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RACE AND RECONSTRUCTION: EDGEFIELD COUNTY, SOUTH CAROLINA

Historians have long acknowledged the importance of race in American history, but only recently have they begun systematically to analyze problems of racial adjustment. The most comprehensive and influential work thus far is that of C. Vann Woodward, which draws on sociologist Pierre L. Van den Berghe's bipartite race relations typology — paternalistic and competitive — to explain the rise of segregation at the end of the 19th century. In Woodward's view, slavery was a paternalistic system, characterized by intimate but unequal contact between races, that masked white racial prejudices with professions of love for subordinate blacks. This paternalistic system continued through Reconstruction until the last quarter of the 19th century. Then, with urbanization, growth and diversification of industry, and development of the New South ideology, race relations changed from paternalistic to competitive. In the competitive system of race relations, role and occupation were no longer sharply defined by race; blacks began to narrow disparities between themselves and whites in education, income, and lifestyle. Whites responded with laws regulating contact between races, and blacks and whites became more physically segregated. Recent support for Woodward's theory has come from Eugene D. Genovese, who argues that slavery's paternalism habituated Afro-Americans to an accommodationist attitude detrimental to the freedman's quest for equality during Reconstruction.¹

To test the Woodward and Genovese theories about the nature of slavery and race relations, this paper examines the changing patterns of race relations in Edgefield County, South Carolina during Reconstruction, the formative period of southern postbellum social developments. Events in Edgefield during Reconstruction bring into question the positions of both Woodward and Genovese about black acquiescence in a white dominated paternalistic system in the decade following emancipation. Instead, events in that county indicate that the period from 1867 to 1877 in particular was one of fierce competition between blacks and whites for political and economic power. Edgefield County may have been typical of rural southern communities in the Reconstruction period; it certainly provided a model followed by other South Carolina counties. Edgefield County was part of the cotton-producing belt of the state; and the county seat, Edgefield Village, was the commercial hub of a predominantly rural area. Because the county produced leaders who dominated South Carolina politics and loomed large in Southern history, Edgefield's impact on state and regional history, and thus on the American past, has been considerable. Even more importantly, the county led South Carolina as patterns of race relations crystallized during and after Reconstruction.²

In Edgefield, the period from 1865 to the 1890s, a time of transition from

paternalism to competitive segregation in race relations, was characterized by uncertainty, unrest, and confusion as blacks and whites attempted to define their new social roles.³ Under slavery, there had been no ambivalence about the relationship of blacks to whites, no crucial questions about role, and no need for whites to employ indirect methods of control over blacks. When the Civil War destroyed both the economic system of slavery and the framework of social control and discipline implicit in slavery, blacks and whites had to define new economic and social relationships in a setting that neither group completely controlled. During Reconstruction, Republicans sought to create a democratic society in which blacks were active participants along with whites. The planter class reacted by attempting to substitute for slavery new forms of social and economic dominance as similar as possible to slavery.⁴ At first, this white elite was restrained by the Republican state and national governments, and blacks were able to elect political leaders and to protect themselves. In 1877, after years of inconclusive struggle, external political and military controls were removed, and southern elites drove their former slaves from positions of political authority and into renewed social, political, and economic subservience.

In Reconstruction, Edgefield County blacks outnumbered whites 25,417 to 17,040. The races continued to live in close juxtaposition to each other as they had during slavery; but during Reconstruction, when rules of intercourse had broken down, geographical intermingling only exacerbated tensions. Of the adult males in 1870, 80% of the white and 95% of the black were engaged in agriculture. There was a marked shift of both ex-slaves and whites into tenantry and cotton production throughout the period. In 1870, only 3% of Edgefield County's black compared to 65% of white household heads owned land. The whites of Edgefield were led by the antebellum upper class. Although its wealth was greatly diminished by the Civil War, the old elite still ranked in the top decile of wealth for white households, five years after Appomattox. Moreover, these elites were experienced leaders — three white Reconstruction leaders had been Confederate generals and two had served as the state's governor during the Civil War.⁵

The planter elite maintained its intellectual dominance through its superior communication system. In the postwar struggle between an oral Afro-American culture and a literate white culture, whites had a tremendous advantage in organization. As late as 1880, only 10% of Edgefield County's black household heads were literate, compared to over 90% of white household heads. Communications with the Afro-American community were conveyed through personal contact in political, educational, religious, and military institutions. For news of events beyond Edgefield, blacks relied upon their leaders.

On the other hand, blacks overcame many of the disadvantages of illiteracy by drawing upon their unexpected but considerable organizational skills. Black religious, military, and political leadership positions were occupied by the same individuals who comprised an interlocking elite within the Afro-American community. For example, Methodist minister David Harris, Sr. was at the same time preacher, state representative, and major in the militia where he served as chaplain. In addition, each Afro-American organization furthered the interests

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of the others. For example, Robert Brown Elliott used his post as state assistant adjutant general to organize the National Guard Service South Carolina (N.G.S.C.). While the 1870 federal census was being taken, Elliott had partisan census enumerators act as enlistment officers for the militia. Edgefield County's militia unit was one of those used by Governor Robert K. Scott for political purposes through the appointment of the county's local leaders as officers.

The role of black schools in organizing the community is less clear than that of churches or militia. Although whites detested the black militia and initially opposed efforts by Afro-American church members to form separate congregations, they viewed establishment of black schools after the Civil War with less disfavor. But churches and black education were closely related. Some black churches provided buildings and money to help support public education for Afro-Americans. In addition to public schools, by 1871 Edgefield freedmen had seventeen Sunday schools, all but one managed by blacks. Young black men throughout the South taught school in rural areas like Edgefield County to earn money to attend college and seminary, while the children of some Edgefield black preachers became school teachers. School teachers were even better represented than preachers among local black political leadership, suggesting that the school system was used as another means of politically organizing Edgefield's Afro-American community.⁶

Whites also used churches, schools, and voluntary associations for political mobilization. More important, widespread subscription to the local newspaper, the *Edgefield Advertiser*, facilitated white communication and organization in the Democratic Party. The ability to organize, persuade, propagandize, and mobilize their membership through printed media was particularly important in a farming society such as Edgefield where families lived some distance apart. Oral culture is limited in space to aural-oral relationships and thus is inefficient in communicating information rapidly over great distances. In addition, the printed word lends itself inherently to precise expression of an idea. Newspapers like the *Edgefield Advertiser* were essential media to convey the world view of planter hegemony to people in their localities. In rural areas, editors like James T. Bacon and articulate members of the white elite writing to the paper were the southern backwoods intellectuals who formulated convincing arguments for planter dominance by making them relevant to the concerns of their neighbors.⁷

To save their hegemony, white leaders exploited every advantage. Immediately after the War, however, the Freedmen's Bureau, backed by Federal troops, provided some protection for blacks and tried to mediate between ex-slaves and plantation owners. Whites from all social stations, lowest to highest, were arrested for crimes ranging from disturbing the peace and conspiracy to murder; they learned that they could no longer simply go out and shoot people. For the first time, black people received guaranteed rights of assembly and freedom of speech. Planters learned the limits of their power, but only at the expense of reducing Edgefield, from the white perspective, to an occupied territory. On July 12, 1865, James T. Bacon, editor of the *Edgefield Advertiser*, warned the abolitionist, Dr. Mansfield French, that when making speeches he had better "keep a general at his side and soldiers at his back, for on Friday last,

nothing on earth but the fear of being bayoneted or thrown into prison, kept us from hurling a stone at his head. Perhaps on some future occasion, the indignation of some outraged Southern man will cause him to forget both bayonet and prison." The editorial earned Bacon two weeks in a Charleston jail.⁸

The racial conflict resolved into two spheres, political and economic. Because of black enfranchisement in 1867, the political was the more urgent. By October, 1867, 4,367 blacks and 2,507 whites were registered to vote in Edgefield. Next month, newly registered voters cast their ballots in favor of a state constitutional convention that met in January, 1868 to forge a new document that was ratified in April. The new constitution guaranteed that "distinctions on account of race or color . . . be prohibited, and all classes of citizens shall enjoy equally all common public, legal, and political privileges." Under its provisions, county elections were set for June 2 and 3, 1868.⁹

As the elections approached, newspaper editors and influential white leaders urged the formation of local Democratic clubs and agricultural societies to prevent blacks and whites from voting Republican and to formulate remedies for the landowner's plight. In Edgefield, a local landowner pleaded for creation of white men's clubs that would pledge themselves not to vote for or employ any Republicans or members of the Union League. "When our present contracts with them expire," he continued, "let us cease to give them employment, cease to give them work; let them look to members of their League for support; patronize only your friends." The *Edgefield Advertiser* encouraged landowners to use "all our wealth, influence, and popularity, with the blacks, as well as the whites, to win," and reminded readers: "meat and bread are involved in these elections. White men are not going to feed their enemies." In the spring of 1868, both Democratic clubs and agricultural societies appeared in the South Carolina upcountry; significantly and as in Edgefield, the officers and members of both organizations were often the same.¹⁰

These societies used social and economic intimidation through threats of discharge from employment to harass black and white voters. Violence, while not freely discussed in public, emerged as a means of coercing freedmen, both as voters and as workers, and of keeping in line any whites who might threaten the social fabric. But in 1868, the landowners failed in their quest for undisputed control on the farms and in the county court house.

The organization of the elites into Democratic clubs and agricultural societies during elections might be interpreted simply as proof that landowners were determined to use their economic power against the Republican onslaught. When one examines the planters' immediate and overt actions after they failed to regain political dominance, however, their desire to regulate the social order is obvious and explicit. They tried to preserve as much of slavery as they could and prevent the advancement of blacks. Two Edgefield white leaders clearly understood the impact political developments have on economic and social developments. One week after the county elections, the "Bald Eagle of the Confederacy," General Martin Witherspoon Cary, cogently stated the argument: "It is not a question of property or mental qualifications," but if any blacks are allowed to vote, "you have consented to make this a mongrel government — to

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make the children of your former slaves the successful competitors of your children for the honors of the state There existed an irrepressible conflict between free labor and slave labor It still continues, in a conflict between the Caucasian and African races." Democratic leader George Tillman, pursuing the same theme, accurately prophesied the course that Edgefield's reconstruction would take: "Once break down the barrier between the races, as to political rights, on any qualifications whatever, and every succeeding election would continue to demolish more and more of the barrier until after a while there would be no barrier at all." In the sparsely settled upcountry areas like Edgefield "where land is plentiful, where labor is scarce, and wages high," he argued that blacks as voting citizens would continue to increase in number and become more and more powerful politically. They would then put their friends in offices of authority and benefit from educational opportunities that elected officials would be forced to give them. They would finally vote only for those that treated the "nigger and the nigger race as social and political equals." Tillman concluded, "Once grant a negro political privileges . . . you instantly advance his social status."¹¹

Next month the Edgefield *Advertiser* printed Tillman's advocacy of denying black people their political rights. Political rights, he contended, would lead to black ownership of land. "There is nothing which makes a man so free, so independent, and so lordly in his aspirations, as ownership of land." For this reason, all white men are engaged in a mighty crusade "against the colored man." "By common consent the land, labor, and lives of the colored races are articles of free trade among Caucasians everywhere." This crusade against colored races made every white man a democrat to "every other white man, but an aristocrat to every colored man. It is making every white man a conqueror, a landowner and a governor, or exterminator of the colored man."¹²

In accordance with the Gary-Tillman doctrines, Edgefield Democrats used violence and fraud to prevent the November, 1868 federal election from being held rather than permit Afro-Americans to vote. Even then blacks did not yield easily to white intimidation. Among the courageous freedmen was James Martin who after declaring his intention to walk to the polls, lost his job and was warned by a white neighbor, "We intend to kill everyone who starts there, for no d— and nigger shall vote in this county." About a week before the election a crowd came to his house at night and fired repeatedly in the yard and once through his door. Despite this, Martin set out for the polls some fifteen miles away. He met two friends who had been to vote and who had been shot. "I saw their wounds," Martin testified, "They were my neighbors, and I talked with them Undaunted, he arrived at the polls, only to find that no voting was taking place."¹³

To the Democrats' chagrin, federal and state investigations and subsequent action showed that such blatant local acts would not be tolerated. The Republican Presidential electors were returned and a congressman seated. Consequently, in 1870, plasters appeared in sheep's clothing as the South Carolina Reform party with Edgefield's General Mathew Calbreath Butler as candidate for lieutenant governor. But they were again defeated at the polls in their statewide maneuver to oust the Republican party. Despite paternalistic appeals, economic

intimidation, and violence, in every election throughout Reconstruction, ex-slaves continued to vote Republican against their former masters' interests and in their own. Until 1877, control of the coercive powers of both state and local government by Afro-Americans made possible real gains in their economic position and social status. In Edgefield, Reconstruction seemed to be succeeding, threatening planter hegemony and providing freedmen economic, social, and political opportunities.

