

WAGING PEACE PART II

I. SOUTHERN LIFE IN THE THROES OF RADICAL RECONSTRUCTION

Like most things, an *understanding* (as opposed to knowledge) of history lies victim to the perspective of the superficial; that is, those aspects of an issue which lie at the surface as a result of its own evolution. They may represent the totality of an issue, but they typically *neglect the factors which caused it*. For example, let's look at the 2017 Harvey-induced KHS-SCHS experiment. Due to forces beyond our control we (KHS) were forced to consolidate our school with another, a situation necessary for the uninterrupted solidarity of KHS for the 2017-2018 school year. This decision, of course, did not come without controversy. Indeed, the complaints, inconveniences, paranoia, and other assorted issues made themselves known through countless media outlets and public forums (gotta love Kingwood Underground!). However, beneath the controversy and public discourse, in the classroom life went on. The TRUE value of this experiment lay with the grunts . . . that would be kids and teachers just doin' their jobs. While outsiders grumbled and engaged in mass hysterical wailing and gnashing of teeth, we just kept on keepin' on. The KIDS were the true story, because they had to deal with the fallout. Don't think it went unnoticed to those who understood.

With this in mind, consider the South under Radical Reconstruction. While the military governments, federal election officials, and Union soldiers bolstered the imposition of Radical Republican policies, there existed one faction that slowly plowed through this mess, living their lives as victims to political theater. These were, of course, the PEOPLE of the South, black and white, yeomen and poor whites. Their lives were tragically changed, the ultimate morality play which featured heroes, villains, and multitudes of victims.

With that mental note as context, let's retreat a bit and consider life in the South as it evolved during the tumultuous years of Reconstruction. The **overall state of the southern economy** was horrific:

- **Southern infrastructure**: Practically all **railroad mileage** lie destroyed, the few remaining ran from nowhere to nowhere. Communication networks were non-existent.
- The true wealth of the South lie in its **land**, and by war's end there was very little farmable land remaining. Once Grant and Sherman unleashed total war upon the South in 1864 everything became a target . . . including southern farms. Crops were burnt, machinery destroyed, buildings razed . . . anything that could sustain life was demolished; that was the entire point of total war.
- It is still of economic significance that Southern planters lost an approximate \$4 million in **labor capital** with emancipation. As a farmer you can't recover it (the concept of compensation ended with the Emancipation Proclamation) so any attempt to rekindle large scale commercial agriculture at came with a \$4 million capital deficit.
- The best land had been **confiscated** by Union troops to be relegated to the Freedman's Bureau for land distribution policy; ie Sherman's "40 acres and a mule" promise. However, either through the effects of Johnson's pardon policy³³ or distribution by federal land agents to carpetbagger speculators the majority of prime land was not available for sensible agricultural allotment to those who knew how to utilize it best.

Life on The Farm. The former plantation system was a total disaster; as massive land holdings were broken up into smaller plots. A major consequence of post-war land ownership involved ownership. Former planters who retained at least some of their property were forced to come to some sort of labor arrangement through which they could plant and harvest crops. Because their previous labor source had been involuntary servitude they would automatically lose profit to the need for paid labor. Land that ended up in the hands of speculators was often subject to absentee ownership; many speculators, particularly carpetbaggers, found that life on isolated former plantations could be hazardous to one's health, especially if the local Klan, White League, or "Dancing Club" discovered who you were and where you lived. Consequently, along with their southern land-owning counterparts, they were forced to employ alternate labor systems if they planned to make a profit. The two

³³ Even though many former Confederates were able to retain at least portions of their land most were forced to either sell or enter into tenant farming arrangements to try and recover losses due to the devastation of war, the least of which was due to the lost labor costs.

predominant labor systems employed by both was **tenant farming and sharecropping**; these would infiltrate and dominate southern agriculture well into the 20th century, and, in some cases, beyond.

Tenant Farming. Basically speaking, tenant farming consists of a landowner leasing farming land in exchange for rent or other “considerations” such as a portion of the crop. Tenant farming had been around before the war as primarily a lessor-lessee arrangement. However, due to the ravages of the war the *post-war* arrangement featured the payment of rent through **labor and/or a percentage of the crop yield**. Because the predominant means of rent payment was a portion of their crop tenant farmers were expected to supply their own equipment, furnishing mules, implements, and so on. However, most, especially freedmen and poor whites, owned nothing by way of farming equipment. In such cases they were forced into a credit- merchant relationship, also known as a **crop lien**.

The Crop Lien System. Man, talk about an economic version of the Black Codes . . . it was predatory. It pretty much guaranteed involuntary servitude. It was evil. However . . . it was legal and it worked, turning many tenants to a position of **debt slavery**. Those who escaped this evil became itinerant migrants, wandering from place to place in search of land to rent. Here’s how it (tenant farming and crop liens) worked:

- Poor farmer Bob (poor white or freedman, doesn’t matter), who doesn’t have a pot to piss in,³⁴ enters a tenant relationship with Evil Landowner Scalia (damned Sicilian immigrants!).
- In this relationship PFB (Poor Farmer Bob) agrees to provide labor for ELS (Evil Landowner Scalia). ELS agrees to allow PFB a plot of land by which PFB can grow crops to feed his family.
- PFB is expected to provide his own equipment; however, because he owns nothing he will have to obtain said equipment on his own. No equipment, no deal.
- By “sheer coincidence” (HAH! DON’T YOU BELIEVE IT!) ELS just happens to own an on-site farming equipment emporium that caters to the needs of poor farmers like Bob (and no one else); it tells you plenty when you realize that part of the tenant contract holds Bob to purchasing any farming equipment, including seeds etc, from ELS’s store.
- Soooooo . . . Bob buys a ton of necessary farming equipment from ELS’s store, but because he cannot pay cash for the items he has to get it on credit; the collateral for this credit is the *potential* profit he intends to make on his crops. This arrangement is called a “**crop lien**” (“lien” is another term for debt); its “evil” resides in its design to create overwhelming debt for PFB. In other words, PFB will pay for the items at the end of the growing season when the harvest comes in. Oh yeah . . . do you think ELS’s prices are competitive? We’re not talking Wal-Mart vs. Target here, because it is in ELS’s best interest to keep PFB in perpetual debt his store charges ungodly high prices for relatively inexpensive items. One observer commented that the rate of credit in a crop lien ranged from “24% to grand larceny.”³⁵ Why can’t PFB shop around, competition is the key to capitalism, right? Read the contract, boy; you ain’t goin’ nowhere.
- Result? PFB works ELS’s land, his labor pays his rent. However, PFB owes for the farming equipment, and his own paltry crops will not cover the costs. In the meantime, he needs even more equipment for next year’s crop, so once again, he must buy overpriced equipment on the lien system. As the years go by, PFB’s lien grows to immense proportions; consequently he becomes a **slave to his own debt**, aka “**debt slavery**.” Due to state laws and Black Codes he must pay this lien off before he can leave his tenancy, and if the lien is not paid by the time PFB dies, it is passed along to his progeny.³⁶ Crop Lien or Debt Slavery: pick your poison; it’s all the same.

³⁴ Remember what this saying means? You read about it “The Personal Side of a Developing People.”

