CIVIL WAR AND RECONSTRUCTION WELFARE PROGRAMS FOR GEORGIA'S WHITE POOR: THE STATE, THE FREEDMEN'S BUREAU, AND NORTHERN CHARITY, 1863-1868

by

DENISE E. WRIGHT

(Under the Direction of Emory M. Thomas)

ABSTRACT

Georgia's white poor, like most of the southern population from 1863 to 1868, faced many challenges. The depredations of the Civil War combined with natural disaster in the form of an ongoing drought to create a large population which faced displacement, poverty, and starvation. But this population also had access to numerous avenues of relief, both public and private. The state of Georgia implemented large-scale relief programs beginning in 1863. Only white Georgians were eligible to receive this assistance. The Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands, the federal government's first large-scale aid agency, provided assistance, generally in the form of food, to white and black Georgians from mid-1865 until late 1867. Private northern charitable organizations, founded in 1867, were designed specifically to aid white and black southerners whose lives were made more desperate by the ongoing drought and resulting crop failures.

The founders and administrators of these programs struggled with defining the populations they would assist. Who "deserved" assistance? Should aid be restricted by race or class? Should wartime loyalty determine eligibility? These debates, carried out in very public

arenas – the state legislature, the U.S. Congress, and national and local newspapers – offer a perspective from which to understand the evolution of American welfare in the Civil War era. And the records of these organizations provide a glimpse into the lives of Georgia's white poor who solicited and accepted assistance.

Freedmen's Bureau's assistance to the white poor has often been marginalized in Bureau studies, but it is central to this dissertation, as it provides the crucial connections which link the state of Georgia's Civil War programs with Reconstruction-era private northern charity. Wartime relief programs in the southern states influenced the Freedmen's Bureau's architects, and private charities supplemented the Bureau's shortages of funding and manpower when it faced an overwhelming population of starving southerners in 1867. Unraveling the relationships between these organizations furthers our understanding of them and the white poor in Georgia whom they served.

INDEX WORDS: Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands; Civil War; Georgia; New York Ladies' Southern Relief Association; Reconstruction; Southern Famine Relief Commission; Welfare

CIVIL WAR AND RECONSTRUCTION WELFARE PROGRAMS FOR GEORGIA'S WHITE POOR: THE STATE, THE FREEDMEN'S BUREAU, AND NORTHERN CHARITY, 1863-1868

by

DENISE E. WRIGHT

B.S., Kennesaw State University, 1992

A Dissertation Submitted to the Graduate Faculty of The University of Georgia in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

ATHENS, GEORGIA

2005

CIVIL WAR AND RECONSTRUCTION WELFARE PROGRAMS FOR GEORGIA'S WHITE POOR: THE STATE, THE FREEDMEN'S BUREAU, AND NORTHERN CHARITY, 1863-1868

by

DENISE E. WRIGHT

Major Professor:	Emory M. Thomas
Committee:	John C. Inscoe Robert A. Pratt Ronald E. Butchart Eve Troutt-Powell

Electronic Version Approved:

Maureen Grasso
Dean of the Graduate School
The University of Georgia
May 2005

DEDICATION

This dissertation is dedicated to Jeff, who has redefined the meaning of partnership.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This dissertation would not exist without the contributions of a staggering number of people. Emory Thomas has provided guidance, insight, and his services as both "cheerleader" and critic. He has always known which was necessary at a particular moment. He and Frances Taliaferro Thomas have also graced Jeff and me with their friendship, which is even more valuable.

John Inscoe has lived up to his legendary reputation as a man who can simultaneously teach, research, write, edit, administer several major programs, and still find time to discuss an obscure source at a moment's notice. His classes made me a better researcher and writer, working for him as an assistant made me a better teacher, and his love of his work has been an inspiration.

Robert Pratt's honest, forthright approach to academia and life is always refreshing. He neither compromises nor equivocates, and the example he sets in his classroom and his writing is one I hope to follow. At crucial points in my research, I could count on him for incisive advice, which has always given me new ideas to consider.

Ron Butchart sets a high standard for research. His knowledge of the Freedmen's Bureau is astounding and has obviously been an invaluable resource. His wide variety of interests, which coincide with many of my own, has resulted in fascinating conversations which had little to do with the Freedmen's Bureau. For those, and his generosity with his time, I thank him.

Eve Troutt-Powell is a brilliant writer, researcher, and teacher who is challenging in the classroom, passionate in her beliefs, and solidly devoted to her family and friends. I thank her

for her encouragement, her friendship, and her infectious enthusiasm for life, which is, in my opinion, the source of her genius. I hope she does not mind serving as a role model, something she has done for more of us than she may realize.

Others at UGA have also contributed to this work. Tom Dyer's expertise in Georgia history has been repeatedly valuable. He has always been generous with his time and knowledge. Nan McMurray, at the UGA library, performed an academic miracle in finding the necessary funds to purchase the microfilmed records of the Southern Famine Relief Commission. She patiently returned all my anxious emails as I waited for them to arrive. Walton Harris and Stacey Bone at the UGA Press helped me locate and obtain the rights to use the perfect Georgia map. Laurie Kane has consistently helped me avoid the potential pitfalls of graduate school, and become a friend along the way.

None of the research here would have been possible without the assistance of Mike Musick at the National Archives in Washington, D.C. many years ago. He found the "unfindable," and in the process provided a valuable lesson in negotiating archival collections. Kelly Hogan, at the East Los Angeles Theatre School, was gracious enough to spend an evening on the phone discussing Confederate theatre and share the information which led me to Ann Morgan Dodge, at the John Hay Library at Brown University, who located an obscure play in its original.

Special thanks also go to the many friends at UGA who have refrained from asking when this process would be complete. Richard and Ashley Byers, Jennifer Gross Davis and John Walker Davis, Mark Huddle, Leslie Miller, Frank Forts, Patrick McCarthy, Kristin Dickinson, Anne Marshall and Jim Giesen, and Robert Smith have all made their own unique contributions to my life at UGA. They will all be part of the stories I'm sure we'll embellish over the years.

Other friends, old and new, have also greatly enhanced my life beyond UGA, and I am immeasurably grateful for their support. To Helen Springs and Paula Sartain, Clif Roberts, Jim Jordan and Jason Jordan, Minoosh Kharrazzi Wakeman and Hans Wakeman, Glynn Turner, Suzanne Armistead, Catherine and Bill Trask, Jennifer and Darren Sayer, Bart and Kellie Smith, Marc and Vicky Lilly, Ada Sartain, Evelyn Thornton, Doyle and Barbara Kay, Spencer Strong and Amy Wallace, Barbara and David Mize, Todd Fibus and John Brooks, and Russ Douglas, a heartfelt thank you.

My family also deserves a special note of appreciation for all they continue to do, especially my husband, Jeff Moore, and my mother, Elaine Morris Wright. Without them, any success in my life would mean much less. My "other dad" George Moore has provided years of patient support (financial and otherwise) and he and the incomparable Jane Smith have provided many much-needed vacations over the years. Thanks to them for the fun and the road trips. My brother, Dustin Wright, and his children, Ashley and Joshua, and my family-by-choice, Lisa, Emily, and Bryce Kaman, are incomparable. My three incredible grandparents, Fran Alexander and Alvin and Dorothy Morris, have supported me unconditionally. They, and other family members too numerous to mention, have influenced my life and my work more than they know.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Page

LIST OF TABLES

Page

LIST OF FIGURES

Page

Chapter I

Introduction

"To Drink a Cup of Uncle Abraham's Coffee"[1]

On October 31, 1865, Nancy Estes, a white woman from Cobb County, Georgia, just northwest of Atlanta, wrote to President Andrew Johnson requesting food and money. Describing her family's desperate conditions, she claimed to be a long-time Unionist who "drank a cup of Uncle Abraham's coffee" with the Union soldiers who had come to her home. As the "secesh" people would not help her, Johnson was her only hope. On November 30, a local agent of the Freedmen's Bureau investigated Estes' claim. He determined that Estes and her family, who still resided in the family home, were not "objects of humanity," and forwarded a copy of his findings to Georgia's assistant commissioner. The Estes family received no aid from the Bureau, but the letter raises some compelling questions about the white poor in the former Confederacy and the evolution of charitable aid programs during the Civil War and Reconstruction. The Estes family was not alone in their desperation or in their appeal for assistance.[2]

Despite numerous historical and sociological studies of the South's white poor during the Civil War and Reconstruction, the lives of the Estes family and thousands of other Georgians who survived those desperate times remain somewhat mysterious. But there is a common thread

[1] Registers of Letters Received by the Commissioner of the Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands, 1865-1872, National Archives and Records Administration (NARA) microfilm publication M752, Record Group 105, Roll 23.
[2] Ibid.

which can shed light on this population. From 1863 until 1868, Georgia's white poor had access to aid in varied forms. During the war, beginning in 1863, the state of Georgia implemented massive aid programs which provided cash, food (primarily in the form of corn), salt, and the materials necessary for the home production of cotton cloth. Immediately after the war, the newly established Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands provided "rations," clothing, and transportation. That aid was supplemented by donations from northern charitable associations, many of them organized specifically to assist starving southerners. Even the U.S. Department of Agriculture provided seeds for crops. We can hardly expect this population, largely illiterate and living in the midst of a catastrophic war and an ongoing drought, to have left behind the diaries and letters which have contributed so greatly to illustrating the story of the white southern aristocracy. But the histories of these aid programs, and the rare surviving evidence of white Georgians' interactions with them, help us better understand the privations and challenges of life during this turbulent period. By examining the relationships between the aid organizations, and the influences they had upon one another, we can also further our knowledge of the late nineteenth-century history of welfare in Georgia, the South, and the nation.[3]

[3] The terms planters, yeomen, poor whites, plain folk, and common folk used in this dissertation are based upon those found in David Williams, *Rich Man's War: Class, Caste, and Confederate Defeat in the Lower Chattahoochee Valley* (Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 1998), 211, fn 15. Williams' definitions are standard, but concisely describe commonly-used terms as "planters are defined by their ownership of twenty slaves or more, . . . *yeomen* here refers to small farmers and herdsmen ranging from those who owned at least three acres of land and no slaves to those who held up to four slaves. Tenants, sharecroppers, and farm laborers, generally referred to (along with unskilled urban workers) as *poor whites*, worked land owned by someone else. The designation *plain folk* or *common folk* when used in this study generally means yeomen and poor whites, although most often it includes small merchants and skilled artisans (*mechanics*) as well." With those definitions in mind, the term used here, "white poor," refers to whites who received aid from any source. As discussed throughout this study, the requirements for aid did not depend upon a recipient's class identification (such as landowner or not), but on their current state of need. Therefore, the use of "poor white," in this case would be inaccurate. For more discussion of the subtleties of and complications which arise from these definitions, see Stephen V. Ash, "Poor Whites in the Occupied South, 1861-1865," *Journal of Southern History*, Volume 57, No. 1 (February 1991): 39-62. Available via JSTOR at http://links.jstor.org/sici?sici=0022-4642%28199102%2957%3A1%3C39%3APWITOS%3E2.0.CO%3B2-8 [accessed 21 December 2004]. A classic study of poor whites in Georgia is found in Steven Hahn, *The Roots of Southern Populism: Yeoman Farmers and the Transformation of the Georgia Upcountry, 1850-1890* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1983).

The historiography of southern welfare in this era focuses upon the Freedmen's Bureau, the most well-known and extensive of all Civil War and Reconstruction welfare agencies. As such, it occupies a unique position in this study. In many ways, the study of American welfare from 1865 to 1870 *is* the study of the Bureau. But with few exceptions Bureau aid to the white poor is a footnote, an aside, rather than an integral part of that historiography. To understand how the pattern of excluding, or at least marginalizing, aid to the white poor developed, chapter two examines the diverse historiography of Reconstruction generally and the Freedmen's Bureau and its role in American welfare history specifically.

Some simple statistics reveal the importance of this endeavor. Between June 1865 and November 1868, the Freedmen's Bureau distributed more than 20 million rations to poor men, women, and children in the United States, primarily in the former Confederacy. Twenty-five percent of those rations went to whites. Ration distribution was not the only jurisdiction of the Reconstruction agency famous for its failure to provide freed slaves with "forty acres and a mule." In addition to land redistribution and food aid, its ambitious program included negotiating labor contracts, settling disputes between freedmen and whites, establishing schools, providing law enforcement, setting up medical facilities, providing transportation for displaced persons, and a host of smaller-scale programs. Some of these initiatives were successful; some were failures; and many fell somewhere in between. Most, however, have received more attention from historians than the distribution of food aid and other relief to poor whites. Scholars have addressed neither the importance of the program itself nor the larger implications of including whites as aid recipients in an agency known, since it was first debated in Congress, as the Freedmen's Bureau.[4]

[4] The total is approximately 20,305,976 rations, according to Freedmen's Bureau records. In addition to the former Confederate states, the Freedmen's Bureau also distributed rations in the District of Columbia.

To some degree, this marginalization is understandable. The original intent of the legislation, as proposed in 1863, was undoubtedly to aid the newly freed slaves. The implications of that intent, as well as the relative success of the Bureau, have, logically, been a primary focus of scholarly debate for decades. In one of the more recent studies of the Bureau, *Under the Guardianship of the Nation: The Freedmen's Bureau and the Reconstruction of Georgia, 1865-1870*, Paul A. Cimbala followed the established pattern of marginalizing the Bureau's aid to whites. Cimbala examined the inner workings of the agency in Georgia and stated that the Bureau's "more commonly used name – the Freedmen's Bureau – reflected its primary concern." In only one chapter did he address the matter of aid to poor whites and then only peripherally. His main focus was "ex-masters and ex-slaves." In a section entitled "The Bureau's Response to Destitution" he addressed only the "destitution of the freedpeople." He did not ignore the fact that the Bureau distributed food aid to white Georgians as well as freedpeople, but offered no analysis or comment. Despite the fact that aid to freedpeople was the Bureau's "primary concern," the fact remains that it allocated scarce resources, including Bureau agents' time and energy, to provide relief to white refugees. There were finite amounts of food for distribution, and anything given to whites became unavailable to the freedpeople.[5]

[5] Paul A. Cimbala, *Under the Guardianship of the Nation: the Freedmen's Bureau and the Reconstruction of Georgia, 1865 -1870* (Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 1997), xiv; 80-104. Though the focus of this dissertation is on relief in the form of rations, the Bureau also provided clothing, shoes, and blankets to the poor when they were available. These items, however, were not as scrupulously accounted for as rations. There was no exact definition of the term "refugee," but in practical use it denoted whites. In the Bureau's state ration reports, freedmen and refugees are listed separately. In other official Bureau correspondence, as well as in the congressional debates, the terms refugees, white refugees, and loyal refugees seem to be used somewhat interchangeably, depending upon what the speaker wished to emphasize. Almost a year after passage of the first Freedmen's Bureau bill, on January 30, 1866, Representative Thomas Dawes Elliot, who had introduced the original legislation, answered a question concerning the exact definition of "refugee." He stated, "I suppose refugees to be those who are not freedmen; that is to say those who had not been in slavery. Colored refugees may be freedmen or they may not; but refugees may be white; and when the terms 'refugees' and 'freedmen' are used, I suppose the difference would be that the refugees were white." He further clarified this statement by adding that the object of the bill was not to assist all poor whites, but "the loyal white men who have fled from their homes because of the rebellion." *Congressional Globe*, 39th Congress, First Session, (30 January 1866). Though Elliot implied that aid

Cimbala's focus is typical in Freedmen's Bureau historiography. William McFeely, in his often-quoted 1968 work *Yankee Stepfather: General O.O. Howard and the Freedmen*, also concluded that Bureau aid to whites was of secondary importance. His research centered on Howard, the first commissioner of the Freedmen's Bureau and the man who was responsible for much of its early policy implementation. He was aware that the Bureau's mandate included aid to poor whites; but for him, the "soup kitchen relief" provided by the distribution of rations to the poor of both races was "important, but of even greater long-range significance were the more permanent, and, its opponents thought, more revolutionary sections of the bill concerned with lands for the freedmen."[6] Like Cimbala, he was aware that the Freedmen's Bureau rendered aid to whites, but offered no analysis of this practice. The freedmen were his main concern. McFeely's focus on the more radical idea of land redistribution is understandable; but that idea died quickly. Ration distribution continued until 1868 and was a part of the daily operations of many Bureau offices. And those rations undoubtedly affected the lives of many poor white Georgians desperate for assistance.

In a 1970 article, eminent historian John Hope Franklin published an article in a social science journal which offered a new way to understand the Bureau's history by examining the origins of southern welfare policy. Franklin clearly established the connections between wartime and Reconstruction aid, primarily that provided by the Freedmen's Bureau. He found that wartime relief, for most southern states, was the beginning of welfare policy. He determined that state legislatures had realized the need to provide some aid to soldiers' widows and families. They moved quickly to do so, partially motivated by the necessity of avoiding the threat to social

---

was reserved for whites who had been forced from their homes, evidence in Bureau and other records does not support that assumption. This contradiction is in chapter four.

[6] William S. McFeely, *Yankee Stepfather: General O.O. Howard and the Freedmen* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1968; Norton, 1994), chapter 10, especially 208-210.

order that might occur if the "rich man's war, poor man's fight" cliché came too close to describing reality for poor whites. Poor relief, available to whites only, would maintain the race-based social order. Highlighting the significant percentage of Bureau rations which were issued to whites, Franklin concluded that the initial phase of Reconstruction, the period of so-called Radical Reconstruction, was not so radical after all. Confederate state and local welfare policy had established a precedent. The Freedmen's Bureau continued a practice already in place. Franklin placed the Bureau within the context of wartime welfare programs. This study applies Franklin's ideas to Georgia's welfare history.[7]

Chapter three begins in Georgia in 1863, the first year of large-scale, state-funded welfare programs. While no state in the former Confederacy can be deemed "typical," several factors combine to make Georgia a prime candidate for research. Georgia's population and geography were diverse. In the mountain and upcountry counties of northern Georgia (see Figure 1.1), the population was largely white, sometimes Unionist, and included fewer slaves before the war, as compared to Georgia's other regions. Through the western and eastern black belts and the coastal region, plantations, with their large slave populations, dominated. In the southeastern portion of the state, excluding the coastal counties, the pine barrens-wiregrass counties were unsuitable for plantation farming and, like the northern areas, had smaller slave populations.[8]

Additionally, the records of Georgia's wartime welfare programs, which were extensive, survived the war. For example, the *Annual Report of the Comptroller General of the State of Georgia for 1864* details the implementation of two new policies, one which provided goods and

[7] John Hope Franklin, "Public Welfare in the South During the Reconstruction Era, 1865-1880," *The Social Service Review* 44 (December 1970): 379-392. Franklin examined the South as a whole, but most of his data came from North Carolina.

[8] Figure 1.1, "Georgia Regions and Counties, 1860," details the boundaries of the various regions. Map from Anthony Gene Carey, *Parties, Slavery, and the Union in Antebellum Georgia* (Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 1997), used with permission of the University of Georgia Press.

another which provided money, to relieve the suffering of Georgia's white poor. For the fiscal year 1863-1864 (October to October), the state spent 57.1 percent of its total budget on direct and indirect welfare measures to the white poor, and the appropriations were increased for the following fiscal year. The comptroller general's annual reports detail the distribution of these funds through the only infrastructure available, the inferior court judges in each county.[9] Georgia had an extensive welfare system and support structure in place before war's end and a brief examination of other states' relief efforts reveal that Georgia was not unique in the Confederacy.

Additionally, chapter three details the factors that contributed to Georgia's wartime destitution. The northern counties were particularly hard hit by late 1863 as a combination of drought, an early frost, numerous skirmishes, and conscription left much of the population starving. In the final months of the war, privation increased as Union troops swept through the state displacing much of the population in their path and seizing valuable food and other resources. By the time the war ended, much of the population of Georgia, as well as much of the rest of the Confederacy, was desperate to obtain the necessities of life. The conditions Nancy Estes described in her letter to President Johnson would have been familiar to many Georgians.[10]

---

[9] *Annual Report of the Comptroller General of the State of Georgia, Made to the Governor, October 17, 1864* (Milledgeville: Boughton, Nisbet, Barnes & Moore, State Printers, 1864). For more information on the Indigent Soldiers' Family Fund apportionment and disbursements, see tables in chapter 3. Fiscal years were from October 16 to October 15. Direct welfare measures included such items as disbursements from the Indigent Soldiers' Families Fund and corn appropriations. Indirect welfare measures included payment to physicians from the Small Pox Fund and an annual appropriation to the Georgia Hospital and Relief Association. Though free blacks and slaves were impressed into service in the Confederacy, their families were ineligible to receive state aid in any form.

[10] The drought, as well as military activities in Georgia, is best described in Lee Kennett, *Marching Through Georgia: The Story of Soldiers and Civilians During Sherman's Campaign* (New York: Harper Collins, 1995). For interesting details of the shortages people faced throughout the Confederacy see Mary Elizabeth Massey, *Ersatz in the Confederacy* (Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press, 1952). For one of the few book-length accounts of life as a refugee, see Massey, *Refugee Life in the Confederacy,* with a new introduction by George C. Rable (Baton Rouge, LA: Louisiana State University Press, 1964; reprint, Baton Rouge, LA.: Louisiana State University Press, 2001). The summer droughts are also discussed in a series of letters from Governor Joseph E. Brown contained in Allen D. Candler, Comp., *The Confederate Records of the State of Georgia* (Atlanta: C.P. Byrd, state printer, 1910-41), Volume III, 328-329; 501-503.

To fully understand the connections between Georgia's wartime aid programs and the Bureau, we must also examine history of the Freedmen's Bureau. Chapter four also begins in 1863, with the report of a congressional committee. The American Freedmen's Inquiry Commission recommended establishing an agency to aid the people freed by the Emancipation Proclamation. The consistent use of the term "Freedmen's Bureau" in the congressional debates that followed implies that assisting the freed slaves was the primary goal of the Bureau as it was originally conceived. However, members of Congress disagreed about how the Bureau would function. Redistribution of lands seized during the war was a point of contention, as was the funding of the Bureau and its status within the government. Even after the framers resolved these issues, the proposed bill did not pass. But when Congress designed a bill placing white refugees on equal footing with freedpeople as recipients of Bureau assistance, that bill became law on March 3, 1865. It was then that the colloquial "Freedmen's Bureau" became the Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands.[11]

Members of the U.S. Congress were aware of the crushing poverty and destitution in the former Confederacy and this knowledge affected the legislation which established the Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands. Scrutiny of the congressional debates from January 1863, when Thomas Dawes Eliot, Republican representative from Massachusetts, first introduced "a bill to establish a Bureau of Emancipation," to the final passage in March 1865, reveals that the goals of the legislation changed significantly in twenty-six months. From the

[11] Many studies of the Freedmen's Bureau and Reconstruction reference John G. Sproat, "Blueprint for Radical Reconstruction," *Journal of Southern History* 23 (February 1957): 25-44. The full text of the "Preliminary Report of the American Freedmen's Inquiry Commission" is found in *War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies*, Series III, Volume III, 430-54. The "Final Report of the American Freedmen's Inquiry Commission" is found in Series III, Volume IV, 289-382, as well as 38th Congress, First Session, *Senate Executive Documents*, No. 53, (15 May 1864), 109. The *Official Record* is available online via ehistory at http://www.ehistory.com/uscw/library/or/index.cfm [accessed 12 January 2005]. Senator Sumner served in every Congress from the 32nd to the 43rd (1851-1874). The congressional debates over Freedmen's Bureau legislation, House Bills No. 51 and No. 698, can be found in the *Congressional Globe* 138, 38th Congress, First and Second sessions.

earliest days of debate, some congressmen argued for inclusion of white refugees in the agency's mandate. Most who supported this argument wanted no agency at all and hoped that an expansion of services would hasten its defeat. But in early February 1865, a new bill reached the floor, replacing the original. It placed poor whites beside freedmen as beneficiaries of the new Bureau.[12]

One of the congressmen who led the debate over the proposed Bureau predicated his argument, typical of those who called for the inclusion of white refugees, on wartime precedent. Both whites and blacks had suffered during the war. If the federal government was prepared to take on the responsibility of assisting freedpeople, why not others? Did not white refugees deserve assistance as well? Refugees of both races were turning to the Union army for shelter and food and, though no law provided for it, quartermasters were supplying them with whatever they could to keep them from starving. Even the wives and families of Confederate soldiers were receiving aid because common humanity prevented allowing them to starve. The federal government was aware of the practice and sanctioned it, and the new legislation would merely formalize a system which was already operating. This argument finally won a majority in the House; the bill passed the Senate, and President Abraham Lincoln signed it into law. The Bureau originally envisioned to aid the freedpeople became a federal relief agency accessible by southern whites and blacks impoverished by the war.[13]

This was more than a last-minute change and signifies that the minority wish to include poor whites had become the majority opinion. Poor whites would have the same access to relief, land and, later, medical care and education, as the freedpeople. This change in scope was necessary for passage of the final bill, and was certainly a compromise. But to assume that the

[12] Ibid. Scholars continue to debate the importance of the inclusion of whites in the Bureau's mandate, as well as the motivations behind the change. That debate is detailed in chapter four.
[13] Ibid.

inclusion of whites was merely peripheral to the Bureau's "true" mission of assisting freed slaves is inaccurate. The federal government, via the Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands, sought to assist four million newly freed slaves, a monumental and unprecedented task. But it also sought to assist a significant percentage of the rest of the population left destitute by the war. This, too, was monumental and unprecedented and deserves attention and analysis.[14]

The legislation which finally made the Bureau a reality did not describe an agency which would only assist freed slaves. While federal aid to an entire population who had been enslaved was unprecedented in American history, and is undoubtedly one of the more compelling topics of research, it is not the whole story of the Bureau. Poor whites benefited from the Bureau's welfare policies and this aspect of its operations is important. The individual states of the Confederacy had established welfare policies and programs during the war. By providing assistance to poor whites, the Freedmen's Bureau continued a practice which already existed. The Bureau simultaneously established radical new policy when it offered aid to former slaves and continued established practice when it assisted poor people whose lives had been disrupted by war. The connections between state wartime aid programs and the Bureau are one of the most overlooked aspects of Bureau history.

The bill that established the Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands on March 3, 1865 described how the Bureau would function, at least in theory. Chapter five examines how the Bureau functioned in reality. As Cimbala and Miller state in the preface of *The Freedmen's Bureau and Reconstruction: Reconsiderations*, published in 1999, "Although scholars have identified broad region-wide themes in the Bureau's history, they have also begun to show that, because of the diversity of conditions and personalities in the Reconstruction South,

[14] Ibid.

there were distinct variations on those themes in different settings."[15] These "distinct variations" become obvious through an examination of the Bureau's structure and administration, including its jurisdiction over land, education, transportation, employment contracts, military courts, and ration distribution. The Bureau's commissioner, General O.O. Howard, administered a complex and evolving organization. A series of assistant commissioners, sub-assistant commissioners, and agents reported to Howard. Often, agents and sub-assistant commissioners carried out similar daily operations, though they technically occupied different rungs in the Bureau's hierarchy. Local officers who carried out the majority of the Bureau's daily tasks, regardless of official titles, were often unsure of their jurisdiction, their authority, their tenure in office, and their resources.

It is this uncertainty which makes it difficult to describe a "typical" agent. Bureau officers were regular army or Veteran's Reserve Corps officers who had not been mustered out after the war; in some cases they were native southerners whose integrity could be vouched for by known loyalists. In Georgia, jurisdictions varied widely throughout the life of the Bureau. Some agents served in areas with large populations of freedpeople, while others had majority white constituencies. To further complicate our understanding of how the Bureau actually functioned on a local level, Andrew Johnson waged what William McFeely described as an ongoing "war" with the Bureau, which caused Howard to reorganize after 1866. Consistent management never characterized Bureau operations. But within the confusion, ration distribution remained an important part of most Bureau agents' daily operations, especially from the spring of 1865 through the late summer of 1867.[16]

---

[15] Paul Cimbala and Randall Miller, eds., *The Freedmen's Bureau and Reconstruction*, with an Afterward by James M. McPherson, Reconstructing America Series, ed. Paul Cimbala (New York: Fordham University Press, 1999), xi.
[16] McFeely, *Yankee Stepfather*, 238. For more information on the Veteran's Reserve Corps, see *War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies*, Series III, Volume 5, Union

Luckily, the records of the Freedmen's Bureau's operations in Georgia are extensive and include a variety of narrative and statistical reports at every level, from local agents to Commissioner Howard. These are invaluable in reconstructing day-to-day operations, as well as providing insight into the attitudes and opinions of Bureau officers. Chapter five includes a detailed examination of several types of reports, including those for ration distribution in Georgia. Each month, Bureau assistant commissioners in each state where the Bureau operated, as well as Washington, D.C., completed standardized ration reports and forwarded them to Howard's office. These reports, found in the Bureau's records in the National Archives, detail the distribution of rations in each agent's area of operation. They include distribution location and the number of rations issued. There are separate returns for freedpeople and refugees, and the numbers are also categorized by gender and age (adult or child under fourteen). In some cases, brief narrative comments accompany the reports. While it is not possible to determine from these reports how many individuals received rations, the numbers of rations distributed, and the dollar value of those rations, provide a basis for comparison of distribution to "refugees" and "freedmen" as well as comparisons between states.[17]

Chapter five also examines the ongoing debates, carried out in Congress and in northern papers, over the appropriate approach to providing aid to all destitute southerners, white and

---

Correspondence, etc. (Washington, D.C.: 1880-1901), *Report of J.W. De Forest, Capt., V.R.C., and Actg. Asst. Adjutant-General, to Brig. Gen. James B. Fry, Provost-Marshal General, November 30, 1865*, 543. The *Official Record* is available online via ehistory at http://www.ehistory.com/uscw/library/or/index.cfm [accessed 12 January 2005]. This report is a detailed history of the operations of the V.R.C. from its inception until September 30, 1865. Initially, the V.R.C. was called the Invalid Corps. Its name was changed in March 1864. The role of V.R.C. officers in the Freedmen's Bureau is detailed in chapter five.

[17] *Monthly Reports of the Assistant Commissioner of the Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen and Abandoned Lands (BRFAL) for the State of Georgia, December 1865-December 1867,* National Archives Record Group 105 (RG 105), Entry 33 (HRS Freedmen's Bureau). These are preprinted statistical report forms. They are not, collectively, part of the microfilmed records that make up the bulk of RG 105. Unfortunately, the narrative reports that accompanied these statistical reports were separated after receipt in Washington and are no longer part of this entry. There was no standard number of rations issued to each person, which precludes determining the number of people who received rations during the month. The scope of this study does not include a detailed comparison of ration distribution in all states, but statistics are included in the tables in chapter six.

black. As conditions in the South reached crisis levels, Americans wrestled with the question of who was deserving of aid, especially in the aftermath of war. Many of the arguments originally raised in the debate over the first Freedmen's Bureau bill were revived. In the end, the state, the Freedmen's Bureau, and private charitable organizations all came to the aid of Georgia's destitute in the early postwar years. Georgia's white poor were aware of these avenues for relief, and records show they actively petitioned for aid. Some requests are scattered throughout the Freedmen's Bureau records. Other letters from white southerners are in the records of private northern charitable agencies. Two of those, the New York Ladies' Southern Relief Association and the Southern Famine Relief Commission, are examined in detail and provide crucial information for understanding the connections between federal and private charity. General Howard was the country's recognized expert on the southern situation and the Southern Famine Relief Commission and other agencies worked with the Bureau to direct aid to those it determined to be most desperate. Part of chapter five is devoted to clarifying the ways in which the Bureau coordinated the relief efforts of multiple organizations, yet another aspect of Reconstruction welfare which has not received enough scholarly attention.[18]

By 1868, the Freedmen's Bureau's efforts to provide rations and other relief to the South's white poor were largely finished. Private relief agencies were also ending their programs. The public perception was that the crisis was over. Chapter six examines the role of

[18] *Southern Famine Relief Commission Records*, The New-York Historical Society; finding aid available online at http://dlib.nyu.edu:8083/servlet/SaxonServlet?source=southernfamrelief.xml&style=saxon01n.xsl [accessed 12 August 2003]. The Southern Famine Relief Commission is notable not only for its works, but its founding members and officers including Frederick Law Olmsted and J. Pierpont Morgan. The commission operated for less than one year, during 1867. This was perceived by the Commission as the time of most desperate need in the South. Anne Middleton Holmes, *The New York Ladies' Southern Relief Association, 1866-1867: An Account of the Relief Furnished by Citizens of New York City to the Inhabitants of the Devastated Regions of the South Immediately After the Civil War* (New York: The Mary Mildred Sullivan Chapter, United Daughters of the Confederacy, 1926). There were similar organizations in other northern states and the records of those organizations will provide fertile ground for future research. Examples of such information are found in *Account of the Supplies Sent to Savannah with the Past Appeal of Edward Everett in Faneuil Hall; The Letter to the Mayor of Savannah; and the Proceedings of the Citizens, and Letter of the Mayor of Savannah* (Boston: John Wilson and Son, 1865) and *Report to the Contributors to the Pennsylvania Relief Association for East Tennessee* (Philadelphia: Pennsylvania Relief Association, 1864).

the Bureau's wartime relief efforts within the larger history of American welfare in 1868 and after. According to Walter I. Trattner's study of the American welfare system, the American Revolution set a precedent for large-scale relief efforts at the state level but, by the beginning of the nineteenth century, several factors combined to change public perceptions of welfare policy. Some people – for example those who suffered from physical disabilities – deserved relief, while others did not. This attitude persisted until the Civil War. This new national crisis brought about a change in perceptions of the "deserving" poor. As Trattner explains, "Like all wars, the War between the States created enormous relief problems – problems which could not be blamed on the individuals or families involved."[19] Relief to poor white southerners, whether or not they had been loyal to the Union, was acceptable because, as stated in the congressional debates over the establishment of the Bureau, "the wives and children of rebels and of rebel soldiers . . . should [not] starve or perish miserably on account of the conduct of their fathers and husbands and friends."[20] Once the public perceived that the crisis was over, this kind of relief was unacceptable. Trattner and others who study welfare history acknowledge that the relief offered by the Freedmen's Bureau was a crucial step in the development of the American welfare system. This chapter revisits the discussion begun in chapter two by examining the implications

[19] Walter I. Trattner, *From Poor Law to Welfare State: A History of Social Welfare in America* (New York: The Free Press, 1974; reprint edition, 1994), 79. In chapter two, Trattner discusses poor relief immediately before and during the Revolution in detail. In chapter four, Trattner identifies such varied factors as the Enlightenment, industrialization, the American Revolution, and increasing immigration as contributing to an increasingly popular view of the poor as unworthy of assistance. See also Paul D. Escott, "The Cry of the Sufferers: The Problem of Welfare in the Confederacy," *Civil War History* 23 (September 1977): 228-40 and Elna C. Green, ed., *Before the New Deal: Social Welfare in the South, 1830-1930* (Athens, GA.: University of Georgia Press, 1999), Introduction, and Green, *This Business of Relief: Confronting Poverty in a Southern City, 1740-1940* (Athens, GA.: University of Georgia Press, 2003). Though this is a detailed study of Richmond, Virginia, Green's chapter four, entitled "The Civil War: Redefining the 'Worthy' Poor," is especially enlightening.

[20] *Congressional Globe*, 38th Congress, Second Session, speech of Mr. Schenck, (9 February 1865), 692. Gender is a crucial aspect of the debates in Congress. While much of the discussion of the treatment of freedpeople is decidedly paternalistic, there is also a certain feminization of the poor generally.

of the end of Reconstruction-era poor relief, and especially the shift in focus among some philanthropists to another group of southerners.

It has been well documented by historians that beginning around 1870 a "discovery" of poor whites in Appalachia caught the American public's attention. The discussion of the concept of the "deserving poor" is crucial to understanding how "mountain whites" or "Appalachian whites" were viewed very differently than "poor whites" in the South generally. Poor whites in this era were alternately referred to as "poor white trash" or "crackers," terms that implied certain incorrigible traits such as laziness and an inability to learn or improve. They were the undeserving poor. Appalachian whites, on the other hand, were an almost mythical people, portrayed by some as "pure" Anglo-Saxons. Through their geographic isolation, the story goes, they remained uncorrupted by the slave system of the South. Many of them had never even seen a black person. Rather than being undeserving of welfare, they were perhaps the "most deserving" of all Americans. They were also native-born, an important asset in the America of the late nineteenth century which was facing massive immigration. Their speech and way of life seemed relics of a forgotten colonial past. These were people ripe for improvement.[21]

Nina Silber, in her 2001 essay "'What Does America Need So Much as Americans?:' Race and Northern Reconciliation with Southern Appalachia, 1870-1900," argues that a necessary part of the process of northern discovery of mountain whites was a "reevaluation" of southern poor whites generally. By the 1880s, northerners were influenced by the growing New

[21] Two of the many authors who have addressed this topic are James C. Klotter, "The Black South and White Appalachia," *Journal of American History* 66, No. 4 (March 1980): 832-49 and Nina Silber, "'What Does America Need So Much as Americans?:' Race and Northern Reconciliation with Southern Appalachia, 1870-1900," in *Appalachians and Race: The Mountain South from Slavery to Segregation*, ed. John C. Inscoe (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 2001), 245-58. Klotter specifically addresses the competing schools of thought concerning the "Anglo-Saxon purity" of Appalachian whites and the idea that geographic isolation had insulated these people from the modernizing trends in the rest of the United States. Silber uses Klotter's work as a primary basis for her expanded examination of the role of race in reconciling North and South. Silber specifically addresses the ideas of the "undeserving" and "most deserving" poor in her work on pages 247-248.

South movement, which found the South's economic salvation in industrialization. They "often suggested that the poor white may have risen above his prewar degradation and become a chief beneficiary of economic growth in the South." Industrialization, especially in the cotton industry, provided jobs. Industrial employment could provide a way for the majority of southern poor whites to help themselves which was an important theory in American welfare policy.[22] Twenty years before, in his influential article "The Black South and White Appalachia," James C. Klotter argued that northern reformers, using similar language to describe the degraded condition of southern blacks during slavery and Appalachian whites, had found a reason to "turn their backs on the ex-slaves, as they told themselves that Appalachia needed aid as well."[23] Both Silber and Klotter make convincing arguments, and the work of other authors reinforces their findings.

This study concludes by examining two people who were intimately involved in early Reconstruction-era relief. General Oliver Otis Howard, Commissioner of the Freedmen's Bureau, and Mary Mildred Sullivan, founder of the New York Ladies' Southern Relief Association, were part of the new movement Silber and Klotter described. After Reconstruction's end, both were involved with organizations which sought to provide educational assistance to Appalachian whites. Their post-1868 philanthropic efforts serve as a logical bridge between Reconstruction programs and the "rediscovery" of poor whites in Appalachia and further our understanding of the connections between Civil War, Reconstruction, and turn-of-the-century welfare in America. The study of the evolution of American welfare in these periods sheds some light on the often-unknowable aspects of the lives of Nancy Estes and countless other poor southern whites who survived the calamities of the Civil War.

---

[22] Silber, 245-246.

[23] Klotter, 832. The use of similar language to describe the plight of the two groups in appeals to philanthropists and reformers is crucial to Klotter's argument.

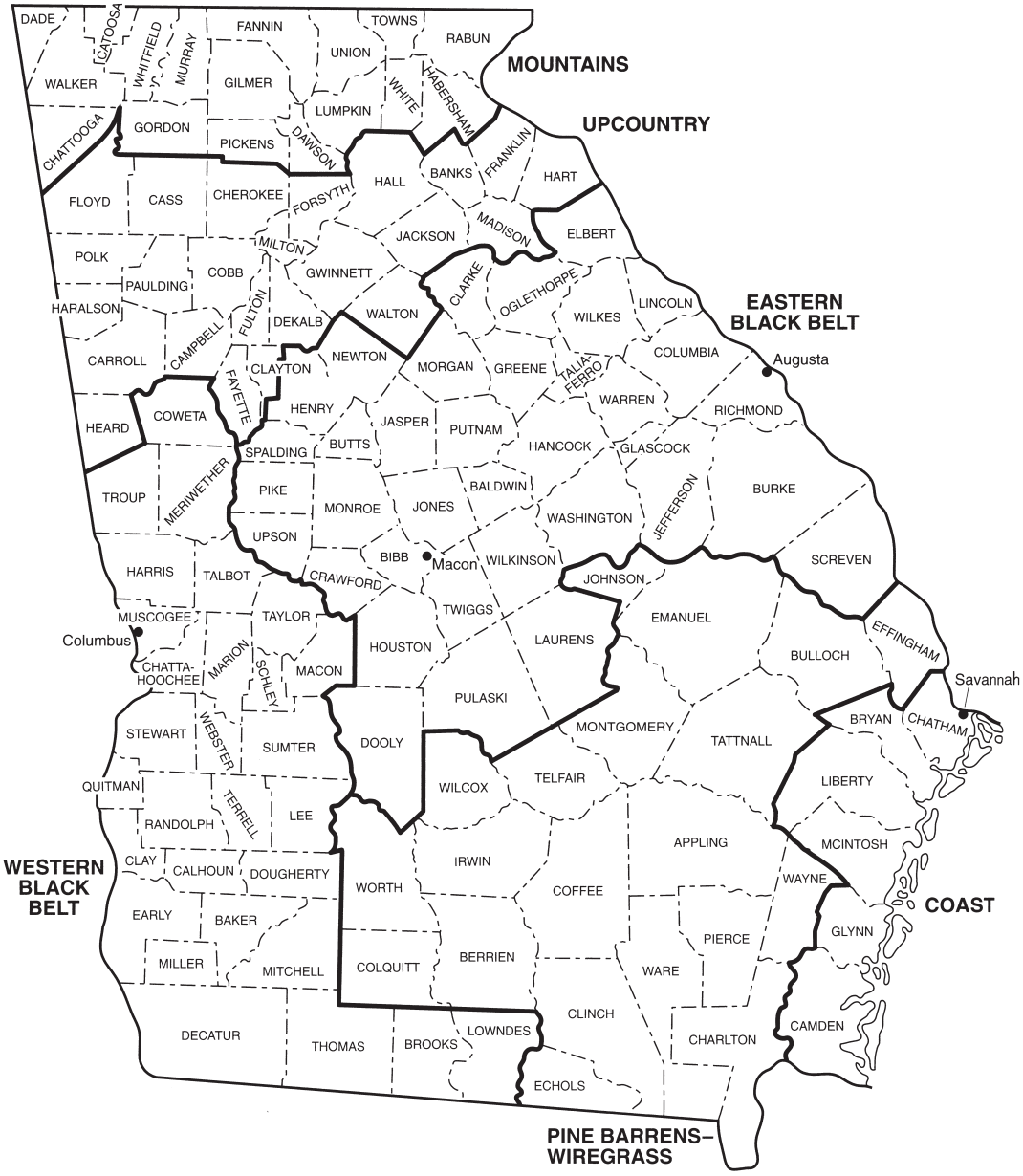
Figure 1.1

Georgia Regions and Counties, 1860

Map Source: Anthony Gene Carey, *Parties, Slavery, and the Union in Antebellum Georgia* (Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 1997), used with permission of the University of Georgia Press.

