

Valuable Paper on Edgefield County in 1876 by Mr. Francis Simkins.

(Continued from first page.)

1868 and attorney general under the retiring governor. Combined with his high gift of oratory and excellent education was a supreme faith in the efficacy of negro enfranchisement and willingness to compromise with realities in South Carolina. With such qualities political rise was easy.

When he came into office with words of reform on his lips, black and white Republican corruptionists smiled, and Democrats mourned, for all were familiar with the habit of politicians of even the Moses stamp, making promises that they had no idea of redeeming. Chamberlain rested under the shadow of some of the corrupt transactions of the Moses regime; he had as his colleagues in office the same corrupt crew of adventurers; worst of all, the native members of his race, he was an alien adventurer with a New Englander's belief in the salvation of the negro through an impartial application of the principals of the Declaration of Independence. Had South Carolina Democrats in 1874 had any faith in his words, so hopeless were their prospects of victory, it is not probable that they would have offered any opposition to his candidacy.

Yet in spite of all handicaps, Chamberlain was true to his words; all his efforts, with partial success, were bent towards the accomplishment of reform. He recommended to his "black and tan" legislature the solemn duty of reducing public expenditures to their lowest level; of administering the public funds honestly in the public interest; and of electing competent public officials. Every subsequent utterance was but a commentary on the foregoing concrete statement of abuse; every subsequent act so far as not handicapped by practical political expediency and his own vicious colleagues in government, was but a vindication of the plighted word. For the details of the reforms accomplished—the reduction of expenditures, the effective vetoes and lashing messages—I refer you to a more extended article of mine* and to the Acts of South Carolina, 1875 and 1876.

Yet the reforms that Chamberlain attempted to accomplish were largely frustrated by the legislature dominated as it were by the hardly less forceful and brilliant black speaker, B. B. Elliott. This legislature was as corrupt as its immediate predecessors and only less evil because a will more determined was able at times to bring it to its senses. Good naturedly some corrupt scheme would be passed amid an outburst of African oratory, only to be nullified by the dramatic appearance of the governor before a committee or a dashing message or an effective veto.

The high water mark of the unblushing abandon of public interest was reached by this legislature, in the absence of the governor, in the election of ex-governor and W. J. Whipper, two self-confessed corruptionists and defaulters to the judicial seats once held by O'Neal and Wardlaw on "black Thursday," December 16, 1875. Only the Democratic minority voted against them. "Civilization is at stake in some of the debased democracies of the South," was a Northern opinion. The governor in a firm outburst of moral passion, having as his pretext a flimsy technicality of the law, refused to commission these men as judges. The legislature repented and Whipper's abusive speech against Chamberlain was expunged from the journal.

In openly denouncing the rascality of those who had put him in office, Chamberlain came dangerously near bringing about his own political doom, finding himself the despised ruler of a state divided into two hostile racial factions. A mass meeting in Charleston called him "a traitor trying to sell out for social recognition." An agitation was started for the founding of a newspaper to push the candidacy of Judge R. B. Carpenter for governor. The Republicans of Charleston divided into two conventions.

Yet the white people of South Carolina ever anxious to catch some straw of political salvation, with the exception of Edgefield, flew to the rescue of the man attempting to save the civilization of the Puritan and Cavalier. This change of attitude on the part of the whites into that of open friendship for Chamberlain was first openly manifested at a meeting held in Hibernian Hall, Charleston, December 27, 1875, at which resolutions were passed condemning the legislature for the election of Whipper and Moses and commending Governor Chamberlain for "his many and patriotic efforts for reform and

the preservation of law and order." The prime mover of this pro-Chamberlain agitation was Captain F. W. Dawson, editor of the conservative daily, the News and Courier. Dawson from this time until the second Democratic Convention used all the energies of a resourceful publicist to construct a master defense of his sometime idol, Chamberlain. Curiously, once the Democratic party, to which he was always in spirit loyal, adopted a policy contrary to that which he advocated. With equal zest he spent the remainder of the time of the campaign of 1876 in tearing down the arguments that he had advanced in support of Chamberlain. In using the governor as a wedge through which Republicans might be made reformers, Dawson and his coadjutor, General James Conner, received the enthusiastic backing of the articulate majority of white opinion. The files of the News and Courier contain a ceaseless number of resolutions endorsing Chamberlain from almost every county of the state except Edgefield. I shall not take time to read them as I have gleaned them from the files of the News and Courier.

Important in consequence of the new stand of Chamberlain and the Democrats, was the changing attitude of the Northern opinion as illustrated by the Northern press, excepting Grant's Journal, the Washington National Republican. The Boston Weekly, the Springfield Republican, all joined the chorus against Whipper and Moses, and in commendation of Chamberlain and the South Carolina whites.

Briefly summarized the arguments advanced by Dawson in favor of coalition were: First, the positive evidence of Chamberlain's reforms as advanced in the editorial columns of the News and Courier. Second, the apparent helplessness of reconciling Northern opinion on any basis other than a plan through which fifteen or twenty thousand of the estimated black majority could be converted to vote for a reformer. Third, the machinery of election was in the hands of Chamberlain's radical board of canvassers, Federal troops and United States deputy marshals, who, it was believed, stood ready to intimidate all whites.