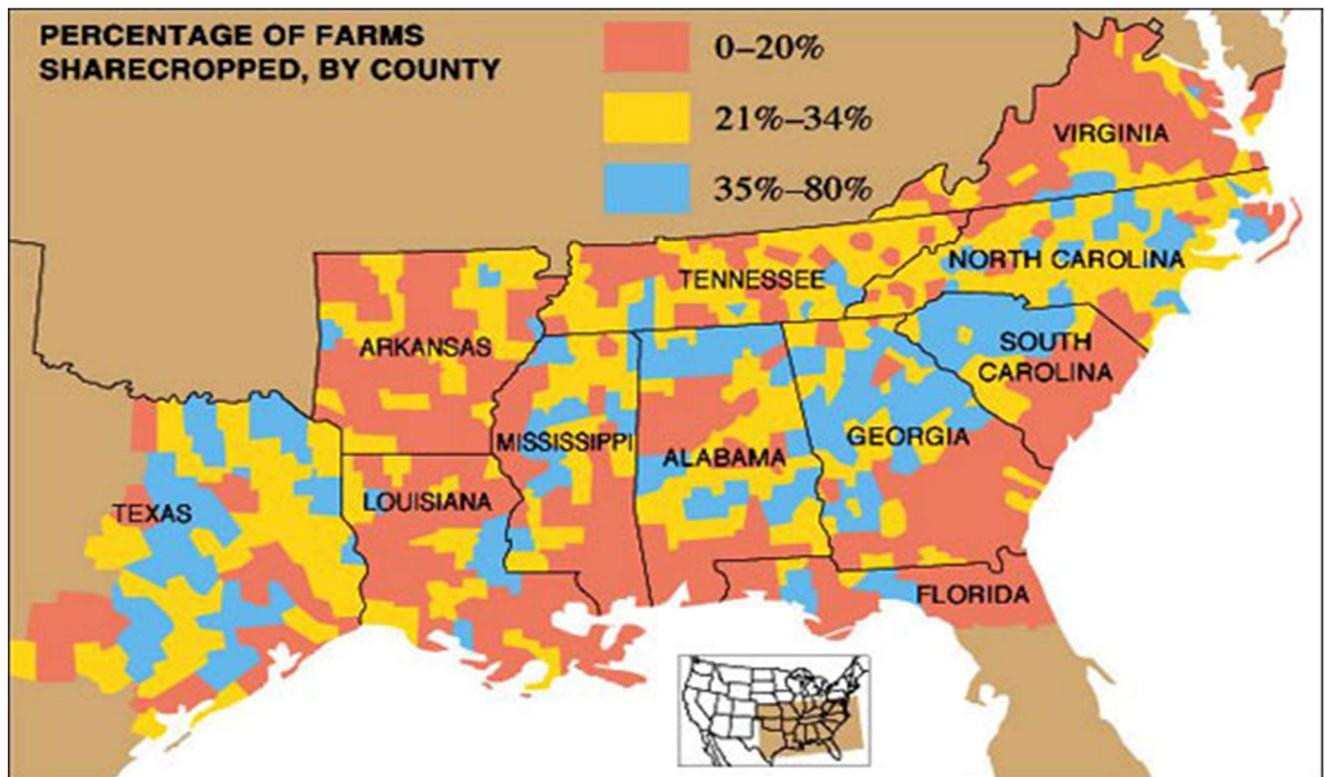
³⁵ Tindal and Shi, 800.

³⁶ For years this situation permeated the lowlands of the Mississippi Delta, resulting in the birth of the blues. Crop lien slavery was what Robert Johnson, John Lee Hooker, BB King, among others, were blue about. Crop liens are still being paid off in the river parishes of northeastern Louisiana; I’ve seen this firsthand and it is heartbreaking. Remind me to tell you about it.

Sharecropping. This system was far more widespread, but just as debilitating. Although sharecroppers didn't fare much better than tenant farmers their lot in life was a bit simpler. **All a sharecropper had to offer a landowner was his labor** (and NOT expected to pay rent with crops) and consequently wasn't expected to supply his own equipment. A typical arrangement traded the sharecropper's labor in the landowner's fields for:

- farming supplies
- a share of the landowner's yield, in some cases as much as one-half . . . this depended on the crop.
- a parcel of land set aside for the sharecropper's personal use.

Farm tenancy, crop liens, and sharecropping permeated the Reconstruction South, and because the effects were long-lasting, lingered on. By 1890 most southern farms were worked by people who did not own the land.



Sharecropping circa 1890

All in all, tenancy farming and sharecropping offered both pros and cons. On the **positive side**, these systems provided poor whites and especially freedmen with a means by which they could survive. Heck, when you are destitute as a slave there's not much difference in being poor as a sharecropper. Also, in the case of sharecropping, field hands began to experience a perverse pride in their own labor; the better the landowner's crop came in the better your lot in life.

However, **the downside** was worse. **These systems kept freedmen and poor whites in states of subservience to those who possessed the means by which they could control lives. Most devastating, they rendered life for the demographic majority in the Reconstruction South static, with no means of social improvement by means of education or other means of social reform. This stagnation of rural life held millions of poor whites and blacks in bondage to privation and ignorance,** conditions which will haunt the South for a century hence . . . and still do.

II. RECONSTRUCTION: THE END

It is the sweetest of ironies that the Reconstruction Era ended more as a result of political intrigue and corruption than by Southern intransigence. As you've seen the overall assessment of the entire period (1863-1876) had to include wondering who was running the asylum here, with both sides (Radical Republicans and Southern "home rule" Democrats) working at cross purposes to achieve all things harmful to the future of a devastated land. Knowing this, it's not a stretch to realize that it could only end badly (depending, of course, on who you were), resulting in:

- the growing **dominance of the Radical influence in the Republican Party**, followed by . . .
- the erosion of the Republican Party into **in-party factions** reminiscent of the Era of Good Feelings.
- The rebirth of **political sectionalism** via the restoration of the Solid South through home rule and their leviathan Democratic political machine
- The birth of the **Southern "Lost Cause" orthodoxy**
- Absolute **living hell for African Americans**, so severe that many will long for the days of slavery. Remember, the Radicals *never* had an adequate answer to the question "what do you do with four million freed slaves?" You can free them, make them citizens, and award them suffrage, but then what? Isn't it obvious? If you can't protect them you cut them adrift in a sea full of angry, bloodthirsty sharks. This potential horror was foretold in an 1876 article in the New York *Herald* that stated "The plain truth is that the North has got tired [sic] of the Negro."³⁷ Considering the level of protection afforded the freedmen by federal troops, their removal would be tantamount to a death sentence. Regardless, federal protection did end; its affects continue to haunt us.

The Grant Years.

Ulysses S Grant was elected to the presidency in 1868, the predominant assumption being that he would right the rickety national ship in the same manner by which he had saved the Union by whipping Bobby Lee down in Virginia. Wrong. I mean, REALLY, REALLY wrong. Although ostensibly a decent sort, Grant's administration was characterized by rampant corruption, some of the worst in American history. His presidency represented the ascendancy of the Radical Republicans into the national political sphere, and, by association, the end of Radical Reconstruction.

Grant's only credentials for the presidency had nothing to do with politics and everything to do with his war record. Due to his falling out with Andrew Johnson in the Tenure of Office fiasco (remember that he refused to replace Edwin Stanton as Secretary of War at Johnson's request) he quickly became the darling of the Radical Republicans in Congress (the ol' "enemy of my enemy is my friend" agenda). Grant's presidential agenda was pure Radical, which makes perfect sense due to its author being Radical poster boy Thaddeus Stevens.



**Grant Supporting His Agents of Corruption . . .
Oops, sorry: I Mean, His Cabinet.**

³⁷ Ibid, 783.

Inclusive in Grant's platform were:

- Continued support for Radical Reconstruction in the South
- The insistence that black suffrage in the South was a necessity; however the extent to which African Americans would enjoy enfranchisement *in the North* would remain an issue for the states to decide (NOW who's violating the 15th Amendment? Does it appear as if someone's making up the rules as they go along?)
- The establishment of the American economic basis on "hard money" (ie gold and silver). This would result in a **contraction, or shrinking, of the money supply**, something demonized by Democrats everywhere.

Although Grant won the electoral vote in Lincolnesque style (214 to 80) his margin of victory in the popular vote was a mere 307,000 votes. Why is this noteworthy? Grant was a beneficiary of Military Reconstruction; of his popular vote total over 500,000 were black votes from the South, without them he would have lost the popular vote AND key Southern electoral votes. As president Grant was perfectly happy to execute the laws passed by Congress and, in policy matters, follow the Radical Congress' lead. He was a strict Party president, but while he enjoyed the respect and support of party leaders in Congress he was incredibly ineffective as a leader, a trait which left non-Radicals disillusioned with him and allowed unscrupulous individuals to take advantage of him. Grant was a practitioner of the **spoils system (aka patronage)**, the means of political favoritism in which he awarded vital government positions to political cronies, friends, and relatives, their credentials be damned. It will bite him badly.

The Grant Administration is best known for scandal; however it must be stated that no evidence has ever been produced that linked Grant as an *active* participant to any of the chicanery (cool word, huh?). Still, the fact that there were *so many* that were *so obvious* and public makes one consider that maybe, just maybe, without all those black and immigrant lives wasted in Virginia in 1864 he could have never won the war. Food for thought.

