

# Chapter 1 The New South

## 1 Henry W. Grady, “The New South,” 1886<sup>1</sup>

*As editor of the Atlanta Constitution, Henry W. Grady (1850–1889) was an important voice for reconciliation with the North and a strong proponent of the New South creed. Along with many other boosters active in the US South after Reconstruction, Grady enthusiastically embraced railroads, industrialization, and the commercialization of agriculture as part of a broad program of modernization. Like other boosters, Grady tended to minimize the adverse consequences of modernization, the harsh results of industrialization, the dislocation of rural southerners, and the widening income gap between rich and poor – and he said little about racial oppression that was so prevalent in the post-Civil War era.*

*In his 39 years of life, Grady helped to promote the city of Atlanta as the premier industrial and business hub in the South. The newspaper became his vehicle for conveying his enthusiasm for a variety of causes, among them his support for Democratic politics, for the railroad, and for agricultural diversification away from cotton. He portrayed race relations as harmonious, which pleased white southerners but failed to convince northern businessmen to overlook the evidence of black disfranchisement and white violence*

<sup>1</sup> Edwin DuBois Shurter, ed., *The Complete Orations and Speeches of Henry W. Grady* (New York: Hinds, Noble, & Eldredge, 1910), pp. 7–22.

*toward blacks. In this speech, which Grady delivered to a northern audience in 1886, he explains how the South was changing and how it was moving toward a different future.*

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To the New England Club in New York, 1886

We have established thrift in city and country. We have fallen in love with work. We have restored comfort to homes from which culture and elegance never departed. We have let economy take root and spread among us as rank as the crabgrass which sprung from Sherman's cavalry camps, until we are ready to lay odds on the Georgia Yankee as he manufactures relics of the battlefield in a one-story shanty and squeezes pure olive oil out of his cotton seed, against any down-easter that ever swapped wooden nutmegs for flannel sausage in the valleys of Vermont.<sup>2</sup> Above all, we know that we have achieved in these "piping times of peace" a fuller independence for the South than that which our fathers sought to win in the forum by their eloquence or compel in the field by their swords.

It is a rare privilege, sir, to have had part, however humble, in this work. Never was nobler duty confided to human hands than the uplifting and upbuilding of the prostrate and bleeding South—misguided, perhaps, but beautiful in her suffering, and honest, brave and generous always. In the record of her social, industrial and political illustration we await with confidence the verdict of the world.

But what of the negro? Have we solved the problem he presents or progressed in honor and equity toward solution? Let the record speak to the point. No section shows a more prosperous laboring population than the negroes of the South, none in fuller sympathy with the employing and land-owning class. He shares our school fund, has the fullest protection of our laws and the friendship of our people. Self-interest, as well as honor, demand that he should have this. Our future, our very existence depend upon our working out this problem in full and exact justice. We understand that when Lincoln signed the emancipation proclamation, your victory was assured, for he then committed you to the cause of human liberty, against which the arms of man cannot prevail—while those of our statesmen who trusted to make slavery the corner-stone of the Confederacy doomed us to defeat as far as they could, committing us to a cause that reason could not defend or the sword maintain in sight of advancing civilization.

<sup>2</sup> Grady here referred to northerners and southerners equally willing to hustle to make a profit – by whatever means.

Had Mr. Toombs<sup>3</sup> said, which he did not say, “that he would call the roll of his slaves at the foot of Bunker Hill,” he would have been foolish, for he might have known that whenever slavery became entangled in war it must perish, and that the chattel in human flesh ended forever in New England when your fathers—not to be blamed for parting with what didn’t pay—sold their slaves to our fathers—not to be praised for knowing a paying thing when they saw it. The relations of the southern people with the negro are close and cordial. We remember with what fidelity for four years he guarded our defenseless women and children, whose husbands and fathers were fighting against his freedom. To his eternal credit be it said that whenever he struck a blow for his own liberty he fought in open battle, and when at last he raised his black and humble hands that the shackles might be struck off, those hands were innocent of wrong against his helpless charges, and worthy to be taken in loving grasp by every man who honors loyalty and devotion. Ruffians have maltreated him, rascals have misled him, philanthropists established a bank for him, but the South, with the North, protests against injustice to this simple and sincere people. To liberty and enfranchisement is as far as law can carry the negro. The rest must be left to conscience and common sense. It must be left to those among whom his lot is cast, with whom he is indissolubly connected, and whose prosperity depends upon their possessing his intelligent sympathy and confidence. Faith has been kept with him, in spite of calumnious assertions to the contrary by those who assume to speak for us or by frank opponents. Faith will be kept with him in the future, if the South holds her reason and integrity.