Note: Cass County changed its name to Bartow County on December 8, 1861. Originally named in honor of General Lewis Cass, the county's inhabitants felt Cass' antislavery ideology was problematic and renamed the county after Francis Stebbens Bartow, a Confederate soldier killed at the Battle of First Manassas. The county's boundaries did not change.

Georgia Regions and Counties, 1860



Chapter II

The White Poor in the Historiography of Reconstruction

"The best work of the Freedmen's Bureau was done in relieving these white people from want until they could make a crop."[1]

In an article entitled "Military Government in the South during Reconstruction," an eminent historian described events in the spring of 1867, just before the Reconstruction Acts of March of that year established military rule in the South. He stated that the situation in the South had actually deteriorated over the previous six months. He attributed this deterioration to two factors. One was that Congress had made known its desire to implement black suffrage "by force." The result had been that "the disgust and despair of the whites tended toward expression in violence, especially wherever the freedmen manifested any consciousness of unwonted power." The second factor was the crop failure of 1866 and the ensuing famine in the South, which necessitated "the distribution of food through both public and private agencies" in what he described as "large proportions." In a footnote he added that "by authority of a joint resolution of March 30, the Freedmen's Bureau devoted half a million dollars to the purchase and distribution of food in the South." In his evaluation, these were the two events that would make military rule in the South an uphill battle. It is quite unusual to find any mention of the severe famine and resulting massive federal aid distribution in the South in 1867 in Reconstruction historiography, much less as a contributing factor to the difficulties of Military Reconstruction.

[1] Walter L. Fleming, "Reorganization of the Industrial System in Alabama After the Civil War," *American Journal of Sociology,* Volume 10, Issue 4 (January 1905): 476. Fleming was describing the white inhabitants of what he defined as the "white counties," those areas of Alabama which had majority white populations, as opposed to the "Black Belt."

But William A. Dunning was convinced of its importance when he published the article, in *Political Science Quarterly*, in 1897.[2]

Much of Dunning's, and his students', evaluations of Reconstruction have been refuted or greatly revised in the generations since they published their works. But his inclusion of the famine that swept through much of the South in 1866 and 1867, and his insistence that it was a contributing factor to the obstacles facing the officers sent to establish military governments, has not so much been revised as marginalized. Over the years since 1897, the famine and the resulting public and private programs to aid starving white southerners have become peripheral in the larger story of Reconstruction. This was not the result of a seminal work that disproved Dunning's assertion. It has happened gradually. Over the last hundred years or so, a few historians, sociologists, and political scientists have included aid to the white poor in their studies of Reconstruction and the Freedmen's Bureau in some form. These are generally found in journal articles. And a few scholars, generally in the examinations of the state of Reconstruction historiography that appear in the more prominent history journals every few years, have called attention to the exclusion of this part of the story of Reconstruction, but few have attempted to remedy the problem. Most book-length studies exclude discussions of aid to poor white southerners' access to welfare programs altogether. An examination of some of the works which did recognize the oversight is a first step toward understanding how and when aid to poor white southerners became merely peripheral to the story of the Bureau and Reconstruction.[3]

---

[2] William A. Dunning, "Military Government in the South," *Political Science Quarterly*, Volume XII, Number 3 (September 1897): 385. Dunning described one of the effects of the southern famine this way: "Upon the relations between the races the crop failure had serious effects." Landowners were sometimes truly unable to pay the freedpeople for their work, and some took advantage of the situation and claimed they were unable to pay.

[3] For a sense of the changing state of Reconstruction history over the years, see James G. Randall, "John Sherman and Reconstruction," *The Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, Volume 19, Issue 3 (December 1932): 382-393; Francis B. Simkins, "New Viewpoints of Southern Reconstruction," *The Journal of Southern History*, Volume 5, Issue 1 (February 1939): 49-61; Howard K. Beale, "On Rewriting Reconstruction History," *The American Historical Review*, Volume 45, Issue 4 (July 1940): 807-827; Wendell H. Stephenson, "A Half Century of Southern

In 1905, Walter L. Fleming, one of Dunning's students, published an article in the *American Journal of Sociology* entitled "Reorganization of the Industrial System in Alabama after the Civil War." Fleming's racist assumptions are evident throughout the article. He compared not only the pre- and post-war labor systems, but also what he described as the "white counties" in the northern part of the state and the "black belt" of the south. In every comparison, the white worker is superior, is able to produce more from poorer land. One portion of the article is subtitled "The Decadence of the Black Belt." He described the immorality of the freedpeople, claiming they had fallen away from Christianity and practiced "hoodoo." He even made a brief reference to Jews as "money lenders."[4] Throughout, the heroes of the story are the poor whites who faced terrible trials during and after the war, who labored tirelessly on infertile farmland to eek out a living. None of these characterizations are unfamiliar to the history student. Fleming's

---

Historical Scholarship," *The Journal of Southern History*, Volume 11, Issue 1 (February 1945): 3-32; John Hope Franklin, "Whither Reconstruction Historiography?," *The Journal of Negro Education*, Volume 17, Issue 4 (Autumn, 1948): 446-461; Bernard A. Weisberger, "The Dark and Bloody Ground of Reconstruction Historiography," *The Journal of Southern History*, Volume 25, Issue 4 (November 1959): 427-447; Mark M. Krug, "On Rewriting the Story of Reconstruction in the U.S. History Textbooks," *The Journal of Negro History*, volume 46, Issue 3 (April 1961): 133-153; Richard O. Curry, "The Abolitionists and Reconstruction: A Critical Appraisal," *The Journal of Southern History*, Volume 34, Issue 4 (November 1968): 527-545; Armstead L. Robinson, "Beyond the Realm of Social Consensus: New Meanings of Reconstruction for American History," *The Journal of American History*, Volume 68, Number 2 (September 1981): 276-297; Eric Foner, "Reconstruction Revisited," *Reviews in American History*, Volume 10, Number 4, The Promise of American History: Progress and Prospects (December 1982): 82-100; Jacqueline Goggin, "Countering White Racist Scholarship: Carter G. Woodson and the Journal of Negro History," *The Journal of Negro History*, Volume 68, Issue 4 (Autumn 1983): 355-375; Laura F. Edwards, "Emancipation and Its Consequences," in John B. Boles, ed., *A Companion to the American South*, Volume 3 in the Blackwell Companions to American History Series (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishers, 2002), 269-283; Michael W. Fitzgerald, "Political Reconstruction, 1865-1877," in John B. Boles, ed., *A Companion to the American South*, Volume 3 in the Blackwell Companions to American History Series (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishers, 2002), 284-302; Joseph P. Reidy, "Economic Consequences of the Civil War and Reconstruction," in John B. Boles, ed., *A Companion to the American South*, Volume 3 in the Blackwell Companions to American History Series (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishers, 2002), 303-317. All journal articles are available via JSTOR at http://www.jstor.org. It is worth noting that James G. Randall, author of the 1932 article, also published a book-length study, *The Civil War and Reconstruction* (Boston: D.C. Heath and Co., 1937), which ran to over 900 pages.

[4] Fleming, "Reorganization of the Industrial System in Alabama after the Civil War," 495; 498-499. In the same year, Fleming published *Civil War and Reconstruction in Alabama*, (New York: The Columbia University Press, 1905), which echoed the opinions in the article. For more on Fleming, see Fletcher M. Green, "Walter Lynwood Fleming: Historian of Reconstruction," *Journal of Southern History*, Volume 2, Issue 4 (November 1936): 497-521. Green wrote this short biography after Fleming's death. Fleming was from Alabama, the son of a planter who had served in the Confederacy. Green notes that many reviewers noted Fleming's white southern sympathies during his career but still found his accounts of Reconstruction reliable. His major critic during his lifetime was WEB Du Bois, who accused him of writing decidedly racist "propaganda."

portrayal of the Freedmen's Bureau is also familiar. He criticizes the Bureau agents' attempts to set up a system of free labor and claims that "the result of these regulations was to destroy industry where an alien [B]ureau agent was stationed, unless the agent was purchasable; for the planters could not afford to have their land worked on such terms."[5] But in an article that so typifies the portrayal of Reconstruction and the Bureau at the turn of the last century, there is an unusual observation. In describing the destitution of the small farmers in the northern "white counties" after the war, Fleming states that "the best work of the Freedmen's Bureau was done in relieving these white people from want until they could make a crop."[6] While Fleming did not offer a ringing endorsement of the Bureau, he did acknowledge its value to starving poor whites in northern Alabama. Few later scholars would do so, but there are notable exceptions which deserve attention.

In 1924, A. A. Taylor, a black historian who worked with eminent scholar Carter G. Woodson, published "The Confusion of the Transition" in the *Journal of Negro History*. His work was based upon diaries, newspapers, and travelers' accounts of the status of the South immediately after the war.[7] While much of the article describes the conditions of the freedpeople, which varied from region to region, Taylor also included some commentary on the condition of white southerners, specifically in South Carolina. In paraphrasing journalist Sidney Andrews' observations in the state, Taylor declared, "Almost any thoughtful traveler could see

[5] Ibid., 480.
[6] Ibid., 476. Fleming also estimates that "after 1862 from one-fourth to one-half of the soldiers' families received aid from the state." He refers specifically to the soldiers from the "white counties" and points out that this aid came specifically from the more prosperous "Black Belt." For more on wartime aid programs in the Confederate states, see chapter three.
[7] These included U.S. Grant, Carl Schurz, Sidney Andrews, Elizabeth Hyde Botume, Mary Ames, Laura M. Towne, Elizabeth Ware Pearson, and Whitelaw Reid.

that the majority of whites were parasites, idlers[,] and semi-vagabonds."[8] In Taylor's analysis, part of the problem was that while the freedpeople assisted each other, the whites, "accustomed to have all their affairs managed by an aristocracy which was then ruined, seemed powerless." The whites were unorganized and found it necessary to look beyond their own communities for assistance, and "it was hoped that aid for the whites would come from the North, for fearful distress from hunger was inevitable." Taylor also recounted a story of some whites subsisting on government rations alone because they felt the "Washington Government" owed them.[9] This description is distinctly at odds with the defiant rebels who populate other descriptions of Reconstruction.

Thirty-three years after Walter Fleming published his account of Alabama Reconstruction, distinguished scholar and educator Horace Mann Bond challenged his interpretation in "Social and Economic Forces in Alabama Reconstruction," which was, like Taylor's work, published in the *Journal of Negro History*. Stating that Fleming's account had been accepted in the intervening years as "definitive," Bond described the work as a "stereotype."[10] Noting that historians of the thirties had gained a perspective which Fleming did not possess, Bond proceeded to revise Fleming's account. The thesis of the article is that Reconstruction in Alabama was a struggle between what Bond describes as "Northern [h]umanitarianism" and "Northern capital," rather than one between white and black or North

[8] A. A. Taylor, "The Confusion of the Transition," *Journal of Negro History* Volume 9, Issue 3 (July 1924): 272. Andrews' account is found in Sidney Andrews, *The South Since the War, As Shown by Fourteen Weeks of Travel and Observation in Georgia and the Carolinas* (Boston: Ticknor and Fields, 1866), 223.
[9] Ibid., 272-273. The account of subsistence on government rations can be found in Whitelaw Reid, *After the War: A Southern Tour* (Cincinnati: Moore, Wilstach, & Baldwin, 1866), 73-74. At this very early stage of Reconstruction, the United States Commissary provided the rations described.
[10] Horace Mann Bond, "Social and Economic Forces in Alabama Reconstruction," *Journal of Negro History* Volume 23, Issue 3 (July 1938): 290-91.

and South.[11] It would be an oversimplification to describe it as a story of good and evil, but there is an implied morality in Bond's description of humanitarian goals that is not found in his discussion of capitalist goals. The white poor, especially the landless "poor whites," and the Freedmen's Bureau play prominent roles in Bond's account and what is most notable is their integration into the story. Though primarily found in the section on "Social Forces," Bond references poor whites and the Bureau repeatedly, not simply in subtitled sections. A significant theme of the article is the great potential for an alliance between freedpeople and poor whites in the early years of Reconstruction, one based upon class rather than race, which was defeated because it did not meet the needs of capitalism. Poor whites are portrayed alongside slaves as the losers in the antebellum plantation system and its accompanying political organization. They are also described as the focus of Northern humanitarianism, which found an outlet through the Freedmen's Bureau.[12] Bond's is a much more nuanced and sophisticated examination of the Bureau's efforts to assist poor whites than Fleming's, who was loathe to portray any positive aspect of the Bureau beyond the ration program.

A year after Bond's article appeared, Alice B. Keith broke new ground in the study of Reconstruction in "White Relief in North Carolina, 1865-1867," published in the journal *Social Forces*. This was one of the first works of its kind and many of the questions she raised have yet to be answered. She begins her examination of Reconstruction aid programs by making a simple

[11] Ibid. Bond describes "social forces" as deriving from "significant social groupings" of the antebellum South, namely "the native whites, with their sub-division into slaveholders and non-slaveholders, and the Negro population." See 291-292 for detailed discussion of these forces. In describing "economic forces," Bond points out that "sensational accounts of political and racial struggles during Reconstruction are inducement, frequently to forget that the Civil War was in itself a first class economic disaster," 310. Bond identifies the army and the Bureau as "the instrument[s] by which the theory of Northern Humanitarianism was made potent in the state," 292. See pages 303-304 for a discussion of "Northern Humanitarianism" and its influence on the Bureau specifically.

[12] Ibid. See pages 292-295 for Bond's discussion of "native whites," both "poor whites" and former slaveholders. Pages 294-295 contain observations about the potential for an interracial alliance between freedpeople and poor whites. See pages 299-303 for a discussion of the Bureau specifically, including Fleming's overall depiction of its actions. See also the discussion of Elizabeth Studley Nathans, *Losing the Peace: Georgia Republicans and Reconstruction, 1865-1871* (Baton Rouge: University of Louisiana Press, 1968), below, for another account of the potential white-black alliance.

observation. "Novelists, poets, and historians" had romanticized the story of southern Reconstruction by 1939 and most "students of Reconstruction in the South and average laymen" were unaware that the North had offered the white South any significant assistance during the period. Keith not only offered ample evidence of northern assistance, but made a keen observation about why this part of the story of Reconstruction remained relatively unknown when she stated "man is not given to advertising his indigencies nor to eulogizing his creditors."[13] She also noted the difficulties of historical research when examining a population which was largely illiterate, but proved creative enough to find a solution by basing her research upon newspaper accounts and the correspondence of North Carolina governor Jonathan Worth. Keith includes descriptions of the southern famine, the desperate situation of poor whites, and the Freedmen's Bureau's ration programs, but she also expands the story of aid in Reconstruction to include numerous benevolent associations, from New York to California, which sent money, food, clothing, and agricultural articles to the South. She repeatedly points out that the aid, whether distributed through the Bureau or through other channels, was given "without regard to color," benefiting both whites and freedpeople. She also points out

> that it would be an error to conclude that the services and supplies were given entirely for the Negroes or that the recipients were usually Northern sympathizers. There are too many references to the Confederate soldiers, and to the widows and orphans of the Confederate soldiers, to permit the conclusion that in a large measure the supplies were sent for any other purpose than to serve humanity.[14]

Keith's findings are detailed in chapter five of this dissertation, but her basic observation (that white southerners benefited from both the Bureau and private northern aid associations) marked an important innovation in the study of Reconstruction-era welfare in the South.

---

[13] Alice B. Keith, "White Relief in North Carolina, 1865-1867," *Social Forces* Volume 17, Issue 3 (March, 1939): 337. Keith's credentials are unknown, but in *Social Forces*, she is associated with Meredith College, a private women's college in Raleigh, North Carolina. Her research was a primary inspiration for this study.
[14] Ibid., 355.

In yet another study of Alabama, Elizabeth Bethel focused on the Freedmen's Bureau specifically in her 1948 article "The Freedmen's Bureau in Alabama." The article is quite detailed, covering the Bureau's efforts in justice, labor, poor relief, medical care, and education, and includes a discussion of its structure and funding. Bethel notes the crop failures and weather problems discussed in previous works but adds an interesting observation when she states that "the resulting hardships hampered the development of successful systems of justice and labor and the maintenance of friendly relations between the races."[15] In her discussion of the ration program, she notes that because the drought affected the mountainous areas so severely, "it was sometimes necessary to issue two to three times as many rations to whites as Negroes. The issues were made without regard to loyalty, and thus many persons loyal to the Confederacy during the war were the recipients of the charity of the Government."[16] Throughout the article, much like Bond, she includes a discussion of whites' and freedpeople's access to Bureau services. They are not addressed separately. Her conclusion is that "during the five years of the Bureau's existence in Alabama its greatest success was in relief and educational work. With a minimum of fraud on the part both of its own officials and of those who were able to subsist themselves by their own labor, it saved thousands of blacks and whites from acute suffering."[17] She asserts that perhaps these positive aspects of the Bureau had become "obscured" because of the "political activity" of individuals associated with the Bureau's administration in Alabama. In a concise and well-written account of the Bureau's years in Alabama, Bethel furthered Bureau scholarship by equally assessing its impact on both freedpeople and whites; by noting the

[15] Elizabeth Bethel, "The Freedmen's Bureau in Alabama," *Journal of Southern History* Volume 14, Issue 1 (February 1948): 70-71. Bethel's credentials proved difficult to locate. In the Spring 1947 issue of *Military Affairs*, for an article entitled "The Military Information Division: Origin of the Intelligence Division," Bethel is described as "assistant to the Records Supervisor of the War Records Office, National Archives, Washington D.C. She has been with the archives for eleven years." I have found no evidence of Bethel's completion of a doctorate.
[16] Ibid., 59. These statements were based upon letters and reports from the Bureau's Assistant Commissioner for Alabama, Wager Swayne.
[17] Ibid., 90-91.

Bureau's positive influence in the lives of whites; by presenting a causal relationship between famine conditions and deteriorating race relations; and by offering an explanation as to why many scholars, and southerners, continued to view the Bureau negatively.

The 1960s and 1970s saw a sudden increase in Freedmen's Bureau studies from a welfare history perspective, again primarily in scholarly articles. Some included whites in their studies. An outstanding example is Victoria Olds' "The Freedmen's Bureau: A Nineteenth-Century Welfare Agency," published in 1963 in *Social Casework*. Olds was addressing social workers, not historians, and the structure of the very short article implies that she was attempting to compare the Bureau, which she described as "ahead of its time in its ability to offer comprehensive family-centered services," to contemporary social services.[18] But Olds' article is pertinent to historians. In describing the Bureau, she states, "it represents the first real commitment of the federal government to meet the basic welfare needs of people. Through the Bureau the federal government assumed responsibility for the protection and welfare of thousands of people, both white and Negro, who were victims of the political and social upheaval and the total economic dislocation of the South." Evaluating the Bureau as a federal welfare agency was not a completely new tactic. Keith's article also approached the Bureau from a social welfare perspective. But Olds synthesizes Bureau history and welfare history. This is apparent in her examination of wartime aid programs, nineteenth-century attitudes that

[18] Victoria Olds, "The Freedmen's Bureau: A Nineteenth-Century Federal Welfare Agency," *Social Casework* 44 (May 1963): 252. Olds credentials are listed as Associate Professor, School of Social Work, Howard University. Her 1966 dissertation, from Columbia University, is entitled "The Freedmen's Bureau as a Social Agency," is discussed below. Her audience is clearly identified through phrases such as, "Current social work terms are used below to designate the variety of services that were provided by the Freedmen's Bureau." Additionally, she states in the final sentence that "many of the problems [the Bureau] faced still haunt us today." In May 1994, in a dissertation entitled "The Freedmen's Bureau: A Missing Chapter in Social Welfare History," Charles Gray, of Yeshiva University's Wurzweiller School of Social Work, took a decidedly different approach. He considers only the Bureau's role in the lives of freedpeople, basing his research on the premise that slavery and the Emancipation Proclamation were the two factors which contributed to the Bureau's establishment. This seems oddly out of step with other research in the early 1990s.

"'handouts' were considered pauperizing," and evaluation of the Bureau's "social welfare implications."[19] Her study is valuable in understanding how our current perception of the Bureau and its aid to poor whites has developed.

In 1966, Robert H. Bremner followed the same research path in "The Impact of the Civil War on Philanthropy and Social Welfare," published in *Civil War History*. The scope of his brief examination does not include the Freedmen's Bureau, but he makes some insightful observations about the development of aid programs during the war. Perhaps his most useful contribution to this study is his comparison of northern wartime prosperity to southern wartime depression.[20] In the North, this prosperity boosted individual participation in aid and relief programs while in the South, despite the depression which began soon after the war started, the need to boost and maintain morale forced southern state governments to institute aid programs for the first time. Each section had different reasons to increase public aid. Bremner concludes that "the great expansion of activity in welfare on the part of southern state governments was certainly one of the major, and unexpected, consequences of the war."[21] Again, in a very short study, Bremner brings yet another perspective to the study of aid programs, specifically in those developed during the war.

As noted in chapter one, an example of the burgeoning interest in Reconstruction welfare history is John Hope Franklin's 1970 "Public Welfare in the South during the Reconstruction

---

[19] Ibid., 247; 250; 252.

[20] Robert H. Bremner, "The Impact of the Civil War on Philanthropy and Social Welfare," *Civil War History* 12 (December 1966): 294-298. At the time of publication, Bremner was a professor of history at Ohio State University. Though he does not reference the Freedmen's Bureau, he does examine and compare the U.S. Sanitary Commission and the United States Christian Commission, two organizations which influenced lawmakers and activists who were involved in the establishment of the Bureau.

[21] Ibid., 299. He also notes that states' rights doctrine prevented the Confederacy from forming any sort of "Confederacy-wide military relief organizations." He also specifically notes that Georgia and South Carolina were two of the only Confederate states to successfully organize their various voluntary associations. He also discusses the idea of the "deserving poor," which is included in chapters three and seven below.

Era, 1865-80," published in the *Social Service Review*.[22] Franklin places his discussion of Reconstruction-era welfare policy within part of a larger process toward full-scale American social welfare, and in the process exploded a persistent myth about the Bureau: that it only benefited freedpeople. He notes some antebellum precedent for southern welfare, though there is little to cite beyond the establishment of insane asylums and a few rudimentary public school systems. He states that the South generally ignored social welfare, primarily because it was too focused upon slavery to devote much attention to the "general welfare."[23] In Franklin's assessment, the Civil War brought the impetus for change in southern welfare programs. The conscription of whites for the Confederate army and the use of slaves for "menial and manual work" caused suffering on the home front. Private charities attempted to alleviate this suffering, but were "quite inadequate." The deteriorating situation impelled state and local governments to act, and they implemented their own welfare and relief programs. Franklin states that there were dual reasons for these actions. The first was "for the sake of humanity"; the second was to preserve unity among southern whites. Quoting the "rich man's war, poor man's fight" cliché, Franklin states that southern leaders feared that if the saying proved true, "it could lead to a new order, perhaps a real revolution, once the war was over."[24]

The most important contribution Franklin's article makes to the study of the Freedmen's Bureau and its role in Reconstruction welfare programs is his recognition of the fact that "one of

[22] Franklin, "Public Welfare in the South during the Reconstruction Era, 1865-80," 379-392. Trained in sociology at Harvard, Franklin's credentials are too numerous to mention, but he was and is a world-renowned scholar and activist, specializing in Reconstruction and African American history. It is indicative of his varied career that this article was published in a social service journal, and originally prepared for a presentation at the School of Social Service Administration of the University of Chicago.

[23] Ibid., 379-80. Franklin notes that in addition to social welfare, the South also generally ignored "industry and commerce" as well. According to Franklin, the only reason southern states established asylums was because of the work of Dorothea Dix. The two states which had what Franklin called "something resembling systems of public education" were North Carolina and Kentucky.

[24] Ibid., 381. Franklin was not the first to note these reasons, but he clearly situates the very early stages of southern welfare programs within a larger discussion of Reconstruction welfare policies.

the ironies of Confederate [R]econstruction is that those in the South who inveighed most bitterly against the federal government and its agencies were the beneficiaries of its largesse." Franklin briefly discusses the state-funded welfare programs established in the former Confederacy in 1865 and 1866, noting that most were designed specifically to benefit soldiers and their families. The result, of course, was that the overwhelming majority of beneficiaries were white. But his crucial point is that the assistance the Freedmen's Bureau provided whites far outweighed that offered by state programs. He notes that the official name of the Bureau "suggests [that it] was authorized to assist in the relief and rehabilitation of all destitute persons, of whatever race." To prove his point, he cites a simple statistic. "In the first three years of its existence, the Bureau issued some 18,300,000 rations, with approximately 5,230,000 going to whites."[25] In one concise paragraph, Franklin clearly states what many other historians had only inferred. Southern whites benefited greatly from Freedmen's Bureau aid programs.

Howard A. White's 1970 *The Freedmen's Bureau in Louisiana* agreed with Franklin's assessment. In a chapter entitled "In Peril of Starvation," White evaluated the Bureau's role as a welfare agency. He clearly explained that both whites and blacks in Louisiana benefited from Bureau programs and private northern charitable aid, especially in 1866 and 1867 as they faced damaging spring floods. He describes the 1867 congressional legislation which expanded the definition of who was eligible to receive Bureau aid as "a significant forerunner of the disaster relief of the twentieth century." He also noted the debate over who was deserving of aid when he stated that "separating the worthy destitute from the lazy and idle was a problem that the

[25] Ibid., 382. Franklin's assessment is that the Bureau's greatest success was in education, where he also notes that Bureau schools were never closed to whites but that "the whites preferred not to attend school with the freedmen," 383. His study of southern welfare policies continues until 1880 and it is worth noting that he closes this article by stating that much of the misunderstanding of Reconstruction, especially so-called "Radical Reconstruction," is the fault of historians who had been "preoccupied" with proving the faults of the "radicals" and had ignored the era's "fundamental social problems or the effort that was made to solve them," 390.

harassed and busy agents often found insoluble." He concludes the chapter by noting "on the whole, the relief work of the Freedmen's Bureau constituted a positive aspect of Reconstruction which was pioneering, wise, and beneficial. The agency's constructive achievements, growing out of efforts to help the unfortunate, must be remembered along with the negative, the revengeful, and the cruel aspects of this truly critical era in the history of the United States." Louisiana's white population is consistently part of White's story. Even in his evaluation of the Freedmen's Bureau's educational legacy, he notes that both white and freedpeople benefited.[26]

In 1981, Armstead L. Robinson published an article entitled "Beyond the Realm of Social Consensus: New Meanings of Reconstruction for American History," which highlighted the problem of "periodization" in Reconstruction history. Though his focus was on the history of political Reconstruction, his observations also point out problems in the study of Reconstruction-era welfare. Robinson devotes a significant portion of the article to political Reconstruction in Georgia, and expands upon earlier scholarship to explain why the collapse of Radical Reconstruction, and the biracial coalition which would have been necessary to ensure its success, was not a foregone conclusion in the early years of Reconstruction. What is important for this study is that Robinson not only includes whites and blacks in his study, but he considers the implications of class, especially within the white community. Much of his information on Georgia comes from Elizabeth Studley Nathans' 1968 book *Losing the Peace: Georgia Republicans and Reconstruction, 1865-1871*. He agrees with Nathans' conclusion that biracial political alliances had a real, though brief, chance of success in Georgia, and that to approach the study from the perspective of certain failure will, by default, limit opportunities for more nuanced interpretation. The changes in approach in the study of political Reconstruction

[26] Howard A. White, *The Freedmen's Bureau in Louisiana* (Baton Rouge, LA: Louisiana State University Press, 1970), 67-72; 74; 84-85; 199-200.

Robinson offers apply to the study of Reconstruction-era white welfare. We must increase the scope of the study; we must consider all white Southerners, not simply planters; and we must not begin with the belief that we are merely searching for an explanation of a doomed experiment.[27]

In 1982, noted Reconstruction scholar Eric Foner also pointed out the need to include whites who did not own slaves in the story of Reconstruction. In an article entitled "Reconstruction Revisited," Foner stated that "changes in class relations in the aftermath of emancipation may also provide the key to unlocking the experience of that shadowy presence, the nonslaveholding yeomanry. No irony in the study of the South is more profound than the distortion caused by historians' disregard of this unstudied majority. And no synthesis is possible until the nineteenth-century South is understood as more than a story of the blacks and their masters." Though Foner's primary concern was the development of a complete story of political Reconstruction, his implication for the study of welfare is obvious. This tendency on the part of historians to "disregard . . . the nonslaveholding yeomanry" has, at least in part, resulted in a similar disregard for the importance of Reconstruction-era welfare.[28]

In 1994, Robert C. Lieberman's article "The Freedmen's Bureau and the Politics of Institutional Structure," offered another social science approach to understanding the Bureau. Using strict social science guidelines for examining institutions, Lieberman acknowledged that although the Bureau's "principle objective" was land redistribution, that goal was "thwarted" by Johnson and Congress. The result was that "primarily . . . the [B]ureau became a social welfare agency. It provided relief on a massive scale to destitute freedmen and white refugees (despite

---

[27] Robinson, "Beyond the Realm of Social Consensus," 276-279; Nathans, *Losing the Peace*. Though Nathans does briefly discuss the Freedmen's Bureau in Georgia, she does not address the biracial nature of Bureau programs. This inclusion would greatly enhance her argument that there was real opportunity for biracial political cooperation, and provides an interesting avenue for research to expand this study.

[28] Eric Foner, "Reconstruction Revisited," 30. It is worth noting that Foner's epic *Reconstruction: America's Unfinished Revolution, 1863-1877* (New York: Harper and Row, 1988), does not focus on southern poor whites but rather on the black experience of Reconstruction.

the conviction of many that it should not do so)." He continued to describe the Bureau's other welfare functions including transportation, hospitals and orphans homes, courts, and "above all," the administration and oversight of schools. In Lieberman's evaluation, based upon whether or not the Bureau was successful in what it actually *attempted* to do, the Bureau "achieved remarkable success given the sheer magnitude of its task." He provides detailed statistics concerning ration distribution, especially during the crucial period of famine in early 1867, and makes an interesting observation, one which is supported in this dissertation. In discussing the 1867 ration distribution, during which all poor southerners, despite their wartime affiliation, were eligible aid recipients, Lieberman notes that "the number of rations issued to whites quintupled between February and June 1867 while the number issued to blacks increased by just 50%, a further dilution of the [B]ureau's ability effectively to assist freedmen." This is a crucial insight which refutes interpretations of the Bureau as an agency which only assisted freedpeople.[29]

In 1998, Richard Lowe described what he perceived to be a continuing shortcoming in Reconstruction historiography. In "The Freedmen's Bureau and Local White Leaders in Virginia," Lowe examined the ways in which the Virginia Bureau selected whites whom it felt would be appropriate for leadership positions. But it is his explanation of his research which sheds light on the state of Reconstruction and Freedmen's Bureau historiography in the late 1990s. His article begins, "In the years since the 1960s and 1970s, when revisionist and postrevisionist historians overhauled the traditional interpretation of Reconstruction and swept away almost every vestige of the "Dunning school," the role of southern whites in accounts of

[29] Robert C. Lieberman, "The Freedmen's Bureau and the Politics of Institutional Structure," *Social Science History*, Volume 18, Number 3 (Autumn 1994): 416-417. Available via JSTOR at http://links.jstor.org/sici?sici=0145-5532%28199423%2918%3A3%3C405%3ATFBATP%3E2.0.CO%3B2-7 [accessed 12 January 2005]. This article also provides interesting statistical examinations of transportation and Bureau personnel. At the time of publication, Lieberman was a political science professor at Columbia University.

Reconstruction has sometimes been overlooked." He notes that the planter class is an exception to this observation, but felt it "safe to say that revisionist and postrevisionist writers have focused primarily on other facts of Reconstruction." The Freedmen's Bureau, in particular, seems in need of "closer examination." The footnote which accompanies this introduction is equally intriguing. "A rough count of books reviewed in the *Journal of Southern History* from 1980 through 1996 (volumes 46-62) identified 130 works devoted primarily to Reconstruction." Of those, he found "only 9 on white southern men and women in general," while 7 were devoted to planters, 25 to "white northerners," and 34 to "African Americans." In the same footnote he admits that "local and state studies of Reconstruction in the South, of course, necessarily describe the activities of southern whites as well as northerners and freedpeople." While even "local and state studies" sometimes marginalize nonslaveholding whites, and simply counting up titles does not uncover groundbreaking scholarship which may advance the study of those whites, Lowe's observation has the ring of truth.[30]

Elna C. Green's 2003 study of welfare in Richmond, Virginia, *This Business of Relief: Confronting Poverty in a Southern City, 1740-1940*, is a shining example of the new directions in welfare history. In chapters four, five, and six, she details the changing focus of poor relief in the Civil War, Reconstruction, and the early New South period. State aid, the Freedmen's Bureau, and northern charitable associations all play significant roles in the story, and the white and black poor receive equal attention. The struggle over definitions of the "deserving poor," the tug-of-war between state and federal agencies, and the changing perceptions of welfare over time are all crucial aspects of the story. Though Green is careful to point out that her study of a southern city has limited applications to the rural South, her focus on relief as the central thread

[30] Richard Lowe, "The Freedmen's Bureau and Local White Leaders in Virginia," *Journal of Southern History*, Volume 74, Number 3 (August 1998): 455. Available via JSTOR at http://links.jstor.org/sici?sici=0022-4642%28199808%2964%3A3%3C455%3ATFBALW%3E2.0.CO%3B2-U [accessed 19 January 2005].

of the story brings all the aspects of welfare, and its evolution in Richmond, to center stage is groundbreaking. The goal of this study is to break similar ground in Georgia.[31]

Since the days of the Dunning School, a few historians and social scientists have devoted their research efforts to the role of the white poor in the story of the Civil War and Reconstruction. Through the years, they have called attention to the continued marginalization of this group. While this study cannot hope to correct years of oversight, it does build upon the work of these earlier scholars. By placing the Freedmen's Bureau within the larger context of state and federal welfare, both during and after the war, the South's white poor necessarily become a larger part of the story. The findings of this research offer a new vantage point from which to examine the evolution of southern welfare in Georgia. That story begins in 1863.

[31] Green, *This Business of Relief*. Chapter four is entitled "The Civil War: Redefining the "Worthy" Poor"; chapter five is entitled "Reconstruction: The Contest over Poor Relief"; and chapter six is entitled "The New South, Part I: Scientific Charity and Confederate Commemoration." Green leads the way in today's scholarly examinations of welfare history as evidenced by her edited collection *Before the New Deal: Social Welfare in the South, 1830-1930*. That volume, unfortunately, does not really address the role of the Freedmen's Bureau in great detail.

Chapter III

Georgia's Civil War Welfare Policies

"Dependent upon the Maternal Care of the State"

On October 16, 1865, only months after the end of the Civil War, Peterson Thweatt, Georgia's comptroller general, made his annual report to the provisional governor. Georgia's public debt was considerable, and Thweatt was in the unenviable position of attempting to reconcile pre-war and wartime debts amidst discussion of repudiation, or non-payment of debts incurred during the war. Thweatt was decidedly opposed to repudiation, declaring that, though the war was lost, "our honor and manhood are left to us . . . and let not the *ulcer* of REPUDIATION consume what the blood and fire of battle could not destroy, our integrity of conscience and pride of soul!" (emphasis Thweatt's). Stating the simple fact that he had worked hard throughout the war to assure the public of the stability of Georgia's bonds and securities, he had a professional interest in avoiding repudiation. But he also made a more personal appeal to the "morality" of the debts which the state had incurred. He explained that much of the money raised through the issue of treasury notes and bonds was spent to feed and clothe Georgia's soldiers and to take care of their families, who had been left "dependent upon the maternal care of the state." It was difficult for Thweatt to imagine a group who could be viewed as so deserving of state assistance, or a more noble reason for the state's indebtedness. Thweatt was correct in attributing much of Georgia's debt to aid programs, for they had consumed a

substantial portion of the state's wartime budgets. Beginning in 1862, several factors combined to make public welfare a political priority in Georgia.[1]

As described in chapters one and two, in 1970 John Hope Franklin explored public welfare policy in the South during the Civil War. Searching for the roots of southern welfare practices in general, he found that wartime relief was, for most southern states, the beginning of welfare policy. State legislatures needed to provide assistance to soldiers' widows and families. They needed to avoid the threat to racial order that could arise if the "rich man's war and poor man's fight" cliché came too close to describing the truth for the South's poor whites. White's-only poor relief would maintain the racially based social order crucial to southern unity. As a basis for comparison between wartime and Reconstruction welfare policies, Franklin relied upon George Bentley's 1955 account, *A History of the Freedmen's Bureau*. Bentley's study showed that 27 percent of the rations issued by the Bureau throughout the South in its first three years of operations went to whites. Franklin concluded that Radical Reconstruction was not so radical after all, partly because, according to Franklin, the idea of providing aid to poor whites did not arrive in the South with the Freedmen's Bureau. State and local welfare policies had already established a precedent.[2]

Research into Georgia's Civil War welfare policies thoroughly supports Franklin's conclusions. Before the war, the state government had "virtually no role in education, welfare, health, or police and regulatory functions." There was no cabinet or other infrastructure such as we have today. The governor's main connection with the state was through the judges of the

[1] *Annual Report of the Comptroller General of the State of Georgia Made to the Governor, October 16, 1865* (Milledgeville: Boughton, Nisbet, Barnes, & Moore, State Printers, 1865), 20-22. According to The Political Graveyard web site, Thweatt served as Comptroller General from 1855 to 1864. Information available at http://politicalgraveyard.com/bio/thurmond-thwing.html#RXF1E38WA [accessed 4 January 2004]. He will reemerge in this story as the state agent for poor relief in the early years of Reconstruction.

[2] Franklin, "Public Welfare in the South During the Reconstruction Era, 1865-1880," 379-392. Franklin examined the South as a whole, but little of the information he used to formulate his conclusions came from Georgia. Most of his data came from North Carolina.

inferior courts, similar to today's probate judges. They were elected county officials whom the governor could influence but not "compel" to carry out his demands.[3] This system was the fragile web that held the state government together. And as, Peter Wallenstein pointed out in his 1987 study of nineteenth-century public policy in Georgia, the antebellum government was largely controlled by white merchants and planters who "dominated the private economy and largely shaped public policy." Wallenstein describes a system in which race was crucial to understanding the costs and benefits of public policy. Much of the government's revenue came from Native Americans, through the seizure and sale of their lands; slaves, through their labor which translated into planter wealth; and free blacks, who provided labor through the hiring out system or "in lieu of cash taxes." Whites – whether planters, merchants, yeomen, or "poor whites" – benefited from citizenship and therefore from government. People of color did not. During the war, white demands on government increased, while the antebellum sources of revenue dwindled.[4]

On April 16, 1862, the Confederate government implemented America's first conscription law. This decision would greatly increase demands upon Confederate state governments as farmers left their fields to become soldiers. All white men between eighteen and thirty-five were required to register, though the age limits would eventually be expanded to seventeen and fifty. But there were exemptions for those who could afford it, since they could legally pay substitutes to fight in their place. When, on September 22, 1862, Lincoln issued the preliminary Emancipation Proclamation, the Confederacy responded by issuing what quickly became known as the "twenty nigger law" on October 11, which exempted one white male to act as overseer for every twenty slaves. As aptly described by Armstead L. Robinson, "this law

[3] Kennett, *Marching through Georgia*, 30-33.
[4] Wallenstein, *From Slave South to New South,* 102-105.

became the *cause celebre* for a catastrophic eruption of economic antagonisms . . . which quickly vitiated [s]outhern morale and unity." Confederate leaders were genuinely fearful of slave revolts, so there was some logic to the law. But to those white southerners who owned fewer or no slaves, the class implications were glaring. Who would care for the families they left behind? As the war progressed and soldiers in the field faced growing hardships, the question of the welfare of their families became increasingly crucial not only for the soldiers themselves but for the entire Confederate war effort.[5]

In his classic *The Life of Johnny Reb: The Common Soldier of the Confederacy*, Bell Irvin Wiley detailed the "trials of soul" the Confederate soldier endured as the war progressed. He cites "several factors, in addition to reversals on the field of battle," which contributed to

[5] Armstead L. Robinson, "In the Shadow of Old John Brown: Insurrection Anxiety and Confederate Mobilization, 1861-1863," *Journal of Negro History* 65 (1980): 282-283. Robinson notes that Confederate leaders were aware of discontent with the April draft law, which was the source of the "rich man's war, poor man's fight" description of the situation. To further antagonize class divisions with the passage of the October law was, in Robinson's estimation, "even stranger" than the original allowance for substitutes. Robinson's posthumously published *Bitter Fruits of Bondage: The Demise of Slavery and the Collapse of the Confederacy, 1861-1865*, With introductory essays by Joseph P. Reidy and Barbara J. Fields, Carter G. Woodson Institute Series (Charlottesville, VA: University Press of Virginia, 2004) is also useful. (See also Emory M. Thomas, *The Confederate Nation, 1861-1865*, The New American Nation Series, eds. Henry Steele Commager and Richard B. Morris (New York: Harper & Row, 1979; Harper Torchbooks edition), chapter seven. As Thomas explained, white Southerners resented and evaded the draft laws from the beginning. It certainly seemed to violate the spirit of state rights, and in Georgia Governor Joe Brown fought the Confederacy directly and indirectly over the draft issue. He even went to court to oppose the law and carried on a very public argument with Confederate President Jefferson Davis over the issue. He lost the case, but continued to resist sending more men. Thomas details the draft exemptions, which were primarily based upon occupation, and included "national and state officers, railroad employees, druggists, professors, schoolteachers, miners, ministers, pilots, nurses, and iron-furnace and foundry laborers." Kennett, *Marching through Georgia,* 30-33, details Brown's fight with Davis as well as his ongoing arguments with General Howell Cobb, commander of Georgia's Confederate Reserve force. Their debates were published and, because Brown was not a member of Cobb's "patrician" group (he had grown up in Cherokee County in northern Georgia), full of class antagonisms. For more on Brown, see the New Georgia Encyclopedia entry at http://www.georgiaencyclopedia.org/nge/Article.jsp?id=h-637 [accessed 12 February 2004] as well as Joseph H. Parks, *Joseph E. Brown of Georgia* (Baton Rouge, LA: Louisiana State University Press, 1977) and F. N. Boney, *Rebel Georgia* (Macon, GA: Mercer University Press, 1997). In 1862, The Atlanta *Intelligencer* printed a fifty-three-page booklet of correspondence between Brown and Davis, entitled *Correspondence between Governor Brown and President Davis, on the Constitutionality of the Conscription Act*. The electronic edition, part of the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill Libraries' Documenting the American South web site, is available at http://docsouth.unc.edu/imls/govbrown/brown.html [accessed 19 February 2004]. For a comparison of Brown's approach to the question of welfare to that of Confederate president Jefferson Davis (which decidedly favors Brown's approach), see Paul D. Escott, *After Secession: Jefferson Davis and the Failure of Confederate Nationalism* (Baton Rouge, LA: Louisiana State University Press, 1978).

declining Confederate morale and, in increasing numbers, desertion. In addition to simple homesickness, the horrors of war, and conscription Confederate soldiers faced further challenges. Food was scarce, and what was available was of poor quality. Meat was in short supply. Many times soldiers subsisted on bread made from corn meal and water. Shoes and clothing were scant and especially sought after during the winter months. Pay was perpetually in arrears, often for up to a year. Even when paid, soldiers received Confederate money, which was rapidly losing value due to inflation. As the war dragged on, soldiers were increasingly transferred "to places far from their homes." No longer viewing the war as a short adventure, soldiers resented being far from home, especially because it made furloughs, which were difficult to procure, almost impossible to actually use for visiting home and family.[6] By 1863 and 1864, because of casualties and desertions, it was necessary to combine and consolidate military units, and a simple lack of horses led to the transfer of many former cavalry units to the infantry. These decisions contributed to a loss of identity, as men often faced officers who were strangers, which understandably undermined morale. All these factors combined to compel an increasing number of Confederate soldiers to become what Wiley terms "improper leave-takers."[7]

---

[6] In his message to the House and Senate during an extra session of the Georgia legislature in March 1864, Governor Joseph E. Brown noted that even members of the state legislature had been denied furloughs to attend the special session. The Secretary of War had denied Brown's request for furloughs, but suggested that officers who were legislators could resign in order to return. Brown was displeased with this decision, as "furloughs were never before denied." *Governor's Message, Journal of the Senate at an Extra Session of the General Assembly of the State of Georgia, Convened Under the Proclamation of the Governor, March 10, 1864* (Milledgeville, GA: Boughton, Nisbet, Barnes & Moore, State Printers, 1864), 13. Electronic edition available online from Documenting the American South, http://docsouth.unc.edu/imls/gaextr64/gaextr64.html [accessed 23 February 2004].

