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THE FREEDMEN: 1865-1875

Vikki Tabachnik

A Thesis

in

The Department

of

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ABSTRACT

THE FREEDMEN: 1865-1875

by Vikki Tabachnik

This study focuses on the question of the black experience during the Reconstruction era, as it has been presented in both the slave-narrative collection of the Federal Writer's Project (1936-1938) and the most widely-read accounts of white contemporary observers, travellers, journalists and government officials. Special attention has been given to the question of popular ideology and the nature of the freedmen's perceptions and aspirations during the era following the Civil War.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I wish to express my thanks to Professor Fred Bode for his guidance and assistance during the preparation of this study.

I would also like to thank both my husband, George and my parents for all their patience, understanding and encouragement.

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... I am invisible, understand, simply because people refuse to see me. Like the bodiless heads you see sometimes in circus sideshows, it is as though I have been surrounded by mirrors of hard, distorted glass. When they approach me they see only my surroundings, themselves, or figments of their imagination -- indeed, everything and anything but me ....

Ralph Ellison, The Invisible Man

INTRODUCTION

> Those who sought the truth were in general short of data. Those who could get at the facts in any full sense were too filled with partisan purpose.
>
> Ulrich B. Phillips, American Negro Slavery

"Partisan purpose" aside, the accurate portrayal of the history of the illiterate masses has always posed a formidable, and in many cases, insurmountable obstacle for the social historian. The lack of primary sources written by the subjects themselves has forced the historian to rely either on the testimony of other observers, found in diaries, letters, and travellers' accounts, or on "witnesses in spite of themselves,"[1] such as census returns, wills, newspaper ads and probate records. Although their value to the student is beyond question, they may prove insufficient in themselves to provide definitive insight into the thoughts and perceptions of the group under study. For the student of the black experience during Reconstruction, one of the major sources employed to date, has been the accounts of contemporary observers, such as government officials, journalists, and travellers.[2] This material, however, is limited severely in two respects. First, it conforms, almost invariably, to the distinct regional biases, prejudices and personal convictions of its respective authors. The historian consequently has been confronted by two mutually opposing and contradictory portrayals of southern society in the 1860's. In turn,

selection between the two has depended to a large extent, on the particular biases of the individual historian. The problem is clearly illustrated by the use, in twentieth century historiography of two representatives from the opposing viewpoints: Carl Schurz's Report on the Condition of the South (1865) and James S. Pike's The Prostrate State: South Carolina Under Negro Government (1874). Pike was a Republican and newspaperman from the North who visited South Carolina in 1873. As many other nineteenth century Americans, Pike fused a strong anti-slavery position with an extreme and overt racism. His highly critical account of black corruption during Reconstruction was to win the favor of William A. Dunning and his followers. The latter considered Pike's study to be a "highly valuable source for the period,"[4] whereas Schurz's Report on the Condition of the South failed to impress them at all.[5] Schurz was a recent immigrant to the United States. His active participation in the abortive 1848 revolution in Germany forced him to seek refuge in America, where he soon rose to prominence in the ranks of the Republican Party. Immediately following the war, he was commissioned by Andrew Johnson to report on the affairs in the south. The radical nature of Schurz's report, however, soon invoked controversy among opposing Republican factions, and his study has continued either to impress or outrage succeeding generations of historians. Howard K. Beale, as Dunning before him, chose to ignore it altogether, and

dismissed Schurz as yet another "collector of Radical propaganda."[6] Revisionist historians, on the other hand, such as W. E. B. Dubois and Kenneth Stampp, were far more receptive to its contents, and praised Schurz for his remarkable perception, reliability and truth.[7] It was now Pike's turn to be dismissed as "propaganda."[8]

A second difficulty with all of the travellers' accounts concerns the material itself. Most of their information was based upon the testimony of Northern and Southern whites. Rarely did the authors, regardless of their political biases, attempt to speak with the freedmen themselves. As such, there is very little information, recording in the freedmen's own words, their opinions and aspirations. As George P. Rawick notes:

> While slavery has left its indelible mark on American life, the slaves themselves have rarely been heard telling their own stories. The masters not only ruled the past in fact, they now rule its written history. Like the rest of the population which did not lead 'notable' lives, the slaves appear usually only as faceless and nameless people murmuring and mumbling offstage.[9]

Although referring to the ante-bellum period, Rawick's observation is equally applicable to the Reconstruction era.

In recent years, an additional source, which might solve various problems left unanswered by the traditional source material, has become widely available to the student of Reconstruction. Rawick's <u>The American Slave</u> is a nineteen volume collection of the narratives of former slaves. Volumes II through XVII were prepared by the Federal

Writer's Project of the Works Projects Administration, between 1936 and 1938, under the directorship of John A. Lomax.[10] The remaining three volumes include two studies begun in 1929 at Fisk and Southern Universities,[11] and an introductory volume by Rawick on the autonomous slave culture, entitled From Sundown to Sunup: The Making of the Black Community. The American Slave contains almost 10,000 type-written pages and includes 2,000 interviews with ex-slaves.[12] These interviews were conducted in seventeen states and they represent approximately 2% of the total American ex-slave population alive in 1937.[13] Until Rawick's publication, they were to be found, on microfilm, in the Rare Books Division of the Library of Congress.[14] The editor has left all interviews exactly as recorded, including all editorial remarks.[15] Since approximately half of the narratives do not end with the dissolution of the slave-regime, they are a valuable source for the Reconstruction era as well.

The W. P. A. manuscripts[16] offer a unique opportunity to obtain information on the freedmen's perceptions, hopes, and opinions during the era following the Civil War. They contain, however, numerous weaknesses that cannot be ignored. Their major fault, as well as their greatest strength, is related to the nature of oral history itself, for it usually lacks precision, in terms of specific dates, chronology, etc. The reader, therefore, is often unsure of the exact time

period to which the subject was referring. For example, most freedmen eventually left the plantation where they had resided as slaves. The problem arises in deciphering from the narratives precisely when they did leave. Similar problems arise with every other question under study. It is also difficult to get much information on the Freedmen's Bureau, since many of those interviewed did not seem to differentiate clearly between Bureau officials and the regular northern army.

Statistical inquiry as well might pose difficulties for the student. Not all subjects were asked the same questions and many of the narratives were later edited by the interviewers. It is, therefore, equally difficult to draw comparisons between the various observations made by the freedmen. For example, some persons spoke of ~~their~~ definition of freedom, while others commented on the freedmen's expectations during Reconstruction. Since the informants are different, it is practically impossible to draw analogies between the two observations. Finally, no precise methodology was used in the selection of candidates. As Rawick notes:

> It would be unwise to make statistically precise calculations about the material. The method of selection of the ex-slaves interviewed was by pure happenstance, which not only does not assure randomness, but introduces self-selection as a factor. It is clear from the interviews themselves that very often the ex-slaves being interviewed were either volunteers or were known previously by the interviewer....

> If we carefully avoid drawing conclusions that demand precision from these materials, they can be very useful.[17]

Most of the slave-interviews, regardless of the state where the subject resided, seem to reveal similar experiences. This assumption, however, may be related more to the inadequacies of the Manuscripts themselves, than to actual fact. A significant imbalance exists between the division of states. Three-and-a-half volumes are devoted to Arkansas, two for South Carolina, two for North Carolina, two for Georgia and two for Texas, while Alabama, Indiana, Oklahoma, Mississippi, Kansas, Kentucky, Maryland, Ohio, Virginia, Tennessee and Missouri are crammed into the remaining $3\frac{1}{2}$ volumes. Louisianna is not represented at all, and volumes 18 and 19 do not even mention the state where each interview was conducted.

Further problems arise both with the informants and the interviewers themselves. Although there were a few black interviewers, the majority were local whites, and the latter frequently displayed a condescending and bigoted attitude toward their subjects.[18] Leading questions were often employed also.[19] Some ex-slaves may have been either intimidated by their white interviewers, or less than candid in their narratives.[20] As one person noted:

> Lots of old slaves closes the door before they tell the truth about their days of slavery. When the door is open, they tell how kind their masters was and how rosy it all was. You can't blame them for this, because they had plenty of early discipline,

making them cautious about saying anything uncomplimentary about their masters.[21]

Another person refused to be interviewed until assurances were given that reprisals would not be taken.[22] A third person stated, at first, that she had never been whipped.

> (Here the daughter, a graduate of Cornell University, who was in the room listening came forward. 'Open your shirt, mammy, and let the lady judge for herself'. The old lady's eyes flashed as she sat bolt upright. She seemed ashamed, but the daughter took the shirt off, exposing the back and shoulders which were marked as though branded with a plaited cowhide whip. There was no doubt of it at all). 'I wuz whipped public', she said tonelessly, 'for breaking dishes an' bein' slow'.[23]

Finally, the age of the subjects interviewed presents additional problems for the researcher. Sixteen percent of those interviewed were less than 5 years old at the time of emancipation and 27% were between six and eleven years of age in 1865.[24] Their youth may have prevented them from forming clear and mature judgements of the Reconstruction era. On the other hand, by 1936 their elderly age made precise recollection difficult for others.

Inept attempts at reproducing black dialect makes the W. P. A. Manuscripts extremely difficult to read. South Carolina (Vols. 2 and 3), Alabama (Vol. 6) and Mississippi (Vol. 7) are the worst offenders in this regard. Florida (Vol. 17) which employed many black interviewers, are an excellent source of information and well-written, but the interviewers rewrote everything said by the ex-slaves. As such, it is no longer an oral history, recorded in the

freedmen's own words. In terms of sheer quantity, Arkansas (Vols. 8-11) are the best. Although North Carolina (Vols. 14 and 15) interviewed fewer persons, the individual narratives are more detailed, and better insight from them can be gained. The narratives from North Carolina were also recorded in the subject's own words and dialect spelling was usually not employed. The brief and incomplete nature of Volume 16 (Kansas, Kentucky, Maryland, Ohio, Virginia and Tennessee narratives) leaves much to be desired. Volume 18 devotes most of its attention to the ante-bellum period, rather than Reconstruction, and Volume 19 is concerned with the study of the Black religious experience, particularly conversion. Volumes 18 and 19, however, do not provide the ages, names, or location of their informants.

Despite all the faults, weaknesses and omissions of the W. P. A. Manuscripts, they constitute a vital source for our knowledge of the black experience during both slavery and Reconstruction. As B. A. Botkin, chief editor of the Writers' Unit of the Library of Congress Project, noted:

> These narratives belong to folk history -- history recovered from the memories and lips of the participants or eye-witnesses, who mingle group with individual experience and both with observation, hearsay and tradition. Whether the narratives relate what they actually saw and thought and felt, what they imagine, or what they have thought and felt about slavery, since, now we know why they thought and felt as they did. To the white myth of slavery must be added the slaves' own folklore, and folk-say of history .... The narratives belong also to folk literature. Rich not only in folk songs, folk tales, and folk speech but also in folk

> humour and poetry, crude or skillful dialect, uneven in tone and treatment, they constantly reward one with earthy imagery, salty phrase and sensitive detail .... Beneath all the surface contradictions and exaggerations, the fantasy and flattery, they possess an essential truth and humanity which surpasses as its supplements history and literature.[25]

Rawick's recent publication of the Manuscripts has enabled historians, such as Eugene D. Genovese in Roll, Jordan, Roll: The World the Slaves Made (1972) and Herbert G. Gutman's new study, The Black Family in Slavery and Freedom: 1750-1925 (1976), to draw extensively upon them. As yet, however, no full explication of the Manuscripts' contents has been attempted. This essay has two objectives. The first is to present a complete and comprehensive report on all of the slave narratives that pertain to the Reconstruction era, and at this point a word should be said about the methodology employed in this essay. In the case of each generalization made (i.e., freedmen who left their plantations after the war), every narrative that supports a particular statement has been cited. If one person has been quoted, his name, date and birth, and the state where he resided during Reconstruction, will also be mentioned in the footnotes. The second intent of this essay is to provide a comparison between two sources -- the W. P. A. Manuscripts and the most widely-read travellers' accounts.

CHAPTER I

WAR AND FREEDOM

> Dat Wedensday in November, w'en gun first shoot to Bay Point, I t'ought it been t'under rolling, but dere ain't no cloud. My mother say, 'Son, dat ain't no t'under, dat's Yankees come to gib you Freedom.[1]
>
> (A slave child from South Carolina)

From the outset, many slaves had begun to realize that their fate was contingent, in some way, upon the outcome of the war. "Cose," one person stated, the slaves "knew what the fightin' was about, but they didn't dare say anything."[2] On many plantations slave-labour became even less efficient than usual, and a general restlessness hung over much of the South. Mrs. Betty Guwnn of Kentucky recalled, "there was great excitement among us slaves. We were watched sharply, especially soldier timber for either army."[3] Some of the W. P. A. slave-narratives reported that it was not uncommon for planters to attempt the suppression of all war news and information.[4] Communication between plantations was often arrested completely. "The colored men that had wives at other places, they wouldn't let them go to visit them at all; they said they'd get to talking and they threatened to shoot any who tried to go."[5] Others attempted to frighten their slaves with tales of Yankee atrocities.[6] Yet, despite these efforts, news did manage often to filter down to the slave-quarters.[7] Benjamin Russell of South Carolina described the

methods of communication employed by the slaves:

> How did we get news? Many plantations were strict about this, but the greater the precautions, the alerter became the slaves, the wider they opened their ears and the more eager they became for outside information. The sources were: Girls who waited on the tables; the ladies' maids and drivers. They would pick up everything they heard and pass it on to the other slaves.[8]

Many slaves concealed their knowledge from their owners; some told of meeting together, in secret, to pray for a northern victory.[9]

> The attitude of the slaves toward freedom varied and as they were not allowed to discuss it, their hope was veiled in such expressions as 'the Lord will provide'.[10] The war was begun and there were stories of fights and freedom. The news went from plantation to plantation, and while the slaves acted normal, and some even more polite than usual, they prayed for freedom.[11]

Some persons reported also that slave-abuse tended to increase as the Union Army approached their vicinity; whippings became more frequent, rations were cut drastically, and the elderly and sick were neglected, "till dey died or was killed by beatin' ...."[12]

During the course of the war, the vast majority of slaves remained on their plantations and waited patiently to see the outcome of events. "Some of us wanted to join up with the army, but we didn't know who was goin' to win and didn't take no chances."[13] A significant number, however, chose to risk all hazards and ran away to Union lines.[14] As a slave from Louisiana explained:

> I met many runaway slaves. Some was trying to get North and fight for de freeing of they people; others was jes' runnin' 'way 'cause dey could: Many of dem didn't had

> no idea where dey was goin' and some told of havin' good masters. But one and all dey had a good strong notion ter see what it was like to own your own body.[15]

Women were also among the runaways to Yankee camps; they contributed to the war effort by cooking and sewing for the army.[16] Some recalled how the slaves would desert en masse, following the arrival of Northern troops on their plantation.[17] The perils confronting the black soldier were often greater than those of his white counterparts. In one case, black Union soldiers were decapitated when captured by the Confederate Army. Their heads were placed along the roadside as a warning to others.[18] A few mentioned also that they had run into Wheeler's Cavalry; the latter threatened to kill any slave who spoke openly of the desire to be free.[19]

Both to offset the loss of their slaves and to escape from approaching Yankees, the planters embarked upon a deliberate policy of "refugeeing" to the interior as many able-bodied hands as possible. Apparently this procedure was widespread since a significant number told of being transported further South, particularly to Texas.[20] The W. P. A. Manuscripts relate also one case of an abortive, and badly planned, conspiracy for slave-revolt in North Carolina, which was betrayed ultimately by one of the slaves.[21] According to another person, informants were an integral part of the slave-system:

> They taught us to be against one another and no matter where you would go you would always find one that would be tattling .... They would be trying to make it soft for themselves.[22]

The arrival of Yankee troops evinced often a mixed reaction from the slave population. On some plantations, their approach was greeted with undisguised joy.[23] "Us looked fer de Yankees on dat place, like us looked fer de Savior and de host of angels at de second coming,"[24] while on others, the Union Army was met with open hostility and contempt. As two people stated:

> I 'members de paddy-rollers, Ku-Klux and de Yankees. Niggers dreaded all three.[25]
> When de Yankees come, what did they do? They did things they ought not to have done and dey left undone de things they ought to have done. Yes, dat jist 'bout tells it.[26]

Sometimes their arrival unleashed a wild celebration among the slaves. According to two persons from North Carolina:

> I guess we musta celebrated 'mancipation about twelve times in Hornett County. Everytime a bunch of northern sojirs would come through they would tell us we was free and we'd begin celebration.[27]
> The slaves were whooping and laughing and acting like they were crazy. The Yankee sojirs were shaking hands with the Negroes .... The Negroes and the Yankees were cooking and eating together. The Yankees told them to come on and join them, they were free.[28]

Some Georgia interviews recalled how the treatment accorded the master by the Army depended on whether he had been judged, in a favorable light, by his slaves.[29]

There were, however, numerous accounts of slaves who both distrusted and hated the Yankees.[30] Of those who stated that they disliked the Union Army, some feared that the northern soldiers meant to harm them, "we's skeered of dem .... De white folks said de Yankees would kill us,"[31] but the overwhelming majority were disgusted by the soldiers'

thefts and destruction. Slave cabins were ransacked and their meagre possessions stolen. "The Yankees that I 'members was not gentlefolks,"[32] was the terse comment of Adeline Jackson from South Carolina. Two others noted also that it was common for Yankees to