Yet there was a determined minority of the Democratic party bent on complete Democratic success or complete failure. To them all Republicans bidding for the negro vote looked the same. They put Chamberlain in the same class as Moses. The rule of property and white skin came first; reform second. They believed that the Anglo-Saxon could rule regardless of the black majority by dint of superior intelligence and powers of initiative and the negroes' inherited tendency to submit. By strong armed tactics and brave words the negro could be made to vote Democratic or stay away from the polls. Northern public opinion, slowly reverting from the abnormal war enthusiasm to the traditional Anglo-Saxon contempt for the colored race, could be placated by specious words.

This movement, known as the Straight-Out-Movement naturally had its origin in the upper counties of the state where the smaller black majority was less likely to bring despair of success. The first determined move against the policy of Dawson was the refusal of a white mass meeting held in Edgefield Court House, January 6, 1876, to endorse Chamberlain along with the usual condemnation of Whipper and Moses. General M. C. Butler, Colonel H. D. Capers and J. C. Sheppard, there voiced their opposition to compromise and the desire that the policy of the Democratic Party be determined by convention instead of public expression. This meeting was followed by a like meeting in Aiken county. The Edgefield Advertiser called for a "local ticket as straight as a gun-barrel." This was followed by equally determined statements from such papers as the Abbeville Medium, the Rock Hill Grange, and Greenville News. Anderson, the first county to complete Democratic organization, favored no further attempts to compromise with the Republicans. Such was the voice of a considerable element of upper South Carolina. Evidently there was to be a clash on the floor of the convention of the Democratic Party, called to meet in Columbia, May 5, by the executive committee for the purpose of settling differences and sending delegates to the national convention.

Accordingly the State Democratic Convention met in Columbia. Its roster was composed of names identified with the planting and commercial interests of the state and formally with Confederate and slave history. A notable absence was the future leader of the party, General Wade Hampton. Only two colored men, delegates from Sumter, appeared on the list. Wyatt Aiken, on nomination of M. C. Butler, was elected chairman.

The first main clash was participated by the introduction by General Johnston Hagood of a resolution designed to lay down as the only mark of the convention the election of delegates to the coming St. Louis Convention and the election of an executive committee to carry on the work of the party until a new convention was called. Butler, and Lipscomb, of Newberry, tried to frustrate this plan by the introduction of a substitute plan of action. On the second day of the convention occurred a debate between the forces of immediate action, led by Butler and Martin Bary, and the forces of inaction, led by the elder statesmen of the convention, Kennedy, Kershaw, Manning and Conner. Two resolutions were submitted to the executive committee. The first of these was Conner's Charleston resolution setting forth inaction; the second, a combination of Lipscomb's Newberry resolution and Sheppard's Edgefield resolution, purported to pledge the party the support of none but Democrats. After a lengthy session of the committee, Kennedy,—Butler, the chairman dissenting—presented the majority report favoring Conner's policy. Gary immediately introduced a substitute resolution providing "that the Democratic party shall nominate none but straight out Democrats for state offices." In a passionate attempt to convert the convention to his views the Edgefield orator accused the majority of timidity and the Charleston delegation of connivance with Chamberlain, "The man who dares, wins; not he who holds back," cried the South Carolina Danton. Butler, with more moderation stigmatized those who defended Chamberlain: "The only possible way to win the state is to nominate a true liberal native ticket—and carry the war into Africa." Gary and Butler were defeated by a vote of seventy-two to forty-two, the policy of postponement being victorious.

From the May convention until August a virulent word battle went on between the advocates of the Straight Out policy and those in favor of compromise, the radicals (many from Edgefield) at times becoming so bitter that the more moderate friends of Democratic union feared a disruption of the party. The Edgefield Advertiser took Chamberlain to task for a letter rebuking Northern Republican extremists. It regarded "all the beautiful resolutions and newspaper puffs that South Carolina people have showered on this Chamberlain lately to the end that he might keep South Carolina surely Republican." Bacon, its editor, accused the owners of the News and Courier of being "northerners and radicals," and of having "no more understanding of the feelings, hopes and aspirations of the people of South Carolina than a hog in Heaven." The Greenville News served notice that it would break away from the dominant element in the party in case the Straight Out policy did not prevail. Colonel A. C. Haskell denounced the News and Courier as the newspaper "that had the shameless audacity to claim the fidelity of the people of South Carolina."

But towards the middle of summer other and more effective means than newspaper tactics began to be used "by those accustomed to long habits of command and self assertion to strike terror into the hearts of the recently emancipated race, which still exhibits the effects of their long slavery," and other means began to be used to arouse the apathy of the white race; strong arm tactics began to be used to fan the flame of racial antagonism which, once aroused, would obviously lead to the victory of the race that was stronger in every test except that of the democratic ballot.