The more predominant of the Grant Scandals were:

- **The Gould-Fisk Gold Scheme.** Financial speculators Jay Gould and Jim Fisk, aware of the president's intent to settle the national debt with gold, schemed with the president's *brother-in-law* to corner the gold market. If successful, the government would have to purchase the gold with which they intended to pay this debt from the conspirators, Gould and Fisk. Grant, who knew both Gould and Fisk, saw no problem with both appearing in public with the conspirators or even entertaining them at the White House, where Gould enlisted Grant's *wife* as an investor in the scheme. When rumors spread that Gould had persuaded his buddy the President to sell government gold stocks (a rumor spread by . . . surprise, surprise . . . Gould and Fisk), a move which would deflate gold prices by increasing the supply of gold available on the public commodities market; gold prices dropped from \$163 an ounce to \$132 overnight. Knowing that the price drop was based *only upon a rumor* that they had perpetuated Gould/Fisk began quietly buying up gold stocks at the lower price; Gould was so secretive he kept Fisk out of the loop and consequently bought Fisk's shares. It is only due to Grant's wife's big mouth that Grant became aware of the scheme. To cover his assumed complicity and counter Gould's attempt to corner the supply Grant ordered the Treasury to immediately buy as many gold stocks on the market as possible, a move which, in addition to raising prices, stimulated others to buy. Federal investigator questioning of Grant's wife and brother-in-law exposed the plot, and Gould conveniently disappeared into the West to escape prosecution as well as the outrage of his former partner Fisk. (Gould will re-emerge later). Grant came off as an incredibly naïve, stupid man who couldn't even keep his own family from threatening national interests. And this is only the first scandal . . .
- **The Credit Mobilier Scandal.** Although not as directly involved as the gold scandal, Credit Mobilier did occur on Grant's watch and involved several of Grant's political appointees. The source of this scandal was the Transcontinental Railroad. Credit Mobilier, a railroad construction company, submitted a bid for a lucrative construction contract. The problem was that the owners of Credit Mobilier were assorted congressmen and members of the Grant Administration, which

guaranteed, of course, that Credit Mobilier would be awarded the contract. That was bad enough, but the company grossly overcharged the government for its services, eventually charging \$94 million for a railroad which at best should have cost \$54 million.

- **The Indian Ring.** Grant's Secretary of War, William Belknap, had entered into agreements (uh, bribes) with Indian agents and merchants (called "sutlers") who ran government reservation trading posts to purchase government commodities, meant for Indians, for sale in western towns. These government supplies, which were issued free by virtue of treaty, were often the only means of subsistence with which reservation Indians could survive. The Indian Ring would take these supplies and sell them for profit to other whites, who kicked back profits to Belknap and Grant's brother Orville. The ensuing investigation resulted from the testimony of brevet General George Armstrong Custer, who witnessed the corruption first-hand. Custer, a Democrat and political rival of Grant's, exposed the complicity of Orville Grant, a move which embarrassed his commander in chief and will consequently will cost the "boy general" dearly. We'll cover this in class.
- **The Whiskey Ring.** This scandal, which began in St. Louis and spread to Chicago, Cincinnati, Milwaukee, and New Orleans, was eventually exposed in 1875. It involved diversion of tax revenues in a conspiracy among government agents, politicians, whiskey distillers, and distributors. The mostly-Republican government officials and politicians (including members of Congress) managed to siphon off millions of dollars in federal taxes on liquor, which went relatively unnoticed due to whiskey's identity as a national embarrassment (those Temperance women, still around and raising a stink about their men drinking, were really good). The scheme involved an extensive network of bribes, payoffs, kickbacks, and extortion . . . all before the Mafia made its appearance in America. In the



The Whiskey Ring Conspirators Arrogant? Perish the Thought!!

end over 110 federal officials were indicted, including Grant's personal secretary Orville E. Babcock. Due to Grant's friendship with Babcock, which began during the war when Babcock was a junior officer under Grant's command, the President attempted to stop prosecution of the conspirators. As a result Secretary of the Treasury Benjamin Bristow prosecuted the Ring without the knowledge of the President, an action that, once the indictments came down, infuriated Grant, who fired Bristow. However, when public found out that Grant was crying about the arrest and prosecution of revenue thieves, well, you can imagine what sort of damage this did to Grant and the Republican Party.

- **The Post Office Scandal.** Grant's Postmaster General awarded mail collection routes to the carriers who paid the most in kickbacks. In some cases these carriers would open private packages and sell the contents, sharing the spoils with government postal officials. Rumor is that they made a killing cornering the fruitcake market at Christmas.

The Panic of 1873. On top of all this was the **collapse of railroad stocks in 1873, resulting in a six-year panic which was to date the worst in American history.** By 1873, in response to Grant's contraction of the money supply³⁸ many railroad speculators borrowed *what they could as quickly* as they could in order finance the construction of new railroads; as long as they could sell railroad stock on the open market they could expect a return on their investment and could pay off their loans. However, in 1873 the rush to purchase these stocks on credit resulted in market for railroad bonds becoming bloated, resulting in too much supply amongst withering demand. Consequently, the railroad bond market bottomed out and twenty-five railroads defaulted on their loans.³⁹ The main loser in this default was the primary American lending house, Jay Cooke and Company, who went bankrupt in September 1873. The ensuing stampede of investors to exchange their stocks for cash closed down the stock market on Wall Street for ten days. The ensuing **Panic of 1873** lasted for six years and was characterized by massive unemployment, widespread personal and corporate bankruptcy, and a lethal slowdown in the prime motivator for the American economy in the late nineteenth century, railroad construction.

The Panic of 1873 and Grant Scandals were sufficient enough to damage not only Grant but his Radical Republican supporters, who still had their hands full down South and consequently could not keep an eye on Grant, his administration, and the economy all at the same time. As the Panic spread economic devastation and the scandals became more and more public, the Radicals lost credibility by being regarded as accomplices via association; simply put, northern citizens, the bread and butter constituency of the Republican Party, began to tire of the Republican Party, which suddenly seemed arrogant and condescending. This perception, in turn, served to split the Republicans before Grant's re-election campaign in 1872; the Radicals still hung with Grant while former Free Soilers and other moderate Republicans supported Union war hero General Carl Schurz. In the election, however, the memory of Appomattox proved powerful medicine as Grant defeated Schurz and Democratic challenger Horace Greeley to win a second term.

Neither Grant nor the Radicals in Congress realized, however, that their hold on government was tenuous. While the Radicals navigated their way back into the presidency the Democrats gained control of the House of Representatives and immediately launched investigations into the Grant Scandals. Like the proverbial onion, the more they peeled away the layers of cover-up and scandal, the more the whole mess stunk.

Grant and the Money Issue. On top of all of this Grant decided to tackle the money issue. The argument over the basis for the American monetary supply between advocates of "**hard money**" (or specie) and those supporting "**soft money**" (or paper greenbacks) erupted the minute the war ended. Lincoln had issued greenbacks during the war to ensure an adequate supply of currency; however even though the amount of paper currency was capped Lincoln's policy was still inflationary. Radical Republicans (who will ALWAYS favor a hard money policy to control inflation) wanted to reel in the inflationary greenbacks and increase the value of their gold by backing *all* American currency in gold. Obviously Grant and the Radicals were handicapped by the impact of the Panic of 1873, but in 1874 Grant fired the opening shots in the money war by vetoing a Democratic bill calling for the issue of more greenbacks to alleviate the effects of the Panic. On top of that Grant took advantage of the last of his Republican Senate majority by having Congress pass the **Resumption Act of 1875**. The Act called for calling in **outstanding greenbacks to be redeemed in gold** in a greenback turn-in program to be completed by 1 January 1879. The Act served its purpose as people began lining up to redeem their paper money for gold; however it infuriated Democrats advocating an inflationary greenback monetary system. Eventually the "money question" would assume MAJOR political factional characteristics, resulting in the formation of the **Greenback Party in 1878**. Throughout the late 19th century the money question would constitute the most dominant and divisive issue of American politics, and provide the context for *The Wizard of Oz*.