[7] Bell Irvin Wiley, *The Life of Johnny Reb: The Common Soldier of the Confederacy* (Baton Rouge: University of Louisiana Press, 978; reprint, 1992), 135-145. Wiley quotes the Superintendent of the Bureau of Conscription's estimate that in February 1865, there were approximately 100,000 deserters, but warns that this estimate is likely conservative, 145. For more on Confederate fiscal policy and inflation, see Emory M. Thomas, *The Confederacy as a Revolutionary Experience* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall, Inc., 1971; reprint edition, Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press, 1991), 79-82, and *The Confederate Nation: 1861-1865*, chapters 6 and 11; Williams, *Rich Man's War*; Wallenstein, *From Slave South to New South*, Part II. For a concise description of the privations faced by Richmond's citizens during the war, including the infamous bread riot, see Emory M. Thomas, "To Feed the Citizens: Welfare in Wartime Richmond, 1861-1865," *Virginia Cavalcade*, Volume XXII (Summer 1972): 22-29.

But perhaps the greatest contributing factor to frustration and, increasingly, desertion was the soldiers' concern for their families. Georgians as well as other southerners on the home front faced shortages of food, salt, clothing, and cash. Governor Brown understood the need to assist Georgia's white poor. In his assessment of the Confederate war effort, class was essential to understanding the proper role of those involved. He staunchly defended the war effort, despite his hatred of conscription, and claimed that southern victory would benefit all southern whites, not just slave owners. Southern society itself was at stake and unless poor whites wanted to compete for scarce jobs with free black workers, it was as much in their interest to fight and win as the largest plantation owner. Those plantation owners, in Brown's estimation, "[were] dependent upon our white laborers in the field of battle, for the protection of their property; and in turn, this army of white laborers and their families are dependent upon the slave owners for a support while thus engaged." He believed "the rich should meet the money demands of the [g]overnment." Brown did not disagree that the war was a "poor man's fight," but he would work to make sure it was financed by those who could most afford it.[8] But the state's struggle to contribute to the war effort while supporting those remaining at home became even more difficult in 1863 as droughts and other natural disasters threatened crops in the fields. And as battling armies approached northwest Georgia, the state was confronted with growing refugee

[8] Candler, Comp., *The Confederate Records of the State of Georgia*, Volume II, 369, quoted in Wallenstein, 100, and David Williams, 110. By February 1865, after General Sherman's army had already reached Savannah and the fate of the Confederacy was questionable at best, Governor Brown described Confederate conscription policy as "wretched" and only "well adapted to control European serfs, or those raised to be slaves of power." Conscription, in Brown's estimation, had "driven . . . men in despair to delinquency and desertion." He never gave up his determination that it was "an unwise and unjudicious (sic) policy on the part of the administration." Even at that late date, Brown believed that the only real chance of success for the Confederacy lay in repealing conscription, and even suggested that President Jefferson Davis be relieved of command of the army in favor of a "commander-in-chief." *Governor's Message, Journal of the Senate of the Extra Session of the General Assembly, of the State of Georgia, Convened by Proclamation of the Governor, at Macon, February 15th, 1865* (Milledgeville, GA: Boughton, Nisbet, Barnes & Moore, State Printers, 1865), 20-27. Electronic edition available online from Documenting the American South, http://docsouth.unc.edu/imls/gaextr65/gaextr65.html [accessed 23 February 2004].

populations, decreased tax revenues, and decreased production of goods as people fled from or to the Union army.[9]

The Georgia legislature, often at Brown's request, responded to the growing needs of Georgia's white poor, in varying degree, beginning as early as 1861, though most large-scale aid policies did not begin until late 1862. As in antebellum Georgia, the judges of the inferior courts of each county were the state government's agents "on the ground." They reported conditions in their counties and distributed corn, salt, cotton cards and yarn necessary for fabric production, and cash. Though the state was slowly but radically changing its role in public welfare, it continued to rely on the established system of county officials, a system which had never attempted to administer anything as complex or large-scale as Georgia's wartime welfare system. Sometimes the system failed, but the state continued, throughout the war, to address the chronic shortages which plagued the Georgia home front through the appropriation of ever-larger sums of money.

Food shortages were a primary concern. As historian Emory Thomas stated, "The fact was that Southern agriculture failed the Confederacy. Not only did the great staple crops decline in value and production, but the wartime South proved unable to feed herself." Georgia was no exception, and Governor Brown was acutely aware of the situation. As Brown succinctly, though melodramatically, described the war effort in March 1863, "the great question in this revolution is now a question of *bread*. The army must be fed and their families at home

[9] A full examination of current scholarship on southern class divisions and the role of those divisions in Confederate defeat are beyond the scope of this dissertation. For more on that topic, see Williams, *Rich Man's War*, especially the prologue and its notes, and Drew Gilpin Faust, *The Creation of Confederate Nationalism: Ideology and Identity in the Civil War South*, The Walter Lynwood Fleming Lectures in Southern History (Baton Rouge, LA: Louisiana State University Press, 1988; Louisiana Paperback Edition, 1989). The Union and Confederate armies had fought at Chickamauga, Georgia in September 1863, where the Confederate forces pushed the Union army back to Chattanooga. By November, the Union was victorious at Lookout Mountain and Missionary Ridge, and the army was able to regroup in Chattanooga, which would serve as a source of supplies for General Sherman as he began the Atlanta Campaign in early May 1864. For a detailed account of the war in Georgia, see Kennett, *Marching through Georgia*.

supported, or the sun of liberty will soon set in darkness and blood, and the voice of freedom will be forever hushed in the silence of despotism."[10] In his November 5, 1863 message to the Georgia House and Senate, the governor addressed the "provision supply." Noting that the last legislature had restricted cotton cultivation to "three acres to the hand," he suggested that this rule be drastically revised to allow no more "than one[-]fourth of an acre to the hand" for the duration of the war. Using strong language Brown stated

> All the land, labor and energy of the State, should be employed in the production of provisions, and every family, whether rich or poor, should live upon the smallest quantity which will sustain life and preserve good health. The man who, because he has the means, indulges in luxuriant abundance is guilty of a crime against society, as others must suffer on account of his indulgence of his appetite or his vanity, when there is not a plentiful supply for all.

Continuing, he reemphasized his March statement, "the bread question [was] *the* question in this contest."[11]

In 1863 and 1864, the Georgia legislature responded to food shortages by approving three separate corn appropriation acts, totaling $1,890,000.[12] The first, on November 26 1863,

---

[10] Thomas, *The Confederacy as a Revolutionary Experience*, 86. *Governor's Message, Journal of the Senate at an Extra Session of the General Assembly of the State of Georgia, Convened under the Proclamation of the Governor, March 25th, 1863* (Milledgeville, GA: Boughton, Nisbet & Barnes, State Printers, 1863), 7. Electronic edition available online from Documenting the American South, http://docsouth.unc.edu/imls/gaextr63/georgia.html [accessed 23 February 2004].

[11] *Governor's Message, Journal of the Senate of the State of Georgia, at the Annual Session of the General Assembly, Begun and Held in Milledgeville, the Seat of Government, in 1863(November 5, 1863)* (Milledgeville, GA: Boughton, Nisbet, Barnes & Moore, State Printers, 1863), 21-22. Electronic edition available online from Documenting the American South, http://docsouth.unc.edu/imls/gasen63/gasen63.html [accessed 23 February 2004]. Brown had asked for legislation to limit cotton cultivation to one-fourth an acre per hand in the special session of the legislature he had called in March 1863. He asked again in the March 1864 extra session. Obviously, no such legislation had been passed.

[12] The first two acts fell in FY 1863 (October 16, 1863-October 15, 1864), and are found in *Annual Report of the Comptroller General of the State of Georgia, Made to the Governor, October 17, 1864* (Milledgeville: Boughton, Nisbet, Barnes, & Moore, State Printers, 1865), 8; 82-83. The third fell in FY 1864 (October 16, 1864-October 15, 1865), and is found in *Annual Report of the Comptroller General of the State of Georgia, Made to the Governor, October 16, 1865* (Milledgeville: Boughton, Nisbet, Barnes, & Moore, State Printers, 1865), 76. The first appropriation was ordered by the *Corn Appropriation Act of November 26, 1863*, for $575,000; the second was passed on March 21, 1864, for $515,000; the third was passed in November 1864, for $800,000. It is notable that Comptroller General Thweatt felt that the second corn appropriation amount would be refunded back to the state in FY 1865, because "the [c]orn purchased with this money shall be paid for on delivery by the Justices of the Inferior Courts of the several counties to which the same may be furnished." The counties would be expected to pay. In

provided specific amounts of corn, in bushels, to each of sixteen northern Georgia counties. The extreme want in these counties was described in the first sentence of the act. "Whereas, owing to the depredations of the enemy, and the presence and necessities of our own army foraging upon the country, and also the extreme droughth (sic) and early frost, the people of Northern Georgia are in great need of bread stuffs; and whereas, nearly the entire laboring population of said section is now in the army, and the people must inevitably suffer unless aided by the generosity of the State…" The wording of the act, and the system it described, were very precise and required the quartermaster general to purchase and ship the corn to the "Justices of the Inferior Courts." All costs for "purchase, sacking and shipping" were to be paid "out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated."[13] The justices were responsible for hiring any agents necessary to transport the corn from the railroad to the indigent. Their first priority was to supply the families of living or deceased soldiers at no charge. But the justices were also to exercise discretion. Any destitute person in the county was also eligible to receive food aid, but

---

reality, the 1865 report shows that $200,000 was "refunded by Quarter Master General on Corn Fund," on the second act. A significant portion of the third appropriation remained unused by the end of the war (see below), 30, 76.

[13] As early as April 11, 1863 the Georgia Senate was discussing the potential corn shortage in northern Georgia, suggesting that the counties' agents should search for corn where they could find it, generally in southwest Georgia. They approved sending a train to transport the grain and stated officially that "these people [northern Georgians] are our people—with them we will live or with them we will die—their fate shall be our fate." In his November 5, 1863 address to the House and Senate, Governor Brown also referenced the failure of the crops in the northeastern counties, "especially the mountains," which, combined with the general lack of slaves in the area, most able-bodied men being in the military, and overzealous impressments officers, left the remaining population's "patriotism and loyalty" severely tested. *Journal of the Senate at an Extra Session of the General Assembly of the State of Georgia, Convened under the Proclamation of the Governor, March 25, 1863* (Milledgeville, GA: Boughton, Nisbet, and Barnes, State Printers, 1863), 120-121. Electronic edition available online from Documenting the American South, http://docsouth.unc.edu/imls/gaextr63/georgia.html [accessed 23 February 2004]. *Acts of the General Assembly of the State of Georgia, Passed in Milledgeville at an Annual Session in November and December, 1863; Also Extra Session of 1864.* Title XVII, Relief (No. 66), 66-68. Electronic edition available from Documenting the American South, http://docsouth.unc.edu/gagenas/georgia.html [accessed 19 February 2004]. The sixteen counties were Chattooga, Walker, Dade, Catoosa, Whitfield, Murray, Gilmer, Fannin, Union, Towns, Rabun, Habersham, White, Lumpkin, Dawson, and Pickens. Whitfield and Walker received the most (10,000 bushels each) while Dawson, Pickens, and Lumpkin received the least (3,000 bushels each). The summer droughts that affected Georgia are also discussed in a series of letters from Governor Brown, contained in Candler, Comp., *The Confederate Records of the State of Georgia*, Volume III, 328-329; 501-503. See also Massey, *Refugee Life in the Confederac*y, especially Chapter XIII.

those whom the justices determined could pay the cost of shipping were to do so. Any monies raised in such a way were to be applied to "the use and benefit of soldiers' families . . . and the indigent poor of their respective counties, after paying all costs that may arise in transporting and distributing said corn."[14]

The second appropriation act, passed on March 21, 1864, was entitled "An Act for the relief of Habersham [C]ounty and all other counties in the State alike destitute, and for other purposes." Habersham was one of the sixteen counties included in the first appropriation, but the language of this second act was much less specific regarding the amounts of corn available and eligible recipients. As in the first act, the quartermaster general was directed to purchase and ship the corn to the Habersham County justice, but the amount was up to the governor's discretion, "not to exceed ten thousand bushels." Despite the focus on Habersham County, the second section of the act declared "that the benefits and privileges of the Act shall be extended to any county in this State alike destitute with the said county of Habersham." In this second appropriation, any county in need could have its justice appeal directly to the governor. After stating under oath the amount of corn his county required, the justice would have to procure the governor's approval before the quartermaster would "purchase and ship as much of said corn as can be procured." There was no longer any mention of "soldiers' families" and the state made no promises about being able to supply what the justices might claim was necessary. The

[14] Ibid., 67-68. Because much of the actual distribution was left to the discretion of each county's justice, they had considerable power in determining who would or would not receive aid completely free of charge. To discourage profiteering, each agent was to keep a book which detailed who received corn and how much they received, and who paid for corn and the price they paid. The book was to be "exhibited" to the justices once a month, and anyone found guilty of "misapplying" the corn or use it for their own gain could be imprisoned for two to six months in the county jail.

language and purpose of this second act was more reactive and lacked the precision of the first act.[15]

By November of 1864, the date of the final appropriation of $800,000, the legislative language was even vaguer and provided corn for the indigent "in the counties . . . overrun by the enemy, and such other counties as may be destitute." It was free to those who could not pay, and sold to those who could, no matter where they were. The comptroller general's report, in the special appropriations section, described the appropriation "to purchase [c]orn for [e]xiles, &c." On March 14, 1865, $100,000 was appropriated by the quartermaster general followed by another $5,000 on May 9. The residual $695,000 remained unused at the end of the war.[16] As early as his October 17, 1864 report, comptroller general Thweatt simply stated that, "The enemy are (sic) now at Atlanta," and "in consequence of the enemy having overrun, and being contiguous to many counties in upper Georgia, [those] counties . . . have made no returns and none can be expected until the enemy leave that section of the state." This would affect both revenue and expenses, as there was no way to report who had received aid, and there would obviously be no tax revenue forthcoming from the northern counties. The chaos of war is perhaps the best explanation of the increasingly imprecise nature of Georgia's war-time corn appropriation legislation.[17]

---

[15] Ibid., Title XI, Relief (No. 111), "An Act for the Relief of Habersham County and All Other Counties in this State Alike Destitute, and for Other Purposes," 133.

[16] *Acts of the General Assembly of the State of Georgia, 1864-1865*, quoted in Wallenstein, 104. *Annual Report of the Comptroller General of the State of Georgia, Made to the Governor, October 16, 1865* (Milledgeville: Boughton, Nisbet, Barnes, & Moore, State Printers, 1865), 76.

[17] *Annual Report of the Comptroller General, 1864*, 8; 5. The counties Thweatt listed were Bartow, Campbell, Catoosa, Chattooga, Cherokee, Cobb, Dade, Fannin, Floyd, Forsyth, Gilmer, Gordon, Milton, Murray, Paulding, Pickens, Polk, Walker, and Whitfield. Nine of these nineteen counties were included in the sixteen counties targeted by the first corn appropriation legislation. The remaining counties (Bartow, Campbell, Cherokee, Cobb, Floyd, Gordon, Milton, Paulding, and Polk) were closer to Atlanta, or were in the path of the Union army as it made its way from Chattanooga to Atlanta. The seven counties that were included in the initial legislation but were not listed as "overrun" (Union, Towns, Rabun, Habersham, White, Lumpkin, and Dawson) are contiguous and occupy the very mountainous northeast corner of Georgia.

But Georgians needed more than corn. Salt was necessary to preserve meat, tan leather and dye fabric, and for horses and livestock. One estimate placed Georgia's pre-war salt consumption at 700,000 bushels per year, but Georgia was not a notable salt producer even before the war. Simply finding salt supplies was one problem. The only salt manufacturing site was on the coast, and its output was inadequate for the entire state.[18] As early as 1861, the state government attempted to encourage a domestic salt industry with the offer of interest-free loans, but to no avail. This was no small problem. In his November 6, 1862 message to the Senate, Governor Brown addressed the salt supply in detail.[19] To meet the growing demand and dwindling supply, Georgia had to rely upon imported salt. The state government contracted with two salt producers, one in Virginia and one in East Tennessee. The cost to the state was $1.50 per bushel, or fifty pounds, plus the cost of sacks and freight. Additionally, two private companies in Georgia, one in Troup County and one in Augusta, Richmond County, had also contracted to produce salt in Virginia. They would sell the salt "to the citizens of the state without speculation." Another company in New Iberia, Louisiana, also contracted with the state

[18] This estimate was quoted in the *Report of the Joint Committee on Salt Supply*, *Journal of the Senate at an Extra Session of the General Assembly of the State of Georgia, Convened under the Proclamation of the Governor, March 25, 1863, 127-128*. Electronic edition available online from Documenting the American South, http://docsouth.unc.edu/imls/gaextr63/georgia.html [accessed 23 February 2004]. The importance of producing salt is reinforced by the publication of a pamphlet, commissioned by the governor of South Carolina, which detailed several versions of the process. John LeConte, *How to Make Salt from Sea-Water* (Columbia, S.C.: Charles P. Pelham, State Printer, 1862). Electronic edition available from Documenting the American South, http://docsouth.unc.edu/lecontej/leconte.html [accessed 23 March 2004].

[19] *Governor's Message, Journal of the Senate of the State of Georgia, at the Annual Session of the General Assembly, Begun and Held in Milledgeville, the Seat of Government, in 1862* (Milledgeville, GA: Boughton, Nisbet, and Barnes, State Printers, 1862), 28-31. Electronic edition available online from Documenting the American South, http://docsouth.unc.edu/imls/gasen62/gasen62.html [accessed 23 February 2004]. Brown specifically addressed one example of the attempt to begin a domestic salt industry, the case of "messrs. Stotesberry and Humphries, of Scriven [C]ounty" who had drawn $10,000 of the previous session's available funds to begin to "make salt," but who had not yet done so. Brown suggested that they either be made to "proceed with the business or refund the money," since the loan was interest-free. In the final days of the Senate session of 1862, a bill was passed to incorporate the Effingham and Screven Salt Mining Companies, but it is not known if this company was founded by the men Brown mentioned in his address.

to deliver salt to Atlanta for a total cost of $7.50 per bushel. The governor also reported that the state's railroads had agreed to furnish their portion of salt transportation free of charge.[20]

Salt distribution fell to the commissary general's department. "The widow of each soldier of this State who has died in military service, and . . . each widow who has lost a son in service" were to receive one-half bushel free of charge. Again, the justices of each county's inferior court had a crucial role to play. The state would sell salt at a reduced rate (one dollar per half bushel) to each county for the provision of families who had a soldier, or widows who had a son, "in service." The salt would be issued on a first-come, first-serve basis, to counties who reported their needs. At the time of Brown's report, not all counties had requested their allotments, but as soon as the process was complete, Brown suggested selling the remaining salt at a price of five dollars per bushel to recoup the state's expenditures.[21] The legislature heeded Brown's advice.[22] By December 6, 1862, the state legislature approved a $500,000 appropriation to "provide for the supply of the people of Georgia with salt."[23] By December 9, 1863, after another $500,000 appropriation, the chair of the Committee on Salt and Iron Supply

[20] Ibid., 29-30. The Virginia company was the Virginia Salt Works in Smythe and Washington counties. The East Tennessee company is not named but was run by Maj. M.S. Temple, who likely was simply a contractor whose operation was also based in Virginia. The president of the Troup County company was a member of the Senate. The Troup County and Augusta companies both contracted with the Virginia Salt Works. Brown contracted with the Louisiana salt manufacturers to pay for "all they will deliver in Atlanta by 1st of March next," though the governor did admit that transportation could become problematic. The New Iberia producers are not mentioned again in the House or Senate Journals, so it is difficult to determine if they ever became important suppliers for Georgia

[21] Ibid., Brown was careful to point out that by selling the remaining salt, those who could afford to pay were subsidizing the free or reduced-rate salt distributed to soldiers' families. He did not use the phrase "rich man's war, poor man's fight," but the implication is clear.

[22] *Journal of the Senate, 1862,* 83-84; 95-96; 142. On November 12, 1862, the Senate passed a resolution authorizing Brown to seize any salt in the state which was "stored or held on speculation," pay its owners "just compensation," and distribute it "to such of our citizens as may be found in distress and want." On November 14, the Senate also passed a resolution to authorize the governor to pay "out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated" the transportation costs of salt from railroad depots to county seats since many indigent soldiers' families could not afford to do so. On November 22, the Senate resolved to allow the governor to seize as many rail cars as necessary from Georgia railroads to transport salt from Virginia.

[23] *Acts of the General Assembly of the State of Georgia, Passed in Milledgeville at an Annual Session in November and December, 1863; Also Extra Session of 1864*, Part I, Section XII, 8. Electronic edition available from Documenting the American South, http://docsouth.unc.edu/gagenas/georgia.html [accessed 19 February 2004].

and Transportation reported to the Senate that through various Virginia companies, as well as Georgia's coastal salt manufacturers, the state would be able to meet the state's demand of 700,000 bushels for the coming year. By late 1863, their real concern was interference with the shipping network, "in contemplation of the probability that the works in Virginia may have to be abandoned for want of transportation or by interposition of the enemy."[24] These fears were well-founded, as Governor Brown reported in his November 5, 1863 message to the House and Senate that the occupation of East Tennessee had disrupted salt supplies not only from that region but from Virginia as well. The Virginia Board of Public Works had confiscated Georgia's trains, and while the governor attempted to sort out the situation, the state would depend upon the salt supplies that had already been imported by various salt companies. Brown predicted there would be "a hard run for a supply," but hoped "there may be no suffering." The December report of the Committee on Salt and Iron Supply and Transportation echoed Brown's message, stating that while supplies seemed to be sufficient, transportation was a looming concern.[25]

By 1864 and 1865, discussion of salt procurement and distribution were rarely discussed in the Georgia legislature. Perhaps other issues became more pressing as the war dragged on, and by late 1863 it was obvious that a rational system was in place. The comptroller general's report of 1864 noted an additional appropriation of $100,000 to the commissary general "to defray expenses on Salt for Soldiers' Families." By the time of the 1865 report, salt distribution

[24] The primary source was through M.S. Temple and Company, the Planters Salt Manufacturing Company, and the Georgia Salt Manufacturing Company. *Journal of the Senate of the State of Georgia, at the Annual Session of the General Assembly, Begun and Held in Milledgeville, the Seat of Government, in 1863* (Milledgeville, GA: Boughton, Nisbet, Barnes, and Moore, State Printers, 1863), 194-195. Electronic edition available online from Documenting the American South, http://docsouth.unc.edu/imls/gasen63/gasen63.html [accessed 23 February 2004].
[25] Ibid., 30; 194-195. Brown was careful to remind the legislature that before the loss of transportation lines, he had been able to supply salt to soldiers' families. The committee report stated that the coastal salt works would be Georgia's best producer should transportation from Virginia become impossible. For a list of Georgians who received salt from this fund, see Georgia Department of Archives and History, Records of the Governor and the Adjutant and Inspector General, *Families Supplied with Salt, 1862-1864*. Finding aid available at http://www.sos.state.ga.us/archives/rs/cws.htm [accessed 12 March 2004]. The list is not indexed but is available on microfilm and cd-rom. A short description of the records is also available at http://www.hpl.lib.tx.us/clayton/ga004.html [accessed 12 March 2004].

had become part of the larger "Indigent Soldiers' Family Fund."[26] Georgia spent at least $1.1 million dollars during the war to procure and distribute salt, without charge to the indigent, at reduced rates to families of soldiers, and at controlled prices to those who could afford it. Though not exclusively a welfare measure, the system was put in place primarily because of the suffering of Georgia's soldiers' families. This expenditure cannot be overlooked when assessing Georgia's wartime welfare spending. But corn and salt distribution did not address all the wartime needs of Georgians.

The production of cloth for the manufacture of clothing and blankets, both for Georgia's soldiers and for those at home, was another crucial part of the war effort. Thought not a part of the annual governor's message to the legislature in 1861 or 1862, the issue of cotton cards was debated in the Senate and House beginning in the fall of 1862. Georgia had an ample cotton supply. The cards (wire brushes with wooden backings and handles used to prepare raw cotton for spinning) were necessary to process the cotton into usable thread. On November 8, the Senate voted to recommend an appropriation "for the encouragement of the manufacture of cotton cards, either by the State . . . or by individual companies." The escalating need for the cards is obvious in the rising appropriations. The initial 1862 appropriation of $100,000 doubled to $200,000 in 1863, and by 1864 reached an astonishing $1,000,000.[27] On March 15, 1864, Governor Brown supplied some insight into the state's needs and procurement processes in a message to the General Assembly. Apparently, Brown had located a supplier in Britain who

---

[26] *Comptroller General's Report, 1864*, 95 and *Comptroller General's Report, 1865*, 54-66.

[27] *Journal of the Senate 1862*, 58. Wallenstein notes the appropriations for cotton cards in his chapter entitled "Home Front," 103. The cards could be used to process cotton or wool fibers, and they are interchangeably identified as cotton, wool, or cotton and wool, cards in government documents. *Acts of the General Assembly, 1863 & 1864*, Part I (Public Laws), Title I (Appropriations), Sec. XII (Passed November and December 1863), 8. The appropriation of $200,000 was combined with the $500,000 salt appropriation, and was to be used for the purchase of cards, or the purchase of materials to produce the cards. *Acts of the General Assembly, 1863 & 1864*, Part I (Public Laws), Title I (Appropriations), Sec. VI (Passed at the Extra or Called Session in March, 1864), 123. The $1 million dollar appropriation was combined with a $15,000 dollar appropriation to pay for repair to buildings at the Academy for the Blind in Macon. This appropriation was strictly for the purchase of cards.

could ship cotton cards to Georgia very quickly. His plan was to request the million dollar appropriation, use it to buy cotton which could then be "run through the blockade" and sold to "create a fund in England, sufficient to pay for the cards," as payment had to be made "in Sterling exchange." He then proposed to sell the cards at rates which would reimburse the expense to the state. He noted that the Georgia manufacturer was producing approximately one hundred pairs of cards per day, which was inadequate for state demand, but was enough to continue to supply cards free of charge to "the needy soldiers' families, who look to [the state] as their natural [g]uardian in the absence of their husbands and fathers in service."[28] By June 18, 1864, the entire appropriation had been paid to an agent to fulfill Brown's plan.[29] As with the distribution of corn and salt, Brown felt it was the proper role of the state to provide for Georgians who could not provide for themselves.

But by far the largest welfare-related expenditure in Georgia during the war was for "the support of indigent soldier's families," referred to as the Indigent Soldiers' Families Fund. The earliest precedents for this program are found in late 1861. As noted above, Governor Brown believed it necessary for those who could most afford it to assist people in need. In November 1861, in his annual message to the legislature, this idea took shape in a suggestion that planters and others in possession of cotton, which could not be easily sold because of the blockade, who would warehouse the cotton and insure it, would be eligible to receive from the state an advance, in treasury notes, of two-thirds of its market value. In this way, those with a crop to sell could

[28] *Journal of the Senate, Extra Session, March 10, 1864*, 60-61. The cotton card factory was housed in the state penitentiary.

[29] *Comptroller General's Report, 1864*, 8, 80. The report detailed the distribution of the million dollar appropriation on three dates. The money was paid to an agent, S. Waitzfelder, on April 19 ($400,000), June 1 ($500,000), and June 18 ($100,000). This report also details the distribution of funds on previous appropriations in 1863. By the time of the comptroller general's 1865 report (October 16, 1865), only $2,000 was reported as income from the "sale of cotton and woolen cards," far from Brown's assertion that the entire appropriation would be repaid, 8; 31. In the narrative of the report, Thweatt stated that he had not estimated any return on this scheme in the next year's budget because the blockade caused such "difficulties" that "any proceeds from the same cannot and out not to be relied upon the support the Government for the ensuing Fiscal Year," 9.

access much-needed funds, especially to pay state and Confederate taxes. Though the legislature took this suggestion in a different direction, this first step toward "relief for the people" is startlingly conservative compared to later relief efforts.[30]

By the opening of the 1862 legislative session, Brown's proposed relief measures were more specifically aimed at relieving soldiers' families. Some counties had adequate resources to assist their indigent, but others did not. Brown argued that the state should step in to offer its resources in the form of an appropriation for "a bounty of one hundred dollars" to soldiers' families whose property values were less than one thousand dollars. The bounty would be funded by the "whole net proceeds of the Western & Atlantic Railroad for the ensuing year." He also suggested that every soldier should be exempt from the poll tax and from paying any taxes on their first one-thousand dollars of taxable property.[31] The legislature implemented these measures and also appropriated $2.5 million to be distributed by each county's inferior court justices to indigent soldiers' families. The act of December 13, 1862 was amended on April 11, 1863 because of reports that some justices were not issuing funds unless those eligible were "utterly penniless and beggared." The amendment directed them to use their discretion to "assist all indigent and needy families."[32] By November 5, 1863, Brown called for an appropriation of

---

[30] *Journal of the Senate, 1861*, section entitled "Relief to the People," 22-23. Brown noted that "in this state of things it is the duty of the Government to do all that can be done, to afford relief." The advances on crops would be overseen by a single officer of the state who would be solely devoted to the job. By mid-November, the Senate responded with a proposal to incorporate the Cotton Planters' Bank to serve the purpose Brown had described, 77. On December 14, the proposal became law. See *Acts of the General Assembly, 1861*, "An act to incorporate the Cotton Planters Bank of Georgia," 20-22. Throughout legislative documents and state reports, the fund was also sometimes referred to simply as the "Soldiers' Families Fund."

[31] *Journal of the Senate, 1862*, 19-20. The bounty was available to families with a soldier in the field, widows of soldiers, and widows who had at least one son in service. Funding from the railroad would be increased by a 25 percent increase in freight rates, and a 33 1/3 percent tax on income from "speculation." Initial monies would be procured by a short-term loan. It is worth noting that in the fall of 1862, the discussion of salt took up more of Brown's annual message than other relief efforts. For more on the problems of speculation, even from within the Confederate War Department, see Williams, chapter four.

[32] *Journal of the Senate*, *Extra Session, March 1863*, 124-125. See also Wallenstein, 102, and Williams, 110. According to the comptroller general's report, 1864, $809,569.75 of this fund remained "undrawn" as of October 15, 1863, the end of the fiscal year.

$5 million to assist soldiers' families, and was careful to point out that he was not suggesting "supporting them in idleness." On December 12, the legislature passed a bill requiring the counties' ordinaries to turn over any surplus educational funds to the inferior courts to be added to the funds for indigent soldiers' families.[33]

By the end of the 1863 legislative session, the legislature responded to Brown's urging and appropriated $6 million for indigent soldiers and their families, including widows, orphans, and families with soldiers in active service, as well as disabled soldiers and their families. The governor was authorized to borrow money or issue state bonds if necessary to fund the appropriation.[34] The language of the appropriation bill is exact, and is an indication of the increasingly detailed and sophisticated legislative approach to public welfare in the state. For the first time, "indigent" was defined to include "[w]ives, [m]others, [g]randmothers, and all those who have to leave their ordinary business in the house, and to labor in the field to support themselves and children, and who are not able to make a sufficient support for themselves and families." Soldiers who were "detailed for the purpose of working in workshops, and transacting other business, for which they are drawing [m]echanics wages" were specifically excluded from the appropriation. Additionally, inferior court judges or their representatives could offer partial relief to those where were not "actually indigent," provided they did not take supplies from those

[33] *Journal of the Senate, 1863, Governor's Message*, 19-20; 218. One of Brown's reasons for the increased amount was because of "depreciation" and scarcity of supplies. He even proposed that the funds be raised "if it takes an annual tax of ten per cent." Kennett describes Georgia's welfare expenditures in 1863 as "in a sense class legislation, destined for members of the class that was at once most loyal to Brown and most vulnerable to the wrenching economic changes the state was undergoing," 31. This description is accurate, and it is interesting to note that Brown's home county of Cherokee received the largest disbursements from the Indigent Soldiers' Families Fund for the fiscal years 1863-1864 and 1864-1865.

[34] *Acts of the General Assembly, 1863 and Extra Session 1864*, Part I - Public Laws, Title I (Appropriations), (No. 1), "An Act to provide for raising a revenue for the political year 1864, and to appropriate money for the support of the Government during said year, and to make certain special appropriations, and for other purposes therein mentioned," Section XVI, 8.

who required them. Families of "substitutes" in the army were to be considered the same as other soldiers' families.[35]

The distribution process was also more complex than in earlier appropriations. Funds for the appropriation would come from the "'income tax act,' assented to April 18th, 1863." The original tax law directed that the funds would be distributed among Georgia's counties based upon "representative population." This new act superseded it and required the inferior courts in each county to "make out a schedule of persons within their respective counties, who may be entitled to . . . benefits." The list of those "entitled" was specific and extensive. Beneficiaries included widows whose husbands had been killed in service or who had died as a result of wounds or illness resulting from their service; disabled or ill soldiers, as well as their wives, who resided within the county; the wives or dependent mothers or other relatives of soldiers in service; and children under twelve who were dependent upon soldiers, including orphans. Inferior court officers were allowed discretion in distribution, as long as the method was "efficient." Harking back to Brown's assurances that no one who could support themselves would benefit, the county representatives were instructed to "make diligent enquiries" into each potential beneficiary's status. To insure diligence, any agent who was found guilty of misappropriation of these funds would be sentenced to two to seven years in the state penitentiary. County grand juries were instructed to "make diligent enquiry" into the actions of the county's representatives. Only Georgia's "deserving" poor were eligible for aid.[36]

---

[35] Ibid., Part I, (Appropriations) Title XVIII (Soldiers and Soldiers Families), (No. 67), "An Act to appropriate money for the support of indigent families of Soldiers, who may be in the public service; and for the support of indigent Soldiers, who may be disabled by wounds or disease in the service of this State, or of the Confederate State, for, and during the year 1864; and to provide for the application of the same, to the purpose of aforesaid, and for other purposes; and to provide, in part, for the same by levying a Tax upon the capital stock of sever Banking corporations of this State," 70. Additional funding for the bill came from taxing bank stock, 74.

[36] Ibid., 70-73. As with other appropriations, the state comptroller general would disburse the funds to the inferior court representatives and he was also responsible for keeping records. For more on Confederate widows, see Lee Ann Whites, The Civil War as a Crisis in Gender: Augusta, Georgia, 1860-1890 (Athens, GA: University of

The quarterly distributions could take the form of cash, or "articles of prime necessity" in lieu of cash. Considering rising inflation and scarcity, goods were probably more valuable than cash. But distribution to counties which were occupied would, of course, be difficult. Recognizing that often the citizens in those counties were the most desperate, Brown was directed to retain an "appropriate" percentage of the fund for distribution in those counties as soon as practicable. The law also anticipated the potential problems posed by "refugeeing," as citizens of one county moved to another. In such cases, those leaving could collect their allotted amount at their current address and apply for a certificate from the court representative. That certificate could then be taken to the court representative in their next county of residence. One can only imagine the difficulty of this procedure in the midst of war, but the fact that there was such a procedure indicates how common "refugeeing" had become.[37]

The difficulties of fulfilling this plan are noted in Comptroller General Thweatt's October 1864 report. The deadline for submitting county estimates of the number of recipients was February 1, 1864. However, by that date "not one-third of the counties" had done so. It was not until late March that "a sufficient number had made returns to authorize an apportionment" from Thweatt's office. Three counties in far northwestern Georgia had made no returns by October, due to Union army occupation. Total state expenditures for the fiscal year 1863-1864 were $13,288,435. Of that, despite the challenges of receiving reports and collecting income taxes, Thweatt's offices disbursed $4,481,305 from the Indigent Soldiers' Families Fund in fiscal year 1863-1864, one-third of the state's expenditures. Combined with expenditures for salt, cotton cards, and corn, which totaled $6,730,533, the state was spending a staggering 50.6 percent of its

---

Georgia Press, 1995) and Jennifer Lynn Gross, "'Good Angels': Confederate Widowhood and the Reassurance of Patriarchy in the Post-Bellum South" (Ph.D. diss., University of Georgia, 2001).

[37] Massey, *Refugee Life in the Confederacy*, 244-246, details the complexities of distributing aid to refugee populations throughout the Confederacy. In Massey's comparison, Georgia's laws concerning refugees were more liberal than most other states.

appropriated funds on direct welfare measures detailed above. Other welfare-related expenditures included the Educational Fund payments of $135,844 which were turned over to the counties to use at their discretion; the Small Pox Fund payments of $64,580 which paid physicians and purchased supplies to stem outbreaks of the disease; payments in the amount of $15,000 to support the state academy for the blind; payments of $111,990 to support the state lunatic asylum; a $15,000 payment from the Military Fund for "Location and Subsistence of Atlanta Exiles" who were living in the Fosterville settlement in Terrell County; and the annual payment of $500,000 to the Georgia Relief and Hospital Association, which helped fund hospitals in and out of the state to meet the needs of Georgia's soldiers. Altogether, direct and indirect welfare support totaled $7,587,947, or 57.1 percent of the state's total expenditures that year.[38]

Georgia's welfare spending was funded to continue at a similar level for the fiscal year 1864-1865. In fact, the appropriation for the Indigent Soldiers' Families Fund was increased to $8 million. But the war ended in April 1865 and most disbursements from Georgia's Confederate government ended in late April or early May. The comptroller general's report filed on October 16, 1865 was less detailed than in previous years. Thweatt filled many pages with

[38] *Comptroller General's Report, 1864*. The three counties who made no returns for the Soldiers' Families Fund were Catoosa, Chatooga, and Dade. Murray and Walker counties, also in northwestern Georgia, made their returns sometime between late March and October. Further evidence of the disruptions of war is found in Thweatt's enumeration of income tax returns by county. Nineteen counties (Catoosa, Charlton, Chattooga, Cherokee, Cobb, Dade, Fannin, Floyd, Forsyth, Gilmer, Gordon, Milton, Monroe, Murray, Paulding, Pickens, Pierce, Polk, and Walker) filed no income tax returns whatsoever for the tax year 1863-1864 (April to April). Of those nineteen, sixteen are in northwestern Georgia. Pierce and Charlton counties are in far southeastern Georgia, but their returns were missing because the office of "Receiver of Tax Returns" is reported as vacant in the report. In Monroe County, just north of Macon in the center of the state, the report informs us that the return was "so deficient" that the governor asked to have it reformulated and resubmitted. It is interesting to note that far more northern counties made their returns for the Soldiers' Families Funds than their income tax returns and implies the perception that the former was more crucial, or at least reflected a more immediate demand, than the latter. For more on the Fosterville settlement in Terrell County, see Massey, *Refugee Life in the Confederacy*, 246, and *Acts of the General Assembly of the State of Georgia*, March 11, 1865, 81-82. Kennett supplies the most detailed description of the exiles, white Confederates who were expelled from the city of Atlanta by an order from General Sherman on September 5, 1864. On pages 207-212, he identifies the location of the exiles' destination as Dawson, the county seat of Terrell County and notes that Brown "bent the rules" to use military funds to support the exiles.

explanations of Confederate expenditures since the beginning of the war. He even devoted four and one-half pages to his impassioned plea against repudiation of the state's debt. The listing of Indigent Soldiers' Families Fund disbursements from January 1 until April 14, 1865 is complete, though a bit confusing as disbursements from the $6 million 1864 appropriation continued alongside the disbursements from the $8 million 1865 appropriation. An assessment of the 1864 and 1865 comptroller general's reports, despite the overlapping disbursements, does, however, provide a surprisingly clear picture of the way Georgia's aid program to soldiers' families functioned.[39]

The subtleties of that picture cannot be fully appreciated, however, without a basic understanding of Georgia's population distribution. The war, of course, caused great changes in Georgia's population as soldiers left for war and some of those at home were forced to flee, either from fighting or to find the scarce resources identified above. Because of these disruptions, we cannot know the state's exact population distribution during the war years. The 1860 federal census records, however, survive, and are the best indicator of Georgia's general population patterns. Table 3.1 ranks Georgia's counties by total 1860 population; Tables 3.2, 3.3, and 3.4 detail Georgia's 1860 population by race. The five most populous counties were Chatham, Richmond, Burke, Muscogee, and Bibb (see Figure 1.1). Four of these five were the homes of Georgia's largest cities (Savannah, Augusta, Columbus, and Macon), while Burke County's Waynesboro was part of the larger metropolitan area of Augusta, which was approximately twenty-five miles away. These cities were transportation hubs, located either on

[39] *Comptroller General's Report*, 1865. Thweatt's argument against repudiation is found on pages 18-23. The "Indigent Soldiers' Family Fund" disbursements are found on pages 54-66. Thweatt was perhaps attempting to save his political career as he railed against not only repudiation, but the Confederate tax and conscription. The terms "Indigent Soldiers' Families Fund" and "Soldiers Families Fund" are used somewhat interchangeably in various reports.

the coast (Savannah), on major rivers (Augusta, Columbus), or at major railroad intersections (Macon). Their large populations are not surprising.