But have we kept faith with you? In the fullest sense, yes. When Lee surrendered—I don’t say when Johns[t]on<sup>4</sup> surrendered, because I understand he still alludes to the time when he met General Sherman last as the time when he determined to abandon any further prosecution of the struggle—when Lee surrendered, I say, and Johns[t]on quit, the South became, and has since been, loyal to this Union. We fought hard enough to know that we were whipped, and in perfect frankness accept as final the arbitrament of the sword to which we had appealed. The South found her jewel in the toad’s head of defeat. The shackles that had held her in narrow limitations fell forever when the shackles of the negro slave were broken. Under the old regime the negroes were slaves to the South; the South was a slave to the system. The old plantation, with its simple police regulations and feudal

<sup>3</sup> Robert Toombs (1810–1885), Georgia Senator and Confederate Secretary of State.

<sup>4</sup> General Joseph E. Johnston, commander of Confederate forces defending Atlanta, May–August 1864.

habit, was the only type possible under slavery. Thus was gathered in the hands of a splendid and chivalric oligarchy the substance that should have been diffused among the people, as the rich blood, under certain artificial conditions, is gathered at the heart, filling that with affluent rapture but leaving the body chill and colorless.

The old South rested everything on slavery and agriculture, unconscious that these could neither give nor maintain healthy growth. The new South presents a perfect democracy, the oligarchs leading in the popular movement—a social system compact and closely knitted, less splendid on the surface, but stronger at the core—a hundred farms for every plantation, fifty homes for every palace—and a diversified industry that meets the complex need of this complex age.

The new South is enamored of her new work. Her soul is stirred with the breath of a new life. The light of a grander day is falling fair on her face. She is thrilling with the consciousness of growing power and prosperity. As she stands upright, full-statured and equal among the people of the earth, breathing the keen air and looking out upon the expanded horizon, she understands that her emancipation came because through the inscrutable wisdom of God her honest purpose was crossed, and her brave armies were beaten.

## 2 Henry McNeal Turner on African American Civil Rights, 1889<sup>5</sup>

*Henry McNeal Turner (1834–1915) was born a free black in Newberry Courthouse, South Carolina, and was largely self-educated. Eventually becoming a preacher in the black African Methodist Episcopal (AME) church, he served as an evangelist during the 1850s and eventually moved north to St Louis, Washington, DC, and Baltimore. In 1863, he helped to organize a regiment of black troops, serving as its chaplain. After the end of the Civil War, Turner moved to Georgia, and became an organizer for AME churches around the state. Meanwhile, he became an important leader in the Republican party, participating in Georgia's Reconstruction constitutional convention in 1868. In 1880, he became an AME bishop, and he remained a fearless advocate of African American civil and political rights.*

*In these two letters, published in the New York Voice and the Christian Record, Turner protested the decision of the Supreme Court in the Civil Rights Cases (1883), which rendered the Civil Rights Act of 1875*

<sup>5</sup> Henry McNeal Turner, *Civil Rights: The Outrage of the Supreme Court of the United States upon the Black Man* (Philadelphia: Publication Department AME Church, 1889).

