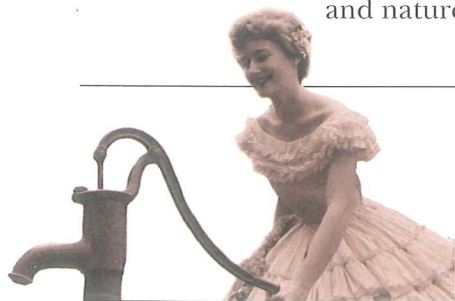# 17

A NEW SOUTH
PROGRESS AND SOCIAL TRADITION
1877–1900

WHAT CHANGED in the New South between 1870 and 1900, and what stayed the same?

WHAT WERE the origins and nature of Southern Populism?

WHAT WERE women's roles in the New South?

HOW DID segregation and disenfranchisement change race relations in the South?

1900

1877

The colored woman of to-day occupies . . . a unique position in this country. . . . She is confronted by both a woman question and a race problem. . . . While the women of the white race can with calm assurance enter upon the work they feel by nature appointed to do [including reform efforts both inside and outside the home], while their men give loyal support and appreciative countenance to [these] efforts, recognizing in most avenues of usefulness the propriety and the need of woman's distinctive co-operation, the colored woman too often finds herself hampered and shamed by a less liberal sentiment . . . on the part of those for whose opinion she cares most. . . .

You do not find the colored woman selling her birthright for a mess of pottage. . . . It is largely our women in the South to-day who keep the black men solid in the Republican party. The black woman can never forget—however lukewarm the party may to-day appear—that it was a Republican president who struck the manacles from her own wrists and gave the possibilities of manhood to her helpless little ones; and to her mind a Democratic Negro is a traitor and a time-server.

To be a woman in a . . . [new] age carries with it a privilege and an opportunity never implied before. But to be a woman of the Negro race in America, and to be able to grasp the deep significance of the possibilities of the crisis, is to have a heritage, it seems to me, unique in the ages. In the first place, the race is young and full of the elasticity and hopefulness of youth. All its achievements are before it. . . . Everything to this race is new and strange and inspiring. There is a quickening of its pulses and a glowing of its self-consciousness. Aha, I can rival that! I can aspire to that! I can honor my name and vindicate my race! Something like this, it strikes me, is the enthusiasm which stirs the genius of young Africa in America; and the memory of past oppression and the fact of present attempted repression only serve to gather momentum for its irrepressible power. . . . What a responsibility then to have the sole management of the primal lights and shadows! Such is the colored woman's office. She must stamp weal or woe on the coming history of this people. May she see her opportunity and vindicate her high prerogative.
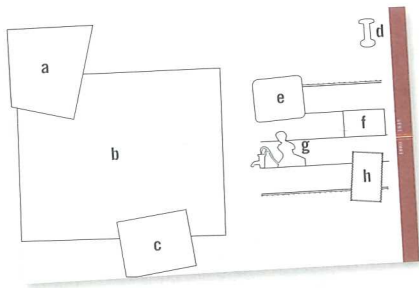
> Anna J. Cooper,
> —*A Voice from the South, 1892*

Anna Julia Cooper, *A Voice from the South* (Xenia, OH: The Aldine Printing House, 1892): 134–135, 138–140, 142–145. The book may be accessed from the Internet: http://docsouth.unc.edu/church/cooper/cooper.html

IMAGE KEY
for pages 436–437

a. Texas and Pacific Railway and its maps showing the connections.
b. Students and a teacher work in a laboratory at the Tuskegee Institute in Alabama., c. 1900.
c. An ad for Juliet chewing tobacco.
d. Thread on a large spool.
e. E. A. Overstreet and members of the class of 1900 of the Georgia State Independent College.
f. Women spin yarn and tend children on the porch of a log cabin in North Carolina in 1907.
g. A woman in a hoop skirt grips gently the handle of an old fashioned water pump next to an antebellum house in Natchez, Mississippi.
h. Ida B. Wells (1862–1931) pictured on a United States postage stamp from 1989.

ANNA J. COOPER undertook an incredible journey that took her from slavery at her birth in Raleigh, North Carolina, in 1858 to a doctoral degree at the Sorbonne in Paris, France, and to a prominent career as an educator. She was a firm believer in the role women, especially black women, should play in striking down both white supremacy and male domination. In 1892, Cooper published *A Voice from the South,* excerpted here. The book appeared when the first African-American generation raised in freedom had generated a relatively prosperous, educated middle-

class intent on challenging the limits of race in the New South. This assertiveness alarmed white Southerners who responded with a campaign of violent repression.

Despite these threats, Cooper's tone reflects the optimism of the New South and an enthusiasm for the expanding public role of women. Though Cooper overestimated white women's freedom of choice outside the home, she believed that black men, unlike their white counterparts, held black women back. She also suggests that black men share the blame for the white assault on their political rights. Her solution for racial advancement was to increase the public profile of black women. But, traditional views of Southern whites on race and gender rendered that solution untenable.

Cooper lived to see the dawn of a new racial and gender era in the South and in America, but that journey took many years and many lives. She died at the age of 106 in 1964.

THE NEWNESS OF THE NEW SOUTH

Southerners of both races and genders shared Anna J. Cooper's optimism in the decades after Reconstruction. They did what other Americans were doing between 1877 and 1900—they built railroads and factories and moved to towns and cities, only on a smaller scale and with more modest results. The factories did not dramatically alter the South's rural economy, and the towns and cities did not make it an urban region. The changes, nonetheless, brought political and social turmoil, emboldening black people, like Cooper, to assert their rights, encouraging women to work outside the home and pursue public careers, and frightening some white men.

By 1900, however, Southern white leaders had used the banner of white supremacy to stifle dissent. They removed African Americans from political life and constricted their social and economic role.

The New South's "newness" was thus to be found primarily in its economy, not in its social relations, though the two were complementary. After Reconstruction, new industries absorbed tens of thousands of first-time industrial workers from impoverished rural areas. Southern cities grew faster than those in any other region of the country. Railroad construction linked these cities to one another and to the rest of the country, giving them increased commercial prominence. Cities extended their influence into the countryside with newspapers, consumer products, and new values. But this urban influence had limits. It did not bring electricity, telephones, public health services, or public schools to the rural South. It did not greatly broaden the rural economy with new jobs. And it left the countryside without the daily contact with the outside world that fostered a broader perspective.

The Democratic party dominated Southern politics after 1877. Democrats purged most black people and some white people from the electoral process and suppressed challenges to their leadership. The result was the emergence by 1900 of the **Solid South**, a period of white Democratic party rule that lasted into the 1950s.
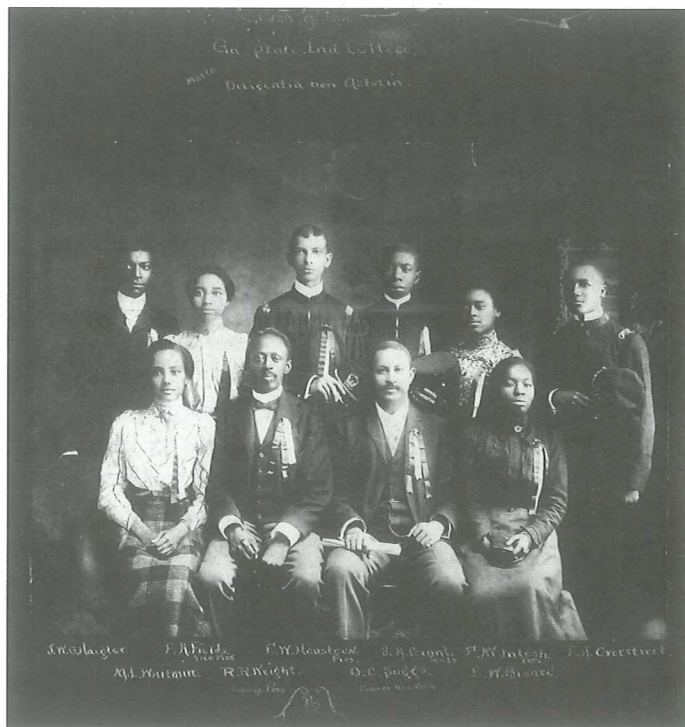
Although most Southern women remained at home or on the farm, some enjoyed new options after 1877. Middle-class women in the cities, both white and black, became increasingly active in civic work and reform. They organized clubs, preserved and promoted the memories

Solid South   The one-party (Democratic) political system that dominated the South from the 1890s to the 1950s.

WHAT CHANGED in the New South between 1870 and 1900, and what stayed the same?

The pride of accomplishment is evident in this photograph of the Georgia State College class of 1900. By this time, black institutions of higher education in the South were turning out ambitious and talented graduates who faced an increasingly grim future in their native region.

Shivery Family Photograph Collection, Photographs and Prints Division, Schomburg Center of Research in Black Culture, The New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox, and Tilden Foundations

of war, lobbied for various causes, and assumed regional leadership on important issues. Many young white women from impoverished rural areas found work in textile mills, in city factories, or as servants. These new options challenged prevailing views about the role of women but ultimately did not change them.

The status of black Southerners changed significantly between 1877 and 1900. The members of the first generation born after Emancipation sought more than just freedom. They also expected self-respect and the right to work, vote, go to school, and travel freely. White Southerners responded with the equivalent of a second Civil War—and they won. By 1900, black Southerners where more isolated from white Southerners and had less political power than at any time since 1865. Despite these setbacks, they built, especially in the cities, a rich community life and spawned a vibrant middle class.

AN INDUSTRIAL AND URBAN SOUTH

Since the 1850s, public speakers calling for economic reform in the South had been rousing audiences with the tale of the burial of a southern compatriot whose headstone, clothes, and coffin, as well as the grave-diggers' tools all came from the North. The speakers urged their listeners to found industries, build railroads, and grow great cities so that the South could make its own goods and no one in the future would have to suffer the indignity of journeying to the next world accompanied by Yankee artifacts.

Certainly, Southerners manufactured little in 1877, less than 10 percent of the national total. By 1900, however, they boasted a growing iron and steel industry, textile mills that rivaled those of New England, a world-dominant tobacco industry, a timber-processing industry that helped make the South a leading furniture-manufacturing center, and prominent regional enterprises, including Coca-Cola.

Birmingham, barely a scratch in the forest in 1870, exemplified one aspect of what was new about the New South. By 1889, Birmingham was preparing to challenge Pittsburgh, the nation's preeminent steelmaking city.

The Southern textile industry also expanded during the 1880s. Several factors drew local investors into textile enterprises, including low farm income. The entrepreneurs located their mills mostly in rural areas, not in cities. The center of the industry was in the Carolina Piedmont, a region with good railroads, plentiful labor, and cheap energy. By 1900, the South had surpassed New England to become the nation's foremost textile-manufacturing center.

Virginia was the dominant tobacco producer, and its main product was chewing tobacco. The discovery of bright-leaf tobacco, a strain suitable for smoking in the form of cigarettes, changed Americans' tobacco habits. In 1884, James B. Duke installed the first cigarette-making machine in his Durham, North Carolina, plant. By 1900, Duke's American Tobacco Company controlled 80 percent of all tobacco manufacturing in the United States.

Atlanta pharmacist Dr. John Pemberton developed a soft drink—a mixture of oils, caffeine, coca leaves, and cola nuts—in his backyard in an effort to find a good-tasting cure for headaches. He called it Coca-Cola. Pemberton, short of cash, sold the rights to it to another Atlantan, Asa Candler, in 1889. Candler improved the taste and marketed the product heavily. By the mid-1890s, Coca-Cola enjoyed a national market.

