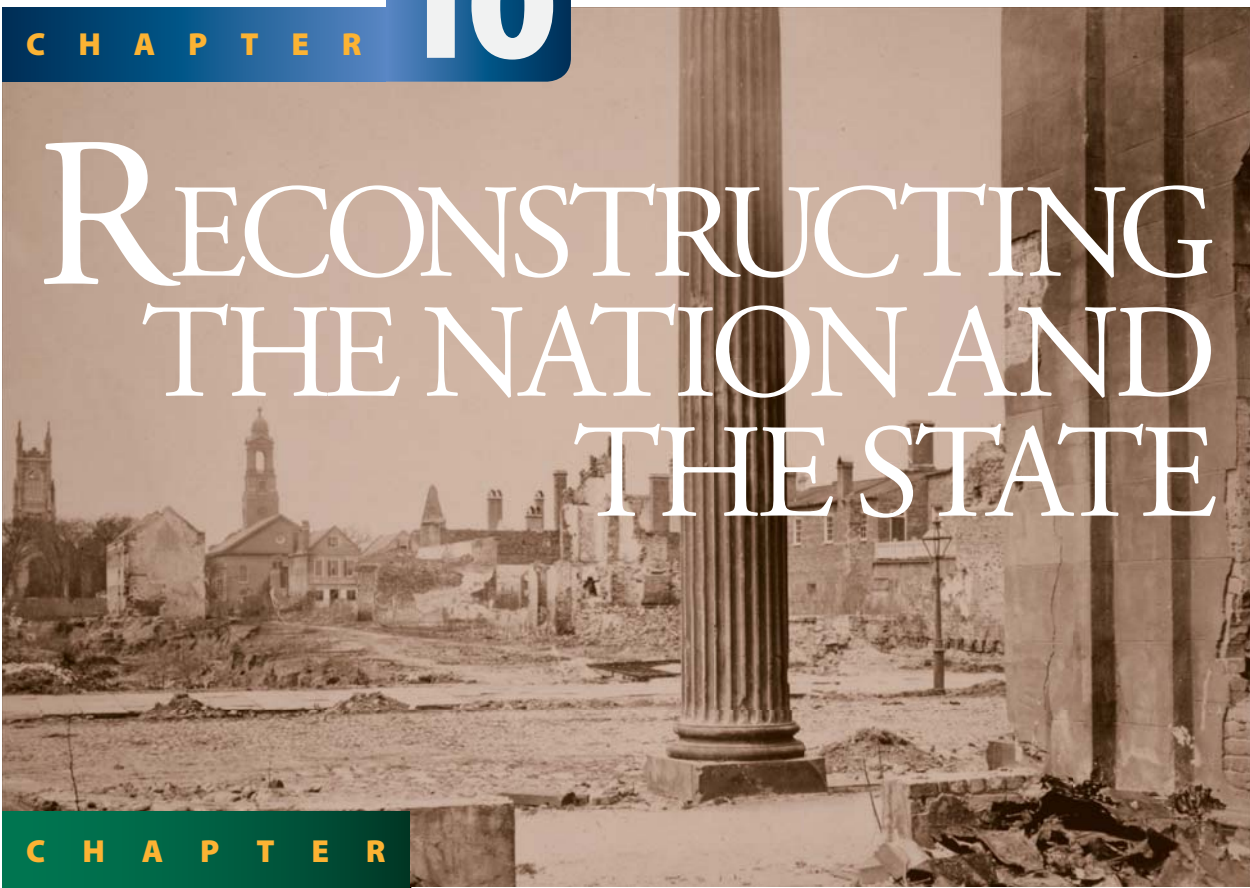


RECONSTRUCTING THE NATION AND THE STATE



CHAPTER

PREVIEW

PEOPLE: Martin W. Gary, Andrew Johnson, Daniel Sickles, Robert K. Scott, Francis L. Cardozo, Jonathan J. Wright, Robert Brown Elliott, Joseph Hayne Rainey, Alonzo Jacob Ransier, Franklin J. Moses Jr., Daniel H. Chamberlain, Benjamin Ryan Tillman, Rutherford B. Hayes

PLACES: Edgefield, Edisto Island, Ellenton, Cainhoy

TERMS: Reconstruction, Freedmen's Bureau, Black Codes, Radical Republicans, impeach, carpetbaggers, scalawags, propaganda, discrimination, amnesty, depression, sharecrop system, tenant farmer, crop-lien system, Ku Klux Klan (KKK), Red Shirt campaign

It would be hard to find two men more different in their looks, personalities, and political aims than Robert Smalls and Martin W. Gary. Both were important in South Carolina politics in the decades after the Civil War. Robert Smalls was already famous. As a runaway slave, he stole the cotton steamer, the *Planter*, from the Confederates and became its commander in the Union navy during the war. Smalls returned to Beaufort after the war, a hero to blacks. He bought the house of his former owner and took care of the owner's elderly widow within the house for the rest of her life. He helped found the Republican Party in the state. After helping write the 1868 state constitution, Smalls was elected to the state House of Representatives, then the Senate, while rising to brigadier general in the State Militia. He was a strong supporter of free public education for all children. Elected to Congress in 1874, he was in and out of that position until 1886.

Smalls rose from slavery to political prominence in the new cir-





HAVE YOU SEEN...

the Robert Smalls House at 511 Prince Street in Beaufort? Robert Smalls bought this property from his former owner with the prize money he received for stealing the *Planter*. He and his descendants occupied the house for the next nine decades.

cumstances after the war. But after white Democrats regained control of the state government in 1877, his political power, along with blacks' civil rights, began slipping away.

By contrast, Martin W. Gary was a white lawyer, a graduate of Harvard, and a brigadier general in the Confederate cavalry. Gary settled in Edgefield and began a career of angry opposition to the Republican Reconstruction in South Carolina. A slender man, balding, with piercing eyes, Gary was called the "Bald Eagle of Edgefield." In 1876, he created the "Edgefield Plan" as part of the Democratic campaign to throw out the state's Republican government.



His plan called for Democrats to reduce the votes of blacks by fraud, intimidation, and violence to accomplish the return of white supremacy and rule by the Democratic Party. Gary's tactics proved successful. White Democrats regained control of the state and began the process of removing men like Robert Smalls from politics.

Opposite page, above: Charleston, and many other towns in South Carolina, were in ruins following the Civil War. **Opposite page, below:** Robert Smalls rose to political prominence during Reconstruction. **Left:** Martin W. Gary used violence and intimidation to return whites to power.



SIGNS of the TIMES

EXPANSION OF THE U.S.

The United States bought Alaska from Russia in 1867 for \$7.2 million, less than two cents per acre. Two states were added to the Union during this period: Nebraska in 1867 and Colorado in 1876.

INVENTIONS

This short era was rich with inventions. George Westinghouse improved trains by inventing air brakes. Joseph Glidden made settlement of the treeless Great Plains more practical with his barbed wire for fences. Alexander Graham Bell invented the telephone.

MUSIC

“Michael, Row the Boat Ashore” was included in the first published collection of Negro spirituals, *Slave Songs of the United States*, in 1867. That same year, Johann Strauss, the Austrian “Waltz King,” composed “The Blue Danube.” In 1868, Boston clergyman Phillips Brooks wrote “O Little Town of Bethlehem,” and German composer Johannes Brahms composed his “Lullaby.” In 1871, Arthur Sullivan wrote “Onward, Christian Soldiers.” The British musical team of Gilbert and Sullivan began producing their popular operettas.

LITERATURE

Walt Whitman published *Drum-Taps*, a collection of Civil War poems. Horatio Alger began his series of “rags-to-riches” stories with *Ragged Dick: or, Street Life in New York*. Louisa May Alcott wrote the classic *Little Women*. French writer Jules Verne wrote *Twenty Thousand Leagues Under the Sea* and *Around the World in Eighty Days*. Lewis Carroll published his *Alice’s Adventures in Wonderland*. Paul Hamilton Hayne, a South Carolina poet, published *Legends and Lyrics*. Mark Twain wrote *The Adventures of Tom Sawyer*.

POLITICS

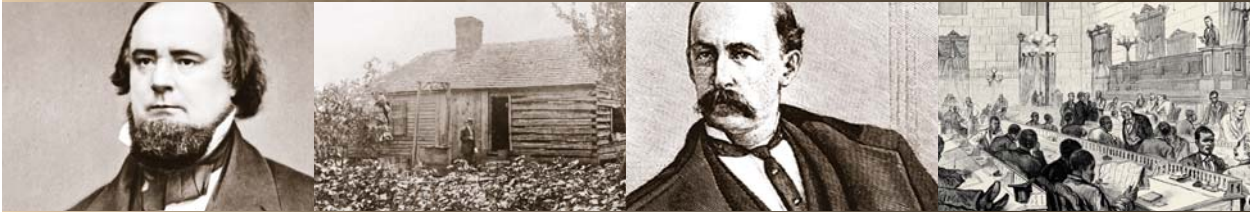
The Thirteenth Amendment, abolishing slavery, was ratified in 1865. Congress passed a Civil Rights Act in 1866 and another in 1875. The Wyoming Territory gave women the right to vote and hold office in 1869.

SPORTS

The first professional baseball team, the Cincinnati Red Stockings, was formed in 1869, and the first major baseball league, the National League, was formed in 1876. The first Kentucky Derby was run at Louisville’s Churchill Downs in 1875. Wimbledon Tennis Championships began in England in 1877.

FIGURE 14

Timeline: 1865 to 1877



1865

James L. Orr elected governor under revised constitution
Black Codes adopted
Avery Normal Institute established

1866

Crop-lien system legally approved

1867

Freedmen participated in first election

1868

New state constitution written

1870

First black man
elected to U.S. House
of Representatives

1874

Daniel H. Chamberlain elected governor

1876

Disputed governor's election

1877

Radical Reconstruction
ended

1865

1870

1875

1880

1865

Thirteenth Amendment ratified
Ku Klux Klan was organized

1866

Congress passed a Civil Rights Act

1867

Congress enacted the Radical Reconstruction Acts

1868

House impeached President Johnson; Senate did not convict him
Fourteenth Amendment ratified

1869

East and west coast joined by transcontinental railroad
Suez Canal opened

1870

Fifteenth Amendment ratified

1872

Secret ballot adopted in
Great Britain
Yellowstone National
Park established

1876

"Custer's Last Stand" at the
Battle of Little Bighorn

1877

Charles Hires produced
first root beer

Political Reconstruction on the National Level

Below: The front page of *Harper's Weekly* for February 18, 1865, shows the U.S. House of Representatives celebrating the passage of the Thirteenth Amendment.