*unconstitutional. He wrote in a political environment in which the position of African Americans was besieged by white supremacists. Increasingly, their northern allies were abandoning them to white political control that occurred with the end of Reconstruction.*

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Amidst multitudinous duties I find, calling my attention, your note of recent date, asking me to briefly refer to the “Civil Rights Decisions,” which, since their delivery has drawn from me expressions which many are pleased to call severe adverse strictures upon the highest court in this country, and upon all of its judges save one, Mr. Justice Harlan.<sup>6</sup> It is to me a matter of that kind of surprise called wonder suddenly excited, to find a single, solitary individual who belongs in the United States, or who has been here for any considerable time, unacquainted with those famous FIVE DEATH DEALING DECISIONS. Indeed, sir, those decisions have had since the 15th day of October, A. D., 1883, the day of their pronouncement, more of my study than any other civil subject. I incline to the opinion that I have an argument which, taken as a concomitant of the learned dissenting sentiments of that eminent jurist, Mr. Justice Harlan, would to a rational mind, make the judgment of Justice Bradley<sup>7</sup> and his associates a deliquescence—a bubble on the wave of equity—a legal nothing. You bid me in my reply to observe brevity. Shortness and conciseness seems to be the ever present rule, when the Negro and his case is under treatment. However, I am satisfied that in saying this, I do not convey your reason for commanding me to condense, “boil down.” The more I ponder the non-agreeing words of that member of our chief assize, who had the moral courage to bid defiance to race prejudice, the more certain am I that no words of mine, condemnatory of that decision, has been sufficiently harsh.

March 1st, 1875, Congress passed an act, entitled, “An act for the prevention of discrimination on the ground of race, color or previous condition of servitude,” said act being generally known as the Civil Rights Bill,....

No sane man can read the record, law and authorities relating to these cases, without forming a conclusion that cannot be brushed away, that the bench of judges were narrow even to wicked ingeniousness, superinduced by color-phobiism [*sic*]. Sane men know that the gentlemen in Congress who voted for this act of 1875, understood full well the

<sup>6</sup> John Marshall Harlan (1833–1911), a Supreme Court justice who dissented from the majority decision in the case.

<sup>7</sup> Joseph P. Bradley (1813–1892), appointed to the court in 1870, who delivered the majority decision in the case.

condition of our country, as did the powers amending the Constitution abolishing slavery. The intention was to entirely free, not to partly liberate.

The desire was to remove the once slave so far from his place of bondage, that he would not even remember it, if such a thing were possible. Congress stepped in and said, he shall vote, he shall serve on juries, he shall testify in court, he shall enter the professions, he shall hold offices, he shall be treated like other men, in all places the conduct of which is regulated by law, he shall in no way be reminded by partial treatment, by discrimination, that he was once a “chattel,” a “thing.” Certainly Congress had a right [to] do this. The power that made the slave a man instead of a “thing” had the right to fix his status. The height of absurdity, the chief point in idiocy, the brand of total imbecility, is to say, that the Negro shall vote a privilege into existence which one citizen may enjoy for pay, to the exclusion of another, coming in the same way, but clothed in the vesture covering the earth when God first looked upon it. Are colored men to vote grants to railroads upon which they cannot receive equal accommodation? When we ask redress, we are told that the State must first pass a law prohibiting us from enjoying certain privileges and rights, and that after such laws have been passed by the State, we can apply to the United States courts to have such laws declared null and void by quo warranto proceedings.<sup>8</sup> The Supreme Court, when applied to, will say to the State, you must not place such laws on your statute book. You can continue your discrimination on account of color. You can continue to place the badge of slavery on persons having more than one-eighth part of Negro blood in their veins, and so long as your State Legislatures do not license you so to do, you are safe. For if they, (the Negroes) come to us for redress, we will talk about the autonomy of the State must be held inviolate, referring them back to you for satisfaction.