> stay a day or two and when dey had 'stroyed everything and scared us all half to death, dey went on somewheres else.[33]
> Dey were an army dat seemed more concerned 'bout stealin' den dey were 'bout de Holy War fer de liberation of de poor African slave people.[34]

Others were simply afraid of both armies, for the black slave was quite often the object of both Northern and Southern hatreds. As one person explained: "One night there'd be a gang of Secesh, and the next one, there'd come along a gang of Yankees. Pa was 'fraid of both of them. Secesh said they'd kill him if he left his white folks, Yankees said they'd kill him if he didn't leave 'em."[35] Yet even those who detested the Union Army, tended to differentiate between the soldiers and Lincoln himself. The latter was revered almost universally for the Emancipation Proclamation.[36] "Lincoln died more Christlike den any other man dat ever lived,"[37] was a typical remark. Finally, only a handful of those interviewed identified genuinely with the Southern cause and made personal sacrifices on their owner's behalf.[38]

For the slave, freedom had always been a religious, utopian ideal that was associated with heavenly release. Slave religion and songs expressed continually a longing for freedom and malcontent with their present lot. It is hardly surprising, therefore, that a few of the narratives compared Lincoln to the biblical story of Moses and the Egyptians.[39] Freedom, however, held a variety of meanings for the slave population; of the 79 people who offered their personal definition of freedom to the Federal Writers' Project, three main categories may be discerned. About half of those interviewed equated freedom with release. They wanted to be free of all the abuses of slavery: excessive, coerced labour and especially the whip,[40] that "would cut the blood out of you with every lick,"[41] and "tear your back all to pieces."[42] As Mrs. Katie Rowe of Arkansas noted:

> No bless God, I ain't never seen no more black boys bleeding all up and down de back under a cat o' nine tails, and I never go by no cabin and hear no poor nigger groaning, all wrapped up in a lardy sheet no more.[43]

Others stated that freedom meant an end to forced marriages, the breeding of human beings, and rape.[44] One woman from Texas remembered how:

> Dey thinks nothin' on de plantation 'bout de feelin's of de women and dere ain't no 'spect fer dem. De overseer and white mens took 'vantage of de women like dey wants to. De women better not make no fuss 'bout sich. If she do, it am de whippin' for her. I sho' thanks de Lawd surrender done come befo' I's old enough to have to stand for sich. Yes, sar, surrender saves dis nigger from sich.[45]

"I heard 'em say: 'Nigger ain't no more'n a horse or cow," added Robert Baar of Arkansas. "But they got out from under that now. The world is growing more civilized."[46]

Some had a more positive definition of freedom. It was regarded as the opportunity to exert self-determination in all spheres of life, and it is noteworthy that quite a few persons emphasized particularly both religious autonomy and the right to an education.[47] Mrs. Candus Richardson of Mississippi told her interviewer that she was

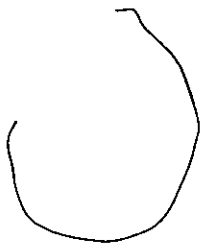
> so happy to know that I have lived to see the day when you young people can serve God without slipping around to serve him like we old folks had to. You see that pencil you have in your hand there, why that would cost me my life if Old Mars' Jim would see me with a pencil in my hand.[48]

Others associated freedom with economic independence and an improvement in their living standard.[49] Felix Haywood of Texas, for example, echoing northern beliefs in free labour and social mobility, stated:

> We knowed freedom was on us, but we didn't know what was to come with it. We thought we was goin' to get rich like the white folks. We thought we was going to be richer than the white folks, 'cause we was stronger and knowed how to work, and the white folks didn't and they didn't have us to work fer them any more. But it didn't turn out that way. We soon found out that freedom could make folks proud but it didn't make em rich.[50]

A few persons admitted, however, that as slaves, they had been confused by the whole question.[51] They earnestly desired, but at the same time, feared emancipation. John Lucas of Mississippi explained how the slaves

had all different ways o' thinkin' 'bout it. Mos'ly though dey was jus' lak me, dey didn't know jus' zackly what it meant. It was jus' somp'n dat de white folks an' slaves all de time talk 'bout. Dat's all. Folks dat ain' never been free doan' rightly know de <u>feel</u> of bein' free. Dey don' know de meanin' of it.[52]



CHAPTER II

THE FIRST YEAR OF FREEDOM

Most blacks were released from slavery only with the final collapse of the Southern Army in 1865. The news of emancipation was usually announced by the master at the plantation manor:

> The Master he says we all free, but it don't mean we is white. And it don't mean we is equal. Just equal to work and earn our own living and not depend on him for no more meats and clothes.[1]

Yet, despite these obvious limitations, the slaves would rejoice wildly at first.[2] "When freedom come folks left home, out in the street, crying, praying, singing, shouting and knocking down everything."[3] Their celebration, however, was often short-lived. As two people explained:

> Den come de calm. It was sad then. So many folks dead, things tore up and nowhere to go and nothing to eat, nothing to do .... Times got hard.[4]
> Den we got to wonderin' bout what good it did us. It didn't feel no different, we all loved our master and missus an' stayed on wid 'em jes' lak nothin' had happened.[5]

The first decision confronting the emancipated slave was whether or not to leave the plantation. It is well known that many of the freedmen chose to remain;[6] some of the travellers' accounts, however, attributed this choice solely to the freedmen's affection for their former owners. Whitlaw Reid's After the War, for example, stated that the freedmen "knew they were perfectly free to go away if they

wished ... but they looked on 'May Lawn' as their home .... There at least, the old kindness said to have existed between master and slave was genuine."[7] The W. P. A. Manuscripts reported, on the other hand, that this was not the only determining factor in the freedmen's decision. Of those who voiced their reasons for staying, half stated that regardless of their master's benevolence (or lack of it) they remained simply because they had no other alternatives.[8] In these cases, fear and necessity, rather than choice, were the main factors cited. As two freedmen explained:

> I think slavery was a mighty bad thing but when freedom come dere was nuthin' else we could do but stay on wid some of de white folks 'cause we had nuthin' to farm wid an' nuthin' to eat and wear.[9]
>
> I'm tellin' you right when I say folks and friends around one did not regard freedom as an unmixed blessing. We didn't know where to go or what to do, so we stayed right where we was. I 'member my mammy tellin' me that food was gettin' scarce and any black folks beginnin' to scratch for themselves would suffer.[10]

Some of those interviewed gave a variety of other explanations for their reluctance to leave their plantations. A few persons stated that they were unprepared, as yet, to assume the responsibilities of an independent existence.[11]

> Slavery might have done de other fellow some good but I don't think it ever done de colored people no good. Some of dem after freedom didn't know how to go out and work for demselves. Down at old John Coffman's lots of dem stayed with him right along same as if dey wasn't free. Dey didn't want to leave here 'cause dey didn't think dey could live if dey left him .... Dependin' on somebody else is poor business.[12]

Sometimes the freedmen themselves failed to comprehend fully their new status.[13] One person recalled that despite the

fact that his new rights were never infringed upon in any respect, he could not rid himself of "the feeling that I was under obligation to ask my master or missus when I desired to leave the plantation."[14] Another stated, "I don't remember just when I first regarded myself as 'free' as many of the Negroes didn't understand what it was all about."[15] Rumours of re-enslavement were heard frequently during the first year of freedom, and this tended also to discourage some from leaving.[16] On the other hand, one person noted that she chose to stay because conditions on her plantation improved considerably after the war. "The place which had been a place of torture in slavery days, turned out to be a haven of rest afterwards."[17]

A great many postponed their departure for at least one year and waited patiently for better opportunities.[18]

> I took my freedom by degrees .... After I retired at night I made plan after plan ... as to what I would do.[19]

> We was afraid to move. Jes like tarpins on turtles after 'mancipation. Jes stick our heads out to see how the land lay. My mammy stay with Marse Jonah for 'bout a year after freedom, then ole Solomon Hall made her an offer.[20]

The W. P. A. Manuscripts reported also that almost half the freedmen did leave their respective plantations immediately after the war,[21] in spite of either outside dangers or their masters' benevolence. As one person remarked:

> It was like opening the door and lettin' the bird fly out. He might starve or freeze or be killed pretty soon, but he just felt good because he was free.[22]

The cruelty of former masters was another reason that convinced many to leave, while a significant number left in order to reunite with family members.[23] One child recalled how "my pappy came home to us. Dat was de best thing about de war settin' us free, he could come back to us."[24]

The choice of whether to stay or depart from the plantation was not always left to the freedmen; sometimes the master continued to exert absolute and final authority in that domain. In quite a few cases, slavery either continued as before or the freedmen were driven away from their homes. As one person remarked caustically: "Negroes were free but they warn't 'lowed to act lak free people."[25] Although the vast majority of travellers' accounts referred to this problem,[26] the evidence in the W. P. A. Manuscripts suggests that its extent may have been even more pervasive than these authors have implied. Of those interviewed by the Federal Writer's Project, over one hundred persons complained bitterly of this experience, and 45 persons told of being held to the plantation by force.[27]

> I worked for Massa 'bout four years after freedom 'cause he forced me to .... When the war was over, Massa come home and says ... you's sposed to be free, but you ain't, 'cause I ain't gwine give you freedom.[28]
>
> He didn't let us free. We wore chains all the time. When we work, we drug them chains with us. At night he lock us to a tree to keep us from runnin' off. He didn't have to do that. We were 'fraid to run. We knew he'd kill us.[29]

These violations occurred more often in remote areas where the Union Army was unable to exert control, and in these

regions, some planters managed, quite successfully, to suppress all news of emancipation for a significant length of time.[30]

> De Yankees never come into de 'dark cornor'. It was in 1867 dat us found out we was free; then we all left.[31]
>
> From what Mama said they didn't know it was freedom for a long time .... Somebody sent word to the master Rev. David, he better turn them slaves loose. Some of the hands heard the message. That was the first they knowed it was freedom.[32]

Others spoke of the Black Codes and the attempt to indenture children under twenty-one years of age.[33] In one case, the master had informed the freedmen that a new government ruling issued the emancipation of adults only. All children, however, must remain bound to their masters as before.[34] Other times, children were kidnapped outright from their parents.

> My mother was the last slave to get off the plantation. She travelled across the plantation all night with us children. It was pouring rain. The white folks surrounded her and took us children, and gave her so many minutes to get off the plantation. We never saw her again. She died away from us.[35]

A few persons complained also that whippings persisted unabated after the war[36] and one told of being tricked into signing a contract which re-enslaved him.[37] Others reported that their master threatened to murder his former slaves, should they attempt to leave.[38] Finally, a Georgia freedman, remembered how his master would pay the fines of blacks imprisoned on minor offenses. These freedmen were now indebted to their new "benefactor" and compelled

to remain under his jurisdiction until their debts were repaid in full. They laboured under conditions, however, which ensured that reimbursement was virtually impossible.

> Sometimes dey tried to run away. Dey had dogs to trail 'em wid so dey always catched 'em an' den de whippin' boss beat 'em mos' to death. It wuz awful to hear 'em hollerin' and beggin' for mussy. If dey hollered 'Lord have mussy!' Marse Jim didn't hear 'em, but if dey cried 'Marse Jim have mussy!' den he made 'em stop de beatin'. He say 'De Lord rule Heb'en, but Jim Smith ruled de earth!'[39]

More people complained, however, that rather than forced to remain on the plantation, they had been compelled to leave without anything at all. Seventy persons stated that they had been driven from their homes and prevented from taking even their personal belongings.[40]

> He turned us loose with nothin' to eat and mos' no clothes. He said if he got up the nex' mornin' and found a nigger on his place, he'd horsewhip him.[41]
> I don't know as I 'spected nothin' after freedom, but they turned us out like a bunch of stray dogs, no homes, no clothin', no nothin', not enough food to last us one meal.[42]
> We didn't know what to do -- not a penny, nowhere to go.[43]

Both the W. P. A. Manuscripts and some of the travellers' accounts, notably Slaughter, Schurz and Trowbridge, reported that for a significant number of blacks, survival was a very real problem after the war, particularly during the first year of freedom.[44] Other travellers' accounts, such as John Richard Dennett's The South As It Is and Whitlaw Reid's After the War, assumed, however, that the freedmen were faring reasonably well since so few had applied for government assistance.[45] As Dennett argued:

> The colored population may be truly described as orderly, industrious and self-supporting. And this seems to be plainly shown by the reports drawn up by government officials of the issue to citizens of what are known as 'Destitute Persons'.[46]

The reports which Dennett accepted as evidence, however, may not have been an accurate indicator of the freedmen's welfare, for the W. P. A. Manuscripts show that while only eleven persons stated they had applied for relief,[47] 78 people complained of being hungry, destitute and unemployed.[48] The lack of basic necessities was a grave concern during the first winter, for as John G. Hawkins of Mississippi noted: "The war brought freedom and starvation both to the slaves."[49] Two others added sarcastically:

> The Yankees whut 'ud die ter free us ain't carin' iffen we starves nother.[50]
> All us had to thank 'em for, was a hungry belly and freedom.[51]

Some managed to survive by hunting game in the woods.[52] Others recalled:

> All us had to eat was what we could beg and sometimes we went three days without a bite to eat. Sometimes we'd pick a few berries.[53]
> People et 'tater peelin's and some come near starvin'.[54]

Even for those who remained on their respective plantations essentials were now more difficult to obtain. Lou Smith, a Mississippi freedman, remembered how "we actually suffered for some salt."[55] In many cases, emancipation transformed overnight Southern blacks into a vagrant, destitute, population. As one person remarked:

> I don't know what the ex-slaves expected, but I do know they didn't get anything. After the war we just wandered from place to place, working for food and a place to stay. Now and then we got a little money, but a very little.[56]

According to a few others, the decision to leave their old homes was "a leap from de frying pan to de fire,"[57] for conditions more often than not were likely to deteriorate rather than improve. Hunger, unemployment and the hostility of local whites compelled some to return eventually back to their former owners.[58] As one person noted: "Before two years had passed after de surrender dere was two out of every three slaves who wished dey was back wid dere masters."[59] The return of many freedmen to their former homes was mentioned by Sidney Andrews in The South Since the War (1866):

> I scarcely talk with any white man who fails to tell me how anxious many of the Negroes are to return to their old homes. In coming up from Charleston I heard of not less than eleven in this condition, and mention has been made to me in Orangeburg of at least a score .... I presume I have asked over a hundred Negroes here and in Charleston if they wanted to go back and live with their old masters as slaves, or if they knew of any Negro who did desire to return to that condition and I have yet to find the first one who hesitates an instant in answering 'No'.[60]

Andrews seemed to have confused, however, the freedmen's decision to return, due to suffering and hardship, with a desire to be re-enslaved again. It was necessity rather than choice that compelled them to return. For many

persons the first year of freedom was especially difficult: a bitter disappointment.

Dangers, surprises, devastations --
The war takes hold and will not quit.
But though it lasts three generations
We shall get nothing out of it.

Bertolt Brecht, Mother Courage and Her Children

CHAPTER III

CONDITIONS OF EXISTENCE UNDER FREEDOM: LABOUR, THE KKK POLITICS, RELIGION, EDUCATION AND THE FAMILY

> They needed a good master to protect em worse after the war than they needed em before.
>
> Olivia Morgan,
> Arkansas, Vol. 10, V, p. 146.

Both the W. P. A. Manuscripts and the travellers' accounts provide similar information on the freedmen's new labour arrangements. Usually the black worker received a combination of food, lodging, plus a meagre salary which was payable at the end of each planting season[1] although in the years immediately following the war it was common for many to labour in semi-servitude, receiving only their food and board.[2] Sharecropping soon became the most regular form of labour however, and the freedmen's allotment varied between 1/6 and 1/2 of the crop.[3] The latter was determined by the extent of the employer's contribution towards the necessary farm implements and other tools.[4]

Few blacks were satisfied with sharecropping, and many different sources reported that the freedmen were either cheated or kept deliberately in permanent debt to their employers.[5] Theft and force played significant roles in the new economic order. As two freedmen explained:

> After slavery I hoe cotton ... jes' work on halves. The trouble is that there no equal halves. The white folks pay jes' like they wants.[6]

> A man who didn't know how to count would always lose. He might lose anyhow. They didn't give no itemized statement. No, you just had to take their word They never give you no details... No matter how good an account you kept, you had to go by their account.... If you didn't make no money, that's all right; they would advance you more. But you better not leave him --you better not try to leave and get caught. They'd keep you in debt. They were sharp.[7]

Others complained, moreover, that even when they did receive their proper share, it was less than adequate and could not meet their needs.[8] There were few alternatives open to the freedmen, except perhaps to leave their employer at the termination of their contracts. Moving, however, often proved to be a futile exercise since conditions between plantations seldom differed.[9]

> It was like dis, a crowd of tennants would get dissatisfied on a certain plantation, dey would move, an' another gang of niggers move in. Dat wuz all any of us could do. We wuz free, but we had nothin' 'cept what de marsters give us.[10]

Others, lured by the promises of labour contractors, chose to immigrate to different states,[11] and as one person noted: "Some of those labor agents were powerful smart about stretching the truth."[12]

Yet, despite all the obstacles confronting the black worker, social mobility did exist to a certain extent, particularly among the skilled black working-class.[13] Also, the successful sharecropper would soon begin to rent,[14] and within a few years, some had amassed enough savings to buy their own land.[15] It must be remembered, however, that prosperous blacks were often in danger of invoking the

resentment and jealousy of a hostile white population.[16] As one person recalled:

> There was a cullud man they taken, his name was Jim Freeman. They taken him and destroyed his stuff and him, 'cause he was making some money. Hung him on a tree in his front yard, right in front of his cabin.[17]

Both the W. P. A. Manuscripts and most of the travellers' accounts provide similar and ample evidence that blacks were victims of organized and widespread terror throughout all of the Reconstruction era.[18] A few of the travellers' accounts, such as Charles Nordhoff's The Cotton States in the Spring and Summer of 1875, claimed that the stories of white assaults upon the freedmen had been exaggerated greatly,[19] and, moreover, "In the South the Negro is not always the lamb, he is sometimes the aggressor."[20] Carl Schurz's Report on the Condition of the South (1866) stressed, on the other hand, that the number of crimes perpetrated by whites against the freedmen outweighed, by far, the few cases of black vengeance upon Southern whites.[21] Schurz's report seems to coincide with the data found in the W. P. A. Manuscripts for although only seven cases of black vengeance were reported,[22] approximately 350 people testified that either they or personal acquaintances had been victims of murders, threats, or attacks by whites, particularly from the Klu Klux Klan.[23]

> Negroes was 'fraid to git out and try to 'xert they freedom. They'd ride up by a Negro and shoot him jus' like a wild hawg and never a word said or done 'bout it.[24]

> After us cullud folks was 'sidered free and turned loose, the Klu Klux broke out. Some cullud people started to farmin' .... If they got so they made good money and had a good farm, the Klu Klux would come and murder 'em. The gov'ment builded school houses and the Klu Klux went to work and burned 'em down. They'd go to the jails and take the cullud men out and knock their brains out and break their necks and throw 'em in the river.[25]

There seemed, in fact, to be no place which was safe from the Klan, nor activity which did not arouse their hostility and anger.