Southern track mileage doubled between 1880 and 1890, with the greatest increases in Texas and Georgia. By 1890, nine out of ten Southerners lived in a county with a railroad running through it. In 1886, the Southern railroads agreed to conform to a national standard for track width, linking the region into a national transportation network and ensuring access for Southern products to the booming markets of the Northeast.

The railroads connected formerly isolated small Southern farmers to national and international markets and gave them access to new products, from fertilizers to fashions.

The railroad also opened new areas of the South to settlement and economic development. In 1892, according to one guidebook, Florida was "in the main inaccessible to the ordinary tourist, and unopened to the average settler." By 1912, there were tourist hotels as far south as Key West. Railroads also opened the Appalachian Mountains to timber and coal-mining interests.

The railroad increased the prominence of interior cities at the expense of older cities along the southern Atlantic and Gulf Coasts. Antebellum ports such as New Orleans, Charleston, and Savannah declined as commerce rode the rails more than the water. Cities such as Dallas, Atlanta, Nashville, and Charlotte, astride great railroad trunk lines, emerged to lead Southern urban growth. Five major rail lines converged on Atlanta by the 1870s. As early as 1866, it had become "the radiating point for Northern and Western trade coming Southward, and . . . the gate through which passes Southern trade and travel going northward." When the Texas and Pacific Railway linked Dallas to Eastern markets in 1872, it was a small town of three thousand people. Eight years later, its population had grown to more than ten thousand, and within thirty years it had become the South's twelfth largest city. By 1920, New Orleans and Norfolk were the only coastal ports still among the ten most populous southern cities.

A town on a rail line that invested in a cotton press and a cottonseed oil mill would become a marketing hub for the surrounding countryside within a day's wagon ride away. Local merchants would stock the latest fashions from New York, canned foods, and current issues of popular magazines such as *Atlantic* or *Harper's*. The number of towns with fewer than five thousand people doubled between 1870 and 1880 and had doubled again by 1900.

THE LIMITS OF INDUSTRIAL AND URBAN GROWTH

Rapid as it was, urban and industrial growth in the South barely kept pace with that of the booming North (see Chapter 18). Between 1860 and 1900, the South's share of the nation's manufacturing increased only marginally from 10.3 percent to 10.5 percent, and its share of the nation's capital declined slightly from 11.5 percent to 11 percent. About the same percentage of people worked in manufacturing in the Southern states east of the Mississippi in 1900 as in 1850. Between 1860 and 1880, the per capita income of the South declined from 72 percent of the national average to 51 percent and by 1920 had recovered to only 62 percent (see Figure 17–1).

Southern industrial workers earned roughly half the national average manufacturing wage during the late nineteenth century. Business leaders promoted the advantages of this cheap labor to Northern investors. In 1904, a Memphis businessman boasted that his city "can save the northern manufacturer . . . who employs 400 hands, $50,000 a year on his labor bill."

Despite their attractiveness to industrialists, low wages undermined the Southern economy in several ways. Poorly paid workers didn't buy much, lim-
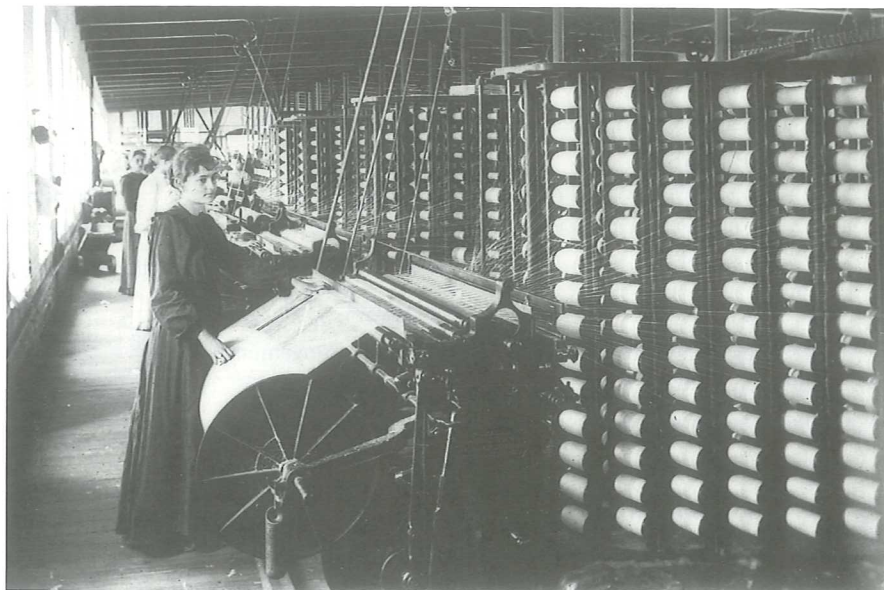
By the 1890s, textile mills were a common sight in towns throughout the South. The mills provided employment for impoverished rural families, especially women and children.

T.E. Armistead Collection, University of South Alabama Archives

CHRONOLOGY

1872	Texas and Pacific Railway connects Dallas to Eastern markets.
1880	First Southern local of the Women's Christian Temperance Union is formed in Atlanta.
1881	Booker T. Washington establishes Tuskegee Institute.
1882	Agricultural Wheel is formed in Arkansas.
1883	Laura Haygood founds the home mission movement in Atlanta.
1884	James B. Duke automates his cigarette factory.
1886	Dr. John Pemberton creates Coca-Cola.
	Southern railroads conform to national track gauge standards.
1887	Charles W. Macune expands the Southern Farmer's Alliance from its Texas base to the rest of the South.
1888	The Southern Farmers' Alliance initiates a successful boycott of jute manufacturers.
1890	Mississippi becomes the first state to restrict black suffrage with literacy tests.

1892	The Populist party forms.
1894	United Daughters of the Confederacy is founded. Populist and Republican fusion candidates win control of North Carolina.
1895	Booker T. Washington delivers his "Atlanta Compromise" address.
1896	Populists endorse the Democratic presidential candidate and fade as a national force.
	In *Plessy* v. *Ferguson*, the Supreme Court permits segregation by law.
1898	North Carolina Mutual Life Insurance is founded. Democrats regain control of North Carolina.
1903	W.E.B. Du Bois publishes *The Souls of Black Folk*.
1905	James B. Duke forms the Southern Power Company. Thomas Dixon publishes *The Clansman*.
1906	Bloody race riots break out in Atlanta.
1907	Pittsburgh-based U.S. Steel takes over Birmingham's largest steel producer.

FIGURE 17–1

Per Capita Income in the South as a Percentage of the U.S. Average, 1860–1920 This graph illustrates the devastating effect of the Civil War on the Southern economy. Southerners began a slow recovery during the 1880s that accelerated after 1900. But even as late as 1920, per capita income in the South was still lower relative to the country as a whole than it had been before the Civil War.

Data Source: *Richard A. Easterlin, "Regional Economic Trends, 1840–1950," in* American Economic History. *ed. Seymour E. Harris (1961).*
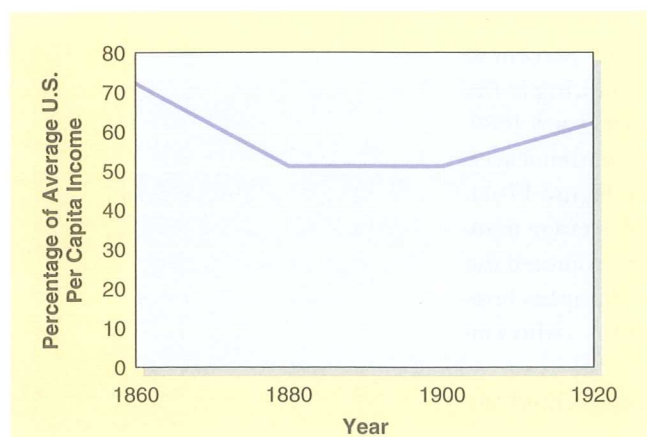
iting the market for Southern manufactured goods. They kept tax revenue low, restricting the states' ability to fund services like public education. Birmingham, Alabama, probably spent more on public education than any other Southern city, but the skilled workers in its steel mills tended to leave as soon as they could for higher-wage opportunities in Northern cities like Pittsburgh and Cleveland. Investment in education lagged in the South. Per-pupil expenditure in the region was at least 50 percent below that of the rest of the nation in 1900.

Low wages kept immigrants—and the skills and energy they brought with them—out of the South. With steady work available at higher wages north of the Mason-Dixon line, only a scattering of Italian farm laborers, Chinese railroad workers, and Jewish peddlers ventured below it. Between 1860 and 1900—during one of the greatest waves of immigration the United States has yet experienced—the foreign-born population of the South actually declined from about 10 percent to less than 2 percent.

Why didn't the South benefit more from the rapid expansion of the national economy in the last three decades of the nineteenth century? The simple answer is that the Civil War had wiped out the South's capital resources. Northern goods flowed into the South, but Northern capital, technology, and people did not. Northern-based national banks emerged in the wake of the Civil War to fund Northern economic expansion. The South, in contrast, had few banks, and those lacked sufficient capital reserves to fuel an equivalent expansion there.

Northern banks imposed higher interest rates and shorter terms on loans to Southerners than on loans to their north-

ern customers. When Southern rail lines failed during a depression in the 1870s, Northern financiers purchased the companies at bargain prices. By the 1890s, Northern firms owned the five major rail lines serving the South.

With limited access to other sources of capital, the South's textile industry depended on thousands of small investors in towns and cities. These investors avoided risk, shunned innovation, and remained small-scale.

The lumber industry, the South's largest, typified the shortcomings of Southern economic development in the late nineteenth century. It required little capital, relied on unskilled labor, and processed its raw materials on site. After clear-cutting—felling all the trees—in one region, sawmills moved quickly to the next stand of timber, leaving behind a bare landscape, rusting machinery, and a work force no better off than before.

Birmingham's iron and steel industry also suffered from financial weakness. Mill owners relied on cheap black labor rather than investing in expensive technology. Another problem was the limited market for steel in the mostly agricultural South. Pittsburgh-based U.S. Steel took over Birmingham's largest steel producer in 1907. Thereafter, pricing policies favoring Pittsburgh plants limited Birmingham's growth.

The tobacco industry, however, avoided the problems that plagued other Southern enterprises. James B. Duke's American Tobacco Company was so immensely profitable that he became, in effect, his own bank. With more than enough capital to install the latest technology in his plants, Duke bought out his competitors. He then diversified into electric power generation and endowed what became Duke University.

Southern industry fit into a narrow niche of late-nineteenth-century American industrialization. With an unskilled and uneducated work force, poor access to capital and technology, and a weak consumer base, the South processed raw agricultural products, and produced cheap textiles, cheap lumber products, and cheap cigarettes. "Made in the South" became synonymous with bottom-of-the-line goods.

In the South most textile mills were typically located in the countryside, often in mill villages, where employers could easily recruit families and keep them isolated from the distractions and employment alternatives of the cities. The timber industry similarly remained a rural-based enterprise. Tobacco manufacturing helped Durham and Winston, North Carolina, grow, but they remained small compared to Northern industrial cities. Duke moved his corporate headquarters to New York to be near that city's financial, advertising, and communications services.

FARMS TO CITIES: IMPACT ON SOUTHERNERS

If industrialization in the South was limited compared to the North, it nonetheless had an enormous impact on Southern society. In the southern Piedmont, for example, failed farmers moved to textile villages to earn a living. Entire families secured employment and often a house in exchange for their labor. Widows and single young men also moved to the mills, usually the only option outside farm work in the South. Nearly one-third of the textile mill labor force by 1900 consisted of children under the age of 14 and women. They worked twelve hours a day, six days a week, although some firms allowed a half-day off on Saturday.

