of the American spirit, if we can only come to realize it, is not the particular work of each of us, East and West, North and South, also a part? 74

Let the southerner cherish as many memories as he wishes of the past glory of his state, and of its splendid historic characters, but at the same time let him "press forward in the race of progress with courage and persistent zeal, undaunted by difficulties, and undismayed by past misfortunes." 75 Great strides must be made in education in the South of the future; in fact, the very attitude towards education of the masses of the South must be completely reversed or the people of the South will remain permanently illiterate, neglected, and forgotten. 76 The South must forget its provincialism, and prepare to go forward with great activity in the development of all those natural resources with which the South has been especially favored. 77 The new South has tremendous possibilities for the future.

In order to give a more fitting summary to the achievements of the men of the new South since the Election of

75. Honorable John Randolph Tucker, "The Old and the New South", a Baccalaureate Address before the South Carolina College, 1887. Printed at the Presbyterian Publishing House, Columbia, South Carolina, 1887, 27.
1876, the words of that incomparable prophet of the South seem more adequate:

But what is the sum of our work? We have found out that in the summing up the free negro counts for more than he did as a slave. We have planted the schoolhouse on the hill-top, and made it free to white and black. We have sowed towns and cities in place of theories, and put business above politics. We have challenged your spinners in Massachusetts and your iron-makers in Pennsylvania. We have learned that the $400,000,000 annually received from our cotton crop will make us rich when the supplies that make it are home-raised. . . . We have wiped out the place where Mason and Dixon's line used to be, and hung out the latchstring to you and yours. 78

The South before the Civil War has gone; the South of Reconstruction has gone; the new South which sprang into being as a result of the Election of 1876 continues to grow and thrive. It is the New South which is with us today.

So, all hail the New! It is colorless, but strong. . . . It is hard, but it is practical.
All hail! Thou New! We receive thee as our fate and fortune.
Farewell thou old! Thee, we cherish in pathetic memory.
Hail and farewell! Salve et vale! 79

78. The Rise of Realism, 165.
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Andrews, Sidney, *The South Since the War: as shown by Fourteen weeks of Travel and Observation in Georgia and the Carolinas*, Ticknor and Fields, Boston, 1866. A description of the havoc wrought in the South by the War. Really too early for my paper.


Howard, J. Q., *The Life, Public Services and Select Speeches of Rutherford B. Hayes*, Robert Clarke & Co., Cincinnati, 1876. Really a campaign document which was not very satisfactory. Letter of acceptance of the nomination to the presidency most revealing -- "What the South most needs is peace, and peace depends upon the supremacy of law. There can be no enduring peace if the constitutional rights of any portion of the people are habitually disregarded."

Nordhoff, Charles, *The Cotton States in the Spring and Summer of 1875*, D. Appleton & Company, New York, 1876. Author made tour of the southern states; is most indignant at the shameless mismanagement in them under Republican control, and as an example, cites the case of the State of Arkansas which owed $15,700,000, and where the schools had to close because no money was left in the school fund.


Straher, D. Augustus, *The New South Investigated*, Ferguson Printing Company, Detroit, Michigan, 1888. Intended to portray changes in the South since the emancipation of the slaves and the reconstruction of the states which had engaged in the Civil War. Condemns the Democratic party in the South which refuses to bury the race prejudice issue, says that a spirit of usurpation took place of needed reformation in 1876, and praises the industrial improvement in the cities of the South.

Cable, George Washington, *The Silent South*, Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, 1889. Asks South to judge more leniently of blacks, and defends the premise that the white and black races do not necessarily have to walk apart, which has caused nothing but dissension and injustice.


SOURCE MATERIAL - BOOKS
O'Connor, Mary Doline, The Life & Letters of M. P. O'Connor, Dempsey & Carroll, New York, 1893. Believes that southerners should vote the straight Democratic ticket, yet friendly relations should exist between the North and South. The people should restore relations of amity and fraternity not only between the two sections of our country, but also between the two races in this section of our country.
Curry, J. L. M., The Southern States & the American Union, G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York, 1894. Contained but 12 pages on topic, but good for reference. Develops the vast and inspiring possibilities in the future of the South, and also points out that the spirit of nationality and of devotion to the Union is as strong in Georgia as in Massachusetts.
Weeks, Stephen B., The History of Negro Suffrage in the South, reprinted from Political Science Quarterly, IX, No. 4, Ginn & Co., Boston, 1894. Opposed to Negro. Vividly narrates abuses of Reconstruction days, with great amount of money squandered. Gives four ways by which the South has nullified the negro vote — (1) by centralization; (2) by requirement of taxes paid before voting; (3) great complexity in election laws which serves indirectly as educational test; (4) by express educational qualifications.
The Piedmont Region embracing Georgia, Alabama, Florida and the Carolinas, edited by W. G. Cooper, published by Southern Immigration and Improvement Company, Charles P. Byrd, Publisher and Printer, Atlanta, Georgia, 1895. Purpose of book to let world know what region has to offer farmers, fruit growers, truck-gardeners, stock raisers, manufacturers and capitalists. More a book for advertising the products of the South, rather than historical.
Myers, Minnie Walter, Romance and Realism of the Southern Gulf Coast, The Robert Clark Company, Cincinnati, 1898. Did not find useful, as it was just a collection of charming romances and incidents of the sea-coast.
Presbrey, Frank, The Empire of the South, its Resources, Industries & Resorts, Southern Railway Co., 1898. Directly concerned with the business development of the South, and describes each southern state from the standpoint of what the railroad is doing for each state. An interesting advertisement of the Southern Railway Co. Confederate Military History, edited by General Clement A. Evans, Confederate Publishing Co., Atlanta, 1899, XII. Emphasis on fact that South accomplished its great industrial upheaval with own resources, capital, and manhood.
Brown, William G., The Lower South in American History, Macmillan Co., New York, 1902. In sympathy with the whites who had to live among the colored. Felt the rule of the "Confederate brigadiers" necessary in order to maintain white domination in the South.
SOURCE MATERIAL - BOOKS