> You couldn't stay in the house fear some Klu Klux come shoot under yo' door and bust in wid hatchets. Folks hide out in de woods mostly. If dey hear you talkin' they say you talkin' 'bout equalization. They whoop you. You couldn't be settin' or standin' talkin'.[26]

Nor were blacks permitted to be unemployed. "On the first day of January, they would whip men and boys that didn't have a job."[27] The W. P. A. Manuscripts from South Carolina contain also two interviews with white people, one of whom was a member of the K.K.K. The latter boasted openly of murdering freedmen.[28] Klan members were often respectable, local citizens and sometimes they were recognized by their victims.

> De funny thing, I knowed all dem Klu-Klux. Spite dey sheets and things, I knowed dey voices and dey saddle hosses.[29]
>
> Men you thought was your friend was Klu-Kluxes and you'd deal with 'em in stores in the daytime and at night they'd come out to your house and kill you.[30]

In a few states, the freedmen organized armed militias for self-defense. Referring to the Union League, Frank T. Boone stated:

> When I first come to South Carolina, them niggers was bad. They organized. They used to have an association known as the Union Labourers, I think. The

> organization was like a fraternal order. I don't knows they ever had any trouble but they were always in readiness to protect themselves if any conflict arose. It was a secret order carried on just like any other fraternal order. They had distress calls. Every member had an old horn which he blew in time of trouble.[31]

It is also noteworthy that a few persons equated the K.K.K. with the patrollers of the ante-bellum period.[32]

Southern whites seemed to have been enraged particularly by black suffrage and education. As Carl Schurz noted, common prejudice believed firmly that any elevation of the black population would result in the subsequent degradation of whites.[33] A few of the narratives and most of the travellers' accounts reported that northern teachers were ostracized and threatened continually by the local white community.[34] The W. P. A. Manuscripts contain also much evidence on the turbulent politics of the Reconstruction era. It is well-known that the South was divided into two opposing and mutually hostile political camps, and that the vast majority of freedmen were die-hard Republicans.[35] Yet it is rather surprising that many of those interviewed by the Federal Writer's Project were still unswerving Republicans seventy years later -- in 1937.

> I am a Republican, because it is handed down to me. That's the party of my race an' I ain't going to change as long as they do right. That's my party till I dies.[36]
> <u>Cose</u> I voted the Republican ticket. You never seed a colored person a Democrat in your life.[37]

Drawings or colored papers were employed by the freedmen to help the illiterate voter differentiate between candidates.[38]

Efforts were made frequently by white southerners however, to impede the electoral process, either through bribes or direct threats of violence.[39]

> They put up notices, 'No niggers to come out to the polls tomorrow'.[40]
> They went around and commanded the Negroes not to go to the polls the next day. Some of the Negroes would tell them, 'Well I am going if I have to crawl'.... They shot a few of the Negroes. As the Negroes had no weapons to protect themselves, they didn't have no chance.[41]

Numerous persons spoke also of religion, education and family life during Reconstruction. Many families were reunited after slavery,[42] although quite a few were never able to locate their relatives despite all efforts.[43]

> I have asked thousands of questions trying to find out who my people are, but no one has ever told me who I am .... If I have any brothers and sisters, I don't know it.[44]

For those who did meet again, homecoming was often an experience charged with emotion, and failure to recognize one another was common at first. One person who had been separated from his parents since childhood, recalled their first meeting together after slavery.

> I tried to fool them. There were two men with me and they called me by a fictitious name, but when I shook my mother's hand I held it a little too long and she suspicioned something, still she held herself back until she was more sure. When she got a chance she came to me and said, 'Ain't you my child? Tell me, ain't you my child whom I left on the road near Mr. Moore's before the war'? I broke down and began to cry. Mother nor father did not know me, but mother suspicioned I was her child. Father had a few days previously remarked that he did not want to die

> without seeing his son once more. I could not find language to express my feelings. I did not know before I came home whether my parents were alive or dead.[45]

For others, freedom offered the chance either to register their marriages legally,[46] or, in a few cases, to escape from the forced unions of slave-breeding.[47] Marriages were often legalized on a voluntary basis although the Florida Manuscripts report that the Union Army issued orders compelling all couples to be married within nine months or face charges of adultery.[48] There is also some information on the origin of black surnames. Most freedmen adopted their masters' names, yet as one person remarked:

> This was done more because it was the logical thing to do and the easiest way to be identified than it was through affection for the master. Also the government seemed to be in a almighty hurry to have us get names. We had to register as someone so we could be citizens.[49]

The enthusiasm demonstrated by the freedmen, in the field of education, was noted by practically all the travellers' accounts.[50] Many blacks took immediate advantage of the opportunity to learn,[51] At the beginning of Reconstruction, most of the teachers had been northern whites, and often they had difficulty understanding and communicating with their pupils. One person remembered how, as schoolchildren, they would amuse themselves at their teacher's expense. His story is also a clear object lesson on the cultural differences between North and South:

> Some white teachers from up North come to teach de chillun. But they didn't talk like folks here and

> didn't understan' our talk .... Jes' for fun us all call ourselves big names to de teachers, some be named General Lee and some Stonewall Jackson. We be one name one day and 'nother name next day. Until she got to know us she couldn't tell de difference 'cause us all look alike to her. Us have a good time tellin' her 'bout black magic and de conjure .... De teacher from de North don't know what to think of all dat. But our old missey, ... lets us believe in magic and conjure, 'cause she partly believe in it too.[52]

Northern whites were replaced eventually by black teachers, and the latter played a significant role in the black community. As one person noted: "Next to the preacher, the Negro school-teacher was held in greatest respect."[53] Most freedmen, however, were unable to attend school except for a few months out of the year, and a few persons regretted not having enough time to pursue their education.[54] For those who did attend school, almost everyone mentioned McGuffy's Primer (Blue-Back Speller), as the main text employed by the students.[55]

Emancipation also brought religious freedom to Southern Blacks. The freedmen were deeply religious, and practically all the interviews conducted by the Federal Writer's Project emphasized the vital role played by Christianity in their lives. Volume 19, God Struck Me Dead, in particular is devoted to an examination of black religion during the ante-bellum and Reconstruction eras. It is a collection of fifty conversion experiences and autobiographies of ex-slaves. These documents were prepared by A. P. Watson, a graduate student at Fisk University (1927-1929) under the direction of Dr. Paul Radin.[56] As these studies

demonstrate, Black Christianity provided a sense of dignity and self-worth to a people surrounded by degradation and suffering. The precise categories and principles of Christian philosophy were largely irrelevant to the black religious experience, for self-affirmation was its key tenet.[57] The ante-bellum Negro was not converted to God," argued Dr. Radin, rather "He converted God to himself."[58] He suggested, moreover, that even the most basic and cardinal dogmas of Christianity (such as the concept of the Trinity) were either comprehended inadequately, or in many cases, ignored altogether.[59] Simple faith alone was its essence. As one person explained: "I can't tell you what religion is, only that it is love .... There is no such thing as getting religion for it is love and a thing from God."[60] The barren and vulgar religious instruction reserved for the slaves during the ante-bellum period had been especially offensive to them, and resented deeply. Quite a few persons were openly contemptuous of it[61]:

> The preacher ... He'd just say 'Serve your masters. Don't steal your master's turkey. Don't steal your master's chickens. Don't steal your master's hawgs. Do whatever your master tells you to do'. Same old thing all the time.[62] ... Honour your missus and massa ... for dey is your only God.[63]

The planter class, however, was not the only one guilty of reducing Scripture to a utilitarian function. Black culture also employed the Bible as a means rather than an end in itself. The difference was that Blacks used it as an instrument of affirming their own humanity. One person, for

example, told a new version of the Adam and Eve myth. "The fust man, Adam, was a black man,"[64] he began. After Eve had evinced God's anger by stealing the apple from the tree of knowledge,

> Adam got so scared his face turned white, right then, and next mornin' he was a white man wid long hair but worse off than when he was a nigger.[65]

Finally, in contrast to its white counterpart, Black Christianity was a religion of joy and rebirth rather than sin.

> I am no mathematician, no biologist, neither grammarian, but when it comes to handling the Bible, I knocks down verbs, break up prepositions and jumps over adjectives.[66]

This same person concluded: "The Children of Israel was 400 years under bondage. God looked down and seen the suffering of the striving Israelites and brought them out of bondage .... One blessed thing, I got religion and live close to the Lord."[67]

The freedmen's experience during Reconstruction was not totally bleak. In the realms of black education, religion and family life, significant progress was made, in spite of the widespread hostility of the white population and the terror of the Klu Klux Klan. Success, failure, intimidation and self-assertion marked the first decade after slavery.

CHAPTER IV

THE FREEDMEN'S EVALUATION OF FREEDOM AND RECONSTRUCTION

Karl Marx's observations on the British serf's transformation into a wage-earner during the fifteenth century (Capital, Vol. I) are in many respects applicable to the experience of the black-American freedman four hundred years later. In both cases, emancipation often failed to achieve any real improvement in the quality of the freedmen's lives. Marx argued that the conversion from peasant to industrial worker assumed a twofold character; on the one hand, the dissolution of feudalism ensured their emancipation both from serfdom and the restrictions of the old social order.[1] "And this side alone exists for our bourgeois historians,"[2] noted Marx. On the other side, however, capitalism dispossessed the labourer from his tools, thrust him upon society with only his labour power to sell, and finally, nullified his ancient feudal rights and protections.[3] Whereas once the peasant was bound to his lord by law and custom, now he was tied to his employer by the wage contract.

This theme was also evident in the W. P. A. Manuscripts. A significant number of those interviewed expressed bitter disappointment both with the form of their new emancipation and federal reconstruction of the South. Many regarded their advance from slave to sharecropper as little

more than a change in the form of their servitude.[4] Emancipation was often a "mixed blessing" for Southern blacks.[5] According to one person, the slaves had earnestly desired to be free, "but it wasn't like they thought it would be .... In some ways it was better and in some ways it was worse .... That's the way I found freedom."[6] Another noted that despite Black people's hatred of slavery they certainly "didn't think much of such freedom."[7] In contrast to the W. P. A. Manuscripts, however, none of the travellers' accounts, regardless of the author's political convictions or biases, ever refers to this problem.[8] This omission is attributable to two possible factors. First, the authors tended to confine their interviews to Northern and Southern whites. Rarely did they speak with the freedmen themselves. Secondly, most of the accounts were written during 1865 and 1866, and perhaps the freedmen were more hopeful during the early years of Reconstruction. The profound bitterness and disillusion that is evident in many of the W. P. A. Slave-Narratives may have been the result of hindsight. As such, they should not be taken necessarily as an accurate indicator of the freedmen's perceptions during most of the 1860's.

Many of those interviewed by the Federal Writer's Project complained that the freedmen's new status differed little from their previous servitude.

> It's all hard, slavery and freedom, both bad when you can't eat. 'The ole bees makes de honey comb/ de young bees makes de honey./ Niggers makes de cotton

> and corn/ an' de white folks gits de money'./ Dat was de case in slavery times and it's de case now.9

Another person added tersely: "Times wuz no better after de war wuz over, an' dey warn't no wuss. We wuz po' before de war and we wuz po' after de war."[10] In order to survive, the freedmen were compelled to depend on local whites, and the latter held them in a condition which did not differ fundamentally from actual slavery. "The Yankees helped free us, ... but they let us be put back in slavery again," [11] was a frequent complaint.

> Lincoln fixed it so de slaves could be free. He struck off de handcuffs and de anklecuffs from de slaves .... But how could I be free if I had to go back to my Massa and beg for bread, clothes and shelter. 12

Exploitation, according to many persons, was more severe and blatant under the new free-labour system than previously, and one person commented acidly that "sharecropping was when slavery really start."[13] Parker Pool of Maryland remarked:

> De nigger in de South is just as much a slave, now as ever. De nigger is a better slave den when dey owned him, 'cause, he has his own expenses to bear. If you work a horse an' doan' have him ter feed, you is better off den if you had ter feed and care fer him. Dat is de way dat thing is now. 14

A suprisingly large number of people complained also that their standard of living declined after emancipation.[15] Basic necessities, such as food, shelter, and medical supplies, which had been in most cases, in adequate supply under slavery, suddenly became difficult to obtain. Emancipation severed the freedman from his former protections, without replacing them with anything else. Due to both the

limitations of Federal reconstruction and the combinations between planters,[16] the freedman was often unable to meet even his minimal needs.

> No, I guess I don't want to live back in them times no mo', but I sho' seed lots of niggers not doin' so well as they did when they was slaves, and not havin' nigh so much to eat.[17]
> In those days a man did not have to worry about anything to eat as there was always a plenty. It's a lot different now.[18]

As one person observed bitterly: "You used to be worth a thousand dollars then, but you're not worth two bits now. You ain't worth nothin' when you're free."[19] The frequent cases of violent assault perpetrated against the freedmen during Reconstruction, provide sufficient evidence for this statement. Quite a few people observed also that life had become far more difficult after the war. "Mother was glad to be free," stated one person, "but for a long time her life was harder."[20] Others confessed:

> Pussonally, I had a harder time after the war den I did endurin' slavery.[21]
> I feels and knows dat de years after de war was worser than befo'.[22]

It is not surprising, therefore, that a few persons stated that they missed the material security and protections of the slave-system.[23] There were those, moreover, who believed that the poor white, rather than the black slave, was the real beneficiary of emancipation. As one person observed:

> When I was a boy we used to sing 'Rather be a nigger than a poor white man'. Even in slavery we used to sing that. It was the poor white who was freed by the war, not the Negroes.[24]

Others were disgusted totally both with federal Reconstruction and the manner in which the freedmen were manipulated by self-serving politicos.[25] "I members dey promise to give to cullud folks all kin' o' things. Dey never give 'em nuthin' dat I knows about,"[26] and with obvious reference to Thaddeus Stevens and the Radical Republicans, another noted:

> Old Satan wear a big shoe -- he got one club foot. He can disguise himself. He make you think he got power, but he ain't got power. He get you in trouble and leave you there.[27]

Most freedmen had expected some form of aid and protection from Washington. "Root, hog, or die," was a callous philosophy to a people shackled by illiteracy, extreme poverty and outnumbered by an openly violent and embittered population. Also, as the following quotation suggests, some blacks had internalized the paternal ideology of the ante-bellum social order, and held the Yankees responsible for their welfare. "I thinks if dem Yankees didn't tend to fix some way for us poor niggers, they oughtn't turn us a-loose."[28] Finally, many freedmen expected tangible results from emancipation, and as two people noted, with evident sarcasm, freedom proved often to be a meaningless, abstract phrase.