Do you know of anything more degrading to our country, more damnable? The year after this decision the Republican party met with defeat, because it acquiesced by its silence in that abominable decision, nor did it lift a hand to strike down that diabolical sham of judicial monstrosity, neither in Congress nor the great National Convention which nominated Blaine and Logan. God, however, has placed them in power again, using the voters and our manner of electing electors as instruments in his hands. God would have men do right, harm no one, and to render to every man his just due. Mr. Justice Harlan rightly says that the Thirteenth Amendment intended that the white

<sup>8</sup> “Quo warranto” referred to claims asserting that individual or governmental officials were wrongfully exercising their powers.

race should have no privilege whatsoever pertaining to citizenship and freedom, that was not alike extended and to be enjoyed by those persons who, though the greater part of them were slaves, were invited by an act of Congress to aid in saving from overthrow a government which, theretofore by all of its departments, had treated them as an inferior race, with no legal rights or privileges except such as the white race might choose to grant. It is an indisputable fact that the amendment last mentioned may be exerted by legislation of a direct and primary character for the eradication, not simply of the institution of slavery, but of its badges and incidents indicating that the individual was once a slave. The Supreme Court must decide the inter-State commerce law to be unconstitutional on account of interference with the State's autonomy, for it must be remembered that Mrs. Robinson,<sup>9</sup> a citizen of Mississippi, bought a ticket from Grand Junction, Tennessee, to Lynchburg, Virginia, and when praying for satisfaction for rough and contumacious treatment, received at the hands of the company's agent, she was informed by the Court, that the Court was without power to act. Congress had constitutional power to pursue a runaway slave into all the States by legislation, to punish the man that would dare to conceal the slave. Congress could find the poor fellow seeking God's best blessing to man, liberty, and return him to his master, but Congress cannot, so say our honorable Court, give aid sufficient to the poor black man, to prove beyond all doubt to him that he is as free as any other citizen. Mr. Justice Harlan says: "The difficulty has been to compel a recognition of the legal right of the black race to take the rank of citizens, and to secure the enjoyment of privileges belonging under the law to them as a component part of the people for whose welfare government is ordained. At every step in this direction, the Nation has been confronted with class tyranny, which is of all tyrannies the most intolerable, for it is ubiquitous in its operation, and weighs perhaps most heavily on those whose obscurity or distance would draw them from the notice of a single despot. To-day it is the colored race which is denied by corporations and individuals wielding public authority, rights fundamental in their freedom and citizenship. AT SOME FUTURE TIME IT MAY BE THAT SOME OTHER RACE WILL FALL UNDER THE BAN OF RACE DISCRIMINATION." This last preceding sentence sounds like prophecy from on high. Will the day come when Justice Bradley will want to hide from his decree of the 15th day of October, 1883, and say *non est factum*? I conclude with great reluctance these brief lines, assuring you that the subject is just opened and if desired by you, I will be glad to give it elaborate attention.

<sup>9</sup> One of the plaintiffs in the case.

I ask no rights and privileges for my race in this country, which I would not contend for on behalf of the white people were the conditions changed, or were I to find proscribed white men in Africa where black rules.

A word more and I am done, as you wish brevity. God may forgive this corps of unjust judges, but I never can, their very memories will also be detested by my children's children, nor am I alone in this detestation. The eight millions of my race and their posterity will stand horror-frozen at the very mention of their names. The scenes that have passed under my eyes upon the public highways, the brutal treatment of helpless women which I have witnessed, since that decision was proclaimed, is enough to move heaven to tears and raise a loud acclaim in hell over the conquest of wrong. But we will wait and pray, and look for a better day, for God still lives and the LORD OF HOSTS REIGNS.

I am, sir, yours, for the Fatherhood of God, and the Brotherhood of man.

H. M. TURNER.

Atlanta, Georgia,  
January 4th, 1889.

