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RECONSTRUCTION PERIOD

IN GEORGIA

1865-72



*"He who is ignorant of what happened before he
was born, remains a child all his life."*



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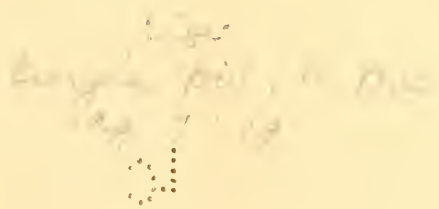
United States Constitution, Article I, Section 2, Clause 3
House of Representatives, Georgia, 1865



"He who is ignorant of what happened before he was born, remains a child all his life."

E 111
1855

This pamphlet is published in order to aid the school
children who are to enter the U. D. C.
historical contest.



COMPILED BY
BULLOCH COUNTY CHAPTER U. D. C.
STATESBORO, GA.

RECONSTRUCTION PERIOD IN GEORGIA

(From "Georgia Land and People," by Frances Letcher Mitchell.)

The war between the States had lasted a little more than four years. It was waged by the Confederates with the great object of maintaining the inestimable sovereign right of local self-government, while it was waged by the Federals, as they declared, with the sole object of "maintaining the Union under the Constitution."

When the Confederate armies surrendered, the mask hitherto worn by the War Party of the North was dropped, and they no longer cared to conceal that all their talk about "the Union" was false sentiment to delude the public. They determined that the South should not be members of the Federal Union on any terms of equality, but should be held as conquered provinces.

In this grave crisis Gov. Brown called a meeting of the Legislature, but the military who were now in control in Georgia would not allow it to assemble.

A few days afterwards an armed force, led by a Federal Captain surrounded the Executive Mansion at night, and notified the Governor that he was to be arrested. He quietly showed his parole as commander-in-chief of the State forces, which he had received from the Federal General, Wilson. The Captain informed him that he was ordered to take that from him. The Governor indignantly protested against this outrage, as he had not violated his parole, and the faith of the United States Government was pledged to protect him. However, he could not resist an armed force, and in the end had to give it up. He was allowed only thirty minutes to prepare for his departure, and was denied a moment in private with his family. He was taken to Washington City and put in Carrol prison, where he was detained a week and then released.

During the war Gov. Brown had nobly done his duty, and had always maintained the honor of Georgia; but when he returned home, acting as if not only the **cause**, but the **principle**, for which Georgia had been lost, he resigned the high office with which he had been intrusted for the fourth time, and advised all Georgians to acquiesce in the arbitrary measures of the Federal Government.

RECONSTRUCTION PERIOD IN GEORGIA

The night, indeed, was black and fearful; a howling tempest raged, and the old Ship of State was lashed by the turbulent waves until it seemed that she must be swamped in the surfs at last. Some few Georgians, with Gov. Brown, took to the life-boats; but the great majority of our people stood by the old Ship, preferring to go down with her—if it needs must be—if she could not weather the storm.

Gov. Brown's successor was appointed by the Federal Government, with the title of "Provisional Governor." So, for the first time since Georgia cased to be a colony of Great Britain, a Chief Magistrate not of her own choosing occupied the Executive Chair. Under the arbitrary rule of the military, a citizen could not carry on his ordinary occupation, could not vote, could not even get a letter out of the post-office without taking an oath of allegiance to a government from which they had suffered such gross wrongs. Moreover, this "iron-clad oath," as it was called, was not allowed to every one; something like twenty thousand Georgians, including many of the leading men of the State, were not permitted to take it. Georgia law was set aside, and there was no appeal from military authority. Robbery, murder and every kind of lawlessness ran riot over the State and every newspaper teemed with accounts of crime.

This disorder and defiance of law was increased when the Federal Government established what was known as the Freedman's Bureau. It belonged to the War Department, controlled all subjects relating to the negroes, and managed, besides, what Congress was pleased to call "abandoned lands." In short, it was a government machine, and its agents exercised the power of a Russian Autocrat. The Freedman's Bureau Act, and, later, the Civil Rights Act of Congress were both enforced in Georgia by the military.

A Federal Brigadier-General ordered Gen. Toombs' wife, who was living quietly at home, in Washington, to vacate her house, as he intended to take possession of it as "abandoned property," and use it for the Freedman's Bureau with which he was connected. Another Federal General revoked the order and allowed Mrs. Toombs to retain her property. In Athens, wagons were driven into a gentleman's lot and a thousand dol-

FROM "GEORGIA LAND AND PEOPLE"

lars' worth of railroad iron hauled off, for which no compensation could ever be obtained. Thus, in every county, property was placed at the caprice of military officers.

Warrenton, in Warren county, was considered, during the war, a very safe place, and being at the same time quite accessible, a large quantity of cannon and ordnance, commissary and quartermaster's stores, were kept there. At the surrender they were destroyed or removed, and never fell into the hands of the Yankees, but the town was immediately garrisoned by Federal troops, who made themselves very objectionable to the citizens. In a spirit of retaliation, the young ladies of the place set their wits to work to torment them all they could.

On one occasion the most popular girls gave a concert and invited all the Yankee officers, who felt much gratified by the compliment, as they well knew how they were hated by the people, but looked sorely crestfallen when they found they had to listen to nothing but Confederate war songs and battle pieces. At last, when a pretty little sparkling brunette began to sing "The Conquered Banner," with a shadow upon her bright young face and a tender pathos in her voice, it was too much for the Yankees, and they left the hall in a body; so when the last soft note quivered upon the air, they were all on the outside of the building, lingering around and peeping through the windows. Afterwards they sent the young ladies word that they were going to arrest them. That was just fun for the girls, and they straightway devised some other way to annoy them.

They went horseback riding with their horses' ears ornamented with tiny Confederate flags; then, at night, they would throw wide open all the windows, sit down to their pianos and sing "Dixie," "The Bonny Blue Flag," and other war songs, until they were tired out.

Their parents, at length, put a stop to this display of patriotism, fearing that the rough soldiers might say something rude to them. Still, the girls found ways to let "all the world" know that they gloried in not being "reconstructed."

RECONSTRUCTION PERIOD IN GEORGIA

The authority of the Federal government was accepted in Georgia from necessity, not from choice. Our people had been overcome by superior numbers and greater resources, but they had not been convinced that their course was wrong.

In Savannah, the Federal general in command issued an order against any man appearing on the streets in a Confederate uniform. When it was represented to him that the returned soldiers had nothing else to put on, nor any money to buy another suit, he revoked the order with the proviso that the military buttons should be either cut off or covered. The next day "the boys in gray" appeared on the streets with every button wrapped in crepe.

From the time that Oglethorpe planted his colony upon Yamacraw Bluff, Georgia had never passed thro' such an ordeal as the present. Nine-tenths of her sons were practically disfranchised because they had served the Southern Confederacy, and all the conditions of life were new; their servants were no longer subject to their control, and most of their property was scattered to the four winds of heaven. It tested the blood that had come down to them from Cavalier and Huguenot, from Scotch and Irish ancestry. The private life of many Georgians, for the first few years after the war, beggars description; but the energy and patience of the men and the fortitude of the women rose to the occasion.

*"The surrender found a gentle, shrinking Georgia woman on the Florida line nearly four hundred miles from her once luxurious home, from which she had fled in haste as Sherman 'marched to the sea.' The husband was with Gen. Lee in Virginia. The last tidings came from Petersburg—before Appomattox—and his fate was uncertain.

"Hiring a dusky driver, with his old army mule and a wagon, she loaded the latter with the remnant of her goods and chattels that were left to her, and, placing her four children on top, this brave woman trudged the entire distance on foot, cheering, guiding and protecting the driver and her little ones in the tedious journey.

*Mrs. W. H. Felton, in Atlanta Constitution.

FROM "GEORGIA LAND AND PEOPLE"

"Under an August sun, through sand and dust she plodded along, footsore and anxious, until she reached the dismantled home and restored her little stock of earthly goods under their former shelter.

"When her soldier husband had walked from Virginia to Georgia, he found besides his noble wife and precious children, the nucleus of a new start in life, glorified by woman's courage and fidelity under a most trying ordeal.

"For a twelve-month the exigencies of their situation deprived her of a decent pair of shoes; still she toiled in the kitchen, the garden, and, perhaps, the open field, without a repining word or complaining murmur. The same material is found in a steel rail as in the watch spring, and the noly difference between the soldier and his wife was physical strength."

This was no exceptional case. The hardships of Georgia women were extreme and long-continued.

In October after the war ended, a conventon met in Milledgeville to re-establish the state government if possible. While they were in session, the authorities at Washington sent them a telegram to the effect that the thirteenth amendment to the Constitution of the United States, which was abolition of slavery, and, also, the repudiation of the war debt, would be deemed essential before Georgia was recognized as a State. Our people were honorable in their every instinct, and they made an earnest protest against the dictation of the Federal government, especially in the matter of ignoring the war debt. They adopted a new Constitution for Georgia, which abolished slavery, and ordered an election for governor.

During this same month, a very perfect annular eclipse of the sun was visible in Georgia; a most interesting and unusual spectacle! The unobscured part of the sun presented the appearance of a beautiful luminous ring. The landscape was veiled in a half twilight, and animals and fowls appeared uneasy. The chickens especially seemed disturbed, and stood around in the yard irresolute about going to roost.

In one of our up-country towns a gentleman asked a privileged old negro if she had been looking at the eclipse. "No, sir," she replied, "I don' waste no time

RECONSTRUCTION PERIOD IN GEORGIA

looking at sich t'ings. It ain't a sarcumstance, nohow, to ole Virginny, whar I come from. We had better 'clipses than this nearly every week, up dar."

By the end of December, the required oath had been taken by most citizens who were permitted to do so, and they were endeavoring to pursue their daily occupations in peace. Georgia also had a governor of her own choosing, Hon. Charles J. Jenkins, one of her noblest sons; but he could not be inaugurated without the consent of the Federal government. The legislature then in session elected Alexander H. Stephens and Herschel V. Johnson, United States Senators; but neither they nor our representatives were allowed to take their seats. Still, Georgia was paying her proportion of the taxes, and the Federal government was guilty of the same wrong (taxation without representation) for which the thirteen colonies had censured Great Britain and gone to war with her in 1776.

The President of the United States now proclaimed that Georgia had adopted the Thirteenth Amendment; but this state was not a member of the Union, was not represented in Congress, so her vote could not be legally counted.

Our beloved state had now become a land of memories which endeared her a thousandfold to the hearts of her sons and daughters! "A land without ruins is a land without memories—a land without memories is a land without liberty. A land that wears a laurel crown may be fair to see, but twine a few sad cypress leaves around the brow of any land, and be that a land beautiful and bleak, it becomes lovely in its consecrated coronet of sorrow, and it wins the sympathy of the heart of history. Crowns of roses fade—crowns of thorns endure. Calvaries and crucifixes take deepest hold of humanity; the triumphs of might are transient, they pass away and are forgotten; the suffering of Right are graven deepest on the chronicles of nations."

When the Congress of the United States met in the winter of 1865-66, the War Party of the North had a majority in both Houses. They proposed the Fourteenth Amendment to the Federal Constitution, which would allow all negroes to vote who were twenty-one years of age and upward, and at the same time disfran-

FROM "GEORGIA LAND AND PEOPLE"

chise hundreds of thousands of the white men of the South. This amendment also prohibited any Southerner from holding office if, before the war, he had ever held any position of honor or trust, State or Federal, from the highest to the lowest. This act was passed in face of the fact, that in several Western States negroes were not allowed to vote, and Congress had never presumed to interfere with those States. It was at this time that these agitators were first called by the party name of "Radicals."

Georgia and the other Southern States, emphatically refusing to consider the new amendment, were declared to be in a state of "rebellion"; so the Reconstruction Committee of Congress was created, and martial law was proclaimed in time of peace. The Constitution gave Congress no such right, therefore it was a gross usurpation of power.

The State of Georgia was now wiped out by Act of Congress, and with Florida and Alabama, was called "District Number 3." The Federal General Pope, who was put in command, had absolute power over the life, liberty and property of our citizens. Elections according to legal form were abolished whenever it was his desire. A mayor for Augusta and a sheriff for Bartow county were appointed by a Federal officer. It was threatened that the University should be closed, and that the appropriation due it from the State should be withheld, because one of the students made a speech at commencement that was considered objectionable by the Commander of "District Number 3." The subject of the speech was "The Vital Principles of Nations—Obedience to Organic Law." This brilliant young man subsequently served his state as a legislator, and made for himself an honorable career. Dr. A. A. Lipscomb, the Chancellor of the University at that time, dissuaded the Federal officer from executing his threat.