> De slaves where I lived knowed after de war dat they had abundance of dat somethin' called freedom, what they could not eat, wear, or sleep in. Yes sir, they soon found out that freedom ain't nothin' less you is got somethin' to live on and a place to call home.[29]
>
> I always thought a lot of Lincoln, 'cause he had a heap of faith in de nigger ter think dat he could live on nothin' at all.[30]

The freedmen wanted "a start."[31] As Walter Brooks of Louisiana observed: "The slaves were not expecting much, but they were expecting more than they got,"[32] and it is significant that quite a few persons mentioned land, specifically.[33]

> I believe de government should have made some provision for de slaves when dey turned dem loose. De government could have compelled slave-owners to give slaves a little track of land, a cow and a horse and give 'em a start. De slave had made what de white man had. I actually believe de Negroes would be better off today if dey had done dis.[34]
>
> We didn't git nothin' out of it like we expected. We thought they was goin' to divide up the farms and give us some of it. No such.[35]
>
> Dey got turned out like you turn a hog out the pen and say 'go on I'm through wid you'.[36] (And we was only too glad to go).[37]

Although the majority spoke of land, a few persons had other expectations. Six people endorsed either colonization to Africa or autonomous reservations.[38]

> I believe it would have been better to have moved all de colored people way out west to dem selves .... If Lincoln had lived he would have separated as like dey did de Indians ... and had our own laws.[39]

Others would have preferred some form of government assistance, but never expected it due to the severe post-war depression in the South.[40] Finally, a few persons were quite satisfied merely with being released from slavery. They neither desired nor expected anything else.[41] "Liberty and freedom was all I ever heard any colored folks say dey expected to get out of de war, and mighty proud of dot."[42]

The W. P. A. Manuscripts cover a full spectrum of varying ideas and beliefs. An approximately equal number of

persons voiced both negative and positive evaluations of the Reconstruction era. Opinions ranged from the most negative condemnations to semi-indifferent attitudes ("I think slavery was a mighty bad thing, though its been no bed of roses since, but den no one could whip me no mo'"),[43] right through to the most enthusiastic ones ("They are free .... They can build their own destinies. They did not arrive at this life by births of unsatisfactory circumstances. They have the world before them and my grandsons and granddaughters are among them").[44] A significant number of persons stated, moreover, that they valued their independence above all else, and despite all the ensuing hardships and disappointments.[45]

> Every time I think of slavery, if it done the race any good, I think of the story of the coon and dog who met. The coon said to the dog: 'Why is it you're so fat and I am so poor and we is both animals?' The dog said: 'I lay round Master's house and let him kick me and he gives me a piece of bread right on'. Said the coon to the dog: 'Better then that I stay poor'. Them's my sentiments, I'm lak the coon, I don't believe in abuse.[46]

A few people observed that one's evaluation of both slavery and freedom depended, to a great extent, on the treatment the slave had received from his master.[47] Yet many of those who spoke of fond memories and had displayed genuine affection for their former owners stated that they preferred freedom to even the most benevolent form of slavery. Samuel Johnson of Florida stated: "Even the best masters in slavery couldn't be as good as the worst person in freedom. Oh God, it is good to be free and I am thankful."[48] And as two people noted further:

You can take anything. No matter how good you treat it -- it wants to be free. You can treat it good and feed it good and give it everything it seems to want -- but if you open the cage -- its happy.[49]
Here's the idea -- freedom is worth it all.[50]

The life of the Spirit, is not that life which shrinks from death and seeks to keep itself clear from all corruption, but rather that life which endures the presence of death within itself and preserves itself alive within death.

G. W. F. Hegel, The Phenomenology

CONCLUSION:

A COMPARISON BETWEEN TWO SOURCES

The travellers' accounts are divided almost evenly between two contradictory and mutually hostile poles of opinion. As such, they are an accurate reflection of the conflicts and tensions which divided American society in the decade following the Civil War. The accounts of Schurz, Slaughter, Stearns, Trowbridge, Dennett, Reid, and Andrews, tended to conform to opinions that sympathized with the aims of Radical Reconstruction, whereas Pike, Fleming, Pollard and Nordhoff were representative of the opposing viewpoints. The final intention of this essay is to provide a comparison between these conflicting sources and the W. P. A. Manuscripts.

Of all the travellers' accounts, Schurz's Report on the Condition of the South seems to correspond most to the information found in the Manuscripts. Schurz spoke of black education,[1] the freedmen's loyalty to the Republican Party,[2] and their desire for land (which he labelled an "extravagant notion").[3] He also reported on the widespread terror perpetrated against the freedmen after the war.[4] "The acts of violence ... by freedmen against white persons do not stand in any proportion to those committed by whites against negroes,"[5] he stated. Some blacks continued to be held to

to the plantation by force[6] and naked exploitation often proved to be a dominant feature of the new economic order.[7] Schurz noted further that prosperous blacks often invoked the jealousy and resentment of local whites[8] and that Southerners were generally opposed to the freedmen's efforts to acquire an education.[9] "Another most singular notion still holds a potent sway over the minds of the masses -- it is that the elevation of the blacks will be the degradation of the whites."[10] Finally, Schurz noted that, for many persons, survival was a very real concern during the first winter,[11] and this fear was one of the main factors which induced many to remain on their plantations. As he noted in The Report on the Condition of the South: "The bewildered and terrified freedmen know not what to do -- to leave is death, to remain is to suffer the increased burden of a cruel taskmaster."[12]

Besides, for Schurz, it is noteworthy that the accounts of Dennett, Andrews, Reid and Trowbridge coincide with much of the evidence found in the slave-narratives. Trowbridge and Dennett noted that many slaves equated freedom with release from excessive labour.[13] The persistence of whippings, the indenture of children, and other manifestations of slavery after emancipation were noticed by Reid, Dennett, Stearns, Trowbridge and Andrews.[14] The question of survival was also noted in the accounts of Slaughter and Trowbridge.[15] The new labour arrangements in the South were discussed by

Dennett, Reid, Trowbridge and Fleming.[16] Of the latter group, all except Fleming noted that theft and force were common features of the new socio-economic order.[17] Trowbridge noted further the complaints of black labour. For many persons, sharecropping did not provide enough to meet their needs[18] and they were often forced to move from one plantation to another.[19] Andrews, Reid, Dennett, Stearns and Trowbridge noted also that the freedmen were frequently victim to terror and assault during the Reconstruction era.[20] As Dennett remarked:

> Recalling how persistently the whites of this state have claimed for twenty-five years to be the Negro's special friend, and seeing as the traveller does, how these whites treat the poor blacks, one cannot help praying that he may be saved from his friends in future.[21]

Southern hostility to white teachers from the North was noticed by Reid, Dennett, and Trowbridge,[22] while Reid and Stearns spoke of the freedmen's loyalty to the Republican Party.[23] Black enthusiasm for education was also noticed by Slaughter, Reid, Dennett, Trowbridge and Nordhoff.[24] Finally, Dennett, Reid, Stearns, Andrews, Trowbridge and Fleming spoke of the freedmen's desire for land.[25]

Although the accounts of Dennett, Andrews, Reid and Trowbridge correspond, to a great extent, to the information found in the W. P. A. Manuscripts, significant differences between the two sources are immediately apparent. First, Reid attributed the decision of many freedmen to remain on their plantations solely to their affection for their former

masters.[26] The W. P. A. Manuscripts reveal, on the other hand, that this reason was not the only consideration in the freedmen's decision to remain. Fear, confusion, necessity and caution were also dominant causes for their reluctance to leave.[27] Andrews seemed to have confused the return of some freedmen to their old plantations due to suffering and hardship, with a desire to be re-enslaved again,[28] while Dennett and Reid believed that the freedmen were faring reasonably well, since so few had applied for government assistance.[29] The W. P. A. Manuscripts reveal, however, that while only 11 persons stated they had applied for relief, 78 persons complained of hunger and destitution during the first winter.[30]

Some of the travellers' accounts, such as the reports of Pike, Nordhoff, Pollard, Slaughter, Stearns and Fleming, differ markedly from the W. P. A. slave narratives. Stearns reported that slaves equated freedom with irresponsibility and license "to be free is to do just as they please."[31] He also asserted that practically every slave deserted the plantation immediately following the war.[32] Although quite a few persons interviewed by the Federal Writer's Project complained of being cheated during Reconstruction,[33] Fleming, Nordhoff and Pollard believed otherwise. Fleming denied that contracts were sometimes violated; rather, he attributed the destitution of the freedmen "to their natural but unfortunate improvidence of character."[34] Nordhoff asserted that "the

black man gets a fair share of the crop he makes,"[35] and Pollard argued that the emancipated slave "has abandoned his former industry" and became "an idle drone and pest."[36] These authors also denied that blacks were victims to widespread assault during Reconstruction. In 1868, Fleming complained of black thefts and dismissed the KKK as a rumour.[37] It had simply never existed. Pollard spoke of the "amicable relations between whites and blacks at the close of the war" until the Union League provoked conflict between the two races,[38] and Nordhoff warned: "In the South the Negro is not always the lamb, he is sometimes the aggressor."[39] In further contrast to the W. P. A. Manuscripts, Pike stated that blacks were intimidating white voters and black democrats.[40] Pike was also unimpressed with black education.[41] Finally, Slaughter noted that the freedmen had absolutely no desire to secure any land:

> They [the freedmen] are modest in their desires and expectations. They ask not social equality and have no thought of thrusting themselves into social notice and recognition. They demand equality alone before the law and ask to be protected only in their political rights, their personal property and their family relations.[42]

In conclusion, the W. P. A. Manuscripts must be seen as a necessary source for the study of Reconstruction. First, they provide a viable supplement and, in other cases, a needed contrast to the material found in some of the travellers' accounts. Their second and most significant

use, however, seems to be in the realm of black popular ideology during both slavery and Reconstruction. Since the travellers' accounts do not deal at all with the freedmen's aspirations and perceptions, the W. P. A. slave-narratives constitute a viable source for the study of this question.

FOOTNOTES

INTRODUCTION

[1]Gerald W. Mullin, Flight and Rebellion: Slave Resistance in Eighteenth Century Virginia (New York, 1972), p.x.

[2]For the sake of simplicity, these sources will be refered to hereafter as travellers' accounts.

[3]The travellers' accounts consulted for this study are the following: Sydney Andrews, The South Since the War: As Shown by Fourteen Weeks of Travel and Observation in Georgia and the Carolinas (1866); John Richard Dennett, The South as It Is: 1865-1866; Julius T. Fleming, The Juhl Letters to the Charleston Courier: A View of the South, 1865-1871; Charles Nordhoff, The Cotton States in the Spring and Summer of 1875; James S. Pike, The Prostrate State: South Carolina Under Negro Government (1874); Edward A. Pollard, The Lost Cause Regained (1868); Whitlaw Reid, After the War: A Tour of the Southern States 1865-1866; Carl Schurz, Report on the Condition of the South (1866); Linda Warfel Slaughter, The Freedmen of the South (1869); Charles Stearns, The Black Man of the South and the Rebels: Or the Characteristics of the Former and the Recent Outrages of the Latter (1872); J.T. Trowbridge, The South: A Town of Its Battlefields and Ruined Cities (1866).

[4]William Archibard Dunning, Reconstruction: Political and Economic 1865-1877 (New York, 1907), p.352, Pike, The Prostrate State Robert F. Durden (ed) (New York, 1968, first published 1874) p.xxiii.

[5]All of Dunning's followers ignore Schurz's Report on the Condition of the South. John William Burgess, Reconstruction and the Constitution (New York,1902); E. Merton Coulter, The South During Reconstruction 1865-1877 (Louisiana, 1947);John Rose Picklen, History of Reconstruction in Louisiana (Mallendale, 1910); Charles William Ramsdell, Reconstruction in Texas (Austin, 1910); C. Mildred Thompson, Reconstruction in Georgia: Economic Social, Political 1865-1872 (New York, 1915). Coulter, in fact, goes so far as to dismiss Schurz because he was "German-born, and lacking a common sense produced by American upbringing." p.27.

[6]Howard K. Beale, The Critical Years: A Study of Andrew Johnson and Reconstruction (New York, 1930), p.70 Beale assumed that since Schurz was receiving financial aid from Charles Sumner, he was compelled to submit a radical report. Schurz, Report on the Condition of the South (New York, 1969, first published 1866) p.p. iv, v.

[7]W.E.B. Dubois, Black Reconstruction in America: An Essay Toward a History of the Part Which Black Folk Played in the Attempt to Reconstruct Democracy in America 1860-1880 (New York, 1935), p.133. Kenneth Stampp, The Era of Reconstruction, 1865-1877 (New York, 1966), p.74. Schurz, Report on the Condition of the South p.vi.

[8]Dubois, Black Reconstruction, p.732

[9]George P. Rawick, The American Slave: A Composite Autobiography (Westport, 1972), Volume I, From Sundown to Sunup: The Making of the Black Community, p. xiv.

[10]Ibid., p.xvi.

[11]Ibid., p.xvi.

[12]Ibid., p. xv.

[13]Ibid., p.xviii.

[14]Ibid., p.xvi.

[15]Ibid., p.xvii.

[16]The American Slave will be referred to as the W.P.A. Manuscripts in the text.

[17]Rawick, From Sundown to Sunup, p.xviii.

[18]Arkansas, Vol. 9, IV, p.219: Missouri, Vol. 11, p.8. Heretofore Rawick's American Slave will be referred to simply by volume number

[19]North Carolina, Vol. 2, II, p.226; Alabama, Vol. 6, p.137.

[20]Texas, Vol. 4, II, p.189; Texas, Vol. 5, IV, p.27; Arkansas, Vol. 8, II, p.277; Arkansas, Vol. 10, VI, p.219; North Carolina, Vol. 14, p.29.

[21]Texas, Vol. 4, II, p. 189 Martin Jackson (90).

[22]Texas, Vol. 5, IV, p. 27 Ben Simpson (90).

[23]North Carolina, Vol. 14, p. 29 Cornelia Andrews (87).

[24]Norman R. Yetman, Life Under the "Peculiar Institution: Selections from the Slave Narrative Collection (New York, 1970), p. 2.

[25]Rawick, From Sundown to Sunup, Vol. I, p. 171.

Chapter I

[1]South Carolina, Vol. 3, III, p. 202 Sam Mitchell (87).

[2]North Carolina, Vol. 14, p. 144.

[3]Indiana, Vol. 6, p. 98 Betty Guwnn (105 years old) (Kentucky) and North Carolina, Vol. 14, p. 24 and Vol. 18, pp. 59, 113.

[4]Texas, Vol. 4, I, p. 264; Oklahoma, Vol. 7, p. 352, Arkansas, Vol. 8, I, p. 131, Missouri, Vol. 11, pp. 4, 10, Georgia, Vol. 12, II, pp. 190, 336, North Carolina, Vol. 14, p. 185, Vol. 18, p. 4.

[5]Vol. 18, p. 4.

[6]North Carolina, Vol. 14, pp. 119, 136, Vol. 19, p. 112.

[7]South Carolina, Vol. 3, IV, pp. 52, 53, Texas, Vol. 4, I, p. 264, Arkansas, Vol. 10, V, p. 35.

[8]South Carolina, Vol. 3, IV, pp. 52, 53 Benjamin Russell (88 years old).

[9]South Carolina, Vol. 3, III, p. 20, Texas, Vol. 4, I, p. 11, Georgia, Vol. 12, I, pp. 12, 13; II, p. 241, North Carolina, Vol. 14, p. 24, North Carolina, Vol. 15, pp. 56, 426, Florida, Vol. 17, p. 359, Vol. 18, p. 99.

[10]Georgia, Vol. 12, II, p. 241 Bryant Huff.

[11]North Carolina, Vol. 14, p. 24 Mary Anderson (1851).

[12]North Carolina, Vol. 15, p. 102 Robert Manson (1862) (Virginia) and p. 193.

[13]Florida, Vol. 17, p. 103 Ambrose Douglass (North Carolina) (92 years old) and Texas, Vol. 4, II, p. 189 and Carl Schurz, Report on the Condition of the South (New York, 1969 /first published 1866/), p. 15.

[14](58 persons) South Carolina, Vol. 2, II, pp. 84, 145, 182, South Carolina, Vol. 3, III, p. 203, IV, pp. 61, 63, Texas, Vol. 4, I, pp. 180, 181, 233, II, p. 189, Texas, Vol. 5, IV, p. 1, Indiana, Vol. 6, pp. 30, 47, 98, 188, Oklahoma, Vol. 7, p. 10, Arkansas, Vol. 8, I, pp. 169, 301, Arkansas, Vol. 10, V, pp. 8, 55, 56, 91, 194, VI, pp. 13, 212, Arkansas, Vol. 11, VII, pp. 159, 191, 210, 233, 253, Missouri, Vol. 11, pp. 10, 21, 29, 30, 60, 178, 381, Georgia, Vol. 12, II, pp. 241, 357, Georgia, Vol. 13, I, p. 152, II, p. 203, North Carolina, Vol. 15, p. 428, Kansas, Vol. 16, p. 9, Maryland, Vol. 16, pp. 39, 58, 68, Virginia, Vol. 16, pp. 22, 42, 43, 47, Florida, Vol. 17, pp. 49, 146-152, 206, 293, 294, 295, Vol. 18, pp. 77, 87, 104, 121, Vol. 19, pp. 111, 112.

[15]Florida, Vol. 17, p. 206 Edward Lycurgas.

[16]Virginia, Vol. 16, p. 43.

[17](16 persons) South Carolina, Vol. 2, II, p. 141, Texas, Vol. 5, IV, p. 162, Alabama, Vol. 6, p. 226, Arkansas, Vol. 9, III, p. 24, Arkansas, Vol. 10, V, p. 189, Georgia, Vol. 12, I, p. 159, II, pp. 30, 133, Georgia, Vol. 13, II, pp. 46, 130, 192, North Carolina, Vol. 14, p. 25, North Carolina, Vol. 15, pp. 224, 271, Kansas, Vol. 16, p. 14, Florida, Vol. 17, p. 232.

[18]Florida, Vol. 17, p. 295 William Aherman (1842) (South Carolina).

[19]Arkansas, Vol. 10, V, pp. 140, 158, North Carolina, Vol. 14, pp. 250, 251, North Carolina, Vol. 15, pp. 87, 200, 224.