Opposite page, below: Francis L. Cardozo was the director of the Zion School for Colored Children in Charleston, which was unusual for having only African American teachers.

AS YOU READ, LOOK FOR

- differences in the Reconstruction plans of Abraham Lincoln, Andrew Johnson, and the Radical Republicans;
- the purposes and accomplishments of the Freedmen's Bureau;
- restrictions placed on freedmen by the Black Codes, and northern reaction to the codes;
- how the national government imposed its will on the South under Radical Reconstruction;
- terms: **Reconstruction, Freedmen's Bureau, Black Codes, Radical Republicans, impeach, carpetbaggers, scalawags.**

HARPER'S WEEKLY

A JOURNAL OF CIVILIZATION

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 18, 1865.



ACCEPT BY THE HOUSE OF THE PASSAGE OF THE PROPOSITION TO AMEND THE CONSTITUTION, February 18, 1865.

When the Thirteenth Amendment to the U.S. Constitution was ratified in 1865, nearly four million slaves in the southern and border states were officially freed. Three years later, South Carolina held a convention to write a new state constitution, and 71 of the 124 delegates were black men! How can a change that great take place in three years? This pivotal point in our history is an exciting story of new leaders emerging from an unexpected source. It is a story of the federal government sponsoring and helping the new leaders. And it is a story of the previous leadership class working toward an opportunity to regain its old power.

The era after the Civil War was difficult for the country, both North and South. It was hard for northerners to accept the South back into the Union and to trust that southerners had given up their rebellion. It was equally hard for white southerners to accept defeat and submit to the federal government they had fought against for

four years. It's easy to imagine the suspicion and even hatred that existed between white and black southerners.

Despite the difficulties and the anxiety, rebuilding had to take place. The period of rebuilding is called **Reconstruction**, which meant not only rebuilding farms and plantations, towns and railroads but also rebuilding the nation. The states that had seceded had to be brought back into their proper place within the Union.

Presidential Reconstruction

The first efforts to restore the southern states back into the Union were made by Presidents Abraham Lincoln and Andrew Johnson. Even before the war ended, Lincoln offered the seceded states a generous plan, hoping to entice some of them to give up the rebellion. If at least 10 percent of voters would swear allegiance to the United States, he would readmit the state. Many of Lincoln's fellow Republicans thought that offer was too lenient. His main requirement was that the South must accept the freedom of slaves.

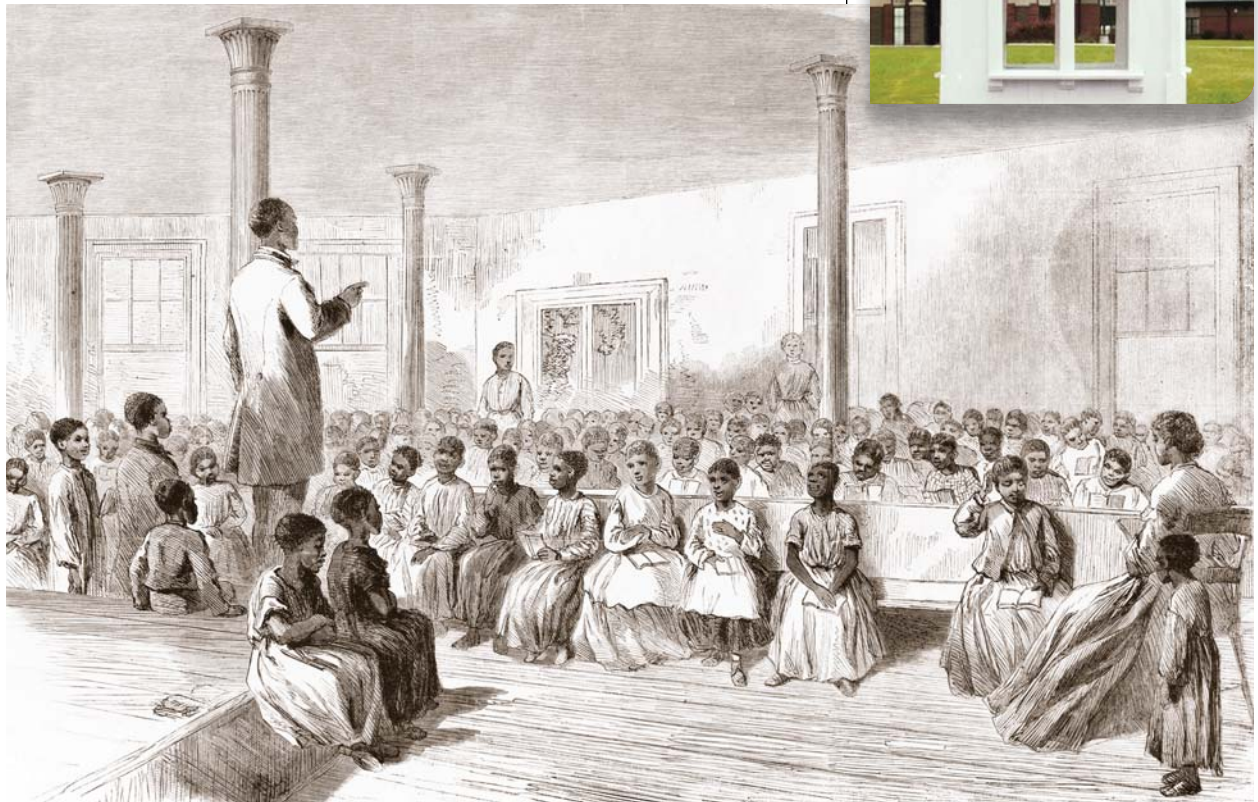
The Freedmen's Bureau

Lincoln and Congress set up the **Freedmen's Bureau** to assist poor blacks (and many poor whites as well). This was the first agency of the United States government to provide direct welfare assistance to citizens. After the war, the Bureau provided food and medical services to freedmen and poor whites. It gave transportation money to help reunite families separated by slave

HAVE YOU SEEN...

Schofield School in Aiken?

The original school was sponsored by the Freedmen's Bureau and was run for many years by Martha Schofield, a Pennsylvania Quaker. This highly respected school educated teachers and trained boys in mechanical and industrial skills and girls in homemaking skills.





Above: The Freedmen's Bureau was established by the U.S. government in 1865, initially to provide for the emergency needs of former slaves, like food, clothing, and medical aid. Later, it became involved in finding jobs and sometimes securing land for freed slaves to farm.

DID YOU KNOW?

The Barber House in Hopkins in Richland County is on property Samuel and Harriet Barber bought from the Freedmen's Bureau in 1872. The descendants of the Barbers still own the property. It is apparently the only property sold by the Freedmen's Bureau that has stayed in the same family to the present.

sales. It set up hundreds of schools across the South to meet the freedmen's hunger for education. The Bureau tried to find work for the freedmen and to make sure labor contracts were fair to both employees and employers.

Andrew Johnson's Reconstruction Plan

President Lincoln was assassinated only a few days after Lee's surrender at Appomattox, in April 1865, so he had no opportunity to put most of his Reconstruction plan into action. His successor, Andrew Johnson, was from Tennessee, one of the seceded states, but he had stayed loyal to the United States. Andrew Johnson's plan at first seemed tougher than Lincoln's plan on the southern plantation owners, whom he considered responsible for the war. But he appointed temporary governors from the South's traditional ruling class, pardoned most former Confederate officials, and demanded few changes in southern behavior. The southern state legislatures elected in 1865 under Johnson's plan looked very much like prewar legislatures.

The Black Codes

In the fall of 1865, those southern legislatures began passing laws that placed harsh restrictions on freedmen. These **Black Codes** differed from state to state. Generally they first gave freedmen certain rights, including recognition of slave marriages and the right to own property, make contracts, get an education, and sue or be sued in court. Then the laws took away many rights. In most states, job opportunities were limited to work on a farm or as a house servant. Freedmen could not travel without permission of their employer or possess firearms unless they owned property. *Vagrants*

(persons who appeared to have no work or permanent home) could be jailed or have their labor auctioned off to planters. In South Carolina, any white person could arrest a black person suspected of a crime, and blacks were tried in a separate court system.

The purpose of the Black Codes was to restrict relations between the races. Whites resisted a system in which blacks enjoyed the same rights and status under the law that whites did.

An Age of Anxiety

It is easy to understand whites' anxiety about this new society in which the majority of the population were former slaves, many of whom had been mistreated in the past. Whites feared that blacks would seek vengeance if they were not strictly supervised and controlled. Many whites also assumed that freedmen would not work unless compelled. Both these fears proved largely incorrect.

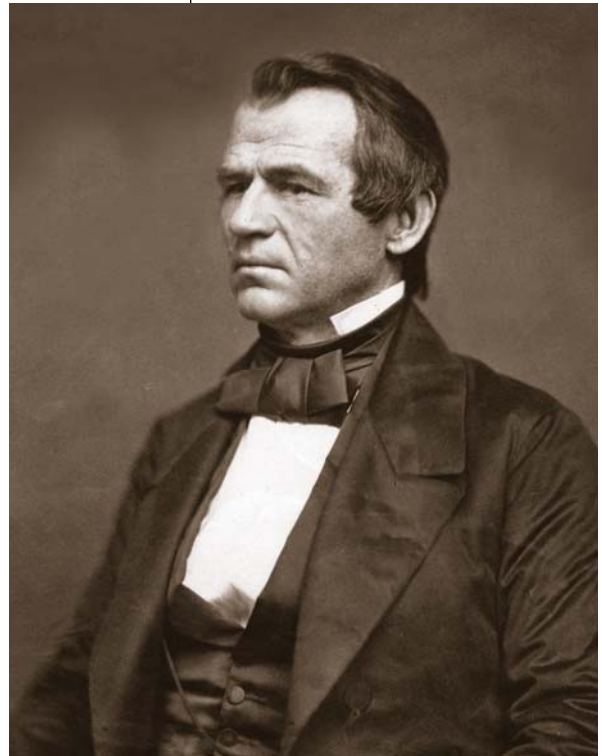
Fully as easy to understand is blacks' anxiety and fear that whites planned to reimpose slavery by another name. Few freedmen became property owners, so most had to depend on white property owners for jobs and housing. Owners often used violence to control workers. Some landowners beat their black workers as if they were still slaves. Freedmen had good reason to be anxious about the future.