The first of these events, taken advantage of to bring about unity of the white race in opposition to Chamberlain and the blacks, was the lynching of several negroes in Norris township, Edgefield County, March 7, which was followed by a proclamation from the governor demanding punishment of the lynchers. The Edgefield people bitterly resented the interference of the governor. This was followed by the lynching of several negroes implicated in the murder of Judson Harmon and his wife at Winterseat, Edgefield County (now Greenwood). The governor's interference made the whites very angry. The next serious disturbance was in the Combahee section of Colleton County. There the negro rice-field workers participated in riotous strikes growing out of wage disputes. Quiet was not there restored until after the fall harvest.

But on July 4, in the Edgefield section of Aiken County occurred an event that was destined to forever estrange from Chamberlain the measured support that white South Carolina had given him. This event was the Hamburg Riot. What was the result of the detention of Henry Gett-

sen and Thomas Butler by the company front parade of the militia company of Doc Adams, the subsequent appeal to Trial Justice Prince Rivers and General M. C. Butler, and by the battle, is an old story to you. But for the effect of this action of Edgefield citizens at Hamburg the disturbance would deserve scant mention as like events are too commonplace throughout the United States. Chamberlain and his attorney general became enraged. A letter of Chamberlain to the President, Grant, and Grant's reply indicated that both believed that after civil processes were exhausted the employ of Federal troops would be necessary to suppress "the campaign of rapine and violence" inaugurated at Hamburg. Chamberlain's words brought from Butler a challenge for an investigation of the affair and the punishment of the guilty. Additional heat was added by the belated coroner's jury, which had been charged by Attorney General Stone with an investigation of the affair. Seven white men were accused of murder of the first degree; sixty-seven others, among whom were General Butler and B. R. Tillman, were charged with being accessories to the fact. The entire Aiken bar volunteered for the defense; that disturbed conditions of affairs in the state and the subsequent political revolution prevented prosecution to the finish.

While the excitement incident upon the Hamburg affair was at its height, the execution committee of the Democratic party, over the protest of the News and Courier and conservative sentiment and under the stress of the strong anti-Chamberlain sentiment—now moulded into race feeling—issued a call for a Democratic convention to assemble in Columbia, August 15. The News and Courier, which, under the brilliant editorship of Dawson exerted more influence upon affairs in South Carolina than has since or before been the pleasure of any newspaper, now began to apologize for its harsh words against the participants in the Hamburg affair.

The Democrats began to look for a suitable candidate for governor. Among those suggested were G. W. Williams and Generals Kershaw and McGowan. Finally General Wade Hampton from his summer home in the mountains of North Carolina, published in the Columbia Register, a letter of acceptance of the offer of nomination generously tendered him by his comrade in arms, M. C. Butler. Here, for the first time the name and influence of Hampton was thrown into the fight largely begun and developed by the Straight-Outs of Edgefield. Now the conservative Democratic papers prepared to "turn the required somersault and tear up their editorials for the next day,"

Me-o-my, how you'll take to a pipe—and P. A.!

Before you're a day older you want to let the idea slip under your hat that this is the open season to start something with a joy'us jimmy pipe—and some Prince Albert!

Because, a pipe packed with Prince Albert satisfies a man as he was never satisfied before—and you can prove it! Why—P. A.'s flavor and fragrance and coolness and its freedom

from bite and parch (cut out by our exclusive patented process) are a revelation to the man who never could get acquainted with a pipe! P. A. has made a pipe a thing of joy to four men where one was smoked before!

Ever roll up a cigarette with Prince Albert? Man, man—but you've got a party coming your way! Talk about a cigarette smoke; we tell you it's a peach!



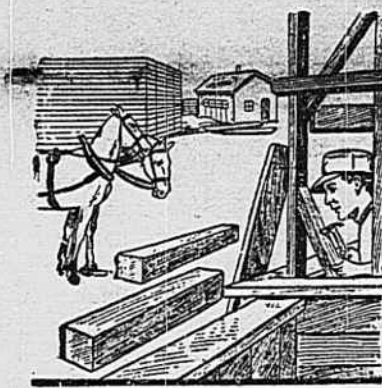
Prince Albert is sold in tippy red bags, tidy red tins, handsome pound and half pound tin humidor and in the pound crystal glass humidor with sponge moistener top.

Copyright 1921 by R. J. Reynolds Tobacco Co. Winston-Salem, N. C.

PRINCE ALBERT

the national joy smoke

We Can Give You Prompt Service on Mill Work and Interior Finish



Large stock of Rough and Dressed Lumber on hand for Immediate Delivery.

Woodward Lumber Co.
QUALITY—SERVICE
Corner Roberts and Dugas Sts., Augusta, Ga.

EAGLE "MIKADO" Pencil No. 174



For Sale at your Dealer Made in five grades
ASK FOR THE YELLOW PENCIL WITH THE RED BAND
EAGLE MIKADO
EAGLE PENCIL COMPANY, NEW YORK

ARRINGTON BROS. & CO.

Wholesale Grocers and Dealers in
Corn, Oats, Hay and all
Kinds of Feeds

Gloria Flour and Dan Patch Horse Feed
Our Leaders

Corner Cumming and Fenwick Streets
On Georgia R. R. Tracks
Augusta, Ga.

YOUR PATRONAGE SOLICITED
See our representative, C. E. May.

*South Atlantic Quarterly, October, 1921 and January, 1922.