### 3 William D. Kelley, from *The Old South and New*, 1888<sup>10</sup>

*William Darrah Kelley (1814–1890) was a longtime congressman and lawyer from Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. A speech he delivered in 1854, denouncing the slave trade, brought him widespread attention at a time when the extension of slavery to the new US territories was a subject of intense national debate. When the Missouri Compromise was overturned, Kelley left the Democratic party and helped to found the new Republican party, which was dedicated to stopping the extension of slavery. His steady support for the Pennsylvania iron and steel industry earned him the nickname of “Pig Iron” Kelley. He served in the US House of Representatives from 1861 until his death in 1890. After the Civil War, Kelley was a staunch radical Republican, and he supported black suffrage and civil rights in the South. This account of the South comes from his visits and observations that were published as *The Old South and the New* in 1888.*

*In this document, Kelley examines the prospects for change in the post-Civil War South. Like many other northerners, Kelley was taken with the possibilities of economic development in the South in railroads, mining, and industrialization. Indeed, his analysis sounds very familiar to the treatment provided by Atlanta's Henry W. Grady.*

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<sup>10</sup> William D. Kelley, *The Old South and the New* (New York and London: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1888), pp. 1–14.



## Letter I

*The South in 1867—Nashville, Cowan, South Pittsburg, Chattanooga,  
Birmingham, Anniston, and Atlanta in 1887*

*Washington, D. C., December 15, 1886*

I gladly comply with your request for a communication on the resources, progress, and prospects of the South as seen during my recent visit to Tennessee and Alabama, and while making a trip through Northeastern Georgia and across South Carolina on the Piedmont Air Line road, en route from Atlanta to Washington.

I have points of comparison in vivid recollections of visits to these States in 1867, and to Florida and Georgia in 1875. The progress in wealth, in the means of individual comfort, and in productive power made by those portions of the country with which I can thus institute comparisons has been marvellous. In 1867 the South was a land of desolation, her fields were fenceless and uncultivated, and her people were without reproductive stock, or that with which to impel modern agricultural implements, if these had been bestowed upon them gratuitously. They were, numerically speaking, without seed for food crops, except such as had been bestowed upon them by personal friends, or the government through the Freed-men's Bureau and the agencies of the Agricultural Department.

The war had undoubtedly been the proximate cause of these deplorable conditions; but it was not their primary cause, as investigation discloses the fact that this was to be found in the economic opinions and industrial system that had dominated the South before the war, and under which she neither had nor could have populous towns or a great city, which her leaders regarded as great sores. Without such aggregations of people, no development of her boundless and infinitely varied mineral resources could be had. These were, in fact, treated as of little value, and as involving in their possible development dangers to the prevailing system of field labor. In the absence of cities and of mining and manufacturing populations, the productions of the South were restricted to a few great staples, such as cotton, rice, sugar, and tobacco; and in the inevitable absence of fertilizers, which in those days were chiefly derived from the barnyard, and the refuse of towns and cities, these crops were so exhausting as to require the land to be recuperated by being permitted to lie fallow for twenty or more years, so that each planter was required to own vast bodies of land in order to have at all times a plantation susceptible of profitable cultivation. As the labor on these large estates was performed

by slaves, there was no employment for the white families, who occupied small patches of poor land, and most of whom derived a precarious living from the game and fish they might take, and from such cotton or tobacco as in the absence of implements and barnyards they could extort from their exhausted acres.

Referring to the poverty of the people and contrasting it with the incalculable value of the mineral wealth with which their State abounded, I appealed to an audience of thousands of people at Montgomery, Alabama, in May, 1867, to relieve themselves from the drudgery of ill-paid manual toil, and the penury it entailed upon them, by exchanging part of their land for capital with which to develop the coal, iron ore, and limestone to be found in or near to that which they might retain. By recurring to my remarks, as reported by a citizen of Alabama in the *Montgomery Sentinel*, I find that I said:

“It is in the interest of our country that I speak when I ask you how you use the advantages with which nature has so bounteously provided you, and tell you that you have impoverished yourselves by treating them with contempt. We turn our coal and iron to most profitable account. You permit yours to slumber in their native earth. Availing ourselves of their power, one man with us does the work of a hundred with you. One little girl, tending a machine in a factory, will spin or weave more cotton in a day than one of your women will in a year by the ancient method of the wheel and the hand-loom. You have not deemed your mineral wealth worthy of consideration. In your devotion to your peculiar system of labor, you have forgotten that iron and coal are the most potent agents of modern civilization. Mere muscular power has become a thing of secondary consideration. Iron is the muscle of modern civilization, and coal—ignited coal—is the nervous force that animates it.”