Northern Reaction to the Black Codes

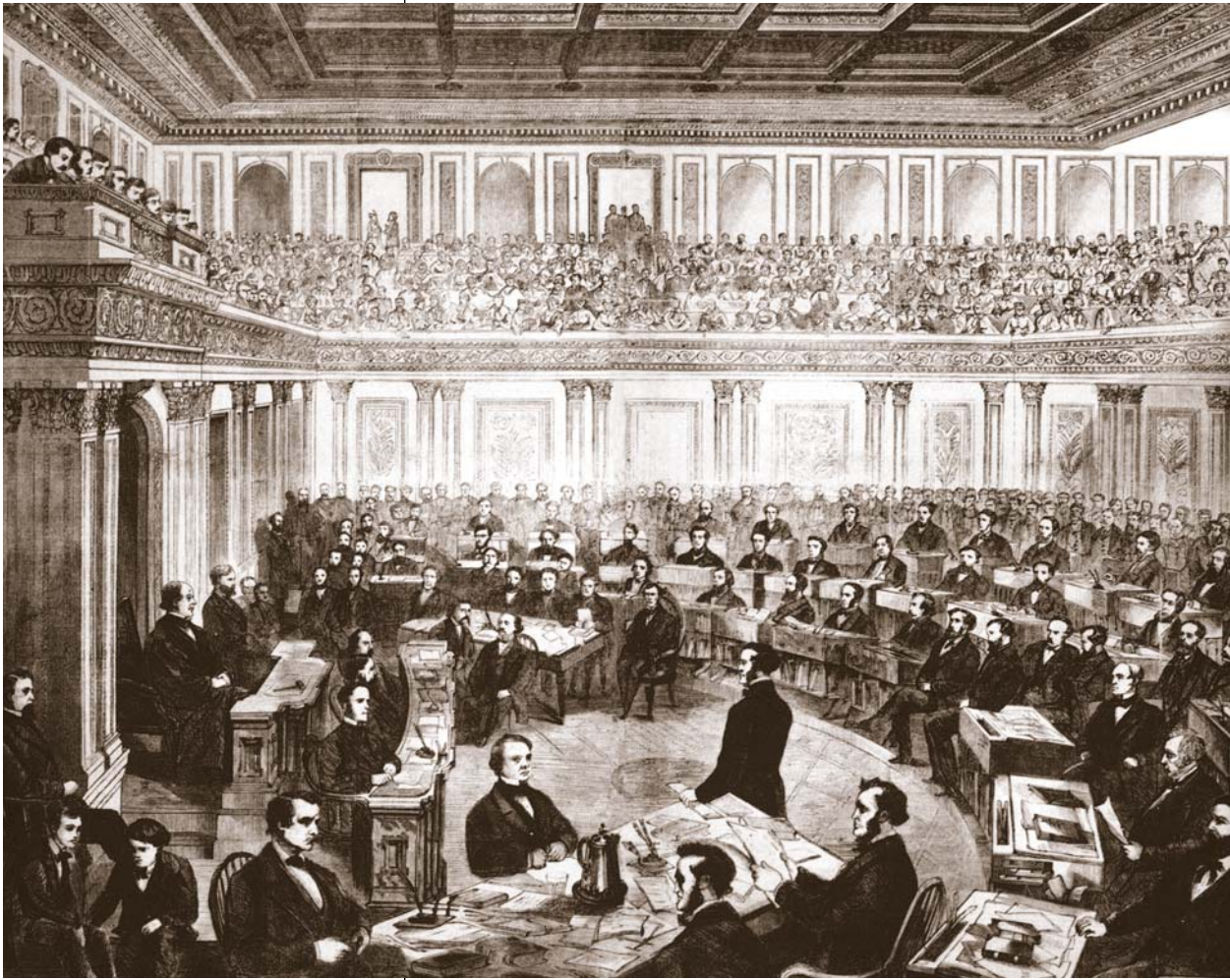
It is also easy to understand why the national government reacted so negatively to the Black Codes. Northerners had fought the Confederacy for four years and were reluctant to allow the South to reestablish anything similar to slavery. The federal response to the Black Codes was swift and decisive. The U.S. Army occupying the South disallowed the laws, declaring invalid any laws that did not apply equally to all citizens.

To northerners in Congress, the Black Codes indicated that the South was trying to resurrect slavery. Those northerners who pushed most for civil rights for freedmen and changes in southern behavior were called **Radical Republicans**. They were determined not to allow the former Confederate states back into full partnership in the nation until they demonstrated their willingness to reform. The South remained without representation in Congress until 1868.

Congress passed the Civil Rights Act of 1866, which invalidated any state laws—such as the Black Codes—that discriminated on the basis of race. President Johnson vetoed the act. The Congress overrode his veto. A mighty struggle arose between President Johnson and Congress over control of the Reconstruction process.



Above: Andrew Johnson of Tennessee was vice president at the time of Abraham Lincoln's assassination. As president, his attempts at a speedy reconciliation with the South, without due concern for the rights of the freedmen, put him at odds with the Radical Republicans in Congress.



Above: Andrew Johnson's conflicts with the Radical Republicans came to a head when he was impeached following an attempt to dismiss his secretary of war without the approval of the Senate. The trial took place in the U.S. Senate, where he was acquitted by a single vote. **Opposite page, above:** After the 1866 elections, the Radical Republicans placed the former Confederate states under military rule. Major General Daniel Sickles, who lost a leg at the Battle of Gettysburg, was the commander of the second military district, which consisted of North and South Carolina.

The President versus the Congress

The administration of President Johnson, from 1865 to 1869, was strained and disorderly, partly because of the confusion at the end of the war and partly because he was always at odds with the Republican Congress. The Radicals even tried to remove him from office. The House of Representatives impeached him, but his trial in the Senate resulted in his retaining the presidency by a one-vote margin. To **impeach** is to bring charges against a public official who is still in office. (A federal official is *impeached* by the House of Representatives and *tried* by the Senate.)

In June 1866, Congress passed the Fourteenth Amendment. Ratified in 1868, it remains an important amendment to the U.S. Constitution. It defines citizenship to include black Americans. (Remember that, in the *Dred Scott* decision in 1857, the Supreme Court had ruled that blacks could not be citizens.) It also guarantees equal protection of all citizens under the law. With this amendment, the national government accepted responsibility for protecting citizens from their own state government if necessary.

Northern voters gave the Radical Republicans an even larger majority in Congress in the election of 1866. In 1867, the Radicals took over the process

of Reconstruction from the president and imposed new requirements on the seceded states. First, they placed the southern state governments under temporary military rule. South Carolina and North Carolina were placed under General Daniel Sickles.

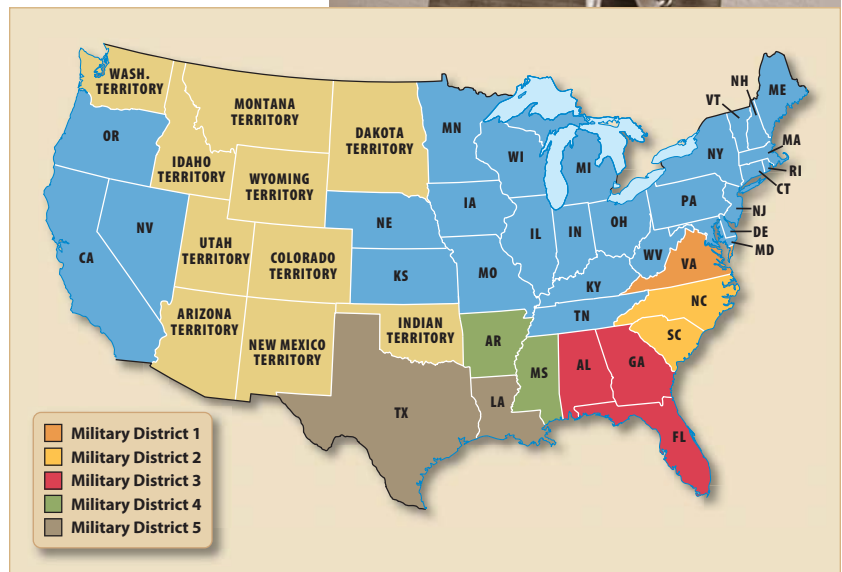
Next, Congress required the southern states to hold conventions to write new constitutions. Black men could vote and become delegates to the conventions. Former Confederate officials could not vote, unless pardoned by the Congress. Once a suitable constitution had been approved, the Fourteenth Amendment ratified, and elections held with universal male suffrage, the state would be readmitted to the Union.

Congressional Reconstruction (or Radical Reconstruction)

With Congress now in control of Reconstruction, all former Confederate states complied and established new governments by 1868. These new state governments were dominated by blacks, carpetbaggers, and scalawags. **Carpetbaggers** was the name given by southern whites to northerners, white or black, who came south after the war. Some came as missionaries and teachers to help the freedmen. Some came as businessmen or for possible political advancement. Most expected to help in the rebuilding of the South.

Scalawags was the name given to southern whites who cooperated with blacks and Republicans. Traditional southerners considered them traitors to the white race and to the South. They said scalawags were driven by corrupt motives, but most seem to have felt the best interests of the South would be served by working with the Republicans to rebuild the economy.

All the former Confederate states were under Republican governments after 1868, but for varying lengths of time. In some states with smaller black populations, the more traditional Democrats, or Conservatives as they preferred to be called, regained control—some after two years, some after four years. States with the largest black populations, including South Carolina, were governed by Republicans until 1877. U.S. Army troops helped maintain the Republicans in power in face of fierce opposition by the white Democratic minority.