Thus was inaugurated a new war. Georgia's Constitution was set aside; Georgia's sons were not allowed to vote; and the Fourteenth Amendment, under the dictation of the bayonet, was declared to have been adopted. Georgia was treated like a conquered province, and proclaimed to be no longer a member of the Union; and yet, constitutional amendments were

RECONSTRUCTION PERIOD IN GEORGIA

submitted to her as a sovereign State, to be accepted or rejected. The inconsistencies of the Federal Congress and their usurpations of power from the beginning of the war, had been amazing! And it had been still more amazing that none of the Northern or Western States had protested against it!

Warren county was situated in "the black belt"; that is, it was in a section where the negroes outnumbered the white people. The Yankee soldiers and the agents of the Freedman's Bureau filled the heads of the negroes with erroneous ideas, and kept them in a continual ferment. They were told that they would be lords of the whole country in a few years, and were encouraged not to work for white people. The negroes almost ceased to work, but they had to live, so petty thieving and other lawlessness in this county became intolerable.

A fifteen-year-old negro boy went to a gentleman and asked what he would take for his house, saying he wished to buy it. The boy meant no insolence and the gentleman was simply amused. He well knew who had confused his ideas about the rights of property and all other rights.

A mean white man in this county, who sided with the Yankees (belonging to the same class who became Tories in the Revolutionary war), and who had made himself very obnoxious to all decent people by his incendiary talk, was one night peppered with bird shot. It could not hurt him, and was only done to frighten his cowardly soul; but the whole county was at once put under martial law. For years a command of Federal soldiers was stationed in Warrenton. From time to time both officers and men were removed, and an entirely new set took their places. It was feared that, if they remained there too long, they might learn to like the people and show them some kindness and sympathy. The life and liberty of every honest white person in the county was at the mercy of the Federal Major in command.

These were also trying times for our negroes, who were constantly being told that their late masters were their greatest enemies. There were so many bad influences brought to bear upon them, the wonder is that

FROM "GEORGIA LAND AND PEOPLE"

more acts of violence were not committed. Many of the young negroes had become dissipated and were easy tools in the hands of the Radicals, but through it all, with comparatively few exceptions, the negroes behaved with respect and decorum towards their owners. Still, petty thieving was universal, with sometimes a midnight robbery or a murder, which was traced to negroes under Radical influences.

Later on, when the negroes discovered that these strangers cared nothing for them except to use them as political tools, it was to their owners that they instinctively turned for aid and sympathy in misfortune, and they never appealed in vain. When Georgians again obtained control of the State Government, they protected the negroes, and have assisted them from that day to this, in every way possible.

By this time the agents of the Freedman's Bureau had perpetrated so many outrages against the negroes, that the United States Congress could no longer ignore their misdeeds, so they were removed, and Federal officers were put in their places in "District Number 3."

A host of Yankees, either left by the Federal army or subsequently sent down from the North, now swarmed in Georgia. They had no permanent habitation here, no interest, no property, no sympathy with us. Their sole purpose was to hold office, get money, and slander our people. They were called "carpet-baggers," and the penniless adventurers were called "scalawags."

During this horrible period, which was neither peace nor war, Benjamin H. Hill, who had recently been very active in re-organizing the Democratic party in Georgia, wrote a series of papers called "Notes on the Situation," embodying arguments of great power against the Reconstruction policy. These "Notes" merit the name of "Phillipics." In one of them he thus briefly describes the position of Georgians at this time: "The complying accept, the resolute reject, none approve. while all despise!"

Gov. Jenkins went to Washington and made a brave fight for Georgia in the judicial forum, but his eloquence and the justice of his cause were alike unavailing. His manly advice to his fellow-citizens in this

RECONSTRUCTION PERIOD IN GEORGIA

crisis was, "a firm but temperate refusal of acquiescence" in any of the Reconstruction measures. Georgia, as a State, has never countenanced usurpation nor injustice, and she entered her protest now, though her voice was unheeded.

During those days of lawlessness and misrule, a party of Radicals and Federal soldiers were sent to Elbert county to establish a Freedman's Bureau. The first night after their arrival, their camp was surrounded, and though no one was visible, the welkin rang with shouts, hoots, yells and the snapping of guns and pistols, until it seemed as if pandemonium was turned loose. This deafening noise was kept up, hour after hour, so that sleep fled from the eyes of the intruders. Before the break of day the sound gradually grew fainter, until they melted away in the woods.

The next day the Radicals left without accomplishing their purpose, saying they would return with a regiment of Federal soldiers and burn every house in the county; but nothing more was ever heard of them.

Elbert was the banner county of Georgia during the Reconstruction period. No Freedman's Bureau was ever established there, nor was a single Radical vote cast while Georgia was in the power of the Federal Congress.

The reason for this happy state of affairs was that Elbert county was far from the railroad, and was inhabited by a people of pure Southern blood, whose lands were not for sale. Their beautiful plantations had descended from father to son, for generations—in some instances from the Colonial period—so there was no alien blood to cause a division of the people, and Elbert was a unit against Radicalism.

In December, 1867, the Congressional Reconstruction Convention, backed by the military, was in session in Atlanta. It was composed, with few exceptions, of inferior white men and negroes. The Convention had been empowered to levy a tax to pay its expenses, which shows that Congress had not intended that the money should be drawn from the State treasury. However, at the end of two or three weeks, "the poor whites" and the negroes were clamoring for their pay, and the all-absorbing question was how to obtain the

FROM "GEORGIA LAND AND PEOPLE"

necessary money.

Col. John Jones was the Treasurer of Georgia at that time. According to the law, in order to draw any State money, it was first necessary to get a warrant from the Governor and then present it to the Treasurer.

The leaders of the bogus Convention finally put their heads together and passed a resolution instructing the State Treasurer to pay their agent forty thousand dollars, to defray the expenses of the Convention. In the meantime, Gen. Pope had been relieved of the command of "District Number 3," and Gen. Meade put in his place. A copy of this resolution, indorsed by Gen. Meade, was carried by the agent to Milledgeville, presented to Col. Jones, and the money demanded.

The Treasurer politely but firmly replied that he could not pay out money without an Executive warrant. Hearing this, the agent at once returned to Atlanta, well knowing it would be a waste of time to apply to Gov. Jenkins, who regarded the Convention as an illegal body.

The firm and patriotic stand of Georgia's Governor caused Gen. Meade considerable embarrassment. He finally sought an interview, in which he asked:

"Do I understand, that you would not have responded to the Convention's order for an Executive warrant?"

"Certainly not!" answered the Governor.

Gen. Meade then said he regretted the existence of such a condition of affairs, and asked his reasons for acting as he was doing in this matter.

Gov. Jenkins promptly replied that, under the Constitution of Georgia, which he had sworn to support, no funds could be drawn from the treasury except by an Executive warrant for an appropriation made by Georgia law. In this case the legislature had made no appropriation.

Gen. Meade listened to the Governor with profound attention, and admitted that as a citizen he did not materially differ from him; but as a Federal officer whose duty it was to enforce the reconstruction measures of Congress, he would be compelled to remove the Governor if he did not re-consider his determination. This threat did not in the least disturb Gov. Jenkins, and he courteously replied that his decision would never be

RECONSTRUCTION PERIOD IN GEORGIA

changed. Gen. Meade said, he would give him time to re-consider the matter, and then took his leave.

In the tempestuous years that followed the surrender the Confederate soldier was pushed into the background for a while by the force of circumstances, but he was very dear to the heart of Georgia and constituted an undercurrent of great power in the land. In the first legislature that was convened after hostilities ceased, a majority of the members were old citizens of the State, and they voted an appropriation to buy artificial limbs for Georgia's maimed soldiers. Before the war had been ended a year, Mrs. Mary Ann Williams, the lady who instituted the "Wayside Homes," suggested that the 26th of April, the day on which Gen. Joseph E. Johnston surrendered, should be set apart annually to decorate the graves of our gallant Confederate dead. In her communication to the Press she wrote: "They died defending the life, honor and happiness of the Southern women * * * All did their duty and to all we owe our gratitude. Let the soldier's graves, for that day at least, be the Southern Mecca to whose shrine her sorrowing women, like pilgrims, may annually bring their grateful hearts and floral offerings."

The idea found ready response in every city, town, village and hamlet, not only in Georgia, but throughout the South; and Memorial Day became an established custom and legal holiday in Georgia.

This noble woman received a large share of love and gratitude from her State, and when she died, eight years later, she was buried with military honors. Her grave is decorated every Memorial Day with the same high respect as if she had been a Confederate soldier.

Georgia's record as a member of the Southern Confederacy will never be forgotten; and "the names and deeds of her soldiers will live in memory and be perpetuated as legends, and thus treasured up as themes for song and story, for ages to come!"

Let the generous youth of Georgia, through whose veins courses the blood of Confederate heroes, keep their memories green and emulate their virtues and their patriotism!

Georgia's intrepid Governor, Charles J. Jenkins,

FROM "GEORGIA LAND AND PEOPLE"

knew his duty and dared to perform it in the face of Federal bayonets. He issued an order suspending the collection of the taxes by which the bogus Convention was trying to raise money, and instructed Col. Jones to conceal the State funds.

Only a few days after Gen. Meade's visit, the Governor received a letter from him demanding an Executive warrant for forty thousand dollars. In his reply, he respectfully but positively refused to comply with the demand. So Gen. Meade ordered his removal from the office to which he had been elected by the people of Georgia, upon the ground that he denied the validity of the reconstruction laws.

In a short time after this, Gen. Thomas Ruger, of the Federal army, called at the Executive Mansion. It was so evident that he was reluctant to tell the object of his visit, that Gov. Jenkins met him half way by remarking: "I have been informed that Gen. Meade has removed me from office, and appoint you as Provisional Governor, to assume my duties."

"That is my business here," said Gen. Ruger, "and I hope, Governor, that you will offer no resistance."

"Before answering you," responded the Governor, "permit me to ask you a question. Are you instructed, if necessary, to use force to dispossess me of this office?"

Gen. Ruger's face flushed as he replied: "I am sir; and here are my orders."

Gov. Jenkins quietly inspected the document, which was signed by Gen. Meade, and then made the noble reply which won for him the title of "**Grand old Roman**": "Sir, you have the army of the United States at your back, and I can summon not even a respectable police force. I therefore elect to bow out to you, rather than to a file of soldiers with muskets and bayonets; but I denounce this proceeding as an outrage upon the rights of this State, and had I an adequate force I would resist you to the last extremity."

After some further conversation, Gen. Ruger asked why he had suspended the collection of taxes ordered by the Convention. Gov. Jenkins declined to render any account of his official acts to the new Provisional Governor appointed by the military.

RECONSTRUCTION PERIOD IN GEORGIA

The words used by Gen. Meade in his written order appointing Gen. Ruger, were that he was "**detailed for duty in the District of Georgia,**" to be provisional governor. This base usurpation of State authority on the part of the Federal Government, in time of peace, is without parallel in the annals of any government calling itself a republic.

From the Executive Mansion Gen. Ruger hastened to the office of the Treasurer, but he found only an empty vault and some old books. As Col. Jones refused to give any information, an order was issued for his arrest, and a new Treasurer was appointed. Gov. Jenkins' order suspending the collection of taxes was also at once revoked. The earnings of the State Road were also paid to the bogus Treasurer and used for illegal purposes by the usurping government.

In the meantime, Gov. Jenkins had hastily arranged his affairs and returned to his home in Augusta. The State funds, the Great Seal of Georgia, and some valuable documents had been carefully concealed, and never passed into the hands of the Federals.

Our Governor did not sit idly at home and leave his beloved State to her fate, but exhausted every effort to prove that the reconstruction laws were unconstitutional. Gen. Ruger ordered his arrest, but the officials everywhere in the State disregarded the order, and made no effort to interfere with his movements; but when our Governor discovered that the Supreme Court of the United States was overawed by the Radicals, and redress at that time was impossible for Georgia's wrongs, he retired with his family to Nova Scotia.

While Georgia was suffering from the despotism of the Reconstruction Acts of Congress, the aliens who ruled our State moved the capital to Atlanta. They hoped that this change would win North Georgia to their interests, but the people of that section never for a moment swerved from their duty. Atlanta had risen, phoenix-like, from its ashes, and was again a flourishing town, with as large a population as it had possessed before it was burned by Sherman.