Southern urban growth, which also paled in comparison with that of the North, had a similarly disproportionate impact on Southern society. One observer noted the changes in a North Carolina town between 1880 and 1890. The town in 1880 presented a sorry aspect: rutted roads, a shanty for a school, a few forlorn churches, and perhaps three families of prominence. Twenty years later, another
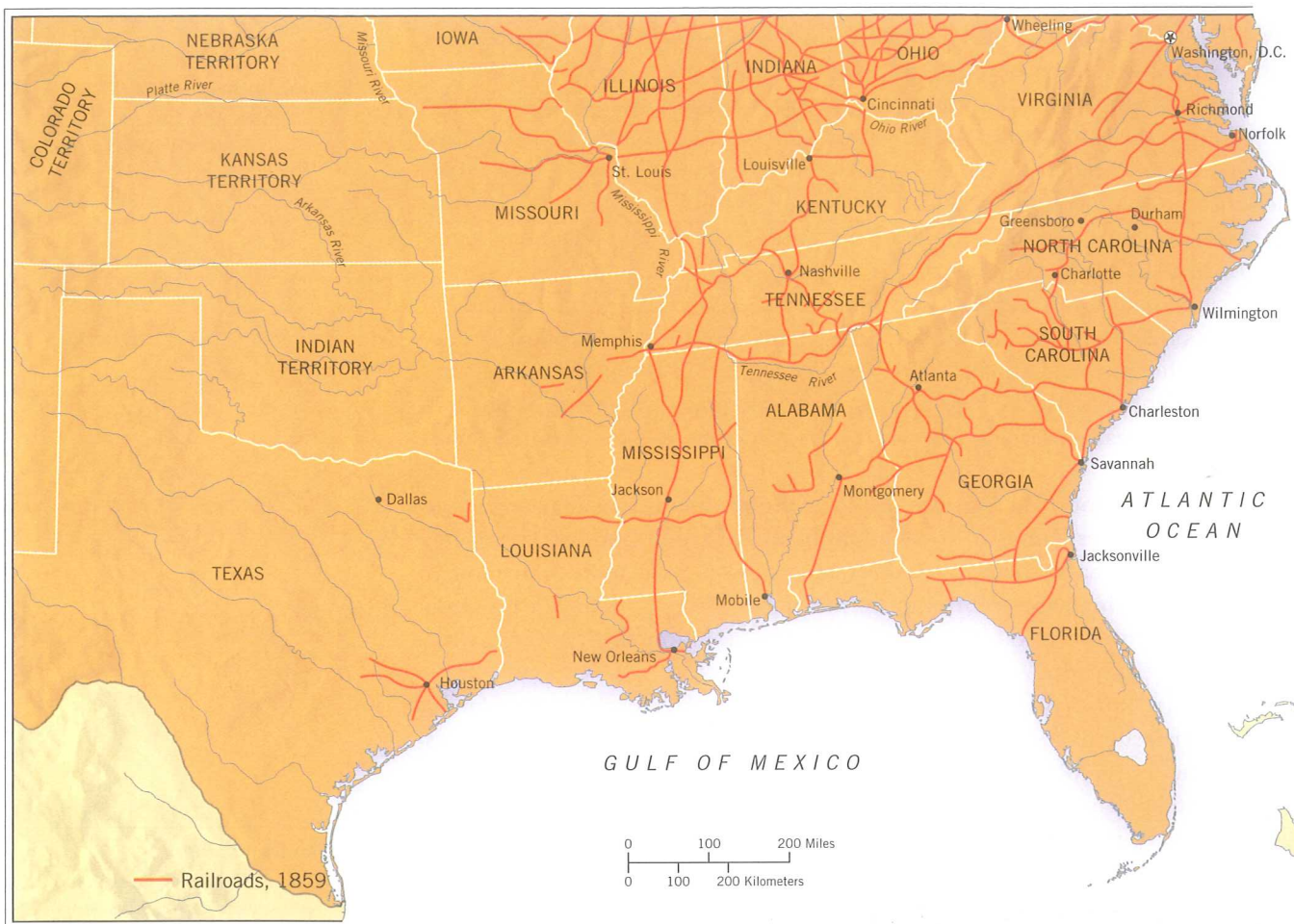
QUICK REVIEW

Southern Industry

◆ Textile industry depended on thousands of small investors.

◆ Lumber industry typified the shortcomings of Southern industry.

◆ Tobacco industry avoided problems that plagued other Southern enterprises.

MAP EXPLORATION

To explore an interactive version of this map, go to **http://www.prenhall.com/goldfield2/map17.1a**

MAP 17–1A

Railroads in the South, 1859 and 1899   A postwar railroad construction boom promoted commercial agriculture and industry in the South. Unlike the railroads of the prewar South, uniform gauges and connections to major trunk lines in the North linked Southerners to the rest of the nation. Northern interests, however, owned the major southern railroads in 1899, and most of the products flowing northward were raw materials to be processed by northern industry or shipped elsewhere by northern merchants.

railroad, bustling commerce, and textile mills had produced a new scene: paved streets, two public schools—one for blacks, one for whites—and a cosmopolitan frame of mind among its residents. "The men have a wider range of activities and the women have more clothes." In another twenty years, the observer predicted, it will be "very like hundreds of towns in the Middle West."

By 1900, a town in the New South would boast a business district and more elegant residences than before. Its influence would extend into the countryside. Farm families visited nearby towns and cities more often. A South Carolina writer related in 1900 that "Country people who . . . went to town annually or semiannually, can now go quickly, safely, pleasantly, and cheaply several times a day." Many never returned to the farm. "Cheap coal, cheap lights, convenient water supply offer inducements; society and amusements draw the young; the chance to speculate, to make a sudden rise in fortunes, to get in the swim attracts others."

MAP EXPLORATION

To explore an interactive version of this map, go to **http://www.prenhall.com/goldfield2/map17.1b**
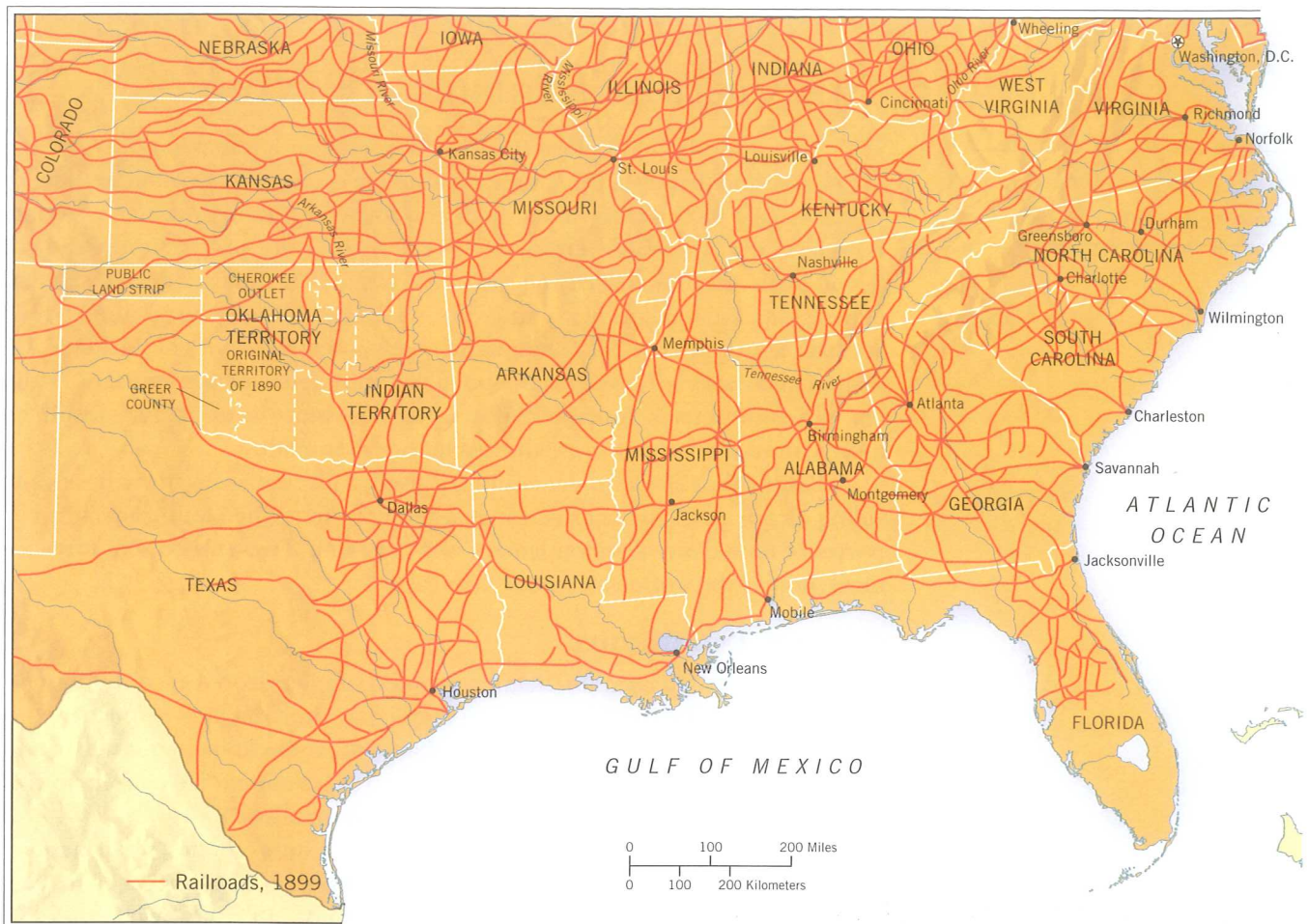
Railroads, 1899

MAP 17–1B

WHAT EFFECT did railroads have on the Southern workforce?

The urban South drew the region's talented and ambitious young people. White men like William Henry Belk moved to cities to open shops or take jobs as bank clerks, bookkeepers, merchants, and salesmen. White women worked as retail clerks, telephone operators, and office personnel. Black women filled the growing demand for laundresses and domestic servants. And black men also found prospects better in towns than on the farm, despite a narrow and uncertain range of occupations available to them.

To some Southerners, urbanization and the emphasis on wealth, new technology, and display represented a second Yankee conquest. Ministers warned against traffic with the urban devil, whose temptations could overcome even the most devout individual. Evangelist Sam Jones, a reformed alcoholic, chose Atlanta for his largest revivals in the 1890s, challenging its residents to keep the Sabbath holy, reject alcohol, and obey the Golden Rule.

White Southerners in town and country, who not long ago had lived similar lives, grew distant. White farmers and their families had fallen on hard times. The market that lured them into commercial agriculture threatened to take away their

independence. They faced the loss of their land and livelihood. Their way of life was no longer the standard for the South. New South spokesmen promoted cities and industries and ordered farmers to get on board the train of progress before it left the station without them.

THE SOUTHERN AGRARIAN REVOLT

WHAT WERE the origins and nature of Southern Populism?

Even more than before the Civil War, cotton dominated Southern agriculture between 1877 and 1900. And the economics of cotton brought despair to cotton farmers. Rice and tobacco production increased, and Louisiana and Arkansas overtook South Carolina in rice production. Steady demand, however, allowed rice and tobacco growers to maintain a decent standard of living. Cotton was another matter. The size of the cotton crop continued to set annual records after 1877. The railroad opened new areas for cultivation in Mississippi and eastern Texas. But the price of cotton fell while the price of fertilizers, agricultural tools, food, and most other necessities went up. As a result, the more cotton the farmers grew, the less money they made.

Before the Civil War, the South fed itself. After the war, with railroads providing direct access to major cotton-marketing centers, the South became an importer of food. As a common lament went in 1890, "Five-cent cotton, forty-cent meat, how in the world can a poor man eat?"