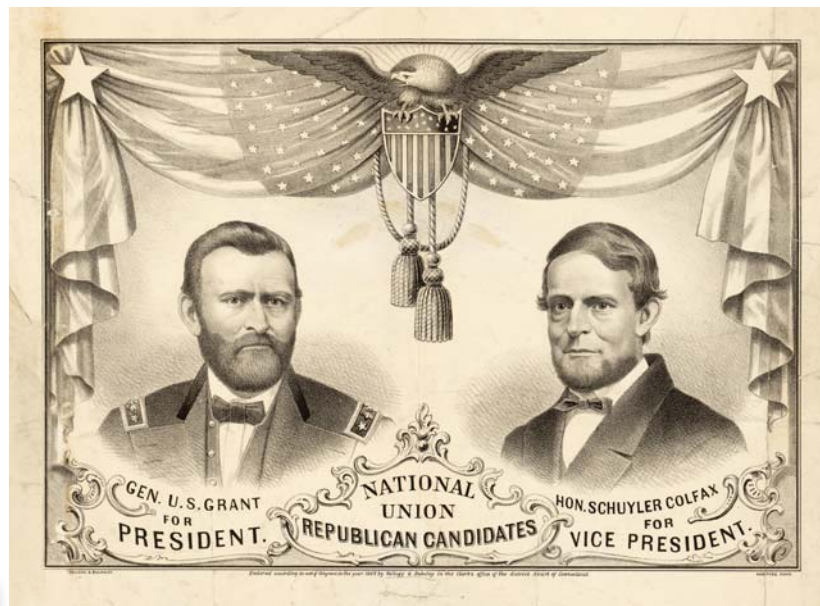
MAP 37

Military Reconstruction Districts

Map Skill: South Carolina was part of which district?

Right: Military heroes going all the way back to George Washington have run for president. This poster is from Ulysses S. Grant's first campaign for president in 1868.

Below: By the end of his second term, Grant's administration was filled with corruption. This political cartoon depicts Grant as a trapeze artist, hanging from a bar that says "third term," but weighed down by cabinet members, associates, even his private secretary, all involved in scandals.



The Republican Party also dominated the national government during Reconstruction. It was the party triumphant in war—the party of Lincoln and of emancipation. The Democratic Party was associated in the public mind with southerners and the trauma of Civil War. Republicans repeatedly reminded Americans that “not all Democrats were rebels, but all rebels were Democrats.”

General Ulysses S. Grant, a Republican, served as president from 1869 to 1877. His years in office were, like Johnson's, very troubled ones. Grant himself was honest, but historians judge his administration as one of the most corrupt in American history. Several of his cabinet members and his own personal secretary were removed from office for corruption. These problems hindered Grant's ability to deal with Reconstruction in the South.

The nation was divided on how Reconstruction of southern states should proceed. How much change should be imposed on them? How strongly should the national government push for equal rights for freedmen? How much help should be given the freedmen in their struggles? Did the northerners have the will to resist the opposition of southern whites to Republican rule and black participation in politics?



DO YOU REMEMBER?

1. Define in sentence form: Radical Republicans, carpetbaggers, scalawags.
2. What were some of the restrictions imposed on freedmen by the Black Codes?
3. What are the main purposes of the Fourteenth Amendment?

Of SPECIAL INTEREST

Simeon Corley: A White South Carolinian Who Supported Racial Equality

By Dr. Hyman Rubin III

On February 6, 1866, Simeon Corley, a Lexington tailor who had been forced into

the Confederate army at bayonet point, wrote Thaddeus Stevens, the Radical Republican leader from Pennsylvania, an extraordinary letter. He asserted that even after the defeat of the Confederacy, most white South Carolinians were “still the enemies of the Government.” He warned that their influence needed to be balanced out by South Carolinians who were

loyal to the Union. But because there were very few white Unionists like himself, he urged a radical solution to Stevens and other Republicans in Congress: “I have slowly but deliberately come to the conclusion that negro suffrage is our only hope for peace and security in the future.”

Corley knew that these ideas might get him into trouble with his neighbors. But he was not afraid to make white Conservatives angry, because he had been doing it for a long time. Before the war, he had argued that South Carolina should not secede, and even argued that the state should free its slaves. When his neighbors had threatened him and warned him to leave the state, he ignored the threats and continued to write Unionist newspaper articles.



In 1868, Congress did give the vote to black southerners, and with their support Corley won election to Congress himself, as a Republican. He served one term, then returned to South Carolina, where he held local offices. He gave many speeches expressing his hope that, in the future, black South Carolinians should have all the same rights as whites. In fact, Corley went even further than most northern men. He urged Congress to give the vote to women too.

White Democrats responded violently to the participation of blacks

in politics. Dozens of black Republicans were killed by organizations like the Ku Klux Klan and the Red Shirts, and several white Republicans were murdered for their beliefs as well. But Corley was not afraid, and even the Democrats had to admire his consistency. When he died in 1902, the *Lexington Dispatch* (a Democratic newspaper) printed an obituary that noted his Republican politics but still praised his “strict honesty and uncompromising integrity.”

There were others like Corley—thousands of other white southerners supported Reconstruction as he did—but in the end, there were not enough. The Democrats’ violence and threats eventually took their toll. In the 1876 election, white Democrats took control. Their victory brought decades of segregation, discrimination, and violence to African Americans.

federal instructions, Perry called a constitutional convention. The Constitution of 1865 was slightly more democratic than the antebellum document, but those elected under it were not very different from those elected before and during the war.

White Carolinians were determined that their military defeat should not mean northerners could change the southern way of life. A northern journalist traveling in the South soon after the war noted “in South Carolina a more virulent *animosity* (bitter hostility) existing in the minds of the common people against the government and people of the North than in any other State I visited.”

The James L. Orr Administration

The first governor elected under the new constitution and the first one in history elected directly by the state’s voters, not the General Assembly, was James L. Orr. Before the war, he had served in the Congress and as speaker of the House of Representatives. As governor from November 1865 to June 1868, Orr presided over the reopening of South Carolina College as the University of South Carolina and the opening of the new state penitentiary. He authorized the purchase of artificial arms and legs for the many Confederate soldiers who had come home mangled by war.

In the fall of 1865, the General Assembly ratified the Thirteenth Amendment but then proceeded to pass the Black Codes. The legislature refused to ratify the Fourteenth Amendment. Ordinary white citizens showed resistance by reorganizing armed night patrols, which had been a standard feature at many times during slavery. Patrols that had kept slaves in line and prevented runaways were now used to protect whites’ property, intimidate freedmen, and enforce white supremacy. It was these attitudes and actions that caused the U.S. Congress to require new constitutional conventions in South Carolina and the other southern states.



South Carolina under Congressional (Radical) Reconstruction

The turmoil in the state in early 1868 is almost beyond description. Blacks were excited about the new opportunity to have some control over their own destiny. In three years, with the help of the federal government, they had advanced from slavery to an opportunity for political equality. It had all come too fast for most whites. Whites’ excitement was chiefly anxiety about this new challenge to their order and their superiority.

Above: James L. Orr was elected governor of South Carolina in 1865. Before the war, he had served ten years in the U.S. House of Representatives, including one term as speaker of the House.



The Constitution of 1868

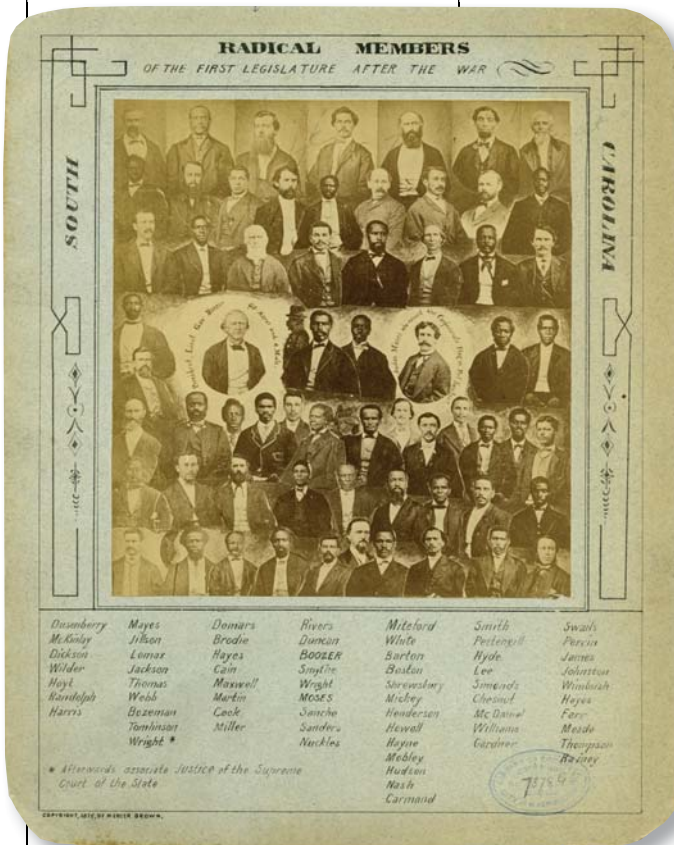
The new constitutional convention was unique in South Carolina history. It was composed of seventy-three blacks and fifty-one whites. The delegates met early in 1868 and completed South Carolina's most remarkable and most democratic constitution. This biracial democracy was to provide equal voting rights and equal political opportunity for all men. For the first time since 1670, a man did not have to own property to hold office. Representation in the General Assembly was based solely on population, not the population *and* wealth formula that had always favored the Lowcountry. Greater control over local affairs was granted to new county governments. Local people could finally elect their own officials who could tax the people to take care of local needs, such as roads, schools, and police protection. The constitution required the first statewide public education system in South Carolina—equally available to all children. This concept of equality was what made the new constitution seem so radical and what caused most white Carolinians to reject it.

Republican Rule in South Carolina

In July 1868, the first general election was held. The Republican Party swept almost every office in the state. Over 80 percent of the General Assembly was Republican. The majority of those were black—75 out of 124 in the House and 10 out of 32 in the Senate.

Robert K. Scott, a white Union army officer from Ohio, was elected governor. He had been head of the Freedmen's Bureau in South Carolina, which gave him much influence with black voters. Francis L. Cardozo was elected secretary of state, the first black man elected to a statewide office in South Carolina. Cardozo was the son of a Charleston Jewish man and a free African American woman. He studied in Scotland and London before returning to Charleston after the war as a minister with the American Missionary Association. He was a key member of the constitutional convention of 1868 and was interested in establishing a public school system.

Also in July, the new General Assembly ratified the Fourteenth Amendment to the U.S. Constitution and established circuit courts across the state. South Carolina had now met the requirements of Congress. Military supervision over the state government ended. Not all troops were moved from the state, but the army was no longer in control. The new Republican administration faced many problems, especially with determined opposition from the white minority that controlled most of the state's wealth.



Top: Educator Francis Cardozo was a delegate to the constitutional convention, and was elected secretary of state in 1868. **Above:** This composite portrait is titled "Radical Members of the First Legislature after the War."