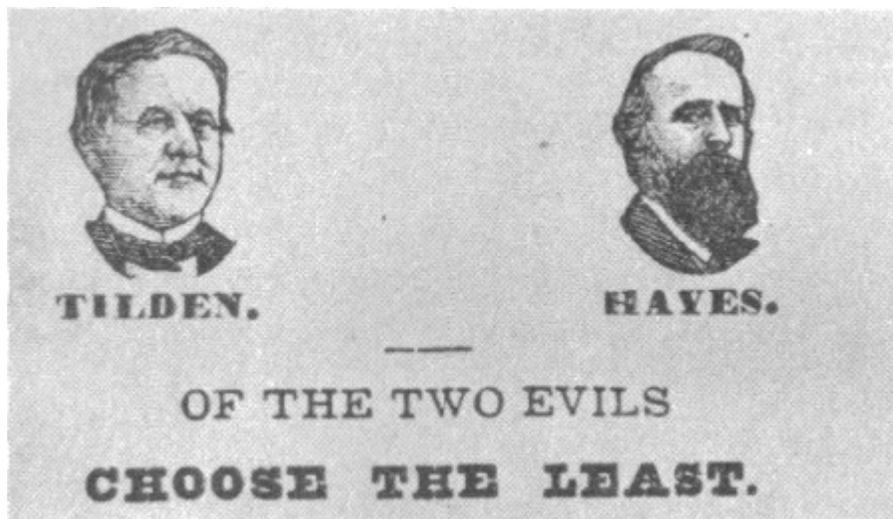
The Election of 1876. The character of this election? Consider the assessment offered by a journalist for the New York *Herald*: "The Democrats stole the election, but the Republicans stole it right back."

³⁸ To fulfill his campaign promise to pay off the national debt in gold Grant ordered that all wartime greenbacks be retired; taking inflationary paper money out of circulation is known as a contraction.

³⁹ Like the Panic of 1819 this Panic was precipitated overseas; the first stock market to fold was in Vienna, Austria.

Grant wanted to violate the Washingtonian precedent and run for a third term, but a quick canvass of his popularity revealed he was fortunate to escape DC free of jail. The next Republican candidate was **James G. Blaine** of Maine; however a Boston Democrat named James Mulligan uncovered and published a series of letters linking Blaine to the Credit Mobilier Scandal, and consequently the “**Mulligan Letters**” tainted Blaine with the Grant stain of scandal. As a last recourse the Republicans chose a relatively unknown congressman from Ohio named **Rutherford B. Hayes** whose redeeming feature was that “he was obnoxious to no one.”⁴⁰ The Democrats nominated the reform-minded governor of New York, **Samuel J. Tilden** who owed his reform reputation to his prosecution and dismantling of the notorious Tammany Tweed Ring in New York City. Although a New Yorker who fought for the Union during the war, **Tilden supported the return of home rule to the South in a blatant attempt to recapture the Southern political demographic for the Democratic Party.**

Tilden and the Democrats hit the Grant Scandals, monetary policy, and Reconstruction hard in the campaign, primarily because within those issues the Republicans had nowhere to hide. The Republicans resorted to the old Radical tactic of waving the bloody shirt; one speaker wailed that “Every man who tried to destroy this nation was a Democrat . . . the man that assassinated Abraham Lincoln was a Democrat . . . soldiers, every scar you have on your heroic bodies was given to you by a Democrat!”⁴¹



Uh, Hey Guys . . . Not The Way To Instill Faith in the Electorate

The returns on Election Day boggled the mind, and illustrated how incredibly corrupt the American political landscape had become. Tilden carried a popular vote edge of 300,000 along with 184 electoral votes: one short of the amount needed. Republicans claimed that the returns from Florida, South Carolina, and Louisiana were of doubtful validity; Democrats claimed the same of returns from Oregon. After a recount of the states in question all four sent in returns that were different from their original entries. The Constitution had no provisions for such an occurrence; even if Congress were empowered to handle such an issue the Democratic House and Republican Senate would be unable to reach an accommodation. As such a special Electoral Commission was formed, consisting of five Representatives, five Senators, and five members of the Supreme Court. The decision followed party lines the Commission declared Hayes the winner 8 votes to 7. Democrats protested at the unfair decision (“corrupt bargain” had already been used) and threatened to **filibuster**⁴² the decision to prevent ratification.

The Compromise of 1877. However . . . before matters could reach crisis stage, a remarkable compromise (notice how you haven’t read that word much in this reading? What does that tell you?) was reached.

⁴⁰ Henry Adams, quoted in Tindal and Shi, 790.

⁴¹ Ibid. 791

⁴² In this respect “filibuster” refers to the tactic of initiating a series of speeches designed to preclude voting on an issue. It can be ridiculous, it’s almost always entertaining, but it definitely works . . . which is why the threat of a filibuster is all you really need.

In an attempt to rebuild their crippled party, Northern Democrats swallowed their pride and agreed to surrender the White House to Hayes, giving Southerners the one thing more precious to them than the White House.



**The Compromise of 1877, by Thomas Nast.
Judging From This Cartoon, Who Won?**

In the Compromise of 1877, Republican president Hayes agreed to:

- Remove all federal troops from the South
- Allow the Republican-controlled Southern state governments to collapse (Move over, here comes *federally-mandated* Home Rule!)
- Repeal the Military Reconstruction Act

Wow. The Compromise of 1877 ended Radical Reconstruction in the South; in fact it ended ALL efforts at reconstruction in the South. To Southerners who had endured the Reconstruction wars the Compromise:

- Brought final redemption from the Radical Republicans, Union troops, carpetbaggers and scalawags.
- Issued the return to "home rule," the return to white, Democratic rule in the South
- To sweeten the deal Hayes promised to offer internal improvements for items such as levees along the Mississippi River and the repair of southern rail lines
- Hayes also promised to subsidize the construction of an independent transcontinental railroad which would begin in Texas and utilize the Gadsden Purchase as intended in 1858.

Again, WOW. Let's consider two questions emerge here.

- First, how badly did the Republicans want to retain the White House? This points to a very real Radical concern over the corruptive influence of the Grant years; Republicans felt that they had to do whatever it took to placate the Democrats, and placate they did.
- Secondly, how badly did Southerners hate Radical Reconstruction? Do you think they realized the leverage they had over the Republicans; remember the compromise was made possible by Southern Democrats who realized the leverage they had over Northern Democrats. They knew what they were doing, besides, in a country reeling from the panic of 1873 and growing concerns over the money issue, who *really* wants to be president anyway?

**Man this stuff is soooo freakin' cool! Modern politics?
Child, please; Trump, Clinton et al are all mere rookies.**

III. EPILOUGE

In the aftermath of the Compromise, well, things didn't go as planned. First of all, Hayes reneged on the promise of internal improvements because Radical Republicans in the House refused funding. When Southern Democrats, in retaliation, refused to support Radical Republican (and future president) James Garfield (of cartoon cat fame) for Speaker of the House the entire issue of a Texan transcontinental railroad simply disappeared. However, Southern Democrats ultimately got what they wanted, leaving one to wonder whether the whole maddening mess was worth it.

Reconstruction: The Evaluation

Pros:

- African Americans were freed from the horror of slavery. No one could ever take that away from them.
- Congress passed the 13th, 14th, and 15th Amendments. The 14th will provide millions of future citizens with protection of their civil rights.
- The war passed into memory, and Americans slowly (glacial in places) learned (eventually) how to behave and work together (welllll, maybe not 100% yet, but the effort matters).

Cons:

- **Political factionalism ran amok** and, rather than taking advantage of a chance to blur sectional distinctions it guaranteed that such divisions would carry even more of a sectional identity that before the war.
- **Sectional hatred increased** to levels that, in some areas, still exist today. Trust me on this one, there are many places, especially in the Deep South, where the war is still being fought, and that is truly sad. Again: old wounds heal slowly.
- **Blacks began to feel that uneasy feeling of being used as political pawns** between two antagonists, neither of which really cared a bit about African Americans as people.
- Although free, **African Americans did not enjoy economic freedom**. They, along with millions of poor whites, became entangled in the evil web of debt slavery. As one former Confederate soldier observed "They won their freedom, but that's all they won."

One final point: We examined the relative success of the African American vote once elections were monitored by federal election officials during Military Recon. We also saw them begin to enjoy some semblance of freedom, safe from the goons wearing bed sheets courtesy of the Union Army. However, we also noted that the election officials and soldiers wouldn't be there forever, a fear that the Compromise of 1877 brought to reality.

In April 1877 the last Union occupation troops left the South. Now they're gone, and the freedmen are all alone. This is where the hard times begin. The Klan will return to exact revenge. Southern blacks will have to resort to that most basic of human defaults: their faith; at times it will not be enough. Northern blacks will discover what their southern brethren have experienced all along:



“They have their freedom, but that’s all they have.”

IV. OUT WITH THE OLD SOUTH, IN WITH THE NEW

Not all Southerners of the former planter class felt warm and fuzzy about a return to the good ‘ol days of the plantation; indeed many former cavaliers became alarmed at the prospect as early as 1864. These progressive-minded individuals knew their history, and realized that a society riding upon the wave of a predominantly agrarian economy in the industrialization of the latter half of the 19th century was socio-economic suicide . . . there were numerous instances of precedent. These men began to advocate for a **New South** to arise from the ashes of the old, a New South which embraced a more balanced economy of small farms, localized industry, and social (ie racial) harmony.