Burgess, John W., Reconstruction & the Constitution, (1866-1876), Charles Scribner’s Sons, New York, 1902. Found very helpful, particularly for its coverage of the tremendous outlays of money in each state during the days of Reconstruction. Thought his treatment fair and unbiased as can be seen by this statement: "Slavery was a great wrong -- secession was an error and a terrible blunder, but Reconstruction was a punishment, so far in excess of the crime that it extinguished every sense of culpability upon the part of those whom it was sought to convict and convert."

Page, Walter H., The Rebuilding of Old Commonwealths (Being essays written toward the Training of the Forgotten Man in the Southern States), Doubleday, Page & Company, New York, 1902. A stinging rebuke to the masses of the South who grow up with the idea that education was not for them. Southern men and women will remain illiterate, neglected, forgotten, until schools spend more than five cents a day for more than 87 days in the year.

Cable, George W., The Negro Question, Charles Scribner’s Sons, New York, 1903. Protests against the great discrimination between races which still exists in the South. Education in South most inadequate.

MacCorkle, William Alexander, Some Southern Questions, G. P. Putnam’s Sons, New York, 1908, Author, ex-governor of West Virginia, pleads for harmony between sections and for the acceptance of the Negro by the whites of the South. Makes plea that whites need the Negro, and that every effort should be made to educate the Negro. Explains why universal suffrage has been delayed in the South.

Crook, Colonel William H., Through Five Administrations, Harper & Bros., New York, 1910. Author, President Lincoln’s bodyguard, gives many intimate details in the presidential lives of Lincoln, Johnson, Grant, Hayes and Garfield. With regard to Hayes, especially describes his trip to the South. Quotes Hayes as saying: "It is because the South are still living in a state of war that Southern men are killing one another. It is the presence of troops that keeps the strife alive. At that moment I made up my mind that when I became President, I would withdraw the troops."

Hart, Albert Bushnell, The Southern South, D. Appleton & Co., New York, 1910. More the position of the Negro, and how difficult it is to unite the two races. Also emphasized the characteristics which belong exclusively to the South, which prevented closer bonds between the two sections. Claims all absence of "animus". Depew, Chauncey M., My Memories of Eighty Years, Charles Scribner’s Sons, New York, 1922. Very friendly toward Hayes who "threw the extreme radicals of his party into a frenzy of rage by wiping out carpet-bag governments and restoring self-government for the South." Depended upon his memory, and as he wrote it in his "mellow maturity" he remembered the pleasantest things about the persons whom he described.
"The Southern States Since the War", Fraser's Magazine, XC, 153-163, (August, 1874). Touched upon the formation of Granges in the West and South in order to prove a hindrance to those in power, the conflict of races in the South, and the great financial increase since the War.

Reid, J. C., "Southern States of the American Union, Old & New", International Review, III, 209-223, (March-April, 1876). Unbiased. New South emerging from debris of old South. Doing away with slaves produced profound shock, and new methods of subsistence had to be found. Plantation management changed to small farm management. Said it was the unavoidable "fate of the young Confederate government to be denationalized on the battlefield."

Curry, J.L.M., "The South, Her Condition & Needs", Galaxy-Magazine, XXIII, 544-553, (April, 1877). Entirely southern in sympathy; rants violently against the vicious and bad government during the Reconstruction period. Giving the Negro the vote was a crime and farce for the ages; calls the Negro a sham. Writes article with noble ambition to lift up the South.


Watterson, Henry, "The Solid South", North American Review, CXXVIII, 47-58, (Jan., 1879). Asks for end of dispute; South has had enough. Says that South is simply what the Republican party has made it. "The Republican party fell to pieces by its own rottenness. South is solid in its own defense."

Gorton, D. A., "Conditions & Prospects of Southern States", The National Quarterly Review, XXXVIII, 131-150, (Jan., 1879). Sees hope for union between the two races. Whites beginning to look upon Negro as human being, in no degree responsible for original coming, but now gravely responsible for them.

Allen, Walter, "Two Years of President Hayes", The Atlantic Monthly, XLIV, 190-199 (August, 1879). South more peaceful during these two years than during the whole of Reconstruction. Says that difference between Grant's administrations is that between disease and health. Friendly to Hayes and quotes his aphorism, "He serves his party best who serves his country best!"

"Political Attitude of South", The Atlantic Monthly, XLV, 817-823 (June, 1880). Entirely against the South. Holds that the key to southern politics since Reconstruction is to divide the North. Fidelity to the Democratic party means fidelity to rebellion. South should not put southern leaders in power because it would justify their war of secession. Does admit that no people ever had such difficult problems to contend with.
Atkinson, E., "Solid South", International Review, X, 197-209, (March, 1881). Against South -- phrase has been for whole century one of worst malignant evils and dangers which the country has been called upon to meet and overcome. Function of the privileged few to govern the incapable many. Slavery destroyed all mental, moral, political, and industrial life in the Solid South.