It was the policy of the Federals to keep up a semblance of law, so they now ordered that there should be an election for governor.

FROM "GEORGIA LAND AND PEOPLE"

The Radicals, some time before this, not content with having the Federal Government and army at their back, had formed a secret society, called the Union League, to influence elections in the South. Negroes who were notoriously corrupt, held offices of trust in Georgia, and ignorant ones were put on the grand juries and sat in the legislature. There was absolutely no redress in any legitimate way for the enormities practiced in our State, and the Ku-klux Klan sprang into existence, preserving peace and order to a large extent by playing on the superstitions of the negroes and the low white people. The name originated from imitating the call of a hen to gather her chickens under her wings when danger threatens them.

The members of this mysterious Klan were never seen except at night and then they were always mounted. They came and went like phantoms, and the footfall of their horses never made a sound, as their hoofs were covered with half-tanned leather, or wrapped in hay which was tied on with a piece of cloth. It was a dreadful sight to the ignorant to see a troop of horsemen all shrouded in black and as silent as the grave, ride swiftly up to a house, surround it, gaze at it earnestly, with red, green and blue lights flashing from their bodies, and then melt away as silently as they had come. These masqueraders were always enveloped in a loose black robe, with a black calico mask that fell down over the shoulders. On top of this mask was sometimes worn a grotesque or hideous head-dress. On one occasion an ingenious Kuklux wore an illuminated skull.

The Kuklux made a powerful impression on the imagination of the ignorant, which neither time, nor a knowledge of the means used to frighten people, has been able to entirely eradicate.

Late one night, a negro who was returning home along a country road, without having heard a sound to break the stillness, suddenly found himself by the side of a horseman who looked to be ten feet in height. He took off his head, and in very polite terms asked the negro to hold it while he arranged his backbone. The face of the negro turned to an ashy hue, and without uttering a word, he disappeared in the woods.

RECONSTRUCTION PERIOD IN GEORGIA

One of the most awe-inspiring things about the Ku-klux was their amazing swiftness and profound silence. They rarely uttered a word, if they could make a sign answer the purpose. One hot night in midsummer, when the silvery rays of the full moon were glorifying earth and sky, a solitary Kuklux rode up to a negro's house and demanded a drink of water. The family dared not refuse it, and one of them tremblingly carried out a bucket and a dipper. To the horror of the spectators, the phantom raised the bucket to his lips and, draining it dry, immediately departed like a shadow.

Mischief-makers and those who were trying to stir up the evil passions of the negroes were warned in a hollow and sepulchral voice to quit the country. If the offense was stealing, the rogues were told in some blood-curdling manner that they would have to leave the neighborhood if they did not behave themselves, and one admonition conveyed in that awful manner was usually sufficient.

The terror with which the negroes regarded the Ku-klux Klan produced some ludicrous mistakes. At this time Union Point was a small country village, divided between the Baptists and the Methodists. An Episcopal clergyman, desiring to have services for the benefit of a few members of his church who lived in that vicinity, borrowed the Methodist church for the occasion. His coming created a great sensation, as very few of the people had ever heard the Episcopal service. Curiosity was so strong that the crowd was increased by quite a large gathering from the country. The men collected around the church door waiting for the minister; and, as was usual in Georgia, a good many negroes were grouped on the outskirts of the crowd to see what was going on. Instead of entering the church directly, the clergyman approached by a back way, that he might have an opportunity to put on his robe behind the church. As soon as the negroes caught sight of him coming around the corner of the building, they yelled, "Kuklux!" "Kuklux!" and in the twinkling of an eye every one of them had vanished.

During these evil days, the negroes held the balance of power in Georgia, and the ballot-box was guarded by Federal bayonets. It was almost impossible to identify

FROM "GEORGIA LAND AND PEOPLE"

the average plantation negro, so when the time came for the gubernatorial election ordered by the Federals, the Radical manager had such as he needed transported from one place to another, and the same negro could cast several votes without much fear of detection.

In spite of all this wickedness, the heroic John B. Gordon, who had been put forward by the Democrats, was undoubtedly elected, but the office was awarded to a Radical, Rufus Bullock, who was a native of the State of New York. Anything that a negro or a Radical would swear to, was considered legal evidence by the Federals; so, when the election went Democratic, the Radical manager of elections, E. Hulburt, wrote to one of his agents: "We want affidavits proving force, fraud and intimidation in violation of general orders. We must have them, and plenty of them. Go to work and get them up at once."

When the usurper was inaugurated Governor of Georgia, Gen. Meade declared military authority at an end; which simply meant that Federal officers would not be so conspicuous as formerly, but would hide the despotism of their Government with the cloak of so-called law.

Before this election came off, early in the summer of this year of feverish excitement, an illiterate, disreputable white man, named Ashburn, who lived in a low negro quarter in Columbus, was one night killed by an unknown mob. As he was an extreme Radical, and had made incendiary speeches to the negroes, the military at once took the matter in hand and arrested, upon mere suspicion, some twenty young men of respectable families. There was no trial by jury under military despotism, and it was whispered that the murder was the work of Kuklux. These young men were carried to Fort Pulaski, which had been converted into a military prison, and there thrust into dungeon-like cells, whose horrors were scarcely inferior to the Black Hole of Calcutta. Neither beds nor blankets were allowed them, and they were tortured by myriads of mosquitoes. Their rations were fat pork, and beef which was too unsound to eat. To each of them was given an old oyster can in which both soup and coffee were served. They were denied all com-

RECONSTRUCTION PERIOD IN GEORGIA

munication with their friends. Afterwards, when they were transferred to the McPherson Barracks, in Atlanta, the treatment given them was no better.

If there was one thing more than another that a Carpetbagger and a Scalawag hated, it was a gentleman, and they rejoiced when he was humiliated and treated with indignity.

Much cruelty was practiced upon the negro witnesses to force them to testify against the Columbus prisoners as the Radicals desired. An instrument of torture was invented, called the "sweat-box," and put in Fort Pulaski. It was just large enough to admit the victim, and was arranged by screws for compression, so that a force could be brought upon the prisoner sufficient to squeeze the breath out of him. The box was also provided with a steam apparatus, connected with it by pipes. By simply turning a faucet, jets of steam were thrown into it until the heat became unbearable. Three witnesses suffered this torture, one of whom was a negro. He, poor soul, cried out in a few minutes, that he would swear anything if they would only let him out of that box.

The torture of prisoners without any sort of trial or any evidence against them, fired the heart of Georgia for many years, and caused it to throb with indignation.

Finally, when the military gave way to the Radical Governor, Gen. Meade issued an order adjourning the military commission that was trying the Columbus prisoners, and they were turned over to the civil law. Alexander H. Stephens, Martin J. Crawford, Gen. Benning, and several other prominent lawyers whom Georgia has delighted to honor, became counsel for the prisoners. At last, these innocent young men were released on bond, permitted to return home, and the matter was dropped.

Under Rufus Bullock, our beloved State was given over to the hands of carpetbaggers and scalawags, whose conduct was more outrageous than ever before. These penniless adventurers heaped injuries and insults upon our people, and robbed the very negroes whom they were using as an instrument to uphold their power.

When crimes were committed by their followers,

FROM "GEORGIA LAND AND PEOPLE"

means were always found to exempt them from punishment, while stories of the brutality of Georgians to their negroes were industriously manufactured, and sent to the Republicans as stock in trade for their party. The more hideous the tale, the more it was relished at the North, and each one was rolled as a sweet morsel under their tongues.

The acts of the Congress of the United States, each year after the war ended, justified more and more emphatically the necessity that was placed upon Georgia to sever her connection with the Federal Union, in order to maintain her honor and her self-respect, even at the expense of wounds and desolation and death! Time, the great Mother of Truth, will vindicate the position of our State.

The State Democratic Convention and the Legislature both met in Atlanta in July, 1868. Many of our leading public men were there, and it was thought to be a suitable occasion for a political mass-meeting. About twenty thousand Georgians gathered on that memorable occasion, which witnessed the largest mass-meeting ever before held in our State. To accommodate the crowd, an immense bush arbor was erected in what was then a large, open space on Alabama street. The four orators were Gen. Howell Cobb, Gen. Robert Toombs, Hon. Benjamin H. Hill, and Col. Raphael J. Moses. They hurled their anathemas against the Reconstruction Acts, in fiery addresses that were afterwards called the "Bush Arbor Speeches." Mr. Hill had already revived the drooping spirits of the Democracy by the trumpet blasts of his "Notes on the Situation," and men were eager to hear what further message he had for them. He came grandly to the front, and displayed his splendid eloquence in denouncing the usurpation of power by the Federal Congress.

Although it was a hot summer day and the hard plank benches in the arbor were uncomfortable to the last degree, they were closely packed. Georgians sat there for five hours, unconscious of the lapse of time, as they enthusiastically listened to the burning eloquence of those speakers, and overwhelmed them with applause whenever they gave the Reconstructionists a hard thrust. It was noted that among the audience

RECONSTRUCTION PERIOD IN GEORGIA

were many ladies, who hung with rapt attention upon the words of the orators.

There had never been in Georgia an era of more universal excitement than the present. The Legislature which was now in session was not entirely under Radical influence, and a vote of the majority expelled the ineligible negroes who had been seated. This action put the bogus Governor, the other Radicals in Georgia, and the United States Congress in a ferment. The Reconstruction Committee sat, and, by the next year, Georgia, was declared to be in a state of rebellion and was again put under military rule.

October 9th, 1868, four days after the Legislature adjourned, Gen. Howell Cobb died of heart disease in New York City. The suddenness of his death was a great shock to our whole State, where he had so long been loved and honored. Georgia mourned him as a favorite son, for he had always defended her with sword, pen, and eloquent tongue. He was comparatively a young man when he was first elected to the Congress of the United States, but he soon took a high position among the leaders of his party, and eventually, as a statesman, became one of the political lights of America.

Again, in 1869, with glaring inconsistency, Georgia was called upon to ratify another Constitutional Amendment, the Fifteenth, by which negroes could hold office; yet it was declared by the Federal Congress that Georgia was not a State.

It was the policy of the Radicals to embitter Georgians and their negroes, but in this unholy design they never succeeded to any appreciable extent. Still, they continually made the effort, and "the Southern outrages" weapon was freely used, the bogus Governor giving his official sanction to the slanders.

The Federal General, Terry, was not in command in Georgia; but Rufus Bullock, without authority, issued a proclamation calling the legislature to assemble, and signed himself "Provisional Governor," though he had not received the appointment from Congress. The Legislature which convened under these circumstances, in January, 1870, was a parody on government. The Radical, Benjamin Conley, who was President of the Sen-

FROM "GEORGIA LAND AND PEOPLE"

ate, said in his address to that body: "The Government has determined that in this republic—which is not, never was, and never can be a democracy—that in this republic, Republicans shall rule."

A Federal officer sending his order to the House of Representatives that such and such members could not be seated, was one of the strange acts now witnessed. The arbitrary measures and lawlessness of this body of men were an outrage on decency, and many disgraceful scenes occurred. Democrats were turned out and negroes seated, for no other reason than that the Radicals willed it. A Democratic senator was not allowed to take his seat, because he had sold beef to Confederate soldiers. Things went from bad to worse until the bogus Governor obtained entire control of the Legislature, and all honest Republicans were disgusted with their own work. Afterwards, a Republican from Georgia, in a speech before the United States Senate, thus spoke of this legislature: "Men looked amazed and aghast. If there ever were Kuklux in Georgia, it occurred to me that this was about the time they ought to have shown themselves—when a stranger, a man wholly a stranger to the Legislature, and almost to the whole people of the State, appeared there and occupied the chair of Speaker, thundering out his edicts to the representatives of the people, ordering them to disperse and be gone to their homes, adjourning them at his pleasure and calling them back when he pleased, and these obedient servants of the people going and doing his behests! Why, sir, the scene was pitiable!"

The aliens who were running the State Government were guilty of a frightful degree of fraud in every department. Corruption ran rampant, and they tried to drag this grand old State to the lowest depths of degradation by publishing to the world that it was ravaged by the Kuklux Klan. To give some color to the tale, a number of citizens from North Georgia had been dragged from their homes and humiliated by imprisonment in Atlanta. An examination showed not a vestige of evidence against them, and they had to be released.