Advocates of the New South sought to enjoin the progressive (in their minds) nature of industrialized society with romantic notions of the Old South. Due to the close relationship between martial ethics and cavalier antebellum society Southerners were robbed of a large part of their identity by virtue of having been devastated militarily in war. As such the New South ethos sought to redefine the Southern identity through soothing the agony of defeat, bolstering white self-esteem, refurbishing a sense of sectional pride while simultaneously denouncing the backwardness of slavery and the plantation system. This is heady stuff, and from what you

have learned in this reading you know that these attempts will not proceed without challenge. But adherence to the promise of a New South was a positive start, at least on the surface, and was launched in a glorious oratory on a December evening in New York City (of all places).⁴³

Henry Grady. The All Exalted, Grand Poobah, chief prophet of the New South philosophy was the editor of the *Atlanta Constitution*, Henry Grady. Grady first extolled the virtues of the New South in an 1886 speech to the New England Society of New York. His words that evening at the prestigious Delmonico's Restaurant became enshrined as the **New South Creed**.

“The Old South rested everything on slavery and agriculture, unconscious that these could neither give nor maintain healthy growth. The New South represents a perfect democracy, enlightened oligarchs leading in the popular movement of a social system compact and closely knitted, less splendid on the surface,⁴⁴ but stronger at the core, featuring a hundred farms for each former plantation; fifty homes for each [Cavalier] palace, and a diversified industry that meets the complex demands of the age.”⁴⁵

Heavy stuff coming from the mindset that had hailed the Panic of 1858 as God's blessing of plantation agriculture.

The New South Economy. Makes sense; as plantation farming of cotton characterized the Old South so should the New South be defined through its economy. The **primary consideration of New South advocates was one of economic diversification**, so the primary thrust was to redefine how the South was to make money.

- **Textiles.** The textile industry had provided the forerunner of the Industrial Revolution in the young United States (remember Samuel Slater and the Lowell Girls?) and was the obvious choice for establishing a southern industrial economy.⁴⁶ Established primarily in the Carolina Piedmont region, cotton mills grew at a rate that held drastic economic consequences:
 - The number of cotton mills increased from 161 in 1880 to over 400 by 1900.
 - The number of people employed in then mills increased by a factor of five during the same period.
 - The overwhelming majority of these employees were women and children, who outnumbered men at a rate of nearly 4 to 1.
 - The consumption of cotton increased by a factor of eight, rising from 182,000 bales to 1,479,000 bales.
 - Initially this growth was financed primarily by Southern capital and facilitated with Southern labor; however its success dealt a death blow to New England's textile economy. As a result, rather than running to Congress screaming “protectionism!”⁴⁷ New England textile owners abandoned their mills and began to pour capital into Southern mills, setting a precedent still applicable today. Gonna see a LOT of Northern business come South; some of you are here in Houston because of this dynamic.

⁴³ This speech actually had its impetus earlier in 1881, ironically at the Atlanta International Cotton Exposition, by virtue of a speech delivered by a black advocate for a New South. We'll talk about this a little later, but it should come to no surprise that of all persons involved blacks had the greatest desire to see something . . . anything . . . change

⁴⁴ This was Grady taking an intentional shot at the overt pretention of the ongoing “Gilded Age.”

⁴⁵ Henry Grady, “The New South Creed.” *Harper's Weekly*, 1886.

⁴⁶ Textiles were also the harbinger of the Industrial Revolution in England.

⁴⁷ This is a cool instance of economic revenge. IF New England's textiles entrepreneurs had demanded subsidies from Congress ala pre-war, the same subsidies would have been available to southern mills. HAH!

- **Tobacco.** The more things change the more they stay the same, huh? Tobacco had provided the genesis for the plantation system (thanks John Rolfe); however by 1800 had fallen into economic disrepute in the face of King Cotton (thanks Eli Whitney). By 1880, however, tobacco made a triumphant comeback, primarily due to a new strand of tobacco, known as “**bright leaf,**” that could flourish on depleted soils (something of which the South had plenty after years of cotton production) and could be cured with a proprietary charcoal process which had been discovered by a slave in 1830 (wanna wager how much money he made off of his discovery?).

In 1865 the only farmer producing the bright leaf variety was John Ruffin Green, and due to an overwhelming number of orders from Union soldiers who had sampled his “Best Flavored Spanish Smoking Tobacco” Green soon sold his tobacco holdings to W. T. Blackwell, who began to market his product, using as his trademark a bull’s head typically seen on the label of Coleman’s English Mustard, produced in Durham, England (I guess copyright violations didn’t apply). After a while Blackwell’s tobacco became known as “The Bull from Durham,” or more simply just “Bull Durham.” Bull Durham tobacco became a global success; Mark Twain (who never passed up a chance at employing exaggeration to make a point) commented once that on a trip to see the pyramids in Egypt he could not get a decent view because his line of sight was obstructed by the plethora of Bull Durham signs.

Blackwell’s only competition came from the Duke family who owned a small farm near Blackwell’s mill town of Durham, North Carolina. Old man Washington Duke had a keen sense of business savvy, and consequently hitched his mules to wagons and sold his version of bright leaf tobacco door to door. By 1872 Duke was so successful he put the mules out to pasture and opened up a factory producing over 125,000 pounds of bright leaf annually.

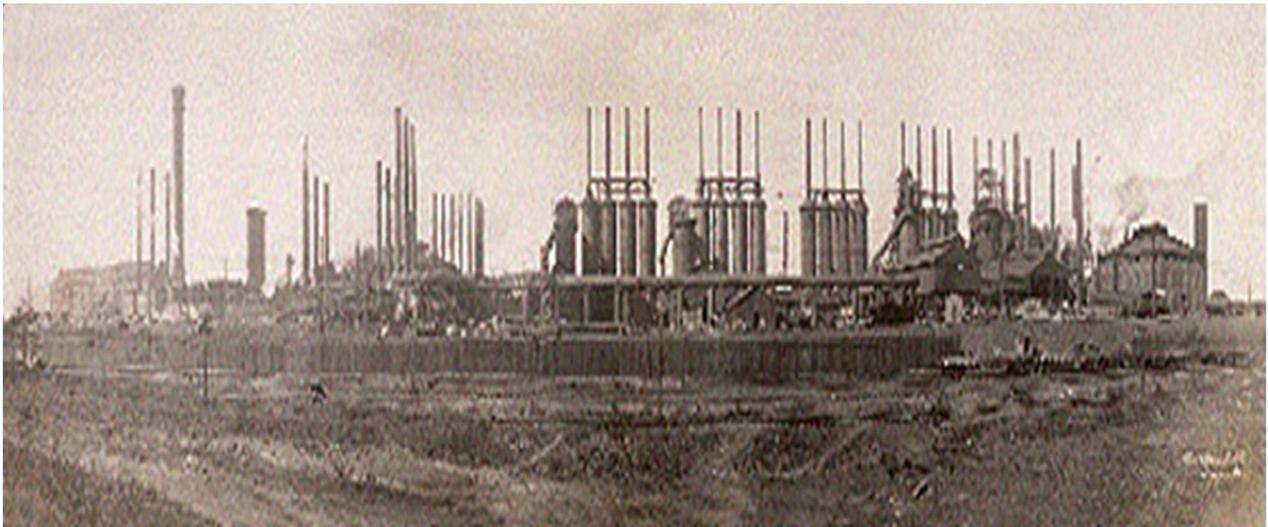


Washington Duke was satisfied with his success, but not so his son **Buck (James Buchanan) Duke**. The younger Duke possessed the same competitive nature as the prominent businessmen of the day (we’re talking Rockefeller, Morgan, and Carnegie here) and consequently set off to employ Social Darwinism to the tobacco game. It worked; by 1890 Buck Duke had either bought out or destroyed his completion and formed the **American Tobacco Company**, which by 1904, controlled nine-tenths of the nation’s cigarette production and three-fourths of total tobacco production. And, oh yeah, following the philanthropic tendency of the day he founded a college in Durham that plays, I hate to admit, fairly decent basketball.⁴⁸

⁴⁸ OK, *Domus Scalianus* is Tarheel Territory, which means we (especially the Beast, a former high school basketball All-American) abhor anything having to do with Duke University. The University of North Carolina was the first public university in American history to hold classes (1795) and gave the world His Airness Michael Jordan; Tarheels sardonically refer to Duke as the “School that Cancer Built” whose law school gave the world Richard Nixon. I gotta tell ya, Tarheels and Blue Devils root hard and mean, and in my world there’s no love lost for Duke (or the Dallas Cowboys).