Bacon, Theodore, "The End of the War", The Atlantic Monthly, XLVII, 391-394, (March, 1881). Credit given to Hayes because he was the first president after the Civil War to realize that the war was ended. When Hayes said, "no intervention possible in South Carolina or Louisiana which was so unlawful in Pennsylvania or Illinois", this act was the proclamation of peace for which the South had waited so long. Finally after four years of fierce war and twelve years of social disorder and reorganization under Hayes who took office by disputed title, the nation is entering upon a period of prosperity.

Godkin, E.L., "Mr. Hayes' Administration", The Nation, XXXII, 144, (March 3, 1881). No friend of President Hayes. Complained that he should have been a reformer "first, last, and all the time", and that no more serious defect existed in a statesman than his inability to estimate his own powers.


"The Negro in the South", The Southern Bivouac, II, 710-712, (June, 1886, to May, 1887). Defends the thesis that the black must always occupy a lower social plane than the white, and that the veneration of authority is an innate quality of the blacks which brings out the best in them.

Edmonds, Richard H., "The South's Redemption", "From Poverty to Prosperity", Manufacturers' Record, Baltimore, Maryland, 3-63, 1890. Tremendous growth of South and its resources, South is at work, imbued with a spirit of energy and enterprise, and its industrial development is creating work for thousands of hither-to idle hands.

McLane, K. M., "The Prosperous South", The Nation, LII, 374-5, (March 7, 1891). Advances theory that the improvement of one section of the country will mean step forward for all, and that three staples -- cotton, iron and coal will contribute most to the industrial growth of that section.

Abbott, Judge, "The Minority Report of the Electoral Commission" Magazine of American History, XXVII, 81-97, (Feb., 1892). This was written in 1877 but was not allowed to be published until after his death. Describes how the entire South was fraudulent­ly turned over to the Republicans.

SOURCE MATERIAL - MAGAZINE ARTICLES
McClen, William A., "Future Possibilities of the South", The Review of Reviews, 218-9, (March, 1892). Enumerates advantages of South for stock-breeding, herding great numbers of animals, fertile soil for tropical fruits. Note of hope that "past successes are indices of future greater ones."
Conwell, John A., "The Industrial Future of the South", The Review of Reviews, 218-9, (March, 1892). Ability of South to manufacture own timber, her ores and cotton into finished goods, and if she had sufficient railroads, she could ship her merchandise all over the country. "Where upon earth is a country more favored by the gods, than the New South, or one who should have a greater industrial future?"
Round, William M. F., "Ex-President R. B. Hayes", Charities Review, II, 197-202, (Feb., 1893). States that Hayes is easily a leader in the movement for the uplifting of the colored race in the South. His faith in the future of the Negro is great, but he must be educated.
Cox, Jacob Dolson, "The Hayes Administration", The Atlantic Monthly, LXXI, 818-832, (June, 1893). Before election of 1876, even Republicans wanted reform within their party. They also began to realize that the experiment of ruling the South by means of the freedmen's vote had failed. Hayes pledged himself to "wipe out forever the distinctions between the North and South in our common country." Article also tells about the fulfillment of his promise to give the South "Home Rule".
Moore, Frederic W., "The Condition of the Southern Farmer", Yale Review, XII, 56-67, (March, 1894). Discouraging picture of the southern farmer. Says credit system not essentially bad, but people are too weak to use it successfully.
Middleton, T. J., "The Southerners' Plea for Peace", Arena, XII, 205-208, (April, 1895). Explains that southern people are born leaders, and that they have supreme confidence in themselves. Asks two questions: Don't plain facts of history force the South to own her responsibility for two wars, the Civil and the Mexican? Do you think that a new war would better cement the sections? Not much faith in the South.
Mather, Frederic G., "Industrial Future of the South", North American Review, CLXI, 121-125, (July, 1895). Lists all the advantages the South has for an industrial future, and says that the fault will be with the South if it fails to reach out to take what nature has so kindly offered.
Progressive Tendencies of the South", The Review of Reviews, XV, 721 (June, 1897). Great progress in the South in the production of pig iron, cotton manufacturing, beet and cane sugar raising, increase in railroads, all indicative of southern industrial prosperity.

"Progress of the United States", III. The Southern States", North American Review, CLXV, 43-51 (July, 1897). Although the South has many natural resources, these must be developed, and she needs more schools, more railways, more banks, and more persevering effort.


Oakman, Walter B., "The Condition of the South", North American Review, CLXIX, 40-45, (July, 1901). Tries to convince the South that they vote not for principle but for a party, no matter where that party leads them, and they should examine themselves to see if their vote is sincere.

"The Problems of the Author in the South", The South Atlantic Quarterly, edited by John Spencer Bassett, North Carolina, I, no. 3, 201-208, (July, 1902). The problems discussed are (1) the provincialism of the South; (2) the prolonged isolation of the South; (3) the poverty of scholarship in the South.


Henneman, John Bell, "The National Element in Southern Literature", The Sewanee Review, XI, no. 3, 345-366 (July, 1903). Defends the provinciality of the South, saying that all America is provincial. States that 1876 marks a new era in the literature of the South. Admits one weakness in southern literature -- the prevalence of dialect.