[20](81 persons) Texas, Vol. 4, I, pp. 108, 159, 179, II, p. 214, Texas, Vol. 5, III, pp. 70, 137, 150, IV, pp. 28, 82, 106, 117, 132, Oklahoma, Vol. 7, pp. 351, 352, Arkansas, Vol. 8, I, pp. 32, 72, 126, 334, II, pp. 88, 186, 258, 293, Arkansas, Vol. 9, III, p. 65, IV, pp. 3, 34, 205, 212, 264, Arkansas, Vol. 10, V, pp. 47, 49, 55, 79, 107, 114, 121, 150, 177, 229, 278, 292, 300, 323, VI, pp. 11, 15, 47, 56, 64, 83, 157, 159, 174, 185, 196, 201, 214, 220, Arkansas, Vol. 11, VII, pp. 17, 40, 44, 60, 85, 96, 99, 163, 172, 227, Missouri, Vol. 11, pp. 15, 140, 170, 224, 378, Georgia, Vol. 12, I, p. 17, II, pp. 30, 76, 190, Georgia, Vol. 13, I, pp. 137, 162, 187, North Carolina, Vol. 14, p. 136, North Carolina, Vol. 15, p. 435, Florida, Vol. 17, p. 142, Vol. 18, p. 122.

[21]North Carolina, Vol. 14, pp. 113-115 Dave Blount (?).

[22]Vol. 18, p. 9.

[23](32 persons) South Carolina, Vol. 2, I, pp. 65, 151, II, pp. 21, 141, South Carolina, Vol. 3, III, p. 25, IV, pp. 96, 161, Texas, Vol. 4, I, pp. 11, 22, Alabama, Vol. 6, pp. 50, 226, Arkansas, Vol. 9, III, p. 24, IV, pp. 216, 218, Arkansas, Vol. 10, V, p. 189, Georgia, Vol. 12, I, pp. 26, 159, II, pp. 30, 54, 133, 241, Georgia, Vol. 13, II, pp. 46, 130, 192, North Carolina, Vol. 14, pp. 24, 25, North Carolina, Vol. 15, pp. 56, 224, 426, Kansas, Vol. 16, p. 14, Florida, Vol. 17, pp. 60, 232, 359.

[24]South Carolina, Vol. 2, I, p. 151 Savilla Burrell (83 years old).

[25]South Carolina, Vol. 3, III, p. 19.

[26]South Carolina, Vol. 3, III, p. 25 Henry D. Jenkins (87).

[27]Florida, Vol. 17, p. 103 Ambrose Douglass (92) (North Carolina).

[28]North Carolina, Vol. 14, p. 25 Mary Anderson (1851).

[29]Georgia, Vol. 13, II, pp. 126, 203.

[30](29 persons) South Carolina, Vol. 2, I, pp. 18, 258, 259, II, p. 214, South Carolina, Vol. 3, III, pp. 3, 19, 25, 90, 102, 135, 165, 194, 252, IV, p. 12, Alabama, Vol. 6, p. 118, Oklahoma, Vol. 7, p. 294, Arkansas, Vol. 10, V, pp. 91, 189, Georgia, Vol. 12, I, pp. 12, 13, North Carolina, Vol. 14, pp. 6, 88, 89, 116, 119, 124, 135, 250, 251, 253, North Carolina, Vol. 15, pp. 150, 161, 200, 388.

[31]North Carolina, Vol. 14, p. 119 Clay Bobbitt (100 years old).

[32]South Carolina, Vol. 3, III, p. 3 Adeline Jackson (88).

[33]South Carolina, Vol. 3, III, p. 135 Bellam Lyles (74).

[34]South Carolina, Vol. 3, III, p. 25 Henry D. Jenkins (87).

[35]Arkansas, Vol. 9, III, p. 198 Matilda Hatchett (100).

[36]Practically every person interviewed in the W. P. A. Manuscripts expressed admiration for Lincoln.

[37]Missouri, Vol. 11, p. 226 Mattie Lee (78 years old).

[38]Georgia, Vol. 12, I, p. 192 and North Carolina, Vol. 14, p. 115.

[39](13 persons) South Carolina, Vol. 2, I, pp. 95, 151, Alabama, Vol. 6, pp. 134, 136, Indiana, Vol. 6, pp. 35, 36, Arkansas, Vol. 8, I, p. 9, Arkansas, Vol. 10, VI, p. 28, Missouri, Vol. 11, pp. 185, 226, 358, Ohio, Vol. 16, p. 3, Vol. 18, p. 46.

[40](27 persons) Alabama, Vol. 6, pp. 159, 162, Indiana, Vol. 6, pp. 49, 61, 62, Oklahoma, Vol. 7, pp. 110, 168, 202, 284, Mississippi, Vol. 7, p. 40, Arkansas, Vol. 9, III, pp. 112, 144, 204, 392, Arkansas, Vol. 10, V, p. 230, Missouri, Vol. 11, pp. 191, 346, Georgia, Vol. 12, II, p. 55, North Carolina, Vol. 14, pp. 30, 76, 181, North Carolina, Vol. 15, pp. 99, 305, 377, 378, Florida, Vol. 17, pp. 128 and 129, Vol. 18, pp. 105, 187. J. T. Trowbridge, The South: A Tour of Its Battlefields and Ruined Cities (New York, 1969 /first published 1866/), p. 367, the slaves wanted freedom from excessive labour. John Richard Dennett, The South as It Is 1865-1866 (New York, 1965), p. 365, stated "at no time ... has anything like the majority of the Negroes thought that freedom meant exemption from labour," however, Charles Stearns, The Black Man of the South and the Rebels: Or The Characteristics of the Former and the Recent Outrages of the Latter (New York, 1969 /first published 1872/), p. 115 reported that the slaves equated freedom with an end to responsibility "to be free is to do just as they please."

[41]Vol. 18, p. 116.

[42]Vol. 18, p. 105.

[43]Oklahoma, Vol. 7, p. 284 Mrs. Katie Rowe (88) (Arkansas).

[44](12 persons) Texas, Vol. 5, III, pp. 191, 192, IV, pp. 174, 176, 177, Arkansas, Vol. 8, I, pp. 112, 113, II, p. 195, North Carolina, Vol. 14, p. 30, North Carolina, Vol. 15, pp. 78, 434, Florida, Vol. 17, pp. 127, 128, 168, Vol. 18, p. 2.

[45]Texas, Vol. 5, III, pp. 191, 192 Betty Powers (80).

[46]Arkansas, Vol. 8, I, p. 113 Robert Baar (73) (Mississippi).

[47](12 persons) Indiana, Vol. 6, pp. 11, 12, 31-35, 78, 161, Oklahoma, Vol. 7, pp. 168, 269, North Carolina, Vol. 14, pp. 143, 418, North Carolina, Vol. 15, p. 40, Vol. 18, pp. 106, 121, 122, 129.

[48]Indiana, Vol. 6, p. 161 Candus Richardson (90) (Mississippi).

[49](17 persons) South Carolina, Vol. 2, I, p. 7, Texas, Vol. 4, II, p. 134, Alabama, Vol. 6, p. 160, Indiana, Vol. 6, pp. 23, 31-35, 59, 94, 102, Oklahoma, Vol. 7, pp. 168, 185, 191, Georgia, Vol. 12, II, p. 95, Georgia, Vol. 13, II, p. 203, North Carolina, Vol. 15, pp. 40, 382, Florida, Vol. 17, p. 206.

[50]Texas, Vol. 4, II, p. 134 Felix Haywood (92 years old).

[51](11 persons) Indiana, Vol. 6, p. 10, Mississippi, Vol. 7, p. 94, Arkansas, Vol. 8, I, pp. 71, 227, 254, 298, II, pp. 97, 163, 326, Arkansas, Vol. 10, V, pp. 343, 357.

[52]Mississippi, Vol. 7, p. 94 John Lucas (1833).

Chapter II

[1]Oklahoma, Vol. 7, p. 167, George G. King (83 years old) (South Carolina) and Georgia, Vol. 12, II, p. 191.

[2](60 persons) South Carolina, Vol. 2, I, p. 334, Texas, Vol. 4, I, pp. 41, 200, II, pp. 111, 184, 133, Texas, Vol. 5, IV, pp. 75, 82, 169, 172, Alabama, Vol. 6, p. 239, Indiana, Vol. 6, pp. 23, 55, 65, Oklahoma, Vol. 7, p. 133, Mississippi, Vol. 7, p. 173, Arkansas, Vol. 8, I, p. 9, II, pp. 75, 323, 341, Arkansas, Vol. 9, III, pp. 8, 54, 164, IV, pp. 35, 39, 164, Arkansas, Vol. 10, V, pp. 27, 97, 124, 150, VI, p. 105, Arkansas, Vol. 11, VII, pp. 62, 227, Missouri, Vol. 11, pp. 101, 191, 210, 346, Georgia, Vol. 12, I, pp. 181, 200, II, p. 326, Georgia, Vol. 13, I, p. 64, II, p. 112, North Carolina, Vol. 14, p. 25, Kentucky, Vol. 16, p. 45, Ohio, Vol. 16, pp. 21, 24, 43, 47, 65, 79, Virginia, Vol. 16, p. 6, Florida, Vol. 17, pp. 16, 49, 103, 239, 246, 296, Vol. 18, p. 59.

[3]Arkansas, Vol. 10, V, p. 124 Patsy Moore (74 years old).

[4]Arkansas, Vol. 10, V, p. 124 Patsy Moore (74 years old).

[5]Mississippi, Vol. 7, p. 173 Clara C. Young (95) (Alabama).

[6]Joel Williamson, After Slavery: The Negro in South Carolina During Reconstruction 1861-1877 (Chapel Hill, 1965), p. 39; Schurz, Report on the Condition of the South, p. 15. Only Stearns, The Black Man of the South and the Rebels, p. 114, reported, however, that practically all the slaves left their former owners immediately after the war.

[7]Whitlaw Reid, After the War: A Tour of the Southern States 1865-1866 (New York, 1965 /first published 1866/), p. 273.

[8](71 persons) South Carolina, Vol. 2, II, p. 141, South Carolina, Vol. 3, III, p. 49, Texas, Vol. 4, I, pp. 65, 238, II, pp. 164, 178, Texas, Vol. 5, III, pp. 107, 130, 164, 216, 234, 235, IV, pp. 25, 34, 35, 105, 162, 195, Indiana, Vol. 6, pp. 65, 102, Oklahoma, Vol. 7, pp. 4, 150, 151, 169, 185, Arkansas, Vol. 8, I, pp. 106, 127, II, pp. 195, 201, Arkansas, Vol. 9, III, pp. 48, 156, 343, Arkansas, Vol. 10,

V, pp. 79, 193, 208, 304, Arkansas, Vol. 11, VII, p. 169, Missouri, Vol. 11, pp. 68, 109, 136, 268, 350, Georgia, Vol. 12, I, p. 229, II, p. 71, Georgia, Vol. 13, III, pp. 64, 110, IV, pp. 26, 61, 62, 112, 170, North Carolina, Vol. 14, pp. 62, 136, 145, 294, 335, North Carolina, Vol. 15, pp. 41, 103, 104, 137, 357, 399, 404, Kansas, Vol. 16, p. 4, Kentucky, Vol. 16, p. 45, Ohio, Vol. 16, p. 67, Tennessee, Vol. 16, p. 9, Florida, Vol. 17, pp. 177, 246, Vol. 18, p. 62. Others stated that they remained on the plantation due to: (A) no other alternatives; (B) kind master. . North Carolina, Vol. 15, p. 354: "Atter de war we stayed on, case Master was good ter us an' cides dat we ain't got nowhere to go." (7 persons) Arkansas, Vol. 8, II, p. 137, Arkansas, Vol. 11, VII, pp. 60, 153, Georgia, Vol. 13, I, p. 283, North Carolina, Vol. 14, p. 324, North Carolina, Vol. 15, p. 354, Virginia, Vol. 16, p. 30. Of all the travellers' accounts, only Schurz's Report on the Condition of the South (1866), pp. 15, 19 realized the dilemma confronting the freedmen. (P. 19) "the bewildered and terrified freedmen know not what to do -- to leave is death, to remain is to suffer the increased burden of a cruel taskmaster."

[9]North Carolina, Vol. 15, p. 104; Roberta Manson (1862) (Virginia).

[10]South Carolina, Vol. 3, IV, p. 182 Daniel Waring (88).

[11](16 persons) South Carolina, Vol. 2, II, p. 216, South Carolina, Vol. 3, III, p. 279, Texas, Vol. 4, I, p. 239, II, pp. 10, 73, Texas, Vol. 5, III, p. 208, Texas, Vol. 4, IV, pp. 25, 34, 35, 92, Indiana, Vol. 6, p. 102, Arkansas, Vol. 10, VI, p. 70, Missouri, Vol. 11, pp. 68, 268, North Carolina, Vol. 14, pp. 124, 419 (a few others stated that they still depended on their master); (4 persons) Arkansas, Vol. 8, II, p. 10, Arkansas, Vol. 10, V, p. 91, North Carolina, Vol. 14, pp. 124, 324.

[12]Missouri, Vol. 11, p: 68 Robert Bryant (73).

[13](10 persons) South Carolina, Vol. 3, IV, p. 164, Texas, Vol. 4, II, p. 79, Indiana, Vol. 6, pp. 10, 79, Oklahoma, Vol. 7, p. 133, Arkansas, Vol. 8, I, p. 78, Missouri, Vol. 11, p. 35, North Carolina, Vol. 14, pp. 336, 337, Vol. 18, p. 44.

[14]North Carolina, Vol. 14, p. 336 Robert Glenn (87 years old) (1850) (Kentucky).

[15]Indiana, Vol. 6, p. 10 Mary Crane (Kentucky).

[16]Missouri, Vol. 11, p. 136 Sarah Frances Shaw Graves (87) (Kentucky).

[17]North Carolina, Vol. 15, p. 362 Helen Trill (73 years old) (speaking of her mother).

[18](53 persons) South Carolina, Vol. 2, I, p. 26, Texas, Vol. 4, I, p. 38, II, p. 88, Texas, Vol. 5, III, pp. 33, 42, 115, 234, 235, IV, pp. 102, 149, 162, Oklahoma, Vol. 7, pp. 147, 151, 185, 191, Arkansas, Vol. 8, I, pp. 9, 137, 346, II, pp. 37, 39, 97, 258, Arkansas, Vol. 9, III, pp. 68, 77, IV, pp. 6, 208, 224, Arkansas, Vol. 10, V, pp. 1, 281, 341, VI, pp. 17, 194, 214, 216, 333, Missouri, Vol. 11, pp. 259, 305, Georgia, Vol. 12, I, pp. 200, 209, 249, 297, 352, II, pp. 35, 112, 330, Georgia, Vol. 13, I, pp. 64, 111, II, pp. 21, 26, 171, North Carolina, Vol. 14, pp. 145, 336, North Carolina, Vol. 15, p. 188, Maryland, Vol. 16, p. 3.

[19]North Carolina, Vol. 14, p. 336 Robert Glenn (1850) (87) (Kentucky).

[20]North Carolina, Vol. 14, p. 145 W. L. Boot.

[21](104 persons) South Carolina, Vol. 3, III, p. 62, IV, pp. 79, 164, Texas, Vol. 4, I, pp. 36, 200, 258, 300, II, pp. 117, 158, 248, Texas, Vol. 5, III, pp. 31, 83, 137, 164, IV, pp. 153, 194, Alabama, Vol. 6, pp. 53, 56, 132, Indiana, Vol. 6, pp. 11, 55, 98, 161, Arkansas, Vol. 8, I, pp. 227, 234, 333, II, pp. 16, 59, 85, 89, 158, 206, Arkansas, Vol. 9, III, pp. 392, IV, pp. 152, 184, Arkansas, Vol. 10, V, pp. 138, 153, 359, VI, pp. 11, 151, 214, 216, Arkansas, Vol. 11, VII, pp. 16, 91, 178, 222, Missouri, Vol. 11, pp. 33, 222, 297, Georgia, Vol. 12, I, pp. 27, 181, II, pp. 45, 77, 133, 143, 152, 176, 205, 237, 287, Georgia, Vol. 13, I, pp. 183, 242, II, pp. 90, 126, 135, North Carolina, Vol. 14, pp. 5, 31, 61, 76, 97, 98, 179, 215, 277, 348, 445, North Carolina, Vol. 15, pp. 150, 161, 164, 181, 195, 201, 273, 338, 369, 391, 392, 412, Kentucky, Vol. 16, p. 34, Maryland, Vol. 16, p. 76, Ohio, Vol. 16, p. 21, Tennessee, Vol. 16, pp. 15, 75, Florida, Vol. 17, pp. 98, 103, 122, 126, 130, 169, 232, 282, 293, 360, Vol. 18, p. 58 (half remained on plantation, half left); (35 persons) South Carolina, Vol. 3, IV, p. 27, Texas, Vol. 4, I, pp. 110, 213, II, pp. 54, 175, 184, Texas, Vol. 5, III, pp. 12, 192, 226, IV, pp. 1, 178, Oklahoma, Vol. 7, pp. 4, 202, Mississippi, Vol. 7, p. 132, Arkansas, Vol. 8, I, pp. 9, 116, II, pp. 14, 143, 162, Arkansas, Vol. 9, III, pp. 24, 144, IV,

pp. 68, 268, Arkansas, Vol. 10, VI, pp. 77, 261, 366, Arkansas, Vol. 11, VII, p. 17, Georgia, Vol. 12, I, pp. 110, II, p. 326, Georgia, Vol. 13, III, p. 50, North Carolina, Vol. 15, p. 181, Tennessee, Vol. 16, p. 41, Florida, Vol. 17, pp. 160, 166, 331.