In view of the immense development of the coal and iron ore of these States, and the increase in number and extent of industrial centres I saw in Tennessee and Alabama, the States in which I had most frequently spoken in 1867, the recollection of the remarks just quoted made me fear that well-instructed men among my auditors must have felt that I was treating them as children, and giving them what might be regarded as a kindergarten lesson in the elements of the civilization of the latter half of the nineteenth century. Certain it is that they have outgrown the need of such elementary suggestions. The changes wrought in the meantime have been marvellous, and may justly be regarded as the work of Titans.

The systems of railroad that now traverse the South are as perfect in the construction of road-bed, track, and bridges, and in passenger cars and the means provided for the transportation of freight, as those of the North. Lateral

roads branch from them into such valleys as are known to be specially rich, not in iron alone, but in other minerals, some of which are found in such profusion and juxtaposition as to seem to defy geologic laws as elsewhere illustrated. . . .

My attention was first drawn to the striking contrast between the neat, commodious, and well-painted homes of the negro laborers engaged in mining, smelting, and mechanical pursuits, and the cabins in which the poor white growers of cotton live now, as they did before the war. . . . But the establishment which interested me as much as any in Chattanooga was a Bessemer steel-nail works, of which Mr. James Duncan, formerly of the Cambria Works, of Johnstown, Pennsylvania, is superintendent, and, I think, proprietor. . . . Here I found unexpected evidence of the industry and mechanical skill of some of these colored boys, in attestation of which I purchased from one of them a steel paper-cutter made from a railway spike with such imperfect tools as he had himself constructed. The maker disliked to part with this evidence of his skill, because it had not received the finishing touches, and the blade was less smooth and polished than he had intended to make it. I also secured a lady's button-hook, made from a spike with the same artless tools by the same lad. Mr. Duncan assured us that for the privilege of testing their skill and improving it some of the boys would devote more than half of the hour allowed for dinner to this work, and that the only limitation upon the number of articles they might produce was that they should work at them during dinner-time only, and should report the fact whenever they required another spike. The establishment of an industrial-art school in the midst of a population like these Chattanooga nail-makers would soon produce gratifying evidence of the adaptation of negro labor to mechanical pursuits requiring a high degree of skill. Chattanooga, in addition to its productive industries, is also a large distributor of groceries and dry goods, and evidently has a commercial future.

Birmingham lacks the advantages Chattanooga derives from its situation on a river. It is an interior town. When the war closed, its site was a tenantless wilderness, but it is now an industrial centre, the energy of whose more than 25,000 inhabitants and the resources, found chiefly within a few miles of the city limits, which they have made tributary to their prosperity, would be a marvel in any country. . . .

It is a noteworthy fact that Anniston has a direct trade with China, at least to the extent of part of the productions of its cotton-mill. It was indeed a surprise to find bales of goods marked and branded for direct shipment from this interior town in Alabama, the history of which runs through less than seventeen years, to a commercial correspondent in

China. The ores used in the furnaces at Anniston, Ironaton, and Jenifer are procured from mines belonging to the companies, and the wood from which charcoal, the only fuel used in the furnaces and shops, is derived from the mountain spurs which are distant far enough from the Inn, as viewed from its broad verandas, to give the scene the character of an enchanted valley. ...

Space will not permit me to say anything definite about the marble deposits which extend through Tennessee, Alabama, and Georgia, and embrace almost every variety of marble. I may, however, mention an illustrative fact. In passing by the Woodstock furnaces, the attention of our party was attracted by a pile of broken marble of singular whiteness, pieces of which bore such an appearance of polish, as to create the impression that they were fragments of a manufactured article. This, however, was not the case. They had been brought there to be used as flux. The quarry from which they had been taken was the one selected to furnish the block of marble Alabama was to contribute to the Washington monument. When it had been finished and properly inscribed, the block was forwarded and received by the builders of the monument, and having been scrutinized and submitted to the judgment of experts, it was returned with a communication stating that the law required the stone from each State to be a specimen of its own resources, and that this was Italian marble. So firm was this conviction that it required the certificates upon honor of the governor of the State, of senators and members of Congress, and the affidavits of parties connected with the quarry to convince the experts who had the erection of the monument in charge that it was not Italian, but Alabama marble. . . .