Carlton, Frank T., "The South During the Last Decade", The Sewanee Review, XII, 174-181, 1904. Paints bright future for industrial development. Good explanation why white labor is not well organized in the South, because they are afraid employers will "negroize" their plants if unions become aggressive.

Education, the greatest necessity of the South.

Abbott, Ernest Hamlin, "Sectional Misapprehension", The Outlook, LXXX, 237-241, (March 27, 1905). Calls the Reconstruction Period the "Redestruction Period". Sectional strife continues because one section does not understand the other, and there is no one southern or no one northern opinion.

"Freedom of Opinion in the South", The Nation, LXXXIII, no.2114, 6, (Jan. 4, 1906). Expresses conviction that men are beginning to think for themselves in the South, and that more southern colleges are coming to seek for truth.
Fleming, William H., "The Fair Minded South", The Nation, LXXXIII, no. 2140, 4-5, (July 5, 1906). Friendly to the Negro, begs the South to get rid of their fear concerning the Negro and let reason resume its sway. Some southerners are fair-minded and progressive alongside the narrow and the stagnant. "The Political Freedom in the South", The Outlook, LXXXIII, 629-630, (July 21, 1906). Speech quoted of Secretary Taft who described the state of impotence in national affairs to which the South had subjected itself, by its indiscriminating allegiance to one political party.

Edmonds, Richard H., "The South's Amazing Progress", Manufacturers' Record, Baltimore, Maryland, 1-14, 1906. South no longer a land of one crop, but is now prepared to go forward into the broadest diversification of all lines of human endeavor.

Edmonds, Richard H., "The South's Prospects, its Danger", Manufacturers' Record, Baltimore, Maryland, 1-7, 1907. Implores South to develop own self-reliance, instead of crying out for help and decisions to others. Stresses need for technical education and industrial leaders from among the southern people. "Southern Leadership", The Nation, LXXXIV, no. 2167, 26, (Jan. 10, 1907). Complete economic revolution in the South with a decided change in the character of its leaders. New leaders will eventually transform the colored masses into orderly, contented, educated and industrially valuable citizens.

"Making an Impression on the South", The Nation, LXXXV, no. 2200, 178, (August, 1907). Hard to change perverse solidity of South. Fear of race still grips the South and as long as this endures, it is useless to expect southern voters to be independent politically.

"The New South", The Outlook, XCII, 626-629, (July 17, 1909). South absolutely united in opposition to any race amalgamation, and yet beginning to realize that Negro must be educated, not just a certain portion of her population.

SOURCE MATERIAL - SPEECHES, ADDRESSES, and PAMPHLETS

Haywood, Atticus G., "The New South: Gratitude, Amendment, Hope," a Thanksgiving sermon, November 25, 1880. Printed at Oxford, Georgia, 1880. Reviews all the improvements in the social and civil order for which South should be grateful. Calls on people to recognize some of their faults and lacks, and try to reform and improve.


Beecher, Henry Ward, "Patriotic Addresses", Centennial Review, Fords, Howard & Hulbert, New York, 1887. Blames South Carolina for her precipitation into the war, and that she was responsible for long series of events which wrought such disaster for everybody.

Tucker, Hon. John Randolph, "The Old and the New South", a Baccalaureate Address before the South Carolina College, published by the Presbyterian Publishing House, Columbia, South Carolina, 1887. Explained how slavery was put upon South, and advised students to cherish the memories of the past glory of South Carolina, but also to press forward in the race of progress.

Cable, George W., "The Southern Struggle for Pure Government", an address before the Massachusetts Club, Boston, on Washington's Birthday, 1890. Press of Samuel Usher, Boston, 1890. Plea to give the Negroes some voice in the government in the South. If they can own small tracts of land, they can also vote.

Harris, Joel Chandler, Henry W. Grady including his Writings & Speeches, Cassell Publishing Company, New York, 1890. Negro still influences the South and the idea of two distinct races and two civilizations not easily effaced.

Duke, General Basil W., "Address to the Corps of Cadets", Virginia Military Institute, June 23, 1892. Printed by the Baughman Stationery Company, Richmond, Virginia, 1892. Told students their generation was a constructive one, and that they were pioneers of "the New South". Asked them not to judge harshly of the old South. Begged them to stay in the South, to make the South a happy abiding place for coming generations of our country.

Cummings, Joseph B., "New Ideas, New Departures, New South", a response at the 74th Annual Dinner of the New England Society of Charleston, South Carolina, December 22, 1893. Presents novel opinion -- no New South -- not ideas of a "South", but ideas of a universal and uniform civilization. The South has "joined the procession" and has lost the thought of being different from other people.
Evans, Clement A., "Contribution of the South to the Greatness of the American Union", an address before the Association of the Army of Northern Virginia, on October 10, 1895, at Richmond, Virginia. Printed by William Ellis Jones, Atlanta, Georgia, 1895. Courage, wisdom and the enterprise of soldiers and their sons are making the world gaze upon the sunrise of the southern day. South specially favored -- all lead to 'The Greater South'.

Bush, T. G., "The South and its Resources", before the Commercial Club of St. Louis, Missouri, June 5, 1897. Published by K. P. Studley & Co., 1897. Statistics on the growth of the South. Difficult to believe progress South made in 1880 to 1890, and all this came chiefly through southern pluck, energy and capital.