Today, tobacco remains the primary means of North Carolina's economy, as well as much of the economic basis for Virginia.

- **Raw materials.** The abundance of coal and iron ore in the southern Appalachian Mountains provided the basis for the development of iron production and smelting industry in northern Georgia and particularly Alabama. Alabama was so endowed with ferrous material wealth that smelting and iron production entrepreneurs founded a city whose specific purpose was to become the number one iron producing area in the world. It was named after the contemporary center of global iron production, Birmingham, England, and by the mid-1880s, Birmingham, Alabama was known as the "Pittsburgh of the South." It flourished for years until it, as well as Pittsburgh, fell victim to foreign steel production in the late 20th century. Today the rusting smelting factories sit in testament to a dream that flourished all too briefly, you can see them from Interstate 20 driving through Birmingham.⁴⁹



Birmingham, Alabama 1900

- **Lumber.** The population growth in the post-Reconstruction South, as well as the north, necessitated the construction of homes and other buildings. Because the primary components for these structures was wood, something the South had always had in abundance, it was a natural fit for a Southern lumber industry to take root (get it? *Take root?* As in trees?). The primary reason for its success was the plethora (another cool word) of Southern white pine, which was robust enough for framing work. It was easily harvested and grew quickly, thus keeping the price minimal. The importance of sensible forest management was not lost on lumber entrepreneurs, and in 1898 George Vanderbilt established the nation's first school of forestry at his summer estate, the Biltmore, in Asheville, North Carolina.

By the turn of the century two great natural forces would not only aid in maintaining a Southern economy, but actually propel the South into the lead in the two respective fields of endeavor.

- **1. Petroleum.** WOO HOO . . . time to talk a little Texas! Petroleum in the form of raw crude oil first made its appearance in 1859 when **Edwin Drake** poked a hole in the ground (he was supposedly looking for water) in Pennsylvania and discoverer that that crappy black goo emerging from



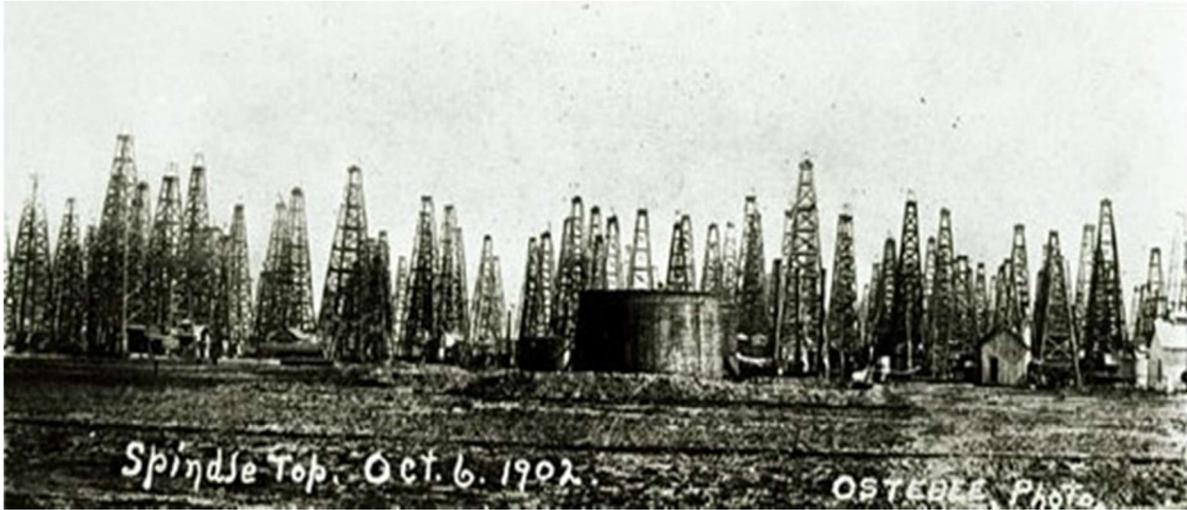
⁴⁹ The predominance of iron and smelting was so vital to Alabama's economy that the annual football game played between the states' two primary universities is known as the Iron Bowl. For years it was played in, you guessed it, Birmingham.

the ground would burn when lit.⁵⁰ Now, this didn't draw the attention of very many business-minded people; most were concentrating on how to invest in any business that would benefit from the approaching war. One man, however, took a keen interest in the discovery; and though most thought him insane to invest in the black goo **John D. Rockefeller** ultimately had the last laugh. But, I digress . . . in 1895 the same black goo had been located in massive quantities a shallow depression beneath the area surrounding **Corsicana, Texas**. This prompted a veritable invasion of **wildcatters**, or independent exploratory drilling speculators looking to cash in on an oil discovery. In 1901 one group poked a hole in the ground near Beaumont at a place known as **Spindletop**, and the resultant gusher proved the basis for the explosion of the Texas oil boon. Think it doesn't matter? Jeez, man, have you ever prowled around the Ship Channel? Those are all refineries, dudes and dudettes; Houston is the world's refining center, hence the name of the original Houston professional football team as the Oilers.



The Spindletop Gusher 1901

⁵⁰ Drake later founded his own oil company; it was named after the state in which he made his discovery and called Quaker State.



Spindletop 1902

- **2. Hydroelectric Power.** In addition to having trees out the wazoo, the South also had water. Tons and tons of water; the abundance of water and its proximity to all paces vital to the South are the primary reasons the antebellum South never invested heavily in railroads. By the late 19th century, however, business-minded visionaries, led by Thomas Edison and out old tobacco friend Buck Duke, were pondering how to couple the abundance of Southern streams and rivers to the brand new technology known as electricity. Electricity had already invaded the South; in 1890 Richmond opened the first electric street car system in the nation (sorry San Francisco) and in 1894 Columbia, South Carolina, opened the nation's first totally electricity-powered cotton mill. Such innovative application of the new technology prompted a search for sources of the new energy, resulting in the marriage between electric power and water with the emergence of **hydroelectric power**. Buck Duke was the first to grasp the potential value of such enterprise, and in 1905 he founded the **Southern Power Company**, the intent of which was to develop the entire Carolina riverine system as the basis for a hydroelectric empire.

Clearly the New South agenda enjoyed degrees of success, but you should know by now that can never survey such progress without exploring its depth; if it seems too good to be true it most often is. If you accept the premise that material success carries with it undue influence then it should come as no surprise that behind such success lies the eternal quest for POWER, be it economic, political, or, in the case of the late 1800s, both. It's always about power, and the New South proved a breeding ground for its own particular breed of cat.

Enter the Bourbon Redeemers. It is a matter of traditional Southern culture that society be led by a chosen elite. This precedent began at Jamestown, which was founded, you will recall, by a group of land-owning elitists known as cavaliers. The prevalence of an educated, landed aristocracy, always the demographic minority, provided the basis for Jeffersonian Democracy, and was assaulted by Jacksonian Democracy. Still, this cavalier landed aristocracy endured, creating in the antebellum South a world slaveocracy phenomenon, ultimately destroying their own handiwork through their "Fire Eating" intransigence. Considering such, it should come as no surprise that nothing as silly as Radical Reconstruction or this newfangled New South philosophy will bring a halt to this social monolith. They were right: by the 1880s they are back with a force.

Due to this tradition it was a social characteristic of Southerners that habits of social deference still prevailed, even as Yankee troops occupied their beloved Confederacy. One Union officer noted that "every region has its own "**great man**," around whom his fellow citizens gather when they want information, and to whose monologues they listen with a respect akin to veneration."⁵¹ These men constituted the remnants

⁵¹ C. Van Woodward *Origins of the New South 1867-1913*, 168.

of the pre-war Fire Eating ruling elite and were collectively known as **Bourbons**. They were given this odd sobriquet by northerners who saw in this rising Southern hierarchy a group of people akin to the Bourbon royal lineage of France who “forgot nothing and learned nothing from the [French} Revolution.” The French Bourbons were notorious for an almost-pathological sense of clinging to the past, acting as if the French Revolution were but a mere anomaly.