COTTON AND CREDIT

The solution to this agrarian dilemma seemed simple: Grow less cotton. But in a cash-poor economy, credit ruled. Food crops generated less income per acre than cotton, even in the worst years. Local merchants, themselves bound in a web of credit to merchants in larger cities, accepted cotton as collateral. "No cotton, no credit" became a standard refrain throughout the South after 1877.

Trapped in debt by low cotton prices and high interest rates, small landowning farmers lost their land in record numbers. Less than one-third of white farmers in the South were tenants or sharecroppers just after the Civil War. By the 1890s, nearly half were.

Some areas did diversify. Good rail connections in Georgia, for example, made peach farming profitable for some farmers. Cattle ranching spread in Texas. But few crops or animals had the geographical range of cotton. Soil type, rainfall, animal parasites, and frost made alternatives unfeasible for many farmers. Cotton required no machinery or irrigation system. James Barrett, a farmer outside Augusta, Georgia, said of his experiment with diversification in 1900: "I have diversified, and I have not made any money by diversification. . . . I grow green peas and everything I know of. I have raised horses, cows, and hogs, and I have diversified it for the last three years and have not been able to make a dollar."

SOUTHERN FARMERS ORGANIZE, 1877–1892

As their circumstances deteriorated, farmers lobbied for debt-stay laws and formed organizations to widen the circle of their community to include other farmers sharing their plight. They wanted to make the market fairer, to lower interest rates and ease credit, to regulate railroad freight rates, and to keep the prices of necessities in check.

These goals required legislation. But presidential administrations between 1877 and 1900, Republican or Democrat, did not favor debt relief or extensive regulation of business. And the Redeemer Democrats who gained control of the Southern state governments after Reconstruction represented large landowners and merchants, not poor farmers.

To strengthen their authority and suppress dissent, the Redeemer Democrats portrayed themselves as having saved the South from the rule of black people and Republicans. Insurgent farmers who challenged this leadership risked being branded as disloyal.

The Democrats nonetheless faced some opposition. In some states, like North Carolina, the Republicans retained support in mountain areas and among black voters. In addition, disaffected white farmers mounted independent political campaigns against the Redeemers in several states in the late 1870s and early 1880s to demand currency reform and the easing of credit. But the Democrats, in firm control of the election machinery throughout the South, turned back these challenges. Although Independents at one point succeeded in gaining control of the Virginia legislature, their few other victories were confined to the local level. Hard-pressed farmers began to organize on a broader scale.

By 1875, nearly 250,000 Southern landowners had joined the National Grange of the Patrons of Husbandry, more popularly known as the **Grange** (see Chapter 22). The leaders of the Grange, however, were large landowners. Their interests were not the same as the small farmers who made up the organization's rank and file. The Grange leadership in the South, for example, favored fence laws, limited government assistance, controls on farm labor, and other policies that hurt small farmers. The rank-and-file members, in contrast, pushed a more radical agenda including establishing community stores, cotton gins, and warehouses to bypass the prevailing credit system.

The Grange failed to stem the reverses of small Southern farmers. In 1882 a group of farmers in Arkansas formed an organization called the **Agricultural Wheel** that had attracted more than 500,000 Southern farmers by 1887. Wheelers tried to purchase farm equipment directly from manufacturers, avoiding merchant middlemen. Unlike the Grange, they called for an array of federal programs to ease the credit and cash burdens of farmers, including a graduated income tax and the printing and distribution of more paper money.

The most potent agricultural reform organization, the **Southern Farmers' Alliance**, originated in Texas in the late 1870s. Alliance-sponsored farmers' cooperatives provided their members with discounts on supplies and credit. Members also benefited from marketing their cotton crops collectively. Although it endorsed some candidates for office, the Alliance was not a political party and did not challenge Democratic domination of the South.

The Alliance was still very much a Texas organization in 1887 when Charles W. Macune, a Wisconsin native, became its driving force. Macune sent a corps of speakers to create a network of Southern cooperatives. Within two years, the Alliance had spread throughout the South and into the North and West. By 1890, it claimed more than a million members. Almost all were small farmers who owned their own land. The success of the Alliance reflected both the desperate struggle of these small farmers to keep their land and the failure of other organizations to help them.

The Alliance operated like a religious denomination. Its leaders preached a message of salvation through cooperation to as many as twenty thousand people at huge revival-like rallies. Qualifications for membership included a belief in the divinity of Christ and the literal truth of the Bible. Alliance speakers, many of them rural ministers, often held meetings in churches, combining biblical nostrums with economic policy. They urged members to visit "the homes where lacerated hearts are bleeding, to assuage the suffering of a brother or a sister, bury the dead, care for the widows and educate the orphans." The Alliance lobbied state legislatures to fund rural public schools. To increase the sense of community, the Alliance sponsored picnics, baseball games, and concerts.

Grange The National Grange of the Patrons of Husbandry, a national organization of farm owners formed after the Civil War.

Agricultural Wheel One of several farmer organizations that emerged in the South during the 1880s. It sought federal legislation to deal with credit and currency issues.

Southern Farmer's Alliance The largest of several organizations that formed in the post-Reconstruction South to advance the interests of beleaguered small farmers.
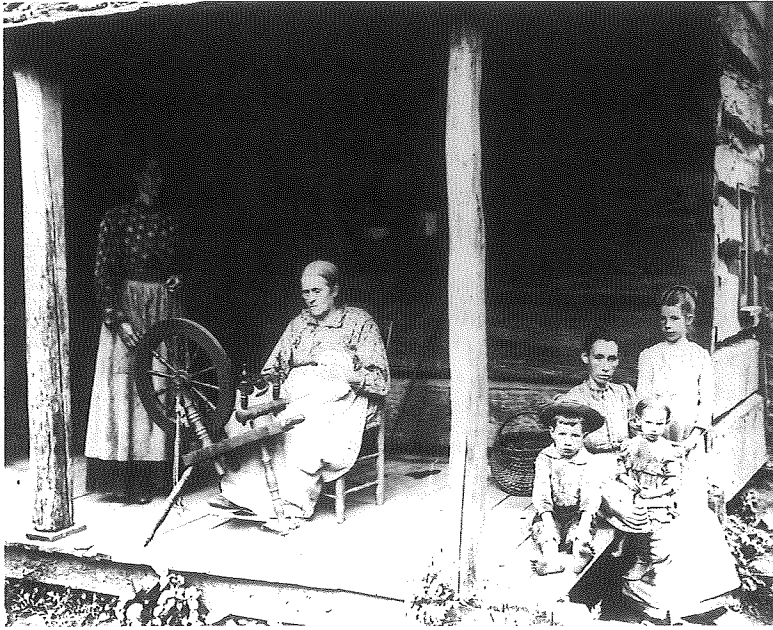
The faces of this white sharecropper family in North Carolina reflect the harshness of farm life in the late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century South, a period when thousands of Southerners, white and black alike, slipped from land ownership to sharecropping.

Courtesy of the North Carolina Division of Archives and History

Colored Farmer's Alliance   An organization of Southern black farmers formed in Texas in 1886 in response to the Southern Farmer's Alliance, which did not accept black people as members.

Subtreasury plan   A program promoted by the Southern Farmer's Alliance in response to low cotton prices and tight credit. Farmers would store their crop in a warehouse until prices rose, in the meantime borrowing up to 80 percent of the value of the stored crops from the government at a low interest rate.

The Alliance imposed strict morality on its members, prohibiting drinking, gambling, and sexual misconduct. Alliance leaders criticized many Baptist, Methodist, and Presbyterian ministers for straying from the traditional emphasis on individual salvation and for defending a status quo that benefited large planters and towns. Cyrus Thompson, North Carolina Alliance president and a prominent Methodist, declared in 1889 that "the church today stands where it has always stood, on the side of human slavery."

Some Alliance members left their churches for new religious groups. Holiness movement disciples advocated simple dress, avoided coffee and pork, and swore off all worldly amusements. The members of the Church of God, which formed in the mountains of Tennessee and North Carolina in 1886, similarly sought to cleanse themselves of secular evils. The new churches promoted a vision of an egalitarian South. They accepted women on an equal basis and occasionally black people as well. As many as a third of Holiness preachers were women.

Women also found an active role as officers and speakers in the Alliance. As a Texas woman declared, "The Alliance has come to redeem woman from her enslaved condition. She is admitted into the organization as the equal of her brother, and the ostracism which has impeded her intellectual progress in the past is not met with."

However, the Alliance did not accept black members. Black farmers formed the first **Colored Farmers' Alliance** in Texas in 1886, which had fewer landowners and more tenants and sharecroppers in its ranks than the white organization. It concerned itself with issues relevant to this constituency, such as higher wages for cotton pickers. In 1891, the Colored Alliance attempted a regionwide strike over farm wages but was unable to enforce it in the worsening Southern economy.

The white Alliance had better results with a protest over price fixing. To protect cotton shipped to market, farmers wrapped it in a burlaplike material called jute. In 1888, jute manufacturers combined to raise the price from 7 cents to as much as 14 cents a yard. The Alliance initiated a jute boycott throughout the South, telling farmers to use cotton bagging as an alternative. The protest worked, forcing the chastened jute manufacturers to offer farmers their product at a mere 5 cents per yard.

This success encouraged Macune to propose his **subtreasury plan**. Alliance members were to store their crops in a subtreasury (a warehouse), keeping their cotton off the market until the price rose. In the meantime, the government would loan the farmers up to 80 percent of the value of the stored crops at a low interest rate of 2 percent per year. This arrangement would free farmers from merchants' high interest rates and crop liens.

Macune urged Alliance members to endorse political candidates who supported the subtreasury scheme. Many Democratic candidates for state legislatures throughout the South did endorse it and were elected with Alliance backing in 1890. Once in office, however, they failed to deliver.

The failure of the subtreasury plan combined with a steep drop in cotton prices after 1890 undermined the Alliance. Its cooperatives collapsed as crop liens cut down small landowners as though with scythes. A Georgia Allianceman wrote in 1891 that "Hundreds of farmers will be turned adrift, and thousands of acres of our best land allowed to grow up in weeds through lack of necessary capital to

work them." Alliance membership declined by two-thirds in Georgia that year. Desperate Alliance leaders merged their organization with a new national political party in 1892, the People's or **Populist party**. Populists appropriated the Alliance program and challenged Democrats in the South and Republicans in the West. The merger reflected desperation more than calculation.

SOUTHERN POPULISTS

Northern farmers, like their Southern counterparts, faced growing financial pressure in the 1880s that by the early 1890s had led them too to join the Alliance. Just as Southern farmers had turned to the Democratic party to redress their grievances, Northern farmers turned to the dominant party in the Northern farming states—the Republican party—to redress theirs. Like the Democrats, the Republicans failed to respond. Beginning in Kansas in 1890, disillusioned farmers formed the People's party, soon called the Populist party.

The Populists supported a wide range of reforms, many adopted from the Alliance, including the direct election of United States senators by popular vote rather than by state legislatures, an income tax, woman suffrage, government ownership of railroads, and various proposals to ease credit. In the South, they challenged the Democratic party, sometimes courting the votes of Republicans, including black voters.

Southern Populists were ambivalent about African Americans. On the one hand, black people constituted a potential voting bloc the Populists could ill afford to ignore. On the other hand, appealing to blacks would expose Populists to demagogic attacks from Democrats for undermining white supremacy, frightening away potential white backers. The *Baton Rouge Daily Advocate*, for example, informed its readers in 1892 that the Populist party was "the most dangerous and insidious foe of white supremacy."