The white Carolinians' use of violence and intimidation increased after the introduction of the black vote and the reduced presence of federal troops. Threats, beatings, and murder of Republican voters and officeholders became routine in Reconstruction South Carolina. Traditional Conservative whites had no intention of losing control of *their* civilization to a gang of freedmen, carpetbaggers, and scalawags without a fight. The twelve years of Reconstruction in South Carolina were years of struggle and anxiety that nearly equaled the Civil War in intensity.

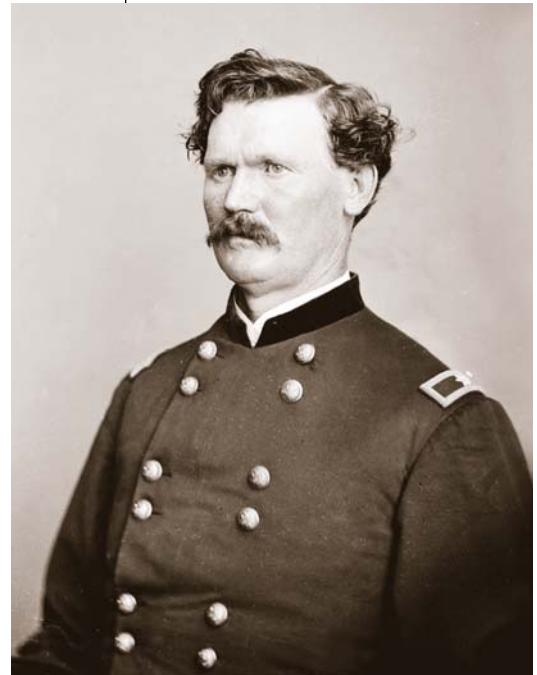
The Peak of Black Participation

The years after 1868 were times of increasing participation by blacks in the political life of the state. The Fifteenth Amendment to the U.S. Constitution, ratified in 1870, guaranteed the right of African Americans to vote. By 1872, 61 percent of the General Assembly was black, almost exactly equal to their percentage of the total population. African Americans chaired most of the committees and elected black speakers of the House and presidents pro tempore of the Senate until the end of Reconstruction. Blacks served in statewide offices of lieutenant governor (but never governor), secretary of state, secretary of treasury, and attorney general. Six blacks were elected to Congress. Perhaps most inconceivable for Conservatives was the election of Jonathan J. Wright, a black attorney, as justice of the South Carolina Supreme Court. The influence of blacks in politics was greater in South Carolina than in any other state for one brief moment in time.

White scalawags and carpetbaggers were also important in the Republican majority. Either a northerner or a native white Republican was governor each term from 1868 to 1877. Many served with blacks in the General Assembly, and hundreds served in various county positions.

Propaganda against Radical Reconstruction

The Conservatives' condemnation of virtually all Republicans as corrupt, incompetent, low-class, uncouth troublemakers helped unify white opinion against the Reconstruction regime. The **propaganda** (accusations spread deliberately to further a cause or damage an opposing cause) was more easily believable because quite a number of Republican politicians were, indeed, corrupt and incompetent. (Unfortunately, corruption was common all over the country in this era.) One of the tragedies of the era is that most northerners came to believe the propaganda, causing them to lose enthusiasm for the experiment in a biracial democracy. And everyone understood that northern public opinion and the U.S. Army were necessary for South Carolina Republicans to hold out against the determined resistance of armed white citizens.



Top: Former Union general Robert K. Scott was the first governor of South Carolina to serve consecutive terms. After his return to Ohio, he was tried for the murder of a friend of his son, a shooting he claimed was accidental. He was acquitted of the crime. **Above:** Jonathan J. Wright was the first African American to serve on the South Carolina Supreme Court.

Reconstruction Amendments

The three amendments to the United States Constitution adopted during Reconstruction are of profound importance to later generations of Americans.

Thirteenth Amendment

Year of Adoption: 1865

Provision: The amendment states simply that slavery is ended in the United States.

Fourteenth Amendment

Year of Adoption: 1868

Provisions:

A. Defines as citizens:

1. All persons born in the United States (which includes all blacks, previously denied citizenship by the *Dred Scott* decision in 1857);
2. All duly and legally processed immigrants.

B. Guarantees rights of all citizens:

1. States must not deny the rights of citizens;
2. States shall not “deprive any person of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law”;
3. States shall not “deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws.”

C. Three other sections dealt with immediate concerns in the southern states and were not of lasting importance.

By this amendment the federal government is taking responsibility for protecting the rights of all citizens against possible violation by their own state government. It was of great importance to the civil rights movement in the twentieth century.

Fifteenth Amendment

Year of Adoption: 1870

Provision: This amendment states that the right to vote shall not be denied by the federal or state governments on the basis of race. Gender is not mentioned. The right of women to vote had to wait another half-century.

Even more tragic for the long run was the fact that, for many more decades, most Americans believed the propaganda that Reconstruction was imposed by congressmen seeking revenge and was carried out by ignorant and corrupt blacks, scalawags, and carpetbaggers. Those opinions were used to justify subjecting blacks to a system of segregation and **discrimination** (prejudiced treatment of a group) for another hundred years.

Black Leadership

The truth is that many of the black leaders and politicians were able, educated, and competent. The truth also is that some were incompetent and some were corrupt. A few members of the General Assembly were illiterate. This put them at a disadvantage, but it does not mean they were ignorant or stupid. Most black legislators were literate property owners from a middle class of farmers, store owners, and craftsmen. About 25 percent of the black legislators had been free before the war.

Robert Brown Elliott was one of the most distinguished of those legislators. He served two terms in Congress, earning a reputation as a powerful

Below: This elaborate lithograph celebrates a speech on civil rights given by South Carolina congressman Robert Brown Elliott on January 6, 1874. The central image shows Elliott delivering the speech. Other panels depict Abraham Lincoln (left) with the Emancipation Proclamation and Massachusetts Senator Charles Sumner (right) holding a civil rights bill. In the corners are Civil War scenes of black soldiers and sailors, and at the bottom, a scene showing black farmers on their own land.





speechmaker. In 1874, he returned to South Carolina to serve in the state House of Representatives as its speaker for two years.

Serving in Congress with Elliott was Joseph Hayne Rainey. Born a slave in Georgetown, Rainey became the first black man ever elected to Congress from any state. He courageously voted for **amnesty** (pardon granted to a large group of individuals) for former Confederate officials.

Alonzo Jacob Ransier, a free black in Charleston prior to the war, served as the first black lieutenant governor. He advocated racially integrated education and granting the vote to women. Benjamin Franklin Randolph came from Ohio as a soldier during the war, then worked with the Freedmen's Bureau. He served in the state Senate and as chair of the state Republican Party. While campaigning in October 1868, he was murdered. Ku Klux Klansmen were suspected of committing the crime, but no one was punished. Randolph was one of four Republican leaders assassinated in 1868.

It is difficult for citizens in the twenty-first century to understand what a total change for America these black

officeholders were during Reconstruction. To put it in perspective, before Reconstruction only two black persons had held any public offices anywhere in the United States. By the end of Reconstruction, about two thousand black men had served in various official positions in the South. Many were minor local officials, but some were lieutenant governors, congressmen, and judges. Other important figures of the time were church leaders, newspaper editors, and political organizers. Many emerged from slavery and responded like one freedman leader who said: "I walked out like a man [when freedom came] and shouldered my responsibilities."

HAVE YOU SEEN...

the Joseph H. Rainey House? Rainey (above) lived in this home, at 909 Prince Street in Georgetown, from shortly after the Civil War until he died there in 1887.



Successes of Radical Reconstruction

These black leaders, along with white scalawags and carpetbaggers, had some successes during Reconstruction. Perhaps most important, they provided an example of what a biracial democracy might look like. The brief period of Republican government from 1868 to 1877 served as an inspiration decades later that blacks and whites could work together as political equals.

One of the most significant changes the biracial democracy made was the initiation of the state's first statewide public school system. It was certainly imperfect, with never enough money and operating only about five months per year. Most schools were not racially integrated. By 1875, less than half the school-age children were in school. But it was a foundation on which to build in the future. The state also established programs for the blind and deaf.

Race relations were a bit more open and socially integrated during Reconstruction, compared to what went before and what came afterward. For a short period, there was integrated access to parks and recreational areas, businesses, trains, and other transportation. Northern travelers were shocked to see blacks and whites mingling in stores and ice cream shops. No doubt these opportunities were more available in larger towns, and no doubt many whites objected, but at least the possibility of better race relations was evident. Interracial marriages were strongly discouraged, but a few occurred in Charleston churches.

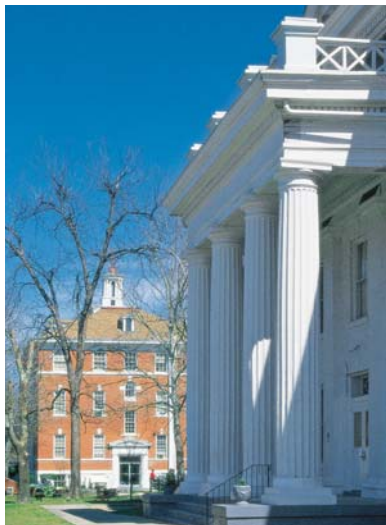
A small professional black upper class developed during Reconstruction. For the first time, blacks could operate in South Carolina as lawyers, ministers, doctors, nurses, and teachers. African Americans in some towns and cities could serve as policemen and firemen for the first time. Labor unions were created in Charleston and perhaps elsewhere.

Other accomplishments of Radical Reconstruction include a provision in the Constitution of 1868 that prohibited taking away a debtor's home to satisfy the debt. The constitution also outlawed the custom of imprisoning people for being in debt. Blacks could serve on juries, and their testimony could be accepted in court. Women could finally own and control property, even if they were married. A woman's property could not be taken to satisfy the debts of her husband. Furthermore, divorce, which previously required an act of the General Assembly, could be granted by judges. These were significant gains for women's rights, but no serious consideration was given to allowing women to vote.

Of less lasting value was the temporary racial integration of the University of South Carolina. The school had closed during the war and only opened for a short time during Reconstruction. It had only 65 students before Republicans required its integration in 1873. The next year, it had 156 students; one-half to two-thirds were black. The university hired its first black professor, Richard T. Greener, who had been the first black graduate of Harvard. In addition to teaching and being a politically active Republican, Greener attended the university's new law school and later became a



Top: Alonzo J. Ransier was the first African American to be elected lieutenant governor of South Carolina. Above: During a brief period of integration, Richard T. Greener was appointed the first black professor at the University of South Carolina.