[22]Arkansas, Vol. 8, I, p. 227 George Braddox (81) (Texas).

[23]See footnote 41, Chapter III.

[24]Oklahoma, Vol. 7, p. 51 William Curtis (95).

[25]Georgia, Vol. 12, II, p. 191 Jefferson Franklin Henry (78).

[26]Dennett, The South As It Is 1865-1866, p. 26; Schurz, Report on the Condition of the South, pp. 15, 17, 21, 22, 23; Stearns, The Black Man of the South and the Rebels, p. 112; Trowbridge, The South, p. 90. Sydney Andrews, The South Since the War: As Shown by Fourteen Weeks of Travel and Observation in Georgia and the Carolinas (New York, 1969 /first published in 1866/), p. 129.

[27](45 persons) South Carolina, Vol. 2, I, pp. 21, 225, Texas, Vol. 4, I, p. 280, II, pp. 179, 248, 250, 251, Texas, Vol. 5, III, pp. 70. 78, 119, IV, pp. 29, 43, 106, 179, 181, 205, Oklahoma, Vol. 7, p. 98, Arkansas, Vol. 8, I, pp. 334, 343, II, p. 186, Arkansas, Vol. 9, III, p. 127, IV, p. 146, Arkansas, Vol. 10, V, pp. 78, 304, 325, VI, pp. 141, 261, 347, Georgia, Vol. 12, II, pp. 30, 55, 76, 133, Georgia, Vol. 13, I, pp. 6, 170, 242, II, pp. 132, 133, North Carolina, Vol. 14, pp. 60, 72, 97, North Carolina, Vol. 15, p. 368, Ohio, Vol. 16, p. 13, Florida, Vol. 17, pp. 80, 166, 177.

[28]Texas, Vol. 4, II, pp. 250, 251 Toby Jones (South Carolina) (1850).

[29]Texas, Vol. 5, IV, p. 29 Ben Simpson (90).

[30]Reid, After the War, p. 51; Andrews, The South Since the War, p. 219.

[31]South Carolina, Vol. 2, I, p. 225 John Collins (85).

[32]Arkansas, Vol. 10, V, p. 304 John Payne (74).

[33](11 persons) Texas, Vol. 4, I, p. 71, II, pp. 97, 214, Texas, Vol. 5, III, pp. 43, 228, IV, p. 194, Indiana, Vol. 6, p. 207, Arkansas, Vol. 8, I, p. 349, II, p. 261, Georgia, Vol. 13, IV, p. 192, Ohio, Vol. 16, p. 30, and Trowbridge, The South, pp. 369, 370, 372.

[34]Texas, Vol. 5, IV, p. 194 Lulu Wilson.

[35]Ohio, Vol. 16, p. 30 Hannah Davidson (1852) (Kentucky).

[36](9 persons) South Carolina, Vol. 2, I, pp. 63, 64, Texas, Vol. 4, I, p. 280, II, p. 89, Texas, Vol. 5, III, p. 43, IV, p. 148, Arkansas, Vol. 10, VI, p. 343, Georgia, Vol. 12, II, pp. 205, 206, North Carolina, Vol. 14, p. 72; Reid, After the War, pp. 145, 572.

[37]Georgia, Vol. 13, I, p. 6 Jennie Kendrich (1855); Schurz, The Condition of the South, pp. 18, 30.

[38](8 persons) South Carolina, Vol. 3, IV, pp. 26, 27, Texas, Vol. 4, I, p. 60, Texas, Vol. 5, IV, p. 133, Georgia, Vol. 12, II, pp. 205, 206, North Carolina, Vol. 14, pp. 60, 61, 144, Ohio, Vol. 16, p. 30, Florida, Vol. 17, pp. 130, 293.

[39]Georgia, Vol. 12, II, pp. 205, 206 John Hill (74) and Trowbridge, The South, p. 436 spoke also of "chain-gang" slaves.

[40](70 persons) Texas, Vol. 4, I, pp. 69, 108, 233, 239, 296, 300, II, pp. 147, 251, Texas, Vol. 5, III, pp. 12, 83, 112, IV, pp. 142, 179, 189, Alabama, Vol. 6, p. 136, Indiana, Vol. 6, p. 109, Mississippi, Vol. 7, pp. 96, 122, Arkansas, Vol. 8, I, pp. 71, 205, 227, 313, II, pp. 195, 284, Arkansas, Vol. 9, III, pp. 30, 56, 297, 343, IV, pp. 40, 175, 183, 224, Arkansas, Vol. 10, V, pp. 34, 307, VI, pp. 13, 151, 224, 333, Arkansas, Vol. 11, VII, pp. 17, 58, 205, 230, Missouri, Vol. 11, pp. 103, 110, 189, 191, 247, 259, 274, 280, 316, Georgia, Vol. 12, I, p. 209, North Carolina, Vol. 14, pp. 185, 186, 236, 324, 377, 419, North Carolina, Vol. 15, pp. 126, 436, Ohio, Vol. 16, pp. 62, 65, 108, Virginia, Vol. 16, p. 3, Tennessee, Vol. 16, pp. 25, 27, 28, 31, 35, 39, 43, 64, 68, Florida, Vol. 17, p. 27. In contrast to only 18 persons who stated that their masters made some provisions for them. South Carolina, Vol. 3, IV, p. 73, Texas, Vol. 4, I, pp. 111, 222, Arkansas, Vol. 8, I, p. 80, Arkansas, Vol. 9,

IV, p. 183, Arkansas, Vol. 10, VI, p. 267, Arkansas, Vol. 11, VII, p. 25, Missouri, Vol. 11, pp. 42, 328, Georgia, Vol. 13, I, pp. 102, 134, 170, North Carolina, Vol. 15, pp. 86, 225, 230, Ohio, Vol. 16, pp. 9, 108, 114.

[41]Texas, Vol. 4, I, p. 296 Eli Davidson (1844).

[42]Texas, Vol. 4, II, p. 251 Toby Jones (1850) South Carolina).

[43]Arkansas, Vol. 8, II, p. 195 Tom Douglas (91) (Louisiana).

[44]Linda Warfel Slaughter, The Freedmen of the South (New York, 1969 /first published in 1869/), p. 90; Schurz, Report on the Condition of the South, p. 16; Trowbridge, The South, p. 455.

[45]Dennett, The South As It Is, pp. 48, 275; Reid, After the War, p. 221.

[46]Dennett, The South As It Is, p. 48.

[47](11 persons) Texas, Vol. 4, II, p. 10, Indiana, Vol. 6, p. 102, Arkansas, Vol. 9, III, p. 264, Arkansas, Vol. 10, V, pp. 27, 188, North Carolina, Vol. 14, pp. 252, 445, North Carolina, Vol. 15, pp. 195, 278, 304, Florida, Vol. 17, p. 360.

[48](78 persons) South Carolina, Vol. 2, II, p. 217, South Carolina, Vol. 3, III, pp. 252, 261, IV, pp. 13, 182, Texas, Vol. 4, I, pp. 234, 297, II, pp. 215, 244, 251, Texas, Vol. 5, III, pp. 95, 150, IV, pp. 29, 95, Oklahoma, Vol. 7, pp. 151, 167, 294, 299, 352, Mississippi, Vol. 7, pp. 29, 96, 102, Arkansas, Vol. 8, I, pp. 98, 113, 118, 227, II, pp. 6, 18, 21, 123, 161, 262, 284, 292, Arkansas, Vol. 9, III, pp. 16, 54, 125, 183, 199, 204, 236, 343, Arkansas, Vol. 9, IV, pp. 6, 25, 30, 45, 95, Arkansas, Vol. 10, V, pp. 19, 27, 28, 124, 146, 357, 360, VI, pp. 105, 130, 183, 333, Georgia, Vol. 12, II, pp. 277, 357, Georgia, Vol. 13, III, p. 332, IV, pp. 166, 203, North Carolina, Vol. 14, pp. 26, 62, 116, 186, 252, 253, North Carolina, Vol. 15, pp. 268, 388, 399, 404, 409, Ohio, Vol. 16, p. 24, Tennessee, Vol. 16, p. 51, Florida, Vol. 17, pp. 207, 260, 332.

[49]Arkansas, Vol. 9, III, p. 204 John G. Hawkins (71) (Mississippi).

[50]North Carolina, Vol. 15, p. 404 Penny Williams (76).

[51]South Carolina, Vol. 2, II, p. 217 Violet Guntharpe (82).

[52](5 persons) Texas, Vol. 4, I, p. 234, Texas, Vol. 5, III, p. 95, IV, p. 29, Arkansas, Vol. 9, IV, p. 6, Arkansas, Vol. 10, V, p. 28.

[53]Texas, Vol. 4, II, p. 251 Toby Jones (South Carolina) (1850).

[54]North Carolina, Vol. 15, p. 388 Rev. Hardy Williams (1851).

[55]Oklahoma, Vol. 7, p. 304 Lou Smith (83) (Mississippi).

[56]Missouri, Vol. 11, p. 274 Delicia Ann Wiley Patterson (92).

[57]Georgia, Vol. 12, II, p. 242 Bryant Huff.

[58](16 persons) South Carolina, Vol. 3, III, p. 29, Indiana, Vol. 6, p. 102, Mississippi, Vol. 7, pp. 40, 41, 96, Arkansas, Vol. 8, I, p. 253, II, p. 14, Arkansas, Vol. 9, III, pp. 54, 264, Arkansas, Vol. 10, VI, p. 333, Missouri, Vol. 11, p. 187, Georgia, Vol. 12, II, p. 242, North Carolina, Vol. 14, pp. 25, 26, 186, 266, North Carolina, Vol. 15, p. 123, Ohio, Vol. 16, p. 54.

[59]North Carolina, Vol. 15, p. 123 Patsy Mitchner (84).

[60]Andrews, The South Since the War, p. 22.

Chapter III

[1]South Carolina, Vol. 2, I, p. 26, Texas, Vol. 4, I, pp. 38, 297, 300, II, pp. 88, 147, Texas, Vol. 5, III, pp. 42, 119, 187, 234, 235, IV, pp. 102, 162, Indiana, Vol. 6, p. 23, Oklahoma, Vol. 7, pp. 147, 191, Arkansas,Vol. 8, I, pp. 9, 25, II, pp. 37, 39, 349, Arkansas,Vol. 9, III, pp. 30, 68, IV, p. 224, Arkansas, Vol. 10, V, pp. 1, 281, 341, VI, p. 17, Missouri, Vol. 11, p. 305, Georgia, Vol. 12, I, pp. 200, 209, 249, Georgia, Vol. 13, I, p. 52, II, p. 171, Flordia, Vol. 17, p. 219; Dennett, The South As It Is: 1865-1866, pp. 40, 51; Reid, After the War, pp.275, 499. 572; Trowbridge, The South, p. 299.

[2]Texas, Vol. 5,III, pp. 33, 115, IV, pp. 102, 149, Oklahoma, Vol. 7, pp. 151, 185, Arkansas, Vol. 8, I, pp. 137, 346, II, pp. 97, 258,Arkansas, Vol. 9, III, p. 77, IV, pp. 6, 208, Arkansas, Vol. 10, V, p. 281, VI, pp. 194, 214, 216, 333, Missouri, Vol. 11, p. 259, Georgia, vol. 12, I, pp. 297, 352, II, pp. 35, 112, 330, Georgia, Vol. 13, I, pp. 64, 111, II, pp. 21, 26, North Carolina, Vol. 15, p. 188, Maryland,Vol. 16, p. 3; Trowbridge, The South, p. 499; Dennett, The South As It Is, p. 51.

[3]South Carolina, Vol. 2, I, p. 335, II, p. 141, South Carolina, Vol. 3, III, pp. 163, 175, Texas, Vol. 4, I, p.258, II, p. 175, Texas, Vol. 5, IV, pp. 128, 149, 178, Arkansas, Vol. 8, I, pp. 127, 172, 277, 296, II, pp. 87,89, 259, 323, 324, Arkansas, Vol. 9, III, pp. 88, 203, 235, Arkansas, Vol. 10, V, pp. 45, 138, 154, 162, 170, 246, 265, 294, 319, VI, pp. 15, 28, 34, 67, 151, 165, 197, 250, 269, Arkansas, Vol. 11, VII, pp. 25, 157, 174, 242, Georgia, Vol. 12, II, pp. 176, 191, Georgia, Vol. 13, I, pp. 187, 204, 242, II, p..145, North Carolina, Vol. 14, pp. 325, 445, North Carolina, Vol. 15, pp. 94, 103, 304, Flordia, Vol. 17, pp. 36, 130, 239.

[4]Arkansas, Vol. 10, VI, p. 67; Fleming, The Juhl Letters, pp. 252, 253; Williamson, After Slavery, p. 128.

[5](35 persons) South Carolina, Vol. 2, II, p. 141, South Carolina, Vol. 3, III, pp. 15, 253, Texas, Vol. 4, I, p. 238, Texas,Vol. 5, III, pp. 2, 18, 19, 78, IV, p. 117, Mississippi, Vol. 7, p. 28, Arkansas, Vol. 8, I, p. 178, II, pp. 64, 187, 338, Arkansas, Vol. 9, III, pp. 30, 78, 297, IV, p. 208, Arkansas, Vol. 10, VI, pp. 261-263, 328, Arkansas, Vol. 11, VII, pp. 157, 205, Missouri, Vol. 11, pp. 104, 105, 192, 220, 350, Georgia, Vol. 12, II, p. 331, North Carolina, Vol. 14, pp. 49, 144, North Carolina,Vol. 15, pp. 435, 436, Flordia, Vol. 17, p. 36;

Schurz, Report on the Conditions in the South, pp. 18, 22, 30, 33-35, 38, 45; Trowbridge, The South, pp. 363, 366; Reid, After the War, pp.53, 146, 152; Dennett, The South As It Is, p.332. However, Julius T. Fleming, The Juhl Letters to the Charleston Courier: A View of the South 1865-1867, John Hammon Moore (ed.) (Athens,1974), p.233, stated that the freedmen were not cheated, their destitution was due to "their natural but unfortunate improvidence of character," and Charles Nordhoff, The Cotton States in the Spring and Summer of 1875 (New York,1876) stated that the "black man gets ... a fair share of the crop he makes," p. 21. Edward A. Pollard, The Lost Cause Regained (New York, 1868) stated that the black worker "has abandoned his former industry" and became "an idle drone and pest," p. 145.

[6]The American Slave, Texas, Vol. 5,III, p. 18 Amos Lincoln (85) (Louisiana).

[7]Arkansas, Vol. 8, I, p. 178 Henry Blake(80+).

[8]South Carolina, Vol. 2, II, p. 141, Texas, Vol.5, IV, p. 92, Arkansas, Vol. 8, II, p. 284; Trowbridge, The South, p. 230; Schurz, Report on the Condition in the South, p. 29.

[9](34 persons) stated that they wandered from plantation to plantation or drifted from one menial job to another. South Carolina, Vol. 3, IV, p. 37, Texas, Vol. 4, I, pp. 108, 159, Texas, Vol. 5, IV, p. 111, Alabama, Vol. 6, p. 118, Oklahoma,Vol. 7, p. 305, Arkansas,Vol. 8, II, pp. 162, 259, 284, 292, 304, Arkansas,Vol. 9, III, pp. 78, 224, 229, Arkansas, Vol. 10, VI, p. 180, Missouri, Vol. 11, pp. 192, 278, 309, Georgia, Vol. 12, I, p. 271, II, p. 331, Georgia, Vol. 13, I, pp. 52, 187, North Carolina, Vol. 14, pp. 49, 119, 137, North Carolina, Vol. 15, pp. 41, 219, 279, 435, Ohio, Vol. 16, pp. 4, 108, Tennessee, Vol. 16, p. 25, Florida, Vol. 17, p. 177.

[10]North Carolina, Vol. 15, p. 41 Jane Lassiter (80).

[11](40 persons) Texas, Vol. 5, IV, p. 79, Indiana, Vol. 6, p. 23, Oklahoma, Vol. 7, p. 6, Arkansas, Vol. 8, I, p. 71, II, pp. 135, 348, 349, Arkansas, Vol. 9, III, pp. 3, 29, 63, 68, IV, p. 184, Arkansas, Vol. 10, V, pp. 23, 28, 78, 80, 275, 308, 336, 341, VI, pp. 70, 74, 87, 129, 162, 206, 217, 225, 285, Arkansas, Vol. 11, VII, pp. 5, 7, 79, 169, 223, 231, Georgia, Vol. 13, II, p. 90, Kansas, Vol. 16, pp. 5, 10, Ohio, Vol. 16, p. 70, Florida, Vol. 17, p. 260; Trowbridge, The South, p. 460.

[12]Georgia, Vol. 13, IV, p. 90 John F. Van Hook (76) (North Carolina).

[13]Arkansas, Vol. 10, VI, p. 230, Georgia, Vol. 13, II, p. 66, Flordia, Vol. 17, pp. 232, 260, Vol. 18, pp. 41, 89.

[14]Arkansas, Vol. 10, VI, p. 67.

[15](12 persons) South Carolina, Vol. 13, III, p. 45, Texas, Vol. 5, III, p. 192, IV, p. 56, Oklahoma, Vol. 7, p. 191, Mississippi, Vol. 7, pp. 123, 133, Arkansas, Vol. 9, III, p. 68, Georgia, Vol. 12, II, pp. 87, 335, Georgia, Vol. 13, II, p. 113, Florida, Vol. 17, pp. 130, 227.