Despite the risks, in Texas, black Populist John B. Rayner, the "silver-tongued orator of the colored race," spoke to racially mixed audiences around the state. The Texas Populist platform called for "equal justice and protection under the law to all citizens without reference to race, color or nationality." In Georgia, Populist leader Tom Watson supported a biracial party organization and counseled white people to accept black people as partners in their common crusade. "You are kept apart," Watson told black and white Georgians, "that you may be separately fleeced of your earnings. You are made to hate each other because upon that hatred is rested the keystone of the arch of financial despotism which enslaves you both."

Despite Rayner's and Watson's efforts, most black people remained loyal to the Republican party for its role in abolishing slavery and for the few patronage crumbs the party still threw their way. Black people also suspected Populists' motives. The party appealed mainly to small, landowning farmers, not, as most black Southerners were, propertyless tenants and sharecroppers. And even the Texas Populists opposed black officeholding and jury service.

The Populists finished a distant third in the 1892 presidential election. In the South, their only significant inroads were in the state legislatures of Texas, Alabama, and Georgia. Even in these states, widespread voter fraud among Democrats undermined Populist strength.

Despite a deepening economic depression, the Populists had only a few additional successes in the South after 1892. Adopting a fusion strategy, the Populists ran candidates on a combined ticket with Republicans in North Carolina. The fusion candidates captured the governorship and state legislature.

Higher cotton prices and returning prosperity in the late 1890s, however, undermined Populist support in North Carolina, as in the rest of the South. In 1896,

17–9
The Omaha Platform of the Populist Party (1892)

Populist party A major third party of the 1890s formed on the basis of the Southern Farmer's Alliance and other reform organizations.

the Populists assisted in their own nationwide demise by merging with the Democrats for the presidential election of 1896. In 1898, Democrats surged back into office in North Carolina on the strength of a virulent white supremacy campaign and promptly undid the work of the fusionists.

WOMEN IN THE NEW SOUTH

Just as farm women found their voices in the Alliance movement of the 1880s, a growing group of middle-class white and black urban women entered the public realm and engaged in policy issues. In the late-nineteenth-century North, women became increasingly active in reform movements, including woman suffrage, labor legislation, social welfare, and city planning. Building on their antebellum activist traditions, Northern women, sometimes acting in concert with men, sought to improve the status of women in society.

Southern women had a meager reform tradition to build on. The war also left them ambivalent about independence. With male family members dead or incapacitated, some determined never again to depend on men. Others, responding to the stress of running a farm or business, would have preferred less independence.

Southern men had been shaken by defeat. They had lost the war and placed their families in peril. Many responded with alcoholism and violence. To regain their self-esteem, they recast the war as a noble crusade and imagined Southern white women as paragons of virtue and purity who required men to defend them. Even small changes in traditional gender roles would threaten this image. Southern women never mounted an extensive reform campaign like their sisters in the North.

Urban middle-class Southern women found opportunities to broaden their social role and enter the public sphere in the two decades after 1880 when servants, stores, and schools freed them of many of the productive functions—like making clothing, cooking, and child care—that burdened their sisters in the country and kept them tied to the home.

CHURCH WORK AND PRESERVING MEMORIES

Southern women waded warily into the public arena. The movement to found home mission societies, for example, was led by single white women in the Methodist church to promote industrial education among the poor and help working-class women become self-sufficient. Laura Haygood, an Atlantan who had served as a missionary in China, founded a home mission in Atlanta when she returned in 1883. Lily Hammond, another Atlantan, extended the mission concept when she opened settlement houses in black and white city neighborhoods in Atlanta in the 1890s. Settlement houses, pioneered in New York in the 1880s, promoted middle-class values in poor neighborhoods and provided them with a permanent source of services. In the South, they were supported by the Methodist church and known as *Wesley Houses*, after John Wesley, the founder of Methodism.

Religion also prompted Southern white women to join the **Women's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU)**. The first Southern local formed in Lucy Haygood's church in Atlanta in 1880. WCTU members visited schools to educate children about the evils of alcohol, addressed prisoners, and blanketed men's meetings with literature. As a result, they became familiar with the South's abysmal school system and its archaic criminal justice system. They thus began advocating education and prison reform as well as legislation against alcohol.

By the 1890s, many WCTU members realized that they couldn't achieve their goals unless women had the vote. Rebecca Latimer Felton, an Atlanta suffragist and

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QUICK REVIEW

Southern Women and Reform
- Southern women played an active role in the public arena.
- Laura Haygood started the movement to found home mission societies.
- Lily Hammond opened settlement houses in Atlanta in the 1890s.

Women's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU) Women's organization whose members visited schools to educate children about the evils of alcohol, addressed prisoners, and blanketed men's meetings with literature.

WCTU member, reflected the frustration of her generation of Southern women in an address to working women in 1892:

> But some will say—you women might be quiet—you can't vote, you can't do anything! Exactly so—we have kept quiet for nearly a hundred years hoping to see relief come to the women of this country—and it hasn't come. How long must our children be slain? If a mad dog should come into my yard, and attempt to bite my child or myself—would you think me out of my place, if I killed him with a dull meat axe? . . . [You] would call that woman a brave woman . . . and yet are we to sit by while drink ruins our homes?

WCTU rhetoric implied a veiled attack on men. Felton, for example, often referred to men who drank as "beasts." When the WCTU held its national convention in Atlanta in 1890, local Baptist and Methodist ministers launched a bitter attack against the organization, claiming that it drew women into activities contrary to the Scriptures and that its endorsement of woman suffrage subverted traditional family values.

Few women, however, had such radical objectives in mind. Rebecca Felton and her husband Dr. William H. Felton, a physician and minister, eked out a modest living teaching school and working a small farm during the Civil War and its aftermath. Four of their five children died. Seeing Southern families worse off than her own, Felton threw herself into a variety of reform activities, ranging from woman suffrage to campaigns against drinking, smoking, and Coca-Cola. She fought for child-care facilities, sex education, and compulsory school attendance and pushed for the admission of women to the University of Georgia. But she had no qualms about the **lynching** of black men—executing them without trial—"a thousand times a week if necessary" to preserve the purity of white women. In 1922, she became the first woman member of the U.S. Senate.

The dedication of Southern women to commemorating the memory of the Confederate cause also suggested the conservative nature of middle-class women's reform in the New South. Ladies' Memorial Associations formed after the war to ensure the proper burial of Confederate soldiers and suitable markings for their graves. These activities reinforced white solidarity and constructed a common heritage for all white Southerners regardless of class or location. A new organization, the United Daughters of the Confederacy (UDC), appeared in 1894 to preserve Southern history and honor its heroes.

WOMEN'S CLUBS

A broader spectrum of Southern middle-class women joined women's clubs than joined church-sponsored organizations or memorial associations. By 1890, some clubs and their members had begun to discuss political issues such as child labor reform, educational improvement, and prison reform. The Lone Star (Texas) Federation scrutinized public hospitals, almshouses, and orphanages at the turn of the century. Its president asserted, "The Lone Star Federation stands for the highest and truest type of womanhood—that which lends her voice as well as her hand." Southern women's club members sought out their sisters in the North. As Georgia's federated club president, Mrs. A. O. Granger, wrote in 1906, "Women of intellectual keenness in the South could not be left out of the awakening of the women of the whole country to a realization of the responsibility which they properly had in the condition of their fellow-women and of the children."

The activities of black women's clubs paralleled those of white women's clubs. Only rarely, however—as at some meetings of the Young Women's Christian Association (YWCA) or occasional meetings in support of prohibition—did black and white club members interact.
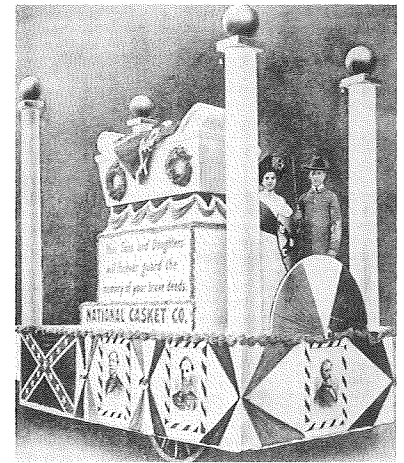
The Confederate battle flag on this parade float reflects its emerging status as an icon of the Lost Cause in the late nineteenth century.

Courtsy of Library of Congress

Lynching Execution, usually by a mob, without trial.

Most white clubwomen were unwilling to sacrifice their own reform agenda to the cause of racial reconciliation. Some women suffragists in the South argued that the combined vote of white men and women would further white interests.

The primary interest of most Southern white women's clubs was the plight of young white working-class and farm women. Single and adrift in the city, many worked for low wages, and some slipped into prostitution. The clubs sought to help them make the transition from rural to urban life or to improve their lives on the farm. To this end, they focused on child labor reform and on upgrading public education.

SETTLING THE RACE ISSUE

To counter black aspirations, white leaders enlisted the support of young white men. African Americans resisted the resulting efforts to deprive them of their remaining freedoms. Though some left the South, many more built new lives and communities within the restricted framework white Southerners allowed them.

THE FLUIDITY OF SOUTHERN RACE RELATIONS, 1877–1890

Race relations remained remarkably fluid in the South between the end of Reconstruction and the early 1890s. Despite the departure of Federal troops and the end of Republican rule, many black people continued to vote and hold office. Some Democrats even courted the black electorate.

In 1885, T. McCants Stewart, a black newspaperman from New York, traveled to his native South Carolina expecting a rough reception once his train headed south from Washington, D.C. To his surprise, the conductor allowed him to remain in his seat while white riders sat on baggage or stood. He provoked little reaction among white passengers when he entered the dining car. Some of them struck up a conversation with him. Stewart, who admitted he had begun his journey with "a chip on my shoulder . . . [daring] any man to knock it off," now observed that "the whites of the South are really less afraid to [have] contact with colored people than the whites of the North." In Columbia, South Carolina, Stewart found that he could move about with no restrictions. "I can ride in first-class cars. . . . I can go into saloons and get refreshments even as in New York. I can stop in and drink a glass of soda and be more politely waited upon than in some parts of New England."

To be sure, black people faced discrimination in employment and voting and random retaliation for perceived violations of racial barriers. But those barriers were by no means fixed.

THE WHITE BACKLASH

The black generation that came of age in this environment demanded full participation in American society. As the young black editor of Nashville's *Fisk Herald* proclaimed in 1889, "We are not the Negro from whom the chains of slavery fell a quarter of a century ago. . . . We are now qualified, and being the equal of whites, should be treated as such." Charles Price, an educator from North Carolina, admonished colleagues in 1890, "If we do not possess the manhood and patriotism to stand up in the defense of . . . constitutional rights and protest long, loud and unitedly against their continual infringements, we are unworthy of heritage as American citizens and deserve to have fastened on us the wrongs of which many are disposed to complain."

Many young white Southerners, raised on the myth of the Lost Cause, were continually reminded of the heroism and sacrifice of their fathers during the Civil War. For many, conditions were worse than their families had enjoyed before the war, and they resented the changed status of black people. David Schenck, a Greensboro,

North Carolina, businessman wrote in 1890 that "the breach between the races widens as the young free negroes grow up and intrude themselves on white society and nothing prevents the white people of the South from annihilating the negro race but the military power of the United States Government." Using the Darwinian language popular among educated white people at the time, Schenck concluded, "I pity the Negro, but the struggle is for the survival of the fittest race."

The South's deteriorating rural economy and the volatile politics of the late 1880s and early 1890s exacerbated the growing tensions between assertive black people and threatened white people. In the cities, black and white people came in close contact, competing for jobs and jostling each other for seats on streetcars and trains. Racist rhetoric and violence against black people accelerated in the 1890s.