But to understand patterns of aid apportionment during the Civil War, we must also consider the distribution of Georgia's slave, free black, and white populations. Forty-three percent of the state's total population was slaves, and in 1860, 43 of Georgia's 130 counties had slave populations which outnumbered the free population. All of these counties were located in the areas defined in Figure 1.1 as the coast, the western black belt, or the eastern black belt.[40] At the opposite end of the spectrum, forty counties' slave populations were less than 25 percent of the total population and were located in the upcountry, mountain, or pine barrens-wiregrass regions.[41] Though never specifically identified as "for whites only," the implication throughout the debates and in the language of the bills which established Georgia's various wartime aid programs is clear. They were established to assist soldiers' families, not the slaves they may own. The families could look to the state as their "natural guardian," but the slaves' owners were their guardians. This leads to the assumption that most of Georgia's wartime welfare was distributed in areas with large white populations. Additionally, the harsh conditions of the mountain and upcountry counties described in the governor's and legislative records would lead to an assumption that those counties may have received a larger portion of available aid. The comptroller general's reports confirm those assumptions.

In 1860, almost 50 percent of the white population of Georgia was found in the forty-five counties which comprised the upcountry and mountain regions and the home counties of the

[40] Only Burke County was both a top five population county as well as a county in which the slave population outnumbered the free population. This is likely attributable to the fact that Waynesboro, only twenty-five miles from Augusta, functioned as a sort of metropolitan extension of Richmond County.
[41] Georgia's free black population in 1860 totaled 3500 people. More than half of the free black population of Georgia (1674 of 3500) was found in the top six counties of Chatham, Richmond, Muscogee, Burke, Warren, and Baldwin, all of which are in or near the cities of Savannah, Augusta, Columbus, or Macon.

population centers of Savannah, Augusta, Columbus, and Macon. These counties were also home to 22 percent of the slave population and 55 percent of the free black population. Tables 3.5 through 3.12 detail the distribution of the Indigent Soldier's Families Fund in these areas for fiscal years 1863-1864 and 1864-1865, and it is not surprising to find that those counties received 52 percent of the total distribution. Joe Brown's home county of Cherokee received the largest portion of the fund, with Savannah's Chatham County and Columbus' Muscogee second and third, respectively. Macon's Bibb County was fifth while Augusta's Richmond County slipped far down the ranking, as it received no funds in the 1864-1865 fiscal year.

Of the fifty counties who received the largest disbursements from the fund, forty-one were north of Macon. Berrien County was the only pine barrens-wiregrass county in the top fifty, and Chatham was the only coastal county. Eighteen of the top twenty-five and thirty of the top fifty counties were in the upcountry or mountain areas. All the statistics point to a simple conclusion: a significant portion of the state's wartime welfare measures, from corn and cotton cards to the Indigent Soldiers' Families Fund, went to the northern portion of the state. Again, this is not surprising considering the population designated to receive the funds. But the war's end did not bring an end to white Georgian's suffering and destitution. As Georgia's soldiers returned home, they would only increase the population. And as slaves became freedpeople many would no longer be able to rely upon their former masters.

The pattern of wartime aid to white Georgians would continue under the administration and coordination of the Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands, established on March 3, 1865. The Freedmen's Bureau in Georgia would even continue to use the system of inferior court judges which had distributed wartime aid. But there was one notable change in Georgia's post-war aid system. Former slaves and free black people would also have access to

relief. When we consider Georgia's massive whites-only wartime welfare expenditures, we begin to understand the incredible scope of the Freedmen's Bureau's mission in the former Confederacy as well as the inaccuracy of the nickname "Freedmen's Bureau" to describe an agency which would, for three years following the end of the war, provide assistance to millions of white southerners. A study of the birth of the Bureau reveals the source of the misnomer, and provides insight into how an organization so often remembered solely for its aid to freedpeople was actually a groundbreaking multi-racial welfare agency.

Table 3.1
1860 Georgia County Population Ranked in Order of Total Population, Highest to Lowest

Note: "Total Free Population" includes "Free Black Population."

County	Total Slaves	Number of Families	Total Free Population	Free Black Population	Total Population
Chatham	14,807	3,428	16,236	725	31,043
Richmond	8,389	2,627	12,895	490	21,284
Burke	12,052	1,024	5,113	100	17,165
Muscogee	7,445	1,927	9,139	173	16,584
Bibb	6,790	1,859	9,501	41	16,291
Troup	10,002	1,193	6,260	37	16,262
Monroe	10,177	1,063	5,776	23	15,953
Bartow	4,282	2,086	11,442	9	15,724
Houston	10,755	965	4,856	28	15,611
Meriwether	8,748	1,207	6,582	4	15,330
Floyd	5,913	1,632	9,282	13	15,195
Coweta	7,248	1,338	7,455	22	14,703
Fulton	2,955	1,995	11,472	31	14,427
Newton	6,458	1,382	7,862	40	14,320
Cobb	3,819	1,863	10,423	13	14,242
Harris	7,736	1,096	6,000	21	13,736
Talbot	8,603	906	5,013	19	13,616
Stewart	7,884	1,026	5,538	4	13,422
Gwinnett	2,551	1,647	10,389	31	12,940
Washington	6,532	1,144	6,166	23	12,698
Greene	8,398	805	4,254	25	12,652
Hancock	8,137	886	3,907	36	12,044
Carroll	1,862	1,750	10,129	13	11,991
Decatur	5,924	1,059	5,998	13	11,922
Columbia	8,293	743	3,567	56	11,860
Oglethorpe	7,514	758	4,035	21	11,549
Wilkes	7,953	622	3,467	33	11,420
Cherokee	1,199	1,978	10,092	45	11,291
Clarke	5,660	1,000	5,558	19	11,218
Walton	4,621	1,219	6,453	6	11,074
Thomas	6,244	833	4,522	34	10,766
Jasper	6,954	733	3,789	18	10,743
Henry	4,515	1,143	6,187	12	10,702
Jackson	3,329	1,337	7,276	27	10,605

Elbert	5,711	914	4,722	25	10,433
Jefferson	6,045	776	4,174	41	10,219
Gordon	2,106	1,407	8,040	39	10,146
Putnam	7,138	545	2,087	31	10,125
Walker	1,535	1,475	8,547	30	10,082
Pike	4,722	968	5,356	24	10,078
Whitfield	1,732	1,490	8,315	1	10,047
Morgan	7,006	579	2,991	7	9,997
Upson	4,888	914	5,022	7	9,910
Warren	5,379	819	4,441	94	9,820
Randolph	4,467	907	5,104	1	9,571
Sumter	4,890	813	4,538	2	9,428
Wilkinson	3,887	1,009	5,489	17	9,376
Hall	1,261	1,386	8,105	14	9,366
Jones	5,989	623	3,118	34	9,107
Baldwin	4,929	775	4,149	92	9,078
Dooly	4,070	844	4,847	2	8,917
Pulaski	4,106	896	4,638	31	8,744
Spaulding	3,819	874	4,880	54	8,699
Macon	4,865	649	3,584	9	8,449
Liberty	6,083	460	2,284	23	8,367
Twiggs	5,318	566	3,002	72	8,320
Campbell	2,004	1,256	6,297	8	8,301
Dougherty	6,079	517	2,216	9	8,295
Screven	4,530	654	3,744	2	8,274
DeKalb	2,000	1,098	5,806	8	7,806
Heard	2,811	825	4,994	15	7,805
Forsyth	890	1,245	6,859	8	7,749
Crawford	4,270	619	3,423	16	7,693
Franklin	1,313	1,103	6,080	42	7,393
Marion	3,529	698	3,861	7	7,390
Lee	4,947	469	2,249	7	7,196
Chattooga	2,054	882	5,111	4	7,165
Murray	1,442	973	5,641	2	7,083
Fayette	2,019	913	5,028	6	7,047
Paulding	572	1,179	6,466	6	7,038
Laurens	3,269	650	3,729	6	6,998
Gilmer	167	1,190	6,557	3	6,724
Butts	3,067	629	3,388	15	6,455
Brooks	3,282	564	3,074	2	6,356
Polk	2,440	735	3,855	2	6,295
Terrell	2,888	629	3,344	1	6,232
Early	4,057	471	2,092	0	6,149
Hart	1,528	862	4,609	6	6,137

Habersham	787	964	5,179	43	5,966
Madison	1,992	785	3,941	17	5,933
Chattahoochee	2,758	564	3,039	5	5,797
Bulloch	2,162	593	3,506	0	5,668
McIntosh	4,063	301	1,483	54	5,546
Lincoln	3,768	312	1,698	0	5,466
Camden	4,143	266	1,277	1	5,420
Lowndes	2,399	540	2,850	0	5,249
Fannin	143	908	4,996	1	5,139
Catoosa	710	783	4,372	4	5,082
Emmanuel	1,294	632	3,787	39	5,081
Webster	2,287	476	2,743	2	5,030
Baker	3,492	321	1,493	0	4,985
Pickens	246	859	4,705	0	4,951
Calhoun	2,731	400	2,182	8	4,913
Clay	2,253	467	2,640	14	4,893
Effingham	2,165	471	2,590	18	4,755
Banks	1,086	695	3,621	11	4,707
Schley	2,348	396	2,285	11	4,633
Lumpkin	432	787	4,194	38	4,626
Milton	617	763	3,985	1	4,602
Taliaferro	2,849	347	1,734	41	4,583
Clayton	1,226	552	3,240	0	4,466
Union	116	744	4,297	2	4,413
Tattnall	1,157	570	3,195	4	4,352
Mitchell	1,589	482	2,719	3	4,308
Appling	745	543	3,445	3	4,190
Bryan	2,379	293	1,636	0	4,015
Glynn	2,839	204	1,050	2	3,889
Dawson	326	659	3,530	4	3,856
Berrien	432	494	3,043	2	3,475
White	263	537	3,052	11	3,315
Rabun	206	535	3,065	4	3,271
Dade	300	470	2,769	4	3,069
Clinch	449	423	2,614	5	3,063
Haralson	229	486	2,810	0	3,039
Montgomery	977	846	2,020	6	2,997
Johnson	849	342	2,070	7	2,919
Coffee	663	370	2,216	10	2,879
Worth	632	371	2,131	13	2,763
Telfair	836	309	1,877	0	2,713
Towns	108	415	2,351	5	2,459
Glascock	758	332	1,679	25	2,437
Wayne	621	261	1,647	30	2,268

Ware	377	312	1,823	5	2,200
Wilcox	421	279	1,694	2	2,115
Pierce	233	322	1,740	0	1,973
Miller	640	191	1,151	0	1,791
Charlton	557	205	1,223	0	1,780
Erwin	246	236	1,453	0	1,699
Echols	314	195	1,777	0	1,491
Colquitt	110	204	1,206	11	1,316
TOTALS	462,198	109,919	594,788	3,500	1,057,286

Source: *United States Historical Census Data Browser*, University of Virginia Geospatial and Statistical Data Center *(University of Virginia, 1998).* Available at http://fisher.lib.virginia.edu/census/ [accessed 23 April 2004].

Table 3.2
1860 Georgia County Population Ranked in Order of Percentage of Slaves per County, Largest to Smallest

Note: Forty-three percent of the total population of Georgia was slaves; 57 percent were free, including free black persons.

County	Total Population	Total Slaves	Number of Families	Free Black Population	Total Free Population	Slaves as Percent of Total Population
Camden	5420	4143	266	1	1277	0.764
Dougherty	8295	6079	517	9	2216	0.732
McIntosh	5546	4063	301	54	1483	0.732
Glynn	3889	2839	204	2	1050	0.730
Liberty	8367	6083	460	23	2284	0.727
Putnam	10125	7138	545	31	2087	0.704
Burke	17165	12052	1024	100	5113	0.702
Morgan	9997	7006	579	7	2991	0.700
Baker	4985	3492	321	0	1493	0.700
Columbia	11860	8293	743	56	3567	0.699
Wilkes	11420	7953	622	33	3467	0.696
Lincoln	5466	3768	312	0	1698	0.689
Houston	15611	10755	965	28	4856	0.688
Lee	7196	4947	469	7	2249	0.687
Hancock	12044	8137	886	36	3907	0.675
Greene	12652	8398	805	25	4254	0.663
Early	6149	4057	471	0	2092	0.659
Jones	9107	5989	623	34	3118	0.657
Oglethorpe	11549	7514	758	21	4035	0.650
Jasper	10743	6954	733	18	3789	0.647
Twiggs	8320	5318	566	72	3002	0.639
Monroe	15953	10177	1063	23	5776	0.637
Talbot	13616	8603	906	19	5013	0.631
Taliaferro	4583	2849	347	41	1734	0.621
Troup	16262	10002	1193	37	6260	0.615
Bryan	4015	2379	293	0	1636	0.592
Jefferson	10219	6045	776	41	4174	0.591
Stewart	13422	7884	1026	4	5538	0.587
Thomas	10766	6244	833	34	4522	0.579
Macon	8449	4865	649	9	3584	0.575
Meriwether	15330	8748	1207	4	6582	0.570
Harris	13736	7736	1096	21	6000	0.563
Calhoun	4913	2731	400	8	2182	0.555

Crawford	7693	4270	619	16	3423	0.555
Warren	9820	5379	819	94	4441	0.547
Screven	8274	4530	654	2	3744	0.547
Elbert	10433	5711	914	25	4722	0.547
Baldwin	9078	4929	775	92	4149	0.542
Sumter	9428	4890	813	2	4538	0.518
Brooks	6356	3282	564	2	3074	0.516
Washington	12698	6532	1144	23	6166	0.514
Schley	4633	2348	396	11	2285	0.506
Clarke	11218	5660	1000	19	5558	0.504
Decatur	11922	5924	1059	13	5998	0.496
Upson	9910	4888	914	7	5022	0.493
Coweta	14703	7248	1338	22	7455	0.492
Marion	7390	3529	698	7	3861	0.477
Chatham	31043	14807	3428	725	16236	0.476
Chattahoochee	5797	2758	564	5	3039	0.475
Butts	6455	3067	629	15	3388	0.475
Pulaski	8744	4106	896	31	4638	0.469
Pike	10078	4722	968	24	5356	0.468
Laurens	6998	3269	650	6	3729	0.467
Randolph	9571	4467	907	1	5104	0.466
Terrell	6232	2888	629	1	3344	0.463
Clay	4893	2253	467	14	2640	0.460
Lowndes	5249	2399	540	0	2850	0.457
Dooly	8917	4070	844	2	4847	0.456
Effingham	4755	2165	471	18	2590	0.455
Webster	5030	2287	476	2	2743	0.454
Newton	14320	6458	1382	40	7862	0.450
Muscogee	16584	7445	1927	173	9139	0.448
Spaulding	8699	3819	874	54	4880	0.439
Henry	10702	4515	1143	12	6187	0.421
Walton	11074	4621	1219	6	6453	0.417
Bibb	16291	6790	1859	41	9501	0.416
Wilkinson	9376	3887	1009	17	5489	0.414
Richmond	21284	8389	2627	490	12895	0.394
Floyd	15195	5913	1632	13	9282	0.389
Polk	6295	2440	735	2	3855	0.387
Bulloch	5668	2162	593	0	3506	0.381
Mitchell	4308	1589	482	3	2719	0.368
Heard	7805	2811	825	15	4994	0.360
Miller	1791	640	191	0	1151	0.357
Madison	5933	1992	785	17	3941	0.335
Montgomery	2997	977	846	6	2020	0.325
Jackson	10605	3329	1337	27	7276	0.313
Charlton	1780	557	205	0	1223	0.312
Glascock	2437	758	332	25	1679	0.311

Telfair	2713	836	309	0	1877	0.308
Johnson	2919	849	342	7	2070	0.290
Chattooga	7165	2054	882	4	5111	0.286
Fayette	7047	2019	913	6	5028	0.286
Clayton	4466	1226	552	0	3240	0.274
Wayne	2268	621	261	30	1647	0.273
Bartow	15724	4282	2086	9	11442	0.272
Cobb	14242	3819	1863	13	10423	0.268
Tattnall	4352	1157	570	4	3195	0.265
DeKalb	7806	2000	1098	8	5806	0.256
Emmanuel	5081	1294	632	39	3787	0.254
Hart	6137	1528	862	6	4609	0.248
Campbell	8301	2004	1256	8	6297	0.241
Banks	4707	1086	695	11	3621	0.230
Coffee	2879	663	370	10	2216	0.230
Worth	2763	632	371	13	2131	0.228
Echols	1491	314	195	0	1777	0.210
Gordon	10146	2106	1407	39	8040	0.207
Fulton	14427	2955	1995	31	11472	0.204
Murray	7083	1442	973	2	5641	0.203
Wilcox	2115	421	279	2	1694	0.199
Gwinnett	12940	2551	1647	31	10389	0.197
Appling	4190	745	543	3	3445	0.177
Franklin	7393	1313	1103	42	6080	0.177
Whitfield	10047	1732	1490	1	8315	0.172
Ware	2200	377	312	5	1823	0.171
Carroll	11991	1862	1750	13	10129	0.155
Walker	10082	1535	1475	30	8547	0.152
Clinch	3063	449	423	5	2614	0.146
Erwin	1699	246	236	0	1453	0.144
Catoosa	5082	710	783	4	4372	0.139
Hall	9366	1261	1386	14	8105	0.134
Milton	4602	617	763	1	3985	0.134
Habersham	5966	787	964	43	5179	0.131
Berrien	3475	432	494	2	3043	0.124
Pierce	1973	233	322	0	1740	0.118
Forsyth	7749	890	1245	8	6859	0.114
Cherokee	11291	1199	1978	45	10092	0.106
Dade	3069	300	470	4	2769	0.097
Lumpkin	4626	432	787	38	4194	0.093
Dawson	3856	326	659	4	3530	0.084
Colquitt	1316	110	204	11	1206	0.083
Paulding	7038	572	1179	6	6466	0.081
White	3315	263	537	11	3052	0.079
Haralson	3039	229	486	0	2810	0.075
Rabun	3271	206	535	4	3065	0.062

Pickens	4951	246	859	0	4705	0.049
Towns	2459	108	415	5	2351	0.043
Fannin	5139	143	908	1	4996	0.027
Union	4413	116	744	2	4297	0.026
Gilmer	6724	167	1190	3	6557	0.024
TOTALS	1,057,286	462,198	109,919	3,500	594,788	

Source: *United States Historical Census Data Browser*, University of Virginia Geospatial and Statistical Data Center *(University of Virginia, 1998).* Available at http://fisher.lib.virginia.edu/census/ [accessed 23 April 2004].

Table 3.3
1860 Georgia County Population Ranked in Order of Total Free Population, Highest to Lowest

Note: "Free Population" includes "Free Black Population")

County	Total Population	Slave Population	Number of Families	Free Black Population	White Population	Total Free Population, Including Free Black Population
Chatham	31,043	14,807	3,428	725	15,511	16,236
Richmond	21,284	8,389	2,627	490	12,405	12,895
Fulton	14,427	2,955	1,995	31	11,441	11,472
Bartow	15,724	4,282	2,086	9	11,433	11,442
Cobb	14,242	3,819	1,863	13	10,410	10,423
Gwinnett	12,940	2,551	1,647	31	10,358	10,389
Carroll	11,991	1,862	1,750	13	10,116	10,129
Cherokee	11,291	1,199	1,978	45	10,047	10,092
Bibb	16,291	6,790	1,859	41	9,460	9,501
Floyd	15,195	5,913	1,632	13	9,269	9,282
Muscogee	16,584	7,445	1,927	173	8,966	9,139
Walker	10,082	1,535	1,475	30	8,517	8,547
Whitfield	10,047	1,732	1,490	1	8,314	8,315
Hall	9,366	1,261	1,386	14	8,091	8,105
Gordon	10,146	2,106	1,407	39	8,001	8,040
Newton	14,320	6,458	1,382	40	7,822	7,862
Coweta	14,703	7,248	1,338	22	7,433	7,455
Jackson	10,605	3,329	1,337	27	7,249	7,276
Forsyth	7,749	890	1,245	8	6,851	6,859
Meriwether	15,330	8,748	1,207	4	6,578	6,582
Gilmer	6,724	167	1,190	3	6,554	6,557
Paulding	7,038	572	1,179	6	6,460	6,466
Walton	11,074	4,621	1,219	6	6,447	6,453
Campbell	8,301	2,004	1,256	8	6,289	6,297
Troup	16,262	10,002	1,193	37	6,223	6,260
Henry	10,702	4,515	1,143	12	6,175	6,187
Washington	12,698	6,532	1,144	23	6,143	6,166
Franklin	7,393	1,313	1,103	42	6,038	6,080
Harris	13,736	7,736	1,096	21	5,979	6,000
Decatur	11,922	5,924	1,059	13	5,985	5,998
DeKalb	7,806	2,000	1,098	8	5,798	5,806
Monroe	15,953	10,177	1,063	23	5,753	5,776

Murray	7,083	1,442	973	2	5,639	5,641
Clarke	11,218	5,660	1,000	19	5,539	5,558
Stewart	13,422	7,884	1,026	4	5,534	5,538
Wilkinson	9,376	3,887	1,009	17	5,472	5,489
Pike	10,078	4,722	968	24	5,332	5,356
Habersham	5,966	787	964	43	5,146	5,179
Burke	17,165	12,052	1,024	100	5,013	5,113
Chattooga	7,165	2,054	882	4	5,008	5,111
Randolph	9,571	4,467	907	1	5,103	5,104
Fayette	7,047	2,019	913	6	5,022	5,028
Upson	9,910	4,888	914	7	5,015	5,022
Talbot	13,616	8,603	906	19	4,994	5,013
Fannin	5,139	143	908	1	4,995	4,996
Heard	7,805	2,811	825	15	4,979	4,994
Spaulding	8,699	3,819	874	54	4,826	4,880
Houston	15,611	10,755	965	28	4,828	4,856
Dooly	8,917	4,070	844	2	4,845	4847
Elbert	10,433	5,711	914	25	4,697	4,722
Pickens	4,951	246	859	0	4,705	4,705
Pulaski	8,744	4,106	896	31	4,607	4,638
Hart	6,137	1,528	862	6	4,606	4,609
Sumter	9428	4,890	813	2	4,536	4,538
Thomas	10,766	6,244	833	34	4,488	4,522
Warren	9,820	5,379	819	94	4,347	4,441
Catoosa	5,082	710	783	4	4,368	4,372
Union	4,413	116	744	2	4,295	4,297
Greene	12,652	8,398	805	25	4,229	4,254
Lumpkin	4,626	432	787	38	4,156	4,194
Jefferson	10,219	6,045	776	41	4,133	4,174
Baldwin	9,078	4,929	775	92	4,057	4,149
Oglethorpe	11,549	7,514	758	21	4,014	4,035
Milton	4,602	617	763	1	3,984	3,985
Madison	5,933	1,992	785	17	3,924	3,941
Hancock	12,044	8,137	886	36	3,871	3,907
Marion	7,390	3,529	698	7	3,854	3,861
Polk	6,295	2,440	735	2	3,853	3,855
Jasper	10,743	6,954	733	18	3,771	3,789
Emmanuel	5,081	1,294	632	39	3,748	3,787
Screven	8,274	4,530	654	2	3,742	3,744
Laurens	6,998	3,269	650	6	3,723	3,729
Banks	4,707	1,086	695	11	3,610	3,621
Macon	8,449	4,865	649	9	3,575	3,584
Columbia	11,860	8,293	743	56	3,511	3,567
Dawson	3,856	326	659	4	3,526	3,530

Bulloch	5,668	2,162	593	0	3,506	3,506
Wilkes	11,420	7,953	622	33	3,434	3,467
Appling	4,190	745	543	3	3,442	3,445
Crawford	7,693	4,270	619	16	3,407	3,423
Butts	6,455	3,067	629	15	3,373	3,388
Terrell	6,232	2,888	629	1	3,343	3,344
Clayton	4,466	1,226	552	0	3,240	3,240
Tattnall	4,352	1,157	570	4	3,191	3,195
Jones	9,107	5,989	623	34	3,084	3,118
Brooks	6,356	3,282	564	2	3,072	3,074
Rabun	3,271	206	535	4	3,061	3,065
White	3,315	263	537	11	3,041	3,052
Berrien	3,475	432	494	2	3,041	3,043
Chattahoo-chee	5,797	2,758	564	5	3,034	3,039
Twiggs	8,320	5,318	566	72	2,930	3,002
Morgan	9,997	7,006	579	7	2,884	2,991
Lowndes	5,249	2,399	540	0	2,850	2,850
Haralson	3,039	229	486	0	2,810	2,810
Dade	3,069	300	470	4	2,765	2,769
Webster	5,030	2,287	476	2	2,741	2,743
Mitchell	4,308	1,589	482	3	2,716	2,719
Clay	4,893	2,253	467	14	2,626	2,640
Clinch	3,063	449	423	5	2,609	2,614
Effingham	4,755	2,165	471	18	2,572	2,590
Towns	2,459	108	415	5	2,346	2,351
Schley	4,633	2,348	396	11	2,274	2,285
Liberty	8,367	6,083	460	23	2,261	2,284
Lee	7,196	4,947	469	7	2,242	2,249
Dougherty	8,295	6,079	517	9	2,207	2,216
Coffee	2,879	663	370	10	2,206	2,216
Calhoun	4,913	2,731	400	8	2,174	2,182
Worth	2,763	632	371	13	2,118	2,131
Early	6,149	4,057	471	0	2,092	2,092
Putnam	10,125	7,138	545	31	2,056	2,087
Johnson	2,919	849	342	7	2,063	2,070
Montgomery	2,997	977	846	6	2,014	2,020
Telfair	2,713	836	309	0	1,877	1,877
Ware	2,200	377	312	5	1,818	1,823
Echols	1,491	314	195	0	1,777	1,777
Pierce	1,973	233	322	0	1,740	1,740
Taliaferro	4,583	2,849	347	41	1,693	1,734
Lincoln	5,466	3,768	312	0	1,698	1,698
Wilcox	2,115	421	279	2	1,692	1,694

Glascock	2,437	758	332	25	1,654	1,679
Wayne	2,268	621	261	30	1,617	1,647
Bryan	4,015	2,379	293	0	1,636	1,636
Baker	4,985	3,492	321	0	1,493	1,493
McIntosh	5,546	4,063	301	54	1,429	1,483
Erwin	1,699	246	236	0	1,453	1,453
Camden	5420	4,143	266	1	1,276	1,277
Charlton	1,780	557	205	0	1,223	1,223
Colquitt	1,316	110	204	11	1,195	1,206
Miller	1,791	640	191	0	1,151	1,151
Glynn	3,889	2,839	204	2	1,048	1,050
TOTALS	1,057,286	462,198	109,919	3500	591,288	594,788

Source: *United States Historical Census Data Browser,* University of Virginia Geospatial and Statistical Data Center *(University of Virginia, 1998).* Available at http://fisher.lib.virginia.edu/census/ [accessed 23 April 2004].

Table 3.4
1860 Georgia County Population Ranked by Number of Free Black People, Highest to Lowest

Note: "Total Free Population" includes "Free Black Population."

County	Total Population	Total Slaves	Number of Families	Total Free Population, Including Free Black Population	Free Black Population
Chatham	31043	14807	3428	16236	725
Richmond	21284	8389	2627	12895	490
Muscogee	16584	7445	1927	9139	173
Burke	17165	12052	1024	5113	100
Warren	9820	5379	819	4441	94
Baldwin	9078	4929	775	4149	92
Twiggs	8320	5318	566	3002	72
Columbia	11860	8293	743	3567	56
Spaulding	8699	3819	874	4880	54
McIntosh	5546	4063	301	1483	54
Cherokee	11291	1199	1978	10092	45
Habersham	5966	787	964	5179	43
Franklin	7393	1313	1103	6080	42
Bibb	16291	6790	1859	9501	41
Jefferson	10219	6045	776	4174	41
Taliaferro	4583	2849	347	1734	41
Newton	14320	6458	1382	7862	40
Gordon	10146	2106	1407	8040	39
Emmanuel	5081	1294	632	3787	39
Lumpkin	4626	432	787	4194	38
Troup	16262	10002	1193	6260	37
Hancock	12044	8137	886	3907	36
Thomas	10766	6244	833	4522	34
Jones	9107	5989	623	3118	34
Wilkes	11420	7953	622	3467	33
Fulton	14427	2955	1995	11472	31
Gwinnett	12940	2551	1647	10389	31
Pulaski	8744	4106	896	4638	31
Putnam	10125	7138	545	2087	31
Walker	10082	1535	1475	8547	30
Wayne	2268	621	261	1647	30

Houston	15611	10755	965	4856	28
Jackson	10605	3329	1337	7276	27
Elbert	10433	5711	914	4722	25
Greene	12652	8398	805	4254	25
Glascock	2437	758	332	1679	25
Pike	10078	4722	968	5356	24
Washington	12698	6532	1144	6166	23
Monroe	15953	10177	1063	5776	23
Liberty	8367	6083	460	2284	23
Coweta	14703	7248	1338	7455	22
Harris	13736	7736	1096	6000	21
Oglethorpe	11549	7514	758	4035	21
Clarke	11218	5660	1000	5558	19
Talbot	13616	8603	906	5013	19
Jasper	10743	6954	733	3789	18
Effingham	4755	2165	471	2590	18
Wilkinson	9376	3887	1009	5489	17
Madison	5933	1992	785	3941	17
Crawford	7693	4270	619	3423	16
Heard	7805	2811	825	4994	15
Butts	6455	3067	629	3388	15
Hall	9366	1261	1386	8105	14
Clay	4893	2253	467	2640	14
Cobb	14242	3819	1863	10423	13
Carroll	11991	1862	1750	10129	13
Floyd	15195	5913	1632	9282	13
Decatur	11922	5924	1059	5998	13
Worth	2763	632	371	2131	13
Henry	10702	4515	1143	6187	12
Banks	4707	1086	695	3621	11
White	3315	263	537	3052	11
Schley	4633	2348	396	2285	11
Colquitt	1316	110	204	1206	11
Coffee	2879	663	370	2216	10
Bartow	15724	4282	2086	11442	9
Macon	8449	4865	649	3584	9
Dougherty	8295	6079	517	2216	9
Forsyth	7749	890	1245	6859	8
Campbell	8301	2004	1256	6297	8
DeKalb	7806	2000	1098	5806	8
Calhoun	4913	2731	400	2182	8
Upson	9910	4888	914	5022	7
Marion	7390	3529	698	3861	7
Morgan	9997	7006	579	2991	7

Lee	7196	4947	469	2249	7
Johnson	2919	849	342	2070	7
Paulding	7038	572	1179	6466	6
Walton	11074	4621	1219	6453	6
Fayette	7047	2019	913	5028	6
Hart	6137	1528	862	4609	6
Laurens	6998	3269	650	3729	6
Montgomery	2997	977	846	2020	6
Chattahoochee	5797	2758	564	3039	5
Clinch	3063	449	423	2614	5
Towns	2459	108	415	2351	5
Ware	2200	377	312	1823	5
Meriwether	15330	8748	1207	6582	4
Stewart	13422	7884	1026	5538	4
Chattooga	7165	2054	882	5111	4
Catoosa	5082	710	783	4372	4
Dawson	3856	326	659	3530	4
Tattnall	4352	1157	570	3195	4
Rabun	3271	206	535	3065	4
Dade	3069	300	470	2769	4
Gilmer	6724	167	1190	6557	3
Appling	4190	745	543	3445	3
Mitchell	4308	1589	482	2719	3
Murray	7083	1442	973	5641	2
Dooly	8917	4070	844	4847	2
Sumter	9428	4890	813	4538	2
Union	4413	116	744	4297	2
Polk	6295	2440	735	3855	2
Screven	8274	4530	654	3744	2
Brooks	6356	3282	564	3074	2
Berrien	3475	432	494	3043	2
Webster	5030	2287	476	2743	2
Wilcox	2115	421	279	1694	2
Glynn	3889	2839	204	1050	2
Whitfield	10047	1732	1490	8315	1
Randolph	9571	4467	907	5104	1
Fannin	5139	143	908	4996	1
Milton	4602	617	763	3985	1
Terrell	6232	2888	629	3344	1
Camden	5420	4143	266	1277	1
Pickens	4951	246	859	4705	0
Bulloch	5668	2162	593	3506	0
Clayton	4466	1226	552	3240	0
Lowndes	5249	2399	540	2850	0

Haralson	3039	229	486	2810	0
Early	6149	4057	471	2092	0
Telfair	2713	836	309	1877	0
Echols	1491	314	195	1777	0
Pierce	1973	233	322	1740	0
Lincoln	5466	3768	312	1698	0
Bryan	4015	2379	293	1636	0
Baker	4985	3492	321	1493	0
Erwin	1699	246	236	1453	0
Charlton	1780	557	205	1223	0
Miller	1791	640	191	1151	0
TOTALS					3500

Source: *United States Historical Census Data Browser*, University of Virginia Geospatial and Statistical Data Center *(University of Virginia, 1998).* Available at http://fisher.lib.virginia.edu/census/ [accessed 23 April 2004].

Table 3.5
Apportionment for Beneficiaries of Indigent Soldiers' Family Fund, FY 1863-1864
$6 Million Appropriation, Listed Alphabetically by County

Note: The apportioned amount does not necessarily indicate the actual disbursement made to each county. This table reflects the expected number of beneficiaries multiplied by the amount apportioned to each beneficiary, approximately $50.62 each.

County	Widows of Soldiers	Disabled and Discharged Soldiers	Women Dependent Upon Disabled or Deceased Soldiers	Orphans of Deceased Soldiers Under 12 Years of Age	Children Dependent Upon Soldiers in Service	Children Under 12 Years of Age of Disabled Soldiers Discharged	Other Persons Over 12 Years of Age Dependent Upon Soldiers	Total Number of Beneficiaries	Amount Apportioned to Each County
Appling	26		204	6	568			804	40,704.00
Baker	19	1	87	36	127	3		273	13,824.00
Baldwin	42	2	181	3	401	3		632	31,996.00
Banks	88	9	173	218	365	11	19	883	44,703.00
Bartow	128	4	496	251	1100	7	20	2006	101,557.00
Berrien	64	2	182	157	569		5	979	49,563.00
Bibb	92	16	524	156	858	15	119	1780	90,115.00
Brooks	15		103		252		46	416	21,064.00
Bryan	7		91	17	225			340	17,213.00
Bulloch	38	2	66	95	209	2	8	420	21,266.00
Burke	25	3	239	8	479		5	759	38,425.00
Butts	18		54		438			510	25,819.00
Calhoun	25	4	52	78	108	3		270	13,669.00
Camden	3		57		158		4	222	11,239.00
Campbell	87	10	328	214	697	12	13	1361	68,903.00
Carroll	39	3	533	17	1321	2		1915	96,950.00
Catoosa*								1023	51,791.00
Charlton	19	2	90	49	235	5	12	412	20,858.00
Chatham	124	9	1195	237	1481	2	20	3058	154,817.00
Chattahoochee	26	128	49	260			2	465	23,544.00
Chattooga*								1072	54,272.00
Cherokee	166		660	378	1394			2598	131,528.00
Clarke	58	8	257	159	495	20	70	1067	54,018.00
Clay	28	2	118	55	307		3	513	25,974.00
Clayton	41	4	160	114	375	2	28	724	36,653.00

Clinch	36	2	253	13	728	5		1037	52,500.00
Cobb	65	8	525	158	1060	15	145	1976	100,038.00
Coffee	29	102	71	319	13	17		551	27,895.00
Colquitt	21		57	56	158			292	14,785.00
Columbia	45	1	109		288			443	22,427.00
Coweta	97	10	391	72	983	17	45	1615	81,762.00
Crawford	32		133	76	321		34	596	30,176.00
Dade*								686	34,730.00
Dawson	53	2	233		518	85	37	928	46,985.00
Decatur	65	5	278	150	634		8	1140	57,714.00
DeKalb	111	9	482	250	895		13	1760	89,103.00
Dooly	65	2	221	145	389	5	21	848	42,934.00
Dougherty	20	3	77	33	137		14	284	14,378.00
Early	49	1	112	99	256		7	527	26,528.00
Echols	19	1	95	60	203		1	379	19,189.00
Effingham	9	1	74	22	199		20	325	16,457.00
Elbert	57	2	243	133	610	3	50	1098	55,588.00
Emanuel	48	7	167	96	463	15	10	806	40,805.00
Fannin	37	30	300	75	480	74	90	1086	54,980.00
Fayette	71	8	297	145	611	2	27	1161	58,777.00
Floyd	115	4	447	278	946	5	3	1798	91,027.00
Forsyth	101	8	478	236	1103	1	43	1970	99,735.00
Franklin	114	8	284	324	575	10	11	1326	67,131.00
Fulton	69	7	503	131	979	14	30	1733	87,736.00
Gilmer	100	22	459	70	1349	32	74	2106	106,620.00
Glascock	24	4	88	62	151	6	2	337	17,061.00
Glynn	4	2	46	10	81			143	7,243.00
Gordon	81	8	408	12	1053		2	1566	79,281.00
Greene	15	4	186	40	347	8	4	604	30,578.00
Gwinnett	146	8	580	418	1198	8	32	2390	120,998.00
Habersham	75	11	336	138	653	38		1251	63,333.00
Hall	138	10	504	273	954	20	38	1937	98,064.00
Hancock	19	3	161	16	354		4	557	28,199.00
Haralson	65	5	147	34	263	13	160	687	34,784.00
Harris	37	5	195	121	425		15	798	40,004.00
Hart	78	7	240	168	579		21	1093	55,335.00
Heard	61	3	230	170	515		4	983	49,766.00
Henry	99	6	216		172	1		494	25,009.00
Houston	29	13	240	63	531	6	28	919	46,526.00
Irwin	43		79	97	200	3	10	432	21,874.00
Jackson	147		288	327	574		52	1388	70,270.00
Jasper	24	2	144	53	308	4		535	27,089.00

Jefferson	35		184	69	379			667	33,768.00
Johnson	37	1	74	73	199		3	387	19,592.00
Jones	43		98	67	220			428	21,668.00
Laurens	47	4	233	142	607	22	22	1077	54,525.00
Lee	24	6	77	61	157	2	27	354	17,925.00
Liberty	21	2	119	49	273	10	10	484	24,503.00
Lincoln	14	1	43		175			233	11,796.00
Lowndes	50		124	3	417			594	30,072.00
Lumpkin	69	1	310	132	641	1	17	1171	59,284.00
Macon	34	2	116	91	221			464	23,490.00
Madison	65		225	167	512		1	970	49,108.00
Marion	41	1	199	38	565		33	877	44,399.00
McIntosh	15	1	57	40	127	5	1	246	12,458.00
Meriwether	70		375	18	599		173	1235	62,524.00
Miller	24	4	106	50	195	4		383	19,390.00
Milton	71	3	250	114	572	4		1014	51,335.00
Mitchell	43	1	151	120	325			640	32,401.00
Monroe	36	3	179	75	306	11		610	30,882.00
Montgomery	23		88	73	197		9	390	19,744.00
Morgan	21		94	52	150		6	323	16,352.00
Murray*			492		880			1236	62,575.00
Muscogee	61	6	407	117	660	11	59	1321	66,878.00
Newton	100	8	322	266	628	30	5	1359	68,801.00
Oglethorpe	21	2	49		183		106	361	18,276.00
Paulding	96	9	449	215	996	11	99	1875	94,925.00
Pickens	77	9	273		822		45	1226	62,068.00
Pierce	24	4	130	24	2	9	383	576	29,161.00
Pike	66	6	278	153	548			1051	53,208.00
Polk	31	3	190	86	369	8	1	688	34,831.00
Pulaski	51	2	247	132	486			918	46,475.00
Putnam	19	4	82	34	132	2		273	13,821.00
Rabun	34	3	103	104	255	21		520	26,326.00
Randolph	66	7	190	172	441	4	16	896	45,361.00
Richmond	126	13	462		826			1427	72,244.00
Schley	23	2	107	54	230			416	21,060.00
Screven	37		203		371		9	620	31,388.00
Spalding	56		239	143	393		28	859	43,488.00
Stewart	62	12	201	142	394	24	28	863	43,691.00
Sumter	50	5	353	114	743	5	16	1286	65,106.00
Talbot	31	7	156	75	346		13	628	31,793.00
Taliaferro	15	2	49	39	93		14	212	10,732.00
Tattnall	46	2	125	97	363	6		639	32,350.00

Telfair	23	3	66	63	150		1	306	15,491.00
Terrell	27		132	57	270		4	490	24,807.00
Thomas	68	17	244	187	670	14	6	1206	61,056.00
Towns	55	2	267	113	817	2	3	1259	63,739.00
Troup	39	2	143	115	347	6		652	33,008.00
Twiggs	30	6	128	76	200	8	3	451	22,832.00
Union	50	5	281	133	690	5	55	1219	61,714.00
Upson	56		223	115	381		18	793	40,147.00
Walker*								1421	71,940.00
Walton	123	15	290	232	784	50	8	1502	76,041.00
Ware	31	2	113	96	244			486	24,604.00
Warren	40	44	196	116	298	14	10	718	36,350.00
Washington	69		220	18	626	33		966	48,905.00
Wayne	19	2	146	68	342		15	592	29,971.00
Webster	31	1	72	73	149	3	8	337	17,061.00
White	49	7	266	112	595		4	1031	52,196.00
Whitfield	63	9	466	107	1049			1694	85,762.00
Wilcox	46	2	69		305			422	21,364.00
Wilkes	17	3	94	36	215		7	372	18,833.00
Wilkinson	63		276	166	596		1	1102	55,790.00
Worth	40	10	160	72	288	25	6	601	30,426.00
Totals	6642	704	29,582	12,766	61,225	1084	2740	117,889	5,968,359.00

*According to Comptroller General Thweatt's narrative report (18-19), Catoosa, Chattooga, and Dade counties had not made returns by the time of the October report. Murray County's report was also reported as late, but a basic distribution among women and children is reported here. Walker County's report was late, so the breakdown of beneficiaries is not included here. Thweatt calculated the numbers for those counties above by multiplying the previous FY returns by 40%, the estimated increase in the number of beneficiaries for the new FY. Catoosa County was also the beneficiary of a payment of $2,000.00 from the state's Contingent Fund on October 26, 1863, "For relief of indigent persons," 53.