Since politics and economics worked in tandem in the rural South, related to the political struggle was the struggle over land and labor control. Southern wealth was based on agriculture, and control over land and labor were central problems that southerners, black and white, had to confront immediately after the Civil War. Both black and white community leaders understood the interrelationship of politics and economics. After the abolition of slavery, a variety of choices arose in settling land tenure problems. The possibilities ranged from tenantry to wage labor or part-time employment, to a division of plantations among emancipated blacks. William Henry Trescott, South Carolina's special lobbyist in Washington during Presidential Reconstruction, wrote to Governor James L. Orr in December of 1865, "You will find that this question of the control of labor underlies every other question of state interest." Both whites and blacks in Edgefield were eager to know Federal plans for land distribution to freedmen. During a mid-December, 1865 visit to Edgefield, the chief officer of the Freedman's Bureau in northern South Carolina declared that whites would continue to own their land — blacks "owned the labor" — and recommended that blacks be paid one-third of the crop.¹⁴

As long as the plantocracy maintained control of the land and could find laborers, the Edgefield white elite believed it could preserve the essence of this antebellum order even without slaves. In 1865, for example, several members of the elite established an "Immigration Society" to recruit an "intelligent and thrifty white population" and to "make ourselves independent of the negro." Although the venture failed, it demonstrates the early determination of the upper class to preserve a plantation class society by maintaining control of both land and labor.¹⁵ In other ways, the white elite decided soon after the war to make effective use of the power that derived from a landowning monopoly. In 1865, the Edgefield *Advertiser*, voice of the white establishment, observed that if Congress disallowed the proposed state Black Codes compelling blacks to labor, the "alternative is to keep the negro from becoming a landholder." The newspaper pointed to Trinidad as the only place where free black labor had proved successful. The reason was that all the "land . . . is owned by the white man and the negro is unable to get possession of a foot of it — he must work or perish." A law was needed to "impose a tax of one or five thousand dollars upon every white man who sells, or rents, gives, loans, or any way conveys, to a negro, any tract, parcel or message of land." The newspaper urged landowners to contract in writing to "pay to said negro a specified sum." Such laws would force blacks to hire themselves to white men — "they must then labor or starve." Thus, to the traditional elite, free black labor meant landless laborers dependent on former slaveowners for employment.¹⁶

RACE AND REGION

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After the defeat of the South Carolina Reform Party at the polls in 1870, the white elite turned to systematic economic coercion. Calls came immediately for a reorganization of the Reform political clubs (in most instances identical to the old Democratic clubs) into agricultural societies. Captain Lewis P. Jones, executive chairman of the Edgefield Reform party, was elected president of the Edgefield County "Agricultural and Police Club."

In late 1870, planters feared that whites might not hold together against Afro-Americans in conditions of Republican political power and a depressed economy. The Agricultural and Police Club rules required every white man eighteen and older to be a member of the agricultural society in his township. Moreover, the rules declared that if any white man refused to join the club or "to abide by the By-Laws, he and his family shall be socially proscribed by all the other members of the Club and their families." A white police force, reminiscent of the slave patrol, was created to ensure that all blacks and whites observed these rules. George Tillman stressed the importance of accepting the proposals. He recommended "the sternest and most unrelenting social proscription of every white man who might refuse either to join a Club, or to abide by its regulations." The threat was to cut off dissenting whites from something that really mattered, part of the existing welfare-social security system in rural communities. As Tillman put it, if any white man did not join the Club or did not submit to its regulation of the black community, then the white community was to treat the recalcitrant "as a whole nigger should be treated, pass him and his whole family with silent contempt; let him or any of his household get sick, or even die with none to cheer the lonely hours, or to bury the tainted remains but his nigger associates." If the proposals of the Agricultural and Police Club were not adopted and adhered to in Edgefield, Tillman warned, "we have but one other resource left — the Ku Kluxer's power — the assassin's privilege." The proposals were unanimously accepted.

Local clubs appeared in every township and adopted the same rules as the county club. Whites would sell *no* land to blacks or Republicans. A list of "bad characters . . . unworthy examples who ought not to be hired, or be permitted to be hired, or allowed to reside on the premises of any landowner" would be published regularly in the *Edgefield Advertiser*. No landowner would entice a laborer to break his contract with another landowner. The number of tenants a landowner could hire would be determined strictly by acres owned, and one white man would be hired for each of a specified number of blacks employed. All laborers would have to pay a portion of the landowner's land taxes.

Renting land to blacks, whether for money or for part of the crop, was forbidden; laborers were to be *hired* either for wages or for a share of the crop. White landowners wanted to use tenantry to manipulate landless laborers, both blacks and whites, and to maintain race control over freedmen. The crucial issue was who would control the labor, that is, who would decide and schedule the worker's daily chores and activities, the tenant or the landowner? A renting tenant had more control over his time and activities than someone working for wages, whether those wages were in cash or in a share of the crop. The sharecropper, unlike the renter, had little control over what crops were planted

or how they were sold.¹⁷

Republican leaders understood the importance of land and labor control too. At the Constitutional Convention of 1868, black leaders immediately moved to petition Congress for money to buy lands for ex-slaves, but Senator Henry W. Wilson, Radical Republican from Massachusetts, replied that Congress would not accept such a proposal. Still, South Carolina's Reconstruction government gave freedmen increasingly effective controls over land and labor, which, if continued, should have provided ultimately a way for blacks to get land. In these years, Republicans in federal, state, and especially local government took a number of steps to break up the antebellum plantation system.¹⁸

The most important government agency for actual land distribution was the South Carolina Land Commission, established March 27, 1869 by the Republican legislature. The Commission's charge was to buy land and sell it in farm-size plots at reasonable rates to landless people. The Land Commission purchased six tracts of good quality land in Edgefield County, and divided the tracts into farms. Sixty families settled onto the tracts, their holdings ranging from 20 to a 115 acre unit held by a father and son team. Although the Commission was able to obtain land for only a small number of freedmen, it offered hope for many others and was symbolic of a changing social order. Edgefield's General Butler characterized this Commission as "the blackest spot" on Republicanism, because it was supposedly riddled by graft. But planters had other reasons to detest the Land Commission. They agreed with an upcountry newspaper editor who complained the Land Commission "will render your Negro hirelings . . . less efficient and more sullen and discontented." Moreover, since many of the fathers and sons of the Edgefield families who purchased farms were members of the black militia, it was claimed that military colonies were being set up on the land commission sites.¹⁹

A major Republican program shifted state and county tax bases to break up large estates. The tax burden alone, claimed a future Republican state treasurer, would "force sufficient lands upon the market at all times to meet the wants of all the landless." Edgefield plantation owners were not accustomed to even reasonable land taxes; now they face purposefully high state, county, municipal, and educational taxes, each assessed by local Republicans. Beginning in 1870, the Edgefield *Advertiser* attacked "All the various proposed Republican measures, which let them be called by whatever technical names they may, are in the end, nothing but measures to steal money from the white people of South Carolina and increase their burden of taxation." In 1871, after the announcement of a tax increase, the editor complained, "We might as well cease all further attempt at living or breathing." By 1872, the newspaper regularly ran two to three columns of lands to be sold for delinquent taxes. Protesting Republican tax policies, Edgefield white leaders helped organize two state "taxpayers' conventions." In 1876, General M.C. Butler wrote to the governor asking for an extension on payment of taxes since many planters were "wholly unable at present" to pay. Edgefield planters had lost their slaves; now taxes were threatening their monopoly of land.²⁰

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complementary programs to make land available for the landless to purchase. An even more important and effective, though less dramatic, change was taking place through legal measures that gave landless blacks greatly increased control over their own labor and over the crops they raised on someone else's land. A state law strengthened the laborers' claim to the crop and thus their bargaining power with the landowners. The workers were given the first lien on the crop, and landowners were prohibited from prosecuting laborers for any unperformed work not required by a written contract.

Moreover, laborers could prosecute landowners without cost by a simple appeal to county officials who were either chosen by popular vote under home rule established by Republicans or appointed by a Republican governor on the recommendation of the elected county legislative delegation. The county commissioners were given jurisdiction over the collection and distribution of public funds. Especially important to blacks were the trial justices, who were given jurisdiction in cases that involved penalties or judgments of \$100 or less. Blacks served in all county positions. More and more Afro-Americans filled these and other local offices, so that by 1872, the *Edgefield Advertiser* was claiming that no white landowner could get a fair hearing. The tenant was becoming more nearly autonomous in law and steadily gaining control of land and labor.²¹

These Republican programs damaged Edgefield County's landowning elite. In 1868, one of the wealthiest planters, ex-Governor Francis W. Pickens, had difficulty obtaining a small loan. In 1874, ex-Governor Milledge Bonham wrote that "with a large family . . . poor crops, demoralized labor, taxes, my life has been absorbed in trying to keep my head above water. The effect has been crushing . . ." In his farm journal, one white increasingly worried about the feedmen's refusals to work under the direction of white landowners and particularly the black laborer's leaving one landowner for another who offered a higher wage. He wrote in September, 1874, that because of low cotton prices coupled with inability to control free black labor, "It goes hard with farmers especially those who work many free negroes." General M.C. Butler had returned from the Civil War impoverished except for his extensive landholdings. He was a founder of the Edgefield Agricultural and Police Club, which had pledged all members not to sell land to blacks. Yet, in 1870, he attempted to sell his 650 acre Edgefield plantation to the South Carolina Land Commission. Butler's application was rejected. In 1875, an investigator sent to Edgefield County reported to the governor that "many of the land owners are in debt being obliged to produce from their land or be sold out."²²