Lynching became a public spectacle, a ritual designed to reinforce white supremacy. Note the matter-of-fact satisfaction of the spectators to this gruesome murder of a black man.
Courtesy Library of Congress

LYNCH LAW

In 1892, three prominent black men, Tom Moss, Calvin McDowell, and William Stewart, opened a grocery on the south side of Memphis, an area with a large African-American population. The People's Grocery prospered while a white-owned store across the street struggled. The proprietor of the white-owned store, W. H. Barrett, secured an indictment against Moss, McDowell, and Stewart for maintaining a public nuisance. Outraged black community leaders called a protest meeting at the grocery during which two people made threats against Barrett. Barrett learned of the threats, notified the police, and warned the gathering at the People's Grocery that white people planned to attack and destroy the store. Nine sheriff's deputies, all white, approached the store to arrest the men who had threatened Barrett. Fearing Barrett's threatened white assault, the people in the grocery fired on the deputies, unaware who they were, and wounded three. When the deputies identified themselves, thirty black people surrendered, including Moss, McDowell, and Stewart, and were imprisoned. Four days later, deputies removed the three owners from jail, took them to a deserted area, and shot them dead.

The men at the People's Grocery had violated two of the unspoken rules that white Southerners imposed on black Southerners to maintain racial barriers: They had prospered, and they had forcefully challenged white authority. White mobs lynched nearly two thousand black Southerners between 1882 and 1903. Most lynchers were working-class white people with rural roots who were struggling in the depressed economy of the 1890s and enraged at the fluidity of urban race relations.

The substitution of lynch law for a court of law seemed a cheap price to pay for white solidarity at a time when political and economic pressures threatened entrenched white leaders. In 1893, Atlanta's Methodist bishop, Atticus G. Haygood, typically a spokesman for racial moderation, objected to the torture some white lynchers inflicted on their victims but added, "Unless assaults by Negroes on white women and little girls come to an end, there will most probably be still further displays of vengeance that will shock the world."

Haygood's comments reflect the most common justification for lynching—the presumed threat posed by black men to the sexual virtue of white women. Sexual "crimes" could include remarks, glances, and gestures. Yet only 25 percent of the

QUICK REVIEW

Lynch Law
- 1882–1903: nearly 2,000 black Southerners lynched.
- Lynching justified by alleged threat of black male sexuality to white female virtue.
- Ida B. Wells took the lead in campaigning against lynchings.

Ida B. Wells, an outspoken critic of lynching, fled to Chigago following the People's Grocery lynchings in Memphis in 1892 and became a national civil-rights leader

The Granger Collection, New York

Segregation   A system of racial control that separated the races, initially by custom but increasingly by law during and after Reconstruction.

DisFranchisement   The use of legal means to bar individuals or groups from voting.

Plessy* v. *Ferguson   Supreme Court decision holding that Louisiana's railroad segregation law did not violate the Constitution as long as the railroads or the state provided equal accommodations.

lynchings that took place in the thirty years after 1890 had some alleged sexual connection. Certainly, the men of the People's Grocery had committed no sex crime.

Ida B. Wells, who owned a black newspaper in Memphis, used her columns to publicize the People's Grocery lynchings. The great casualty of the lynchings, she noted, was her faith that education, wealth, and upright living guaranteed black people the equality and justice they had long sought. The reverse was true. The more black people succeeded, the greater was their threat to white people. She investigated other lynchings, countering the claim that they were the result of assaults on white women. When she suggested that, on the contrary, perhaps some white women were attracted to black men, she enraged the white citizens of Memphis, who destroyed her press and office. Exiled to Chicago, Wells devoted herself to the struggle for racial justice.

SEGREGATION BY LAW

Southern white lawmakers sought to cement white solidarity and ensure black subservience in the 1890s by instituting **segregation** by law and the **disfranchisement** of black voters. Racial segregation restricting black Americans to separate and rarely equal public facilities had prevailed nationwide before the Civil War. After 1870, the custom spread rapidly in southern cities. In Richmond by the early 1870s, segregation laws required black people registering to vote to enter through separate doors, and registrars to count their ballots separately. The city's prisons and hospitals were segregated. So too were its horse-drawn railways, its schools, and most of its restaurants, hotels, and theaters.

During the same period, many Northern cities and states, often in response to protests by African Americans, were ending segregation. Massachusetts, for example, passed the nation's first public accommodations law in May 1865, desegregating all public facilities. Cities such as New York, Cleveland, and Cincinnati desegregated their streetcars. Chicago, Cleveland, Milwaukee, and the entire state of Michigan desegregated their public school systems. Roughly 95 percent of the nation's black population, however, lived in the South. In reality, integration in the North consequently required white people to give up very little to black people. And as African-American aspirations increased in the South during the 1890s as their political power waned, they became more vulnerable to segregation by law at the state level. At the same time, migration to cities, industrial development, and technologies such as railroads and elevators increased the opportunities for racial contact and muddled the rules of racial interaction.

White passengers objected to black passengers' implied assertion of economic and social equality when they sat with them in dining cars and first-class compartments. Black Southerners, in contrast, viewed equal access to railroad facilities as a sign of respectability and acceptance. When Southern state legislatures required railroads to provide segregated facilities, black people protested.

In 1890, Homer Plessy, a Louisiana black man, refused to leave the first-class car of a railroad traveling through the state. Arrested, he filed suit, arguing that his payment of the first-class fare entitled him to sit in the same first-class accommodations as white passengers. He claimed that under his right of citizenship guaranteed by the Fourteenth Amendment, neither the state of Louisiana nor the railroad could discriminate against him on the basis of color. The Constitution, he claimed, was colorblind.

The U.S. Supreme Court ruled on the case, *Plessy* v. *Ferguson*, in 1896. In a seven-to-one decision, the Court held that Louisiana's railroad segregation law did not violate the Constitution as long as the railroads or the state provided equal accommodations. The decision left unclear what "equal" meant. In the Court's view, "Legislation is powerless to eradicate racial instincts," meaning that segregation of the races was natural and transcended constitutional considerations. The only justice to vote

against the decision was John Marshall Harlan, a Kentuckian and former slave owner. In a stinging dissent, he predicted that the decision would result in an all-out assault on black rights. "The destinies of the two races . . . are indissolubly linked together," Harlan declared, "and the interests of both require that the common government of all shall not permit the seeds of race hate to be planted under the sanction of law."

Both Northern and Southern states enacted new segregation laws in the wake of *Plessy* v. *Ferguson*. In practice, the separate facilities for black people these laws required, if provided at all, were rarely equal. By 1900, segregation by law extended to public conveyances, theaters, hotels, restaurants, parks, and schools.

The segregation statutes came to be known collectively as **Jim Crow laws**, after the blackface stage persona of Thomas Rice, a white Northern minstrel show performer in the 1820s. Reflecting white stereo-types of African Americans, Rice caricatured "Jim Crow" as a foolish, elderly, lame slave who spoke in an exaggerated dialect.

Economic segregation followed social segregation. Before the Civil War, black men had dominated crafts such as carpentry and masonry. By the 1890s, white men were replacing them in these trades and excluding them from new trades such as plumbing and electrical work. Trade unions, composed primarily of craftworkers, began systematically to exclude African Americans. Confined increasingly to low or unskilled positions in railroad construction, the timber industry, and agriculture, black workers underwent *deskilling*—a decline in work force expertise—after 1890. With lower incomes from unskilled labor, they faced reduced opportunities for better housing and education.

DISFRANCHISEMENT

Following the political instability of the late 1880s and the 1890s, white leaders determined to disfranchise black people altogether, thereby reinforcing white solidarity and eliminating the need to consider black interests. Obstacles loomed—the Fifteenth Amendment, which guaranteed freedmen the right to vote, and a Republican-dominated Congress—but with a national consensus emerging in support of white supremacy, they proved easy to circumvent.

Support for disfranchisement was especially strong among large landowners in the South's plantation districts, where heavy concentrations of black people threatened their political domination. Urban leaders, especially after the turmoil of the 1890s, looked on disfranchisement as a way to stabilize politics and make elections more predictable.

Democrats enacted a variety of measures to attain their objectives without violating the letter of the Fifteenth Amendment. States enacted **poll taxes**, requiring citizens to pay to vote. They adopted the secret ballot, which confused and intimidated illiterate black voters accustomed to using ballots with colors to identify parties. States set literacy and educational qualifications for voting or required prospective registrants to "interpret" a section of the state constitution. To avoid disfranchising poor, illiterate white voters with these measures, states enacted **grandfather clauses** granting the vote automatically to anyone whose grandfather could have voted prior to 1867 (the year Congressional Reconstruction began). The grandfathers of most black men in the 1890s had been slaves, ineligible to vote.

Tennessee was the first state to pass disfranchising legislation. A year later, Mississippi amended its constitution to require voters to pass a literacy test and prove they "understood" the state constitution. When a journalist asked an Alabama lawmaker if Jesus Christ could pass his state's "understanding" test, the legislator replied, "That would depend entirely on which way he was going to vote."

Alarmed by the Populist uprising, Democratic leaders also used disfranchisement to gut dissenting parties. During the 1880s, minority parties in the

17–10
From *Plessy* v. *Ferguson*
(1896)

WHERE TO LEARN MORE

Atlanta History Center,
Atlanta, Georgia
www.atlhist.org/exhibitions/html/
metropolitan_frontiers.htm

Jim Crow laws   Segregation laws that became widespread in the South during the 1890s.

Poll taxes   Taxes imposed on voters as a requirement for voting.

Grandfather clause   Rule that required potential voters to demonstrate that their grandfathers had been eligible to vote; used in some Southern states after 1890 to limit the black electorate.
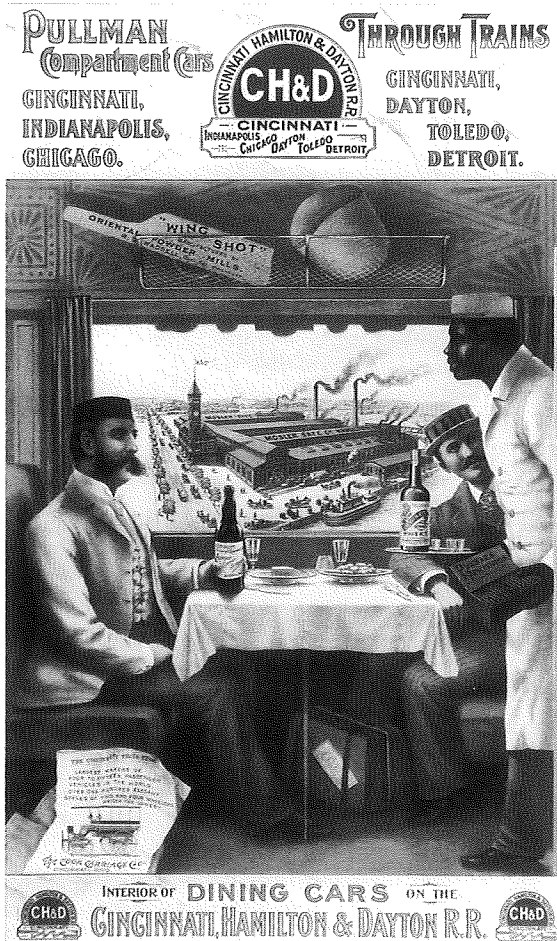
South consistently polled an average of 40 percent of the statewide vote; by the mid-1890s, that figure had diminished to 30 percent, despite the Populist insurgency. Turnout dropped even more dramatically. In Mississippi, for example, voter turnout in gubernatorial races during the 1880s averaged 51 percent; during the 1890s, it was 21 percent. Black turnout in Mississippi, which averaged 39 percent in the 1880s, plummeted to near zero in the 1890s. Overall turnout, which averaged 64 percent during the 1880s, fell to only 30 percent by 1910.