Source: *Annual Report of the Comptroller General of the State of Georgia Made to the Governor, October 17, 1864* (Milledgeville, GA: Boughton, Nisbet, Barnes & Moore, State Printers, 1864), Part II, Table H, "Consolidated Schedule of the Beneficiaries of the Indigent Soldiers' Family Fund 1864. Appropriated 6.000.000.," 36-41.

Table 3.6
Apportionment for Beneficiaries of Indigent Soldiers' Family Fund, FY 1863-1864
$6 Million Appropriation, Ranked in Order of Number of Beneficiaries, Highest to Lowest

Note: The apportioned amount does not necessarily indicate the actual disbursement made to each county. This table reflects the expected number of beneficiaries multiplied by the amount apportioned to each beneficiary, approximately $50.62 each. For amounts actually disbursed, see Tables G and H.

County	Widows of Soldiers	Disabled and Discharged Soldiers	Women Dependent Upon Disabled or Deceased Soldiers	Orphans of Deceased Soldiers Under 12 Years of Age	Children Dependent Upon Soldiers in Service	Children Under 12 Years of Age of Disabled Soldiers Discharged	Other Persons Over 12 Years of Age Dependent Upon Soldiers	Total Number of Beneficiaries	Amount Apportioned to Each County
Chatham	124	9	1195	237	1481	2	20	3058	154,817.00
Cherokee	166		660	378	1394			2598	131,528.00
Gwinnett	146	8	580	418	1198	8	32	2390	120,998.00
Gilmer	100	22	459	70	1349	32	74	2106	106,620.00
Bartow	128	4	496	251	1100	7	20	2006	101,557.00
Cobb	65	8	525	158	1060	15	145	1976	100,038.00
Forsyth	101	8	478	236	1103	1	43	1970	99,735.00
Hall	138	10	504	273	954	20	38	1937	98,064.00
Carroll	39	3	533	17	1321	2		1915	96,950.00
Paulding	96	9	449	215	996	11	99	1875	94,925.00
Floyd	115	4	447	278	946	5	3	1798	91,027.00
Bibb	92	16	524	156	858	15	119	1780	90,115.00
DeKalb	111	9	482	250	895		13	1760	89,103.00
Fulton	69	7	503	131	979	14	30	1733	87,736.00
Whitfield	63	9	466	107	1049			1694	85,762.00
Coweta	97	10	391	72	983	17	45	1615	81,762.00
Gordon	81	8	408	12	1053		2	1566	79,281.00
Walton	123	15	290	232	784	50	8	1502	76,041.00
Richmond	126	13	462		826			1427	72,244.00
Walker**								1421	71,940.00
Jackson	147		288	327	574		52	1388	70,270.00
Campbell	87	10	328	214	697	12	13	1361	68,903.00
Newton	100	8	322	266	628	30	5	1359	68,801.00
Franklin	114	8	284	324	575	10	11	1326	67,131.00
Muscogee	61	6	407	117	660	11	59	1321	66,878.00
Sumter	50	5	353	114	743	5	16	1286	65,106.00
Towns	55	2	267	113	817	2	3	1259	63,739.00
Habersham	75	11	336	138	653	38		1251	63,333.00
Murray**			492		880			1236	62,575.00
Meriwether	70		375	18	599		173	1235	62,524.00
Pickens	77	9	273		822		45	1226	62,068.00

Union	50	5	281	133	690	5	55	1219	61,714.00
Thomas	68	17	244	187	670	14	6	1206	61,056.00
Lumpkin	69	1	310	132	641	1	17	1171	59,284.00
Fayette	71	8	297	145	611	2	27	1161	58,777.00
Decatur	65	5	278	150	634		8	1140	57,714.00
Wilkinson	63		276	166	596		1	1102	55,790.00
Elbert	57	2	243	133	610	3	50	1098	55,588.00
Hart	78	7	240	168	579		21	1093	55,335.00
Fannin	37	30	300	75	480	74	90	1086	54,980.00
Laurens	47	4	233	142	607	22	22	1077	54,525.00
Chattooga**								1072	54,272.00
Clarke	58	8	257	159	495	20	70	1067	54,018.00
Pike	66	6	278	153	548			1051	53,208.00
Clinch	36	2	253	13	728	5		1037	52,500.00
White	49	7	266	112	595		4	1031	52,196.00
Catoosa**								1023	51,791.00
Milton	71	3	250	114	572	4		1014	51,335.00
Heard	61	3	230	170	515		4	983	49,766.00
Berrien	64	2	182	157	569		5	979	49,563.00
Madison	65		225	167	512		1	970	49,108.00
Washington	69		220	18	626	33		966	48,905.00
Dawson	53	2	233		518	85	37	928	46,985.00
Houston	29	13	240	63	531	6	28	919	46,526.00
Pulaski	51	2	247	132	486			918	46,475.00
Randolph	66	7	190	172	441	4	16	896	45,361.00
Banks	88	9	173	218	365	11	19	883	44,703.00
Marion	41	1	199	38	565		33	877	44,399.00
Stewart	62	12	201	142	394	24	28	863	43,691.00
Spalding	56		239	143	393		28	859	43,488.00
Dooly	65	2	221	145	389	5	21	848	42,934.00
Emanuel	48	7	167	96	463	15	10	806	40,805.00
Appling	26		204	6	568			804	40,704.00
Upson*	56		223	115	381		18	793	40,147.00
Harris*	37	5	195	121	425		15	798	40,004.00
Burke	25	3	239	8	479		5	759	38,425.00
Clayton	41	4	160	114	375	2	28	724	36,653.00
Warren	40	44	196	116	298	14	10	718	36,350.00
Polk	31	3	190	86	369	8	1	688	34,831.00
Haralson	65	5	147	34	263	13	160	687	34,784.00
Dade**								686	34,730.00
Jefferson	35		184	69	379			667	33,768.00
Troup	39	2	143	115	347	6		652	33,008.00
Mitchell	43	1	151	120	325			640	32,401.00
Tattnall	46	2	125	97	363	6		639	32,350.00
Baldwin	42	2	181	3	401	3		632	31,996.00
Talbot	31	7	156	75	346		13	628	31,793.00
Screven	37		203		371		9	620	31,388.00
Monroe	36	3	179	75	306	11		610	30,882.00
Greene	15	4	186	40	347	8	4	604	30,578.00
Worth	40	10	160	72	288	25	6	601	30,426.00
Crawford	32		133	76	321		34	596	30,176.00
Lowndes	50		124	3	417			594	30,072.00
Wayne	19	2	146	68	342		15	592	29,971.00

Pierce	24	4	130	24	2	9	383	576	29,161.00
Hancock	19	3	161	16	354		4	557	28,199.00
Coffee	29	102	71	319	13	17		551	27,895.00
Jasper	24	2	144	53	308	4		535	27,089.00
Early	49	1	112	99	256		7	527	26,528.00
Rabun	34	3	103	104	255	21		520	26,326.00
Clay	28	2	118	55	307		3	513	25,974.00
Butts	18		54		438			510	25,819.00
Henry	99	6	216		172	1		494	25,009.00
Terrell	27		132	57	270		4	490	24,807.00
Ware	31	2	113	96	244			486	24,604.00
Liberty	21	2	119	49	273	10	10	484	24,503.00
Chattahoochee	26	128	49	260			2	465	23,544.00
Macon	34	2	116	91	221			464	23,490.00
Twiggs	30	6	128	76	200	8	3	451	22,832.00
Columbia	45	1	109		288			443	22,427.00
Irwin	43		79	97	200	3	10	432	21,874.00
Jones	43		98	67	220			428	21,668.00
Wilcox	46	2	69		305			422	21,364.00
Bulloch	38	2	66	95	209	2	8	420	21,266.00
Brooks	15		103		252		46	416	21,064.00
Schley	23	2	107	54	230			416	21,060.00
Charlton	19	2	90	49	235	5	12	412	20,858.00
Montgomery	23		88	73	197		9	390	19,744.00
Johnson	37	1	74	73	199		3	387	19,592.00
Miller	24	4	106	50	195	4		383	19,390.00
Echols	19	1	95	60	203		1	379	19,189.00
Wilkes	17	3	94	36	215		7	372	18,833.00
Oglethorpe	21	2	49		183		106	361	18,276.00
Lee	24	6	77	61	157	2	27	354	17,925.00
Bryan	7		91	17	225			340	17,213.00
Glascock	24	4	88	62	151	6	2	337	17,061.00
Webster	31	1	72	73	149	3	8	337	17,061.00
Effingham	9	1	74	22	199		20	325	16,457.00
Morgan	21		94	52	150		6	323	16,352.00
Telfair	23	3	66	63	150		1	306	15,491.00
Colquitt	21		57	56	158			292	14,785.00
Dougherty	20	3	77	33	137		14	284	14,378.00
Putnam	19	4	82	34	132	2		273	13,821.00
Baker	19	1	87	36	127	3		273	13,824.00
Calhoun	25	4	52	78	108	3		270	13,669.00
McIntosh	15	1	57	40	127	5	1	246	12,458.00
Lincoln	14	1	43		175			233	11,796.00
Camden	3		57		158		4	222	11,239.00
Taliaferro	15	2	49	39	93		14	212	10,732.00
Glynn	4	2	46	10	81			143	7,243.00
Totals	**6642**	**704**	**29,582**	**12,766**	**61,255**	**1084**	**2,740**	**117,889**	**5,968,359.00**

*Though Harris County is reported to have more beneficiaries than Upson County, the dollar amount distributed to Upson is higher. This may be an error in calculation, a typographical error in the report, or there may have been extenuating circumstances which were not disclosed in this report.

**According to Comptroller General Thweatt's narrative report (18-19), Catoosa, Chattooga, and Dade counties had not made returns by the time of the October report. Murray County's report was also reported as late, but a basic distribution among women and children is reported here. Walker County's report was late, so the breakdown of beneficiaries is not included here. Thweatt calculated the numbers for those counties above by multiplying the previous FY returns by 40%, the estimated increase in the number of beneficiaries for the new FY. Catoosa County was also the beneficiary of a payment of $2,000.00 from the state's Contingent Fund on October 26, 1863, "For relief of indigent persons," (53).

Source: *Annual Report of the Comptroller General of the State of Georgia Made to the Governor, October 17, 1864* (Milledgeville, GA: Boughton, Nisbet, Barnes & Moore, State Printers, 1864), Part II, Table H, "Consolidated Schedule of the Beneficiaries of the Indigent Soldiers' Family Fund 1864. Appropriated 6.000.000.," 36-41.

Table 3.7
Indigent Soldiers' Family Fund Disbursements by County, FY 1863-1864
Alphabetically Listed by County

Note: Disbursements were not made on a weekly, monthly, or even quarterly schedule. The categories "First Disbursement," "Second Disbursement," etc., are used to designate individual disbursements to each county. The original document lists each disbursement with a specific date.

County	**Oct. 16-Dec.31, 1863** First Disburse.	**Oct. 16-Dec. 31,1863** Second Disburse.	**Oct. 16-Dec. 31, 1863** Third Disburse.	**Jan. 1-Oct. 15, 1864** First Disburse.	**Jan. 1-Oct. 15, 1864** Second Disburse.	**Jan. 1-Oct. 15, 1864** Third Disburse.	**Jan. 1-Oct. 15, 1864** Fourth Disburse.	**Jan. 1-Oct. 15, 1864** Fifth Disburse.	**Jan.1-Oct.15,1864** **Final Disbursement (cotton cards)	**Total Disbursements FY 1863-1864**
Appling	3410.25			20,080.00	10,176.00				544.00	37,076.50
Baker	600.00			3000.00	3912.00				276.00	7788.00
Baldwin	1200.00			3073.25	7999.00	7559.00			660.00	20,491.25
Banks	1200.00	383.25		22,351.50					304.00	24,238.75
Bartow	3300.00	14,665.75		25,389.25					696.00	44,051.00
Berrien	1200.00	4277.00		24,781.50					484.00	30,742.50
Bibb	15,221.00			2700.00	20,000.00	25,000.00	20,738.25		1848.00	85,507.25
Brooks	760.00	2227.75	600.00	4000.00	6532.00	4982.00			284.00	19,385.75
Bryan	600.00	1968.25		2000.00	6606.50	3937.25			244.00	15,356.00
Bulloch	993.50	300.00		5000.00	10,000.00				142.00	16,435.50
Burke	1200.00	3833.75		5000.00	14,212.50	9082.25			262.00	33,590.50
Butts	3462.25			6454.75	6454.75				172.00	16,543.75
Calhoun	600.00	3223.00		6834.50	3417.25				276.00	14,350.75
Camden	600.00			5619.50					164.00	6383.50
Campbell				7836.50	20,000.00	14,451.50	17,225.00		164.00	59,677.00
Carroll	4200.00			13,451.25	242.00	25,000.00	23,475.00	24,237.50	1968.00	92,573.75
Catoosa	5431.25								NONE**	5431.25
Charlton	450.00			1479.00	7000.00	8359.50			284.00	17,572.50
Chatham	3589.76			555.00	38,704.25	3120.00	71,144.00		2096.00	119,209.01
Chattahoo-chee	3157.50			11,772.00	5000.00				486.00	20,415.50
Chattooga	5546.25			15,000.00					374.00	20,920.25
Cherokee	14,748.25			15,000.00	50,764.00	32,882.00			2664.00	116,058.25
Clarke	1250.00			6000.00	5311.25	21,009.00	12,412.50		728.00	46,710.75
Clay	2942.25	720.00		6493.50	6493.50	5977.50			516.00	23,142.75
Clayton	3284.50	1080.00		6000.00	12,326.50	8659.25			756.00	32,106.25
Clinch				6379.50	13,125.00	13,125.00	12,063.00		1062.00	45,754.50
Cobb	3600.00	12,648.25		8000.00	17,009.50				1352.00	42,609.75
Coffee	1798.00	2489.00	660.05	5000.00	15,345.25				768.00	26,060.30
Colquitt	900.00	1588.50		7392.50	3390.25				306.00	13,577.25
Columbia	852.00	900.00		5000.00	6213.50	5606.75			304.00	18,876.25
Coweta	8678.50	2280.00		15,000.00	5440.50	20,440.50	19,328.50		1668.00	72,836.00
Crawford	3522.50			7000.00	8088.00	6938.00			606.00	26,154.50
Dade	6008.00	73.00	1200.00	7000.00					NONE**	14,281.00
Dawson	3794.75	5594.75		1800.00	25,000.00	10,238.75			648.00	47,076.25
Decatur	3343.50	1644.00		14,034.50	14,034.50	12,852.00	1182.00		1182.00	48,272.50
DeKalb	8961.00			2880.00	15,000.00	15,000.00	10,000.00	10,000.00	1212.00	63,053.00
Dooly				12,000.00	10,592.00	1860.00	9467.00	9857.50	882.00	44,658.50
Dougherty	642.00			7189.00					306.00	8137.00

Early	2845.50	900.00		6632.00	6632.00	6268.00			546.00	23,823.50
Echols	424.00			1545.00	600.00	4000.00	5594.50		264.00	12,427.50
Effingham	300.00	824.00	1406.00	4114.25	7892.50				336.00	14,872.75
Elbert	1500.00	4038.75	376.50	25,000.00	15,943.00				1122.00	47,980.25
Emanuel	600.00	2555.75		12,000.00	7858.50	9929.25			544.00	33,487.50
Fannin	10,855.50	1800.00		13,747.50	13,745.00				748.00	40,896.00
Fayette	145.00	2100.00	7106.50	29,388.50					1182.00	39,922.00
Floyd	12,578.75			20,000.00					616.00	33,194.75
Forsyth	9992.00			3000.00	20,000.00	29,867.50	24,933.75		1352.00	89,145.25
Franklin	1200.00	1485.00	4594.00	33,111.50	15,420.75				1362.00	57,173.25
Fulton	18,362.00			21,934.00	21,394.00				596.00	62,286.00
Gilmer	10,561.50			10,000.00	16,655.00				726.00	37,942.50
Glas(s)cock	1038.50			2500.00	6030.50	3929.25			336.00	13,834.25
Glynn	61.00			827.50	2400.00				62.00	3350.50
Gordon	8561.25			15,000.00	206.00	24,640.50			536.00	48,943.75
Greene	3089.25			7644.50	7644.50	7008.50			636.00	26,022.75
Gwinnett	3600.00			25,000.00	14,897.25	1000.00	33,681.00	29,435.50	1636.00	109,249.75
Hall	9649.75	2700.00		16,000.00	206.00	33,032.00	22,518.00		1998.00	86,103.75
Habersham				5535.25	31,232.50				1302.00	38,069.75
Hancock	900.00	1379.75		920.00	13,907.50	6665.75			575.00	24,348.00
Haralson	2674.50			5000.00	900.00	12,160.00			464.00	21,198.50
Harris	4455.75	1320.00		8000.00	12,202.00	9557.00			816.00	36,350.75
Hart	5126.50	1860.00		21,000.00	6667.50	12,711.75			1122.00	48,487.75
Heard				5000.00	3696.25	19,883.00	12,441.50		1032.00	42,052.75
Henry	6345.00			12,504.50	6252.25				516.00	25,617.75
Houston	5483.25			12,000.00	11,263.00	11,003.50			942.00	40,691.75
Irwin				10,937.00					456.00	11,393.00
Jackson	6223.00			206.00	17,567.50	16,619.50			1422.00	42,038.00
Jasper	2696.25			6772.25	10,000.00	720.00			546.00	20,734.50
Jefferson	1200.00	3357.25		8442.00	16,884.00				464.00	30,347.25
Johnson	600.00	1284.00		61.00	9796.00	4898.00			NONE**	16,639.00
Jones	2318.00			5000.00	600.00	6000.00	4795.00		456.00	19,169.00
Laurens	1388.00			5000.00	4399.75	15,000.00	20,165.75		728.00	46,681.50
Lee	584.00	1320.50		8962.50	4217.25				396.00	15,480.25
Liberty	3962.50	608.00		12,251.50					324.00	17,146.00
Lincoln	588.00			5898.00					164.00	6650.00
Lowndes	3169.25			15,036.00	6912.00				404.00	25,521.25
Lumpkin	4115.75			14,821.00	28,430.00				808.00	48,174.75
Macon	2983.00			6000.00	5745.00	5386.50			486.00	20,600.50
Madison	4128.25			24,554.00					1002.00	29,684.25
Marion				8000.00	5995.50	14,199.50	10,491.75		912.00	39,598.75
Meriwether	4760.50	6294.50		31,262.00	29,990.00				1272.00	73,579.00
McIntosh	97.00	360.00	1105.50	2000.00	3000.00	4179.50			164.00	10,906.00
Miller	600.00	2026.75		4000.00	5695.00	4847.50			396.00	17,565.25
Milton	97.00	5074.00		12,833.75					688.00	18,692.75
Mitchell	4038.75	1500.00	61.00	16,200.50	7434.25				666.00	29,900.50
Monroe	1200.00			7720.50	14,805.00				636.00	24,361.50
Montgomery				5000.00	900.00	9544.00			264.00	15,708.00
Morgan	600.00	1507.25		8176.00					336.00	10,619.25
Murray	1800.00	6384.50		6000.00	2000.00				424.00	16,608.50
Muscogee	6657.75			1500.00	71,000.00				1365.00	80,522.75
Newton	8975.00			33,936.50	15,681.64				1392.00	61,377.14
Oglethorpe	1207.50			612.00	4000.00	5138.00	4325.00		366.00	15,648.50
Paulding	133.00	8017.50		2100.00	23,731.25				NONE**	33,981.75
Pickens	2400.00	7756.75		15,517.00					424.00	26,097.75
Pierce				4000.00	2276.00	720.00	10,580.50	6684.25	404.00	24,664.75
Pike	182.00	1800.00		4348.25	12,000.00	14,604.00	12,210.00		1092.00	46,236.25
Polk	5319.75	1500.00		5000.00	12,415.50				232.00	24,467.25
Pulaski	4695.50			11,618.75	11,618.75	10,676.75			942.00	39,551.75
Putnam	170.00	2445.25		5000.00	642.00	1910.50	3251.25		306.00	13,725.00
Quitman	61.00	2286.75		5000.00	3040.50	3688.75			336.00	14,413.00
Rabun	900.00	5357.00		73.00	10,000.00	3163.00	6837.00		546.00	26,876.00
Randolph	157.00	1200.00	3996.25	8000.00	14,680.50	10,428.25			912.00	39,374.00
Richmond	363.00	2760.00	7557.50	18,061.00	18,061.00				968.00	47,770.50
Schley	85.00	2047.25		600.00	10,530.00	4839.00			426.00	18,527.25
Screven	145.00	4033.25	1200.00	4000.00	11,694.00				212.00	26,662.50

Spalding	169.00			8325.50	2400.00	10,580.00	10,872.00	10,576.00	1176.00	44,098.50
Stewart	1200.00	4234.75		242.00	21,845.50				882.00	28,404.25
Sumter	11,766.00	218.00		16,276.50	16,276.50	14,944.50			888.00	60,369.50
Talbot	242.00	1681.25		900.00	15,684.50				636.00	19,143.75
Taliaferro	85.00	473.00		2000.00	3366.00	2437.00			246.00	8607.00
Tattnall	3441.25	73.00	900.00	5000.00	11,175.00	7421.50			666.00	28,676.75
Taylor	109.00	5255.25		10,000.00	10,000.00	7085.00	12,814.50		728.00	45,991.75
Telfair	400.00			1235.85	3000.00	61.00			102.00	4798.85
Terrell	2617.25			6201.75	12,059.50				516.00	21,394.50
Thomas	206.00	6256.50	1500.00	10,000.00	20,528.00	14,436.00			828.00	53,754.50
Towns	97.00	3989.25		10,000.00	21,869.50	15,934.75			634.00	52,524.50
Troup	266.00	1080.00	3392.25	8000.00	8504.00	8252.00			444.00	29,938.25
Twiggs	194.00			10,000.00	5102.50	1416.00	5556.00		456.00	22,724.50
Union	11,959.00			1578.00	30,000.00	15,457.50			414.00	59,408.50
Upson	182.00	7270.50	1500.00	8000.00	12,073.50	10,036.75			816.00	39,878.75
Walker	242.00	10,167.25		20,000.00					NONE**	30,409.25
Walton				206.00	6652.25	1800.00	38,041.50	19,010.25	1028.00	66,738.00
Ware	55.00	4367.50	600.00	5000.00	7302.00	5827.00			324.00	23,475.50
Warren	170.00			3522.50	10,000.00	16,778.50			726.00	31,197.00
Washington	194.00	1800.00	3917.25 AND 1776.00*	15,000.00	18,000.00				1002.00	41,689.25
Wayne	720.00	3606.50		7492.75	7492.75	6886.75			404.00	26,602.75
Webster	85.00	600.00	3936.00	8530.50	3899.25				366.00	17,416.75
White	1200.00	4191.75		26,098.00					1062.00	32,551.75
Whitfield	8591.00			206.00	20,852.50				586.00	30,235.50
Wilcox	528.00	43.00		5000.00	2297.25	10,739.00			426.00	19,033.25
Wilkes				2214.00	600.00	9416.50			396.00	12,626.50
Wilkinson	5631.75	1500.00		27,521.00	13,199.50				748.00	48,600.25
Worth	55.00			1661.25	7606.50	7606.50	7000.50		606.00	24,535.75
Total (rounded to nearest dollar)	370,402.	209,997.	47,384.	1,200,664.	1,299,565.	751,415.	443,145.	109,801.	88,498.00	4,520,872.

*Washington was the only county which received a fourth disbursement between October and December 1863.

**The final disbursement of 1864 was on October 14. Cotton cards, at a cost of approximately $10.00 per pair, were distributed to all counties except Catoosa, Dade, Johnson, Paulding, and Walker counties. The dollar value of these cards is found in the final disbursement column for each county, and gives us some idea of the number of persons who received the cards in each county.

Source*: Annual Report of the Comptroller General of the State of Georgia, Made to the Governor, October 17, 1864* (Milledgeville, GA: Boughton, Nisbet, Barnes & Moore, State Printers, 1864), Part I, "Indigent Soldiers' Families – For Support of in 1863" and "Indigent Soldiers' Families – For Support of in 1864," 105-134.

Table 3.8
Indigent Soldiers' Family Fund Disbursements by County, FY 1863-1864
Largest to Smallest Total Disbursement in Dollars

County	October 16-December 31, 1863 Total	January 1-October 15, 1864 Total	Total FY 1863-1864
Chatham	3,589.76	115,619.25	119,209.01
Cherokee	14,748.25	101,310.00	116,058.25
Gwinnett	3,600.00	105,649.76	109,249.75
Carroll	4,200.00	88,373.75	92,573.75
Forsyth	9,992.00	79,153.25	89,145.25
Hall	12,349.75	73,754.00	86,103.75
Bibb	15,221.00	70,286.25	85,507.25
Muscogee	6,657.75	73,865.00	80,522.75
Meriwether	11,055.50	62,523.50	73,579.00
Coweta	10,928.50	61,907.50	72,836.00
Walton	0	66,738.00	66,738.00
DeKalb	8,961.00	54,092.00	63,053.00
Fulton	18,362.00	43,924.00	62,286.00
Newton	8,975.00	52,402.14	61,377.14
Sumter	11,984.00	48,385.50	60,369.50
Campbell	0	59,677.00	59,677.00
Union	11,959.00	47,449.50	59,408.50
Franklin	7,279.00	49,894.25	57,173.25
Thomas	7,962.50	45,792.00	53,754.50
Towns	4,086.35	48,438.15	52,524.50
Gordon	8,561.25	40,382.50	48,943.75
Wilkinson	7,131.75	41,468.50	48,600.25
Hart	6,986.50	41,501.25	48,487.75
Decatur	4,987.50	43,285.00	48,272.50
Lumpkin	4,115.75	44,059.00	48,174.75
Elbert	5,915.25	42,065.00	47,980.25
Richmond	10,680.50	37,090.00	47,770.50
Dawson	9,389.50	37,686.75	47,076.25
Clarke	1,250.00	45,460.75	46,710.75
Laurens	1,388.00	45,293.50	46,681.50
Pike	1,982.00	44,254.25	46,236.25
Taylor	5,364.25	40,627.50	45,991.75
Clinch	0	45,754.50	45,754.50
Dooly	0	44,658.50	44,658.50

Spalding	169.00	43,929.50	44,098.50
Bartow	17,965.75	26,085.25	44,051.00
Cobb	16,248.24	26,361.51	42,609.75
Heard	0	42,052.75	42,052.75
Jackson	6,223.00	35,815.00	42,038.00
Fannin	12,655.50	28,240.50	40,896.00
Houston	5,483.25	35,208.50	40,691.75
Fayette	9,351.50	30,570.50	39,922.00
Upson	8,952.50	30,926.25	39,878.75
Marion	0	39,598.75	39,598.75
Pulaski	4,695.50	34,856.25	39,551.75
Randolph	4,273.25	35,100.75	39,374.00
Habersham	0	38,069.75	38,069.75
Gilmer	10,561.50	27,381.00	37,942.50
Appling	3,410.25	33,666.25	37,076.50
Harris	5,775.75	30,575.00	36,350.75
Washington	7,687.25	28,308.75	35,996.00
Paulding	8,150.50	25,831.25	33,981.75
Burke	5,033.75	28,556.75	33,590.50
Emanuel	3,155.75	30,331.75	33,487.50
Floyd	12,578.75	20,616.00	33,194.75
White	5,391.75	27,160.00	32,551.75
Clayton	4,364.50	27,741.75	32,106.25
Warren	170.00	31,027.00	31,197.00
Berrien	5,477.00	25,265.50	30,742.50
Walker	10,409.25	20,000.00	30,409.25
Jefferson	4,557.25	25,790.00	30,347.25
Whitfield	8,591.00	21,644.50	30,235.50
Troup	4,738.25	25,200.00	29,938.25
Mitchell	5,599.75	24,300.75	29,900.50
Madison	4,128.25	25,556.00	29,684.25
Tattnall	4,414.25	24,262.50	28,676.75
Stewart	5,434.75	22,969.50	28,404.25
Rabun	6,257.00	20,619.00	26,876.00
Screven	5,378.25	21,284.25	26,662.50
Wayne	4,326.50	22,276.25	26,602.75
Crawford	3,522.50	22,632.00	26,154.50
Pickens	10,156.75	15,941.00	26,097.75
Coffee	4,947.05	21,113.25	26,060.30
Greene	3,089.25	22,933.50	26,022.75
Henry	6,345.00	19,272.75	25,617.75
Lowndes	3,169.25	22,352.00	25,521.25
Pierce	0	24,664.75	24,664.75
Worth	55.00	24,480.75	24,535.75

Polk	6,819.75	17,647.50	24,467.25
Monroe	1,200.00	23,431.50	24,361.50
Hancock	2,279.75	22,068.25	24,348.00
Banks	5,093.25	19,145.50	24,238.75
Early	3,745.50	20,078.00	23,823.50
Ware	5,022.50	18,453.00	23,475.50
Clay	3,662.25	19,480.50	23,142.75
Twiggs	194.00	22,530.50	22,724.50
Terrell	2,617.25	18,777.25	21,394.50
Haralson	2,674.50	18,524.00	21,198.50
Chattooga	5,546.25	15,374.00	20,920.25
Jasper	2,696.25	18,038.25	20,734.50
Macon	2,983.00	17,617.50	20,600.50
Baldwin	1,200.00	19,291.25	20,491.25
Chattahoochee	3,157.50	17,258.00	20,415.50
Brooks	3,587.75	15,798.00	19,385.75
Jones	2,318.00	16,851.00	19,169.00
Talbot	1,923.25	17,220.50	19,143.75
Wilcox	571.00	18,462.25	19,033.25
Columbia	1,752.00	17,124.25	18,876.25
Milton	5,171.00	13,521.75	18,692.75
Schley	2,132.25	16,395.00	18,527.25
Charlton	450.00	17,122.50	17,572.50
Miller	2,626.75	14,938.50	17,565.25
Webster	4,621.00	12,795.75	17,416.75
Liberty	4,570.50	12,575.50	17,146.00
Johnson	1,884.00	14,755.00	16,639.00
Murray	8,184.50	8,424.00	16,608.50
Butts	3,462.25	13,081.50	16,543.75
Bulloch	1,293.50	15,142.00	16,435.50
Montgomery	0	15,708.00	15,708.00
Oglethorpe	1,207.50	14,441.00	15,648.50
Lee	1,904.50	13,575.75	15,480.25
Bryan	2,568.25	12,787.75	15,356.00
Effingham	2,530.00	12,342.75	14,872.75
Quitman	2,347.75	12,065.25	14,413.00
Calhoun	3,823.00	10,527.75	14,350.75
Dade	7,281.00	7,000.00	14,281.00
Glas(s)cock	1,038.50	12,795.75	13,834.25
Putnam	2,615.25	11,109.75	13,725.00
Colquitt	2,488.50	11,088.75	13,577.25
Wilkes	0	12,626.50	12,626.50
Echols	424.00	12,003.50	12,427.50
Irwin	0	11,393.00	11,393.00

McIntosh	1,562.50	9,343.50	10,906.00
Morgan	2,107.25	8,512.00	10,619.25
Taliaferro	558.00	2,049.00	8,607.00
Dougherty	642.00	7,495.00	8,137.00
Baker	600.00	7,188.00	7,788.00
Lincoln	588.00	6,062.00	6,650.00
Camden	600.00	5,783.50	6,383.50
Catoosa	5,431.25	0	5,431.25
Telfair	400.00	4,398.85	4,798.85
Glynn	61.00	3,289.50	3,350.50
Total			**$ 4,521,405.05**

Source: *Annual Report of the Comptroller General of the State of Georgia, Made to the Governor, October 17, 1864* (Milledgeville, GA: Boughton, Nisbet, Barnes & Moore, State Printers, 1864), Part I, "Indigent Soldiers' Families – For Support of in 1863" and "Indigent Soldiers' Families – For Support of in 1864," 105-134.

Table 3.9
Indigent Soldiers' Family Fund Disbursements by County, FY 1864-1865
Alphabetically Listed by County

FY 1864-1865 included disbursements for both the remainder of the $6 million 1864 appropriation and the $8 million 1865 appropriation.

County	Total Disbursement of 1864 Appropriation October 16, 1864- April 14, 1865	Total Disbursement of 1865 Appropriation January 1, 1865- April 14, 1865	Total Disbursement of Both Appropriations October 16, 1864- April 14, 1865
Appling	9,904.00	10,000.00	19,904.00
Baker	6,636.00	3,500.00	10,136.00
Baldwin	15,778.00	8,000.00	23,778.00
Banks	22,047.50	10,000.00	32,047.50
Bartow	75,453.75	25,000.00	100,453.75
Berrien	24,297.50	12,000.00	36,297.50
Bibb	22,528.75	30,000.00	52,528.75
Brooks	5,266.00	5,000.00	10,266.00
Bryan	1,212.00		1,212.00
Bulloch			
Burke	8,500.00		8,500.00
Butts	12,737.50		12,737.50
Calhoun	3,141.25	5,000.00	8,141.25
Camden	5,456.50		5,456.50
Campbell	16,762.50	17,000.00	33,762.50
Carroll	21,869.50	24,000.00	45,869.50
Catoosa	25,000.00		25,000.00
Charlton	5,314.50		5,314.50
Chatham	30,000.00		30,000.00
Chattahoochee	5,886.00		5,886.00
Chattooga	38,892.00	12,000.00	50,892.00
Cherokee	25,490.00	32,000.00	57,490.00
Clarke	13,052.50	15,000.00	28,052.50
Clay	6,493.50	6,000.00	12,493.50
Clayton	6,871.25	20,000.00	26,871.25
Clinch	13,125.00		13,125.00
Cobb	73,574.50	25,000.00	98,574.50
Coffee	6,781.75		6,781.75

Colquitt	3,696.25	3,500.00	7,196.25
Columbia	5,302.75	5,000.00	10,302.75
Coweta	20,440.50	20,000.00	40,440.50
Crawford	7,544.00	7,000.00	14,544.00
Dade			
Dawson	10,126.25	10,000.00	20,126.25
Decatur	14,428.50		14,428.50
DeKalb	37,855.00	20,000.00	57,855.00
Dooly	10,727.50	10,000.00	20,727.50
Dougherty	6,134.00		6,134.00
Early	5,902.00		5,902.00
Echols	10,330.50	11,000.00	21,330.50
Effingham	12,006.25		12,006.25
Elbert	13,523.00	14,000.00	27,523.00
Emanuel	10,473.25	10,000.00	20,473.25
Fannin	22,538.00		22,538.00
Fayette	58,206.50	22,000.00	80,206.50
Floyd	70,411.00		70,411.00
Forsyth	23,581.75		23,581.75
Franklin	17,236.75		17,236.75
Fulton	43,032.00		43,032.00
Gilmer	76,500.00		76,500.00
Glascock	4,265.25	4,000.00	8,265.25
Glynn	4,781.00		4,781.00
Gordon	23,348.00		23,348.00
Greene	7,644.00	8,000.00	15,644.00
Gwinnett	5,574.00	10,000.00	15,574.00
Hall	24,516.00		24,516.00
Habersham	30,792.50	15,000.00	45,792.50
Hancock	7,049.75		7,049.75
Haralson	17,154.00	8,000.00	25,154.00
Harris	9,829.00	22,000.00	31,829.00
Hart	13,833.75	13,500.00	27,333.75
Heard	11,409.50	12,000.00	23,409.50
Henry	30,694.25	12,000.00	40,046.25
Houston	9,996.00	12,000.00	21,996.00
Irwin	9,000.00		9,000.00
Jackson	30,661.00	15,000.00	45,661.00
Jasper	9,050.75	7,000.00	16,050.75
Jefferson	7,978.00	17,000.00	24,978.00
Johnson		4,500.00	4,500.00
Jones	5,417.00	5,000.00	10,417.00
Laurens	13,631.25	14,000.00	27,631.25
Lee	4,349.25		4,349.25
Liberty	11,927.50		11,927.50

Lincoln	5,784.00	3,000.00	8,784.00
Lowndes	7,720.00		7,720.00
Lumpkin	15,225.00	14,000.00	29,225.00
Macon	5,872.50		5,872.50
Madison	23,552.00	10,000.00	33,552.00
Marion	10,795.75	10,000.00	20,795.75
Meriwether	15,631.00	15,000.00	30,631.00
McIntosh	2,500.00		2,500.00
Miller	4,451.50		4,451.50
Milton	37,801.00	12,000.00	49,801.00
Mitchell	8,100.25	8,000.00	16,100.25
Monroe	7,720.50	7,000.00	14,720.50
Montgomery	4,936.00	10,000.00	14,936.00
Morgan	7,840.00		7,840.00
Murray	54,133.00		54,133.00
Muscogee	48,513.00	15,825.00	64,338.00
Newton	17,785.86		17,785.86
Oglethorpe	4,447.00	4,500.00	8,947.00
Paulding	66,193.75		66,193.75
Pickens	46,121.00		46,121.00
Pierce	7,492.25		7,492.25
Pike	13,296.00	26,000.00	39,296.00
Polk	17,183.50	8,000.00	25,183.50
Pulaski	9,212.75	11,000.00	20,212.75
Putnam	3,353.25		3,353.25
Quitman	4,024.75	4,000.00	8,024.75
Rabun	5,780.00		5,780.00
Randolph	11,350.25	23,340.25	34,690.50
Richmond			
Schley		5,000.00	5,000.00
Screven	15,482.00	7,000.00	22,482.00
Spalding	10,284.00	10,000.00	20,284.00
Stewart	28,000.00	10,000.00	38,000.00
Sumter	14,500.00		14,500.00
Talbot	14,524.75		14,524.75
Taliaferro	2,683.00		2,683.00
Tattnall			
Taylor	12,450.50	27,000.00	39,450.50
Telfair	12,328.00		12,328.00
Terrell	6,029.75	6,000.00	12,029.75
Thomas	3,168.00		3,168.00
Towns	5,470.75	15,000.00	20,470.75
Troup	7,808.00	8,000.00	15,808.00
Twiggs	5,404.00		5,404.00
Union	15,836.50		15,836.50

Upson	9,220.75	10,000.00	19,220.75
Walker			
Walton	17,961.25	19,000.00	36,961.25
Ware	5,317.00	5,000.00	10,317.00
Warren	8,845.50		8,845.50
Washington	14,903.00	12,000.00	26,903.00
Wayne	7,694.75		7,694.75
Webster	4,265.25		4,265.25
White	23,854.00		23,854.00
Whitfield	64,275.50		64,275.50
Wilcox	5,199.00	5,000.00	10,199.00
Wilkes	9,020.50		9,020.50
Wilkinson	14,321.50	15,000.00	29,321.50
Worth	7,886.00	15,500.00	23,386.00
Misc. Disburse.	630.00		630.00
Totals	**2,086,500.36**	**922,165.25**	**3,008,665.61**

*The $30,000.00 disbursement was paid to Thomas Purse on March 15 for "Amount of Relief Fund due Chatham County for 1864, paid under Resolution of General Assembly, for benefit of the Union Society," 60.

**The $630.00 disbursement was paid to J.I. Whitaker, Commissary General, on March 15 for "Salt furnished refugees as per account filed," with no reference to county or city, 61.

Source: *Annual Report of the Comptroller General of the State of Georgia, Made to the Governor, October 16, 1865* (Milledgeville, GA: Boughton, Nisbet, Barnes & Moore, State Printers, 1865), "Indigent Soldiers' Family Fund for 1864" and "Indigent Soldiers' Family Fund for 1865," 54-66.

Table 3.10
Indigent Soldiers' Family Fund Disbursements by County, FY 1864-1865
Largest to Smallest Total Disbursement

FY 1864-1865 included disbursements for both the remainder of the $6 million 1864 appropriation and the $8 million 1865 appropriation.