Watterson, Henry, The Compromises of Life and other Addresses and Lectures, Fox, Duffield & Co., New York, 1903. Pleads for capital for the South. Lists achievements of South without capital; asks bankers to imagine what she could do if she had it.

Response by Colonel Robert Bingham at the Annual Banquet of the New York Southern Society in the Waldorf Astoria, Dec. 14, 1904, to the Toast: "The Status of the South in the Past; the Decadence of that Status; Its Restoration", repeated March 9, 1905, before the Pen and Plate Club, Asheville, North Carolina. The South has definitely declined agriculturally; wealth of new South is in industry and this wealth is stable.

Bingham, Colonel Robert, "The Fifty Years Between 1857 and 1907, and Beyond", an address at the University of North Carolina, June 3, 1907, on the fiftieth anniversary of the Graduation of the Class of 1857. Implored men of South for broad and national spirit in order to get rid of the sectional spirit which has dwarfed our statesmen. The nation must have need of the men of the new South.

Alderman, Edwin A., "The Growing South", an address delivered before the Civic Forum in Carnegie Hall, New York City, March 22, 1908. Author says that in order to understand the present South, one must have a background of the five other Souths. Advocates social separation as an act of justice to the Negro, and to the higher group, the whites, but assures the South that the negro problem must be faced resolutely, quietly, and justly.
Finley, W. W., "The Railroad and the People", speeches delivered at a dinner of the North Carolina Society of New York at the Hotel Astor, Dec. 7, 1908. South is land of accomplishment and opportunity, but without proper railroad development, progress is impossible.

Lee, Reverend James W., "The South of Tomorrow -- Her Future in Material Wealth and Education", delivered in Atlanta, Georgia, 1908. Thought that South had great promise for the future. Quoted Stewart L. Woodford's words of 1876 that the South would some day grow the bread, mine the coal and iron, dig the silver and gold for the world.

Dabney, Charles William, "The Meaning of 'The Solid South'", an address at a commencement of the University of Alabama, Tuscaloosa, May 28, 1909. Holds that a Solid South must exist to maintain white control; whereas a divided South might mean a return of negro domination. South just had to deprive the blacks of the vote.

Taylor, Hannis, "The Solid South -- A National Calamity", North American Review, edited by George Harvey, CLXXXIX, 1-10, (Jan., 1909). Utterly opposed to the Solid South -- said that it was a calamity to the nation as a whole, as well as to the South, and ceased to be of any value to anybody.

Edmonds, Richard H., "Success Avenue in Dixieland", an address delivered at Atlanta, June 8, 1910, at the Commencement of the Georgia School of Technology. Asked students to stay in the South. Tried to convince them that the migration of over three million of its southern-born whites was worse in its effect upon the South than the loss and destruction of war.

Merry, J. F., "The Awakened South", an address before the Farmers' Demonstration Conference, Louisiana State University, Jan. 18, 1911. Printed by the Ramires-Jones Printing Co., Baton Rouge, Louisiana. First describes the condition of the South after the war. Hard to supply families with the necessities of life. Now industry should spread because of the inexhaustible mines of the South.


Rutherford, Mildred Lewis, "What the South May Claim", The McGregor Co., Athens, Georgia, 1911. Absolutely no good for topic; Southern in sympathy; violent opposition to everything northern.
SOURCE MATERIAL - GOVERNMENT PUBLICATIONS


Journal of the House of Delegates of the State of Virginia for the Session of 1877-8. Letter by Governor James L. Kemper to the Gentlemen of Senate and House of Delegates. Governor Kemper told them that extraordinary caution, economy and vigilance must be exercised to keep down expenses and meet current bills, because of the tremendous debts left by the reconstructionists.

Message of James D. Porter, Governor of Tennessee, to the Fortieth General Assembly of State of Tennessee, 1877. Expresses sorrow that present rate of taxation cannot possibly pay the expenses of state.

Message of James D. Porter to the Forty-First General Assembly of 1879. Bearer of good news that there has been a great reduction in current expenses, and conditions in Tennessee should be full of encouragement to the southern people.

Acts of State of Tennessee, passed by the Forty-First General Assembly of 1879. Series of acts lowering the salaries of all government officials, and reducing the number of public officials.

Journal of House of Representatives of State of South Carolina, for the Regular Session of 1879, Calvo & Patton, Columbia, S.C., 1880. Message of W. D. Simpson, Governor, to General Assembly, Nov., 25, 1879. Simpson said, "We have certainly touched bottom, but the rebound has commenced." Progress being made in draining of swampy land, lowering of taxes, and firm, just and impartial administration of laws abides in state.


Biennial Message of Governor Alfred Colquitt to the General Assembly of Georgia, November 3, 1880. Now a land of thrift, progress and contentment. All industries are thriving; resources are multiplying; public debt is diminishing. All these messages are along the same general lines.

Message of Governor Henry D. McDaniel to General Assembly of Georgia, July 5, 1883. Taxation was being lowered by the watchfulness of the people and the economy of his predecessors, without impairing the efficiency of the government.
SECONDARY SOURCES


Ball, William Watts, The State That Forgot (South Carolina's Surrender to Democracy), The Bobbs-Merrill Co., Indianapolis, 1932. Account of up-country South Carolina families during the years of the Civil War and Reconstruction. Decidedly prejudiced but softened by his charming geniality. Drew upon own experiences and those of his many family connections.


Struggle between the agrarian and industrial civilization and good discussion of the Farmers' Alliance.