Backed by United States bayonets, and with their hands up to the elbows in the treasury of Georgia, the Carpetbaggers squandered money for bribes, for pri-

RECONSTRUCTION PERIOD IN GEORGIA

vate entertainments, for personal aggrandizement and ambition, and Georgia people had to foot the bills—their enemies, in triumph, gloating over their defenseless condition.

While these disgraceful scenes were being enacted in our beloved State, Georgia's governor was an exile, and her sons could only look with horror at the misdeeds of the men in power. They had no alternative but to adopt the Fabian policy of watching and waiting.

At length, the evil conduct and mismanagement of the Carpetbaggers in control became so notorious that the Federal Congress was forced to investigate the matter. The corruption of Rufus Bullock was proved, but he was not deprived of his power—only a vote of censure being passed upon him.

In the summer of this year, the Democrats held a Convention in Atlanta. Gen. Alfred H. Colquitt, who had illustrated Georgia on the battle-fields of two States, was elected president. Many prominent Georgians who had taken no active part in public affairs since the war, appeared in this Convention, the object of which was to consolidate party elements in opposition to the rule of Carpetbaggers. There were now, as always, shades of political difference among Georgians, but they all called themselves Democrats in their fight with the Republicans. Standing squarely upon the old platform of the sovereignty of the State, the members of the Convention invited all Georgians to unite with them in a zealous effort to change the usurping and corrupt administration of the State Government. When the election came off in the fall, in spite of the military guards at the polls to influence votes the Democratic majority was large.

While this canvass was in progress, the illustrious Confederate General, Robert E. Lee, died. Georgia shared the profound grief felt by the whole South at the loss of this renowned chieftain, and paid appropriate honors to his memory. In Savannah, when the sad news was known, the performances were discontinued at several places of amusement and the audiences sadly dispersed to their homes. It was in this city that Gen. Lee performed his first military service, when he was a young lieutenant of engineers, just graduated from

FROM "GEORGIA LAND AND PEOPLE"

West Point; and again, in the war between the States, the "Forest City" was his home while he was commander of the defenses on the Southern coast.

As soon as the Republicans learned the results of the fall elections they pronounced them illegal. The 8th Congressional District, which Alexander H. Stephens had rendered famous, was declared to be in a state of rebellion and put under martial law. Linton Stephens, ex-justice of the Supreme Court of Georgia, was ordered to be arrested. He had been very prominent in the Democratic Convention, and also in organizing the elections throughout the State, and had especially taken an active part in preventing illegal voting in Sparta, where he resided. He voluntarily answered to the warrant without arrest, as soon as he heard of the order.

He was carried before Commissioner Swayze, a Federal Carpetbag officer at Macon. The speech in which he made his defense was matchless. "The wealth of all forensic literature may be searched in vain for a performance that surpasses it in point of genuine manliness, civil courage, nervous English and the eloquence of patriotic fervor, or cogent, compact, red-hot logic." This remarkable speech ended with these patriotic words: "If angry power demands a sacrifice from those who have thwarted its fraudulent purposes, I feel honored, sir, in being selected as the victim. If my suffering could arouse my countrymen to a just and lofty indignation against the despotism which, in attacking me, is but assailing law, order and constitutional government, I would not shrink from the sacrifice, though my blood should be required instead of my liberty!"

Judge Stephens was dismissed under bond, to appear before the next Federal court in Savannah. At this term of the court the indictment was ignored by the grand jury and nothing more was ever heard of the matter.

The Carpetbaggers, who were still in power, saw that the Georgians were surely, even though slowly, getting control. A Democratic victory meant an inquiry into their mismanagement. Knowing that their acts would not bear investigation, they stuck together and made one last desperate effort to keep in power. Their most effective weapons in the fight were still

RECONSTRUCTION PERIOD IN GEORGIA

“Southern outrages” and “the horrors of the Kuklux Klan,” that “band of secret assassins.” It certainly was not a good showing for the Federal Government, nor for the Carpetbaggers, with unlimited power, and the United States army at their back, that none of these criminals were ever caught and brought to justice. Does it not prove that the “Slander-mill” was but another political machine of the Republican party?

While these events were progressing, and the Republican edifice in Georgia—which had been erected on such a false foundation—was toppling to its ruin, the bogus Governor, with great secrecy, resigned, turning over his office to one of his confederates, Benjamin Conley. He then fled from the State, a fugitive from justice. It was seven days after his flight before it was known to the public, and then he was beyond pursuit. It must be borne in mind that none of the official acts of this usurper were legal.

An investigation of State affairs showed an unparalleled degree of corruption, and that Georgia had been saddled with an enormous debt. The incredible sum of two million dollars was spent in one year upon the State Road alone. The Carpetbagger, Foster Blodgett, was superintendent of the Road, and he used it to advance Radical power. Over a thousand names of officers appeared upon its pay-roll, many of whom had never rendered any service whatever; they were simply political employees, retained to assist in keeping the Carpetbaggers in power, and they had lived off the people whom they so vilely oppressed.

When the legislature met and was organized, James M. Smith, a gallant Georgia Colonel in the war between the States, was chosen Speaker of the House. Benjamin Conley, who was playing the role of Governor, should have resigned—according to law—as his term as President of the Senate had expired, but he refused to do so. With wonderful patience, the Democrats in the legislature declined to wrangle over the matter, but left it to the people of Georgia to decide by calling an election for Governor, to be held during the following December. Col. James M. Smith was put forward by the Democrats and elected. He had no opposition. The Republicans, with the odium upon them of the ras-

FROM "GEORGIA LAND AND PEOPLE"

calities of carpetbag government, nominated one of their numbers, James Atkins, but he declined to make the canvass.

For years Georgia had been groaning under woes and insults innumerable—had been ruled by foreigners hostile to her interests—but she had grappled bravely with Radicalism and fought it whenever opportunity offered. Three times had civil law been set aside in this State and martial law imposed upon it; seven times had the President and the Congress of the United States bent their energies to keep this impoverished commonwealth in the condition of a conquered province; but this had been impossible, and once again Georgia was under the control of her own sons.

James M. Smith, the successor of Gov. Jenkins, was inaugurated January 12th, 1872, amid universal rejoicing. It will be noted that when the Confederate soldiers were allowed to vote, they rallied to the rescue of their beloved State and delivered it from Carpetbaggers, Scalawags and bayonet rule.

These aliens left Georgia without funds with which to carry on the Government, and without credit. In this emergency, Gen. Toombs and some other gentlemen supplied the necessary money until taxes were collected.

When Georgia was redeemed from military despotism, Gov. Jenkins returned from his exile. A full and just account of the State funds was rendered, and the **Great Seal** and the valuable documents were returned.

The letters from the "grand old Roman" to Gov. Smith concluded as follows: "The removal of the books and papers was simply a cautionary measure for my own protection. Not so with the **Seal**. That was a symbol of the Executive authority, and although devoid of intrinsic material value, was hallowed by a sentiment which forbade its surrender to unauthorized hands.

"Afterwards, whilst I was in Washington vainly seeking the interposition of the Supreme Court, a formal, written demand was made upon me by Gen. Ruger for a return of these articles, with which I declined to comply.

"The books and papers I herewith transmit to your

RECONSTRUCTION PERIOD IN GEORGIA

Excellency, that they may resume their places among the archives of the State. With them I also deliver to you the **Seal** of the Executive Department. I derive high satisfaction from the reflection that **it has never been desecrated by the grasp of a military usurper's hand, never been prostituted to authenticate official misdeeds of an upstart pretender.** Unpolluted as it came to me, I gladly place it in the hands of a worthy son of Georgia, her freely chosen Executive, my first legitimate successor."

The courage and integrity of Gov. Jenkins were fully appreciated by the legislature then in session, and they enthusiastically endorsed his conduct in a series of resolutions; a fac-simile of the Great Seal, wrought in solid gold, was presented to him in the name of the grateful people whose rights he had so bravely defended. The gold seal had the words "In Arduis Fidelis" engraved upon its face. Words were never more descriptive of character, and to-day they are carved upon his monument.

Gov. Jenkins was nearly seventy years of age when he received this testimonial from Georgia. In accepting it, he said: "I would not exchange it for star or garter, or other badge of knighthood—nor yet for highest patent of nobility ever bestowed by king upon subject."

As Judge of the Supreme Court and Governor of Georgia his record was bright and stainless, and the annals of Greece and Rome can show no finer example of matchless fidelity! One of the most glorious chapters in the history of this proud commonwealth, is the fearless patriotism of Charles J. Jenkins, the hero of the reconstruction period.

COSTUMES AND PARADES.

(From Kuklux Klan, or Invisible Empire, by Mrs. S. E. F. Rose.)

The fantastic costumes were intended to work upon the superstitious fears of the negroes. No special instructions were given as to the color or makeup of these costumes, and each Kuklux could give full play to his fancy in this regard, their aim being always to make them as grotesque as possible, so the costumes varied in different Klans. However, the robes always covered the entire body, and sometimes consisted merely of a sheet, but white was always the favorite color, as it carried out the idea that the Kuklux were ghosts or spirits. The horses were also covered with a mantle, usually of white. A fiery red cloth stitched across the breast, a mask of white cloth, a high conical hat, formed the garb of a typical Kuklux, and when mounted on a white steed, the vision was complete. Of course, beneath these robes we had rubber suits made, just the shape of men, pliant and strong. Each rubber would hold thirteen buckets (the old fashioned wooden kind) of water. These rubber, man-shaped bags were lightly strapped to our bodies, and rested in front of us, on our saddles. At the pedal extremities were faucets, by which we could turn the water out as soon as we had filled them. Just under our chins was a tolerable stiff funnel, that served as a head, of our rubber man bag. There were several small tubes in this funnel that permitted the air to escape, as we seemingly drank the buckets of water offered. The air escaping from these tubes would sound exactly like the steam escaping from an over-heated boiler, and could be heard for a hundred feet or more.

Another favorite device to scare the negroes, was to wear false heads and hands. In this instance, the robe would be pulled up over their own heads, and the false skull placed on top, and when asking the negro for a drink of water the Kuklux would say, "Here, Sambo, hold my head while I drink this water." On being handed the skull the negro would scream, and take to the woods, thoroughly convinced that he had seen the ghost of his dead master. When the false hand was used, the Kuklux would proffer to shake hands, leaving the false hand with the negro as a souvenir to carry terror to his soul.

RECONSTRUCTION PERIOD IN GEORGIA

KUKLUX STORIES.

("Uncle Wash," in Kuklux Klan, or Invisible Empire.)

"De niggers wuz all down to the meetin' house, holdin' one of dese heah distracted meetin's. De moon wux ashinin', when we seed fru de church winders some ghost-men on some ghost-hosses comin' outen de woods, one behind de yudder. Dey come slow an' solum-like, an' dat night I seed my fust Kuklux, an' ebery nigger dar seed um, too, an' dey nebber will forgit um. Dem black niggers was skeered so bad dat night, dey turned white, an' de kinks come outen dey hair. Den de leader, he rid up to de church do' an' de niggers all said, 'Hit's de angel on de fiery steed,' but I said, 'No, hit's Ole Massa dat waz kilt in de war.' Den de ghost-man, in a low, deep voice, an' pinting' wid his long, bony finger at de watah-bucket, said, 'A drink, please; I haint had no watah since I was kilt in de fust battle o' Manassas.' 'Gawd, I sed so, hit's Ole Marster done riz from de grave. Niggers, quit yo' lyin' an' yo' meanness, an' prepare to meet yo' Gawd.'"

NOTES AND COMMENTS.

"The capital was moved from Milledgeville to Atlanta under the domineering influence of carpetbag government, controlled by military dictation."

No mo' Monday mornin';

No mo' hoein' in de cornfield;

No mo' waitin' on de white folks."

When the war ended, the sorriest generals the Yankees had were appointed governors of the conquered Southern provinces. They were suited to this special kind of work. Georgia, for instance, was lorded over by the John Pope, whose "headquarters were in the saddle," and who was reputed to be the biggest humbug in the Northern army. Ruger preceded him, then followed Meade, and after him followed a scandal. After this came the Carpetbagger, Bullock, succeeded by another scandal.

The Congressional Reconstruction Convention, which was held in Atlanta, is termed as the rag-tag-and-bobtail convention by Joel Chandler Harris.

EXTRACTS FROM "THE WAR-TIME JOURNAL OF A COUNTRY GIRL," BY ELIZA FRANCES AN- DREWS.