Top: The First African Baptist Church in Beaufort was built by former slaves in 1865. **Above:** The AME Church founded Allen University as Payne Institute in 1870.

lawyer. Several black lawyers received their training before the whole university was closed down at the end of Reconstruction. (The school reopened in 1880 as an all-white institution.) The black lawyers who received their training during that brief window of opportunity played important roles in the black communities of the state for decades.

Religion and Race during Reconstruction

The racial transition during Reconstruction had great effects on the churches of the state. After emancipation, freedmen tended to form their own churches—to express their sense of freedom from white control. Churches became centers of social and political action within black communities. Ministers to these congregations, often missionaries from the North, provided much of the political leadership of the Republican Party.

Many of the new black congregations joined northern church denominations—Methodists, Baptists, Presbyterians—rather than the denominations' southern branches. Other congregations joined either of two national all-black churches, the African Methodist Episcopal (AME) Church or the AME Zion

Church. Church membership among blacks soared during the decade after emancipation. The most rapidly growing denomination was the Baptists.

The black denominations, like the white, were interested in education. The northern Methodists were instrumental in founding Claflin College in Orangeburg in 1869 as the first African American college in the state. Northern Baptists founded Benedict College in Columbia in 1870. The AME Church established Payne Institute in Cokesbury in 1870. They moved it to Columbia in 1880 and renamed it Allen University.

DO YOU REMEMBER?

1. Define in sentence form: propaganda, discrimination, amnesty.
2. What provisions in the Constitution of 1868 made it one of the most democratic in the state's history?
3. What advantages did freedmen feel they gained by forming their own churches after emancipation?



Of SPECIAL INTEREST

William J. Whipper and Robert Brown Elliott: Outstanding Black Lawyers during Reconstruction *By Dr. Lewis Burke*

The first black law firm in South Carolina history was formed in Charleston in 1868 by William J. Whipper and Robert Brown Elliott. Whipper, born in Philadelphia, served in the Union army during the Civil War. After the war, he moved to Charleston and began practicing law. Robert Brown Elliott (pictured) arrived in the state in 1867 to work for a newspaper.

Both men were intelligent and brilliant orators. Both men soon became active in politics, served in the constitutional convention of 1868, and were elected to the legislature. Elliott was elected to the U.S. Congress in 1870, where he drew praise for his speeches on behalf of civil rights legislation.

The two young black lawyers maintained their office in Charleston, but they practiced law and tried major criminal cases all over the state. Their cases ranged from representing a mule thief to defending very powerful men. Their successful representation of an accused murderer in 1869 drew the attention of a Charleston newspaper, which reported on their “politeness and general good bearing.”

One of the biggest trials in the state’s history was the murder trial of Christopher Columbus Bowen, the white sheriff of Charleston County and a former congressman. He was accused of hiring a fellow soldier in the Confederate army to murder their commanding officer. Bowen’s arrest was national news, and most newspapers expected a conviction. But Bowen hired four of the best

lawyers in the state to defend him, including Elliott and Whipper. He was found not guilty.

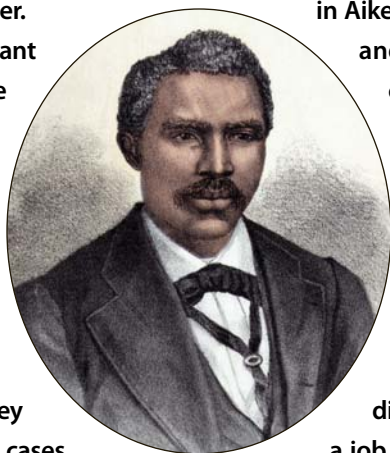
The two lawyers often tried cases solo. Whipper was active in Charleston and Beaufort Counties. In one murder case, Whipper supposedly brought the jury to tears, and few of his clients were found guilty. Elliott was active

in Aiken, Orangeburg, and Richland Counties and was often asked to defend political clients. For example, when the son of a state senator was accused of assault and battery in Columbia, Elliott got the young man off.

After Reconstruction, Elliott tried to remain active in politics and the practice of law. But the new white Democratic government made that difficult. To support his family, Elliott took a job with the federal government. In 1881,

he was assigned to New Orleans, and he practiced law there. But ill health took his life at age forty-two in 1884.

Whipper practiced with some success in Beaufort County, which was 90 percent black. He was elected probate judge in 1884 and served in the constitutional convention of 1895. Eventually, blacks were totally excluded from juries in the state. So in 1900, when Whipper represented a young black barber charged with killing a white constable in Georgetown, the aging lawyer faced an all-white jury. He lost, and his client was convicted. He appealed to the U.S. Supreme Court but lost this last major court appearance. He died in 1907.



The Economy during Reconstruction

AS YOU READ, LOOK FOR

- recovery of the northern economy after the Civil War, then a depression in 1873;
- reasons for a failing economy in the South;
- new forms of agriculture in the sharecrop, tenant farming, and crop-lien systems;
- modest expansion of South Carolina railroads during Reconstruction;
- terms: **depression, sharecrop system, tenant farmer, crop-lien system.**



Above: This painting by Thomas Hill depicts the driving of the final spike to complete the transcontinental railroad, at Promontory Summit, Utah, on May 10, 1869.

One of the important concerns in the Reconstruction of the nation—and especially the South—was the rebuilding of the economy. The South could expect little assistance from the federal government. Very little *capital* (money) for investment in economic recovery existed in the South.

The National Economy during the Reconstruction Era

The nation was going through an enormous economic transition during the Civil War and Reconstruction. Industry had grown slowly in the North before the war. The war stimulated industry to manufacture the necessary arms and supplies. Manufacturing expanded rapidly in the North, and many fortunes were made from war profits. Much of this money was reinvested after the war in more factories and railroads and ships for foreign trade.

The federal government encouraged these developments with grants of money and land to railroads and industries. During the war, the Union

government gave vast amounts of public lands for the building of the first transcontinental railroad, binding California to the east coast. It was completed in 1869. A new steel industry came into being to supply railroad tracks and other products of the industrial revolution. These developments set the stage for the big surge of industrial growth in the late nineteenth century.

The outburst of energy and industry was slowed down temporarily in 1873 by a severe **depression** (a serious downturn in the economy). The economy suddenly collapsed, and many factory workers, miners, and railroad laborers lost their jobs. Business profits fell. Depressions had happened before, but now a much larger percentage of laborers worked in factories in towns and cities. Unlike farm workers, they could not grow their own food. The enormous suffering in the Depression of 1873 led to labor unrest, strikes, protests, and violence. Federal, state, and local governments could offer little help with the problem.

Despite these setbacks, the economy recovered and the industrial growth in the North resumed. The South remained largely engaged in agriculture and generally experienced poverty for several decades after the Civil War.



The South Carolina Economy during Reconstruction

The Reconstruction process included rebuilding the smashed economies of the southern states. South Carolina's postwar economy was in total chaos, with enormous destruction in towns and cities and on farms and plantations. The path of Sherman's army was stripped of farm animals and equipment. Fences, farmhouses, railroad tracks, and bridges were destroyed. Charleston and Columbia and many smaller towns lay in ruins. The main necessity was to get crops growing again so everyone could be fed and the economic recovery could begin.

The chief problem was this: landowners had no money to hire laborers, and most workers had no land of their own to farm. Many blacks hoped, and whites feared, that the federal government would claim the land of former rebels and distribute it to freedmen as small farms. Many former slaves stayed on the land they had tilled, believing their previous labor had given them some claim to it. Former slaves on Edisto Island protested to

Above: Reconstruction meant a lot of rebuilding. This photograph of Charleston shows scaffolding on the shell of the Circular Congregational Church on Meeting Street.

WHAT DO YOU THINK?

Do you think one of the functions of national government is to help an area of the country recover from an economic or natural disaster, such as severe unemployment or a hurricane? Should such problems be handled by state and local governments? Or should they be handled only by individuals, businesses, and charitable organizations?

President Johnson the return of plantations to their former owners. They declared, “This is our home. We have made these lands what they are.”

Government takeover and redistribution of the land to freedman did not happen. The Radicals in Congress were supporters of capitalism, and most did not favor taking private property, even from southern rebels. Also, the federal government wanted to reconstruct the South politically but did not accept responsibility for rebuilding its economy. That was considered a local or state responsibility.

The Reconstruction state government tried a unique experiment with the South Carolina Land Commission. The Commission was to buy large parcels of land and sell them as small farms to freedmen. This promising idea was bogged down in corruption and incompetence at first. When it was reformed, it ended up getting land into the hands of only a few hundred freedmen. Still, South Carolina, through the Freedmen’s Bureau and the Land Commission, managed to distribute more land to freedmen than any other state.

The Sharecrop System

Southern landowners and laborers reached a workable solution called the sharecrop system. Under a **sharecrop system**, the owner divided his

property into family-size farms, and a laborer’s family worked the farm. When the crop was harvested, both the owner and the laborer got a share. Usually, the worker got one-third to one-half the crop. This system became the dominant means of agricultural production across the South for nearly a century. Some laborers who could afford it simply rented land from the owner. There were several ways to be a **tenant farmer** (a farmer who worked someone else’s property).

Though the sharecrop system soon restored agricultural *production*

to prewar levels, it did not create *prosperity*. Sharecropping kept farm workers in a poor and subordinate position. (Some would say their position was worse than slavery because at least the slave owner was responsible for the upkeep of old or sick slaves and had a financial interest in protecting his slaves from other whites.) The system tended to keep the sharecropper in debt to the landowner, making it nearly impossible for him to seek better opportunities elsewhere. Sharecropping also contributed to poor farming techniques that wore out the land.



Above: Even after emancipation, former slaves in the sharecrop system found themselves farming other people’s land.



The Crop-Lien System

The sharecrop system was almost always teamed with the crop-lien system. In a **crop-lien system**, the owners and sharecroppers, having no cash, bought supplies on credit from the country store. The merchant got a lien or mortgage on the crop. So at harvest time, the merchant was paid first, then the landowner and sharecropper divided anything left over. Often there was nothing left over, so the producers started the new year already in debt.