When 160 South Carolina delegates gathered to amend the state constitution in 1895, the six black delegates among them mounted a passionate but futile defense of their right to vote. Black delegate W.J. Whipper noted the irony of white people clamoring for supremacy when they already held the vast majority of the state's elected offices. Robert Smalls, the state's leading black politician, urged delegates not to turn their backs on the state's black population. Such pleas fell on deaf ears. (See American Views: "Robert Smalls Argues against Disfranchisement.")

A NATIONAL CONSENSUS ON RACE

How could the South get away with it? How could Southerners openly segregate, disfranchise, and lynch African Americans without a national outcry? Apparently, most Americans in the 1890s believed that black people were inferior to white people and deserved to be treated as second-class citizens. Contemporary depictions of black people show scarcely human stereotypes: black men with bulbous lips and bulging eyes, fat black women wearing turbans and smiling vacuously, and black children contentedly eating watermelon or romping with jungle animals. These images appeared on cereal boxes, in advertisements, in children's books, in newspaper cartoons, and as lawn ornaments. The widely read book *The Clansman* by Thomas Dixon, a North Carolinian living in New York City and an ardent white supremacist, glorified the rise of the Ku Klux Klan. D. W. Griffith transformed *The Clansman* into an immensely popular film under the title *Birth of a Nation*.

So-called scientific racism purported to establish white superiority and black inferiority on biological grounds. Northern-born professional historians reinterpreted the Civil War and Reconstruction in the white South's favor. Historian William A. Dunning, the generation's leading authority on Reconstruction, wrote in 1901 that the North's "views as to the political capacity of the blacks had been irrational." The progressive journal *Outlook* hailed disfranchisement because it made it "impossible in the future for ignorant, shiftless, and corrupt negroes to misrepresent their race in political action." Harvard's Charles Francis Adams Jr. chided colleagues who disregarded the "fundamental, scientific facts" he claimed demonstrated black inferiority. The *New York Times*, summarizing this national consensus in 1903, noted that "practically the whole country" supported the "southern solution" to the race issue, since "there was no other possible settlement."

Congress and the courts upheld discriminatory legislation. As a delegate at the Alabama disfranchisement convention of 1901 noted, "The race problem is no longer confined to the States of the South, [and] we have the sympathy instead of the hostility of the North."

By the mid-1890s, Republicans were so entrenched in the North and West that they did not need Southern votes to win presidential elections

Racial stereotypes permeated American popular culture by the turn of the twentieth century. Images like this advertisement for Pullman railroad cars, which depicts a deferential black porter attending to white passengers, reinforced racist beliefs that black people belonged in servile roles. Immersed in such images, white people assumed they depicted the natural order of things.

Cincinnati, Hamilton & Dayton Railroad Advertisement, lithographic poster, 1894, Strobridge Lithographic Company, from the Bella C. Landauer Collection, negative number 51391. Collection of the New York Historical Society

• AMERICAN VIEWS •

ROBERT SMALLS ARGUES AGAINST DISFRANCHISEMENT

Born in Beaufort, South Carolina, in 1839, Robert Smalls served as a slave pilot in Charleston Harbor. In 1862, he emancipated himself, with his family and friends, when he delivered a Confederate steamer to a Union blockading fleet. He entered politics in 1864 as a delegate from his state to the Republican National Convention. He helped write South Carolina's Reconstruction constitution, which guaranteed the right of former slaves to vote and hold office. Smalls won election to the state legislature in 1869, and the U.S. House of Representatives in 1875. With opportunities for African Americans to hold public office declining following Reconstruction, Smalls was appointed collector of the Port of Beaufort, a federal post he occupied until his death in 1915. In the speech excerpted here—delivered to the South Carolina Constitutional Convention of 1895—he assails the state's plan to disfranchise black voters.

FROM THE white perspective, what is Smalls's most telling argument against the disfranchisement and the planned strategies to implement it? How does Smalls depict the black citizens of South Carolina? Why were white political leaders unmoved by Small's plea?

Mr. President, this convention has been called for no other purpose than the disfranchisement of the negro. . . .

The negroes are paying taxes in the south on $263,000,000 worth of property. In South Carolina, according to the census, the negroes pay tax on $12,500,000 worth of property. That was in 1890. You voted down without discussion . . . a proposition for a simple property and education qualification [for voting]. What do you want? . . . In behalf of the 600,000 negroes in the State and the 132,000 negro voters all that I demand is that a fair and honest election law be passed. We care not what the qualifications imposed are, all that we ask is that they be fair and honest, and honorable, and with these provisos we will stand or fall by it. You have 102,000 white men over 21 years of age, 13,000 of these cannot read nor write. You dare not disfranchise them, and you know that the man who proposes it will never be elected to another office in the State of South Carolina. . . . Fifty-eight thousand negroes cannot read nor write. This leaves a majority of 14,000 white men who can read and write over the same class of negroes in this State. We are willing to accept a scheme that provides that no man who cannot read nor write can vote, if you dare pass it. How can you expect an ordinary man to "understand and explain" any section of the Constitution, to correspond to the interpretation put upon it by the manager of election, when by a very recent decision of the supreme court, composed of the most learned men in State, two of them put one construction upon a section, and the other justice put an entirely different construction upon it. To embody such a provision in the election law would be to mean that every white man would interpret it aright and every negro would interpret it wrong. . . . Some morning you may wake up to find that the bone and sinew of your country is gone. The negro is needed in the cotton fields and in the low country rice fields, and if you impose too hard conditions upon the negro in this State there will be nothing else for him to do but to leave. What then will you do about your phosphate works? No one but a negro can work them; the mines that pay the interest on your State debt. I tell you the negro is the bone and sinew of your country and you cannot do without him. I do not believe you want to get rid of the negro, else why did you impose a high tax on immigration agents who might come here to get him to leave?

Now, Mr. President we should not talk one thing and mean another. We should not deceive ourselves. Let us make a Constitution that is fair, honest and just. Let us make a Constitution for all the people, one we will be proud of and our children will receive with delight.

Source: The Columbia State, October 27, 1895.

or to control Congress. Besides, business-oriented Republicans found common ground with conservative Southern Democrats on fiscal policy and foreign affairs.

Although no Northern states threatened to deny black citizens the right to vote, they did increase segregation. The booming industries of the North generally did not hire black workers. Antidiscrimination laws on the books since the Civil War went unenforced. In 1904, 1906, and 1908, race riots erupted in Springfield, Ohio, Greensburg, Indiana, and Springfield, Illinois, matching similar disturbances in Wilmington, North Carolina, and Atlanta, Georgia.

RESPONSE OF THE BLACK COMMUNITY

African Americans organized more than a dozen boycotts of streetcar systems in the urban South between 1896 and 1908 in an effort to desegregate them, but not one succeeded. The Afro-American Council, formed in 1890 to protest the deteriorating conditions of black life, accomplished little and disbanded in 1908. W. E. B. Du Bois organized an annual Conference on Negro Problems at Atlanta University beginning in 1896, but it produced no effective plan of action.

A few black people chose to leave the South. Henry McNeal Turner of Georgia, an African Methodist Episcopal (AME) bishop, promoted migration to Liberia, but only a few hundred made the trip in the late 1870s, Turner not included, and most of those returned disappointed. Most black people who moved in the 1890s stayed within the South.

More commonly, black people withdrew to develop their own rich community life. Particularly in the cities of the South, they could live relatively free of white surveillance and even white contact. In 1890, fully 70 percent of black city dwellers lived in the South; and between 1860 and 1900, the proportion of black people in the cities of the South rose from one in six to more than one in three.

By the 1880s, a new black middle class had emerged in the South. Urban-based, professional, business-oriented, and serving a primarily black clientele, its members fashioned an interconnected web of churches, fraternal and self-help organizations, families, and businesses. Black Baptists, AME, and AME Zion churches led reform efforts in the black community, seeking to eliminate drinking, prostitution, and other vices in black neighborhoods.

African-American fraternal and self-help groups, led by middle-class black people, functioned as surrogate welfare organizations for the poor. Some groups, such as the Colored Masons and the Colored Odd Fellows, paralleled white organizations. Black membership rates usually exceeded those in the white community. More than 50 percent of Nashville's black men, for example, belonged to various fraternal associations in the city. Fraternal orders also served as the seedbed for such business ventures as the North Carolina Mutual Life Insurance Company, founded in Durham in 1898. Within two decades, North Carolina Mutual became the largest black-owned business in the nation and helped transform Durham into the "capital of the black middle class." Most Southern cities boasted active black business districts by the 1890s.

Nashville's J. C. Napier typified the activism of the African-American urban middle class in the New South era. He belonged to two of the city's prominent black churches, was active in Republican politics, played an important role in several temperance and fraternal societies, served as president of the local black YMCA chapter, and as an attorney helped his fellow African Americans with numerous legal matters.

The African-American middle class worked especially hard to improve black education. Black students in cities had only makeshift facilities; those in the countryside had almost no facilities. To improve these conditions, black middle-class leaders solicited educational funds from Northern philanthropic organizations.

Black women played an increasingly active and prominent role in African-American communities after 1877, especially in cities. Ida B. Wells moved to Memphis from Mississippi in 1884. In 1886, she attended a lecture at an interracial Knights of Labor meeting and witnessed a religious revival conducted by the nation's leading evangelist, Dwight Moody. The following year, Wells began her journalism career and soon purchased a one-third interest in a local black newspaper.

Black women's clubs supported day-care facilities for working mothers and settlement houses in poor black neighborhoods modeled after those in northern cities. Atlanta's Neighborhood Union, founded by Lugenia Burns Hope in 1908, provided playgrounds and a health center and secured a grant from a New York foundation to improve black education in the city. Black women's clubs also established homes for single black working women to protect them from sexual exploitation, and they worked for woman suffrage "to reckon with men who place no value on her [black woman's] virtue," as Nannie H. Burroughs of the National Association of Colored Women argued at the turn of the century.

Anna J. Cooper, a Nashville clubwoman, wrote in 1892 that to be a member of this generation was "to have a heritage unique in the ages." Assertive black women did not arouse the same degree of white antagonism as assertive black men. They could operate in a broader public arena than men and speak out more forcefully.

After disfranchisement, middle-class black women assumed an even more pivotal role in the black community. They often used their relations with prominent white women and organizations such as the WCTU and the YWCA to press for public commitments to improve the health and education of African Americans. Absent political pressure from black men, as well as the danger of African-American males asserting themselves in the tense racial climate after 1890, black women became critical spokespersons for their race.

The extension of black club work into rural areas of the South, where the majority of the African-American population lived, to educate families about hygiene, nutrition, and child care, anticipated similar efforts among white women after 1900. But unlike their white counterparts, these middle-class black women worked with limited resources in a context of simmering racial hostility and political and economic impotence. In response, they nurtured a self-help strategy to improve the conditions of the people they sought to help. One of the most prominent African-American leaders of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, Booker T. Washington, adopted a similar approach to racial uplift.

17–11
W.E.B. Du Bois, from "Of Mr. Booker T. Washington and Others"

Born a slave in Virginia in 1856, Washington and his family worked in the salt and coal mines of West Virginia after the Civil War. Ambitious and flushed with the postwar enthusiasm for advancement that gripped freedmen, he worked his way through Hampton Normal and Agricultural Institute, the premier black educational institution in the South at that time. In 1881, he founded the Tuskegee Institute for black students in rural Alabama. By learning industrial skills, Washington maintained, black people could secure self-respect and economic independence. Tuskegee emphasized vocational training over the liberal arts.