The realities of increasing black power were forcing whites to deal with blacks in some important areas. One of these was white cooperation with the black-dominated county Republican legislative delegation in an effort to obtain a railroad for Edgefield County. Another was the formation of a fusion ticket of moderate Democratic and Republican candidates, which won the 1872 Edgefield municipal election. Perhaps even more disturbing to white notions of racial propriety was the marriage of a white Republican to an Edgefield ex-slave on the courthouse steps.²³

But this promising direction of interracial relationship hardly had a chance to

get started before an alternative way of dealing with black progress began to show results. To maintain their hegemony, the planters launched a systematic campaign of physical violence. Governor Chamberlain sent a special agent to Edgefield in 1875 to investigate the causes of the intense violence. The investigator attributed the disturbances in Edgefield County to a "few lawless and imprudent men of both races." A group of black militants made "incendiary remarks or suggested threats in retaliation for acts or language perpetrated or used by white people against them or some one of their race." Counterpoint to these was a small group of whites who violently opposed "any assertions of equality as a citizen when coming from a colored man, such action on his part being considered offensive and presumptuous." These few whites, wrote the investigator, held "human life at little value being as reckless in risking their own, as they are heartless in taking the lives of others." Unfortunately, the majority of whites who were a "law abiding class of citizens, who desire peace, and who are satisfied with seeking redress for their grievances only in a lawful manner" "dare not oppose or condemn" the extremist minority. To win, the extremists, who consisted largely of landowning elites, had to break the Republican party's control of the local and state government. It was somewhat similar on the black side and during the crisis of Reconstruction white and black moderates were polarized by the extremists' use of physical violence.²⁴

Their failure to recapture political power in the national election of 1872 drove the white extremists into organizing irregular military companies. The white irregular militia had overlapping membership and interlocking leadership with other white voluntary organizations. Once the whites organized into military companies, they met the resistance of determined black militia. The existence of black militiamen became the symbol that the extremists used to frighten white moderates into joining their camp.²⁵

Seeing blacks in positions of authority seriously upset white notions of social order. This was particularly true of black law enforcement officials, especially black militiamen who represented hope to blacks, danger to whites. The Edgefield *Advertiser* saw the influence of black troops as "intense demoralization Wherever they are that place is deeply and damnably accursed. The contagion of their influence extends not only to persons of their own color, but also to many white people who are white only as regards their skin." Ex-governor Milledge L. Bonham wrote to Governor Scott in 1868 imploring him to "arrest this tendency to anarchy and bloodshed," and warned of a race war since Confederate soldiers "will not quietly submit to unauthorized and armed negro domination." An 1871 4th of July parade by the N.G.S.C. 9th Regiment commanded by Colonel Lawrence Cain and Lieutenant Colonel Paris Simkins, represented an "insult to the white people of Edgefield as no white people upon earth had ever to put up with before," wrote *Advertiser* editor Bacon. The black regiment numbered more than a thousand armed men, and "over and above this, every negro man and woman in Edgefield followed it, and thirsted to be enrolled." Long to be remembered in Edgefield, it was "a splendid and embodied threat to the white people of the land, the owners of the soil. On that day, no white man dared walk the highway; no white woman dared

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approach her window. In fact, no orgie of the Paris Commune surpassed this in the subversion of God's law and order." A native white historian who remembered the black militiamen in Edgefield wrote that they represented "the great disintegration of the old order of things that was taking place all around . . . [Black militia were used to] humiliate and mortify the old masters and rulers."²⁶

The most notorious black militia commander was Captain Edward Tennant who commanded one of two black militia units formed in 1870 in Edgefield County's large and remote Merriweather township. A dashing county officer, Ned Tennant, dressed in military array, rode a fine horse, and bore himself with great dignity. He was both a symbolic and substantive threat to southern white planter hegemony. Two separate incidents involving Tennant have merged through local lore into the Ned Tennant riot, which the *Edgefield Advertiser* viewed as a logical consequence of the "strife, lawlessness, and bloodshed" caused by the black militia. In July, 1874, one of the white irregular military companies, the Sweetwater Sabre Club, assembled near the place where Tennant's N.C.S.C. militia drilled. Whites were enraged by the black militia's use of large bass drums and that night shot up Tennant's house. Responding immediately to the drum's "long roll," black militiamen from Merriweather township assembled to protect Tennant. Hearing the long roll echo, whites became convinced that "negroes meant to kill all whites" and burn everything in the county. Using a prearranged system of couriers, white irregular militia with more than 200 armed men, faced 100 black militia at Tennant's home the next morning. Despite an explosive atmosphere, no bloodshed occurred as both white leaders and Tennant parlayed and agreed to dismiss their troops.

Following the first Ned Tennant riot, Edgefield planters requested newly elected Governor Daniel H. Chamberlain to disband and disarm the black militia. Whites reported that with a militia company in Edgefield, blacks "grew more impudent and unbearable every day." One white leader who helped persuade Chamberlain was General M.C. Butler. His home, four miles from Tennant's, burned soon after the meeting with Chamberlain, and it was rumored that Captain Edward Tennant had hired an arsonist to set the fire. In January, 1875, members of the Sweetwater Sabre Club rode to arrest Tennant. When black militiamen protecting Tennant fired over the posse's head, the Sweetwater Sabre Club spread the alarm of a race war. For three days, General M.C. Butler commanded over a thousand armed whites, many riding from adjoining counties, who scoured the countryside searching for Tennant and his men. Little bloodshed actually occurred because the armed and mounted white troops greatly outnumbered Tennant's black militia company, and Tennant, "a skillful tactician" was able to march "twenty-five miles through a country swarming with whites looking for him" and emerge with his full company at Edgefield Court House. There the militia company surrendered their arms to the state senator and regimental commander, Lawrence Cain, rather than risk Butler's men seizing their rifles.²⁷

With whatever means at hand, elected black officials also opposed the violence and massive resistance of the planters. Early in his senate career, Lawrence Cain

introduced a bill to tax the five square miles surrounding any neighborhood "in which a man shall be murdered on account of politics, race, or color to support the widows and orphans of such martyrs." But it was difficult to fight against the white planters' massive resistance. Colonel Lawrence Cain confirmed to Governor Chamberlain that "It is true that many of our men are refused employment and thrown of house, but the men are not confined to the Militia Companies. Any man who took a prominent part in the last [political] contest is proscribed." The executive report of the 1875 investigation in Edgefield County noted "that most of the white men whose buildings have been burned were those who refused to unite with others in the recent proscription against the colored people." Benjamin R. Tillman, younger brother of Democratic leader George Tillman, bragged that 200 black militia were unemployed and homeless in the southwestern section of the county where he lived, because landowners obligated themselves "not to rent land to any member of the negro militia or give them employment Those who did not sign rendered themselves very obnoxious and were almost ostracised by their fellows." Ben Tillman particularly regretted the fate of Joshua McKie, "a refined and high-toned gentleman" who, "against the wishes of his neighbors," after the first Tennant riot in 1874, gave Ned Tennant "a home." McKie, "after he had rented the land and signed the lease, . . . found himself shunned and ostracised by his friends, and even by kinsmen." Soon afterwards, he committed suicide.

State representative Paris Simkins, former Edgefield slave, demanded the state protect all black laborers who, "because of having exercised their political rights and privileges," had been discharged by white landowners in Edgefield County. He proposed a tax of two mills on all property in Edgefield County, the receipts to be given to persons discharged because of political persecution. The measure failed because the Republican state government, under the patrician reform carpetbagger Daniel H. Chamberlain, was attempting to attract the support of more white landowners. In February, 1875, Chamberlain also vetoed a bill similar to Simkin's, which had passed the General Assembly.²⁰

Governor Chamberlain also disbanded all military organizations after the second Ned Tennant riot in January, 1875. Although this proclamation included whites as well as blacks, in Edgefield the white "rifle and sabre clubs" went on a rampage, attacking the jail and stealing the black militia's arms. The incident that settled the Democrats on a policy of all-out violence was the affair at Hamburg of July, 1876, in which at least four unarmed black militiamen were killed after surrendering to General M.C. Butler and his men, most of whom were members of the Sweetwater Sabre Club, the same Edgefield irregular white militia unit involved in the Ned Tennant riots.²⁰

According to the early revisionist historians of South Carolina Reconstruction, Francis Butler Simkins and Robert Hilliard Woody, the events at Hamburg and Edgefield, "definitely pointed the way" for the Redemption of the state from the Republicans. In August, 1876, the *Edgefield Advertiser* favorably compared the 1876 election campaign to that of 1874. Instead of 1,000 black militia marching triumphantly through the streets of Edgefield on August 12, 1876 for a Republican election rally, 30 Edgefield County local Democratic Clubs had been

summoned by the Edgefield M.C. Butler and Mart Democrats, all dressed & was intimidating, they for the Republican dignitary Chamberlain. The Democratic meeting and Gary and B *Advertiser* found the also constructed for the Reg General Butler and some were to be tried for the dressed defiantly in red, formations and galloped held. These Edgefield effigy of an Afro-American Reconstruction, federal atrocities and political convicted, the Edgefield come for what Gary had the state.²⁰

Gary and George D. T "redeemed" that state of South Carolina, the "Miss Plan" and commonly re Gary was the acknowledged the state was to be "redeemed" follows in part:

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Reconstruction violated the displaced planter and the freedmen's support this reform, even more than abolishing its hegemony

RACE AND RECONSTRUCTION

summoned by the Edgefield County Executive Committee, Confederate Generals M.C. Butler and Mart Gary commanded over 700 mounted and armed Democrats, all dressed defiantly in red shirts. The presence of armed Democrats was intimidating; they pressed even harder, climbing onto the platform that held the Republican dignitaries and howling down the speakers, including Governor Chamberlain. The Democrats demanded equal time to speak at the Republican meeting and Gary and Butler delivered violent, personally abusive tirades. The *Advertiser* found the abrupt ending of the meeting symbolic — the platform constructed for the Republican rally collapsed. Again, in September, when General Butler and some 40 members of the Edgefield Sweetwater Sabre Club were to be tried for the Hamburg murders, the irregular white militia company dressed defiantly in red. Armed and on horseback, these men executed military formations and galloped through the streets of Aiken where the trial was to be held. These Edgefield whites carried a large cross that had a larger than life size effigy of an Afro-American crucified and bullet-ridden. Throughout Reconstruction, federal and state authorities had not tolerated planter-directed atrocities and political violence, but when these defiant whites were not convicted, the Edgefield former dominant planter class knew that the time had come for what Gary had earlier termed a "war of the races" to regain control of the state.⁵⁰

Gary and George D. Tillman corresponded with leaders in Mississippi who had "redeemed" that state the previous year from Republican rule. As developed in South Carolina, the "Mississippi Plan" was accurately described as the "Shotgun Plan" and commonly referred to throughout the state as the "Edgefield Plan." Gary was the acknowledged director of the Edgefield Plan and he outlined how the state was to be "redeemed" through murder, intimidation, and bribery. It follows in part:

12. Every Democrat must feel honor bound to control the vote of at least one negro, by intimidation, purchase, keeping him away or as each individual may determine, how he may best accomplish it.

16. Never threaten a man individually if he deserves to be threatened, the necessities of the times require that he should die. A dead Radical is very harmless — a threatened Radical or one driven off by threats from the scene of his operations is often very troublesome, sometimes dangerous, always vindictive.