[16](3 persons) Texas, Vol. 4, II, p. 112, Georgia, Vol. 13, IV, pp. 61, 62, North Carolina, Vol. 14, p. 221; Schurz, Report on the Condition of the South, p. 21.

[17]Texas, Vol. 4, II, p. 112 Pierce Harper (86) (North Carolina).

[18]Andrews, The South Since the War, pp. 20, 21, 27, 203-207, 220; Dennett, The South As It Is, pp. 25, 41, 42, 270, 276, 279; Reid, After the War, pp. 46, 51, 73, 74, 152, 213, 298, 318, 352, 564; Schurz, Report on the Condition of the South, pp. 5, 16, 17, 18, 20, 21, 25, 26, 30; Stearns, The Black Man of the South and the Rebels, pp. 203, 207, 208, 217-227, 286, 304, 398-411, 420-444; Trowbridge, The South, pp. 77, 90, 228, 365, 463. As Dennett remarked (p. 21): "Recalling how persistently the whites of this state have claimed, for twenty-five years, to be the Negroes' special friend, and seeing as the traveller does, how these whites treat the poor blacks, one cannot help praying that he may be saved from his friends in future."

[19]Edward A. Pollard, The Lost Cause Regained (1868) (New York, 1970), p. 42 spoke of the "amicable relations between whites and blacks at the close of the war," until the Union League began to cause unrest. Julius T. Fleming, The Juhl Letters to the Charleston Courier: A View of the South 1865-1871 (Athens, 1974) spoke of black thefts (pp. 239, 248) and stated, moreover, that the K.K.K. never existed, it was merely a rumour (pp. 230, 231).

[20]Nordhoff, The Cotton States in the Spring and Summer of 1875, pp. 10, 11.

[21]Schurz, Report on the Condition of the South, p. 30.

[22](7 persons) South Carolina, Vol. 2, I, p. 208, II, p. 218, South Carolina, Vol. 3, IV, pp. 213, 215, Texas, Vol. 5, IV, p. 107, Oklahoma, Vol. 7, pp. 135, 352, Arkansas, Vol. 10, V, p. 149. Two others stated that they enjoyed witnessing the suffering of their masters and other whites. Alabama, Vol. 6, p. 132 and Oklahoma, Vol. 7, p. 133.

[23](350 persons) South Carolina, Vol. 2, I, pp. 44, 45, 46, 47, 242, 336, II, pp. 120, 121, 137, 250, 251, South Carolina, Vol. 3, III, pp. 90, 128, 165, 175, 194, 212, 249, 253, IV, pp. 7, 15, 37, 43, 164, 216, 217, Texas, Vol. 4, I. pp. 3, 38, 258, 297, II, pp. 30, 101, 106, 112, 113, 147, 158, 176, 199, 259, 289, Texas, Vol. 5, III, pp. 17, 127, 137, 145, 153, 186, IV, pp. 4, 25, 35, 46, 90, 114, 142, 194, Alabama, Vol. 6, pp. 140, 163, 218, Indiana, Vol. 6, p. 171, Oklahoma, Vol. 7, pp. 16, 21, 22, 98, 163, 167, 205, 341, Mississippi, Vol. 7, pp. 41, 42, 65, 96, 104, 132, 173, Arkansas, Vol. 8, I, pp. 25, 58, 72, 81, 88, 118, 152, 162, 176, 235, 253, 258, 259, 277, 287, 309, 318, 339, 349, II, pp. 8, 18, 21, 41, 92, 111, 127, 136, 144, 159, 261, 263, 298, 304, Arkansas, Vol. 9, III, pp. 3, 31, 74, 88, 109, 122, 123, 124, 173, 180, 184, 191, 217, 229, 236, 245, 260, 263, 265, 271, 298, 299, 319, 349, 363, IV, pp. 20, 28, 32, 41, 68, 110, 111, 149, 168, 174, 203, 208, 217, 248, 253, 290, Arkansas, Vol. 10, V, pp. 2, 10, 21, 22, 28, 47, 53, 68, 70, 72, 76, 104, 113, 145, 146, 154, 164, 169, 179, 195, 230, 267, 274, 288, 294, 306, 330, 333, 342, 347, 360, VI, pp. 36, 37, 41, 57, 77, 90, 93, 86, 106, 130, 156, 203, 207, 220, 224, 231, 241, 249, 269, 294, 334, 340, Arkansas, Vol. 11, VII, pp. 3, 30, 37, 44, 57, 77, 97, 136, 140, 148, 199, 208, 210, 222, 230, 233, 247, 256, Missouri, Vol. 11, pp. 42, 54, 80, 116, 141, 164, 171, 222, 225, 259, 281, 285, 300, 346, 353, 372, Georgia, Vol. 12, I, pp. 102, 143, 158, 193, 210, 249, 262, 351, II, pp. 54, 133, 203, 231, 287, Georgia, Vol. 13. I. pp. 102, 163, 283, II, pp. 112, 145, 301, North Carolina, Vol. 14, pp. 15, 77, 90, 144, 181, 186, 200, 205, 209, 268, 280, 293, 348, 425, 455, North Carolina, Vol. 15, pp. 10, 11, 22, 63, 136, 146, 150, 152, 205, 268, 375, 399, 417, Kentucky, Vol. 16, p. 62, Ohio, Vol. 16, pp. 4, 31, 40, 47, 67, 100, Tennessee, Vol. 16, pp. 19, 25, 31, 38, 44, 48, 62, 64, 68, 75, 81, Vol. 18, p. 123. Others spoke of the bitterness of the white population in general. Texas, Vol. 5, IV, p. 82, Oklahoma, Vol. 7, p. 95, Arkansas, Vol. 8, II, p. 284, Arkansas, Vol. 9, IV, pp. 181, 184, Missouri, Vol. 11, pp. 297, 316, Georgia, Vol. 13, II, p. 61, North Carolina, Vol. 14, p. 221, Ohio, Vol. 16, p. 72. Others mentioned how whites, other than K.K.K., would attempt to obstruct and impede black suffrage. South Carolina, Vol. 2, I, pp. 78, 79, South Carolina, Vol. 3, III, p. 278, IV,

p. 159, Texas, Vol. 4, II, pp. 11, 12, 13, 147, Texas, Vol. 5, III, p. 29, Texas, Vol. 5, IV, p. 98, Alabama, Vol. 6, pp. 141, 142, Indiana, Vol. 6, p. 204, Mississippi, Vol. 7, p. 29, Arkansas, Vol. 8, II, p. 202, Arkansas, Vol. 9, III, p. 103, IV, p. 45, Arkansas, Vol. 10, VI, pp. 29, 195, Missouri, Vol. 11, pp. 190, 315, Georgia, Vol. 13, I, p. 170, Flordia, Vol. 17, pp. 297, 298.

[24]Texas, Vol. 4, II, p. 147 Tom Hollard (97).

[25]Texas, Vol. 4, II, p. 112 Pierce Harper (86) (North Carolina).

[26]Arkansas, Vol. 8, II, p. 18 Maria Sutton Clemments (90) (Georgia).

[27]Arkansas, Vol. 8, I, p. 277 F.H. Brown (75) (Mississippi).

[28]South Carolina, Vol. 2, II, pp. 250, 251, Charlie Harvey.

[29]Texas, Vol. 4, II, p. 31 Lorenza Ezwell (1850) (South Carolina).

[30]Texas, Vol. 4, II, p. 113 Pierce Harper (86) (North Carolina), also Ohio, Vol. 16, p. 31 Hannah Davidson (1852) (Kentucky).

[31]Arkansas, Vol. 8, I, p. 208 Frank T. Boone (80) (Virginia); others; Texas, Vol. 4, II, pp. 112, 113 (North Carolina); Texas, Vol. 5, III, p. 186, Arkansas, Vol. 9, IV, p. 208 (Georgia); Reid, After the War, p. 50; Dennett, The South As It Is, pp. 269, 270. Dennett, however, stated that the League was not a secret society. Pollard, The Lost Cause Regained, p. 142, blamed all the conflict between whites and blacks on the provocations of the League.

[32](6 persons) South Carolina, Vol. 3, III, p. 19, Texas, Vol. 5, IV, p. 205, Arkansas, Vol. 8, I, p. 207, II, p. 159, Arkansas, Vol. 9, III, p. 74, Arkansas, Vol. 10, VI, p. 28.

[33]Schurz, Report on the Condition of the South, p. 25.

[34]The American Slave (8 persons) Arkansas, Vol. 8, I, pp. 111, 114, 115, 148, Arkansas, Vol. 9, III, p. 74, IV, p. 217, Arkansas, Vol. 10, VI, p. 283, Missouri, Vol. 11, p. 80, Ohio, Vol. 16, p. 28; Trowbridge, The South, pp. 228, 377; Schurz, Report on the Condition of the South, pp. 25, 26; Reid, After the War, p. 6; Dennett, The South As It Is, pp. 304, 352.

[35]The American Slave (74 persons) South Carolina, Vol. 2, I, p. 242, South Carolina, Vol. 3, III, pp. 129, 140, 165, 175, IV, pp. 7, 37, 238, Texas, Vol. 4, II, pp. 11, 12, Texas, Vol. 5, III, p. 123, Oklahoma, Vol. 7, p. 114, Mississippi, Vol. 7, p. 132, Arkansas, Vol. 8, I, pp. 172, 209, 244, 339, II, pp. 89, 135, 150, 159, 201, 213, 316, 324, Arkansas, Vol. 9, III, pp. 64, 72, 81, 103, 125, 188, 349, 365, IV, pp. 29, 33, 70, 95, 167, 209, Arkansas, Vol. 10, V, pp. 2, 76, 146, 148, 169, 231, 285, 333, 360, VI, pp. 20, 29, 34, 37, 203, 210, 219, 220, 285, 305, Arkansas, Vol. 11, VII, pp. 31, 37, 40, 44, 61, 67, 170, Missouri, Vol. 11, pp. 22, 54, 94, 372, Kentucky, Vol. 16, p. 74, Maryland, Vol. 16, p. 69, Tennessee, Vol. 16, pp. 53, 73, Florida, Vol. 17, p. 88, Vol. 18, p. 127; Reid, After the War, p. 144; Schurz, Report on the Condition of the South, pp. 42, 43; Stearns, The Black Man of the South and the Rebels, pp. 203, 208, 247.

[36]Arkansas, Vol. 10, V, p. 360 "Doc" John Pope (87) (Mississippi) and Arkansas, Vol. 9, III, p. 125 Lee Guidon (89) (Mississippi).

[37]Arkansas, Vol. 10, V, p. 231 Ivory Osborne (85) (1852) (Texas).

[38]Arkansas, Vol. 10, V, p. 2, VI, p. 106 (South Carolina).

[39]James S. Pike, The Prostrate State: South Carolina Under Negro Government (New York, 1968 /first published in 1874/) told different versions. This author stated that Blacks were intimidating white voters and black Democrats. p. 266.

[40]The American Slave, Arkansas, Vol. 8, I, p. 277 F.H. Brown (75) (Mississippi).

[41]Arkansas, Vol. 10, VI, p. 29 James Reeves (68).

[42](83 persons) South Carolina, Vol. 2, I, p. 242, II, p. 179, Texas, Vol. 4, I, pp. 28, 213, II, pp. 117, 158, 258, Texas, Vol. 5, III, p. 187, IV, pp. 1, 107, 120, 146, 173, Indiana, Vol. 6, p. 161, Oklahoma, Vol. 7, pp. 51, 53, 169, 352, Arkansas, Vol. 8, I, pp. 107, 110, 126, 170, II, pp. 86, 158, Arkansas, Vol. 9, III, pp. 221, 349, IV, pp. 205, 285, Arkansas, Vol. 10, V, pp. 68, 75, 79, 104, 150, 194, 195, VI, pp. 11, 35, 42, 87, 140, 266, 328, Arkansas, Vol. 11, VII, pp. 17, 24, 25, 29, 112, Missouri, Vol. 11, pp. 180, 209, 263, Georgia, Vol. 12, I, pp. 68, 161, Georgia, Vol. 13, III, pp. 50, 86, 90, 106, 117, 233, IV, pp. 3, 31, 35, 126, 135, 171, North Carolina, Vol. 14, pp. 72, 167, 252, 320, 338, 339, 358, North Carolina, Vol. 15, pp. 61, 120, 230, 361, 369, 378, 412, Ohio, Vol. 16, pp. 63, 85, 108, 114, Florida, Vol. 17, pp. 16, 22, 219, Vol. 18, pp. 67, 88.

[43](12 persons) Arkansas, Vol. 9, III, p. 186, IV, p. 183, Arkansas, Vol. 10, V, pp. 114, 329, VI, p. 309, Arkansas, Vol. 11, VII, p. 49, Missouri, Vol. 11, p. 192, North Carolina, Vol. 14, pp. 69, 221, North Carolina, Vol. 15, pp. 387, 392, Ohio, Vol, 16, p. 6.

[44]North Carolina, Vol. 15, p. 392 John Thomas Williams (77).

[45]North Carolina, Vol. 14, pp. 338, 339, Robert Glenn (1850).

[46](19 persons) Arkansas, Vol. 8, II, p. 159, Arkansas, Vol. 9, III, p. 221, IV, pp. 130, 285, Arkansas, Vol. 10, V, p. 21, VI, p. 202, Arkansas, Vol. 11, VII, p. 132, Missouri, Vol. 11, pp. 86, 214, Georgia, Vol. 12, I, p. 352, North Carolina, Vol. 14, p. 221, North Carolina, Vol. 15, pp. 78, 188, 374, Florida, Vol. 17, pp. 37, 168, 176, Vol. 18, pp. 58, 101.

[47]Texas, Vol. 5, IV, pp. 174, 176, 177, 178, Rose Williams (90+).

[48]Florida, Vol. 17, p. 37, Mary Mirvus Biddle (105) (1833).

[49]Texas, Vol. 4, II, p. 192 Martin Jackson (90) and Vol. 18, p. 46.

[50]Linda Warfel Slaughter, The Freedmen of the South (New York, 1969 /first published in 1869/), pp. 104, 105; Schurz, Report on the Condition of the South, p. 32; Reid, After the War, pp. 255, 256, 257; Dennett, The South As It Is, pp. 57, 207; Trowbridge, The South, p. 228; Nordhoff, The Cotton States in the Spring and Summer of 1875, p. 22. Only Pike, The Prostrate State, p. 273 was unimpressed with Black education.

[51](142 persons) South Carolina, Vol, 2, II, p. 106, South Carolina, Vol. 3, III, pp. 45, 46, 125, 203, IV, pp. 5, 167, Texas, Vol. 5, III, pp. 112, 119, 120, IV, pp. 4, 13, 35, 90, 110, 184, 204, Alabama, Vol. 6, pp. 56, 57, Indiana, Vol. 6, pp. 31, 32, 188, Oklahoma, Vol. 7, pp. 150, 263, Arkansas, Vol. 8, I, pp. 25, 79, 111, 132, 144, 197, 207, 265, 278, 280, 309, 321, II, pp. 19, 37, 87, 135, 349, Arkansas, Vol. 9, III, pp. 66, 68, 71, 74, 80, 103, 152, 172, 185, 229, 296, IV, pp. 10, 45, 142, 208, Arkansas, Vol. 10, V, pp. 1, 22, 47, 49, 69, 230, 245, 271, 319, VI, pp. 15, 34, 57, 93, 138, 191, 204, 227, 283, Arkansas, Vol, 11, VII, pp. 29, 42, 61, 62, 67, 74, 115, 132, 175, 254, Missouri, Vol. 11, pp. 19, 26, 133, 136, 275, 300, Georgia, Vol. 12, I, pp. 21, 68, 219, 262, 335, 352, II, p. 191, Georgia, Vol. 13, III, pp. 86, 102, 117, 134, 293, 302, 312, IV,pp. 3, 54, 112, 146, North Carolina, Vol. 14, pp. 4, 36, 244, 277, 329, 348, North Carolina, Vol. 15, pp. 182, 240, 278, 382, 412, 416, Kansas, Vol. 16, p. 5, Kentucky, Vol. 16, pp. 34, 58, Maryland, Vol. 16, pp. 21, 24, 35, 64, Ohio, Vol. 16, pp. 20, 47, 52, 89, 112, Virginia, Vol. 16, p. 55, Tennessee, Vol. 16, p. 72, Florida, Vol. 17, pp. 16, 50, 60, 136, 210, 215, 260, 261, 332, Vol. 18, pp. 41, 67, 90, 124, 129.

[52]Texas, Vol. 5, IV, p. 184 Wayman Williams.

[53]Florida, Vol. 17, p. 210 Edward Lycungas.

[54](7 persons) Arkansas, Vol. 10, V, p. 271, Georgia, Vol. 12, I, p. 335, II, p. 101, Georgia, Vol. 13, III, p. 117, North Carolina, Vol. 14, p. 277, North Carolina, Vol. 15, p. 291, Florida, Vol. 17, p. 332.

[55]Practically everyone who attended school mentioned it. See footnote #51.

[56]Volume 19, God Struck Me Dead, p. iv.

[57]pp. v-viii, Vol. 19.

[58]p. vi, Vol. 19.

[59]pp. v-viii, Vol. 19.

[60]p. 132, Vol. 19.