Gen. Wild has left off his murder cases for the present, and turned his attention to more lucrative business—that everlasting bank robbery. Some ten thousand dollars have been recovered from negroes in whose hands in was found, and about a dozen of the most respectable citizens of the county are imprisoned in the court house under accusation of being implicated. Among them is the wife of our old camp-meeting friends, Mr. Nish (Dionysius) Chenault, who entertained Mrs. Davis and her party at his home out on the Danburg road as she was on her way here from Abbeville. She (Mrs. Chenault) has a little young baby with her, and they have imprisoned Mr. Chenault's sister, too, and Sallie, his oldest daughter.* The people of Washington wanted to entertain these ladies in their homes and give bail for their appearance to stand trial, but that bloodhound, Wild, would not permit them to leave the courthouse. He tied up Mr. Chenault by the thumbs and kept him hanging for an hour trying to extort from him treasure that he did not possess. He is a large, fat man, weighing nearly three hundred pounds, so the torture must have been excruciating. His son and brother were tied up, too, the latter with his hands behind him, and he was suffered to hand till they were stretched above his head, and he fainted from the pain. And all this on the lying accusation of a negro!

* * *

If the Yankees cashier Wild, it will give me more respect for them than I ever thought it possible to feel. He is the most atrocious villain extant. Before bringing the Chenaults to town, he went into the country to their home, and tortured all the men till Mr. Nish Chenault fainted three times under the operation. Then

*The accusation against them was that they had shared in the plunder of a box of jewels that the women of the South had contributed for building a Confederate gunboat, and their own personal ornaments were "confiscated" under this pretext. The box of jewels was among the assets of the Confederate treasury that had been plundered near the village. The fate of these ornaments, contributed with such loyal devotion, will probably never be known.

RECONSTRUCTION PERIOD IN GEORGIA

he shut up the two ladies, Mrs. Chenault and Sallie, in a room, to be searched by a negro woman, with a Yankee officer standing outside the door to make sure that it was thoroughly done. * * * Disappointed at not finding any other plunder, the Yankees took their watches and family jewelry, and \$150 in gold that Mr. Chenault had saved through the war. I have this from Mrs. Reese, who got it from Sallie Chenault herself after they were released. After searching the ladies, they kept them in the woods all day, while they searched and plundered the house. Miss Chenault says she doesn't suppose there was much left in the house worth having when the Yankees and negroes had gone through it. I believe all the ladies have now been released by Col. Drayton, except Mrs. Nish Chenault, who is detailed on a charge of assault and battery for slapping one of her own negro women who was insolent to her!

* * *

The Augusta Transcript, was suppressed and its editor imprisoned merely for publishing the obituary of a southern soldier, in which it was stated that he died of disease "contracted in the icy prisons of the North."

* * *

Aug. 20, Tuesday.— * * * In the case of Mr. Rhodes, near Greensborough, one of Mr. Rhodes's "freedmen" lurked in the woods around his plantation, committing such depredations that finally he appealed to the garrison at Greensborough for protection. The commandant ordered him to arrest the negro and bring him to Greensborough for trial. With the assistance of some neighbors, Mr. Rhodes succeeded in making the arrest late one evening. He kept the culprit at his house that night, intended to take him to town next day, but in the meantime, a body of negroes marched to the village and informed the officer that Mr. Rhodes and his friend were making ready to kill their prisoners at midnight. A party of bluecoats was at once dispatched to the Rhodes plantation, where they arrived

“WAR TIME JOURNAL OF A COUNTRY GIRL”

after the family had gone to bed. Without waiting for admission they fired two shots into the house, one of which killed Mrs. Rhodes's brother. They left her alone with the dead man, on a plantation full of insolent negroes, taking the rest of the men to Greensborough, where the Yankees and negroes united in swearing that the Rhodes party had fired upon them. Mr. Rhodes was carried to Augusta, and on the point of being hanged, when a hitch in the evidence saved his life.

OBSERVATIONS AND COMMENTS.

(By James Callaway.)

DAN W. VOORHEES.

One of the greatest orators America ever produced was Dan W. Voorhees, of Indiana. As a Democrat, he was as brave, outspoken as eloquent Ben Hill.

One of the greatest of his speeches was delivered in Congress March 23, 1872. His theme was the "Plunder of Eleven States."

He delivered two special speeches in Congress against Bullock's efforts to reopen the reconstruction of Georgia. They were a wonderful portrayal of what was Bullock's intent and purpose.

Then, too, he delivered a great speech against the Reconstruction measures as proposed by Thad Stephens and his noted committee of fifteen. That was a masterful oration. He foresaw what was coming and pleaded for living States, not dead provinces.

But the following are excerpts from his speech on the "Plunder of Eleven States":

"Sir, the absolute destruction of free institutions from the Potomac to the Rio Grande commenced with the earliest dawn of peace. Sherman received Johnston's surrender upon the precise basis upon which the war had been prosecuted at every stage. He stipulated that the soldiers of the South should lay down the arms of unequal warfare, return to their States, whose existence had not been denied, and resume the pursuits of industry where they had left off with slavery abolished. (That was Lincoln's idea of restoration and pacification.) He had more than a thousand precedents for his conduct in the recorded action of this government. Both branches of Congress had sustained his view by voluminous legislation.

"The terms which Sherman gave to the fallen foe had often been tendered to that foe before he fell; but they were madly thrust aside in the hour of victory and the general himself denounced far and wide as a traitor to his country. The party in power (after Lincoln's death) broke with shameless haste its sacred faith and clamored with wild ferocity against the hero of the march to the sea, because he had believed the position of Congress was true, regarding the States in rebellion, but still in the Union. The hue and cry

DAN W. VOORHEES

against Sherman was raised against him as if he was a fleeing fugitive from justice. That memorable and disgraceful outburst cannot be covered by oblivion. It more resembled the enraged scream of a beast of prey about to be baffled out of its victim than the reasonable expression of human beings."

Do not fail to catch the point. Sherman's terms were based on the Lincoln idea, and that of his party, during his life. This great outburst against Gen. Sherman was because of an intended second invasion of the South, under "reconstruction," and not "restoration," or, as Joe Johnston expressed it in his farewell address, "pacification."

But, continues Voorhees: "The victim, however, was surrendered to the clutches of an inflamed and victorious party, and the work of demolition was at once commenced; that, too, when not an armed foe existed in all the South from the Potomac to the Rio Grande. From turret to foundation you tore down the governments of eleven States. You left not one stone upon another. You rent all their local laws and machinery into fragments and trampled upon their ruins. Not a vestige of their former construction remained. Their pillars, their rafters, their beams, and all their deep-laid corners, the work of a wise and devoted generation of the past, were all dragged away, and the sites where they once stood left naked for the erection of new and different structures. You remove the rubbish, pushed the army into the vacant ground, established provisional government as you would over territory just acquired by conquest from a foreign power, and clothed brigadiers and major-generals with extraordinary functions as Governors.

"Such was the beginning of the present organization—those odious and unsightly fabrics which now cumber the earth, and which stand (1872) as the open, reeking and confessed shambles of corruption, pollution and revolting misrule. They embrace not one single element of popular consent. They are the hideous offspring of your own unnatural and unlawful force and violence. The great body of the people of that unfortunate section had no more share in the rebuilding of their local government than the Seapoys of the East

RECONSTRUCTION PERIOD IN GEORGIA

Indies in the affairs of the British Empire. They were excluded from all participation by the most elaborate and minute schemes of legislative proscription of which history makes any record.

"The first duty of the provisional governments which you established was to call conventions to frame new Constitutions for these old States, and prepare them for admission into that Union from which you had sworn so often and solemnly that no State could ever withdraw. These conventions were provided for by laws enacted here. The number and the quality of the delegates to them were here specified. Who should be eligible and who ineligible was your work, and not the work of the people who were to be governed. You not only said who should be elected, but you likewise determined who should elect them. You fixed the qualifications and color of the voters. You purged the ballot box of the intelligence and the virtue on which alone popular liberty can be safely founded, and you admitted in their stead the suffrage of the most ignorant and unqualified race now inhabiting the globe.

"Proscription and ostracism are the leading elements of every State government in the South. Intellect and virtue, public and private worth, spotless character, splendid attainments, graceful culture, and the experience and wisdom of the age were all passed by under the reconstruction of violence and fraud.

"Those who during the conflict between the sections were clothed with the slightest responsibility or charged with the smallest official duty by those with whom their destiny and their homes had fallen, were marked by the blight of ineligibility, and, like the leper of old, it was made a crime for the people to again reach forth to them the hand of friendship or support. . . . He who gave a cup of cold water or a crust of bread to his thirsty and famished son, under arms for a cause which he believed to be right, and for which he was willing to die, was branded with dishonor, and driven out from the councils of his countrymen. The loving mother who sheltered her weary and wounded boy, laid him in his own familiar bed at home once more, kissed his feverish lips, wiped away the gathering dews of death, and with broken heart closed his eyes forever,

DAN W. VOORHEES

was condemned for these acts of angelic ministering, and incurred the penalties of confiscation.

“A more sweeping and universal exclusion of all the benefits, trusts, rights, honors and control of government was never enacted against a whole people, without respect to age or sex, in the annals of the human race. * * * Every fact I here proclaim is contained in the laws and in the recorded transactions of this government, and will constitute, ‘after some time is past,’ and passions of the present subsided, the most frightful and crushing arraignment which history ever summed up against a ruling party. * * *

“But now, as the ghastly and hideous results of the Reconstruction policy of the Republican party appear on every square mile of that oppressed and plundered section, it starts back with horror and absolutely disclaims its own offspring—the fruits of its own unholy rapine and lust. With pale lips and affrighted mein it ejaculates: ‘Thou canst not say I did it!’ But the deeds which it has committed are imperishable infamy, and they will not down, nor can all the waters of the ocean wash away their guilty stains.”

Thus will the future Belgian historian write of German’s destruction and pillage of helpless Belgium.

This speech, the “Plunder of Eleven States,” was delivered in the House of Representatives in March, 1872. It took a brave man to do it. Voorhees was the Ben Hill of the North. In this speech he gave a brief history of the reconstruction of each of the eleven States which seceded. After showing where the responsibility lodged during the process of pulling down and rebuilding the local State governments, he then exposed the results to each State. He spoke for Georgia first, and soon I will relate what he said about Georgia and her reconstruction under Bullock and the Federal generals.

LET GEORGIA SPEAK FIRST

From Daniel W. Voorhees’ great speech on the “Plunder of Eleven States,” delivered in the House of Representatives March 23, 1872, extracts have been presented showing the animus of “Reconstruction” and the overthrow of the State governments of the Southern

RECONSTRUCTION PERIOD IN GEORGIA

States. When it came to the detail of that work of destruction, he had Georgia to speak first.

“Let the great State of Georgia speak first. * * * You permitted her to stand up and start in her new career, but seeing some flaw in your handiwork, you again destroyed and again reconstructed her State government. You clung to her throat; you battered her features out of shape and recognition, determined that your party should have undisputed possession and enjoyment of her offices, her honors and her substance. Your success was complete. She was prostrate and unarmed.

“The victim was worthy of the contest by which she was handed over, bound hand and foot, to the rapacity of robbers. She was one of the original thirteen. Her soil had been made red and wet with the blood of the Revolution. But she contained what was far dearer to the despoilers than the relics of her fame. Her prolific and unbounded resources inflamed their desires. Hence the second invasion. * * * Georgia was the fairest and most fertile field that ever excited the hungry cupidity of the political pirate and the official plunderer. She was full of those mighty substances out of which the taxes of a people are always wrung by the grasping hand of licentious power. She was the most splendid quarry in all history for the vultures, the kites and carrion-crows that darken the air at the close of a terrible war, and whet their beaks over the fallen; and they speedily settled down upon her in devouring flocks and droves.

“When the calamities of war broke upon the country in 1861, Georgia was free from debt. Her people felt none of the burdens of taxation. Taxes throughout her widespread borders were trifles light as air. The burdens of government were easy upon her citizens. Her credit stood high. And when the war closed she was still free from indebtedness.