County	Total Disbursement of 1864 Appropriation October 16, 1864-April 14, 1865	Total Disbursement of 1865 Appropriation January 1, 1865-April 14, 1865	Total Disbursement of Both Appropriations October 16, 1864-April 14, 1865
Bartow	75,453.75	25,000.00	100,453.75
Cobb	73,574.50	25,000.00	98,574.50
Fayette	58,206.50	22,000.00	80,206.50
Gilmer	76,500.00	0	76,500.00
Floyd	70,411.00	0	70,411.00
Paulding	66,193.75	0	66,193.75
Muscogee	48,513.00	15,825.00	64,338.00
Whitfield	64,275.50	0	64,275.50
DeKalb	37,855.00	20,000.00	57,855.00
Cherokee	25,490.00	32,000.00	57,490.00
Murray	54,133.00	0	54,133.00
Bibb	22,528.75	30,000.00	52,528.75
Chattooga	38,892.00	12,000.00	50,892.00
Milton	37,801.00	12,000.00	49,801.00
Pickens	46,121.00	0	46,121.00
Carroll	21,869.50	24,000.00	45,869.50
Habersham	30,792.50	15,000.00	45,792.50
Jackson	30,661.00	15,000.00	45,661.00
Fulton	43,032.00	0	43,032.00
Coweta	20,440.50	20,000.00	40,440.50
Henry	28,046.25	12,000.00	40,046.25
Taylor	12,450.50	27,000.00	39,450.50
Pike	13,296.00	26,000.00	39,296.00
Stewart	28,000.00	10,000.00	38,000.00
Walton	17,961.25	19,000.00	36,961.25
Berrien	24,297.50	12,000.00	36,297.50
Randolph	11,350.25	23,340.25	34,690.50
Campbell	16,762.50	17,000.00	33,762.50
Madison	23,552.00	10,000.00	33,552.00

Banks	22,047.50	10,000.00	32,047.50
Harris	9,829.00	22,000.00	31,829.00
Meriwether	15,631.00	15,000.00	30,631.00
Chatham	30,000.00	0	30,000.00
Wilkinson	14,321.50	15,000.00	29,321.50
Lumpkin	15,225.00	14,000.00	29,225.00
Clarke	13,052.50	15,000.00	28,052.50
Laurens	13,631.25	14,000.00	27,631.25
Elbert	13,523.00	14,000.00	27,523.00
Hart	13,833.75	13,500.00	27,333.75
Washington	14,903.00	12,000.00	26,903.00
Clayton	6,871.25	20,000.00	26,871.25
Polk	17,183.50	8,000.00	25,183.50
Haralson	17,154.00	8,000.00	25,154.00
Catoosa	25,000.00	0	25,000.00
Jefferson	7,978.00	17,000.00	24,978.00
Hall	24,516.00	0	24,516.00
White	23,854.00	0	23,854.00
Baldwin	15,778.00	8,000.00	23,778.00
Forsyth	23,581.75	0	23,581.75
Heard	11,409.50	12,000.00	23,409.50
Worth	7,886.00	15,500.00	23,386.00
Gordon	23,348.00	0	23,348.00
Fannin	22,538.00	0	22,538.00
Screven	15,482.00	7,000.00	22,482.00
Houston	9,996.00	12,000.00	21,996.00
Echols	10,330.50	11,000.00	21,330.50
Marion	10,795.75	10,000.00	20,795.75
Dooly	10,727.50	10,000.00	20,727.50
Emanuel	10,473.25	10,000.00	20,473.25
Towns	5,470.75	15,000.00	20,470.75
Spalding	10,284.00	10,000.00	20,284.00
Pulaski	9,212.75	11,000.00	20,212.75
Dawson	10,126.25	10,000.00	20,126.25
Appling	9,904.00	10,000.00	19,904.00
Upson	9,220.75	10,000.00	19,220.75
Newton	17,785.86	0	17,785.86
Franklin	17,236.75	0	17,236.75
Mitchell	8,100.25	8,000.00	16,100.25
Jasper	9,050.75	7,000.00	16,050.75
Union	15,836.50	0	15,836.50
Troup	7,808.00	8,000.00	15,808.00
Greene	7,644.00	8,000.00	15,644.00
Gwinnett	5,574.00	10,000.00	15,574.00

Montgomery	4,936.00	10,000.00	14,936.00
Monroe	7,720.50	7,000.00	14,720.50
Crawford	7,544.00	7,000.00	14,544.00
Talbot	14,524.75	0	14,524.75
Sumter	14,500.00	0	14,500.00
Decatur	14,428.50	0	14,428.50
Clinch	13,125.00	0	13,125.00
Butts	12,737.50	0	12,737.50
Clay	6,493.50	6,000.00	12,493.50
Telfair	12,328.00	0	12,328.00
Terrell	6,029.75	6,000.00	12,029.75
Effingham	12,006.25	0	12,006.25
Liberty	11,927.50	0	11,927.50
Jones	5,417.00	5,000.00	10,417.00
Ware	5,317.00	5,000.00	10,317.00
Columbia	5,302.75	5,000.00	10,302.75
Brooks	5,266.00	5,000.00	10,266.00
Wilcox	5,199.00	5,000.00	10,199.00
Baker	6,636.00	3,500.00	10,136.00
Wilkes	9,020.50	0	9,020.50
Irwin	9,000.00	0	9,000.00
Oglethorpe	4,447.00	4,500.00	8,947.00
Warren	8,845.50	0	8,845.50
Lincoln	5,784.00	3,000.00	8,784.00
Burke	8,500.00	0	8,500.00
Glas(s)cock	4,265.25	4,000.00	8,265.25
Calhoun	3,141.25	5,000.00	8,141.25
Quitman	4,024.75	4,000.00	8,024.75
Morgan	7,840.00	0	7,840.00
Lowndes	7,720.00	0	7,720.00
Wayne	7,694.75	0	7,694.75
Pierce	7,492.25	0	7,492.25
Colquitt	3,696.25	3,500.00	7,196.25
Hancock	7,049.75	0	7,049.75
Coffee	6,781.75	0	6,781.75
Dougherty	6,134.00	0	6,134.00
Early	5,902.00	0	5,902.00
Chattahoochee	5,886.00	0	5,886.00
Macon	5,872.50	0	5,872.50
Rabun	5,780.00	0	5,780.00
Camden	5,456.50	0	5,456.50
Twiggs	5,404.00	0	5,404.00
Charlton	5,314.50	0	5,314.50
Schley	0	5,000.00	5,000.00

Glynn	4,781.00	0	4,781.00
Johnson	0	4,500.00	4,500.00
Miller	4,451.50	0	4,451.50
Lee	4,349.25	0	4,349.25
Webster	4,265.25	0	4,265.25
Putnam	3,353.25	0	3,353.25
Thomas	3,168.00	0	3,168.00
Taliaferro	2,683.00	0	2,683.00
McIntosh	2,500.00	0	2,500.00
Bryan	1,212.00	0	1,212.00
Miscellaneous Disbursements	630.00		630.00
Dade	0	0	0
Richmond	0	0	0
Tattnall	0	0	0
Walker	0	0	0
Bulloch	0	0	0

Source: *Annual Report of the Comptroller General of the State of Georgia, Made to the Governor, October 16, 1865* (Milledgeville, GA: Boughton, Nisbet, Barnes & Moore, State Printers, 1865), "Indigent Soldiers' Family Fund for 1864" and "Indigent Soldiers' Family Fund for 1865," 54-66.

Table 3.11
Indigent Soldiers' Family Fund, Total Disbursements, FY 1863-1864 and 1864-1865
Largest to Smallest Disbursements, by County

County	FY 1863-64 TOTAL	FY 1864-65 TOTAL	TOTAL FY 1863-1865
Cherokee	116,058.25	57,490.00	173,548.25
Chatham	119,209.01	30,000.00	149,209.01
Muscogee	80,522.75	64,338.00	144,860.75
Bartow	44,051.00	100,453.75	144,504.75
Cobb	42,609.75	98,574.50	141,184.25
Carroll	92,573.75	45,869.50	138,443.25
Bibb	85,507.25	52,528.75	138,036.00
Gwinnett	109,249.75	15,574.00	124,823.75
DeKalb	63,053.00	57,855.00	120,908.00
Fayette	39,922.00	80,206.50	120,128.50
Gilmer	37,942.50	76,500.00	114,442.50
Coweta	72,836.00	40,440.50	113,276.50
Forsyth	89,145.25	23,581.75	112,727.00
Hall	86,103.75	24,516.00	110,619.75
Fulton	62,286.00	43,032.00	105,318.00
Meriwether	73,579.00	30,631.00	104,210.00
Walton	66,738.00	36,961.25	103,699.25
Floyd	33,194.75	70,411.00	103,605.75
Paulding	33,981.75	66,193.75	100,175.50
White	32,551.75	64,275.50	96,827.25
Campbell	59,677.00	33,762.50	93,439.50
Jackson	42,038.00	45,661.00	87,699.00
Pike	46,236.25	39,296.00	85,532.25
Taylor	45,991.75	39,450.50	85,442.25
Habersham	38,069.75	45,792.50	83,862.25
Newton	61,377.14	17,785.86	79,163.00
Lumpkin	48,174.75	29,225.00	77,399.75
Hart	48,487.75	27,333.75	75,821.50
Elbert	47,980.25	27,523.00	75,503.25
Union	59,408.50	15,836.50	75,245.00
Sumter	60,369.50	14,500.00	74,869.50
Clarke	46,710.75	28,052.50	74,763.25
Franklin	57,173.25	17,236.75	74,410.00
Laurens	46,681.50	27,631.25	74,312.75
Randolph	39,374.00	34,690.50	74,064.50
Towns	52,524.50	20,470.75	72,995.25

Gordon	48,943.75	23,348.00	72,291.75
Pickens	26,097.75	46,121.00	72,218.75
Wilkinson	48,600.25	23,386.00	71,986.25
Chattooga	20,920.25	50,892.00	71,812.25
Murray	16,608.50	54,133.00	70,741.50
Washington	41,689.25	26,903.00	68,592.25
Milton	18,692.75	49,801.00	68,493.75
Harris	36,350.75	31,829.00	68,179.75
Dawson	47,076.25	20,126.25	67,202.50
Berrien	30,742.50	36,297.50	67,040.00
Stewart	28,404.25	38,000.00	66,404.25
Henry	25,617.75	40,046.25	65,664.00
Heard	42,052.75	23,409.50	65,462.25
Dooly	44,658.50	20,727.50	65,386.00
Spalding	44,098.50	20,284.00	64,382.50
Fannin	40,896.00	22,538.00	63,434.00
Madison	29,684.25	33,552.00	63,236.25
Decatur	48,272.50	14,428.50	62,701.00
Houston	40,691.75	21,996.00	62,687.75
Marion	39,598.75	20,795.75	60,394.50
Pulaski	39,551.75	20,212.75	59,764.50
Upson	39,878.75	19,220.75	59,099.50
Clayton	32,106.25	26,871.25	58,977.50
Clinch	45,754.50	13,125.00	58,879.50
Appling	37,076.50	19,904.00	56,980.50
Thomas	53,754.50	3,168.00	56,922.50
Banks	24,238.75	32,047.50	56,286.25
Jefferson	30,347.25	24,978.00	55,325.25
Emanuel	33,487.50	20,473.25	53,960.75
Polk	24,467.25	25,183.50	49,650.75
Screven	26,662.50	22,482.00	49,144.50
Richmond	47,770.50	-	47,770.50
Haralson	21,198.50	25,154.00	46,352.50
Mitchell	29,900.50	16,100.25	46,000.75
Troup	29,938.25	15,808.00	45,746.25
Baldwin	20,491.25	23,778.00	44,269.25
Burke	33,590.50	8,500.00	42,090.50
Wilkes	12,626.50	29,321.50	41,948.00
Greene	26,022.75	15,644.00	41,666.75
Webster	17,416.75	23,854.00	41,270.75
Crawford	26,154.50	14,544.00	40,698.50
Whitfield	30,235.50	10,199.00	40,434.50
Warren	31,197.00	8,845.50	40,042.50
Monroe	24,361.50	14,720.50	39,082.00
Jasper	20,734.50	16,050.75	36,785.25
Clay	23,142.75	12,493.50	35,636.25

Ware	23,475.50	10,317.00	33,792.50
Echols	12,427.50	21,330.50	33,758.00
Talbot	19,143.75	14,524.75	33,668.50
Terrell	21,394.50	12,029.75	33,424.25
Lowndes	25,521.25	7,720.00	33,241.25
Coffee	26,060.30	6,781.75	32,842.05
Rabun	26,876.00	5,780.00	32,656.00
Pierce	24,664.75	7,492.25	32,157.00
Hancock	24,348.00	7,049.75	31,397.75
Wayne	26,602.75	4,265.25	30,868.00
Montgomery	15,708.00	14,936.00	30,644.00
Catoosa	5,431.25	25,000.00	30,431.25
Walker	30,409.25	-	30,409.25
Early	23,823.50	5,902.00	29,725.50
Brooks	19,385.75	10,266.00	29,651.75
Jones	19,169.00	10,417.00	29,586.00
Butts	16,543.75	12,737.50	29,281.25
Columbia	18,876.25	10,302.75	29,179.00
Liberty	17,146.00	11,927.50	29,073.50
Tattnall	28,676.75	-	28,676.75
Twiggs	22,724.50	5,404.00	28,128.50
Wilcox	19,033.25	9,020.50	28,053.75
Effingham	14,872.75	12,006.25	26,879.00
Macon	20,600.50	5,872.50	26,473.00
Chattahoochee	20,415.50	5,886.00	26,301.50
Oglethorpe	15,648.50	8,947.00	24,595.50
Worth	24,535.75		24,535.75
Schley	18,527.25	5,000.00	23,527.25
Charlton	17,572.50	5,314.50	22,887.00
Calhoun	14,350.75	8,141.25	22,492.00
Quitman	14,413.00	8,024.75	22,437.75
Glas(s)cock	13,834.25	8,265.25	22,099.50
Miller	17,565.25	4,451.50	22,016.75
Johnson	16,639.00	4,500.00	21,139.00
Colquitt	13,577.25	7,196.25	20,773.50
Irwin	11,393.00	9,000.00	20,393.00
Lee	15,480.25	4,349.25	19,829.50
Morgan	10,619.25	7,840.00	18,459.25
Baker	7,788.00	10,136.00	17,924.00
Telfair	4,798.85	12,328.00	17,126.85
Putnam	13,725.00	3,353.25	17,078.25
Bryan	15,356.00	1,212.00	16,568.00
Bulloch	16,435.50		16,435.50
Lincoln	6,650.00	8,784.00	15,434.00
Dade	14,281.00	-	14,281.00
Dougherty	8,137.00	6,134.00	14,271.00

McIntosh	10,906.00	2,500.00	13,406.00
Camden	6,383.50	5,456.50	11,840.00
Taliaferro	8,607.00	2,683.00	11,290.00
Glynn	3,350.50	4,781.00	8,131.50
Miscellaneous Disbursement		630.00	630.00
Totals	4,520,872.05	3,008,665.61	$7,528,069.16

Sources: *Annual Report of the Comptroller General of the State of Georgia, Made to the Governor, October 17, 1864* (Milledgeville, GA: Boughton, Nisbet, Barnes & Moore, State Printers, 1864), Part I, "Indigent Soldiers' Families – For Support of in 1863" and "Indigent Soldiers' Families – For Support of in 1864," 105-134 and *Annual Report of the Comptroller General of the State of Georgia, Made to the Governor, October 16, 1865* (Milledgeville, GA: Boughton, Nisbet, Barnes & Moore, State Printers, 1865), "Indigent Soldiers' Family Fund for 1864" and "Indigent Soldiers' Family Fund for 1865," 54-66.

Table 3.12
Indigent Soldier's Family Fund, Total Disbursements, FY 1863-1864 and FY 1864-1865
Mountain and Upcountry Georgia Counties & Major Population Centers

Note: An * denotes county with major population center, including: Macon, Bibb Co.; Savannah, Chatham Co.; Columbus, Muscogee Co.; and Augusta, Richmond Co.

County	FY 1863-1864	FY 1864-1865	Total Disbursements
Bibb*	85,507.25	52,528.75	138,036.00
Chatham*	119,209.01	30,000.00	149,209.01
Muscogee*	80,522.75	64,338.00	144,860.75
Richmond*	47,770.50	0	47,770.50
Total	*333,009.51*	*146,866.75*	*479,876.25*
Banks	24,238.75	32,047.50	56,286.25
Bartow	44,051.00	100,453.75	144,504.75
Campbell	59,677.00	33,762.50	93,439.50
Carroll	92,573.75	45,869.50	138,443.25
Catoosa	5,431.25	25,000.00	30,431.25
Chattooga	20,920.25	50,892.00	71,812.25
Cherokee	116,058.25	57,490.00	173,548.25
Clayton	32,106.25	26,871.25	58,977.50
Cobb	42,609.75	98,574.50	141,184.25
Dade	14,281.00	0	14,281.00
Dawson	47,076.25	20,126.25	67,202.50
DeKalb	63,053.00	57,855.00	120,908.00
Fannin	40,896.00	22,538.00	63,434.00
Fayette	39,922.00	80,206.50	120,128.50
Floyd	33,194.75	70,411.00	103,605.75
Forsyth	89,145.25	23,581.75	112,727.00
Franklin	57,173.25	17,236.75	74,410.00
Fulton	62,286.00	43,032.00	105,318.00
Gilmer	37,942.50	76,500.00	114,442.50
Gordon	48,943.75	23,348.00	72,291.75
Gwinnett	109,249.75	15,574.00	124,823.75
Hall	86,103.75	24,516.00	110,619.75
Habersham	38,069.75	45,792.50	83,862.25
Haralson	21,198.50	25,154.00	46,352.50
Hart	48,487.75	27,333.75	75,821.50
Heard	42,052.75	23,409.50	65,462.25
Jackson	42,038.00	45,661.00	87,699.00
Lumpkin	48,174.75	29,225.00	77,399.75
Madison	29,684.25	33,552.00	63,236.25
Milton	18,692.75	49,801.00	68,493.75
Murray	16,608.50	54,133.00	70,741.50
Paulding	33,981.75	66,193.75	100,175.50
Polk	24,467.25	25,183.50	49,650.75
Pickens	26,097.75	46,121.00	72,218.75

Rabun	26,876.00	5,780.00	32,656.00
Towns	52,524.50	20,470.75	72,995.25
Union	59,408.50	15,836.50	75,245.00
Walker	30,409.25	0	30,409.25
Walton	66,738.00	36,961.25	103,699.25
White	32,551.75	23,854.00	56,405.75
Whitfield	30,235.50	64,275.50	94,511.00
Total Excluding Population Centers	$1,855,230.75 41.03 percent of total statewide distribution of $4,520,872.05	$1,584,623.75 52.66 percent of total statewide distribution of $3,008,665.61	$3,439,854.50 45.68 percent of total statewide distribution of $7,529,537.66
Total Including Population Centers	$2,188,240.26 48.40 percent of total statewide distribution of $4,520,872.05	$1,731,490.50 57.50 percent of total statewide distribution of $3,008,665.61	$3,919,730.76 52.05 percent of total statewide distribution of $7,529,537.66

Sources: *Annual Report of the Comptroller General of the State of Georgia, Made to the Governor, October 17, 1864* (Milledgeville, GA: Boughton, Nisbet, Barnes & Moore, State Printers, 1864), Part I, "Indigent Soldiers' Families – For Support of in 1863" and "Indigent Soldiers' Families – For Support of in 1864," 105-134 and *Annual Report of the Comptroller General of the State of Georgia, Made to the Governor, October 16, 1865* (Milledgeville, GA: Boughton, Nisbet, Barnes & Moore, State Printers, 1865), "Indigent Soldiers' Family Fund for 1864" and "Indigent Soldiers' Family Fund for 1865," 54-66.

Chapter IV

How Whites Became Part of the Bureau Envisioned for Freedpeople

"White Men are as good as Negroes"[1]

There are no books dedicated to the life of Thomas Dawes Eliot. His brushes with fame and the famous make him merely worthy of passing references and footnotes in the tales of other people's lives. Born in 1808 in Boston, Eliot graduated from Columbian College and began practicing law in New Bedford, Massachusetts in 1831. After terms in the state House and Senate, he was elected as a Whig to the U.S. House of Representatives in 1854 when a member resigned. Though he did not run for reelection at the end of that term, he did return to the House in 1859, this time as a Republican. He had been involved in the creation of the Republican party, and he continued to serve in the House until 1869. He did not run for reelection and died the following year back in New Bedford. His congressional biography notes that he was the chair of the Committee on the Freedmen's Bureau for the 39th and 40th Congresses, and a member of the Committee on Commerce for the 40th.[2] We find evidence of Eliot's connections to the famous in Alfred Habegger's 2001 biography of Emily Dickinson, whose father shared quarters with Eliot in 1854 when they were both Whig representatives from Massachusetts. Apparently, Emily

[1] Congress, House of Representatives, discussion of House Bill No. 51, Bureau of Freedmen's Affairs, 38th Congress, Second Session, *Congressional Globe*, (20 December 1864), Senator Henry Smith Lane (Republican, Indiana), 985.

[2] *Biographical Directory of the United States Congress* at http://bioguide.congress.gov/scripts/biodisplay.pl?index=E000106 [accessed 10 January 2004]. Eliot also served on the Select Committee on Emancipation in the 38th Congress, discussed below. A Matthew Brady photograph (part of a collection of miniature photos collected by Lincoln's personal secretary John Hay) of Eliot is available from the Library of Congress' American Memory Collection, "Words and Deeds in American History," searchable index, at http://memory.loc.gov/ammem/mcchtml/mccSubjects3.html#top [accessed 10 January 2004].

and her sister were quite taken with the young Eliot and his idealism.[3] Additionally, Eliot's daughter Frances, an illustrator, was the wife of noted American painter and etcher Robert Swain Gifford, who taught at New York's Cooper Union and was friends with Louis Comfort Tiffany.[4] Frances, known as Fannie, along with her husband, were part of the team of illustrators for Teddy Roosevelt's 1885 book *Hunting Trips of a Ranchman*.[5] But these historical tidbits do not detail what is perhaps Eliot's most lasting legacy – his integral role in the creation of the Freedmen's Bureau. For over two years, Eliot worked tirelessly to craft legislation that would establish some type of agency to assist the slaves freed by the Emancipation Proclamation and the Civil War. After all his work, Eliot was blindsided by a proposal from a member of his own party which would drastically change the nature of the agency he had designed to aid the freedpeople.

On March 3, 1865 the United States Congress finally passed the bill which created the Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands. The bill was a compromise and was significantly different from the original legislation Eliot introduced on January 19, 1863. The original bill described an institution designed to assist the slaves freed by the Emancipation Proclamation. It would provide a structure to allow freedmen to rent abandoned and confiscated Confederate land. It was to be housed in the War Department and its sponsors claimed it could actually earn the government a profit. But, after two years of partisan debate, Congress changed the new agency's mandate. A primary point of contention from the earliest days of debate was the proposed organization's institutional structure. Members of the House generally favored

---

[3] Alfred Habegger, *My Wars are Laid Away in Books: The Life of Emily Dickinson* (New York: Random House, 2001; New York: Modern Library paperback edition, 2002), 298; 303.
[4] Biographical information, as well as some of Gifford's works, is available at http://www.askart.com/Biography.asp [accessed 1 February 2004].
[5] Theodore Roosevelt, *Hunting Trips of a Ranchman: Sketches of Sport on the Northern Cattle Plains*. Illustrated by A.B. Frost, R. Swain Gifford, J.C. Beard, Fannie E. Gifford, Henry Sandham. (New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1885; Bartleby.com, 1998). The online edition offers examples of Fannie's illustrations and is available through Bartleby's at http://www.bartleby.com/52/i15.html [accessed 1 February 2004].

War Department control, while much of the Senate favored placing the agency within the Treasury Department because of its revenue potential. Some members of both houses supported control by the Department of the Interior, or perhaps even a cabinet-level position. But alongside the debate over institutional control was an ongoing argument about the inclusion of "refugees," or poor whites, in the agency's jurisdiction. For most of the two years of debate, support for inclusion of poor whites was expressed most often by those who wanted no agency at all. They felt that the expansion of the proposed agency to include white refugees would ensure failure. But in the last weeks before passage, an organization which would aid freedpeople as well as white refugees gained serious support. On February 9, 1865 a completely new bill was proposed. It placed poor whites alongside freedmen as beneficiaries of the new agency's programs. It was this bill which finally satisfied a majority of both houses and became law.

This chain of events parallels the historical legacy of the Freedmen's Bureau. Historians have generally focused upon the Bureau's provisions to assist freed slaves, while the Bureau's aid to poor whites has been treated as peripheral to the "true mission." Aid to poor whites, if considered at all, was merely secondary, a compromise made at the last moment to ensure the bill's passage. But the addition of refugees to the Freedmen's Bureau mandate was more than peripheral. The legislation which created the Bureau was consciously and deliberately changed to encompass whites. Not only was the name of the Bureau changed, but refugees came before freedmen in the new title, reflecting the importance of aid to whites. If this change had not been made, there is a good chance the Freedmen's Bureau might never have been established. The evolution of the congressional debate and the Bureau's mission as described in the final versions

of the bill combine to force a reconsideration of the role of whites in the agency which Eliot originally envisioned for freedmen.[6]

Congressional concerns about the welfare of former slaves prompted the founding of the Freedmen's Bureau. On January 1, 1863, the Emancipation Proclamation freed all slaves in areas under Confederate control. On March 16 of that year, the war department established the American Freedmen's Inquiry Commission. Its directive was to "investigate the condition of the colored population emancipated by acts of Congress and the president's proclamation of January 1, 1863, and to report what measures will best contribute to their protection and improvement, so that they may defend and support themselves."[7] The three commissioners (Dr. Samuel Gridley Howe, Colonel James McKaye, and Robert Dale Owen), whose appointments were strongly influenced by Radical Republican Charles Sumner, all had humanitarian and abolitionist credentials. For over a year the commissioners traveled throughout the South in areas where slaves had been freed by Union forces, and even into Canada where some slaves had escaped and settled, and conducted extensive interviews. They presented their findings to Secretary of War Edwin M. Stanton in two reports, a preliminary version in June 1863 and a final version in May

[6] The debate over the Freedmen's Bureau legislation is most succinctly described in three articles. The first, Herman Belz's "The Freedmen's Bureau Act of 1865 and the Principle of No Discrimination According to Color," *Civil War History* XXI (September 1975): 197-215, examines the influence of the American Freedmen's Inquiry Commission as well as the American Union commission on the inclusion of whites in the new Bureau, specifically the principle of colorblind legislation. In Belz's opinion, "given the dominance of the idea of equality before the law in mid-nineteenth century America, the logic of the situation made the application and acceptance of the principle of no discrimination according to color irresistible," 217. He also notes that Eliot himself conceded that the colorblind principle was crucial to the legislation's passage. See *Congressional Globe*, 40th Congress, Second Session, (11 March 1868), 1815, quoted in Belz, 217, fn 83. Eric Schnapper, "Affirmative Action and the Legislative History of the Fourteenth Amendment," *Virginia Law Review*, Volume 71, Number 5 (June 1985): 753-798, addresses the same topic from a different angle and claimed that "historians of this period have not regarded the inclusion of white refugees as a significant impetus in the adoption of the [Freedmen's Bureau] Act," 760. Ten years later in "Racial Classifications and Reconstruction Legislation," *Journal of Southern History*, Volume 61, NO. 2 (May 1995): 271-304, Paul Moreno pointed out one weakness of Schnapper's argument, however. In a footnote on page 278, he notes that Schnapper relied upon Paul Skeel's Pierce's 1904 history of the Bureau. These examples illustrate the simple fact that the ongoing debate over the importance of the role of including whites in the Bureau's mandate cross into both legal and historical debates, and have generally been contested.

[7] *Official Record,* Series III, Volume III, 73-74, quoted in Sproat, "Blueprint for Radical Reconstruction," 34.

1864. The seeds that eventually bore fruit in the establishment of the Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands are in those reports.[8]

Stanton's original directive to the commission was fairly straightforward. The Union army found itself faced with a growing problem as former slaves escaped to Union lines. These black refugees needed protection and the ability to become self-sufficient. Additionally, Stanton instructed the commissioners to determine how these freedpeople might best be used to help win the war.[9] But the commissioners exceeded Stanton's requirements. Their first report, presented in June 1863, recommended the establishment of some type of agency to assist the black refugees and detailed how the agency might function. It should be part of the War Department, and its overall goal should be to assist the freedpeople by helping them find employment and ensuring they received fair treatment. The report advocated using abandoned and confiscated lands as settlements where the freedpeople could work for wages and also have the chance to purchase some of the land. The funding of this operation could come from the sale of other confiscated property, though donations from benevolent societies could also be used to defray expenses. The report also recognized the value of education and supported establishing schools

[8] Sproat, "Blueprint for Radical Reconstruction," 25-44. Sproat's discussion of the AFIC is particularly cogent, especially concerning the roles of Sumner and Stanton. In his interpretation, "Land, and its redistribution among freedmen and poor whites, was the key to renovating the Southern economy and society." The full text of the "Preliminary Report of the American Freedmen's Inquiry Commission" is found in *Official Records*, Series III, Volume III, 430-54. The "Final Report of the American Freedmen's Inquiry Commission" is found in Series III, Volume IV, 289-382. Senator Sumner served in every Congress from the 32nd to the 43rd (1851-1874). He served two terms for the Free Soil Party, one for the Opposition Party, eight as a Republican, and his final term as a Liberal Republican. His long career has been the topic of several biographies, though he is often remembered as the target of South Carolina Representative Preston Brooks' attack in 1856, from which it took two-and-a-half years to recover. Congressional biography available at http://bioguide.congress.gov/scripts/biodisplay.pl?index=S001068 [accessed 10 January 2004]. Also see Belz for a thoughtful consideration of the role of the American Union Commission and the role of Lyman Abbott, noted abolitionist, in that organization. The historians who have studied the commission note its colorblind policies as innovative for the time. Though Abbott was a prolific writer himself, there is no current biography of Abbott or in-depth study of the American Union Commission. This is fertile ground for future research. The two most-quoted sources of information for the A.U.C. are American Union Commission, *The American Union Commission: Its Origin, Operation, and Purposes* (New York: 1865) and Ira V. Brown, *Lyman Abbott, Christian Evolutionist: A Study in Religious Liberalism* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1953). The A.F.I.C.'s report's recommendations appear to have had much more influence on the Freedmen's Bureau legislation.

[9] Sproat, 34.

as soon as possible and endorsed training black soldiers. But the preliminary report was not limited to observations concerning freedpeople.

Throughout the text, the commissioners emphasized that any agency should be temporary in nature. This is likely attributable, as John G. Sproat points out in his 1957 article "Blueprint for Radical Reconstruction," to "the temper of the antebellum reform movements" which underscored encouraging any dependent group toward self-sufficiency.[10] The preliminary report contains various references to poor southern whites. In the third and fourth paragraphs of the report, the commissioners noted that in areas where large numbers of destitute people were being issued government rations, whites often outnumbered black recipients. Using New Bern, N.C. and New Orleans as examples, the commissioners emphasized the fact that not only the freedpeople needed assistance. Though primarily using the examples of destitute whites to prove that it was not merely race which rendered the freedpeople in need of assistance, the report proves the difficulty of addressing the problems of the freedpeople without considering poor whites as well. But the commission's recommendations did not end with the "Preliminary Report."[11]

By January 1864, the Senate established a Committee on Emancipation, which later became the Joint Committee on Reconstruction. Not surprisingly, Charles Sumner was its chair. The creation of this committee, combined with the "Final Report of the American Freedmen's Inquiry Commission" issued in May 1864, offer evidence of Radical Republicans' growing interest in shaping the post-war nation. Both prove that, at least in the minds of many Republicans, the era of slavery was over. Emancipation was a fact. Expanding upon its preliminary recommendations, the commission's final report stressed the need to guarantee the

[10] Ibid., 36.
[11] *Official Record*, "Preliminary Report of the American Freedmen's Inquiry Commission," Series III, Volume III, 430-31.

freedmen's political and civil rights, including the right to vote. The commissioners stressed that whatever new agency might be formed must be temporary. The only way to ensure that would be to make freedpeople citizens. Commissioner McKaye was especially outspoken in his insistence upon freedmen's rights and the need for land confiscation.[12] But it was not only the freedpeople who would benefit from land redistribution. In the final report, poor southern whites would also have access to confiscated property. As Sproat convincingly argues, the two official reports and other correspondence that comprise the records of the American Freedmen's Inquiry Commission were a "blueprint for reconstructing the South . . . which left few particulars of the [inherent] problems untouched."[13] In the opinion of the commissioners, poor whites were part of the problems they attempted to solve. This concern would continue in the congressional debates over how to implement the commission's suggestions.

While the commission carried out its assignment, Congress began to address the issue of freedmen. On January 19, 1863 Thomas D. Eliot introduced H.R. 683, "A Bill to Establish a Bureau of Emancipation."[14] The bill was read and, without debate, referred to the Select Committee on Emancipation.[15] This first step toward what would become the Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands was tentative. Only four pages long, the bill itself is quite vague. It would have established a Bureau of Emancipation in the War Department, and the president was to appoint a commissioner of emancipation as its head. The commissioner

---

[12] Sproat. See especially pages 39-41.
[13] Ibid., 41.
[14] The text of HR 683, House of Representatives, 37th Congress, Third Session, is available online from the Library of Congress' site at http://memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin/ampage?collId=llhb&fileName=037/llhb037.db&recNum=3328 [accessed 10 January 2004]. The 37th Congress was composed of 106 Republicans, 42 Democrats, 28 representatives from "other parties," and there were two vacant seats. The 38th Congress was composed of 103 Republicans and 80 Democrats. Information available online from the Office of the Clerk, House of Representatives, at http://clerk.house.gov/histHigh/Congressional_History/partyDiv.php [accessed 5 January 2004].
[15] *Congressional Globe*, 37th Congress, Third Session, (19 January 1863), 381. Available online at http://memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin/ampage?collId=llcg&fileName=062/llcg062.db&recNum=408 [accessed 10 January 2004].

would appoint some undefined number of clerks, and would have authority over anything related to former slaves, including the "colonization of freedmen." There was no specific mention of land, rations, schools, or medical care. The bill remained in committee until its reintroduction, with significant additions, on December 22, 1863. Now renumbered H.R. 51, Eliot again took the bill before the House. It retained its old title, was read, and recommitted to the same committee.[16] Congress adjourned for the holidays the next day, and returned on January 5. It was not until January 13th that Eliot reported the bill back to the House with amendments, but debate was again postponed until January 20th.[17] On February 10, 1864, debate finally began in the House.

The original bill had undergone numerous changes by February. The latest version under discussion still placed the agency in the War Department, retained the title Bureau of Emancipation, and continued to call for a commissioner of emancipation; but there were also provisions for a chief clerk and a number of other clerks. The amended bill also gave the commissioner the power to "create, in such districts of country within the rebel States as are or shall be from time to time brought within the military power of the United States, departments of freedmen." These departments would be under the supervision of assistant commissioners. These assistant commissioners had the power to employ clerks, and most significantly, would also "have power to assign lands to freedmen for cultivation, and to advise and aid them, when needful, to organized and direct their labor, adjust with them their wages." They would also

[16] Ibid., 38th Congress, First Session, (22 December 1863), 88. Available online at http://memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin/ampage?collId=llcg&fileName=062/llcg062.db&recNum=408 [accessed 10 January 2004].
[17] Ibid., 38th Congress, First Session, (13 January 1864), 190. Available online at http://memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin/ampage?collId=llcg&fileName=064/llcg064.db&recNum=261 [accessed 10 January 2004]. For a compelling account of the debates in the House and Senate over the various versions of freedmen's legislation, see W.E.B. Du Bois, *Black Reconstruction in America*, with an Introduction by David Levering Lewis (New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1935; reprint, New York: Simon and Schuster, Touchstone Edition, 1995), especially pages 219-223.

have the power to adjudicate "difficulties arising between freedmen."[18] In the brief amendments, the new agency would have multiple departments, control over land redistribution, and serve as the "front line" of judicial appeal for the freedpeople. Debate on the floor began at last and, as it continued, the fate of poor southern whites gained more attention.

Eliot passionately, and often dramatically, defended the amended bill, praising the Emancipation Proclamation as the "great act" of Abraham Lincoln's life. He presented the moral underpinnings of his argument when he stated that "Mr. Lincoln's proclamation cannot effect the good it contemplated unless, first, it be vindicated and made effective by military success, and, secondly, by appropriate legislation."[19] He also noted that the Select Committee on Emancipation relied heavily upon the "Preliminary Report of the American Freedmen's Inquiry Commission" in order to create the amended bill, and Eliot, like the commission, supported the use of confiscated and abandoned land. He argued that land was crucial to the success of the proposed agency, both to provide farms for the freedpeople and funds for the operation of the organization. The language Eliot used to extol the valiant efforts of black soldiers, the willingness of the freedpeople to work, as well as their basic humanity was also reminiscent of the humanitarian language of the A.F.I.C.'s preliminary report.[20]

But Eliot faced stern opposition, based upon issues as diverse as land confiscation and redistribution, funding sources, fears of miscegenation, anticipation of a large patronage system within the proposed bureau, claims that the bureau would merely become the new owners and overseers of the freedpeople, the authority of Congress to act in such matters, and the

[18] The text of HR 51, House of Representatives, 38th Congress, 1st Session, is available online from the Library of Congress' site at http://memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin/ampage?collId=llhb&fileName=037/llhb037.db&recNum=3328 [accessed 10 January 2004].
[19] *Congressional Globe*, 38th Congress, First Session, (10 February 1864), 567. Eliot's flair for drama is found throughout his argument in such statements as "the law shall protect the freedom with the sword declared," 568.
[20] Eliot also referenced various observations by those involved in northern-based freedmen's aid societies, military commanders who worked with freedmen in settlements, and members of the Western Sanitary Commission to support his argument.

constitutionality of the Emancipation Proclamation. Racism was an underlying theme in many of the primarily partisan debates. By examining the arguments on both sides, especially those which specifically addressed the issues of race and aid distribution, we can begin to understand the more revolutionary aspects of the proposed bureau, and how poor southern whites eventually became beneficiaries of U.S. federal aid.

Samuel Sullivan Cox, Democrat from Ohio, was one of the first to offer opposition in the House. He was not impressed with Eliot's emotional appeals. He countered that no matter how "humane" Eliot's motives, those were not the motives "that should promote legislation altogether." Cox felt Eliot's proposal was so "revolutionary" that it could change the entire government system and lead to incredible abuse and corruption. For Cox, philanthropy and government did not mix. His primary opposition to the bill lay in Eliot's use of war powers as the basis for presidential and congressional authority to enact legislation to protect the freedmen. In Cox's interpretation, war powers were only to be used "against foreign nations" and any invocation of those powers would recognize the rebellious states as a separate nation. If Eliot, or anyone else, cited war powers as the basis of executive, legislative, or judicial authority, he was "a theoretical secessionist." The Democrats would never agree to this interpretation.[21]

Cox had further reservations. The "negro" was inferior and no government plan could save him from an inevitable fate, just as no system of agencies had been able to save the American Indians. He also believed that more sinister forces were at work among the abolitionists who supported the legislation. He feared their goal was "amalgamation" of the races. Quoting at length from abolitionist newspapers and circulars, he charged that some

[21] Ibid., 708-709. Kenneth M. Stampp described Cox as one of the leaders, "so far as it had any," of a "small, disorganized, demoralized Democratic minority." Stampp, *The Era of Reconstruction, 1865-1877* (New York: Vintage Books, reprint edition, 1965), 83. Cox also voiced concern over the state's rights aspect of the proposed legislation, noting that it would undermine the ability of the states to determine their own policies, 710-712.

reformers sought to bring about racial equality through "race mixing." He was further convinced of an unholy conspiracy by the actions of the Abolition party who claimed black citizenship as a goal, because the Senate was "discussing African equality in street cars," and because black people were such a focus of current legislation. Their goal, his great fear, was social equality which could only culminate in miscegenation. This was also what he feared to be the goal of the proposed bureau.[22]

Cornelius Cole, Union Republican of California, supported Eliot's bill and called into question Cox's fear that miscegenation would be the certain result of establishing the bureau. Citing the census, Cole pointed out that the number of "mulattos" in Virginia outnumbered those in all the free states combined. The implication was clear. If Cox feared miscegenation, he should oppose slavery, the demonstrated source of the "mixed race." Cole felt the miscegenation argument was unfounded, and a little silly, and proposed instead to focus on what he felt to be the heart of the matter. Legislation had made black men soldiers in the Union army and could, through increased manpower, shorten the war. This should be supported by every congressman, no matter their party affiliation.[23]

But Cole's argument did not lack racist assumptions. Echoing Eliot's paternalist attitudes, he referred to the freedpeople as "childlike people," who, after fighting for the Union, should not simply be handed off to private charities. Through their participation in war they would earn the right to protection. As evidence, he cited the testimony of Union officers who praised the performance of black troops. He also noted that "the freedmen of the South" were

---

[22] Ibid., 710-712. Eliot's reliance on the preliminary report offered by the American Freedmen's Inquiry Commission would seem to confirm Cox's fears that abolitionist goals were the foundation of the proposed bureau legislation. For a concise account of various American scientific opinions concerning race and miscegenation, see John S. Haller, Jr., *Outcasts from Evolution: Scientific Attitudes of Racial Inferiority*, 1859-1900 (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, reprint edition, 1995).

[23] *Congressional Globe*, 38th Congress, First Session, 740-741.

better suited, physically, to fight in a southern environment than northern white soldiers and that they would become "an army of liberators in every sense" when sent south into battle, because the slaves would trust them. Black troops were better able to subsist in the countryside and "desertion rarely occur[ed] among the colored troops." As more slaves joined the ranks of the Union army, there would, in effect, be more potential soldiers and laborers taken from the South. In short, Cole argued that the passage of the bill would encourage black enlistment.[24]

Martin Kalbfleisch, Democrat representative from New York, also posed a racial argument against the proposed agency, but with a different spin. He simply stated that blacks were inferior to whites and that any attempt to place the two on equal footing would be impossible. Blacks could never live up to the requirements of citizenship and to provide them with access to land which had been taken from white Americans without due process was a ridiculous proposition. Intertwining racial and state's rights theories, he presented the following scenario. If the owners who had abandoned their lands were loyal to the Union, and left for reasons beyond their control, the federal government had no right to place freedmen upon those lands. And if the proposed legislation passed, it would merely substitute the federal government for the former slave owners. In effect, government officials would become the new overseers of the freedmen. The only substantial change would be that the government would have no vested interest in the welfare of the freedpeople, whereas the slave owners had been motivated by self-interest to insure the health and well being of their slaves.[25]

Though he restated the arguments of other members of the House, Democrat James Brooks of New York was the first to question the constitutional basis of federal aid programs to anyone, regardless of race. Harking back to Cox's argument, Brooks stated that superior and

[24] Ibid., 741-742. In the congressional debates researched for this project, Cole's is the first chronological reference made to a "Freedmen's Bureau."
[25] Ibid., 760-761.

inferior races could not "live in equality," as evidenced by the disappearance of certain American Indian groups. Without slavery, the freedpeople would be doomed to "disease, desolation[,] and death." His concern, however, was not for the freedmen, but for the "liberty of the white man." By arming black troops, the Union had left the Confederacy with no option but to do the same, and, by this action, brought the true end to slavery since the slaves could not be "unarmed" after the conflict. Using black troops had changed the nature of the conflict and made it a "negro abolition war" which the federal government should bring to an end as soon as possible. He urged the Congress to reject the proposed legislation because it was essentially "socialistic, Fourieristic, Owenistic, [and] erotic." He felt that the whole system was nothing more than a way to make money and, as others had pointed out, would do nothing but exchange southern slave masters for northern ones. If Congress insisted upon a bureau, he endorsed a self-supporting one which would not rely upon the treasury. Foreshadowing the direction of the revisions of Eliot's proposed bill, he stated that any kind of federal financial support for such an institution was unconstitutional because the government had "no more right to feed and support negroes than . . . to feed and support white men." It is doubtful that Brooks ever suspected that, eventually, the legislation which passed the House would do just that.[26]

Republican William Darrah Kelley of Pennsylvania also addressed the way the proposed new legislation would affect whites, but he supported the new bill. In Kelley's interpretation of the bill, whites as well as blacks could rent confiscated property from the government. He explained in detail how the large poor white population of the South, which had traditionally been excluded from land ownership because of the pervasive plantation system, would now have the opportunity to establish their own farms. Though this interpretation seems at odds with

[26] Ibid., 761-763. Brooks served in eight Congresses in his career. He had been a Whig before the war, and would later, in 1873, be censured by the House for attempted bribery in the Crédit Mobilier scandal.