Ben Tillman, a trusted lieutenant, wrote of the 1876 campaign strategy that: "Butler, Gary, and George Tillman had to my personal knowledge agreed on the policy of terrorizing the negroes at the first opportunity, by letting them provoke trouble and then having the whites demonstrate their superiority by killing as many of them as was justifiable." Edgefield blacks were deliberately murdered in the 1876 election campaign.⁵¹

Reconstruction violence can best be explained if one perceives this era as did the displaced planter class. For the old elite, Republican-inspired land reform and the freedmen's support for such measures as taxes and labor laws that might promote this reform, was fundamentally a class question. Land redistribution, even more than abolition of slavery, would prevent the planter class from retaining its hegemony. Woodward argues that race divided more than class

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united, but Black Reconstruction's "Negro rule" confounded the traditional class and racial hierarchy. General Gary's "Edgefield Plan" illustrates the white elite's awareness of the interrelationship of race and class: "the leaders of the Radical Party" would be held responsible: "beginning first with the white men, second the mulatto men and third with the black leaders." This was order number 15 and the preceding order had ended with the imperative: "Treat them so as to show them, you are the superior race, and that their natural position is that of subordination to the white man."

As long as Republicans controlled national, state, and local governments, various Edgefield whites from all ranks of society became Republicans: perhaps some from ideological beliefs, obviously some for reasons of political patronage, and others in order to be elected to public office. Local government jobs that provided a regular salary were particularly prized in an agricultural community where crops were subject to vicissitudes of weather. In 1875, the governor's special investigator remained confident of Republican ascendancy and reported that in Edgefield he believed the economic proscription of Republicans and black militia was dying out because of the desperate economic plight of the Edgefield landowners. And when in 1876, some remnants of the South Carolina antebellum establishment seriously discussed endorsing the moderate reform Republican Governor Chamberlain, the Edgefield white elite acted defiantly and decisively to provide a new basis for planter political hegemony. Whites were either Democrats or traitors! Because of the Republican party's guaranteed strength through the continued support of blacks and the persistent threat of white collaborators, the more "idealistic" of the planter elite felt it necessary to "redeem" the state with the "Edgefield Plan."³²

Thirty-five Edgefield County Democratic and Rifle Clubs were active in the County on election day of 1876. The presence of two companies of federal troops did not deter the zeal or purpose of white irregular militia companies. In Edgefield Village, General Gary commanded several hundred selected armed and provisioned men and captured the Masonic Hall and Court House, the two voting establishments, thereby forcing blacks to vote in a small school inadequate to accommodate the number of freedmen voting. Edgefield blacks marched to the Court House to vote anyway, but Gary directed his men to block entrances. Freedmen protested to General T.H. Ruger, commander of the federal troops in Edgefield. Although backed by federal troops, Ruger could not budge Gary and gain entrance to the Court House for freedmen. The Confederate "Bald Eagle" defiantly answered: "By God, sir, I'll not do it." Thus, there were 2,252 more votes cast in Edgefield County than there were eligible voters. As Ben Tillman explained: "Gary's doctrine of voting early and often changed the republican majority of 2,300 in Edgefield to a democratic majority of 3,900 thus giving [Wade] Hampton a claim to the office of governor. It was Edgefield's majority alone which gave to Hampton a chance to claim to have been elected. . . ."³³

The turning point came when the federal government condoned the Edgefield Plan by withdrawing its troops from South Carolina in 1877. This enabled the planter elite to regain political power in the state and local government; that

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power, coupled with their economic dominance, put them in total control. In April, 1877, a black lawyer wrote from Edgefield of the great disillusionment of the freedmen who had "hazarded their lives" to elect Rutherford B. Hayes. Another black said, "to think that Hayes could go back on us now, when we had to wade through blood to help place him where he now is."³⁴

Historians have long been aware of the practical disfranchisement of black South Carolinians through the eight-box law and the gerrymandering techniques after Redemption. Less well known are the changes instituted by the restored dominant planter class to ensure its hegemony. The resumption of political control by Democrats in 1877 cut short Republican efforts and effectively removed avenues of political, economic, and social advancement which had been opened for Afro-Americans during Reconstruction. Interracial marriage was prohibited in 1879. State statutes of 1878, 1880, and 1889 became the legal base for economic serfdom. The lien laws were changed to benefit the landowners; whereas, under Republican rule, the man who grew the crop (the tenant) had the first lien on the crop, the Democrats immediately reversed this and gave priority to the landowner. They also increased the percentage that the landowner could take as a lien, which had been deliberately limited by the Republicans. Moreover, the Democrats attempted to prevent tenants from obtaining liens from merchants; they wanted to prevent even this bit of independence from the landlord. Such legislation reduced the tenant to the legal position of wage earner. Moreover, since white Democratic officials at the local level were unsympathetic to a black man's grievances or his desire for landownership, arguments over rent were futile. As the Reconstruction Land Commission had been a symbol of a changing social order, the loss of the good family farms purchased by Edgefield blacks through the Commission is again symbolic. After 1878, these farms were forfeited and grabbed as large units by Edgefield white plantation owners or their sons.³⁵

For many years after Reconstruction, it was impossible for black leaders in Edgefield to agitate for equality or to encourage militancy against whites. Printed in red ink for a commemorative "red-shirt" edition, the *Advertiser* pledged that Edgefield as "'Color Bearer' of the Democratic party [would] achieve for her . . . State a victory in '78 no less glorious than the proud one of '76." And during the 1878 campaign, the *Advertiser* charged the white community: "Hang together like grim death. Let no side issues array you, one against the others." This was the context in which Edgefield blacks were forced to operate by the late 1870s. Re-establishment of planter hegemony through competitive and neopaternalistic modes of race relations elicited a changing style of black leadership. Competition gave way to accommodation. In the years after Radical Reconstruction, neopaternalism on the part of whites and accommodation on the part of blacks became reciprocal and mutually supportive styles of community leadership.³⁶

Accommodationist leadership had existed throughout Reconstruction, but it had been only marginally effective, since more radical blacks had produced tangible benefits for the Afro-American community. During Reconstruction, when the planter class tried to restore their hegemony they began to understand

the usefulness of black accommodationist leadership. In Edgefield, the most prominent accommodationist leader was Reverend Alexander Bettis, pastor of Mt. Canaan Baptist Church and organizer of a Baptist association.³⁷

Compared to resistant Reconstruction leaders such as Lawrence Cain, Ned Tennant, and Paris Simkins, Alexander Bettis played an unglamorous role. He did, however, provide space within a restricting and suspicious white society for black institutions to grow. As a people primarily dependent upon wages from Edgefield whites for survival and welfare, Edgefield blacks utilized their cultural resources to create institutions that gave them collective security and protection, and mediated their relations with white society. Since there was no longer a black militia after 1876, the freedmen organized primarily through the churches and schools. This had the advantage of including women and children as direct participants, and of promoting the values of education and literacy. Largely through their churches and the closely related schools, Edgefield blacks transformed themselves from an oral culture to a literate one. There was never a total dichotomy between competitive and accommodationist leadership in Edgefield, but rather a continuum of leadership styles ranging from extremely militant to extremely accommodationist. Many black leaders whose actions during Reconstruction classified them as militant were also at times accommodationist in the sense that they concentrated on securing limited gains for blacks without challenging white domination. At the same time, the actions of avowed accommodationists laid the ground work that would survive post Reconstruction to challenge the basic power structure.

Alexander Bettis was able to obtain certain benefits from Edgefield white leaders after Reconstruction because he and they understood how to use each other. Because he encouraged blacks to accept a hierarchically segmented Bettis profited throughout his career from white support that enabled him to gain benefits through the Bettis Academy, the main institution of learning for blacks in the county. The academy was a social and economic center for the black community after Reconstruction. Its autumn fair was one of the major events of the year. Perhaps most importantly, starting in the late 1880's, the academy sponsored the purchase of land by black farmers through a self-help association, which bought large tracts of land for division into smaller farms.

In addition to the efforts of the Academy, Bettis was often able to use his influence with whites to resolve disputes between blacks and whites and to clear blacks of criminal charges in the white elite dominated courts. Support for Bettis's tactics could have been a matter of life or death for Edgefield blacks.

At other times, Bettis's accommodationist role allowed his followers to have some psychological and emotional freedom. For example, drum beating, common to oral cultures and which Afro-Americans had used to summon assemblies, had been forbidden by "common law" imposed by the whites after the Ned Tennant Riot. However, exceptions were made for Bettis. "Beating of the drum" occurred "at all the gatherings" of the Academy.³⁸

U.S. Senator and native Edgefielder Ben Tillman reflected that Bettis "wielded great influence over his race, and . . . that influence was always exerted for good. I have never heard anyone speak ill of him in my life."

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Although Tillman of Edgefield was not Alexander Bettis, other Edgefielders were. Soon after Reconstruction to Bishop Henry M. Teague, "one of the finest congregations in the South." "An impressive reminder of the disaster by which we were displaced."

Because he was free important black leader. His life reveals the Reconstruction to the new paternalistic approach was qualitatively different of a southern segment laborer. But a major personal contact. Because whites lived spatially c landowning whites like Edgefield County with fewer and fewer violence prevented paternalism even after until the 1890s, when took control of the sta of race relations to re continued conflicting transition to the new political power and re leaders most effective like Bettis. In such c Edgefield and in one Arkansas.⁴⁰

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Although Tillman or other whites may never have heard ill words spoken of Alexander Bettis, other Edgefield blacks did not always agree with his methods. Soon after Redemption, Edgefield's recently deposed black probate judge wrote to Bishop Henry M. Turner distressed that some Edgefield "ministers, who have fine congregations supporting them, are standing against immigration to Liberia."³⁹ An impressive tombstone stands at the head of Bettis's grave. It is covered by inscriptions of gratitude, love, and admiration, but one line is a reminder of the dissatisfaction some Edgefield blacks felt: "Like his Master, was by some disliked."