“Now look at her today (1872) after six years of supreme control by the Republican party. You took her into your hands, encumbered with no liabilities, and now you present her, to the horror of the world, loaded with debts which reach the appalling sum of \$50,000,000. The mind recoils, filled with indignation, in con-

LET GEORGIA SPEAK FIRST

templating this fearful and gigantic crime. It has no parallel in the annals of all nations and the ages of mankind until the ascendancy of the Republican party and its inauguration of its Reconstruction policy over the State governments of the South. And the crime against Georgia is of kindred magnitude inflicted by the same party on the other Southern States. Your work of destruction began in 1868—a year more fatal to the interests of Georgia than the scourge of pestilence, war or famine. The most venal and abandoned body of men ever known outside the boundaries of penal colonies, State prisons, or Southern Reconstruction, was chosen as the Legislature of Georgia, not by the people, but by virtue of a system, which you enacted and put in force.

“With them, too, came into office one who speedily secured a national reputation, and became a controlling power in your national councils. At one time Rufus B. Bullock dictated the legislation of Congress and the actions of the executive in regard to the great and ancient commonwealth that was cursed by his presence. It was his potent finger that pointed out the pathway which led to your second assault upon her State government, and it was his voice and his presence in and about these halls that commanded and cheered you to the breach. You even spoke of him for the exalted position of Vice-President of the United States.

* * He was a successful, conspicuous and brilliant specimen of your system. * * * With such a Governor and such a Legislature in perfect harmony, morally and politically, a career of villainy at once opened on the soil of Georgia which will go down to posterity without a peer or rival in the evil and infamous administrations of the world. The official existence of his Legislature lasted two years, commencing November, 1868. The Governor served three years and then absconded with his gains. * * *

“The facts proclaim the pillage of the State. The reports of the comptroller-general of Georgia show that for eight years, commencing with 1855 and ending in 1862, there was expended for the pay of members and officers of all her Legislatures during that entire period the sum of \$866,385.53. During the two years of the

RECONSTRUCTION PERIOD IN GEORGIA

Republican Legislature elected in 1868, the report of the comptroller-general shows that there was expended for the pay of its members and officers the startling sum of \$979,055, nearly \$1,000,000. One Legislature cost \$112,669.47 more than the Legislatures of eight previous years in the single matter of its own expenses. *

* * The record discloses one hundred and four clerks in the employ of this body under Republican management—one clerk for every two legislators.

“There is another high-handed outrage. Two hundred and fifty thousand dollars had accrued from poll taxes for schools, set aside for education. Before this Legislature adjourned it was all swept away. Not a dollar left. They took the children’s money and put it in their pockets. They robbed the rising generation of both races.

“The hand of the spoliator, at times in the history of the world, has taken consecrated vessels from the altar and plundered the sanctuary of God. Even the hallowed precincts of the grave have sometimes been invaded and the coffin rifled of its contents; but human villainy has sounded no lower depth than was here fathomed in stealing the very books of knowledge from the youth of the land.”

Here the speaker gave account of the fraudulent railroad transactions, defrauding the State; and the great frauds of Foster Blodgett in the management of the State road; of the pardons granted and the graft thereof, pardoning three hundred and forty-six out of four hundred and twenty-six who made application. Concluding about Georgia, Mr. Voorhees said: “I must now take leave of Georgia, her plundered treasury, her oppressed taxpayers, her railroad schemes of robbery, her squandered school funds, and her mocked, insulted and baffled courts of justice. Other impoverished fields cry to us for redress. Let us hearken to the story of each one’s woes. I now turn to South Carolina, once the proud land of Marion and Sumter, now the most wretched State that the sun shines on in its course through the heavens.

THE FOURTEENTH AND FIFTEENTH AMENDMENTS

When the war closed all was chaos in Georgia. An-

FOURTEENTH AND FIFTEENTH AMENDMENTS

drew Johnson was on Lincoln's line, somewhat, of restoration, considering us in rebellion, but not out of the Union.

He issued on June 17, 1865, his proclamation by which Hon. James Johnson was appointed provisional Governor, and it was his duty to call a convention, the electors to be amnestied voters. The convention met at Milledgeville on Oct. 28, 1865, composed of 285 delegates, Herchel V. Johnson presiding. This convention was eager for Georgia to resume her full relations; and, urged by the provisional Governor and President Johnson, and by pressure from Congress, accepted the thirteenth amendment which abolished slavery; invested negroes with all legal and civil rights except suffrage, and repealed the ordinance of secession, repudiated the State's war debt, including bonds, treasury notes and other obligations, causing great losses to many. But President Johnson and Secretary Seward deemed this necessary to loyal restoration. So the thirteenth amendment was ratified. But not the fourteenth.

As provided, the General Assembly met at Milledgeville on Dec. 4, 1865. In his message to the Legislature Gov. Charles J. Jenkins made a masterly argument against the fourteenth amendment. It was discussed and considered. A committee was appointed to report on it. Col. R. J. Moses wrote the report, which thus concludes: "Resolved, That the Legislature of Georgia declines to ratify the fourteenth article to the Constitution of the United States." Their reasons were elaborate. (See I. W. Avery's history of Georgia.)

Hon. Henry G. Turner, so honored by the whole country, in "Why the Solid South," says: "The General Assembly under Jenkins refused to ratify the fourteenth amendment chiefly because it imposed political disabilities upon the leading men of the State for no other reason than that they had served the people in the various positions to which they had been appointed or elected." It made our own people the ignominious authors of the disfranchisement of their own citizens. Its passage, however, was the demand of Congress, and our refusal was the pretext of repulsing from the Senate Alex. Stephens and Herschel V. Johnson. From this time on Georgia was treated as a conquered prov-

RECONSTRUCTION PERIOD IN GEORGIA

ince, and for like reason so were the other Southern States. The South could not bring itself to be a party to the disfranchisement of her own sons.

Our people seemed to rely on the Sherman-Johnson surrender treaty. But Congress heeded not that. Congress simply handed us back the fourteenth amendment with negro suffrage added to it. A full statement of the temper of our people regarding this fourteenth amendment can be found in Herbert Fielder's *Life of Joseph E. Brown*, page 420. Such men as H. V. Johnson, Ben Hill, Bob Toombs, Howell Cobb, Alex. Stephens and Linton Stephens strenuously opposed it and sustained the position of Gov. Jenkins and his Legislature. The people of the State endorsed this view. The speeches of Ben Hill, Bob Toombs, Howell Cobb and other distinguished Georgians at the great "Bush Arbor" meeting in Atlanta on July 23, 1868, expressed the sentiment of the people concerning this amendment. Gov. Brown advised acquiescence, saying, "Better agree with thine adversary quickly."

On July 16, 1866, Congress enlarged the provisions and powers of the Freedman's Bureau, giving the officers of it military jurisdiction over all cases. Every bureau agent was a court with military authority, and no appeal from his decisions. These agents were everywhere. No town escaped them. Great graft was practiced. Upon negro requests, men were brought before such agents on mere pretexts to extort fines. All this exasperated the white people, and intensified their opposition to these reconstruction measures.

They could not consent to be a party to them.

The noted committee on Reconstruction was composed of fifteen bitter enemies of the South. Thad Stephens chairman. Congress referred all political questions to them. They fathered the acts of Reconstruction.

On March 2, 1867, Congress declared no legal State government existed in Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, Florida, Texas and Louisiana, and passed the ever-memorable "Reconstruction Acts," as outlined by Thad Stephens and his committee. The South was divided into military districts, and the acts declared no Constitution of a

FOURTEENTH AND FIFTEENTH AMENDMENTS

State would be accepted by Congress without absolute acquiescence in these acts, and that all conventions should recognize electors without regard to race, color or previous condition, and also demanded the ratification of the fourteenth amendment.

By operation of these acts Georgia was reduced to a military district, in which the will of the commanding general was supreme in all things—absolute dictator. No appeal from his orders. These acts also enlarged the list of disfranchised Georgians, and fixed the status of suffrage for each State without any distinction as to color or race. See "Solid South," page 119.

Under these acts Gen. Pope ordered a registration of voters, negroes included. The whites had become so exasperated that large numbers did not register who were eligible. The negroes all registered. Thousands of whites were proscribed.

The election for the convention was opened on Oct. 29 and polls kept open for five days under management of the bureau and army officers. Negroes were permitted to act as managers, and many negroes voted five times. By orders from military headquarters the convention was declared carried, and delegates of the Republican party elected. See "Solid South." The delegates were ordered to meet not at the old Capitol at Milledgeville, but at the Atlanta by the commanding general.

This Reconstruction convention met at Atlanta Dec. 9, 1867. It had 170 delegates. Under the non-acting policy of the whites generally, it was a motley crew. However, there were a sprinkling of good Democrats, such as H. V. M. Miller, Judge David Irwin, A. W. Holcombe, L. N. Trammell, J. D. Waddell, and some better class Republicans like A. G. Foster, Madison Bell, H. K. McKoy and T. P. Saffold. But as a rule it was a queer set of carpetbaggers and negroes. "On the whole," says I. W. Avery in his life of Joseph E. Brown, "it was an odious body. It was a convention incarnating the idea of force and conquest, based upon negro supremacy and white disfranchisement. The body symbolized conquest, the bottom rail on top. The State seemed ransacked to get a mongrel delegation." Such was the "Reconstruction" convention. No aspect

RECONSTRUCTION PERIOD IN GEORGIA

of compliance so far by the people. The "RESOLUTE REJECT."

Gov. Jenkins was holding forth at the old Capitol. Gen. Meade had now superseded Gen. Pope, and, in need of funds for delegates, early in January, 1868, ordered Gov. Jenkins to issue warrant for \$40,000. Gov. Jenkins gave legal reason for not doing so. Meade at once deposed him and "detailed" Gen. Ruger to be Governor. The writer has always thought Gov. Jenkins made a mistake. The will of Meade now was law by the Reconstruction acts.

These Reconstruction acts, the outrages of the Freedmen's Bureau, the usurpation of all power and authority by the military commanders, aroused Ben Bill, and he wrote those celebrated "Notes on the Situation." He arraigned Congress with all his wonderful rhetoric. The people, aroused, held a voluntary convention of those not willing to reconstruct the State of the congressional plan in Macon on Dec. 5, 1867. Two hundred and thirty-five delegates were present, such men as Thomas Hardeman, Jr., Dan Hughes, David E. Butler, Phil Cook, Georgie A. Mercer, T. M. Furlow, P. W. Alexander, E. H. Pottle, J. J. Gresham and I. W. Avery were in the convention. They made vehement protest. Ben. Hill was president of the convention. They opposed the fourteenth amendment. No assent here to the demands of Congress. That Macon gathering was the natural and honorable rebellion of a virtuous people's best impulses against indignity and wrong. But the "Reconstruction" convention in Atlanta went on its way, regardless.

Gen. Meade issued orders for the election to be held April 20, 1868, to ratify the Constitution. This Constitution was the work of delegates many of whom were not entitled to vote; the whites largely refusing to go to the polls. This Constitution had many clauses to attract voters, large homesteads, and many things afterwards annulled as in conflict with the Constitution of the United States. Gen. Meade and his military board had full control of all election returns. It was a military affair all the way through. It was coercive reconstruction. Gen. Meade declared Bullock elected over John B. Gordon.

THE FIFTEENTH AMENDMENT

On July 4, 1868, the new General Assembly met under orders from Gen. Meade, and Bullock, the governor-elect, relying on the military edict, assumed the chair, and proceeded to organize the two bodies. How was it done? See "Why the Solid South," and I. W. Avery's history of Georgia. After organization Bullock informed the General Assembly that they were REQUIRED by act of Congress, June 25, 1868, to ratify the fourteenth amendment. Here was explicit demand from Congress. As now organized the General Assembly was Republican with a large majority. Bullock put through this requirement of Congress before the Assembly was purged of the negro members, as was done later, the purging of which caused trouble, and Bullock hied to Washington for increased power, as will be recounted in my next and also showing how he got Congress to force upon us the fifteenth amendment. Yet Mrs. Felton tells us that it was not Bullock and his pals, but our own folks who did it, even "electing that Legislature to accept the fourteenth and fifteenth amendments."

Everybody knows the Meade and Bulloch Legislature had nothing to do with the thirteenth amendment. The Jenkins Legislature disposed of that.

THE FIFTEENTH AMENDMENT

The reader will recall that in my last article I left Gov. Bullock announcing to his reconstruction Legislature that they were required by act of Congress, June 25, 1868, to ratify the fourteenth amendment, nolens volens.

What was the personnel of that Legislature?

I. W. Avery, in his history of Georgia, says: There is nothing like it in the annals of Georgia. Its deliberations and acts were a symbolical epitome of the variegated reconstruction that sired it, yet there was a good sprinkling of fine material. * * * Bullock himself called it in his inaugural address 'that patriotic body—the Union Republican party.'"