Eliot's earlier explanation of how the bureau would function, no one challenged Kelley during his speech. This may have been an oversight, but it offered yet another twist in the varied interpretations of the legislation in the early days of debate.[27]

The question of providing assistance to poor whites also surfaced in the objections of Anthony Lausett Knapp, Democrat from Illinois. His first concern was the sheer size of the proposed bureau, and he stated that its size would simply become too overwhelming for a single commissioner to control. Like others, he objected to the idea that the government should be in the philanthropy business. He was dissatisfied with Eliot's rather emotional explanation that, right or wrong, the Emancipation Proclamation had freed the slaves and something had to be done to assist them. He posed a new question – how long would the bureau last? There was no provision for ending the bureau in the proposed legislation, and he feared that the bureau would only cease to function when the "negro [was] able to take care of himself." He did not trust any institution, especially one based upon the kind of massive patronage system he envisioned, to terminate itself. He was also one of the first dissenters to articulate his opinion of the racial restrictions of the proposed agency. He did not believe the federal government had the right to establish such an agency, but if it did so he claimed the right to decided who would be included. His version would include whites. He questioned the logic of a plan that would proffer so "magnificent a provision" exclusively to freedpeople. White men had "periled life and limb" in the war and were also entitled to this charity if the government chose to grant it. Knapp may have been the first to suggest the inclusion of whites as a prerequisite to his support of the bill, but it became an integral part of the debate.[28]

---

[27] Ibid., 773-775. Kelley served in the House from 1861 until 1890.
[28] Congress, House of Representatives, discussion of House Resolution No. 41, Bureau of Freedmen's Affairs, 38th Congress, First Session, *Congressional Globe* 138, Appendix (1 March 1864), 54. Knapp's tenure in the House was short. He served from December 1861 to March 1865.

For two-and-a-half weeks, the House continued to debate H.R. 51. On March 1, 1864, the bill passed the House by a vote of 69 to 67. Immediately after passage, Eliot moved to amend the title of the bill, exchanging "emancipation" for "freedmen's affairs." The House was a step closer to the creation of the Freedmen's Bureau; but the bill still had to pass in the Senate, a process which proved to be neither quick nor easy.[29]

The House bill was reported to the Select Committee on Slavery and Freedmen, and on May 25, 1864, Senator Charles Sumner reported the bill to the Senate, with "an amendment," a phrase which hardly describes the changes made to the previous version of the bill.[30] The title was changed to the "Bureau of Freedmen." Rather than functioning as part of the War Department, Sumner's version placed the organization in the Treasury Department. A commissioner, selected by the president with the advice and consent of the Senate, would supervise the agency, as before. Additionally, there would be a chief clerk and disbursing officer and a number of other clerks as needed, appointed by the Secretary of the Treasury. As in the previous version, the new agency would create departments of freedmen in areas which came under Union control, and these would be staffed by assistant commissioners, superintendents, and clerks. But again, their authority would come from the secretary of the treasury, who would approve all appointments. Military commanders could be appointed as assistant commissioners.

Two new sections of the bill addressed what might be described as the moral obligations of the new agency. Section four identified the further duties of the commissioner, who

> shall have the general superintendence of all freedmen throughout the several departments, and it shall be his duty especially to watch over the execution of all laws, proclamations, and military orders of emancipation, or in any way concerning freedmen, and generally, by careful regulations, in the spirit of the Constitution, to protect these persons in the enjoyment of their rights, to promote their welfare, and to secure to them and their posterity the blessings of liberty.

[29]Details of the vote are found in *Congressional Globe*, 38th Congress, First Session, (1 March 1864), 895.
[30]Ibid., (25 May 1864), 2457.

This new section brought a broader responsibility to the commissioner than previously defined, and also belies the influence of Radicals like Sumner and the work of the American Freedmen's Inquiry Commission. Section six has a similar tone, directing all employees of the new agency to serve as "advisory guardians" to the freedpeople, to assist them with their labor contracts or rental agreements, and with any disagreements which may arise "whether among themselves or between themselves and other persons." In any civil or military matters they are to "appear as next friends of the freedmen, so far as to see that the case is fairly stated and heard. And in all such proceedings there shall be no disability or exclusion on account of color." But these were not the end of the "amendments."[31]

Sections five and seven addressed the land question. Section five addressed the parameters of the proposed land confiscation system. It gave the assistant commissioners the authority to "take possession of" any land "liable to sale or confiscation," including "the houses thereon" as well as personal property, as long as it had not already been appropriated by the government. The assistant commissioners then had the authority to rent or lease the property or, "in case no proper lessees can be found," they could "cause the same to be cultivated or occupied by the freedmen, on such terms, in either case, and under such regulations, as the Commissioner may determine." Finally, there was an important requirement, that "no freedmen shall be held to service" without a written contract, approved by an official, which could last no longer than twelve months. Section seven addressed the land confiscation system which already existed. It provided "that leases heretofore made by the supervising special agents of the Treasury Department, under the authority of the General Order three hundred and thirty-one, of the

[31] Amended version of H.R. 51, as reported to the Senate on May 25, 1864 by Senator Charles Sumner. Bills and Resolutions, House of Representatives, 38th Congress, 1st Session. Full text available at http://memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin/ampage?collId=llhb&fileName=038/llhb038.db&recNum=188 [accessed 15 January 2004].

Secretary of War . . . shall have the same effect as if made by assistant commissioners under this act." The general order had been issued on October 9, 1863.[32] Basically, any lands which were already being administered by Treasury Department agents would be turned over to the new bureau as soon as it began operations. The agency was designed to be self-supporting, and section eight designated that all proceeds from the leases described above would be used to pay salaries and expenses, and any "proceeds over and above the annual expenses thereof" would be paid to the treasury.[33]

The amendments to the bill were substantial. They were further altered, and on June 30, 1864 were printed with new amendments, and recommitted to the Select Committee on Freedmen's Affairs in the Senate. The latest changes combined aspects of the first and second versions of the bill. The agency remained in the Treasury Department, and the basic command structure remained unchanged from the May 25 version. But section four no longer included the phrase "in the spirit of the Constitution." Section five still allowed for the use of confiscated and abandoned property, but the phrasing was changed to describe the land as "all abandoned real estate belonging to disloyal persons, and all real estate to which the United States have title . . . or possession, and not already appropriated to government uses." The assistant commissioners no longer could "cause" the land to be cultivated by freedmen; but they could "permit" it. Additionally, the U.S. would not be bound "to pay damages for any military dispossession." Section six still committed officers to "appear as next friends of the freedmen" before any kind

[32] This order predated General William Tecumseh Sherman's more famous Special Field Order No. 15, which was issued on January 16, 1865. For more on the land question, see Willie Lee Rose's classic *Rehearsal for Reconstruction: The Port Royal Experiment*, with an introduction by C. Vann Woodward (Indianapolis: Bobs-Merrill, 1964. Reprint, Athens, GA: UGA Press, 1999) and LaWanda Cox, "The Promise of Land for the Freedmen," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, Volume 45, Number 3 (December, 1958): 413-440. Claude F. Oubre's *Forty Acres and Mule: The Freedmen's Bureau and Black Land Ownership* (Baton Rouge, LA: Louisiana State University Press, 1978) is also helpful.

[33] Amended version of H.R. 51, as reported to the Senate on May 25, 1864 by Senator Charles Sumner. The final two amended sections of the bill dealt with quarterly reporting by assistant commissioners, and annual reporting by the commissioner.

of "tribunal." Treasury agents who had already settled freedpeople on land would still be required to turn relinquish control to the new bureau once it was established.[34]

The reporting structure remained unchanged, but in an entirely new section eleven, any agents who worked for the bureau would be considered members of the military and subject to trial by "courts-martial or military commissions." There was also a long list of felony crimes, which basically included any attempt to defraud the freedpeople or profit from a position in the agency. Punishment could include a "fine not exceeding ten thousand dollars, or imprisonment at hard labor for a period not exceeding five years, or by both such fine and imprisonment." Another completely new section anticipated what commissioners were to do should there be no abandoned real estate available. For freedmen under the care of such a commissioner, they were to "provide for them homes and employment, with humane and suitable persons, at fair and just compensation for their services."[35] In this last provision, the proposed bureau inched toward becoming a welfare agency, one which would provide more than access to land and assistance with contracts and court proceedings. The federal government would become liable for the housing and employment of freedpeople.

This most recently amended bill was not considered in the House until Eliot reintroduced it on December 20, 1864. According to Eliot, "the bill was returned from the Senate with a great variety of amendments." In a confusing bit of congressional protocol which would later become a point of contention, Eliot asked for a vote of non-concurrence on the amended bill and asked for a committee of conference. This meant that all the versions of the bill so far would be

[34] Amended version of H.R. 51, as printed on June 30, 1864 in the Senate. Bills and Resolutions, House of Representatives, 38th Congress, First Session. Full text available at http://memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin/ampage?collId=llhb&fileName=038/llhb038.db&recNum=198 [accessed 12 January 2004].
[35] Ibid. The final section of this version repealed "the last clause of a joint resolution explanatory of 'An act to suppress insurrection, to punish treason and rebellion, to seize and confiscate the property of rebels, and for other purposes," approved on July 17, 1862.

referred "to a committee selected by the Speaker and a committee appointed by the Senate." That new committee would basically negotiate a new version of the bill. The negotiated bill, however, would have a catch. Neither house of Congress would be able to amend the bill after it was reported back. It would have to be accepted or rejected by both houses without changing a single word. After some minimal debate, during which Eliot explained that the House members had had access to the May 25th version of the bill since June, the house voted for non-concurrence, as Eliot advised.[36]

The members of the conference committee from the House were Eliot and, interestingly, William Darrah Kelley, the Republican from Pennsylvania who had first addressed the question of white access to land back in February of 1864. The members from the Senate were Jacob Merritt Howard, a Republican from Michigan who had helped organize the Republican party back in 1854, and none other than Charles Sumner.[37] All four members supported the establishment of some type of freedmen's agency, so the debates were over rather practical matters. Eliot brought the bill negotiated by these four Republicans back to the House on February 2, 1865. He explained the differences between this version and the one the House had passed earlier.

He first addressed the most obvious point of contention, the House's preference for placing the agency within the War Department and the Senate's for placement in the Treasury Department. The majority of representatives, as explained by Eliot, felt that since it was a time of war, the War Department would have the most forceful power to ensure the success of the agency. The majority of senators disagreed and argued that a significant amount of legislation

[36] *Congressional Globe*, 38th Congress, Second Session, House of Representatives, discussion of House Resolution No. 51, Bureau of Freedmen's Affairs, (20 December 1864), 79.
[37] Howard served as a senator from the 38th to the 41st Congress, from 1861 until his death in 1871. Biographical information available online at http://bioguide.congress.gov/biosearch/biosearch1.asp [accessed 14 January 2004].

regarding abandoned and confiscated property had already been passed, and each time jurisdiction was given to the treasury department. The shift from Treasury to War Departments, and then to an entirely new bureau, would cause considerable conflict. The two sides could not agree on either proposal, so they changed the structure entirely. In the compromise bill, the new agency would have its own department, "communicating directly with the President." It would not be "an executive Department . . . but one similar to the Department of Agriculture as it was at first created." Eliot justified this major change with two explanations. First, "the great importance of some efficient legislation was recognized, and no other course could be adopted." In other words, time was running out as the debate over the new agency had gone on, sporadically, for two years, and it was time to make a decision. Second, a department-level position would probably "enable the Government to secure the services of some Commissioner of great ability, and of experience and character." The committee realized what a tremendous responsibility the bureau's commissioner would shoulder and thought by improving the prestige and power of the position, they might attract a better class of applicant.[38]

Eliot continued to explain the new bill, section by section. Most sections contained information which had been part of the previous House and Senate bills, merely combined into a new format. Eliot apparently sensed that debate would ensue over one section that had been formulated in one of the amended Senate versions, which deemed the employees of the new bureau as members of the military service and, therefore, subject to courts-martial. To preempt opposition, Eliot assured House members that this section had been carefully reviewed by "one of the ablest and soundest lawyers in the Senate" and would not violate "any constitutional

[38] *Congressional Globe*, 38th Congress, Second Session (2 February 1865), 563-564. President Lincoln established the independent Bureau of Agriculture in 1862. It was headed by a commissioner but did not attain cabinet status until 1889. Information available from Wikipedia web site online at http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/United_States_Department_of_Agriculture [accessed 12 January 2004].

provision." He then went on to call, as he had for so long, for immediate action on the matter of relief for the freedpeople. He summed up his impatience with the various delays he had encountered over two years by saying, "I cannot but feel that we have done wrong in not having long before extended to these people [the freedpeople] a hand of welcome and of support. They have well deserved it." But a vote on the compromise bill Eliot endorsed so passionately would be delayed yet again. After "friends of the bill" expressed their desire to examine the compromise bill more closely, Eliot asked for a postponement of one week. By the end of that week, Eliot, along with the other members of the House and Senate, would be confronted by yet another freedmen's bill, one which included white refugees in its mandate.[39]

When the week's postponement was up, Eliot introduced H.R. 51 yet again. As expected, debate followed. The first objection, from James Falconer Wilson, Republican of Iowa, concerned how the bureau might be brought to an end once the war was over. Eliot's frustration was obvious in his answer as he replied that the bill was not "perfect," but felt it was "sufficient for the purposes it [sought] to accomplish." The second objection came from Elihu Benjamin Washburne, Republican of Illinois, who raised the point that the committee of conference may have overstepped its bounds by offering a wholly new bill rather than a compromise. Eliot dismissed his objection by referring to precedent. Procedural issues were not going to deter him. Eliot called for a vote. But there was yet another interruption, one far more serious than a technicality.[40]

Robert Cumming Schenck, Republican of Ohio, interrupted Eliot and asked if he might have a few moments before the vote was called. Eliot agreed and Schenck offered what he

[39] Ibid., (2 February 1865), 563-566.
[40] Ibid., (9 February 1865), 689-690. The committee of conference bill continued to be referred to as H.R. 51 because it superseded the earlier amended versions of the same numbered bill. Eliot's frustration is obvious in his use of such phrases as "we ought to do something." Throughout the debates, he had generally been much more eloquent.

termed "another point of view." As with Sumner's earlier portrayal of the Senate's significant changes to the original bill as "an amendment," this was an understatement. He described how, two months prior, the issue of dealing with war refugees had been referred to the Committee on Military Affairs, which he chaired. That committee had reported back a bill, H.R. 698, which was now ready to be presented to the House. He asked that it be read. It was entitled "A bill to establish in the War Department a Bureau for the Relief of Freedmen and Refugees." A relatively brief bill (three sections compared to the fourteen sections of H.R. 51), it was direct competition to the bill which Eliot had so tirelessly presented and negotiated.[41]

Though the new bill described a bureau to assist "freedmen and refugees," the primary concern of the Committee on Military Affairs with the plight of refugees is obvious in the text. H.R. 698 would establish a bureau within the War Department, as the House had consistently favored. Its head would be appointed by the president with the advice and consent of the Senate. Its jurisdiction would be any district of the country, including the rebel states, "within the territory embraced in the operations of the Army." A limited number of subordinate officers would be chosen by the bureau's head and approved by the Secretary of War. The bureau would be assigned the duty of "the supervision, management, and control of all subjects relating to refugees and freedmen." The bill gave the president power to assign land to the "refugees and freedmen," as long as it was on a temporary basis and drew from "the abandoned lands and tenements in insurrectionary states, not belonging to loyal owners." The president would also have the power to direct the bureau to deal with such issues as "provisions, clothing, and fuel as

[41] Ibid., (9 February 1865), 691. Schenck had brought H.R. 698 to the floor back on February 2, but a procedural matter delayed debate. Schenck's remarks are found in *Congressional Globe,* (2 February 1865), 566. Interestingly enough, he had followed Eliot's impassioned plea for a vote on H.R. 51. H.R. 698 was ordered printed on January 24th, and the full text is available online at http://memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin/ampage?collId=llhb&fileName=038/llhb038.db&recNum=4310 [accessed 5 January 2004].

he may deem needful for the immediate and temporary shelter and supply of destitute and suffering refugees and freedmen, and their wives and children" under regulations he deemed appropriate. In Schenck's bill, refugees came before freedmen in every phrase but the title. This certainly reflects the concerns of the Committee on Military Affairs rather than those of any previous committee which had only addressed the question of freedpeople. H.R. 698 offered a significant change in objective for the proposed bureau. Eliot faced a fight.[42]

Schenck had some bureaucratic advantages. He supported Washburne's earlier objection that H.R. 51, in its current form, was not a compromise bill. By giving the proposed agency departmental status, rather than choosing between either the War Department or the Treasury, as offered in the House and Senate versions, the committee of conference was offering "a new thing entirely." Because of procedural rules, Eliot's bill could not be amended by either house. Schenck's bill, on the other hand, could be debated and amended. He presented it as a more viable alternative. He offered other reasons to support the new bill as well. He opposed the size and duration of the agency as established by H.R. 51 and felt the condition of the freedpeople was "an incident of war." As such, it was logical to keep the bureau within the War Department. There was no reason to extend the life of the bureau much beyond the end of the war, so setting up a new department would be a waste of time, energy, and money. The matter of assisting the freedpeople was "a temporary and fleeting necessity."[43]

The most radical difference between H.R. 51 and H.R. 698, however, had to do with race. Even Schenck felt there was "a very material difference of idea between the bill proposed by the Military Committee [sic] and the bill reported from the committee of conference." H.R. 698 "[made] no discrimination on account of color . . . it [did] not discriminate against whites." He

[42] The text of the bill as read in the House is found in *Congressional Globe*, 38th Congress, Second Session, (9 February 1865), 691.
[43] Ibid.

accused H.R. 51 of what would later be described as reverse discrimination. His argument was predicated on the fact that he viewed the suffering of the freedpeople to be a by-product of war. If the federal government were going to take on the responsibility of assisting one group who was adversely affected by war, why not others? Were white refugees not entitled to assistance as well? Schenck went on to point out that as the war continued refugees of both races were turning to the Union army for food and shelter. Thought no law provided for it, quartermasters were supplying the needy with whatever they could to keep people from freezing or starving. Some of this aid was even provided to "the wives and children of rebels and rebel soldiers," because decency dictated that they "should [not] starve or perish miserably on account of the conduct of their fathers and husbands and friends." According to Schenck, the government was aware of this practice and sanctioned it. H.R. 698 would merely legalize a system which was already operating.[44]

Schenck had one final point to make in supporting the new bill. He felt H.R. 51 dealt too much in detail. It was complicated and tried to anticipate every possibility, a point which was difficult to oppose after examining the increasingly complex versions of the bill. Since the legislation proposed by either bill was admittedly experimental, he felt it would be better to begin with the basics and amend as conditions changed. For him, the choice was clear. The House could risk voting down H.R. 51, thereby making no progress whatsoever toward assisting the freedpeople, or it could support H.R. 698 which would "cover the whole ground and provide for all refugees who suffer from the war." In his estimation, H.R. 698 was complete; H.R. 51 was not because ignored the plight white refugees.[45]

[44] Ibid., 691-692.
[45] Ibid., 692.

Back in February 1864, it was William Darrah Kelley of Pennsylvania who had, mistakenly or not, interpreted Eliot's bill to include poor southern whites as beneficiaries of land confiscation. Now, he was the first to answer Schenck's arguments for the new bill. He believed that H.R. 698 would expand the purposes of the legislation by "embracing a class of people not contemplated by the bill [H.R. 51]," meaning white refugees, and at the same time limit the mandate of the legislation to nothing more than "feeding exiled people or hungry refugees." The temporary system of H.R. 698 would move away from the original purpose of H.R. 51 by supplying only a brief moment of government protection to freedpeople who would then be left on their own and probably become "an immense body of paupers." For Kelley, the spirit of H.R. 51 would be violated if H.R. 698 replaced it.[46] Considering Kelley's earlier interpretation of H.R. 51's land provisions, he had apparently changed his views about the scope of the proposed bureau and its spirit, as he made no mention of land or poor whites specifically in this debate.

Eliot sensed the danger Schenck's bill presented to H.R. 51, especially the potential divisiveness of the inclusion of whites. He appealed to Schenck personally and asked him not to vote against H.R. 51 simply because it did not offer enough. While not arguing with Schenck's description of the suffering of white refugees, Eliot asked him to consider that the exclusion of whites from the scope of H.R. 51 was "not because it was a discrimination [sic] in favor of the black against the white." The bill had been designed that way because freedmen were the subject charged to the original committee. If there had been "opportunity" to consider the other refugees, the committee would have done so. Eliot offered Schenck and the other members yet another alternative. They should support H.R. 51 and then present separate legislation to address the issue of white refugees. Eliot even pledged to support such future legislation. But, Eliot argued, the issue at hand was the welfare of the freedpeople, and he was not willing to give up

[46] Ibid., 692-693.

without a fight. His tactics paid off, briefly, when the House voted to concur with the committee of conference bill, H.R. 51, on February 9, 1865. But there was no Freedmen's Bureau yet. Once again, the bill still had to pass the Senate.[47]

Charles Sumner was H.R. 51's greatest defender in the Senate. On the same day the House concurred with the latest version, he brought it to the floor. The Senate debate would continue for three weeks and in many ways paralleled the House debate. As in the House one of the first questions raised, by Willard Saulsbury, Sr., Democrat from Delaware, was procedural. Apparently, Saulsbury hoped to avoid consideration of the bill at all, but the president pro tempore ruled that Saulsbury's "objection comes too late, the report having been entertained by the Senate." Four days later, the Senate began its debates in earnest.

Again echoing the House proceedings, Sumner stated that the only difference in the House and Senate versions of H.R. 51 was in the placement of the bureau in the War or Treasury Departments. He presented the same arguments as Eliot to support the committee of conference bill, the version which created the department-level agency, primarily to attract a higher-caliber commissioner. But Sumner was more forceful than Eliot. He advised the Senate that, though the compromise measure may have been easy to criticize, it was H.R. 51 or nothing. The only other provision for the freedmen was "an amendment to the Constitution . . . [which] will, in the course of a few weeks, place their freedom under the sanction of constitutional law. But [that was] not enough." H.R. 51 was the only option, it was necessary, and it could no longer be amended. The argument was ineffective, and though Sumner called for a vote, debate continued.[48]

[47] Ibid., 693-694.
[48] Ibid., 767-768.

Continuing to parallel the House debate, H.R. 698, the committee on military affairs bill introduced in the House by Schenck, was presented to the Senate on February 21, 1865, by James Wilson Grimes, Republican from Iowa. Grimes echoed Schenck's argument. The bill offered a possible alternative to the "all or nothing" vote required by H.R. 51. The reaction in the Senate was similar to that in the House. Grimes pointed out the simplicity and directness of the bill and took special care to note that it "include[d] the white as well as the black." He felt H.R. 698 could successfully accomplish "what had to be done." His statements drew no immediate comment upon the new bill as other senators went on to continue their objections to H.R. 51.[49]

To add yet another twist to the increasingly complex discussion, William Sprague, Republican of Rhode Island, offered an argument which had been voiced in neither the House nor the Senate. He stated that no freedmen's bureau would be necessary if the freedmen were given the franchise, arguing that "when a man can vote, he needs no special legislation on his behalf." Comparing the fate of freedpeople to that of American Indians under the "Indian Bureau," he felt that "the bill under discussion will destroy the negro race in this country." He encouraged other senators who supported the bill to instead focus their energies upon "demanding for the negro race all the rights and privileges of freedom." If that goal was attained, "no Freedmen's Bureau is at all necessary." Sprague continued his appeal by focusing on post-war procedures to bring the Union back together. In Sprague's plan, the rebel states would have to follow rules to gain readmission. They would be made to guarantee the protection

[49] Ibid., 959. Grimes was governor of Iowa before his election to the Senate in 1859. He served until ill health forced his resignation in 1869. A short biography is available at http://bioguide.congress.gov/scripts/biodisplay.pl?index=G000475 [accessed 2 February 2004]. The party affiliations of senators who served in the 38th Congress included 33 Republicans, 10 Democrats, 5 Unconditional Unionists, and 4 Unionists. Available online from the Senate website at http://www.senate.gov/pagelayout/history/one_item_and_teasers/partydiv.htm [accessed 5 January 2004].

of anyone who had fought for the Union, and any state which refused to grant the freedmen the franchise would simply not be readmitted. Sprague recognized the radical nature of this suggestion, and pragmatically admitted that if these goals were unattainable, he would vote for H.R. 51 under protest.[50]

Grimes continued to push for consideration of H.R. 698. Presenting yet another argument in support of the bill, he asked why, if H.R. 51 claimed to be based upon humanitarianism, the jurisdiction of the bureau would be confined to the "rebel states." What was to be done to aid the freedmen who had gathered in Washington, D.C.? Why were there no provisions for them? To remedy this oversight, he supported a bill "such as that introduced by the distinguished chairman of the Committee on Military Affairs of the House," H.R. 698. That bill would include freedpeople outside the South. In order to have the chance to vote on such a bill, he was willing to call yet another committee of conference, if necessary. [51]

H.R. 698 was about to gain momentum in the Senate, and just as had happened in the House, the issue of white refugees came to the forefront. John Brooks Henderson, Republican of Missouri, was the first senator to raise the issue of white refugees. He felt that the language of H.R. 51 gave preference to freedmen over white refugees regarding access to land. He pointed out that not all southerners were Confederates, but had nonetheless suffered from the war. Their situation was just as desperate as the freedmen, and he could not understand why they were to be specifically excluded from the bureau. The only hope for loyal whites was either aid from states which had been ravaged by war or the possibility that, if all the available land was not claimed by freedmen, they may have an opportunity to farm small tracts. In reality, however, Henderson

[50] Ibid., 960. Sprague, the son-in-law of Lincoln's Secretary of the Treasury and later Supreme Court Justice Salmon P. Chase, was the former governor of Rhode Island and served in the Senate from 1862 until 1875. A short biography is available at http://bioguide.congress.gov/scripts/biodisplay.pl?index=S000747 [accessed 2 February 2004].
[51] Ibid., 961-962.

wanted no bureau at all. He believed the black man to be the equal of the white and urged everyone to remove the "d" from freedmen and simply refer to former slaves as what they now were – free men. Echoing earlier arguments, if slaves were truly free, they would need no superintendents or guardians to care for them. The bureau would simply be replacing slave owners with government overseers. If there was abandoned land in the southern states, let the former slaves "loose" upon the South to take control of it themselves. Henderson argued they were capable of it. He had taken the very Republican idea of black equality and twisted it into an argument against assisting the freedpeople while simultaneously arguing that if black "free men" were to enjoy government assistance, so should whites.[52]

John Parker Hale, Republican of New Hampshire, took up the banner of defending the rights of white refugees the next day. Largely reiterating Henderson's arguments, Hale was dissatisfied with excluding whites from the new agency. He stated that throughout the country there were "loyal citizens . . . and their families that have been driven from their homes, houseless, hopeless wanderers . . . I think well entitled to the sympathy and protection and the support of this Federal Government . . . as any other class on earth." Any legislation which specifically prohibited a bureau employee from providing assistance to these needy whites, as H.R. 51 did, was unacceptable. Henry Smith Lane, Republican from Indiana, joined with Hale in his objection to H.R. 51, but he offered a clearer course of action. He again broached the subject of supporting H.R. 698 which, by that time, had passed the House. Arguing that he had "an old-fashioned way of thinking which induce[d him] to believe that a white man is as good as a negro if he behaves himself," Lane extolled the benefits of a temporary relief agency that

[52] Ibid., 962-963. Henderson served in the Senate from 1862 until 1869. He began his political career as a Democrat in the Missouri state house, served his first Senate term as a Unionist, his second as an Unconditional Unionist, and his final two terms as a Republican. His biography is available at http://bioguide.congress.gov/scripts/biodisplay.pl?index=H000483 [accessed 2 February 2004].

would provide for the freed people as well as the "half million white refugees" driven from their homes by the war. In fact, he used Hale's "houseless and homeless wanderers" phrase to describe white refugees. The agency Lane could support was embodied in H.R. 698, not H.R. 51. He simply could not vote for the compromise bill, for all the reasons other senators had voiced. [53]

Debate continued throughout the day but the split in the Senate was the same as the earlier one in the House. Those who opposed the committee of conference bill, H.R. 51, and some who had previously supported it, began to shift their support to H.R. 698. The main points of contention were the size of the bureau described in H.R. 51, its longevity, the constitutionality of the military tribunal clause, the department-level status of the bureau, and general frustration with the procedural actions of the committee of conference that allowed no amendment to H.R. 51. The answer to all these problems seemed to be found in H.R. 698, which had the added benefit of providing aid to white refugees, an addition that even the bill's detractors could not oppose. But rather than vote on H.R. 698, the Senate voted to have yet another committee of conference to renegotiate with the House. Eliot's hope for some type of freedmen's bureau seemed to be caught in an endless tangle of procedural red tape. And, as if to marginalize Eliot and his original proposal even more, Schenck, who had originally offered H.R. 698 as an alternative to H.R. 51, served on the new committee while Eliot was excluded.[54]

---

[53] Ibid., 984-985. Hale had begun his career as a Democrat in the U.S. House in 1843; was elected to the Senate as an Independent Democrat in 1846; shifted to the Free Soil Party in 1847; came back to the Senate in 1855 to fill a vacancy and remained there as a Republican until 1865, when he became Minister to Spain. Lane served two terms as a Whig in the House before being elected to the Senate as a Republican in 1861, just two days after his inauguration as governor of Indiana. Interestingly, Lane had was born, educated, and initially admitted to the bar in Kentucky, which may help explain his concern for poor whites in the South. Both biographies available at http://bioguide.congress.gov/scripts/biodisplay.pl?index=L000060 [accessed 2 February 2004].

[54] Ibid., (22 February 1865), 990; 1007; 1182. The three managers appointed to the committee by the House were Schenck, George Sewel Boutwell, Republican of Massachusetts, and James Sidney Rollins, Constitutional Unionist of Missouri. The managers appointed to the committee by the Senate included Henry Wilson, Republican of

Eliot's diminishing influence upon the creation of the legislation was obvious when, on February 28, 1865, the report of the committee was announced in the Senate. Technically, it was still referred to as H.R. 51, as that had been the number of the bill as originally introduced in the House two years earlier. But the essence of the bill was changed. It more closely resembled the substitute H.R. 698 than what Eliot and Sumner had envisioned at the beginning of the long years of debate. The new bureau would be called the "Bureau for Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands." It would serve loyal refugees and freedpeople equally. In every phrase of the bill that referred to the groups who would benefit from the bureau, refugees were listed first. It was no longer simply a "freedmen's bureau," though generations would continue to refer to it as such. The vote in the House on whether or not to accept this latest version of the bill offered by the second committee of conference belies the partisan nature of the debate over establishing the bureau. Of the 89 representatives who accepted the bill, 71 were Republicans, 9 were Democrats, and 9 were from smaller parties, such as the Unconditional Unionists and even one Whig. No Republican opposed the bill. The 35 members who opposed were comprised of 31 Democrats, 1 Unionist Democrat, and 3 Unionists, who were all from Kentucky.[55]

On March 2, 1865, Sumner again brought the bill before the Senate. Some of the same objections that had been offered earlier were reiterated, but Sumner insisted on calling for a vote. March 3 would be the last day of the session. It was past eleven p.m., and enough senators objected to voting on such important legislation with only a small number of senators present that Sumner finally agreed to postpone the vote until the following morning. On March 3, 1865,

---

Massachusetts, James Harlan, Republican of Iowa (who would soon become Andrew Johnson's Secretary of the Interior), and W.T. Willey, former Unconditional Unionist but, by 1865, Republican of West Virginia.

[55] The full text of the latest version of the bill which would become law, as well as the proceedings and vote in the House, is found in the *Journal of the House of Representatives of the United States*, Volume 62, 38th Congress, Second Session, 412-414. Also available online at http://memory.loc.gov/ammem/amlaw/lwhj.html [accessed 10 December 2003]. The detail of the vote is found on page 414. Of the Representatives discussed in this chapter, Republicans Eliot, Kelley, Wilson, Washburne, and Schenck voted to accept; Unionist Republican Cole voted to accept; Democrats Cox and Knapp voted to accept; Democrats Kalbfleisch and Brooks voted against.

the bill finally passed, or more precisely, the report of the second committee of conference, which offered a new text to replace the original and revised texts of previous versions of H.R. 51, was accepted by the Senate. Lincoln signed the new bill the same day.[56]

In Paul Cimbala's recent study of the Bureau in Georgia, he argued that the commonly used name, "Freedmen's Bureau," "reflected the primary concern" of the agency. It would be more accurate to say that it reflected the goal of Thomas Dawes Eliot, Charles Sumner, and the members and supporters of the American Freedmen's Inquiry Commission. But by the time the radically altered H.R. 51 was passed in the late winter of 1865, the name no longer accurately described the mandate of the Bureau. It was true that the freedpeople had a new ally in the federal government, but so did loyal southern whites. Freedpeople would have access to "provisions, clothing, and fuel," but so would loyal whites. In the supplementary legislation which would follow the initial law, freedpeople would also have access to medical care and education, but so would loyal whites.[57]

Through this new Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands, the U.S. federal government would undertake a monumental task. The provisions for confiscating southern land and using it to support the new agency were unprecedented in American history and raised discussions concerning constitutional protections of private property. The systems established to provide schools were equally groundbreaking, and would prove to be the most positive legacy of the Bureau. And in the years of the Bureau's greatest activity, from the end of

[56] The full text of the law is found in the *U.S. Statutes at Large*, Volume 13, 38th Congress, Second Session, 507-509, available online at http://memory.loc.gov/ammem/amlaw/lwsl.html [accessed 10 December 2003]. The proceedings in the Senate, as well as the report of Lincoln's signature, are chronicled in *the Journal of the Senate of the United States of America*, Volume 57, 301; 313; 317; 336; 338. Available online at http://memory.loc.gov/ammem/amlaw/lwsj.html [accessed 10 December 2003].

[57] For further analysis of the racial equity of the original Freedmen's Bureau legislation, including the House and Senate debates, see Paul Moreno, "Racial Classifications and Reconstruction Legislation." Moreno does not limit his examination to this bill, but includes analysis of subsequent legislation as well in order to determine whether "the new American citizenship [of the freedpeople], constitutionally and legally defined, [was] to be colorblind or color conscious?"

the war until 1868, the federal government would set new precedents in American welfare as it undertook to feed, clothe, and transport millions of freedpeople and white refugees. Establishing federal welfare programs, which would include the freedpeople, alongside the state welfare systems already in place in the former Confederacy would consume a significant portion of the Bureau's fiscal and human resources. Chapter five will return to the state of Georgia, where Comptroller General Thweatt continued to oversee the disbursement of multi-million dollar apportionments to soldiers' families even as the new Freedmen's Bureau bill became law and the Confederacy faced impending defeat. But to fully appreciate the importance of the Bureau's welfare measures, it is necessary to understand the evolution of the Freedmen's Bureau's mandate in the sixteen months which followed its birth.

Chapter V

Establishing and Expanding the Bureau

"This last compromise was a hasty bit of legislation, vague and uncertain in outline."[1]

In his famous 1901 article on the Freedmen's Bureau, in which he proclaimed "the problem of the twentieth century is the problem of the color line," W.E.B. Du Bois's description of the act which established the Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands was not only accurate, it aptly conveyed its weaknesses. But in 1935, when his *Black Reconstruction in America, 1860-1880* was published, Du Bois's description of the founding of the Bureau was more matter-of-fact, less emotional, and less immediate. Those incisive adjectives, "hasty," "vague," and "uncertain," disappeared, replaced by the more journalistic phrase "the debate on the final bill was limited." The change was subtle, and can perhaps be explained as a simple editorial decision. Rather than the central topic of the book, the Freedmen's Bureau was merely one component in a massive study of twenty years of American history. Or maybe Du Bois's perception of the initial legislation had changed after thirty-four years. But this change is also indicative of the shift in Reconstruction historiography away from examining the legislation as it existed in March of 1865, at the moment of the Bureau's birth, to focusing on what it became. [2]

It is crucial to understand this act as part of the larger history of the Bureau, to view it in the context of what the Bureau would become. We cannot make proclamations concerning the

[1] W.E.Burghardt Du Bois, "The Freedmen's Bureau," *Atlantic Monthly* (March 1901): 354-365, available online (subscription only) at http://www.theatlantic.com/issues/01mar/dubois.htm [accessed 28 June 2004]. This article would become the chapter entitled "Of the Dawn of Freedom" in Du Bois's 1903 book, *The Souls of Black Folk.*
[2] Du Bois, *Black Reconstruction in America*, 221.

Bureau's intent, nor judge its successes or failures, if we do not carefully analyze the acts which created and later amended it. We must consider the evolution of the Bureau, including the obstacles the commissioner faced in the months immediately following the end of the war; the political fight to extend the life of the Bureau (which included an attempt to gain more land and aid for the refugees and freedpeople) over the president's veto; and the July 1866 act which radically altered the Bureau's mandate. Only then can we understand the importance of the bureau's relief efforts, which have generally been marginalized, as both a continuation of wartime welfare programs and a new exercise in federal power.

Du Bois's initial description was correct. The compromise which resulted in the act of March 3, 1865 was hasty, the legislation was vague, and the outline of the Bureau's purpose was uncertain. The act contains only five sections, and the fifth is a standard phrase which repeals any conflicting legislation. The first section announced the name of the new agency (the Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands), and described its place in the federal government (within the jurisdiction of the War Department), and its lifespan (which was limited to "the present war of rebellion, and for one year thereafter.") Its purpose was described as "the supervision and management of all abandoned lands, and the control of all subjects relating to refugees and freedmen from rebel States, or from any district of the country within the territory embraced in the operations of the army." Section one also detailed the organizational structure of the Bureau. This incredibly broad institution would be headed by a commissioner, whom the president would appoint. The commissioner would determine all Bureau rules and regulations, with presidential approval. To help him carry out his duties, he could be assigned up to thirteen clerks of various grades. The appointment of clerks, however, was left to the discretion of the secretary of war. All clerks would have to swear an oath of office, and the commissioner and

chief clerk were required to post bonds of $50,000 and $10,000, respectively. Section one comprised more than half of the act's text.[3]

Section two actually addressed the function of the Bureau more specifically, but in a single sentence. "And be it further enacted, [t]hat the Secretary of War may direct such issues of provisions, clothing, and fuel as he may deem needful for the immediate and temporary shelter and supply of destitute and suffering refugees and freedmen, and their wives and children, under such rules and regulations as he may direct." There was no mention of the commissioner playing a role in decisions concerning relief efforts. The Secretary of War would control this aspect of Bureau operations personally and exclusively. He would make the rules and he would determine who was "destitute." The repeated use of the qualifier "may" signifies a certain equivocation in the legislation. The wording of this section simultaneously addresses a specific Bureau function while implying that it might never be implemented.[4]

Section three returned to organizational issues and addressed staffing and reporting procedures. It permitted, but did not require, the president, with the advice and consent of the Senate, to appoint assistant commissioners for each state "declared to be in insurrection," as long as they did not exceed ten in number. Each would be required to post bond ($20,000) and their salaries were established at $2,500 per year. Military officers, however, could be "detailed and assigned to duty under this act without increase of pay or allowances." Before each congressional session, the commissioner would be required to make a report to the president for transmittal to Congress, while assistant commissioners would make quarterly reports to the commissioner. These ten assistant commissioners, combined with the thirteen clerks allowed by

[3] The text of HR 51 is found in the *Journal of the House of Representatives of the United States*, 38th Congress, Second Session, Volume 62, Appendix, 482-483, available online at http://memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin/ampage?collId=llhj&fileName=062/llhj062.db&recNum=481&itemLink=D?hlaw:1:./temp/~ammem_M0Vg::%230620482&linkText=1 [accessed 28 June 2004].
[4] Ibid.

section one, would compose the commissioner's staff. A total of twenty-four men were to administer an agency whose jurisdiction encompassed any area of the country "embraced in the operations of the army," and included all "refugees and freedmen" in that area. The gross underestimation of the manpower necessary for such an undertaking seems obvious in hindsight, and this section was one of the first amended in July 1866. But that amendment was sixteen months away.[5]

Section four returned to specific functions and addressed what would become one of the most contentious components of the Bureau, the issue of land. The commissioner had the "authority to set apart for the use of loyal refugees and freedmen such tracts of land, within the insurrectionary States as shall have been abandoned, or to which the United States shall have acquired title by confiscation, or sale, or otherwise." This, of course, had been under discussion in both houses, and was in large part a result of the precedent set by Sherman's Special Field Order No. 15 in January 1865. But the act went even further and prescribed the uses for such land. Because the phrase "forty acres and a mule" has become such a part of the mythology of the history of this era, and even today carries with it the implication of an unfulfilled promise, it is worthwhile to examine the specific wording of this part of section four.

> To every male citizen, whether refugee or freedman, as aforesaid, there shall be assigned not more than forty acres of such land, and the person to whom it is so assigned shall be protected in the use and enjoyment of the land for the term of three years, at an annual rent not exceeding six per cent upon the value of said land as it was appraised by the State authorities in the year 1860, for the purpose of taxation; and in case no such appraisal can be found, then the rental shall be based upon the estimated value of the land in said year, to be ascertained in such manner as the commissioner may by regulation prescribe. At the end of said term, or at any time during said term, the occupants of any parcels so assigned may purchase the land, and receive such title thereto as the United States can convey, upon paying therefore the value of the land, as ascertained and fixed for the purpose of determining the annual rent as aforesaid.

[5] Ibid.

Section four is notable for several reasons. It is the first and only time the adjective "loyal" was used to describe refugees. It clearly states that white men as well as freedmen were entitled to lease and eventually purchase land. It is also the most detailed section of the act, which is perhaps a suggestion of its importance, or may merely indicate a point upon which the House and Senate could easily agree. Despite the detail, this section, too, was destined for massive revisions. No less than seven sections, of a total of fifteen, of the July 1866 legislation which greatly revised the Bureau would address the land issue.[6]

Despite its flaws, the act of March 3, 1865 finally made the Freedmen's Bureau a reality, a momentous event among many in the late winter and early spring of 1865. In January, Congress approved the Thirteenth Amendment which, upon ratification, would end slavery. In February, Union and Confederate leaders attempted and failed to negotiate peace. On March 4 President Lincoln was inaugurated for his second term. In early April, after Confederate General Robert E. Lee's last offensive against Union General Ulysses S. Grant's forces in Virginia failed, the Confederate capital of Richmond was occupied by Union troops. Six days later, on April 9, Lee surrendered his troops to Grant at Appomattox Court House. On April 14, President Lincoln was shot and when he died in the early morning hours of April 15, Vice President Andrew Johnson assumed the office. On April 18, Confederate General Joseph E. Johnston surrendered to Union General William Tecumseh Sherman at Durham, North Carolina. The remaining Confederate troops surrendered in May. The war was over. The Freedmen's Bureau existed only on paper. It was time to make it a reality.