One more long-range problem with the crop-lien system was the fact that the merchant/creditor always insisted that the farmer plant a nonperishable crop. He was unwilling to accept anything as temporary as, say, tomatoes or peaches. Therefore, instead of encouraging a healthier diversified agriculture, the new system required submission again to King Cotton. Soon, the state produced more cotton than ever before. Large crops brought survival, but not prosperity.

Rice production never really recovered from the effects of war and emancipation. The coastal counties tumbled from one of the wealthiest to one of the poorest regions of the nation and remained so for several decades.

Difficulties for All Classes

All classes of citizens found life difficult in the Reconstruction era. Formerly rich people struggled and many, like Wade Hampton III, declared bankruptcy and lost most of their property.

Above: Cotton, seen here around a sharecropper's cottage, continued to be the dominant crop in South Carolina after the war, due in part to the crop-lien system, which favored nonperishable crops.

DID YOU KNOW?

“Millwood,” Wade Hampton III’s country home near Columbia, was burned by Sherman’s troops. Only a few columns were left standing (below) as a symbol of the bygone era.



Small farm owners competed with sharecroppers, most of whom were black. Their lives were hard and their social status threatened by emancipation of the slaves. They received some assistance, as did the blacks, from the Freedmen’s Bureau. But the federal government closed down most of the Bureau’s services in 1872. Most of the freedmen, even with the assistance of the Bureau, were without that little bit of security and independence land ownership would bring. To make the picture grimmer, there was only one good crop year in South Carolina during the first five years after the war. Women were often overworked by the absence of men killed in the war, or burdened by men disabled mentally or physically by the war. The struggle for survival contributed to class and racial tensions.

Railroad Development

The railroad network in the state was rebuilt during Reconstruction, and 350 miles of new track were added to the prewar total of 973 miles. The state government promoted railroad development with grants and loans to private companies. These new government expenditures increased during Reconstruction—requiring higher taxes and inviting political corruption. Many legislators were happy to vote for subsidies in return for bribes from the companies. The new railroads in the Piedmont contributed to a major expansion of cotton production in the region.

Though railroad mileage increased, commerce was not very strong in South Carolina during Reconstruction, especially after the economic depression started in 1873. Manufacturing hardly advanced at all.

In summary, at the end of Reconstruction, the economy of South Carolina was largely one-crop agriculture, with little industry, weak commerce, and very little banking. Most people, black and white, lived on farms and were poor and burdened with debt. So far, the great progress the United States had witnessed in the nineteenth century had not improved life for most South Carolinians.

DO YOU REMEMBER?

1. Define in sentence form: depression, sharecrop system, crop-lien system.
2. What were some of the economic problems facing black and white South Carolinians after the Civil War?
3. What were the advantages and disadvantages of the state’s promotion of railroad development after the Civil War?

The Violent End of Reconstruction

AS YOU READ, LOOK FOR

- mounting opposition to Republican rule in South Carolina and the rise of the Ku Klux Klan;
- how the “Hamburg Massacre” diminished chances for a combination of Republicans and moderate Democrats;
- violence, corruption, and controversy in the governor’s election of 1876;
- how the presidential election of 1876 led to the end of Reconstruction;
- terms: **Ku Klux Klan (KKK)**, **Red Shirt campaign**.

Most white Carolinians never accepted the Republican Reconstruction government. They felt it their duty to oppose it in any way possible. The Conservative Democrats had a strong position from which to fight. The whites owned most of the state’s land, businesses, and wealth. They used that economic power to try to control the voters. The whites owned most of the guns in the state. If economic pressure did not work, violence would.

The Rising Opposition

We have noted some evidence of white Democrats using threats and violence early in the Reconstruction era. With the beginning of Congressional or Radical Reconstruction in 1868, the opposition increased. And Republicans played into the hands of the Democratic opposition. They raised taxes and allowed corruption to come into the administration of government.

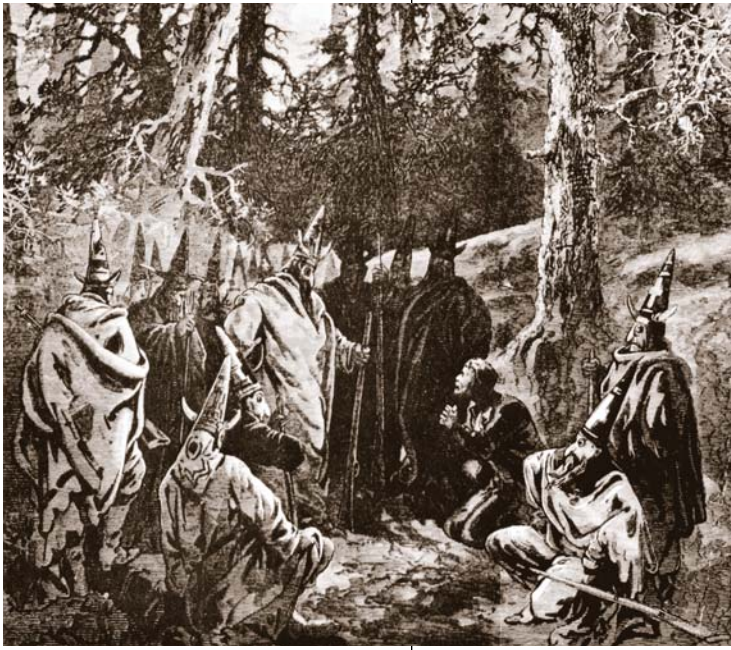
Governor Robert K. Scott’s administration (1868-1872) was fairly corrupt. His successor, Franklin J. Moses Jr., was probably the most corrupt governor ever to serve in the state. The corruption began to undermine northern support for keeping troops in the state to protect the Republican government.

The Ku Klux Klan

The Conservatives justified their opposition to Reconstruction on the need to restore white supremacy and clean up corruption. But their oppo-



Members of the Ku Klux Klan wore bizarre costumes to intimidate their political opponents.



Above: Ku Klux Klan violence and general lawlessness became so widespread in the Upcountry that President Grant declared nine counties to be in a “state of rebellion.” **Opposite page, above:** Daniel H. Chamberlain was the last Republican elected governor during Reconstruction. His reelection bid in 1876 resulted in one of the more controversial elections in South Carolina history. **Opposite page, below:** This cartoon depicts Wade Hampton III, Chamberlain’s opponent in the 1876 election, attempting to court the black vote, even though his aim was the restoration of white supremacy.

sition began before the corruption began. The **Ku Klux Klan (KKK)**, which organized in the state in 1868, was a secret racist organization that used threats and violence to influence the behavior of citizens. The KKK was not the only means of opposing Reconstruction, but it was the best organized and most effective means for several years. The klansmen typically operated in groups of mounted horsemen, sometimes disguised in robes and masks. Their targets were politically active Republicans, usually black men. Their purpose was to stop the political activities of the targets. If a threat in the night was not enough to accomplish their purpose, then beatings and torture might get results.

The campaign of terror against Reconstruction increased into general lawlessness from 1868 to 1871. Governor Scott was powerless to control the violence, which became most serious in the Upcountry. In 1870, he authorized the arming of black militia units to deal with the insurrection. This only inflamed the white opposition more. It was like throwing gasoline on a fire. The situation became so serious that Congress passed two KKK Acts in 1870 and 1871. These acts brought the power of the federal government into the effort to suppress lawlessness. In October 1871, President Grant declared the Upcountry counties of Chester, Chesterfield, Fairfield, Lancaster, Laurens, Union, Newberry, Spartanburg, and York to be in a “state of rebellion.” He suspended the writ of habeas corpus in those nine counties. *Habeas corpus* is a protection of citizens against arrest and detention without being properly charged with a crime. This protection is sometimes temporarily lifted in order to meet an emergency.

Federal and state officials jailed hundreds of klansmen, swamping the judicial system. Few leaders were caught and only a few regular members ended up in prison. Though Klan organizations were disbanded, new groups called “gun clubs” or “rifle clubs” continued the terror activities. The purpose was still the same: to promote white supremacy and bring the Democratic Party back into power.

The final Reconstruction governor of South Carolina was Daniel H. Chamberlain, elected in 1874. A native of Massachusetts and graduate of Yale University, Chamberlain made a valiant effort to root out Republican corruption and incompetence. He even tried to win over moderate Democrats and form a combination of moderates in both parties for his reelection campaign in 1876. The effort seemed to be succeeding but violence intervened to upset those plans.

The Hamburg Massacre

In July 1876, a confrontation arose that was to change the direction of the election and of Reconstruction history. Two white men felt insulted by the black militia that was drilling in the little town of Hamburg. The men sought help in Edgefield from former Confederate General Matthew C. Butler and Benjamin Ryan Tillman, who later became governor. According to Tillman, Edgefield men were ready to do all that was necessary to stop the carpetbag rule. Butler arrived in Hamburg with two hundred armed white men who surrounded the black militiamen crowded into a warehouse. Firing broke out. A white man was killed. More armed white men arrived. They used a cannon to force the militiamen out. Some of the blacks escaped into the nearby woods. The whites captured about three dozen. From these, they selected six and shot them dead.

The “Hamburg Massacre” demonstrated once more that the Republican government was unable to protect its own citizens. Governor Chamberlain’s appeal to President Grant for more troops proved to Democrats that Chamberlain could not be a trusted partner. The “Massacre” blew apart any possibility of a combined ticket in 1876. More extreme elements of the Democratic Party, including Matthew C. Butler and Martin W. Gary, insisted on a “straight-out” Democratic policy: no cooperation with Republicans.

The Election of 1876

The “straight-out” Democratic Party nominated Confederate war hero, General Wade Hampton III, for governor. After the war, Hampton had largely stayed clear of politics, but by 1876 he was determined that white leaders like himself must regain control of the state. He claimed to want cooperation with all Carolinians, including blacks, and promised that all citizens’ civil rights would be respected. But working hard for his election was a large segment of the party that followed Martin Gary’s “Edgefield Plan,” which would win the election for Democrats and reestablish white supremacy. They called it “redeeming” South Carolina from black, carpetbagger, and scalawag rule.

The Democratic election campaign was run like a military operation. Everywhere Hampton campaigned, he was accompanied by hundreds of armed, mounted horsemen dressed in red shirts. This **Red Shirt campaign** was designed to intimidate Republican voters and impress everyone with Democrats’ determination. Everywhere Chamberlain and



FRANK LESLIE'S ILLUSTRATED NEWSPAPER

NEW YORK, DECEMBER 16, 1876. [Price, 10 CENTS.]