Because he was free from white interference, Bettis was the community's most important black leader from the end of Reconstruction until his death in 1895. His life reveals the changing nature of black leadership in Edgefield from Reconstruction to the late 19th century. Competitive race relations gave way to a new paternalistic oppression that structurally resembled the slavery system but was qualitatively different. As in slavery, most blacks were confined to one part of a southern segmented society: the special caste of the traditional agricultural laborer. But a major difference was in the amount of planter and laborer personal contact. Because of the tenant system that developed, poorer blacks and whites lived spatially dispersed in the countryside. At the same time, more of the landowning whites began to move into villages, towns, and cities in rural areas like Edgefield County. After Reconstruction, Edgefield whites came into contact with fewer and fewer individual blacks. Moreover, the legacy of Reconstruction violence prevented reestablishment of many "positive" dimensions of paternalism even after planters had regained hegemony. Therefore, from 1877 until the 1890s, when Pitchfork Ben Tillman, matured on the Edgefield Plan, took control of the state government and locked into place a more stable system of race relations to replace the style so abruptly ended by the Civil War, there continued conflicting and contending approaches to race relations. In the transition to the new system after Redemption, when Afro-Americans had no political power and no influence in forming the laws that governed them, black leaders most effective at the local level were "go-betweens," accommodationists like Bettis. In such circumstances, some competitive Reconstruction leaders left Edgefield and in one organized effort they led a large part of the community to Arkansas.⁴⁰

Some competitive leaders also continued to live in Edgefield after Reconstruction ended. However, Lawrence Cain and Paris Simkins, who survived into the 20th century, never held political office again and, although both held law degrees, never practiced in the Edgefield court. Simkins, who died in 1930, remained a leader in one of the Baptist churches that had withdrawn from Bettis's association. In 1884, he drew up the Constitution and By-Laws of the Mutual Aid and Burial Society and became the first president. He was also the founder and leader of the secret order of Knights of Pythias in Edgefield. Urged in his old age by children and grandchildren to come to Columbia or to the North to live with them, he continued to live in his fine home, which still stands in the town today, and "loyal to the place of his birth . . . preferred to" die, and be buried in Edgefield." Generally, the old black Reconstruction

activities and influence, which would have been confined to the black community, were seldom recorded. From scattered references it is evident that other blacks continued to address the former black militia officers by their military rank. Probably these old leaders neither resisted nor accommodated. Perhaps it was enough that they were living representatives of Reconstruction's aspirations for equality in a period when whites tried desperately to suppress for blacks even the memory of those hopes.⁴¹

Reconstruction in rural Edgefield fits more closely with the pattern of competitive race relations as described by C. Vann Woodward's typology. Black leaders gained political power and used their influence to advance the status of Afro-Americans at the expense of their former white owners, thus contradicting Eugene D. Genovese's assertion that the paternalistic slavery system had ingrained an accommodationist spirit that prevented freedmen from fighting for civil rights. Antebellum paternalism did not preclude, as Genovese suggests, a viable group force in a political sense during Reconstruction, for Edgefield freedmen did develop a black political movement that succeeded in maintaining itself as long as democracy was viable. During Reconstruction, Edgefield freedmen fought their way upward in the social and political order. After Reconstruction, assertive black leadership gave way to an era of accommodation to white supremacy that structurally resembled the earlier paternalism of slavery.

In Edgefield's rural society, Woodward's models were reversed. The success of Black Reconstruction in a competitive racial system moved the whites to restore a paternalistic and oppressive segmented model as soon as federal, state, and local political and military controls were removed. This study of rural Edgefield suggests at least a modification of Woodward's typology. Reconstruction appears to have been an advanced version of 20th century race relations prematurely introduced. Competitive race relations during Reconstruction and the resumption of white control between 1877 and roughly 1910 produced a period in which competitive and paternalistic elements competed in a confused and shifting context.

The two black leadership styles that existed in Edgefield during Reconstruction and afterwards laid the foundation for the Second Reconstruction's theme of political activism united with Christian pacifism. Though the strain of militancy had been dormant for over eighty years, it had persisted through each generation of blacks since 1876, until Martin Luther King, Jr.'s message called it out into the arena of 20th-century politics. Moreover, for the literate black community, which had developed in the churches and schools during the years of accommodation, the unequal battle of the First Reconstruction was rejoined in the 20th century with the same means of communication and organization available to the white community.⁴²

University of Illinois

Vernon Burton

FOOTNOTES

1. C. Vann Woodward, *The Strange Career of Jim Crow* (New York, 1955, 1957, 1966, 1974),

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American Counterspace by Eugene D. Genovese. In *History* (New York, 1974) (1974), especially 133-138.

2. Richard Maxwell Lee, *Epitaphs for a Slave* (New York, 1974). Carolina palatine from the great impact on South Carolina history. See also James (unpublished Ph.D. thesis) (113 miles) and the All Savannah River (Georgia) Village had only 866 free Edgefield Village, a very historical city. For a list of only two other towns in during Reconstruction, in *Discussions of Edgefield* (From the Earliest Section 67, Francis Butler Simola 36).

3. Throughout this paper, nevertheless important to race relations depends on the relations among the groups and the intergroup relations. The rural Edgefield County blacks (economic, social, etc.) in the South, the post Reconstruction period through these differences are not detail, but to suggest the Southern (Atlanta, Ga.) (New Haven, Conn., 1974) this question. Two fourth part whites in the South. Freeman Farmers, Texas dissertation, Yale Center for the Study of American History (1974) is known about division Americans who disagreed.

4. Wilhelmina Murrell, *Comparative Labor* (New York, 1974) comparative study of post Reconstruction.

5. Information collected (SPSS) data file. The absence returns and the effect of the relationship of the extraordinary high value Reconstruction Part 10 dissertation, Princeton U.

204, 285-286; Susan Westbury, "Research Exercise in Quantitative Methods: What was the Effect of the Civil War on the Economic Status of the Wealthiest Group in Edgefield County, South Carolina." (unpublished paper in author's possession, Spring, 1975); Carlee T. McClelland, *Edgefield Marriage Records: Edgefield, South Carolina* (Columbia, S.C., 1970); William Watts Ball, *The State That Forgot: South Carolina's Surrender to Democracy* (Indianapolis, Ind., 1932), especially 22; Randolph Dennis Werner, "Hegemony and Conflict: The Political Economy of a Southern Region, Augusta, Georgia, 1865-1895" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Virginia, 1977); Diane Neal, "Benjamin Ryan Tillman: The South Carolina Years, 1847-1894" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Kent State University, 1976); Julian Landrum Mims, "Radical Reconstruction in Edgefield County, 1868-1877" (unpublished M.A. thesis, University of South Carolina, 1969); Eleanor Elizabeth Mims, "The Editors of the Edgefield Advertiser, Oldest Newspaper in South Carolina, 1863-1930" (unpublished M.A. Thesis, University of South Carolina, 1930); William J. Cooper, Jr., *The Conservative Regime: South Carolina, 1877-1890* (Baltimore, 1969). In addition, good discussions of the state's and Edgefield's white elite and its command of politics are found in Ralph A. Wooster, *The People in Power: Courthouse and Statehouse in the Lower South, 1850-1860* (Knoxville, Tenn., 1969); James M. Banner, Jr., "The Problem of South Carolina," in *The Hofstadter Aegis: A Memorial*, eds. Stanley Elkins and Eric McKittrick (New York, 1974), 60-93; William W. Freehling, *Prelude to Civil War: The Nullification Controversy in South Carolina, 1816-1836* (New York, 1965); Steven A. Channing, *Crisis of Fear: Secession in South Carolina* (New York, 1970); Diane Cooke Norton, "A Methodological Study of the South Carolina Political Elite of the 1830's" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Pennsylvania, 1972); Robert Nicholas Olsberg, "A Government of Class and Race: William Henry Trescott and the South Carolina Chivalry, 1860-1865" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, The University of South Carolina, 1972); Chalmers Gaston Davidson, *The Last Foray: The South Carolina Planters of 1860: A Sociological Study* (Columbia, S.C., 1971); Simkins, *Pitchfork Ben* and his earlier *The Tillman Movement in South Carolina* (Durham, N.C., 1926); Francis Butler Simkins and Robert Hilliard Woody, *South Carolina During Reconstruction* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1932); Joel Williamson, *After Slavery: The Negro in South Carolina During Reconstruction, 1861-1877* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1965); Kousser, *Southern Politics: Brown, Strain of Violence*, 67-90; Banks, "Strom Thurmond"; Frederic Cople Jaher, *The Urban Establishment: The Upper Orders in Boston, New York, Charleston, Chicago, and Los Angeles* (University of Illinois Press, forthcoming). The Antebellum politics of John C. Calhoun's state are too complicated for this paper. South Carolina did not send delegates to the national Democratic convention until 1856.

6. Percentages refer to household heads listed in the 1870 and 1880 federal population census manuscripts. "Minutes of the Edgefield Baptist Church," Edgefield, S.C.; Mrs. J.L. Mims, "History of the Edgefield Baptist Church" and Mrs. Agatha Abney Woodson, "Seraphook of Edgefield Baptist Church," both in possession of Miss Hortense Woodson, Edgefield, S.C.; Hortense Woodson and Church Historians, *History of Edgefield Baptist Association, 1807-1957* (Edgefield, S.C. n.d.), 55-60; H.W. Purvis to F.J. Moses, Jr., July 12, 1873, in the papers of Franklin J. Moses, South Carolina Department of Archives, Columbia, S.C. (cited hereinafter as S.C.A.); H.W. Purvis to D.H. Chamberlain, Jan. 30, 1875, in the Papers of Daniel H. Chamberlain, S.C.A.; *Records of the Military Department Office of the Adjutant and Inspector General*, List of Commissions Issued, 1870-1899, Vol. 1, 58, 82-85, 111, in S.C.A.; *Records of the Military Department, Office of the Adjutant and Inspector General*, Militia Enrollments, 1869, vol. 12, in S.C.A.; Peggy Lamson, *The Glorious Failure: Black Congressman Robert Boren Elliott and the Reconstruction in South Carolina* (New York, 1973), 86-87, 96; Simkins and Woody, *Reconstruction*, 512; William Stone to Major Horace Neide, Oct. 1, 1868, Freedmen's Bureau File, Letters and Endorsements Sent, Entry 3052, 257, in the Record of the Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands, National Archives, Washington, D.C. (cited hereinafter as Freedmen's Bureau File); Teachers Reports, Edgefield, 1868-1870, five folders Superintendent of Education Papers, in S.C.A.; A.W. Pegues, *Our Baptist Ministers and Schools* (Springfield, Mass., 1892), 81, 145-147, 373, 457-459; Burton, "Ungrateful Servants," 76-90, 254.

7. Mims, "Editors of Advertiser"; Werner, "Hegemony and Conflict," 19-20, 47; Walter J. Ong, *The Presence of the Word: some Prolegomena for Cultural and Religious History* (New Haven, Conn.,

1967); James W. Carey, "A Cultural A 1-22 and "Harold Adams Innis and M 39; Jack Goody and Ian Watt, "The C. History, 5 (1962-63), 305-15. I am no help in explaining to me communicat

8. William Stone to Major H.W. Smith 14. Charles Snyder for Brvt. Maj. Gen papers of Gov. James L. Orr, S.C. A.; Simkins and Woody, *S.C. Reconstruc June 5, 1867; Mims, "Editors Edgefie in South Carolina, 1865-1872* (Cha Rainsford wrote from him Edgefield p are yet under military rule absolutel Buckland, *The Rainsford Family in* (Worcester, 1932), 275.

9. John Sheppard Reynolds, *Reconst 72-74, 76-84, 86-89, 93; South Car adopted April 16, 1868* (Columbia, S.C

10. *Edgefield Advertiser*, April 22 as respect. A club in Anderson County afternoon its members regrouped the *Rural Carolinian*, South Carolina's r Carolina's chapter of the Grange, chu make the Democratic clubs the basis. Abbeville Press and *Banner*, cited in Stagg, "The Problem of Klan Viole American Studies, 8, No. 3, (1970). : by economic interest. At all times, th 1868 the violence in Edgefield had sp my friend Stagg. For other mechanis *Klan Conspiracy in Southern Reconst*

11. *Edgefield Advertiser*, June 10 and

12. *Ibid.*, July 1, 1868. Gary and Geo to paternalism. They wanted Edg compartmentalized groups organized each impermeable by individuals fro style of race relations.

13. *Evidence Taken by the Committe S.C., 1870*, 714 (hereinafter cited as very convincing argument that oral evidence.