[61](12 persons) South Carolina, Vol. 3, IV, p. 192, Texas, Vol. 4, I, pp. 135, 198, Texas, Vol. 5, III, p. 213, Arkansas, Vol. 8, I, p. 35, II, p. 259, Georgia, Vol. 12, I, p. 323, Vol. 18, pp. 50, 98, 184.

[62]Arkansas, Vol. 8, I, p. 35 Lucretia Alexander (89) (Mississippi).

[63]South Carolina, Vol. 3, IV, p. 192 David White (91).

[64]South Carolina, Vol. 3, III, p. 206.

[65]South Carolina, Vol. 3, III, p. 207.

[66]Vol. 18, p. 46.

[67]Vol. 18, pp. 46, 50.

Chapter IV

[1]Karl Marx, Capital: A Critical Analysis of Capital Production, Vol. I, Frederick Engels, ed., 1867 (New York, 1967), p. 715.

[2]Ibid., p. 715.

[3]Ibid., p. 715.

[4](35 persons) Texas, Vol. 4, I, p. 238, II, p. 88, Texas, Vol. 5, III, pp. 25, 33, IV, pp. 24, 70, Alabama, Vol. 6, p. 53, Mississippi, Vol. 7, p. 173, Arkansas, Vol. 8, I, p. 107, II, p. 77, Arkansas, Vol. 9, III, pp. 30, 112, IV, pp. 59, 270, Arkansas, Vol. 10, VI, p. 194, Arkansas, Vol. 11, VII, pp. 30, 58, Missouri, Vol. 11, pp. 105, 256, 350, Georgia, Vol. 12, I, p. 88, II, pp. 263, 302, Georgia, Vol. 13, I, p. 117, North Carolina, Vol. 14, pp. 137, 361, 431, North Carolina, Vol. 15, pp. 41, 99, 104, 123, 190, 191, Ohio, Vol. 16, pp. 4 28, 54, Florida, Vol. 17, pp. 177, 215.

[5](7 persons) South Carolina, Vol. 3, IV, p. 182, Texas, Vol. 4, II, p. 73, Mississippi, Vol. 7, p. 40, Arkansas, Vol. 10, V, p. 202, VI, p. 22, Georgia, Vol. 13, I, pp. 50, 117.

[6]Arkansas, Vol. 10, V, p. 202, Henry Nelson (70 years old).

[7]Arkansas, Vol. 8, I, p. 313 Peter Brown (86 years old).

[8]Although many of the travellers' accounts reported the facts with great accuracy (ie.the mistreatment of the freedmen, labour conditions, their desire for land, etc.) they never dealt with the freedmen's perceptions of their own condition. Only Schurz, Report on the Condition of the South, pp. 32, 45, warned that Reconstruction might result in a new form of Black servitude.

[9]North Carolina, Vol. 14, p. 137 Andrew Boone (90 years old).

[10]Georgia, Vol. 13, I, p. 117 Susan Mathews (84 years old).

[11]North Carolina, Vol. 14, p. 361 Thomas Hall (81 years old) (1856).

[12]Ohio, Vol. 16, p. 54 Perry Aid Jemison (79 years old) (Alabama).

[13]Texas, Vol, 4, I, p. 238 Eli Coleman (91) (Kentucky).

[14]North Carolina, Vol. 15, pp. 190, 191 Parker Pool (91) (Maryland).

[15](62 persons) South Carolina, Vol. 2, I, P. 5, II, p. 217, South Carolina, Vol. 3, III, pp, 43, 51, 237, IV, pp. 28, 86, 119, Texas, Vol. 4, I, pp. 48, 153, II, p. 74, Texas, Vol. 5, III, p. 172, IV, p. 14, Alabama, Vol. 6, pp. 53, 80, 85, 226, Oklahoma, Vol. 7, p. 150, Mississippi, Vol. 7, pp. 96, 124, 147, 174, Arkansas, Vol. 8, I, pp. 34, 146, 341, II, pp. 6, 104, 105, 109, 240, Arkansas, Vol. 9, III, p. 326, IV, pp. 25, 48, 156, Arkansas, Vol. 10, V, pp. 69, 149, VI, pp. 13, 15, 165, 323, Arkansas, Vol. 11, VII, pp. 68, 82, 142, 208, Missouri, Vol. 11, p. 110, Georgia, Vol. 12, I, pp. 51, 134, Georgia, Vol. 13, I, pp. 15, 70, II, pp. 113, 135, North Carolina, Vol. 14, pp. 252, 243, 431, North Carolina, Vol. 15, pp. 121, 126, 159-161, 190, 191, 201, Ohio, Vol. 16, pp. 2, 7, Florida, Vol. 17, pp. 119, 240.

[16]Trowbridge, The South, pp. 229, 230; Andrews, The South Since the War, p. 206.

[17]Texas, Vol. 5, V, p. 14 Abram Sills (85).

[18]Georgia, Vol. 13, II, p. 204 Henry Wright (99).

[19]Arkansas, Vol. 8, I, p. 71 Campbell Armstrong (86) (Georgia),

[20]Arkansas, Vol. 10, V, p. 69 Joe Mayes (Kentucky).

[21]Mississippi, Vol. 7, p. 147 Isaac Stier (100).

[22]South Carolina, Vol. 3, III, p. 43 James Johnson (79).

[23](15 persons) Texas, Vol. 5, V, p. 14, Oklahoma, Vol. 7, p. 167, Mississippi, Vol. 7, pp. 64, 97, Arkansas, Vol. 8, I, pp. 71, 73, 105, II, pp. 109, 247, Vol. 9, IV, p. 157, Arkansas, Vol. 10, V, p. 360, Georgia, Vol. 13, I, p. 117, II, pp. 113, 204, North Carolina, Vol. 14, pp. 108, 109, 199, 290.

[24]Arkansas, Vol. 10, V, p. 20 Waters McIntosh (1862) (South Carolina).

[25](10 persons) South Carolina, Vol. 2, I, p. 3, South Carolina, Vol. 3, III, p. 153, Texas, Vol. 4, I, p. 3, Mississippi, Vol. 7, pp. 64, 154, Arkansas, Vol. 9, III, p.31, North Carolina, Vol. 14, pp. 360-362, North Carolina, Vol. 15, pp. 123, 404.

[26]Mississippi, Vol. 7, p. 154 Jane Sutton (84).

[27]South Carolina, Vol. 3, III, p. 153 Richard Mack (104).

[28]Texas, Vol. 4, I, p. 184 William Byrd (97).

[29]South Carolina, Vol. 2, I, p. 6 Ezra Adams (83).

[30]North Carolina, Vol. 15, p. 351 Jacob Thomas (97).

[31]Arkansas, Vol. 9, III, p. 56 John Goodsun (1865).

[32]Arkansas, Vol. 8, I, p. 257 Waters Brooks (1862) (Louisiana).

[33](40 persons) South Carolina, Vol. 2, I, p. 18, II, p. 240, South Carolina, Vol. 3, III, p. 16, IV, pp. 7, 119, 120, Texas, Vol. 4, I, p. 258, II, pp. 108, 179, 204, Texas, Vol. 5, III, p. 112, IV, p. 114, Alabama, Vol. 6, p. 218, Mississippi, Vol. 7, pp. 29, 42, 64, 103, 132, 147, Arkansas, Vol. 8, I, pp. 105, 169, 205, II, pp. 213, 348, Arkansas, Vol. 9, III, pp. 56, 63, IV, p. 224, Arkansas, Vol. 10, V, p. 145, VI, pp. 70, 106, Arkansas, Vol. 11, VII, p. 157, Missouri, Vol. 11, pp. 189, 297, North Carolina, Vol. 14, pp. 136, 186, North Carolina, Vol. 15, pp. 201, 436, Tennessee, Vol. 16, pp. 10, 35, 39. Others stated that they expected government assistance, but did not specify land;

(14 persons) South Carolina, Vol. 2, II, p. 149, Texas, Vol. 4, I, p. 184, II, p. 147, Oklahoma, Vol. 7, p. 309, Mississippi, Vol. 7, pp. 94, 122, Arkansas, Vol. 8, I, pp. 127,257, II, p. 142, Arkansas,Vol. 9, III, p. 343, Missouri, Vol. 11, pp. 186, 189, North Carolina, Vol. 15, pp. 351, 429, Ohio, Vol. 16, p. 54. The travellers' accounts also mentioned that freedmen desired land. Andrews, The South Since the War, pp. 24, 208, 209, 211, 221; Dennett, The South As It Is, pp. 200-215; Fleming, The Juhl Letters, p. 73; Reid, After the War, pp. 59, 334, 564; Schurz, Report on the Condition of the South, p. 31 "extravagant notions"; Trowbridge, The South, p. 222; Stearns, The Black Man of the South and the Rebels, pp. 512-531. Only Slaughter, The Freedmen of the South, p. 191 stated that tje freedmen had no desire for land, moreover, "They /the freedmen/ are modest in their desires and expectations. They ask not social equality and have no thought of thrusting themselves into social notice and recognition. They demand equality alone before the law and ask to be protected only in their political rights, their personal property and their family relations." This quote seems to reflect Slaughter's expectations of the freedmen, rather than the freedmen's expectations of Reconstruction.

[34]Missouri, Vol. 11, p. 189 Louis Hall.

[35]Missouri, Vol. 11, p. 297 Charlie Richardson.

[36]Arkansas, Vol. 9, III, p. 56 John Goodsun (1865).

[37]Missouri, Vol. 11, p. 297 Charlie Richardson.

[38](6person) Texas, Vol. 5, IV, p. 40, Oklahoma, Vol. 7, p. 309, Arkansas, Vol. 11, VII, p. 212, Missouri, Vol.11, pp. 194, 240, Florida, Vol. 17, pp. 282, 283.

[39]Missouri, Vol. 11, p. 194 Rhody Holsell (89).

[40](4 persons) South Carolina, Vol. 2, I, pp. 18, 243, South Carolina, Vol. 3, III, p. 74, Arkansas, Vol. 10, V, p. 28.

[41](11 persons) Texas, Vol. 4, I, p.234, Indiana, Vol. 6, p. 23, Mississippi, Vol. 7, p. 118, Arkansas, Vol. 8, II, pp. 304, 324, Arkansas, Vol. 9, III, p. 392, Arkansas, Vol. 10, V, p. 188, VI, p. 76, Missoori, Vol. 11, p. 306, Florida, Vol. 17, pp. 130, 182.

[42] Arkansas, Vol. 10, V, p. 188, Wylie Nealy (85) (1852) (South Carolina).

[43] North Carolina, Vol. 15, II, p. 99 Jacob Manson (86) (Virginia).

[44] Indiana, Vol. 6, p. 94 George Fortman.

[45] (46 persons) South Carolina, Vol. 2, I, p. 335, South Carolina, Vol. 3, III, pp. 62, 204, 253, Texas, Vol. 4, I, pp. 234, 262, 268, II, pp. 49, 204, Texas, Vol. 5, III, pp. 5, 30, 153, IV, p. 92, Indiana, Vol. 6, pp. 23, 110, Oklahoma, Vol. 7, pp. 114, 191, 209, 235, 265, 284, 313, Mississippi, Vol. 7, p. 24, Arkansas, Vol. 8, I, pp. 105, 227, II, p. 201, Arkansas, Vol. 9, IV, pp. 104, 224, Arkansas, Vol. 10, V, pp. 69, 116, VI, p. 66, Missouri, Vol. 11, pp. 185, 192, Georgia, Vol. 12, II, p. 192, Georgia, Vol. 13, I, pp. 65, 102, 243, 293, II, pp. 131, 160, 203, 204, North Carolina, Vol. 14, p. 181, Florida, Vol. 17, pp. 182, 250.

[46] Oklahoma, Vol. 7, p. 209 Stephen McGray (88). (Alabama).

[47] (16 persons) Texas, Vol. 5, IV, p. 24, Alabama, Vol. 6, p. 219, Oklahoma, Vol. 7, pp. 284, 312, Arkansas, Vol. 8, I, pp. 146, 287, 341, II, pp. 104, 105, Arkansas, Vol. 10, V, p. 303, Georgia, Vol. 12, I, pp. 51, 85, 223, 224, North Carolina, Vol. 14, pp. 5, 86, 88, 89, 90. North Carolina, Vol. 15, p. 369.

[48] Florida, Vol. 17, p. 182 Samuel Johnson (1841).

[49] Arkansas, Vol. 10, VI, p. 66 Tom Robinson (88) (North Carolina).

[50] Arkansas, Vol. 10, V, p. 116 Moses Mitchell (89) (1849).

Conclusion: A Comparison Between Two Sources

[1]Schurz, Report on the Condition in the South, p. 32.

[2]Ibid., pp. 42, 43.

[3]Ibid., p. 31.

[4]Ibid., pp. 5, 16, 17, 18, 20, 21, 25, 26, 30.

[5]Ibid., p. 30.

[6]Ibid., pp. 15, 17, 21, 22, 23.

[7]Ibid., pp. 18, 22, 30, 33, 35, 38, 45.

[8]Ibid., p. 21.

[9]Ibid., p. 25.

[10]Ibid., p. 25.

[11]Ibid., p. 16.

[12]Ibid., p. 19.

[13]Trowbridge, The South, p. 365; Dennett, The South As It Is, p. 365.

[14]Dennett, The South As It Is, p. 26; Andrews, The South Since the War, pp. 129, 219; Stearns, The Black Man of the South and the Rebels, p. 112; Trowbridge, The South, pp. 90, 369, 370, 372, 436; Reid, After the War, pp. 145, 572.

[15]Slaughter, The Freedmen of the South, p. 90; Trowbridge, The South, p. 455.

[16]Dennett, The South As It Is, pp. 40, 51; Reid, After the War, pp. 255, 499, 572; Fleming, The Juhl Letters, pp. 252, 253; Trowbridge, The South, pp. 299, 499.

[17]Dennett, The South As It Is, p. 332; Reid, After the War, pp. 53, 146, 152; Trowbridge, The South, pp. 363, 366.

[18]Trowbridge, The South, p. 230.

[19]Ibid., p. 460.

[20]Reid, After the War, pp. 46, 51, 73, 74, 152, 213, 298, 318, 352, 564; Dennett, The South As It Is, pp. 21, 41, 42, 270, 276, 279; Stearns, The Black Man of the South and the Rebels, pp. 203, 207, 208, 217-227, 286, 304, 398-411, 420-444; Trowbridge, The South, pp. 77, 90, 228, 365, 463; Andrews, The South Since the War, pp. 20, 21, 27, 203, 207, 220.

[21]Dennett, The South As It Is, p. 21.

[22]Reid, After the War, p. 6; Dennett, The South As It Is, pp. 304, 352; Trowbridge, The South, pp. 228, 377.

[23]Reid, After the War, p. 144; Stearns, The Black Man of the South and the Rebels, pp. 203, 208, 247.

[24]Slaughter, The Freedmen of the South, pp. 104, 105; Reid, After the War, pp. 255, 256, 257; Dennett, The South As It Is, pp. 57, 207; Trowbridge, The South, p. 228; Nordhoff, The Cotton States in the Spring and Summer of 1875, p. 22.

[25]Dennett, The South As It Is, pp. 200-215; Reid, After the War, pp. 59, 334, 564; Stearns, The Black Man of the South and the Rebels, pp. 512-531; Andrews, The South Since the War, pp. 24, 208, 209, 211, 221; Trowbridge, The South, p. 22; Fleming, The Juhl Letters, p. 73.

[26]Reid, After the War, p. 273.

[27]See Chapter II, footnotes 7, 10, 15, 20.

[28]Andrews, The South Since the War, p. 22.

[29]Dennett, The South As It Is, pp. 48, 275; Reid, After the War, p. 221.

[30]See Chapter II, footnotes 47, 48.

[31]Stearns, The Black Man of the South and the Rebels, p. 115.

[32]Ibid., p. 114.

[33]See Chapter III, footnote 5.

[34]Fleming, The Juhl Letters, p. 233.

[35]Nordhoff, The Cotton States in the Spring and Summer of 1875, p. 21.

[36]Pollard, The Lost Cause Regained, p. 145.

[37]Fleming, The Juhl Letters, pp. 239, 248.

[38]Pollard, The Lost Cause Regained, p. 42.

[39]Nordhoff, The Cotton States in the Spring and Summer of 1875, pp. 10, 11.

[40]Pike, The Prostrate State, p. 266.

[41]Ibid., p. 273.

[42]Slaughter, The Freedmen of the South, p. 191.

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Vol. III. South Carolina Narratives, Parts 3 and 4.
Vol. IV. Texas Narratives, Parts 1 and 2.
Vol. V. Texas Narratives; Parts 3 and 4.
Vol. VI. Alabama and Indiana Narratives.
Vol. VII. Oklahoma and Mississippi Narratives.
Vol. VIII. Arkansas Narratives, Parts 1 and 2.
Vol. IX. Arkansas Narratives, Parts 3 and 4.
Vol. X. Arkansas Narratives.
Vol. XI. Arkansas Narratives, Part 7 and Missouri Narratives.
Vol. XII. Georgia Narratives, Parts 1 and 2.
Vol. XIII. Georgia Narratives, Parts 3 and 4.
Vol. XIV. North Carolina Narratives.
Vol. XV. North Carolina Narratives.
Vol. XVI. Kansas, Kentucky, Maryland, Ohio, Virginia and Tennessee Narratives.
Vol. XVII. Florida Narratives.
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