By military orders and by virtue of special congressional legislation the negroes were already exercising the privilege of suffrage, voting for the reconstruction convention and for the Bullock Legislature.

RECONSTRUCTION PERIOD IN GEORGIA

The State was now entitled to representation in Congress and Joshua Hill and H. V. M. Miller were elected Senators, but not admitted until 1871—kept out for some two years to await further “reconstruction” in store for us. It came about this way.

After the Legislature was fully organized, under the Meade supervision, twenty-seven negro members were expelled—declared ineligible, the Legislature claiming the right to decide on qualification of its members. None of the members, however, had taken the test oath.

In a few days the white candidates were seated in their stead. This was subsequent, however, to the vote on the ratification of the fourteenth amendment. Bullock got mad—said the Legislature had no right to judge of the qualifications of its own members. Bullock appealed to Meade, but Meade differed on that issue from Bullock, so Meade referred the question to Gen. Grant, who was in Colorado.

Telegram to Gen. Grant:

“Headquarters, Atlanta, July 18, 1868.—After examining the majority and minority reports carefully, I am not disposed to alter the position I have assumed that it is the prerogative of each house to judge of the facts and the law in cases of members of their houses. I do not feel competent to overcome the action of the Legislature which has conformed to the rules I laid down for their guidance. So far as I can ascertain it is personal, arising out of contest for the United States senatorship.

(Signed)

“GEORGE MEADE,
“Major-General.”

Gen. Grant replied:

“Denver, Col., July 21, 1868.—Gen. Meade’s dispatch received. His conclusions are approved.

“U. S. GRANT.”

The Legislature had now gone home. But when the General Assembly met in January, 1869, Gov. Bullock in his message stated he had advised Congress that the reconstruction acts had not been fully executed, and that members of the Legislature should be required to take the ironclad oath, and that members had no right to decide their own qualifications. He further demanded that persons returned as elected in April, 1868, should be reassembled, test oath be enforced, and the

THE FIFTEENTH AMENDMENT

colored members be restored, and the body thus organized should decide upon the eligibility of excluded members. The Legislature refused to do this.

Then Bullock went to Washington and put the case before Congress. Dan W. Voorhees defeated his scheme. But Bullock was not to be cast down. Thad Stevens was dead, but old Beast Butler was now chairman of the notorious committee of fifteen, and Bullock went to him. Butler had influence with Gen. Grant, now President. So in December, 1869, President Grant sent in a special message to Congress to reopen the case and accede to Bullock's demands. And on Dec. 22, 1869, President Grant reversed himself and approved "the act to promote the reconstruction of Georgia," which act was framed according to the plan outlined by Gov. Bullock, and the act had a requirement for the Legislature to ratify the fifteenth amendment. More reconstruction.

Dan W. Voorhees, the great Democrat of Indiana, made a great speech again to save Georgia this humiliation. He exposed Bullock's purpose with prophetic accuracy. It is one of the great speeches of the world, but he lost his election to the Senate because of his protest. Ben Butler and Bullock won. Gen. Grant stood with Meade in July, 1868. But the committee of fifteen and Bullock's appeal to reopen the case had Grant to change his policy toward the South. By this new act Bullock was authorized to summons all the persons elected to the General Assembly as were elected in April, 1868, under Meade's proclamation. This Bullock did, calling them back to Atlanta on Jan. 10, 1870. Conly was again elected president. The House was organized by A. L. Harris, of New England, he wide of girth known as "Fatty" Harris. His will was law. (See Solid South, page 132.) He had the original roll made by Gen. Meade called.

This new act, secured by Bullock, provided for military, and Gen. Meade, now obnoxious to Bullock and Ben Butler, was removed and Gen. Terry put in command. The eligibility, or ineligibility, of members was now determined by Gen. Terry and "Fatty" Harris and a military board of officers. The House then elected a Speaker and on the next day the names of those who

RECONSTRUCTION PERIOD IN GEORGIA

had been excluded were, by military orders, read to the House. The House rebelled.

But Gen. Terry threw his sword into the scale, and the pets of Bullock were seated. This act "to promote the reconstruction of Georgia," obtained by Bullock through the influence of Gen. Butler, Gen. Grant approving, REQUIRED the Legislature to ratify the fifteenth amendment, and Bullock and Terry had this done. Yet Mrs. Felton said Terry had no hand in it.

Of this transaction, Henry G. Turner, in "Why the Solid South," says:

"This accomplished, Bullock had triumphed; the State was delivered into his hands. The carpetbaggers, Southern Republicans, scalawags and negro members formed the majority of this Legislature. Pleasant relations existed between them and the Governor, for he had given them great power and golden opportunities. The taxpayers of Georgia had voted almost to a man against the persons who composed the majority of the Legislature, so odious in history. To these taxpayers this Legislature and those controlling it were objects of general execration. If they had not been upheld by military power they would have been carted about with placards on their backs, as were the men whom George III, appointed to the Legislature of Massachusetts." See "Solid South," page 124.

Whether wise or unwise our people resisted the fourteenth and fifteenth amendments, protested vehemently and as it were done let it be the deed of Congress and its agents, and not our willing deed.

As Alexander H. Stephens said in his War Between the States, page 665, "We cannot resist, or offer violent opposition, but in the name of all that is sacred, do not let us attempt to GOVERN OURSELVES—not as we see fit—but as our conquerors see fit. That would be their government at least, without any of its responsibility. By every consideration, then, we should not by giving these measures a formal approval, put ourselves in the position of being told, when the disastrous consequences follow, which will inevitably ensue, that it were **we**, ourselves, and not **they**, who brought such ruin upon the country."

It were **THEY**, and not **WE**, who did it. Yet one has

THE FREEDMEN'S BUREAU

arisen who asserts it were we, and not they, who did it. These amendments were the result of coercive "reconstruction." Our very "disfranchisement" acts stand as a living protest against them; may they stand forever.

THE FREEDMEN'S BUREAU

"It has always been a matter of dispute whether good or evil predominated in the work of this Freedmen's Bureau." The preponderating evil of it, the inexpressible infamy of it, as practiced, was never a matter of "dispute" by those acquainted with the workings of it.

Only those of the North regarded it as a matter of good, as affording the ways and means of alienating the negroes from their old owners and organizing them into a political body that the South might be Republicanized. This Freedmen's Bureau was the Pandora's box. Under its auspices were organized all the "Union Leagues," sometimes called "Loyal Leagues." They were for "evil and evil only." Oh, those leagues!

Why did Hilary A. Herbert publish his book, "Why the Solid South"? And why did he dedicate it "to the business men of the North"? Because the men of the North, not understanding the work of Reconstruction, the tools of which were the Freedmen's Bureaus, charged it upon us of the South that we were "solid" by reason of our hostility to the Union, and kept together as a white man's party from feelings of disloyalty.

Herbert published his book, "Why the Solid South"? to counteract this erroneous impression and to show that Reconstruction organized, through the loyal leagues of the Freedmen's Bureaus, the negroes into a solid Republican asset, and that the whites of the South became "solid" from the necessities of the case, for preservation of their civilization and redemption of their States.

The Freedmen's Bureau was the "constructive force" which "adjusted" affairs to the program of turning over the States, in the new order of things, to the absolute control of those whose object was to make the negro master in every State.

On page 11, "Why the Solid South"? Henry G. Turner says: "The Freedmen's Bureau interposed between farmers and their late slaves, and inaugurated

RECONSTRUCTION PERIOD IN GEORGIA

distrust and estrangements where they should have inculcated kindness and sympathy. Martial law and military tribunals displaced the old system of justice and jurisprudence."

On page 118 Mr. Turner again says: "On July 16, 1866, Congress passed an act extending the provisions of an act establishing these Freedmen's Bureau. * * *

* No limit was fixed for the number of their agents, and they were to be so far deemed in the military service of the United States as to be under military jurisdiction, and entitled to military protection of the government. * * * Every bureau agent was a court with military jurisdiction. Such a court was established in every county in the State. These special tribunals were officered by persons who could take the test oath, and became the nurseries from which aliens and strangers disseminated among the negroes hate and rancor towards the white citizens. And Congress on July 13, 1866, appropriated \$6,887,700 for the fiscal year for the support of these bureaus. * * * And the administration of the system inevitably provoked irritation between the races, tempted the agents to foment discords by which their continuance in office could be secured." Judge Turner is modest in his recital of the wrongs perpetrated on the whites, because, as he says, "the study of the details can afford no pleasure now to any American citizen."

It is not difficult to understand why these bureaus were things of evil, when it is remembered the part they had to play in their political work. They were instrumentalities of Congress and of the Thad Stevens noted committee of fifteen to Republicanize the South through the "scalawag," the carpetbagger and the negro, backed by the military commander of the state whose will was supreme. The methods employed by the bureaus were organization of negroes into "Loyal Leagues." No community was free from them. They were ubiquitous. They did their work well. They detached the negroes from the whites.

At the time of the organization of these leagues by the agents of the Freedmen's Bureau Thad Stevens was master of the situation. He determined to blot the South from the political map, confiscate the property of

THE FREEDMEN'S BUREAU

its citizens, give it to the negroes, deprive the whites of the ballot, conferring it upon their former slaves, and send the South's leaders into exile, and turn the States over to negro and carpetbag domination. Turn to the Congressional Record for 1867 (Globe) and read Thad Stevens' confiscation act, House bill No. 29, and his speech in its defense. Owing to the great speech of Dan W. Voorhees and his influence in the middle West, Stevens' confiscation and miscengenation scheme was lost by five votes—but only five. The balance of his scheme he carried. He, through the Freedmen's Bureaus, disarmed all the whites, which arms were distributed among the negroes, thus placing the "bayonet at the breast of every rebel," and placed the ballot in the hand of every negro. Through these Freedmen's Bureaus he organized the negroes into secret, oath bound leagues, the "Union Leagues," in which they were drilled in insolence and crime and taught to hate their former owners, over whom they were promised unlimited dominion. Through these bureaus the military satraps nailed to the door of every court house Stevens' proclamation of EQUALITY, and promised bayonets to enforce the intermarriage of whites and blacks. This led to riots. And as aids to the military the negroes were supplied with arms taken from the whites and drilled every night at the league rendezvous. Well do some of us recall those night meetings and those drills of the negroes, under the protection and guidance of the agents of these same Freedmen's bureaus.

Economic adjustment! Read Dan Voorhees' great speech on the "Plunder of Eleven States" and behold the "economic adjustment"! A company from England bought a large farm near Albany, Ga., to grow cotton, as it was so high. After faithful trial, they had to abandon the enterpise owing to the interference of the bureau at Albany with their contracts and their labor. Wherever a farmer had a drove of hogs, as soon as the negroes were armed, no more hogs on that farm. Report it to the bureau! If so, the fee system being in vogue, you were assessed all you could raise—and that was the "economic adjustment" which so pleased these New South apologists when they write history—the

RECONSTRUCTION PERIOD IN GEORGIA

books mostly to be sold North. "Economic adjustment"! What graft was practiced upon the white people!

Bullock went to Washington, had more power given him, and on return he and the Legislature got on excellent terms. Bullock had triumphed. The persons who composed the majority of this Legislature if they had not been upheld by military power, they, says Henry Turner, might have been carted about with placards on their backs, as were the men George III appointed to the Legislature of Massachusetts.

This Legislature followed the "economic adjustment" practiced by the Freedmen's Bureaus. Commencing with 1855 and ending in 1862, there was expended for pay of members and officers for all of Georgia's Legislatures \$866,385. During the two years under Bullock there was expended for members and officers \$979,000. This one Legislature cost \$112,669 more than the Legislatures of the eight years previous in the single matter of its own expenses. The clerk hire for the Legislature before the war did not average \$10,000 per annum. That item alone reached \$125,000 in the Bullock Legislature. There was one clerk for every two Legislators! Henry Turner closes his articles on Reconstruction of Georgia in these words:

"And it may be truthfully said that Reconstruction accomplished not one useful result, and left behind it not one pleasant recollection."

Dan W. Voorhees in his "Plunder of Eleven States" says "Pirates have been known to land upon beautiful islands of the sea, and, with cutlass, dirk and pistol, proclaim a government, pillage and murder their inhabitant, and from the shelter of their harbors sally forth on all unarmed commerce that the winds and the waves brought near them. Bandits have been known to rule over the secluded wilds and fastness of mountain ranges, and with bloody hands extort enormous ransoms from their prisoners, but the pirate and the bandit have not been worse or blacker in their spheres than the Republican Legislature (Bullock's) and the Republican Governor, of whom I am speaking, were in theirs."