Brown, William Garrott, A History of Alabama, University Publishing Co., New York and New Orleans, 1900. Development of the state with its increase in education, output of minerals, yet decrease in the price of farm lands, because people are leaving to try fortune in cities. Happy that people have caught the spirit of progress.

Bruce, Philip Alexander, The Rise of the New South, (XVII of the History of North America), George Barrie & Sons, Phila., 1905. Particularly stressed economy and fidelity of the southern governments during first days of Home Rule, and belief that low taxes were best possible good.
SECONDARY SOURCES

Buck, Paul H., *The Road to Reunion (1865-1900)*, Little, Brown & Co., Boston, 1937. Fascinating reading, and most valuable for my topic. Survey of American history from 1865 to 1900, which emphasizes those factors in the political, social and cultural life of the nation which first retarded, then brought about that reconciliation between North and South, which the author regards as one of the miracles of modern times. Dispassionate and judicious appraisal of the years following the war. Excellent research work.

Carpenter, Jesse T., *The South as a Conscious Minority (1789-1861), A Study in Political Thought*, The New York University Press, New York City, 1930. Work of research, as Carpenter combed the records of Congress, state legislatures, political and constitutional conventions, and the periodical literature of the times, to prove that the South relied upon four theoretical principles to check the political domination of the northern majority.


Claiborne, John H., *Seventy-Five Years in Old Virginia*, with some account of the life of the author and some history of the people amongst whom his lot was cast -- their character, their condition, and their conduct before the war, during the war, and after the war, The Neale Publishing Company, New York, 1904. Most of material in book too early for my period. Did contain excellent paragraph on what Reconstruction did not do for Virginia; yet debt increased from $87 million in 1865 to $362 million in 1872.

Culture in the South, edited by W. T. Couch, The University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill, 1934. Composite picture of South in the form of a symposium in which 31 authorities contribute diverse views. Authors mostly of southern birth and rearing, yet view own culture with detachment very rare among southern writers of this period.
SECONDARY SOURCES

Coulter, Ellis Merton, *A Short History of Georgia*, The University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill, 1933. 12-page bibliography. Whole history of Georgia from beginning to present. Period after Reconstruction very brief which was very disappointing.

Dabney, Virginius, *Below the Potomac (A Book about the New South)* D. Appleton-Century Company, Incorporated, New York, 1942. Native southerner critically examines social, economic, racial, religious, and political problems that have been and are holding back the progress of the southern states. Believes solution more tolerance and liberalism in religious and social issues, greater opportunity for Negro to raise his economic status, stronger opposition to one political party.


Daniels, Jonathan, *A Southerner Discovers the South*, Macmillan Company, New York, 1938. Criticizes the South, although a native southerner. Says, "In a false present the South had begun the adoration of a fictitious past. It luxuriated in its tragedy. Delicacy of constitution became a positive social virtue." Written in journalistic and sarcastic style.


SECONDARY SOURCES


Eckenrode, H. J., Rutherford B. Hayes, Statesman of Reunion, Dodd, Mead & Co., New York, 1930. Found most helpful. Calls the election of 1876 the last scene in the Civil War drama. Hayes returned troops and allowed the law of nature, which has put white man over black, to take its course. Very full account of the condition of the South immediately after and before the election, and all the events connected with it.

Flournoy, Mary H., Side Lights on Southern History, The Dietz Press, Richmond, Virginia, 1939. Author was Historian-General of the United Daughters of the Confederacy, so gives a very glowing account of the South. Called Sidney Lanier the first voice from the new South, and the prince of American nature poets.

Fortier, Alcee, American Domination (1861-1903), Part 2, (IV of A History of Louisiana), Manzi, Joyant & Co., New York, 1904. Detailed account of the change in government from that of the Republican Packard to that of the Democratic Nicholls, the building of the Eads jetties, the Flood of 1882, and the death and burial of Jefferson Davis.

Fuess, Claude Moore, Carl Schurz, Reformer, Dodd, Mead & Co., New York, 1932. Excellent bibliography. Used to secure some background for the selection of Hayes as a candidate.


These United States: A Symposium, II, edited by Ernest Gruening, Boni & Liveright, New York, 1923. Consists of 27 essays on just as many states of the Union, and by just as many authors. Did not find especially helpful; too descriptive.

SECONDARY SOURCES

Tennessee, A History (1673-1932), II, edited by Philip M. Hamer, The American Historical Society, Inc., New York, 1933. Felt author was very sincere. Great discussion over the repudiation of state debts, bitter factionalism among the Democrats, and yet Republicans were never strong enough to make themselves the dominant party.

Hawks, Emory Q., Economic History of the South, Prentice-Hall, Inc., New York, 1934. Bibliographies at the ends of each chapter. A good summary of the growth of the different industries. Account since 1880, although brief, was well presented, and not unduly biased.

Haworth, Paul Leland, America in Ferment, The Bobbs-Merrill Co., Indianapolis, 1915. Not good for purpose. Concerned more with events about the turn of the century and from 1900 on.


Hesseltine, William B., The South in American History, Prentice-Hall, Inc., New York 1943. Felt that this was more of a revision of his other book, A History of the South (1607-1936). Claims that Hayes held out the olive branch to the South -- in fact, that an actual bargain had been made between Hayes and several southern representatives.
SECONDARY SOURCES


Johnson, Charles S., Patterns of Negro Segregation, Harper & Bros., New York, 1943. Sane and clear-headed analysis of race relations in America. Written by a Negro, he tries hard to crush his own personal feelings at the wrongs the Negro has suffered at the hands of the whites. Johnson lets Negroes of all description speak in his book, and one comes away from the book with a feeling of sorrow and pity for those whose only crime seems to be their color.