14. W.H. Trescott to J.L. Orr, 13 14 "Labor," *The Rural Carolinian*, 2 (the Heyward Family Papers, South C. Henry M. Christman, ed., *The South*, 246-252.

15. *Edgefield Advertiser*, June 17, 18

American Counterpoint: Slavery and Racism in the North-South Dialogue (Boston, 1971), 234-260; Eugene D. Genovese, *In Red and Black: Marxian Explorations in Southern and Afro-American History* (New York, 1974), 102-157. Roll, Jordan, Roll: *The World the Slaves Made* (New York, 1974), especially 133-150, 661.

2. Richard Maxwell Brown, *Strain of Violence: Historical Studies of American Violence and Vigilantism* (New York, 1975), 67-90, Chapter 3 focuses on Edgefield and its crucial impact on South Carolina politics from before the Revolution to Strom Thurmond. Brown argues that Edgefield had a great impact on South Carolina history, and ultimately (through South Carolina's role) on American history. See also James G. Banks, "Strom Thurmond and the Revolt Against Modernity" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Kent State University, 1970) Midway between the Smoky Mountains (143 miles) and the Atlantic (169 miles), Edgefield County is separated from Georgia by the Savannah River. Counties in South Carolina were known as districts until 1868. In 1870, Edgefield Village had only 846 residents of the 42,486 people in the county. Less than 25 miles away from Edgefield Village, a single long day's journey even on foot, Augusta, Georgia prospered as a hinterland city. For a brief period, antebellum Hamburg in Edgefield District had rivaled Augusta. Only two other towns in the county, Johnston and Trenton, were of notable size. Both developed during Reconstruction on railroad lines that by-passed Edgefield Court House. For more specific discussions of Edgefield County's development see John A. Chapman, *History of Edgefield County From the Earliest Settlements to 1897* (Newberry, S.C., 1897), 20, 28, 103-6, 108, 241, 316-17, 365-67; Francis Butler Simkins, *Pitchfork Ben Tillman: South Carolinian* (Baton Rouge, La., 1944), 23-56.

3. Throughout this paper I refer to the black and white community in general terms. There were nevertheless important divisions among both blacks and whites in Edgefield County. A typology of race relations depends not only on the overt relations between the powerful and powerless, but also on the relations among the powerful and among the powerless. The paternalistic-competitive typology treats only the phenomenon of inter-group relations and ignores the basic linking blocks of intra-group relations. The reader should therefore remember that political divisions emerged among Edgefield County blacks and among white Republicans and also among black and white Republicans. Economic, social, ideological, and political cleavages existed among whites in Edgefield. As elsewhere in the South, the position of yeomen and poorer whites is clearly related to violence and disfranchisement throughout the postbellum period and needs much more investigation. Some of these differences are mentioned in this essay. However, our concerns here are not to trace all the local detail, but to suggest the overall patterns of racial interaction. J. Morgan Kousser, *The Shaping of Southern Politics: Suffrage Restriction and the Establishment of the One-Party South 1880-1910* (New Haven, Conn., 1974), a superb account in almost every other respect, does not really deal with this question. Two forthcoming studies promise to shed more light on the question of yeomen and poor whites in the South's stratified society: Stephen Hahn, "The Roots of Southern Populism: White Yeoman Farmers, Tenants, and Sharecroppers in Upper Piedmont Georgia, 1850-1890" (Ph.D. dissertation, Yale University, expected 1979); William Harris, "A Social History of the Lower Georgia Piedmont, 1850-1890" (Ph.D. dissertation, The John Hopkins University, expected 1979). Even less is known about divisions in the black community. Particularly intriguing are those few Afro-Americans who aligned with Democrats.

4. Willemina Kloosterboer, *Involuntary Labor Since the Abolition of Slavery: A Survey of Compulsory Labor Throughout the World* (Leiden, Neth., 1960) documents this phenomenon in a comparative study of post-emancipation labor control in various societies around the world.

5. Information collected on Edgefield County is stored on a Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS) data file. The above computations refer to the data collected from the 1870 federal manuscript census returns and the county tax records. Applying Yule's Q to whites in 1870 to measure the strength of the relationship of color and ownership of land, on a scale of -1 to +1 the statistic shows an extraordinary high value of +0.935. Orville Vernon Burton, "Ungrateful Servants? Edgefield's Black Reconstruction: Part I of the Total History of Edgefield County, South Carolina" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Princeton University, 1975), for wealth distributions see particularly 187, 198, 199, 201-

Vernon Burton

1955, 1957, 1966, 1974).

1967); James W. Carey, "A Cultural Approach to Communication," *Communication*, 2, No. 2 (1975), 1-22 and "Harold Adams Innis and Marshall McLuhan," *The Antioch Review*, 27 (Spring, 1967), 5-39; Jack Goody and Ian Watt, "The Consequences of Literacy," *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 5 (1962-63), 305-45. I am most indebted to Harry S. Stout and Clifford Christians for their help in explaining to me communication networks and social organization.

8. William Stone to Major H.W. Smith, 28 Feb., 1866 Freedman's Bureau File, Entry 3051, 10-11. Lt. Charles Snyder for Brvt. Maj. Gen. R.K. Scott to Brvt. Lt. Col. H.W. Smith, 16 July, 1866, in the papers of Gov. James L. Orr, S.C.A.; *New York Times*, April 9, 1866; Williamson, *After Slavery*, 97; Simkins and Woody, *S.C. Reconstruction*, 57; *Edgefield Advertiser*, July 12, 1865, Dec. 19, 1866, June 5, 1867; Mims, "Editors Edgefield Advertiser," 72-75; Martin Abbott, *The Freedmen's Bureau in South Carolina, 1865-1872* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1967). On September 1, 1865, James Beale Rainsford wrote from his Edgefield plantation to his brother in England, Edwin Ransford, that "we are yet under military rule absolutely, so that none are free in the ordinary sense," in Emily A. Buckland, *The Rainsford Family with Sidelights on Shakespeare, Southampton Hall and Hart* (Worcester, 1932), 275.

9. John Sheppard Reynolds, *Reconstruction in South Carolina, 1865-1877* (Columbia, S.C., 1905), 72-74, 76-81, 86-89, 93; South Carolina State Government, *The Constitution of South Carolina, adopted April 16, 1868* (Columbia, S.C., 1868).

10. *Edgefield Advertiser*, April 22 and 29, May 27, 1868. Apparently, Edgefield was typical in this respect. A club in Anderson County met in the morning as the "Farmers Association"; in the afternoon its members regrouped themselves as the "Democratic Club." D. Wyatt Aiken, editor of the *Rural Carolinian*, South Carolina's most influential agricultural magazine, and organizer of South Carolina's chapter of the Grange, charged landowners to "Combine agriculture and politics — and make the Democratic clubs the basis of a new organization," *Anderson Intelligencer*, July 22, 1868. Abbeville Press and *Banner*, cited in the *Charleston Daily Courier*, Aug. 10, 1868. See also J.C.A. Stagg, "The Problem of Klan Violence: The South Carolina Up-Country, 1868-1871," *Journal of American Studies*, 8, No. 3, (1974), 303-318. Stagg argues persuasively that violence was motivated by economic interest. At all times, the political, economic and social issues were interrelated, but in 1868 the violence in Edgefield had specific political targets. I greatly benefitted from discussions with my friend Stagg. For other mechanisms of social control, see Allen Trelease, *White Terror: Ku Klux Klan Conspiracy in Southern Reconstruction* (New York, 1971), xv-xlviii, 65-80, 113-126, 349-418.

11. *Edgefield Advertiser*, June 10 and 24, 1868.

12. *Ibid.* July 1, 1868. Gary and George Tillman were among the first white leaders to reject appeals to paternalism. They wanted Edgefield planters to create a caste system comprised of two compartmentalized groups organized in a single society with dominant and subordinate positions and each impermeable by individuals from the other group. A caste system is implicit in a competitive style of race relations.

13. *Evidence Taken by the Committee of Investigation of the 3rd Congressional District* (Columbia, S.C., 1870), 714 (hereinafter cited as *S.C. Investigation Committee*). In view of the fact that there is a very convincing argument that oral culture promotes veracity, this report is particularly relevant evidence.

14. W.H. Trescott to J.L. Orr, 13 Dec. 1865, in the papers of James L. Orr, S.C.A.; Alfred Huger, "Labor," *The Rural Carolinian*, 2 (Oct., 1870), 43; E.B. Heyward to Allen C. Izard, 16 July 1866, in the Heyward Family Papers, South Caroloniana Library, Columbia, S.C. (cited hereinafter as S.C.L.); Henry M. Christman, ed., *The South, as it Is: 1865-1866* by John Richard Donnet (New York, 1963), 246-252.

15. *Edgefield Advertiser*, June 17, 1868; Werner, "Hegemony and Conflicts," 48.

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A. Mims, "History of
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17: Walter J. Ong, *The*
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16. *Edgefield Advertiser*, Nov. 8, 1865.

17. *Edgefield Advertiser*, Nov. 3 and 10, 1870. Each club adopted the rules presented at a mass meeting on Sales Day, December 8, 1870, at the Court House. The officers and leaders of the Agricultural clubs were identical in almost every instance to those of the Democratic clubs and the Reform clubs. For a more detailed discussion of agricultural arrangements and social structure see Orville Vernon Burton, "The Development of Tenantry and the Post-Bellum Afro-American Social Structure in Edgefield County, South Carolina," in E. Le Roy Ladurie et J. Goy, eds., *Prestations Paysannes, Dîmes, Rente foncière et Mouvement de la Production Agricole à l'Époque Préindustrielle* (Paris, forthcoming) and Burton, "Ungrateful Servants," 194-293. Distinctions between renting and sharecropping as a tenant were not confined to Edgefield. Robert Preston Brooks, *The Agrarian Revolution in Georgia, 1865-1912* (Madison, Wisconsin, 1914), 26-27, 30, 32-68 found these differences in Georgia. Robert C. McMath, Jr. has worked through Brooks's notebooks and McMath reports that Brooks makes these distinctions even clearer in his own notes. Edmund L. Drago also found the same distinctions for renting and sharecropping for Dougherty County, Georgia. See his article in Vernon Burton and Robert C. McMath, Jr., eds., *Nineteenth Century Southern Communities* (Westport, Conn., forthcoming). See also George P. Rawick, ed., *The American Slave A Composite Autobiography* (19 vol; Westport, Conn., 1972-), *Arkansas Narrative*, X (6), 67, 103, 185; Thomas J. Edwards, "The Tennant System and Some Changes Since Emancipation," *The Negro's Progress in Fifty Years*, *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 49 (Sept. 1913), 38-46; Stagg, "Klan Violence," 309 argues persuasively that Klan violence was associated with renting patterns.

18. Simkins and Woody, *South Carolina Reconstruction*, 91. According to one school of thought, the failure of the Federal Government to provide lands for freedmen was the major flaw of Reconstruction strategy. I am very much in sympathy with this argument. However, these scholars have looked at the post-Reconstruction period and argued backwards. LaWanda Cox, "The Promise of Land for the Freedmen," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, 45 (Dec., 1958), 413-440; LaWanda Cox and John H. Cox, *Politics, Principle, and Prejudice 1865-1866: Dilemma of Reconstruction America* (New York, 1963); Staughton Lynd, *Class Conflict, Slavery, and the United States Constitution* (New York, 1967); James M. McPherson, *The Struggle for Equality: Abolitionists and the Negro in the Civil War and Reconstruction* (Princeton, N.J., 1964); William S. McFeely, *Yankee Stepfather: General O.O. Howard and the Freedmen* (New Haven, Conn., 1968). On the land question, see Herman Belz, "The New Orthodoxy in Reconstruction Historiography," *Reviews in American History*, 1 (March, 1973), 106-113.