In 1867 I saw the ruins of what had been the little city of Atlanta, which had prided itself upon the amount of cotton its merchants handled annually. It was literally in ruins—I may say in ashes; but as I looked upon it now I saw that I had then looked upon the ashes from which a phoenix was to rise. The census of 1880 found more than 50,000 people in Atlanta, and the number has certainly increased since then. That they are prosperous people is attested by every thing you behold in Atlanta. Into and out of its union depot pass the cars of eight through-line railroads, to which three important ones are now being added. The Kimball House, which is one of the best-appointed hotels in the country, cost considerably more than a million of dollars for its reconstruction after its destruction by fire in 1883. The office from which the *Constitution* issues its many thousand papers daily is impressive alike by its extent and architectural beauty. The Markham House and other fine hotels cluster about the depot and the

Kimball House. The evening was cold and the streets were sleety, but it was the only chance I would have to see any thing of Atlanta. I therefore walked far enough to see some of the great business houses of the city, and, by the aid of street railroads, saw something of the portion in which the elegant residences of Atlanta's millionaires are found. As we left in the morning, we discovered pregnant proof that the growth of Atlanta had exceeded the expectations of its earlier settlers, for factories, warehouses, freight depots, and other massive buildings are rapidly enclosing the beautiful cemetery, which, when laid out, was evidently believed to be too remote from the town for the possible encroachment of its stirring life upon this quiet city of the dead.

In having complied with your request, and thus told the readers of the *Manufacturers Record* what I saw in my brief visit to Tennessee, Alabama, and Georgia, I have given them but faint intimations of the resources of the South, of the impulses that now animate her, and of the rapid strides with which the spirit of the nineteenth century is changing not only the aspect of the country but the purposes and aspirations of her people.

#### 4 Lewis Hine, Photographs of Southern Textile Workers, 1908–09

*Lewis W. Hine (1874–1940) was a sociologist and a photographer who documented several important subjects in American life, among them labor, immigrants, and child labor. Born in Oshkosh, Wisconsin, he enrolled at the University of Chicago in 1900. A year later, he relocated to New York City, and, while working at the Ethical Culture School, began work in photography while earning a degree at New York University. As a sociological photographer, he began examining various aspects of American life. His photographs of immigrants on Ellis Island, which he took in 1904, documented the entry point in New York Harbor for European immigrants. The Ellis Island photographs reflect his efforts to portray the working classes and immigrants sympathetically.*

*In 1908, Hine was assigned by the National Child Labor Committee to take photographs of children at work in factories, mines, and on farms. These photographs are a small selection from his work documenting the use of children in southern cotton factories during the early twentieth century. His photographs created public awareness of the deprivation caused by child labor and were instrumental in the demand for child labor laws.*

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*Figure 1.1* “Little Spinner in Globe Cotton Mill. Augusta, Ga. The overseer admitted she was regularly employed.”

*Source:* Photograph by Lewis W. Hine. Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division, LC-DIG-nclc-01583.



**Figure 1.2** “Girls as Mill Workers, 1908. Spinners & doffers in Mollahan Mills, Newberry, S.C. Many others as small,” December 1908.

Source: Photograph by Lewis W. Hine. Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division, LC-DIG-nclc-01464.

### Discussion Questions: Chapter 1

- 1 How did Henry Grady regard Confederate defeat, 20 years after the end of the Civil War?
- 2 In Kelley’s view, what accounted for the dramatic economic changes that had occurred between his previous and his most recent visits to the South?
- 3 Compare Grady’s, Turner’s, and Kelley’s views of African Americans in the New South.
- 4 What are Grady’s attitudes toward the Old South? What were its values, and how does he reject them?
- 5 What objections did Turner have to the *Civil Rights Cases* decision?