Josephson, Matthew, The Politicos, (1865-1896), Harcourt, Brace & Co., New York, 1938. Preface indicates the type of book: "To portray "key-men" of politics not by what they think and say, but what they really are and do." -- so from that point, the worst possible construction is put upon the words and actions of the Politicos. Dull, drab tale of "partisan humbug, corruption, and chicanery". About President Hayes, Conkling always spoke of him in public as "His Fraudulency".

Kane, Harnett T., Deep Delta Country, of American Folkways series, edited by Erskine Caldwell, Duell, Sloan & Pearce, New York 1944. Discussion of the inhabitants, various characters found in the Delta country, religious beliefs and primitive morality of the people. Was sorry that I read book, because it gives a very depressing picture of southern people to the reader.

Kendrick, Benjamin Burks, and Arnett, Alex Mathews, The South Looks at its Past, The University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill, 1935. Good summary, full of facts, thoughtful, intelligent, well balanced and well organized. Gives very candid picture of the conflict that took place in the South between those who were always looking to the past and those who tried to look to the future.

Kennedy, Stetson, Palmetto Country, of American Folkways series, edited by Erskine Caldwell, Duell, Sloan & Pearce, New York, 1942. Thought the author was too free in depicting the morals of the country. Could not be completely true picture of the Deep South, because it gives the reader a scene of oppression and malnutrition, a tragic glimpse of superstition and black magic, and nothing that is uplifting or encouraging.

SECONDARY SOURCES

Lewinson, Paul, Race, Class and Party (A History of Negro Suffrage and White Politics in the South), Oxford University Press, New York, 1932. Great amount of factual material. Tries to be unbiased but cannot see negro suffrage from the Negro's point of view.

Lingley, Charles Ramsdell and Foley, Allen Richard, Since the Civil War, Third Edition, D. Appleton-Century Company, New York, 1935. Describes the 25 years after the war as a period whereby the South could do little more than recover from the devastation and the destruction of war. After such demoralization of the labor system, industry would be a slow and painful process.


Lonn, Ella, Reconstruction in Louisiana after 1868, a Thesis presented to the faculty of graduate school in partial fulfillment of requirements of University of Pennsylvania, G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York, 1918. Careful study of documentary evidence. Calls struggle between 1868-1876 a "long and weary drama." Expresses surprise that so few writers became interested in this tragic period, but after her research comes to the conclusion that it was doubtless because of the great inextricable confusion of the times.

Louisiana - A Guide to the State, compiled by Workers of the Writers' Program of Work Projects Administration in the state of Louisiana, Hastings House, New York, 1941. Mostly a description of the various points of interest in Louisiana, its geography, etc. Gives the expenditures of the Reconstruction government of Louisiana; also the conflict between the Republican Kellogg and the Democratic McEnery.

Lynch, Denis Tilden, The Wild Seventies, D. Appleton-Century Company, New York, 1941. American political and social life in the 70's with particular stress laid on New York City and state. Lynch was newspaper man, mentions no sources, and writes with very cynical air.

McClure, A. K., Our Presidents and How We Make Them, Harper & Bros., New York, 1900. Comes to conclusion that the election of 1876, as far as the electoral votes of the three carpetbag states are concerned, can never be fully known. Tells about shrewd movement immediately planned to conciliate the leading people of the South.


SECONDARY SOURCES
Morris, Charles, The Old South and The New, 1907. Complete illustrated history of the southern states, resources, people and cities, and the inspiring story of the wonderful growth in industry and riches from earliest times.
Builders of Georgia, edited and published by Gregory Murphy, Atlanta, n.d. Did not find helpful except for the account of Henry Grady, the peacemaker and healer of the wounds between North and South.
Oberholtzer, Ellis Paxson, A History of the United States since the Civil War, Macmillan Company, New York, 1931. IV. Most helpful as it gave not only the political side but also the economic information for my subject. Most readable and detailed.
Odum, Howard W., An American Epoch (Southern Portraiture in the National Picture), Henry Holt & Co., New York, 1930. Study of development of the South presented through four different generations of typical families of the South. Blames unthinking aristocracy of old southern civilization for the lack of training and undiscipline which has produced such chaos among an entire people when the new era dawned.
Southern Pioneers in Social Interpretation, edited by Howard W. Odum, The University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill, 1925. Introductory essay by Odum, and then several biographical sketches of which Walter Hines Page, Charles Brantley Aycock, Seaman A. Knapp, Augustus Longstreet and Joel Chandler Harris, were useful to me. Odum exults that the men of the South are beginning to think for themselves; are tired of wrong impressions; tired of just sitting back and letting other parts of the country get far ahead of them.
Patrick, Rembert Wallace, Florida under Five Flags, University of Florida Press, Gainesville, Florida, 1945. Interesting reading. Author intended to write a story of Florida's 400 years which could be read in a short evening. Used care and skill, but did not include bibliography.
SECONDARY SOURCES

Paxson, Frederic L., *The New Nation*, Houghton-Mifflin Co., Boston, 1915. Excellent history, very readable, with emphasis on South and West rather than on New England and seaboard. Explains that Reconstruction is an inappropriate name for what took place and that stubbornness alone carried South through the twenty years since the war. Deems it unthinkable that an American community should permit itself to remain subject to the absolute control of least respected members.