Considering the Southern Bourbons, the name fit well. At the center of Bourbon ideology was the intent to **redeem** Southern lives lost in the Southern War for Independence (their name for the Civil War, which is actually more accurate). No self-respectful Bourbon could bear the thought of over 250,000 Southern souls lost in vain so they sought out to restore the vestiges of the Old South, the success of which would redeem the sacrifice of the fallen. This would, of course, necessitate a return to white home rule,⁵² which obviously flew in the face of Radical Reconstruction. By 1876, however, it was painfully obvious that the Day of the Radical had passed, so with the Compromise of 1877 the Bourbons set about reclaiming and redeeming *their* South: the antebellum South of the land-owning elite, social caste systems, deference to one’s betters, and white majority rule. Collectively, they became known as the **Bourbon Redeemers**, get used to the term. Africans-Americans, for their part, shuddered; exposure to the Black Codes, tenant farming, sharecropping, the “bedsheet boys,” and a new player on the scene . . . Jim Crow . . . convinced them that this could not end well for them. They were right.

The Lost Cause. Integral to the Bourbon Redeemer philosophy was the orthodoxy of “**The Lost Cause**,” a social, political and intellectual movement that sought to reconcile traditional white Southern society to the Confederacy’s defeat. Lost Cause advocates portrayed the Confederacy's cause as morally noble and most of its leaders as the exemplars of traditional Southern chivalry, defeated by the Union armies only through overwhelming force rather than martial skill. In addition, proponents condemned Radical Reconstruction as a deliberate attempt by Northern Radical Republican politicians and speculators to destroy the traditional Southern way of life. Based on what you know about Recon, you can see their point, but keep in mind: nothing feeds a movement like victimhood.



**The Lost Cause Carved in Perpetuity at Stone Mountain, Georgia.
From left to right: Jefferson Davis, Robert E Lee, Stonewall Jackson.**

⁵² Hopefully you recall that Home Rule referred to the practice of reinstalling local control of Southern society rather than to adhere to the constraints of the Radical-imposed Reconstruction state constitutions. Its success served as the rebirth of the post-war watered-down doctrine of state rights.

The primary prophet of the Lost Cause mythology was Atlanta *Journal* editor and war veteran **Edwin Pollard**.⁵³ According to Pollard:

- Confederate generals such as Lee, JEB Stuart, and Thomas "Stonewall" Jackson represented the virtues of Southern nobility and fought bravely and fairly. On the other hand, most Northern generals were characterized as political tools possessing low moral standards because they subjected the Southern civilian population to atrocities and indignities like Sherman's March to the Sea and Philip Sheridan's burning of the Shenandoah Valley, the primary food supply of the northern Confederacy, in 1864. In short, decent, moral men didn't target civilians.
- Losses on the battlefield were inevitable due to Northern superiority in resources and manpower.
- Battlefield losses were also the result of betrayal and incompetence on the part of certain subordinates of General Lee, such as General James Longstreet, who was reviled for doubting Lee at Gettysburg, and George Pickett, who led the disastrous Pickett's Charge that broke the South's back (the Lost Cause focused mainly on Lee's campaigns in Virginia, and often cited Gettysburg as the main turning point of the war).
- Defense of states' rights and sovereignty, rather than preservation of chattel slavery, was the primary cause that led Southern states to secede from the Union, thus precipitating the war.
- Secession was a justifiable constitutional (via the 10th Amendment) response to Northern cultural and economic aggressions against the Southern way of life.
- Slavery was a socially beneficial institution, and most slaves were loyal and faithful to their benevolent masters.

For a South defeated and humiliated by Reconstruction, the Lost Cause scratched an itch that had been festering for years. It served as a rallying point of sectional and regional pride and solidarity, and consequently, with the Compromise of 1877, The Lost Cause became the gospel of the Bourbon Redeemers.

Life Under the Bourbons. Due to their identity as a political movement, the Bourbons held several political ideals that defined them as a faction. Included in these were:

- **Political identification with conservative Democrats and moderate Republicans.** Because some Republicans identified themselves as moderate (NOT Radical) they were therefore palatable to the Bourbons.
- **Economic alliances with eastern capitalists** who had the financial wherewithal to invest in the South and subsequently help Bourbon leaders increase the value of their properties.
- A **de-emphasis on publicly-funded education**, a policy reminiscent of the pre-war South. Education was a hallmark of the Southern caste system; consequently Bourbons believed that attempts to educate the masses through public education was a social disaster waiting to happen. Consequently, they called for **private funding of education** through philanthropy.
- **Controlled labor** systems exemplified by the prominence of tenant farming and sharecropping. In this manner one could control labor expense and thus offset the four million loss of labor investment due to the 13th Amendment.
 - One ingenious labor system that evolved from Bourbon control was the **Convict Leasing System**.⁵⁴ Here, prison wardens and other penal officials would lease out their prisoners for labor; because prisoners held the lowest spot on the social ladder they were employed in the worst labor conditions imaginable. In Louisiana, for example, they were set to work clearing

⁵³ One of the most, uh, entertaining books you can read is Pollard's *The Lost Cause*, published in 1866. Horribly biased, historically questionable (as are most biased works of history), it does reveal the Bourbon state of mind in the post-Reconstruction years. It is Southern salve for the soul, but it is also one heckuva hoot and a half!

⁵⁴ The most notorious system was the one run in Louisiana by Chief Warden Joseph James. James and his conspirators, the actions of whom were ultimately responsible for thousands of convict deaths, were collectively known as the "James Gang." James was arrested for his conspiracy in 1903 and soon found himself in the company of some of those he had leased out. Awkward.

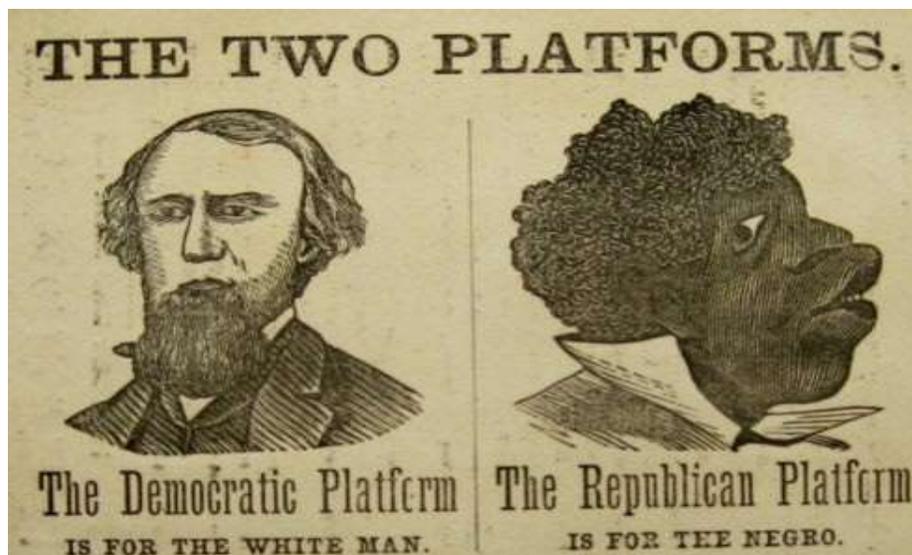
swamps for cane fields; no one cares that it was a common occurrence that not all prisoners came back after the day's work. Escape? Not hardly. Most fell victim to alligator or poisonous snakes, some drowned. In the warden's mind, they were convicts, and who really cared?

- Another advantage of convict labor? Because of enforcement of the Black Codes and, after 1885, Jim Crow laws, the vast majority of inmates were black. Slavery by any other name . . .