THADDEUS STEVENS

Thad Stevens' great cry was "equality." No distinc-

THADDEUS STEVENS

tion, political or social, between the races. James M. Scovil, a close friend of Stevens, in his biography relates Thad Stevens' account of how the Reconstruction measures were put through Congress.

John Sherman, the Senator from Ohio, and a brother of Gen. Sherman, was for Lincoln's plan of restoration, and his bill passed the Senate, and should have passed the House. Then there would have been no Reconstruction and plunder of the eleven Southern States.

Scovil in his biography quotes Stevens: "Mr. Stevens came to me and said: "The John Sherman bill, as it is called, had passed the Senate after many days and nights of stubborn contest. Charles Sumner (Senator) came to consult me about defeating the Sherman bill when it came to the House. It was late in the winter of 1866. I wanted the bill beaten as badly as Sumner. I promised to beat it. The Senate was for it, hailing it as a measure of restoration and pacification. Sentiment was for the bill, and to defeat it in the House was a job. But I went to Sawyer, of Wisconsin, a rich lumberman and skilled in all the wiles of legislation, and we began to filibuster with Democrats, promising them SOMETHING BETTER than the Sherman bill after the 4th of March. They took the bait like so many gudgeons, and with the Sumner contingent in the House, we defeated John Sherman's measure. "Sunset" Cox, a young and brilliant Democrat, accepted my promise in all good faith. I was playing for time. Then when recess came we went before the people, which were more radical than Congress. Our best speakers were put on the stump. And when Congress met I was safe. "The negro was given the ballot.' "

Dan W. Voorhees tells that in this recess Thad Stevens, as chairman of the Reconstruction committee, instructed the Freedmen's bureaus in the South to get up "outrages" between whites and blacks, and put the "outrage mill" at full work, get up riots and disturbances and report them to him, and have negroes to march from village to village, the more disorder the better. The passage of the Reconstruction measures depended on these reports. It was necessary to make Congress believe the military was necessary to protect the freedmen.

RECONSTRUCTION PERIOD IN GEORGIA

So when Congress convened Stevens had such reports as he wanted in great abundance. He showed them to Gen. Grant, who, being deceived, deserted the Sherman bill and espoused Stevens' plan. The middle West had been with Dan W. Voorhees, who had great influence with them. But when Stevens unbundled his "reports," signed by army officers, Voorhees could no longer stem the tide. The die was cast. The South must suffer Reconstruction. These "reports" demanded military commanders and ballot for the negroes. "My bill for division of the South will insure the permanent ascendancy of the Republican party in the South," said Stevens.

"Do you avow the party purposes?" asked Voorhees.

"Yes, I do. If negro suffrage is excluded then every Southern State is sure to send a rebel electoral vote. That we will not have."

These "reports" which Stevens had manufactured for his purposes were a cruel deception upon his own party. They deceived Gen. Grant, who was for the Sherman bill. Old Thad, the "Stoneman" of the play, would pat his club foot and boast of how he deceived his own party and "chuckled" over it with as much satisfaction as did his negro Lynch when he had the noble Camerons in his power, or as fiendishly as did his mulatto wench chuckle when the negro Legislature passed the law for intermarriages. She expected old Thad to solemnize their "romance" at the altar of Hymen. But he did not.

The only fiction in the "Birth of a Nation" is where Dixon represented old Thad (Stoneman) as married and having two children. This was "poetic license," so to speak, to humanize Thad Stevens so he could be a possible figure in fiction. To have him come South and inaugurate his measures in person and to have two children whose conduct stamped his course as unnatural and against the promptings of the white race, was a conception that better illustrated the purpose of the author—to show that all the plans of Stevens to put the black South on top over the white South, was the dream of an abolition fanatic and against nature.

Stevens had no white family to interest him while at home, so he beguiled himself with sport. Scovil says: "Stevens believed that the king must be amused, and that he was king. His favorite amusement was to spend

THADDEUS STEVENS

his evenings at Hall & Pemberton's faro bank on Pennsylvania avenue, though he was never a heavy player."

It is strange how dissolute politicians come to have so much influence. Stevens was an able man and knew how to control men. But his reign was that of the demagogue. He certainly pressed upon the brow of the South a crown of thorns. No Southern home escaped the crucifixion and wrongs of Reconstruction. The second invasion of the South was far more disastrous than the first. It is a foul blot on the national honor. And yet these same ill-used Southern people are now the nation's best asset. No hyphenated citizens here. Even Mr. Bryan cannot beguile them into disloyalty.

Perhaps for a clearer conception of the part Stevens played, now boss of Congress, it should be added that the Reconstruction acts were passed in 1867 by which every State in the South was subordinated to military government.

Prior to this, in March, 1866, Congress passed concurrent resolutions that no Senator or Representative should be admitted to Congress from any of the eleven States until Congress should declare such States entitled to recognition. Thad Stevens here killed Lincoln's plan.

Then on July 16, 1866, Congress passed an act extending the provisions of the Freedmen's bureau. No limit to the number of agents to be employed. Military jurisdiction was conferred on every bureau, and every county in Georgia had its bureau with its military court.

Collier's Weekly years ago said: "Thad Stevens was a fanatic, a misanthrope, embittered by physical deformity, a born revolutionist, endowed with the brazen audacity of the devil, and he became in a moment the unscrupulous master of a crazed nation. Twenty-eight years before this crisis he had become infatuated with his mulatto woman whom he had separated from her husband. This yellow vampire fattened on him during his public career, amassed a fortune in real estate in Washington, wrecked his great ambition to be President, and made him a social pariah."

Strange is the truth of history.



KUKLUX KLAN

(From Athens Banner.)

The Kuklux Klan was a great law and order league of mounted night cavalrymen called into action by the intolerable condition of a reign of terror under the negro rule in the South at the close of the War between the States.

"Its rise was due to the mind of no leader. It was an accident. A group of boys at Pulaski, Tenn., organized it first as a local fraternity. They found a name in the Greek word 'Kuklos', a band or circle, and to this they added clan, and then split the germ word into two weird monosyllables, spelling the clan with a K to heighten the appeal to the superstitious, and of the awe-inspiring Kuklux Klan.

"In 1867 a secret convention of peace loving, God fearing, patriotic Southerners met in Nashville and organized this society into 'The Invisible Empire', adopted a ritual and ajourned.

"Mr. Laps D. McCord, of Tennessee, was the printer in the office of the Pulaski Citizen who set the type, printed and stitched the complete edition of the ritual of the order. He never knew until years after the author of the manuscript or from whose hands he received it. He got one day an anonymous letter telling him to remove the middle brick in the space beneath a certain window in his printing office. He did so and found that the brick in the center of the wall had been taken out and in its place lay a roll of manuscript containing the ritual of the 'Invisible Empire.' It was merely marked with three stars. He was instructed to print and bind in the night and on a certain date between the hours of 1 and 2 a. m., to place the bundle outside the door. He did as ordered and unseen hands bore them away in the darkness.

"The only two copies of this ritual now known to exist are to be found in the archives of the state of Tennessee. Its author it Gen. George W. Gordon, of Memphis.

During the Reconstruction Days in the South it became an absolute necessity to have an organization such as the Kuklux Klan to protect Southern firesides. Confederate soldiers organized it and they were men of the

KUKLUX KLAN

best blood in the land. When they returned to their desolated homes after the surrender they met slave confiscation and reconstruction under negro rule. Submit to it? No! They were forced to keep the freed negro in subjection until he could be from under the influences of the scalawags and carpetbaggers. At first there was only the thought of social pleasure and recreation in the order, but discovering that their queer costumes and their weird and mysterious doings were affecting the minds of ignorant and vicious and unprincipled negroes and whites they turned their efforts into a means of defense as was needed in the South. At this time Confederate soldiers were denied the right of the ballot—negroes held the offices—they were the legislators and magistrates. White men were at the mercy of negro rulers. The very foundation of southern civilization was threatened, and it was the genius and the greatness of Gen. Nathan Bedford Forrest, who devised this means of righting matters. He was the Grand Wizard of the Invisible Empire, assisted by the Grand Dragon, the Grand Titan, the Grand Giant, the Grand Cyclops, and other Genii. There were Hydras, Furies, Goblins, Night Hawks, and all sorts of Ghouls. They dressed in pure white, rode white horses whose feet were padded. They could, by some sort of apparatus, rise in the saddle to the height of sixteen feet or more. They could, by some sort of arrangement, drink seven buckets of water without stopping and calmly remark: "I have had no water since I was killed at the Battle of Manassas." The poor frightened negro, made to dip up the water from the stream in which the horseman was standing, would at this run in terror from what he supposed was a real ghost.

If white or black in any community were giving any trouble he would find written on his door in letters of blood the mysterious K. K. K., which all knew meant leave the country at once or death will follow. If they left all was well, if they did not woe betid ethem.

Many, many dreadful things were done by fake Ku-klux Klan, and their work was branded as oftentimes criminal and cruel, but the real work of the real organization were necessities that the times demanded, and it should not be condemned.

CONCLUSION.

Here the record ends, amid the gloom and desolation of defeat—a gloom that was to be followed ere long by the still blacker darkness of Reconstruction. Yet, I would not have the reader draw from its pages a message of despair, but of hope and courage under difficulties; for disaster cheerfully borne and honorably overcome, is not a tragedy, but a triumph. And this, the most glorious of all conquests, belongs to the South. Never in all history, has any people recovered itself so completely from calamity so overwhelming. By the abolition of slavery alone four thousand millions worth of property were wiped out of existence. As many millions more went up in smoke and ruin of war; while to count in money the cost of the precious lives that were sacrificed, would be, I will not say an impossibility, but a desecration.

I do not recall these things in a spirit of bitterness or repining, but with a feeling of just pride that I belong to a race which has shown itself capable of rising superior to such conditions. We, on this side of the line, have long since forgiven the war and its inevitable hardships. We challenge the fight, and if we got more of it in the end than we liked, there was nothing for it but to stand up like men and take our medicine without whimpering. It was the hand that struck us after we were down that bore harvest; yet even its iron weight was not enough to break the spirit of a people in whom the Anglo-Saxon blood of our fathers still flows uncontaminated; and when the insatiable crew of the carpet-baggers fell upon us to devour the last meager remnants left us by the spoilation of war, they were met by the ghostly bands of "The Invisible Empire," who through secret vigilance and masterful strategy saved the civilization they were forbidden to defend by open force.

To conquer fate is a greater victory than to conquer in battle, and to conquer under such handicaps as were imposed on the South is more than a victory; it is a triumph. Forced against our will, and against the simplest biological and ethnological laws, into an unnatural political marriage that has brought forth as its monstrous offspring a race problem in comparison with which the Cretan Minotaur was a suckling calf; robbed

CONCLUSION

of the last pitiful resource the destitution of war had left us, by a prohibitory tax on cotton, our sole commercial product; discriminated against for half a century by a predatory tariff that mulcts us at every turn, from the cradle to the grave; giving millions out of our poverty to educate the negro, and contributing millions more to reward the patriotism of our conquerors, whose imperishable multitudes as revealed by the pension rolls, make the four-year resistance of our thin gray bands one of the miracles of history; yet, in spite of all this, and in spite of the fact that the path of our progress has been a thorny one, marked by many an unwritten tragedy of those who went down in the struggle, to old, or too deeply rooted in the past to adapt themselves to new conditions, we have, as a people, come up out of the depths stronger and wiser for our battle with adversity, and the land we love has lifted herself from the Valley of Humiliation to a pinnacle of prosperity that is the wonder of more favored sections.

And so, after all, our tale of disaster is but the prelude to a triumph in which one may justly glory without being accused of vainglory. It is good to feel that you belong to a people that you have a right to be proud of; it is good to feel coursing in your veins the blood of a race that has left its impress on the civilization of the world wherever the Anglo-Saxon has set his foot. And to us, who bore the storm and stress and the tragedy of those dark days, it is good to remember that if the sun which set in blood and ashes over the hills of Appomattox has risen again in splendor on the smiling prospect of a New South, it is because the foundations of its success were laid in the courage and steadfastness and hopefulness of a generation who in the darkest days of disaster, did not despair of their country.

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