At an Atlanta exposition in 1895, Washington argued that African Americans should accommodate themselves to segregation and disfranchisement until they could prove their economic worth to American society. In exchange, white people should help provide black people with the education and job training they would need to gain their independence. This position was known as the **Atlanta Compromise**. Despite his conciliatory public stance, Washington secretly helped finance legal challenges to segregation and disfranchisement. But increasingly, black people were shut out of the kinds of jobs for which Washington hoped to train them. Facing a depressed rural economy and growing racial violence, they had little prospect of advancement.

Atlanta Compromise   Booker T. Washington's policy accepting segregation and disenfranchisement for African Americans in exchange for white assistance in education and job training.

FROM THEN TO NOW
The Confederate Battle Flag

Memories of the Civil War and Reconstruction formed a crucial part of southern civic and religious culture from the late nineteenth century onward. Southerners perceived themselves and the rest of the nation through the lens of the heroic Lost Cause and the alleged abuses of Reconstruction, and the symbols associated with those events took on the status of icons. During the 1890s, the memory industry that white political and religious leaders had promoted since the end of the war became institutionalized. Organizations such as the United Daughters of the Confederacy and the Sons of Confederate Veterans strove to educate a new generation of white Southerners on the meanings of the sacrifices of the war generation, bolstering the imposition of white supremacy through racial segregation and disfranchisement.

The Confederate battle flag emerged from this process as an icon of the Lost Cause and a symbol of white supremacy. Alabama, for example, redesigned its state flag in the 1890s to resemble more closely the battle flag. Its red St. Andrews cross on a white background symbolized the blood spilled in defense of the Southern homeland and the supremacy of the white race.

Still, the Confederate battle flag itself was displayed mostly at veterans' reunions and only rarely at other public occasions—until the late 1940s, that is, when civil rights for African Americans emerged as a national issue for the first time since the Reconstruction era. In 1948, Mississippians waved the flag at Ole Miss football games for the first time. In 1956, as the civil rights struggle in the South gained momentum, the state of Georgia incorporated the battle flag into its state flag. And, in 1962, as sit-ins and Freedom Riders spread throughout the South, officials in South Carolina—claiming to be commemorating the Civil War centennial—hoisted the battle flag above the State House in Columbia.

Long after the centennial celebration concluded, the battle flag continued to fly in Columbia. This official display became a focus of heated controversy. Proponents argued that the battle flag represents heritage, not hate. Opponents denounced it as a symbol of white supremacy. In the mid-1990s, South Carolina's Republican Governor David Beasley, seeking to defuse the issue, proposed removing the flag from atop the Capitol and installing it at a nearby history museum. The resulting firestorm of protest from some of the Governor's white constituents forced him to reverse himself, however, and contributed to his defeat in his bid for reelection.

The flag controversy erupted again in 1999, when South Carolina's state Democratic Party chairman urged voters to return a Democratic legislature that would, once and for all, remove the flag from the State Capitol. The angry response from both Republicans and some Democrats forced the new Democratic governor to quickly distance himself from the proposal. Then, in July 1999, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) announced a national boycott of South Carolina, beginning in January 2000. Facing the loss of convention and tourist revenues, business groups pleaded with lawmakers to lower the flag, which they did in July 2000. But the flag's new home, near a monument on the Capitol grounds, is even more visible to the public, prompting the continuation of the NAACP boycott.

In 2001, Mississippians voted overwhelmingly to keep their state flag which includes the battle flag. That same year, an interracial group of Georgia legislators agreed to remove the battle flag from the state banner; the new design includes the Confederate emblem, but only as part of a ribbon that includes all of the flags that have flown over Georgia through its history. Legislators did not submit the new design to a referendum, though in 2003, Georgia's recently-elected Republican Governor Sonny Perdue reversed that decision.

When people in other parts of the country sometimes remark that white Southerners are still fighting the Civil War, it is controversies like the one over the battle flag that they have in mind. But the controversy is less about the past than it is about the way we use history to shape our understanding of the society we live in and our vision of its future. At issue is not just history, but whose history. In that sense the flag controversy, as much as it picks at wounds more than a century old, can at least generate positive dialogue. Even so, in the interests of reconciliation, it may be time for Southerners to follow Robert E. Lee's final order to his men and "Furl the flag, boys."

Another prominent African-American leader, W. E. B. Du Bois, challenged Washington's acceptance of black social inequality. Du Bois, the first African American to earn a doctorate at Harvard, promoted self-help, education, and black pride. A gifted teacher and writer, he taught at Atlanta University and wrote eighteen books on black life in America. Du Bois was a cofounder, in 1910, of the **National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP)**, an interracial organization dedicated to restoring African-American political and social rights.

Despite their differences, which reflected their divergent backgrounds, Washington and Du Bois agreed on many issues. Both believed that black success in the South required some white assistance. As Du Bois wrote in *The Souls of Black Folk*, "Any movement for the elevation of the Southern Negro needs the cooperation, the sympathy, and the support of the best white people in order to succeed." But "the best white people" did not care to elevate black Southerners. In 1906, after a bloody race riot in Atlanta, Du Bois left the South, a decision millions of black Southerners would make over the next two decades.

As long as it provided the raw materials for the North's new urban industrial economy and maintained the peace, the South could count on the rest of the country not to interfere in its solution to race relations. Indeed, to the extent that most white Americans concerned themselves with race, they agreed with the Southern solution.

National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) Interracial organization co-founded by W. E. B. DuBois in 1910 dedicated to restoring African-American political and social rights.

CONCLUSION

In many respects, the South was more like the rest of the nation in 1900 than at any other time since 1860. Young men and women migrated to Southern cities to pursue opportunities unavailable to their parents. Advances in the production and marketing of cigarettes and soft drinks would soon make Southern entrepreneurs and their products household names. Southerners ordered fashions from Sears, Roebuck catalogs and enjoyed electric lights, electric trolleys, and indoor plumbing as much as other urban Americans.

Americans idealized a mythical South of rural grace and hospitality, a land of moonlight and magnolias, offering it as a counterpoint to the crowded, immigrant-infested, factory-fouled, money-grubbing North. Northern journalists offered admiring portraits of southern heroes like Robert E. Lee, of whom one declared in 1906, "the nation has a hero to place beside her greatest."

White Southerners cultivated national reconciliation but remained fiercely dedicated to preserving the peculiarities of their region: a one-party political system, disfranchisement, and segregation by law. The region's urban and industrial growth, impressive from the vantage of 1865, paled before that of the North. The South remained a colonial economy characterized more by deep rural poverty than urban prosperity.

Middle-class white people in the urban South enjoyed the benefits of a national economy and a secure social position. Middle-class women enjoyed increased influence in the public realm, but not to the extent of their Northern sisters. And the institutionalization of white supremacy gave even poor white farmers and factory workers a place in the social hierarchy a rung or two above the bottom.

For black people, the New South proved a crueler ruse than Reconstruction. No one now stepped forward to support their cause and stem the erosion of their economic independence, political freedom, and civil rights. They built communities and worked as best they could to challenge restrictions on their freedom.

The New South was thus both American and Southern. It shared with the rest of the country a period of rapid urban and industrial growth. But the legacy of war and slavery still lay heavily on the South, manifesting itself in rural poverty, segregation, and black disfranchisement.

Booker T. Washington counseled acquiescence to segregation, maintaining that black people could ultimately gain the acceptance of white society through self-improvement and hard work.

The Granger Collection, New York

SUMMARY

The Newness of the New South The "newness" of the New South was to be found primarily in its economic shift toward industrialization and urbanization rather than its social relations. Urban and rural white leaders had used the banner of white supremacy to constrict African-American social and economic roles; the Solid South, a white Democratic voting bloc emerged. Industry from textiles to steel dotted the Southern landscape, young men and women migrated to cities, and railroads connected the growing urban centers. Economically, the South remained behind the booming North; a weak agricultural economy, high birthrate, and low wages were some of the undermining factors.

The Southern Agrarian Revolt More than even before the Civil War, cotton dominated Southern agriculture; the price of cotton was low, and the prices of fertilizer, tools and necessities rose. Curtailing production to raise prices was not an option; the credit-based economy of the South was dependent upon cotton. Black and white sharecroppers and tenant farmers fought back by organizing, scoring limited successes; it took higher cotton prices and returning prosperity in the late 1890s to bring relief to farmers.

Women in the New South White women in the South were cast in the roles of paragons of virtue and purity who needed men to defend them. With these limitations, middle-class women entered the public arena slowly. Women's involvement in church organizations, temperance, and as protectors of Southern history allowed them involvement without challenging the class and racial inequalities of the New South, while women's club activities addressed their self-improvement and allowed them to help other women.

Settling the Race Issue The generation of black people who had come of age by the 1890s demanded full participation; white Southerners raised on the myth of the Lost Cause resented the changed status of black people. Economic and political violence worsened the tensions, and violence, including lynchings, accelerated. Segregation and disfranchisement laws were passed; the U.S. Supreme Court condoned separate accommodations in the case *Plessy* v. *Ferguson*. The majority of white Americans, North and South, ascribed to the notion of black inferiority; no national debate resulted in response to the new restrictions. African Americans responded by creating their own community life within these new confines. Booker T. Washington and W.E.B. DuBois differed on the approaches black people should take to accommodate and improve themselves.

REVIEW QUESTIONS

1. How did the activism of white middle-class women affect the politics of the South in the late 1880s and early 1890s?

2. How did the assertiveness of young urban black people affect the politics of the South in the late 1880s and early 1890s?

3. Why did white people believe that segregation and disenfranchisement were reforms?

4. How did black Southerners respond to decreasing economic and political opportunities in the New South?

5. Why was Anna J. Cooper optimistic for African-American women in the South?

KEY TERMS

Agricultural Wheel   (p. 447)
Atlanta Compromise   (p. 459)
Colored Farmer's Alliance   (p. 448)
DisFranchisement   (p. 454)
Grandfather clause   (p. 455)
Grange   (p. 447)
Jim Crow laws   (p. 455)

Lynching   (p. 451)
National Association for the Advancement of Colored people (NAACP)   (p. 461)
Plessy v. *Ferguson*   (p. 454)
Poll taxes   (p. 455)
Populist party   (p. 449)

Segregation   (p. 454)
Solid South   (p. 439)
Southern Farmers' Alliance   (p. 447)
Subtreasuray Plan   (p. 448)
Women's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU)   (p. 450)

WHERE TO LEARN MORE

Levine Museum of the New South, Charlotte, North Carolina. The museum has exhibits on various New South themes and a permanent exhibit on the history of Charlotte and the Carolina Piedmont. www.museumofthenewsouth.org

Atlanta History Center, Atlanta, Georgia. The major exhibit, "Metropolitan Frontiers, 1835–2000," includes a strong segment on the New South era, including the development of separate black and white economies in Atlanta. The Herndon home, also on the grounds of the center, has an exhibit on black upper-class life in Atlanta from 1880 to 1930. www.atlhist.org/exhibitions/html/metropolitan_frontiers.htm

Sloss Furnaces National Historical Landmark, Birmingham, Alabama. The site recalls the time when Birmingham challenged Pittsburgh as the nation's primary steel-producing center. www.slossfurnaces.com

For additional study resources for this chapter, go to:
www.prenhall.com/goldfield/chapter17

Chinese Primary Public School, 920 Clay St., Chinatown, San Francisco

Here we had been taken to a lonely place;
. . . our things were taken away, our friends
separated from us; a man came to inspect us,
as if to ascertain our full value . . .

Noted urban photographer Lewis Hines captures the cramped working conditions
and child labor in this late nineteenth-century canning factory. Women and children
provided a cheap and efficient work force for labor-intensive industries.