The Bourbon Social Demographic. Ok, let's take a look at what we have in the Bourbon South circa 1880. You have a return to prominence of the cavalier aristocracy, and home rule has once again seized control of the South. This means those infernal Radical state constitutions will begin to be amended, and in some cases, rewritten. The South is beginning to develop an industrial base that, while not as extensive as that of the North, is still solid enough to diversify the Southern economy. Southern pride has kicked in, and many believe that it will not take long for the Democratic Solid South to "rise again," only fifteen years after the end of the war. However things aren't all rosy for all Southerners:

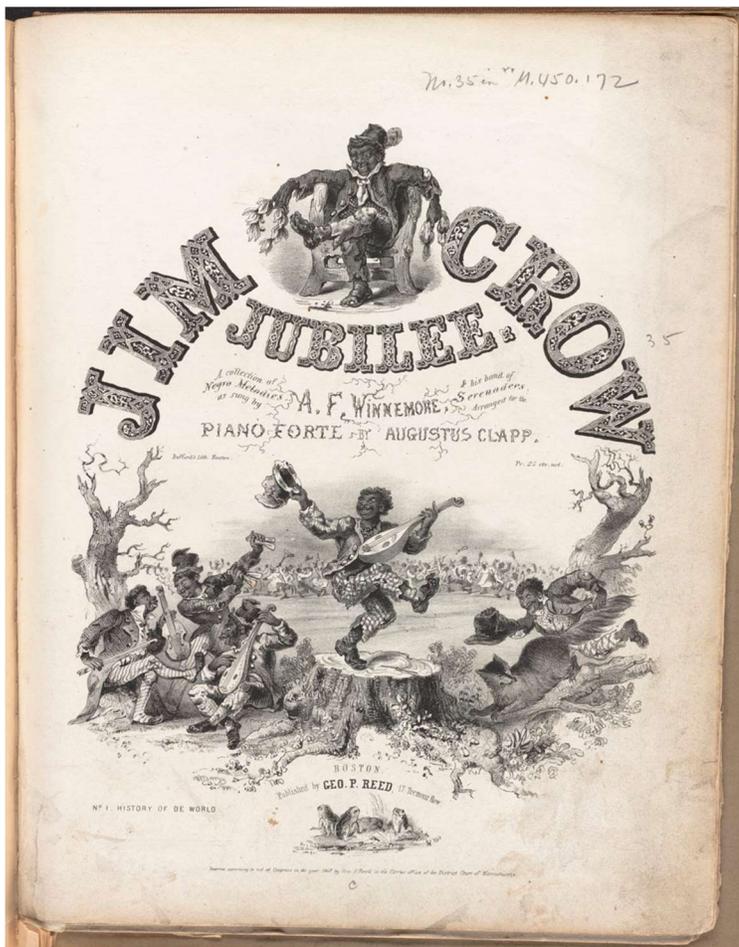
- Life stinks for poor farmers, black or white, most of whom are trapped in crop lien or sharecropping arrangements. **This stagnant social demographic represents the majority of southerners, and its static nature will retard southern social growth for nearly a century.**
- Women enjoyed no perceivable gains in the Bourbon South, which should make sense if you consider that it is social nonsense to attempt a return to the "good old days" of the antebellum South and embellish the role of women with new rights such as suffrage at the same time. Women, like poor farmers, remain stagnated.
- For middle class (ie yeoman) farmers, as always "it sucks to be a farmer." However this class of farmer will soon find common cause with their poor brethren . . . black and white . . . and, in the immortal words of Mary Elizabeth Lease, "raise more hell than corn." The first political vehicle for agricultural solidarity, the **Farmer's Alliance Movement**, will begin right here in Texas; after all, no one raises hell like a Texan.
- The South is poor, and the socio-economic level of the unequal distribution of wealth and subsequent class division is greater that at the national level, which is absurdly high.

The Bourbons and Race. More than anything else, the Bourbon Redeemers were **segregationists**. By the late 1880s a new class of Republican-voting African-American had arisen to consider the Freedmen's lot in life, and did not like what they found. In the South this new radical class of black alarmed the Democratic Bourbon ruling hierarchy, so the Bourbons adopted more stringent control measures at the local levels. The name for this system of legalized discrimination and abuse is one of the most despised terms in America History: **Jim Crow**.



Southern Democratic Campaign Poster, 1876.

Do You REALLY Need to Guess at the Reason behind Jim Crow?



NEWS FLASH: Jim Crow was NOT a Person.

The term **originated from a character** in a popular traveling minstrel show of the late 19th century in which the primary character, Jim Crow, was black only in character. He was played by a white man in blackface who emphasized every racial stereotype attached to black people. It was truly disgusting, one of the most extreme racist exhibitions one could imagine; however since it is a human sociological staple to subject those whom one hates to physical and psychological degradation, the popularity of such shows was understandable, if not deplorable. Many Northerners had come to despise freedmen due to their competing for industrial jobs in the north, and Southerners hated black simply because they were now free and considered “uppity.” As such, Jim Crow came to represent black people everywhere, and as such, the Jim Crow laws were designed to apply to black people everywhere.

We will discuss Jim Crow at length in class, but the basics are:

- Jim Crow laws were not legal laws written in civic codes. They were **de facto local laws**, existing by virtue of local custom and habit. This

way the Justice Department (had they so desired, which, in most cases they didn't) couldn't sue on the basis of violation of the 14th Amendment. Legally, the laws didn't exist; in practice, they did.

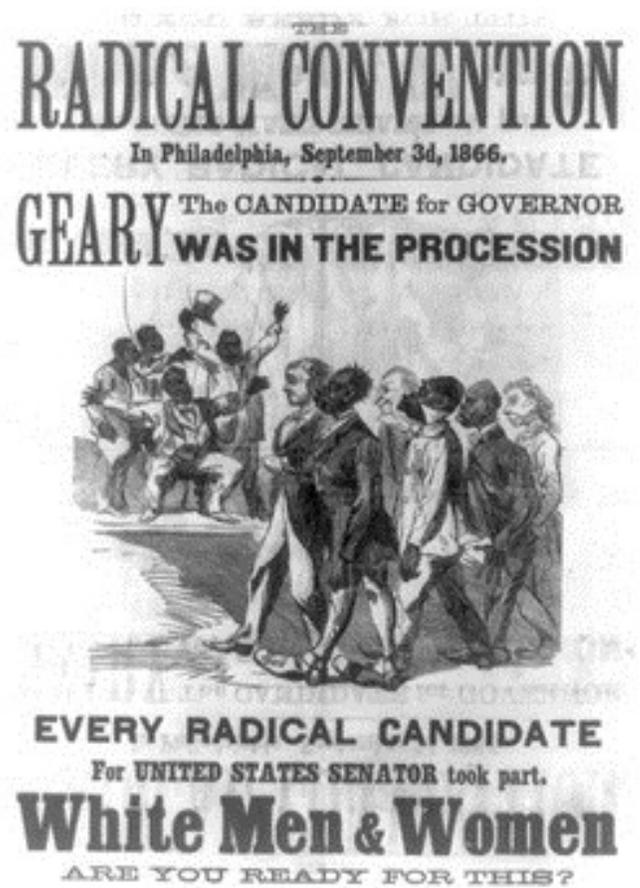
- Jim Crow laws were similar to Black Codes in that they sought to relegate blacks to an inferior caste status. However, they were different in that they **legalized (at the local levels at least) racial discrimination by virtue of systematic segregation**.
- Remember that laws mean little if they can't be enforced? Well, it was difficult to enforce Jim Crow laws due to their covert nature, but there were groups who applied this brand of de facto justice and consequently became part of the Jim Crow environment . . . here they come again, the Boys Under the Hood. **The Klan and like organizations formed the enforcement arm of Jim Crow Laws through their brand of racist vigilante justice** (I use that term loosely), a frightening prospect to blacks indeed.
- It is imperative to understand that, although they existed primarily in the South, by **no means were the Jim Crow laws solely a Southern phenomenon**. Citizens in many Northern states, intimidated by the presence of blacks in their society, forgot the holy sanctity of the Civil War as a crusade for freedom and justice and passed laws to limit the freedom of blacks in their own society.
- Although firmly in pace throughout the latter 19th century, Jim Crow won't hit its stride until well into the 20th.

OK, LET'S SUMMARIZE ALL THIS STUFF:

The years 1865-1900 were critical for the United States in that:

- It had fought a war with itself consisting of no constitutional justification; it had attempted to repair its wounds through overbearing applications of factional politics, which harmed the country, rather than enlightened executive/legislative action, which could have repaired it.
- The South emerged as more isolated from the mainstream North than it was before the war, and will maintain that separation by playing the game by the North's own rules. In short, the South will go their own way; the North theirs.
- The culture of deprivation among the Southern demographic will fester and spread, erupting into national prominence by the end of the century.
- The two political parties will wage a political war, dominated by the Republicans for most of the post-Civil war century.⁵⁵ However, like their Era of Good Feelings brethren, the Republicans will split into factions that will result in harm.

Well . . . Congratulations for completing the latest in my little cruise through American History. There will be more, but it is my intent that you not focus merely on the surface events but use them to examine the whys and effects of such. Remember: you are looking for depth, so put on your wetsuit, charge up your nitrox (we're going deep), spit in your mask . . . and let's go. No guts, no glory.



⁵⁵ From 1860 until 1912 the Democrats will capture the White House only two times, and that was by the same man (Grover Cleveland). We're talking dynasty here, dynasty born of Reconstruction.