Rhodes, James Ford, *History of the United States from the Compromise of 1850 to the McKinley-Bryan Campaign of 1896*, VIII, Macmillan Co., New York, 1920. Disappointing to find so little on the southern states after 1876, especially as VII had been so complete on the period of Reconstruction.

Robertson, William J., *The Changing South*, Boni & Liveright, New York, 1927. Sympathetic towards South; good account of the Supreme Court rulings which defeated the Reconstruction measures at every turn. Survey of the southern landscape which notes the changing aspects of the social, political, and cultural life in the southern states. Controversial.


Shippe, Lester Burrell, *Recent American History, Revised Edition*, Macmillan Co., New York, 1930. Contained nothing of interest except fact that the leaders of the new South were determined that economy and financial efficiency should be the order of the day.

SECONDARY SOURCES

Just few pages on my material. Gives Benjamin H. Hill's speech before Senate in 1877, and a short account of Henry W. Grady.

History of South Carolina, II, edited by Yates Snowden, The Lewis Publishing Co., Chicago and New York, 1920. Splendid history of state. The work of each Home Rule governor was described at length, and praised them as men of wide experience. Congratulated them for reduction of expense, development of industry, building of railroads, deepening of rivers, draining of swamps, and expansion of system of public education.

South Carolina - A Guide to the Palmetto State, compiled by Workers of the Writers' Program of the Work Projects Administration in the State of South Carolina, Oxford University Press, New York, 1941. Rather a description of places of interest in state, nature of soil, mountains, etc. Description of the Rule of the Robbers between 1868-1874 most telling.

The South in the Building of the Nation, XII, The Southern Historical Publication Society, Richmond, Virginia, 1909. Short biographies of men who made the South great.

Sparks, Edwin Erle, National Development (1877-1885), (XXIII of American Nation: A History), Harper & Bros., New York, n.d. Found material on definite work of Home Rule governors which I had been unable to secure.


Thompson, Holland, The New South - A Chronicle of Social and Industrial Evolution, Yale University Press, New Haven, 1921. Gave a very unbiased explanation of why the southerners took the franchise away from the Negro. Very good for topic. Says attempt failed to make South Carolina another Massachusetts, and that in the New South a spirit of hopefulness, a belief in its future, and a real desire to take fuller part in the life of the nation, was sweeping through the South.

Twelve Southerners, I'll Take My Stand, The South and the Agrarian Tradition, Harper & Bros., New York, 1930. Feels that the changing of the South's agrarian policy to industrialism is bringing the South each day under the sway of the North.


SECONDARY SOURCES
Warmoth, Henry Clay, War, Politics and Reconstruction (Stormy Days in Louisiana, Macmillan Co., New York, 1930. Warmoth, a former carpetbag governor of Louisiana, really defends the carpetbaggers in Louisiana, and records, from a partisan viewpoint, the story of Reconstruction. Tried to reverse the judgment of history to his own ends.


Williams, Alfred B. Hampton and His Red Shirts, South Carolina’s Deliverance in 1876, Walker, Evans & Cogswell Co., Charleston. Wade Hampton wrested the government of South Carolina from the carpetbag governmental control. Narrative which adequately describes the tremendous drama in which South Carolina wrought her redemption.

Williams, Charles Richard, The Life of Rutherford B. Hayes, II, Houghton-Mifflin Co., Boston, 1914. Used as background. Says no bargain was made with South, and that moral worth is the dominating characteristic of Hayes.

Williams, G. Croft, A Social Interpretation of South Carolina, University of South Carolina Press, Columbia, 1946. An earnest endeavor to present an honest view of South Carolina. Demands that the state be helped in matters of health, housing, education, and economic advancement, and with so many colored, the racial attitude necessarily looms large in the state.

Wilson, Woodros, Division and Reunion, edited by Albert Bushnell Hart, Longmans Green & Co., New York, 1925. Greater part of book devoted to the division; little to the reunion. “Undoing of Reconstruction” phrase best applied to course political action has taken in South since the Civil War. Negro vote has been abolished by “dint of cajolery and ingenious management.”

Winston, George Taylor, A Builder of the New South (Being the story of the life work of Daniel Augustus Tompkins), Doubleday, Page & Co., 1920. Tompkins, a great promoter of education, was a firm believer in the new South, a South of healthy growth, built of industrial forces.


Link, Arthur, “The Progressive Movement of the South”, The North Carolina Historical Review, XXIII, Nos. 1-4, 172-195, (Jan.-Oct., 1946). Good description of the Grange Movement, the Farmers’ Alliance and the Populist revolt which caused the downfall of the Bourbon domination, and brought to the fore a new type of leadership, the demagogue, who stirs up class agitation and class hatred.
APPROVAL SHEET

The thesis submitted by Mother Mary Helena Barnes, S.H.C.J. has been read and approved by three members of the Department of History.

The final copies have been examined by the director of the thesis and the signature which appears below verifies the fact that any necessary changes have been incorporated, and that the thesis is now given final approval with reference to content, form, and mechanical accuracy.

The thesis is therefore accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Degree of Master of Arts.

Date  June 3, 1945

Signature of Adviser  Paul [Signature]