19. South Carolina Secretary of State, Deeds for Land Sold to the State Land Commissioners (1869-1870), 71, 72, 330, 331; South Carolina Secretary of State, Purchase Book, Land Commission Office, Dec. 13, 1869; The State of South Carolina, Department of Land Commission, Settlement Book, Payment Register, Vol. 3, 1870-1887, 26, 27; The State of South Carolina, Office Secretary of State, Records of Sales of Land to the Land Commission in Account with Settlers, not paginated, Jones Tract, Burns Tract, Walker Tract, Jennings Tract, Burton Tract, Randall Tract; The State of South Carolina, Office of Secretary of State, Department of Land Commission, Account of Sales, 1870-1875, 50-55; H.E. Hayne, Land Commissioner, (n.d.), 9-11 in Letters and Papers of the Land Commission; all of the above are in the Sinking Fund Commission, S.C.A., *Report on the Condition of Affairs in the Late Insurrectionary States* (the Ku Klux Conspiracy, Washington, D.C., 1872), IV, 1192-1194, 1214-1215; *Fairfield Herald*, Sept. 8, 1869; Stagg, "Klan Violence," 313; Reynolds, *Reconstruction*, 380; clipping from the *Carolinian Spartan*, Jan. 12, 1878, in the Papers of Martin Witherspoon Gary, S.C.L.; Carol K. Rothrock Bleser, *The Promised Land: The History of the South Carolina Land Commission, 1869-1890* (Columbia, S.C., 1969) and Williamson, *After Slavery*, 144-48, 173, 213, 258 are superb accounts of the Commission.

20. David Donald, "Reconstruction," in *Interpreting American History: Conversations with Historians*, I, ed. John A. Garraty (New York, 1970), 357-358 notes that the subject of Reconstruction taxation "awaits further study." Donald suggests that progressive land taxes, if continued, might have had revolutionary results in a "reorganization of the economic basis of Southern society." It must be

remembered that in ad- administered by the lo, Feb. 23, 1875. Chamb Chamberlain papers; W papers; L.E. Libandes to S.C.L.; James B. Camp S.C.L.; Milledge Lipsco n.d.), 39 in S.C.L.; Mi (unpublished ms. S.C.L.) Convention of S.C.L., a *Advertiser*, Feb. 3 and 1. Woody, *S.C. Reconstruct Freedman's Bureau Ag Slavery*, 148-159, 384, 3 the Republican program

21. *Edgefield Advertiser* May 22, 1973. Moses is Taken (Columbia, S.C., Carolina (New York, "Edgefield County (Ed prepared by The South Service Projects, Works and Woody, *S.C. Recc* (Columbia, S.C., 1873); *South Carolina Negroes Cooper, Conservative Re*

22. H.H. Steiner to Fra M.L. Bonham to Gen. J. papers; 14 Jan., 1871, J Jan., 28 May, 7, 16, 27 Mathew Gullbreath Butle Conditions Existing in t York, 1906), 161. "Petit Land Commission, 1869 File, 1866-1877, Questi Theodore W. Parmele to "M.L. Bonham," 896, 90

23. *Edgefield Advertiser Resolutions of the Gen* 630-633; Minis, "Radica

24. Col. Theodore W. P;

25. *Ibid.*; Orlando Shey S.C.A.; James Boatwrigl *The Struggles of 1876: I at the Red-Shirt Reunio n.d.), 1-11, both in S.C Reconstruction," 60-63 explains the organizing Carolina," *Journal of Reconstruction* (Austin, militia leaders in Edgef*

remembered that in addition to the South Carolina property tax, there was a county property tax administered by the local Republicans. Col. Theodore W. Parmele to Gov. Daniel H. Chamberlain, Feb. 23, 1875, Chamberlain papers; M.C. Butler to Gov. D.H. Chamberlain, March 1, 1876, Chamberlain papers; W.H. Timmerman to Gov. D.H. Chamberlain Jan. 4, 1875, Chamberlain papers; L.E. Libende to Johnathan C. Sheppard, Feb. 22, 1874, in *The John C. Sheppard Papers*, S.C.L.; James B. Campbell to M.L. Bonham, Dec. 5, 1873, in the papers of Milledge L. Bonham, S.C.L.; Milledge Lipscomb Bonham, "A Boy's Memories of War Time and the Other Times," (n.p., n.d.), 39 in S.C.L.; Milledge Louis Bonham, "The Life and Times of Milledge Luke Bonham" (unpublished ms. S.C.L.), 896, 901-902; Martin Witherspoon Gary "Speech Before the Taxpayers' Convention of S.C.," at Columbia, on February 19, 1874 (n.p., n.d.) Gary Papers; *Edgefield Advertiser*, Feb. 3 and Dec. 15, 1870, March 9 and April 6, 1871, June 6 and 13, 1872; Simkins and Woody, *S.C. Reconstruction*, 178, 180; Nile G. Parker who made the statement on taxes served as Freedman's Bureau Agent for Edgefield, before he became Republican state treasurer. In *After Slavery*, 148-159, 304, 397 Joel Williamson described the complicated taxation system as "the core of the Republican program in Reconstruction South Carolina."

21. *Edgefield Advertiser*, Jan. 13, 1870 and June 13, 1872; R.B. Carpenter to Gov. F.J. Moses, Jr., May 22, 1873, Moses papers; Hampton M. Jarrell, *Wade Hampton and the Negro: The Road Not Taken* (Columbia, S.C., 1949), 48-49; Henry T. Thompson, *Ousting the Carpetbagger from South Carolina* (New York, 1889), 67-69, 307-311; Reynolds, *Reconstruction*, 303-305, 368-372; "Edgefield County (Edgefield)," No. 19 of the *Inventory of the Court Archives of South Carolina*, prepared by The South Carolina Historical Records Survey Project Division of Professional and Service Projects, Works Projects Administration (Columbia, South Carolina, 1940), S.C.A.; Simkins and Woody, *S.C. Reconstruction*, 101-102; *Revised Statutes of the State of South Carolina* (Columbia, S.C., 1873); Williamson, *After Slavery*, 113, 114, 172, 329-330; George Brown Tindall, *South Carolina Negroes, 1877-1900* (Columbia, S.C. 1952), 108-111; Stagg, "Klan Violence," 313; Cooper, *Conservative Regime*, 33-34.

22. H.H. Steiner to Francis W. Pickens, 1 July, 1868, in the Papers of Francis W. Pickens, S.C.L.; M.L. Bonham to Gen. J.E. Johnston, and James R. Campbell to M.L. Bonham, 5 Dec., 1873, Bonham papers; 14 Jan., 1874, James Talbert Ouzts, "Farm Journal, 1856-1898" (S.C.L.), 18 Nov., 1873, 20 Jan., 28 May, 7, 16, 27 June, 23 Sept., 1874; M.C. Butler to wife, 4 July, 1866 in the Papers of Mathew Culbreath Butler, S.C.L.; Myrta Lockett Avery, *Dixie After the War: An Exposition of Social Conditions Existing in the South, During the Twelve Years Succeeding the Fall of Richmond* (New York, 1906), 161. "Petition of Sundry Citizens of Edgefield," May, 1870, in Letters and Papers of the Land Commission, 1869-1873; M.C. Butler to C.P. Leslie, Jan., 1870, Loose Papers, Land Transfer File, 1866-1877, Questionnaire, (S.C.A.), last reference cited in Bleser, *Promised Land*, 35-36; Col. Theodore W. Parmele to Gov. Daniel H. Chamberlain, 23 Feb., 1875, Chamberlain papers; Bonham, "M.L. Bonham," 896, 901-902, 949, 951, 1005.

23. *Edgefield Advertiser* 28 March and 2 Oct., 1872, 19 June and 7 Aug., 1873; *Reports and Resolutions of the General Assembly of the State of South Carolina, 1874* (Columbia, S.C., 1874), 630-633; Mims, "Radical Reconstruction," 77-78; Werner, "Hegemony and Conflict," 82-84.

24. Col. Theodore W. Parmele to Gov. D.H. Chamberlain, 23 Feb., 1875, Chamberlain papers.

25. *Ibid.*; Orlando Sheppard to Gov. R.K. Scott, 3 Sept., 1872, in the papers of Robert K. Scott, S.C.A.; James Boatwright to Gov. F.J. Moses, Jr., 6 Aug., 1874, Moses papers; Benjamin R. Tillman, *The Struggles of 1876: How South Carolina was Delivered From Carpet-Bag and Negro Rule* (Speech at the Red-Shirt Reunion at Anderson, South Carolina, 1909), 40-50 and "Childhood Days," (n.p., n.d.), 1-11, both in S.C.L.; Simkins and Woody, *S.C. Reconstruction*, 499-500; Mims, "Radical Reconstruction," 60-63; Williamson, *After Slavery* 266-273 (on rifle clubs), 260-263 carefully explains the organizing and arming of the black militia. Louis F. Post, "A 'Carpetbagger' in South Carolina," *Journal of Negro History*, 10 (Jan., 1925), 49; Otis A. Singletary, *Negro Militia and Reconstruction* (Austin, Texas, 1957); Stagg, "Klan Violence," 316-17. As stated above, the black militia leaders in Edgefield were also the political leaders and the white leaders of the agricultural

he roles presented at a mass e officers and leaders of the Democratic clubs and the rents and social structure see Bellum Afro-American Social ie et J. Goy, eds., *Prestations cole à l'Époque Préindustrielle* distinctions between renting and 'reston Brooks. *The Agrarian* 5-27, 30, 32-68 found these ook's notebooks and McMath notes. Edmund L. Drago also erty County, Georgia. See his 'entury Southern Communities American Slave A Composite X (6), 67, 103, 185; Thomas J. ion." *The Negro's Progress in* ience, 49 (Sept. 1913), 38-46; e was associated with renting

ng to one school of thought, the men was the major flaw of ment. However, these scholars LaWanda Cox, "The Promise", 45 (Dec., 1958), 413-440; 'ice 1865-1866: Dilemma of nflict, Slavery, and the United ggle for Equality: Abolitionists .. 1964); William S. McFeely, ren. Conn., 1968). On the land i Historiography." *Reviews in*

te Land Commissioners (1869- ook, Land Commission Office, ommission, Settlement Book, dina, Office Secretary of State, vs. not paginated, Jones Tract, t: The State of South Carolina, nt of Sales, 1870-1875, 50-55; of the Land Commission: all of 'ondition of Affairs in the Late (1872), IV, 1192-1194, 1214- Reynolds, *Reconstruction*, 380; of Martin Witherspoon Gary, : of the South Carolina Land ter Slavery, 144-48, 173, 213.

History: Conversations with at the subject of Reconstruction taxes, if continued, might have f Southern society." It must be

society, Democrat club, Reform party, Agricultural and Police Club, and irregular militia companies were the same.