THE NOVEMBER ELECTION.

THE HEAVY WORK OF DECEMBER 21ST IN SOUTH CAROLINA.

The heavy work of December 21st in South Carolina was the most important of the year. The election of the State Legislature was held in Columbia, and the result was a tie. The Republicans won the majority of the seats in the House of Representatives, but the Democrats won the majority in the Senate. The result was a dual government, with two governors and two legislatures.



THE BOARD OF CAPTIVES BEING SWORN IN AT THE JAIL AT COLUMBIA, NOVEMBER 21ST.

The Court on the day previous, in obedience to an order of the 20th. A fine of \$1,000 was imposed on each member.

On Wednesday morning, 21st ult., commitments were made and were issued from the jail, and the board of captives was sworn in at the jail. The board of captives was sworn in at the jail, and the board of captives was sworn in at the jail.



SPREAD HAVELY SWORN IN THE REPUBLICAN MEMBERS OF THE HOUSE IN COLUMBIA—THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES IN THE STATE LEGISLATURE AT COLUMBIA—THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES IN THE STATE LEGISLATURE AT COLUMBIA.

Above: The 1876 election in South Carolina was front-page news in Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper. The main illustration shows the swearing in of Republican state representatives. Opposite page, above: The presidential election of 1876 was as controversial as South Carolina's. Republican Rutherford B. Hayes won the disputed election, and made peace with Democrats by agreeing to end Reconstruction.

Republicans tried to campaign, armed Red Shirts showed up demanding equal time. Usually they were able to break up the meeting and prevent the Republicans from speaking to their supporters.

Conflicts between the Red Shirts and the black militia resulted in deaths in a number of places. Most serious was a three-day riot in Ellenton in Aiken County where at least thirty blacks and two whites were killed. At a Republican rally at Cainhoy in Charleston County, the black militia was ready for the Red Shirts. Shooting broke out, and six whites and one black lay dead. That riot finally convinced President Grant to send in more troops to help maintain order for the election. The total of fewer than twelve hundred soldiers in South Carolina was hardly enough to assure honest and fair elections all over the state. Grant also ordered all gun clubs to disband and disarm. The clubs simply reorganized as "music clubs" or "baseball clubs," kept their arms, and went about their business.

The vote totals in the November election were not clear in 1876 and are still unclear today. What *is* clear is that both parties were willing to use fraud,

if necessary, to win. The reported total votes for each side were very close. However, Hampton got more votes in Edgefield and Laurens Counties than the total eligible voters in the counties. The election commission threw out the votes of both counties, giving the election to Chamberlain. The state Supreme Court reversed that decision, and Hampton claimed victory. Both Chamberlain and Hampton were sworn in as governor by their supporters. For several months, South Carolina had the very dangerous situation of a dual government—two governors and two legislatures—each claiming to be the state's rightful leadership.

The End of Reconstruction

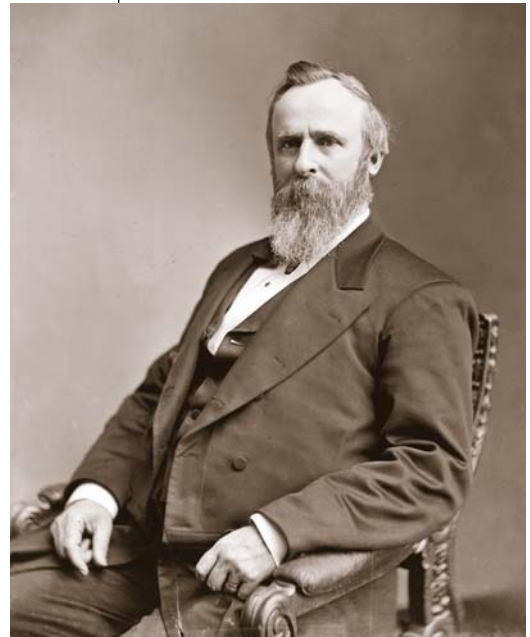
In the struggle for actual control, Hampton held all the key resources. He had the backing of the people who paid the most taxes and owned the most guns. But after the election, it was the money that was most important. Hampton encouraged his supporters to pay 10 percent of their taxes to

his government so he would have money to operate on. They readily complied. Chamberlain's treasury was empty, and most taxpayers were not willing to pay taxes to him. Even state agency heads loyal to Chamberlain found it necessary to go to Hampton for funding. Chamberlain's only hope was the federal soldiers controlling the State House and artificially propping him up.

In the meantime, the election for president was also in dispute. South Carolina was a key player in the election of 1876, which was one of the most controversial in American history. The Democratic candidate for president, Samuel Tilden, was within one electoral vote of winning office. But the elections in South Carolina, Florida, and Louisiana were in dispute. All three states experienced fraud and intimidation, making the actual vote totals uncertain.

The Congress appointed a commission to determine who won each of the disputed states. If Democrats got even one of them, Tilden would become president. The Republican candidate, Rutherford B. Hayes, would need the votes of all three states to win. With eight Republican members and seven Democratic members, it's not surprising that the commission gave all three states' votes to Hayes only a few days before the inauguration on March 4, 1877, and he became president. To help Democrats accept the bitter disappointment, the Republican Hayes promised to end Reconstruction.

The federal government and the people of the North gave up on the effort to reform South Carolina and protect the rights of black citizens. On April 11, 1877, President Hayes ordered troops removed from the State House in Columbia. That same day, without the backing of the soldiers, Chamberlain gave up and took a train to New York. Wade Hampton triumphantly entered the State House as the only governor. The experiment of Reconstruction was over. Within two years, the triumphant Conservative Democrats had erected on the State House grounds a monument to the Confederate soldiers.



HAVE YOU SEEN...

the Confederate Monument on the north side of the State House? It was erected in 1879 to honor the men who died for the Confederate cause.



DO YOU REMEMBER?

1. Define in sentence form: Ku Klux Klan, Red Shirt campaign.
2. What were the events leading up to the Hamburg Massacre?
3. In the disputed governor's election of 1876, what advantages did Wade Hampton III have over Daniel H. Chamberlain?



Chapter Summary

The end of the Civil War ushered in another difficult period for the United States. The task of reconstructing the South, where most of the physical destruction had occurred, was quite daunting. Social and economic rebuilding would prove to be just as difficult.

In an effort to bring the country back together as quickly as possible, President Lincoln had been working on some lenient Reconstruction plans with the motto “With malice toward none, with charity for all...” as his guide. Unfortunately, Lincoln was assassinated within days of the war’s end. His successor, Andrew Johnson, also believed in somewhat lenient Reconstruction. Many Republicans in Congress believed these presidential policies were not harsh enough, so they developed their own plans for Reconstruction. Their plans included military control over the states that had remained in rebellion against the Union until the end of the war.

Carpetbaggers, scalawags, and black men controlled state legislatures during Reconstruction. Many white southerners were very angry about this situation, trying to keep control over the freedmen by means of Black Codes and violent secret organizations such as the Ku Klux Klan. South Carolina was quite active in its opposition to Radical Reconstruction. When Reconstruction ended in the state in 1877, the federal government finally withdrew troops. South Carolina was soon back under the control of the white Conservative Democrats, indicating that little had changed in the minds of many white South Carolinians.

Activities for Learning

Reviewing People, Places, and Things

Identify or define the following in complete sentences.

1. Reconstruction
2. Freedmen’s Bureau
3. Black Codes
4. assassination
5. tenant farmer
6. James L. Orr
7. Robert Brown Elliott
8. Joseph Hayne Rainey
9. Daniel H. Chamberlain
10. Rutherford B. Hayes

Understanding the Facts

1. What did the U.S. Congress do to invalidate the Black Codes passed by southern state legislatures after the Civil War?
2. Why did the Republican Congress want to remove President Johnson from office?
3. What did the former Confederate states have to do in order to be readmitted to the Union?
4. How effective was Ulysses S. Grant during his two terms as president of the United States?
5. Why did it take South Carolina longer than other Confederate states to complete the Reconstruction process?
6. What made Alonzo Jacob Ransier such a progressive in his beliefs?

7. What problems did the economic depression cause in 1873?
8. Why did the federal government not help rebuild the southern economy?
9. What were some of the negative aspects of sharecropping?
10. How did coastal South Carolina fall from being one of the wealthiest regions to one of the poorest?
11. What was the main purpose of the Ku Klux Klan and the “gun clubs”?
12. What impact did the Hamburg Massacre have on the political situation in South Carolina?
13. How did President Grant react to continued conflict between the Red Shirts and the black militia in South Carolina?

Developing Critical Thinking Skills

1. Why do you think President Lincoln favored a lenient or generous Reconstruction plan for the South?
2. Give evidence to show that the situation for freedmen in the South in the 1870s had not changed dramatically from their situation as slaves.
3. What role did propaganda play in South Carolina politics for decades?

Writing across the Curriculum

1. Write an essay in which you compare the treatment of slaves on a large plantation to the treatment of freedmen in the South during Reconstruction.
2. Write an essay on what you think might have happened during Reconstruction had President Lincoln not been shot.

Exploring Technology

1. Go to <http://freedmensbureau.com> and see what you can find out about the Freedmen’s

Bureau in South Carolina. Select one of the reports or issuances and write a brief description of what you find.

2. Go to www.infoplease.com/spot/impeach.html and find out how many U.S. presidents have been impeached. Who were they? Were any of them convicted? Which president resigned before he was impeached?

Applying Your Skills

1. Using online resources, find reasons why the antiblack groups that sprang up in the post-Civil War era were *secret* organizations.
2. Make a chart comparing when a state seceded from the Union and when it was readmitted to the Union during Reconstruction. What is one inference you can make from this chart about secession and readmission?

Building Skills: Asking Effective Questions

Everyone knows how to ask questions, but knowing how to ask effective questions is a skill you must acquire in order to fully understand historical significance. Effective questions usually cannot be answered with a simple “yes” or “no.” An example of an effective question is, “Why did some freed slaves remain working on the same plantations after they were freed?” The question “Did any freed slaves continue working on the same plantations after they were freed?” could simply be answered “yes.” That would not give you any insight into *why* that would have been the case.

Try This!

Go to the website www.ourdocuments.gov/doc.php?flash=true&doc=37 and read about the Wade-Davis Bill. Write two effective questions that will help you understand the differing views of supporters of lenient Reconstruction and radical Reconstruction.