26. *Edgefield Advertiser*, Jan. 3, 1866, Aug. 18 and Dec. 8, 1870, Aug. 17, 1876; M.L. Bonham to Gov. R.K. Scott, 19 Aug., 1868, Scott papers and Bonham papers; Chapman, *History of Edgefield*, 258.

27. Paris Simkins to F.J. Moses, 21 Sept., 1874, and Lawrence Cain to F.J. Moses, 21 Sept., 1874, Moses papers; Col. Lawrence Cain to D.H. Chamberlain, 9 Jan., 1875, Col. Theodore W. Parmele to Gov. D.H. Chamberlain, 23 Feb., 1875, Chamberlain papers; Tillman, *Struggles of 1876*, 40-50 and "Childhood Days," 1-11; Williamson, *After Slavery*, 266-267; Allen, *Chamberlain's Administration*, 67-69, Reynolds, *Reconstruction*, 302-305, S.C. *Investigation Committee*, 708-709; Mims, "Radical Reconstruction," 62-63.

28. *Edgefield Advertiser* 19 Jan. 1871 and 27 June, 1872; Col. Lawrence Cain to D.H. Chamberlain, 9 Jan., 1875; and Col. Theodore W. Parmele to Gov. D.H. Chamberlain, 23 Feb., 1875, Chamberlain papers; Tillman, *Struggles of 1876*, 45-46 and "Childhood Days," 7; Reynolds, *Reconstruction*, 304-305; Allen, *Chamberlain's Administration*, 74-76. Chamberlain himself denied that his attempt to win over the whites was racist. Rather, he said it was the opposite, Daniel Henry Chamberlain, "Reconstruction and the Negro," *North American Review*, 128 (Feb., 1879), 161-73.

29. R.B. Elliott to D.H. Chamberlain, 26 Feb., 1876, Hon. R.B. Carpenter to D.H. Chamberlain, 5 June, 1877, J.A. Robards and J.H. Palmer to D.H. Chamberlain, 26 June, 1876, H. Jordan to D.H. Chamberlain, 9 July, 1876, U.S. Grant to D.H. Chamberlain, 26 July, 1876, Louis Schiller to D.H. Chamberlain, 29 July, 1876, Chamberlain papers; *South Carolina in 1876: Testimony as to the Denial of the Elective Franchise in South Carolina at the Elections of 1875 and 1876*, 3 vols. (Senate Miscellaneous Documents, 44th Congress, 2d Session, No. 48); Reynolds, *Reconstruction*, 302-305; Allen, *Chamberlain's Administration*, 68-69; 307-303; Simkins and Woody, *South Carolina Reconstruction*, 485-487; Mims, "Radical Reconstruction," 65-69, Williamson, *After Slavery*, 267-271 has a concise account of the Hamburg affair. Also the notebooks of Gen. Martin W. Gary have interesting detail, in the Gary Papers; so do Tillman's *Struggles of 1876*, 14-26 and "Childhood Days," 12-24.

30. *Edgefield Advertiser*, June 10, 1868 and Aug. 17, 1876; Tillman, *Struggles of 1876*, 33-39; Simkins and Woody, S.C. *Reconstruction*, 492-493, 496, 499; Allen, *Chamberlain's Administration*, 374-377.

31. S.W. Ferguson to Maj. T.G. Baxter, Jan. 7, 1876 in Gary Papers. There are several versions of the "Edgefield Plan" in the Gary Papers. Tillman, *Struggles of 1876*, 28, 63; "Concurrent Resolution of the South Carolina General Assembly," Feb. 16, 1876, in the Chamberlain Papers; Jno. Gardner to D.H. Chamberlain, 25 Aug., 1876, Frank Armin to D.H. Chamberlain, 18 Sept., 1876, Lawrence Cain to D.H. Chamberlain, 25 Sept., 1876, A.C. Haskell to D.H. Chamberlain, 28 Sept., 1876, James Mason to D.H. Chamberlain, 30 Sept., 1876, Chamberlain Papers; *Recent Election in South Carolina: Testimony Taken by the Select Committee on the Recent Election in South Carolina* (House Miscellaneous Documents, 44th Congress, 2d Session, No. 31); *South Carolina in 1876*; Simkins and Woody, S.C. *Reconstruction*, 564-569.

32. Col. Theodore W. Parmele to Gov. D.H. Chamberlain, 23 Feb., 1875, Chamberlain Papers; "Edgefield Plan," Gary Papers. Steven Hahn has aided me in formulating ideas on violence and class. He found similar results in a study of Mississippi. See also Manuel Gottlieb, "The Land Question in Georgia During Reconstruction," *Science & Society: A Marxian Quarterly*, 3 (1939), 356-388; Governors Papers, 1866-1876 in Orr, Scott, Moses, Chamberlain papers, passim; Mims, "Radical Reconstruction," 42-47; Simkins and Woody, S.C. *Reconstruction*, 479, 482=483, 485, 515, 556.

33. Tillman, *Struggles of 1876*, 28, 29; Simkins and Woody, *South Carolina Reconstruction*, 501, 509, 515; Francis B. Simkins, "The Election of 1876 in South Carolina," 21 (July, Oct., 1922), 225-

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240, 335-351; Williamson, 2

34. John Mardenborough to J. Parrell, Letters Received, Acc to D.H. Chamberlain, 8 April

35. S.C. *Revised Statutes (Cyclopedia and Register of Jarrell, Wade Hampton and State of S.C., Secretary of State Concerning Land*, 250, 307 Small, "Election Methods in Simkins, "Race Legislation" (1921), 161-171, 165-177; (1883); I.A. Newby, *Black G (Columbia, S.C., 1973), 37-*

36. *Edgefield Advertiser*, II *Conservative Regime*, 21; Taylor, *The Negro in South Wade Hampton*, 124-125; *in the Age of Booker T. W a the Life and Labors of Rev. the Betts Academy* (Trenton 1930), 377.

37. *Edgefield Advertiser*, I S.C. *Negroes*, 187-89, 207, my interviews with *Edgefield Herald and News* (n.d., in Nicholson, *Betts*, 26-27, 37 work of an admirer and late blacks and whites about Be inadvertent revelations.

38. In antebellum South Carolina in 1739, Walter J. Ong, "University of Illinois in U culture.

39. Harrison N. Bouey to I Vol. 227, 112, Col. E.H. Autobiographer, Nicholson, "mi

40. *Edgefield Advertiser*, I "Town and Country in Re Southern Historical Association efforts to leave Edgefield Fe and Tindall, *South Carolina A Study of Two Variants Comparative Perspective* ("pluralistic") societies.

41. Joan Reynolds Faunt a *South Carolina* (Columbia, *Carolina Legislature* (Or

240, 335-351; Williamson, *After Slavery*, 345.

34. John Mardenborough to William Coppingier, April 30, 1877, American Colonization Society Papers, Letters Received, Vol. 227, 86 in the Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.; W.F. Rodenbach to D.H. Chamberlain, 8 April, 1877, Chamberlain papers.

35. *S.C. Revised Statutes (1870-1892)*; Tindall, *S.C. Negroes*, 108-14, 12-21; *Appleton's Annual Cyclopedia and Register of Important Events of the Year [1876-1895]* (New York): Hampton M. Jarrell, *Wade Hampton and the Negro: the Road Not Taken* (Columbia, S.C., 1949), 141, 158-159; State of S.C., Secretary of State, Settlement Book, Vol. 3, 53-62, and Daybook-Edgefield, Memoranda Concerning Land, 250, 307 both in Sinking Fund Commission; Kousser, *Southern Politics*; Robert Smalls, "Election Methods in the South," *North American Review*, 151 (1890), 593-600; Francis B. Simkins, "Race Legislation in South Carolina Since 1865," *South Atlantic Quarterly*, 20 (Jan., April, 1921), 161-171, 165-177; Burton, "Development of Tenantry," and "Ungrateful Servants," 236-283; I.A. Newby, *Black Carolinians: A History of Blacks in South Carolina from 1895 to 1968* (Columbia, S.C., 1973), 37-38.

36. *Edgefield Advertiser*, 18 July and 14 Oct., 1878; Mims, "Editors of Advertiser," 92-94; Cooper, *Conservative Regime*, 21; Tindall, *S.C. Negroes*; Newby, *Black Carolinians*; Alruthus Ambush Taylor, *The Negro in South Carolina During Reconstruction* (New York, 1921) 91, 290-307; Jarrell, *Wade Hampton*, 124-125; August Meier, *Negro Thought in America, 1880-1915: Racial Ideologies in the Age of Booker T. Washington* (Ann Arbor, Mich., 1963); Alfred W. Nicholson, *Brief Sketch of the Life and Labors of Rev. Alexander Bettis: Also an Account of the Founding and Development of the Bettis Academy* (Trenton, S.C., 1913), Lewis G. Jordan, *Negro Baptist History* (Nashville, Tenn., 1930), 377.

37. *Edgefield Advertiser*, 15 Nov., 1865; Woodson and Historians, *Edgefield Baptists*, 60; Tindall, *S.C. Negroes*, 187-89, 207, 225. Except where otherwise designated, the following pages drew upon my interviews with Edgefield blacks and whites, two articles by Col. E.H. Aull in the *Newberry Herald and News* (n.d., in scrapbook in possession of Miss Hortense Woodson), and especially upon Nicholson, *Bettis*, 26-27, 37, 44-49, 58, 62-66, 70-80, 88-90. The biography must be evaluated as the work of an admirer and later president of the Bettis Academy. Pages 56-68 contain testimonials from blacks and whites about Bettis. These letters are particularly useful and, like the biography, full of inadvertent revelations.

38. In antebellum South Carolina, drum beating had been forbidden by law since the Stono Rebellion in 1739. Walter J. Ong, "Tribal Drum as Quintessence of Oral Culture," a talk presented at the University of Illinois in 1976, argues that drum beating is an important way of preserving oral culture.

39. Harrison N. Bouey to Rev. H.M. Turner, May 23, 1877, American Colonization Society Papers, Vol. 227, 142. Col. E.H. Aull in one *Newberry Herald and News* clipping said of Bettis's successor and biographer, Nicholson, "misunderstood by his own people, at times suspected by the white . . ."

40. *Edgefield Advertiser*, 19 June, 1873; Werner, "Hegemony and Conflict," 48; Vernon Burton, "Town and Country in Reconstruction Edgefield County, South Carolina," paper presented at the Southern Historical Association, 41st Annual Meeting, 1975; For a detailed description of organized efforts to leave Edgefield for both Liberia and Arkansas, see Burton, "Ungrateful Servants," 157-178 and Tindall, *South Carolina Negroes*, 153-168, 170-173. Harry Hoetnik, *Caribbean Race Relations: A Study of Two Variants* (London, 1967) and Pierre L. van den Berghe, *Race and Racism: A Comparative Perspective* (New York, 1967) develop models for segmented (van den Berghe's term is "pluralistic") societies.

41. Joan Reynolds Faunt and Emily B. Reynolds, *Biographical Directory of the Senate of the State of South Carolina* (Columbia, S.C., 1964), 191; Lawrence C. Bryant, ed., *Negro Lawmakers in the South Carolina Legislature* (Orangeburg, S.C., 1968), 22; Mims, "Radical Reconstruction," 25-26;

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