---

[6] Ibid. Sherman's Special Field Order No. 15 dealt specifically with abandoned lands along the coast from just south of Charleston to St. John's River, Florida, "for thirty miles back from the sea," which were set aside for the exclusive settlement of freed people. Each family could claim no more than forty acres. Historians generally agree that this order was the source of the mule, as Sherman directed the military officers in the area to offer settlers the use of whatever implements and animals were available. The full text of the order is found in Special Field Orders, No. 15, Headquarters, Military Division of the Mississippi, 16, January 1865, Orders and Circulars, Series 44, Adjutant General's Office, National Archives Record Group 94, and is available online at http://www.history.umd.edu/Freedmen/sfo15.htm [accessed 24 June 2004].

The first step was to appoint a commissioner. Though technically this appointment was the president's, it was in fact Secretary of War Edwin M. Stanton's decision. In his 1968 work *Yankee Stepfather: General O. O. Howard and the Freedmen*, William S. McFeely explains Stanton's selection of the new Bureau's leader. In McFeely's analysis, Stanton had three areas from which he could have chosen a commissioner: "the private sector, the semiofficial wartime organizations, and the army." The private sector could have included former abolitionists, ministers, or leaders of private aid organizations which had already been offering aid to the freedpeople. The semiofficial organizations included the Sanitary Commission and the Christian Commission, whose members had worked with the army offering medical care and religious ministries to soldiers. But Stanton chose neither of these avenues. The very organizational structure of the Bureau and its placement in the War Department destined it to be staffed by military personnel, and Stanton looked to the army for leadership and, on May 11, 1865, offered General Oliver Otis Howard the job. He accepted the next day.[7]

Howard was a West Point graduate who rose to the rank of major general in the Civil War. His record on the battlefield, especially early in the war, was not especially notable, but he served in many of the war's major battles – Antietam, Fredericksburg, Chancellorsville, Gettysburg, Missionary Ridge, and Atlanta. In 1862 his injuries at the Battle of Fair Oaks resulted in the amputation of his right arm, and he is often remembered for leading the Army of the Tennessee in General Sherman's March to the Sea through Georgia. Though his battlefield

[7] McFeely, *Yankee Stepfather,* 23-26; 57-64. He notes that Lincoln, in all likelihood, had not participated in the decision-making process before he was assassinated, and found no evidence to indicate Andrew Johnson's input, either. That did not stop Stanton from telling Howard that Lincoln had wanted him for the job. In McFeely's detailed account of Stanton's decision process, he points out that there were other military officers who may have been perceived by some as more qualified. General Clinton B. Fisk had experience working with freedpeople in Tennessee; General Rufus Saxton, who is discussed later in this dissertation, had worked extensively with the freedpeople on the Sea Islands; and Colonel John Eaton, Jr., had worked under Grant with the freedpeople of Mississippi. None of these men, however, had wartime records as impressive as Howard's, and McFeely identifies this as a primary reason for Stanton's decision.

performance was not always stellar, other qualities contributed to his appointment as Freedmen's Bureau commissioner. In every biography of Howard, as well as his autobiography, the general's unswerving Christianity and temperance are identified as his defining characteristics. He had even been dubbed the "Christian general." Though biographers disagree in their evaluation of Howard's performance in the military in general and in the Bureau specifically, all agree that he was a devout Christian who had the best of intentions. Perhaps he can best be described as an army man who understood the subtleties of command structure but who also possessed the kind of temperament Stanton felt was necessary to head an agency which would meet hostility from many sectors. In McFeely's description of the Bureau's beginnings, he relates a story which illustrates the meager instructions Howard received. Stanton had been collecting any documents relevant to the Bureau in a basket in his office. When Howard accepted the position, Stanton gave him the basket and said, "Here's your Bureau." With a basket of miscellaneous documents and an office in Washington, Howard turned his attention to creating a new federal agency. Potential pitfalls abounded, especially as Congress and President Johnson began what would be termed a "war" over control of Reconstruction policy. [8]

Less than two weeks after accepting the position as commissioner, Howard faced a formidable challenge from President Johnson's *Proclamation Declaring Terms of Amnesty*. The use of confiscated and abandoned lands to benefit the refugees and freedmen had been one of the few aspects of the Bureau's legislation which had found wide support in Congress. But the Amnesty Proclamation would allow former Confederates to begin reclaiming that land. There

[8] Ibid., 63, quoting from Howard's *Autobiography of Oliver Otis Howard, Major General, United States Army* (New York: The Baker and Taylor Company, 1907), 208. Howard later received the Medal of Honor for his bravery at Fair Oaks. Besides McFeely's work, which is still the best study of Howard's years in the Bureau, other biographies (which cover Howard's entire life) include John A. Carpenter's *Sword and Olive Branch: Oliver Otis Howard* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1964) and Gerald Weland's *O.O. Howard, Union General* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland and Co., 1995).

was a seemingly strict provision which excluded fifteen different classes of people who had in some way aided the Confederacy. But there was also a loophole which stated "that special application [could] be made to the President for pardon by any person belonging to the excepted classes; and such clemency [would] be liberally extended as may be consistent with the facts of the case and the peace and dignity of the United States." It is well-documented that Johnson granted many pardons. This caused problems for Howard and his Bureau as it not only deprived freedpeople and refugees of their chance to lease or purchase land; it also removed much of the Bureau's potential funding source. The original legislation had not provided the Bureau with any specific funding, but the fees from the lease of the abandoned and confiscated land were certainly a great potential source. Johnson's pardons jeopardized the Bureau's income as well as struck at its very foundation and deprived freedpeople and refugees of opportunity.[9]

Howard tried to maneuver around Johnson's plan. He petitioned for the transfer of all confiscated property under the control of other governmental agencies, primarily the Treasury Department and the army. He also consulted Attorney General James Speed for an interpretation of the Bureau's right to jurisdiction over confiscated lands. The attorney general's interpretation was basically in favor of the Bureau, but questions remained about the permanence of Howard's control over the property. There was a major difference between using the confiscated lands for income to provide "temporary relief" for the freedpeople and refugees and actually setting aside plots for them to rent or purchase. In July Howard made a bold move and issued Circular 13, directing his assistants to "set apart" land for the freedpeople and refugees, but Johnson insisted the circular be rescinded. Howard did so the same month in Circular 15, which "ordered the

[9] The full text of the Proclamation Declaring Terms of Amnesty, May 29, 1865, which details the fifteen classes of exempt persons, is available online from Berea College's Appalachian Center Civil War Amnesty Letters Transcription Project at http://www.berea.edu/appalachiancenter/amnestyproc.htm. The site also includes letters from individuals seeking amnesty in the Appalachian counties of North Carolina. See also McFeely, 94-106, which recounts what he describes as Howard's "war" with Johnson over land.

restoration to pardoned owners of all land except the small amount that had already been sold under a court decree." Johnson won the first battle over land.[10]

But the war over the Bureau was not over. The original legislation in March 1865 had limited the life of the Bureau to one year after the end of the war. In late 1865, some members of Congress were turning their attention to prolonging the Bureau and on January 12 1866, Senator Lyman Trumbull introduced Senate Bill 60, which would greatly expand some aspects of the Bureau's mandate and more clearly define other provisions of the original legislation. The bill would extend the Bureau's existence "until otherwise provided for by law" and had great potential to expand the Bureau's power and jurisdiction by extending Bureau operations to "refugees and freedmen in all parts of the United States" and allowing, if necessary, the appointment of one agent in every county and parish. It more clearly defined the Bureau's aid policy by specifying that "suffering refugees and freedmen, their wives and children" could be provided "provisions, clothing, fuel, and other supplies, including medical stores and transportation, and . . . such aid, medical or otherwise" as determined by the secretary of war. It also addressed the definition of "destitute," "suffering," and "dependent upon the government for support," as excluding those who "being able to find employment, could by proper industry and exertion avoid such destitution, suffering, or dependence." It expanded the Bureau's judicial responsibilities as well and called for the extension of "military protection and jurisdiction" in cases where "any of the rights or immunities belonging to white persons . . . are refused or

[10] Ibid. Foner, *Reconstruction: America's Unfinished Revolution*, 159. The story of Howard and Johnson's land battle is recounted in almost every book on Reconstruction, the secondary sources available on every state Freedmen's Bureau, and any biography of Howard or Johnson and many on Secretary of War Stanton. Though the question of land is crucial here to understand the problems Commissioner Howard faced in funding the operation of his fledgling bureau, it also has greater implications for the study of federal welfare funding generally. Perhaps the importance of land in any discussion of federal welfare in the Civil War era is best summed up in Walter I. Trattner's "The Federal Government and Needy Citizens in Nineteenth-Century America," *Political Science Quarterly*, Volume 101, Number 2 (Summer 1988): 347-356, in which he stated that "the primary means of federal assistance in the nineteenth century was the distribution of public lands, which constituted the chief source of the nation's wealth."

denied to negroes, mulattoes, freedmen, refugees, or an other persons, on account of race, color, or any previous condition of slavery or involuntary servitude."[11]

Three entire sections of the bill offered possible new solutions to the land question. Section four stated "[t]hat the President is hereby authorized to reserve from sale or from settlement, under the homestead or pre-emption laws, and to set apart for the use of freedmen and loyal refugees, male or female, unoccupied public lands in Florida, Mississippi, Alabama, Louisiana, and Arkansas, not exceeding in all three million acres of good land." As in the earlier bill, loyal refugees and freedmen would have access to "parcels not exceeding forty acres each." They would be "protected for such term of time and at such annual rent as may be agreed upon between the Commissioner and such refugees or freedmen." Rent would be based upon the value of the land, and after the agreed-upon period of time, the renters or their heirs would have the right to purchase the land at the stated value price.[12]

Section five addressed the issue of land which freedpeople had acquired under General Sherman's Special Field Order No. 15. It "confirmed" that those people who had settled on the

---

[11] *Bills and Resolutions*, 39th Congress, Senate 60, (5 January 1866), "A Bill to Enlarge the Powers of the Freedmen's Bureau." The full text of Senate 60 as introduced by Trumbull is available online at http://memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin/ampage?collId=llsb&fileName=039/llsb039.db&recNum=304 [accessed 3 September 2004]. The amended version which went to President Johnson for signature is found in *Senate Journal*, 39th Congress, (19 February 1866), 173-177, and is also available online from the Library of Congress' American Memory website at http://memory.loc.gov/ammem/amlaw/lwsj.html [accessed 9 September 2004]. Lyman Trumbull had been a Democrat until the late 1850s, when he switched to the Republican party. That loyalty would change again after he refused to vote for Johnson's impeachment. He authored and introduced the Thirteenth Amendment. He was a senator from 1855 to 1872. A short biography is available online at http://bioguide.congress.gov/scripts/biodisplay.pl?index=T000392 [accessed 3 September 2004]. Section two detailed the division of districts and appointment of agents. Section three addressed relief measures. Sections seven and eight include exhaustive lists of situations in which the president, via the commissioner, would have the right to extend "military protection and jurisdiction." For an in-depth examination of the civil rights portions of Senate 60, as well as President Johnson's veto message, see Donald G. Nieman, "Andrew Johnson, the Freedmen's Bureau, and the Problem of Equal Rights, 1865-1866," *Journal of Southern History*, Volume 44, No. 3 (August 1978): 399-420.

[12] See Paul Wallace Gates, "Federal Land Policy in the South, 1866-1888," *Journal of Southern History*, Volume 6, No. 3 (August 1940): 303-330, accessed via JSTOR at http://links.jstor.org/sici?sici=0022-4642%28194008%296%3A3%3C303%3AFLPITS%3E2.0.CO%3B2-7 [accessed 25 July 2004]. Gates cites two sources for an estimate of the amount of acreage owned by the federal government in these five states. In the *Congressional Globe*, 39th Congress, First Session, (7 February1866), 715 and (22 May 1866), 1736, James M. Edmunds estimated the total acreage at 46,398,544. In the Annual Report of the Commissioner of the General Land Office, 1867, 367, the amount was listed as 47,726,851 acres.

land along the Georgia and South Carolina coasts had a right to possess it for three years from the date of the order, without disturbance, unless a settlement "satisfactory to the Commissioner of the Freedmen's Bureau" was made between the former owners and current occupants. It was required, however, that those who may have been displaced in this way were to have access to the public lands described in section four. This section recognized that it was likely that the former white owners of these lands would receive pardons under the Amnesty Proclamation, but did at least offer the dispossessed freedpeople some alternative access to land.

Section four opened up as many as three million acres of federal land to settlement by refugees and freedpeople. Section seven specified how this land was to be procured, distributed, and used. "The Commissioner shall, under the direction of the President, procure in the name of the United States, by grant or purchase, such lands within the districts aforesaid as may be required for refugees and freedmen dependent on the government for support; and he shall provide or cause to be erected suitable buildings for asylums and schools." The Commissioner could not embark on this endeavor, however, "until after appropriations shall have been provided by Congress for such purposes." There were to be specific appropriations for the purchase of land, and the freedpeople and refugees who settled upon such lands would be required to pay the government, at a later date, "a price not less than the cost thereof to the United States." Senate 60 clearly established the sources and uses of the land which it would make available and the process by which the Commissioner could purchase and eventually sell the land to individuals. This bill certainly provided a much more clearly defined plan to secure land for the freedpeople and refugees.[13]

As Paul Moreno pointed out in his study of the racial implications of Senate 60 and other Reconstruction legislation, House and Senate opposition to the new bill often relied upon racial

[13] Ibid.

arguments, and some congressman misread or misinterpreted the bill's provisions. Congressman Nelson Taylor of New York voiced his objections to the land provisions of the bill, stating that in his interpretation of the term "refugees," there were no more such persons as those displaced by war had "returned to their homes." This would mean that the three million acres set aside in section four would be "for the exclusive use of the freedmen." In Taylor's opinion, this was "class legislation," which was unacceptable.[14]

Congressman Burwell C. Ritter of Kentucky was more dramatic, describing the Bureau as "an illegitimate sprout of the [f]ederal [g]overment . . . not made for all the people, but for a part of the people only; it is not made for the white people of these United States, but for the colored people; but the enormous and vast amount of money to sustain it, all or nearly all has to be paid by the white people." He also echoed Taylor's opinion that "loyal refugees" no longer existed, which implied that the settlement of the public lands described in section four would, in reality, only be available to freedpeople. He voiced two specific fears should this occur. First, the settlement of large numbers of freedpeople would be to "drive the white people out of the states named." Additionally, the provision which authorized material aid, schools, and asylums had no termination date, leading him to ask, "Will the white people who have to support the [g]overnment ever get done paying taxes to support the negroes?"[15]

Senate 60's supporters also revived earlier arguments. Congressman Josiah B. Grinnell of Iowa pointed out that the Bureau in Tennessee and Kentucky had provided "seven and a quarter greater support . . . to the white people . . . than to the colored freedmen." The Bureau's purpose, in his opinion, was "to reach those in want, the white mountain refugee and the ex-

[14] Moreno, 280-284. *Congressional Globe*, 39th Congress, First Session, (31 January 1866), 544.
[15] Ibid. *Congressional Globe*, 39th Congress, First Session, (3 February 1866), 635. Ritter also opposed the portion of the bill which would provide transportation, again misinterpreting the provision to apply only to freedpeople. Continuing his line of reasoning, he asked, "Why is it that they cannot pay their own transportation as the white people have to do?"

colored soldier and slave, with his family." He did not understand how "any gentleman who has the honor of his country at heart . . . [could] object to feeding and clothing the naked and ministering in hospitals to those who have been true to our flag and shed their blood in our cause." Not surprisingly, the man who introduced the original Freedmen's Bureau legislation, Congressman Thomas Dawes Eliot, sought to answer the charges of racial preference in a direct manner. He simply stated that "the refugees have all the rights under this bill that the freedmen have."[16]

Senate 60 passed the Senate on January 25, 1866, with a vote of 37 to 10. It passed the House on February 6, with a vote of 136 to 33. It was presented to President Johnson on February 13, 1866. He vetoed it on February 19. In his veto message to Congress, he listed his objections. Some were based upon constitutional arguments, while others questioned whether wartime legislation was appropriate during peace; the cost of establishing and maintaining a large network of agents; and the status of the former Confederate states within the federal government. Throughout the message, he questioned the purpose of the Bureau and the best way to address the needs of the freedpeople and, to a lesser degree, white refugees.[17]

His constitutional arguments revolved around questions of jurisdiction and purpose. He felt that the extension of military jurisdiction, especially concerning judicial matters, was inappropriate and would violate constitutional guarantees of oversight by, and appeals to, the federal court system. He also felt that the bill inadequately defined the rights to which the

[16] Ibid., (5 February 1866), 652; 516. Grinnell also addressed the question of Sherman's Special Field Order No. 15, and argued that the abandoned lands had been "moistened with the sweat and blood of those who toiled there, patiently waiting for the year of jubilee" and he would not be a party to removing those lands from the freedpeople's hands. Dawes's January 30 speech was also the occasion of his definition of the meaning of the term "refugee," which he interpreted to mean "white" in a situation where one was discussing "freedmen" and "refugees."
[17] See also W.E.B. DuBois's much more succinct description of the veto message in *Black Reconstruction in America*, 276. "But [Johnson] objected to the bill because it was 'unconstitutional': because the bureau was permanent; because it did for the colored people what had never been done for white people; because it confiscated land, and because its cost would be prodigious."

freedpeople would be entitled under "military law." In his opinion of the sections which addressed the questions of material welfare and land he reiterated a very basic disagreement concerning the Bureau's purpose, one which had been part of the debate from the beginning. He felt the "general and unlimited grant of support" for freedmen and refugees, including providing aid and setting aside land for homesteads, schools, and asylums, extended beyond the Constitutional authority of the federal government.

> It has never deemed itself authorized to expend the public money for the rent or purchase of homes for the thousands, not to say millions of the white race, who are honestly toiling from day to day for their subsistence. A system for the support of indigent persons in the United States was never contemplated by the authors of the Constitution; nor can any good reason he advanced why, as a permanent establishment, it should be founded for one class or color of our people more than another. Pending the war many refugees and Freedmen received support from the government, but it was never intended that they should thenceforth be fed, clothed, educated, and sheltered by the United States.

Congress was certainly familiar with this argument from its own debates.[18]

Adapting wartime legislation to what he defined as "a time of peace" also proved problematic in Johnson's estimation. He began his message by stating simply that there was no "immediate necessity" to pass any legislation to extend the life of the Bureau. The original bill's provisions had not expired. Furthermore, it had been a wartime measure; one which the president was not convinced was applicable in peace time. He specifically disapproved of the extension of military jurisdictions and the use of military courts, which he termed "arbitrary tribunals." Using another constitutional argument, Johnson claimed the use military courts during peace time would violate a person's right to access the state and federal court systems. For Johnson, the question at the heart of the matter was "whether we are still engaged in war." His answer was equally simple. "The rebellion is, in fact, at an end." These remarks reflected

[18] In a separate portion of the veto message, Johnson addressed the question of confiscation specifically. Again relying upon a constitutional argument, he stated that "due process" was necessary to determine who could be legally deprived of their land. In his opinion, Senate 60 did not provide adequate due process.

the president's belief that the former Confederate states should be returned to the Union as quickly as possible.

The president also believed the cost of posting an agent in every county and parish "from the Potomac to the Rio Grand" was prohibitive. Though he described the country's financial condition as "encouraging," the continuance of "public confidence" could not be assured with such a large expenditure, which he estimated at approximately $24 million annually. In addition, if the inhabitants of the areas in which the agents were to be posted perceived their appointment as a "war measure, opposition, or even resistance, might be provoked, which would necessitate the stationing of "a large standing [military] force."

The question of the status of the former Confederate states was peripheral to many of the president's objections, but one objection brought this argument to the forefront. Again relying upon the Constitution, Johnson questioned the right of Congress to pass Senate 60 while "there was no senator or representative in Congress from the eleven states which are to be mainly affected by its provisions." The initial legislation was properly passed because of the war. But, as he had clearly stated, the war was over. He did not question the right of Congress to accept or reject its own members, "but that authority cannot be construed as including the right to shut out, in time of peace, any state from the representation to which it is entitled by the Constitution." Using his own state of Tennessee as an example, Johnson argued that a measure such as Senate 60 would deny representation to "all the people of eleven states, . . . those who were most faithful during the war not less than others." The president continued to chastise Congress and to explain what he believed to be the duty of the president, who was "chosen by the people of all the states," to "present their just claims to Congress."[19]

[19] This, of course, was interesting language from a man who had become president only because of assassination, as has been pointed out by many scholars and contemporary observers.

There were a number of points in the veto message to anger the bill's supporters, but perhaps the argument that most clearly exposed the source of Johnson's objections to Senate 60 was his prediction of the fate which awaited the freedpeople should the Freedmen's Bureau simply expire at the end of its initial term. In what Du Bois described as an "extraordinary economic philosophy for serfs," Johnson stated that the freedpeople's best hope for protection came from the "civil authorities," especially the court system. But the surest way to success lay in work. In Johnson's opinion, the situation in which the freedpeople found themselves was not as dire as many believed. After all, most of them lived in an area "where [their] labor cannot well be spared." Thanks to the irrefutable laws of supply and demand, there would be "competition for his services" from a variety of people which would enable them to "command almost [their] own terms." And if the freedpeople were unhappy with the negotiations, they had "a perfect right to change [their] place of abode." Finally, in a twisted bit of logic, Johnson chastised those who did not believe in the abilities of the freedpeople. He was quite certain that they would "distinguish themselves by their industry and thrift" and prove themselves to be "self-sustaining, capable of selecting their own employment and their own places of abode, of insisting for themselves on a proper remuneration, and of establishing their own asylums and schools." Again, Du Bois's description is apt. "The very strength of [the argument's] logic was the weakness of its common sense."[20]

[20] Du Bois, *Black Reconstruction in America*, 277. Foner also includes an examination of the veto's political implications in Reconstruction, chapter 6. For a particularly insightful examination of the men who influenced Johnson in crafting his veto message, see John H. and La Wanda Cox, "Andrew Johnson and His Ghost Writers: An Analysis of the Freedmen's Bureau and Civil Rights Veto Messages, The *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, Volume 48, Number 3 (December 1961): 460-479. The Coxes conclude that Secretary of State William Seward, Secretary of the Navy Gideon Welles, Senator James R. Doolittle of Wisconsin, Senator Edgar Cowan of Pennsylvania, General Joseph S. Fullerton, and one "unidentified draftsman" all contributed ideas, and sometimes full passages, to the final veto message. They note, however, that the final paragraph, which they describe as "the most explosive part of the veto message," was Johnson's own contribution. This section stated that Congress did not have the power to pass such legislation as long as any of the states were denied their voice in Congress. As the Coxes pointed out, this was "a challenge to Congress, a virtual declaration of war." This argument had been part of

Johnson had thrown down the gauntlet. The "war" with Congress had reached a new level. On February 20, Lyman Trumbull attempted to procure the thirty-three votes necessary for an override. He fell short by three votes, thirty to eighteen. But the issue was not dead. On May 22, 1866, Thomas Eliot introduced another bill, H.R. 613, to extend the life of the Bureau. As eloquent and passionate as he had been in defending multiple versions of the first Freedmen's Bureau bill, Eliot spent the entire morning session of May 23 explaining the nuances of the new bill and arguing for its passage. His interpretation provides crucial insight into the motives and beliefs of the bill's supporters.[21]

Eliot's first order of business on the floor of the House was to address, point by the point, the ways in which the new bill addressed the objections the president had expressed in his veto message. The new bill extended the life of the Bureau for two years from the date of passage. It expanded the protection of the Bureau to "all loyal refugees and freedmen," a necessity because the original bill only addressed those freedpeople in the former Confederacy. It also clearly stated that the "care" of the Bureau was to continue only as long as "necessary" for the freedpeople to become "self-supporting citizens."

The new bill also authorized the appointment of two additional assistant commissioners, something which, in fact, Howard had already done. As Eliot was careful to point out, the new bill avoided expanding the jurisdiction of the Bureau to every county and parish in the country, which Johnson had identified as too costly. H.R. 613 also corrected what Eliot viewed as an

---

the Senate debate of Senate 60, and the opposition to Johnson's later interpretation had been succinctly expressed by Lyman Trumbull on January 25, 1866 when he asked, "What sort of a [g]overnment would it be if some State, by withdrawing its representation, could take away the constitutional power of the United States to pass a law?"

[21] *Senate Journal*, 39th Congress, 167-177; 179. The president's veto message, as well as initial Senate debate, is found in the *Senate Journal*, (19 February 1866). The Senate vote on overriding Johnson's veto took place on February 20, 1866. The full text is available at http://memory.loc.gov/ammem/amlaw/lwsj.html [accessed 9 September 2004]. Two Unconditional Unionists and one Opposition Party senator joined twenty-seven Republicans to vote in the affirmative. The negative votes included nine Democrats, six Republicans, two Unionists, and one Unconditional Unionist. Eliot's remarks are found in the *Congressional Globe*, 39th Congress, First Session (23 May 1866), 2772-2780.

omission in the March 1865 bill when it allowed the Secretary of War to draw upon "medical stores and other aid" as necessary. Again, this was something which Bureau officers were already doing. The new bill gave the practice a legal basis.

H.R. 613 compromised on the issue of education, which Johnson had opposed as beyond the responsibility of the federal government. It directed the Bureau to work with private charities in a sort of partnership where the Bureau would provide "buildings for purposes of education," and benevolent associations would provide "suitable teachers and means of instruction." As Eliot explained, many had remarked that "the United States ought not to educate . . . but all that [was] proposed to do here is to procure buildings for the schools." Eliot could "hardly imagine" that anyone could oppose this compromise.[22]

The question of civil rights and legal jurisdiction was addressed in a single section, though it was detailed enough to answer Johnson's criticism that citizens' rights were not fully described, that the Bureau's jurisdiction was too large, and that military courts were inappropriate during peace time. It enumerated the rights to which all citizens, "without respect to race or color, or previous condition of slavery," were entitled, including "the right to make and enforce contracts, to sue, be parties, and give evidence, to inherit, purchase, lease, sell, hold, and convey real and personal property, and to have full and equal benefit of all laws and proceedings concerning personal liberty, personal security, and the acquisition, enjoyment, and disposition of estate, real and personal, including the constitutional right to bear arms." The jurisdictional responsibility of protecting those rights would fall to the Bureau, at the direction and discretion of the president and the Secretary of War, "in every state or district where the ordinary course of

[22] *Congressional Globe*, 39th Congress, First Session, (23 May 1866), 2772. Eliot included an acknowledgement, perhaps to satisfy those who would object to the bill as promoting "dependence," that the new bill included the provision that "no person shall be deemed 'destitute,' 'suffering,' or 'dependent upon the Government for support,' . . . who is able to find employment, and could, by property industry or exertion, avoid such destitution, suffering or dependence."

judicial proceedings has been interrupted by the rebellion, and until the same shall be fully restored, and in every state or district whose constitutional relations to the government have been practically discontinued by the rebellion, and until such state shall have been restored in such relations." Federal military jurisdiction would cease when a state was "duly represented in Congress." The bill's supporters were offering a solution to the question of jurisdiction which specifically addressed the situation in the summer of 1866, when the war was clearly over but the question of readmission of the former Confederate states' congressional representation was not complete.[23]

As with previously proposed legislation, a large portion (seven of its fifteen sections) of the text of H.R. 613 was devoted to the land issue. Those freedpeople who had gained access to land under Sherman's Special Field Order No. 15 received special attention. The new bill attempted to resolve the question of what would happen to those freedpeople when or if the president pardoned the former owners. In such cases, the commissioner was to procure "other lands" for the freedpeople, specifically lands to which the U.S. government held title in other parts of South Carolina. They would be entitled to twenty acres, for a lease term of six years, and the land would be available to them for purchase for no more than $1.50 per acre. Additionally, no lands could be restored until after any growing crops were harvested and the former owners reimbursed the freedpeople for any improvements they had made.[24]

---

[23] For the version of the bill which became law, cited here, see *U.S. Statutes at Large*, 39th Congress, First Session, (16 July 1866), 173-177. The question of military jurisdiction and citizens' rights is addressed in section 14 of the final bill.

[24] Ibid. Section seven estimated the number of acres the government possessed as "thirty-eight thousand acres more or less." All had been "bid in by the United States at tax sales" and was "in the hands of . . . tax commissioners as the property of the United States." Section nine limited the number of acres available to each person to twenty, and the initial lease period was for six years. The land could be purchased for a maximum $1.50 per acre. Section ten directed the South Carolina tax commissioners to survey the available land as soon as "practicable . . . so that the several tracts shall be convenient in form, and as near as practicable have an average of fertility and woodland."

Senate 60 had provided for the allocation of three million acres of public land for the use of the freedpeople and refugees. The version of H.R. 613 which finally passed both houses of Congress had no such provision. Eliot's May 23rd remarks explain the process by which the redistribution of public lands was removed from the Bureau's jurisdiction. The preliminary version of H.R. 613, for which Eliot was arguing, reduced the number of acres from three million to one million. But, Eliot explained, this provision could be excluded altogether if the "homestead law which passed [the] house some time ago" became law, as expected.[25]

The law to which he referred was the Southern Homestead Act. It became law on June 21, 1866 and the section of the preliminary version of H.R. 613 which set aside one million acres was dropped from the final version. The Southern Homestead Act amended the original Homestead Act of May 20, 1862 and specifically included all public lands in Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, Arkansas, and Florida, the same states which would have been the source of the three million acres identified in Senate 60. The act also specifically directed that "no distinction or discrimination shall be made in the construction or execution of this act on account of race or color." For a period of two years after passage, the amended act decreased the number of acres available to an individual from 160 to 80, and decreased the filing fee from ten dollars to five. It also required, until January 1, 1867, that any person applying for such homestead "make an oath that he has not borne arms against the United States, or given aid and comfort to its enemies." The Southern Homestead Act clearly intended to make land available to freedpeople and *loyal* whites, one of the foundational arguments which had been crucial in passing the

[25] *Congressional Globe*, 39th Congress, First Session (23 May 1866), 2772-2773; 2777-2779. In his speech in support of the preliminary version of the bill, Eliot again argued that the restoration of abandoned and confiscated lands to the former owners not only made land unavailable to freedpeople and refugees, but took away the Bureau's (and therefore the government's) source of revenue. And, though he admitted that passage of the Southern Homestead Act could make the allocation of public lands unnecessary in the amended Freedmen's Bureau bill, he continued to emphasize that using those lands to benefit "national uses" was certainly not without precedent in U.S. history. He went so far as to state that "millions of acres have been unwisely given away," whereas the system of land distribution described in the bill would require the freedpeople and refugees to purchase their acres.

original Freedmen's Bureau legislation in March 1865. But by removing the redistribution of land from the Bureau's jurisdiction, it greatly reduced the bureau's power. Only a little over a year into the Bureau's life, the inclusion of "abandoned lands" in the official title no longer reflected the actual work of the Bureau beyond the federal lands in South Carolina.[26]

The version of H.R. 613 which passed the House and Senate did not set aside public lands for freedpeople and loyal refugees, and it appeared that many of the sections which Johnson had opposed had been rewritten to address his objections. On July 6, the bill was presented to the president for his signature. Again, Johnson used his veto power, and on July 16, presented his veto message to Congress. His reasons for the second veto were largely the same ones he had voiced in February. But he also referred to the passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1866, which had also passed despite his veto on April 9, 1866. He now used listed that act, "whose remedies are far more preferable than those proposed in the present bill," as yet another reason the extension of the Bureau was unnecessary. He closed his message by urging Congress to consider "the danger of class legislation." But the precedent of overriding a presidential veto had been set. On the same day as his message, the House voted to override his veto by a vote of 103 to 33, with 46 representatives not voting. The Senate also voted to override by a vote of 33

[26] "An Act for the Disposal of the Public Lands for Homestead Actual Settlement in the States of Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, Arkansas, and Florida," *U.S. Statutes at Large*, 39th Congress, First Session, (21 June 1866), 66-67. Paul Gates' article on federal land policy is invaluable in understanding the nuances of the passage of the Southern Homestead Act, beyond its implications for the Freedmen's Bureau. Gates contends that some Radicals, specifically Representative George W. Julian of Indiana, saw a dual purpose in amending the Homestead Act. They could punish the southern aristocracy and large capitalists, including the railroads, by restricting access to land to homesteaders only. The Southern Homestead Act was repealed in July 1876, thanks largely to those in Congress who supported the idea that an opening of these lands would greatly boost the southern timber industry. The remaining lands were available for public sale. In *Reconstruction*, Foner described the repeal as evidence of a "shift in Northern priorities" as Reconstruction approached its end, 567.

to 12. Finally, sixteen months after the passage of the original bill, the Freedmen's Bureau was extended for another two years, but with significant alterations to its original mandate.[27]

Redistribution of abandoned lands was no longer a Bureau priority. The amended bill only addressed the thirty-eight thousand acres controlled by the federal government in South Carolina and those freedpeople who had gained access to land under Special Field Order No. 15. Education, however, was higher on the Bureau's priority list. Some of the land owned by the government in South Carolina was to be sold at auction and the profits used purchase government bonds which would be available to support schools in the area which operated "without distinction of color or race." Additionally, the commissioner could "sell all buildings . . . and lands . . . held under color of title by the late so-called confederate states and not heretofore disposed of" in order to use the proceeds for "the education of the freed people." If any money was left over after the Bureau "cease[d] to exist," it was allocated to the former Confederate states which "made provision for the education of their citizens without distinction of color." The commissioner was also instructed to cooperate with all "private benevolent associations of citizens in aid of freedmen, and with agents and teachers, duly accredited and appointed by them." He was to provide buildings as well as protection for the schools.[28]

The extensive section on military jurisdiction assigned the Bureau yet another task. Until the former Confederate states were restored to the Union and their representatives recognized by Congress, Bureau officers would be responsible for extending "military protection" to the freedpeople and would have "military jurisdiction" over cases which involved violations of their

[27] Johnson's veto message is found in the *House Journal*, 39th Congress, First Session, (16 July 1866), 1024-1027. The House vote is recorded on pages 1027-1028. The Senate vote is recorded in the *Senate Journal*, 661. The full text of the Civil Rights Act of April 9, 1866, is found in *U.S. Statutes at Large*, Volume 14, 39th Congress, First Session, 27-29. Senators Morgan (R-NY), Stewart (R-NV), and Willey (R-WV) had voted against the override of the veto of Senate 60, but voted in favor of the override of H.R. 613. Senator Edmunds (R-VT) had not voted on the override of Senate 60, but voted in favor of the override of H.R. 613. All twelve senators who voted against the override of H.R. 613 had voted against the override of Senate 60.

[28] *U.S. Statutes at Large*, 39th Congress, First Session, (16 July 1866), 173-177.

rights. The passage of the Civil Rights Act clarified those rights, confirmed the Bureau's jurisdiction, and authorized and required Bureau officers to "institute proceedings against all and every person" who violated the act.[29]

Though the Bureau's work in education and the legal enforcement of the Civil Rights Act were crucial components of the Bureau's revised mandate, the aspect of the new legislation which is most crucial to this study is its emphasis on material aid, transportation, and medical care. Section two of the original March 1865 bill had given the Secretary of War the power to "direct such issues of provisions, clothing, and fuel, as he may deem needful for the immediate and temporary shelter and supply of destitute and suffering refugees and freedmen and their wives and children." The 1866 bill amended that section specifically to include the issue of "such medical stores or other supplies and transportation, and afford such medical or other aid as here may be needful for the purposes named in said section [two]." The bill included the definition of "destitute, suffering, [and] dependent upon the government for support" as anyone who could not find work or avoid such a condition "by proper industry or exertion."[30]

The original Freedmen's Bureau act directed Bureau officers to issue provisions, clothing, and fuel to refugees and freedpeople, an unprecedented peacetime use of federal resources for welfare purposes. The amended legislation expanded available resources to

---

[29] Ibid.

[30] Ibid. There are abundant resources available on the Freedmen's Bureau's educational policies and programs, including Ronald E. Butchart, *Northern Schools, Southern Blacks, and Reconstruction: Freedmen's Education, 1862-1875* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1980) and "'Outthinking and Outflanking the Owners of the World': A Historiography of the African American Struggle for Education, *History of Education Quarterly*, Volume 28, Number 3 (Autumn, 1988): 333-366; James M. McPherson, "White Liberals and Black Power in Negro Education, 1865-1915," *The American Historical Review*, Volume 75, Number 5 (June, 1970): 1357-1386. There are also numerous state studies of individual educational programs, and most general studies of the Freedmen's Bureau operations in a particular state include a discussion of education. Additionally, Jacqueline Jones' *Soldiers of Light and Love: Northern Teachers and Georgia Blacks, 1865-1973* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1980) is particularly useful for understand the Bureau's efforts in Georgia. For more on the legal implications of the Civil Rights Act of 1866, including a discussion of the Freedmen's Bureau, see Moreno, "Racial Classifications and Reconstruction Legislation," as well as Robert J. Kaczorowski, *The Politics of Judicial Interpretation: The Federal Courts, Department of Justice, and Civil Rights, 1866-1876* (New York: Fordham University Press, 2004; paperback reissue).

include transportation and medical care. Groundbreaking is certainly an apt descriptor of this portion of the Bureau's mission. But implementing welfare policy would prove difficult. Commissioner Howard and his officers faced many obstacles as they worked to turn legislative directives into a functioning welfare program. To understand the challenges they encountered, examples from Georgia again offer insight into how the Bureau made the transition from whites-only, state-administered aid programs to a federally funded program which attempted all whose in need, white and black.

Staffing the Bureau would prove problematic throughout its existence. One issue arose from the Bureau's unique mission which was, according to Stanton, to assist whites and blacks, refugees and freedmen, whose "condition was changed by [the] hostilities" of the war by administering government and charitable aid. He was careful to point out, however, that the new Bureau must be careful not to "establish a national system of pauperism . . . or foster a horde of idle officials or dishonest agents." As John and LaWanda Cox pointed out in their study of the "misrepresented bureau," the thought of the federal government taking responsibility for the welfare of the freedmen was a "novelty, . . . a concept of national authority alien to the constitutional thought of the day." A mission of this type had never been undertaken, and the only precedents were found in wartime refugee assistance. That assistance, however, had not had the federal sanction of the new Bureau. As a groundbreaking federal welfare agency which relied so heavily upon appointments by Secretary of War Stanton and Commissioner Howard, there was great potential for partisan bias, corruption, and patronage. It was imperative that the Bureau set and maintain "high standards of personal and official conduct" for its officers and

staff. It would be delicate work to establish and command a successful organization truly committed to assisting southern freedmen and refugees.[31]

It is no surprise that Howard looked to the army for a staff to fulfill these requirements. According to the original Freedmen's Bureau bill, he could appoint up to ten assistant commissioners. He exceeded that number by appointing twelve army officers by October 1865. Of those, six had served with Howard during the war and one was a personal friend. The others were either recommended to Howard by people he trusted, such as Ulysses S. Grant, or had experience with the freedpeople. There was always a high turnover in Bureau personnel, even at the assistant commissioner level, but a few months into his tenure as commissioner, Howard had his assistants in place and those men were working to appoint their subordinates. But one of their first challenges resulted from the simple fact that the war was over and the secretary of war began mustering out soldiers, their primary source of manpower.[32]

---

[31] *Official Record*, Series III, Volume 5, Union Correspondence, etc. General Orders, No. 91, War Department, Adjutant General's Office, May 12, 1865, 19-20, and *Report of Edwin M. Stanton, Secretary of War, November 22, 1865*, 533. John and LaWanda Cox, "General O.O. Howard and the 'Misrepresented Bureau'," *Journal of Southern History* 19 (1953): 427-456.

[32] The appointment of the two additional assistant commissioners was confirmed in the amended Freedmen's Bureau legislation of July 1866. Howard's "comrades," as they are described by McFeely included General Joseph S. Fullerton who was appointed to Louisiana in October; Colonel John Sprague who was appointed to Arkansas and Missouri in June; Colonel Thomas W. Osborn who was appointed to Florida in September; General Davis Tillson who was appointed to Georgia in September; and Reverend Eliphalet Whittlesey who was appointed to North Carolina in July. The remaining assistant commissioners, who had not served with Howard, were from various backgrounds. Thomas Conway, who had served as Superintendent of Free Labor in the Department of the Gulf during the war and was also a minister, was appointed to Louisiana in May (he was replaced by Fullerton in October). General Rufus Saxton was a friend of Howard and, according to McFeely, was acknowledged by Howard as his mentor. He was originally appointed to Georgia, Florida and South Carolina in June 1865, but was replaced by Osborn in Florida and by Tillson in Georgia in September. Colonel John Eaton, Jr. was recommended by Grant since he had served him in charge of freedmen's affairs during the war. He served from June to December in the District of Columbia, which meant he was also Howard's "deputy." Eaton in turn recommended Colonel Samuel Thomas who was appointed to Mississippi in June. General Clinton Fisk, noted for his pursuit of promotion, came highly recommended from the Christian Commission and was appointed to Kentucky and Tennessee in June. General Edgar Gregory is described in McFeely as a "radical abolitionist," and was appointed to Texas in September. For a detailed account of these men, as well as other high-ranking Bureau officers, see McFeely, chapter 4, "The Men of the Freedmen's Bureau." For details on the exact dates of tenure of service, see Victoria Marcus Olds, "The Freedmen's Bureau as a Social Agency." Both Olds and McFeely discuss the turnover among Bureau officers in detail.

Despite the fact that many of the army's soldiers were returning home, there was one source within the military bureaucracy which would prove an excellent source for the Bureau's subordinate staff. As early as April 1862, the War Department perceived a shortage of able-bodied soldiers and authorized every city's chief medical officer to employ convalescent soldiers as nurses, cooks, and hospital attendants. This would allow experienced, though invalid, soldiers to take over duties from those more fit for battle. This authorization did not include any organizational provisions and the invalids had "in fact and in spirit . . . ceased to be soldiers." But on March 20, 1863, at the same time the Freedmen's Inquiry Commission was trying to decide how best to assist the freedpeople, the adjutant-general's office made the first attempt to efficiently utilize the limited services invalid soldiers could provide. Wounded soldiers who were "unfit for field duty but not entirely disabled" were organized into military detachments under military commanders. These soldiers served as "provost, hospital, and other guards, clerks, nurses, cooks and [in] other extra-duty [positions]." This was not a satisfactory solution. The invalid soldiers were never dropped from the rolls of their original companies, continued to be paid on their detachment rolls, and once they had recovered they returned to their units. In military hospitals men who were unfit for battle but suitable for garrison duty continued to be discharged without ever becoming part of an invalid detachment. The system was inefficient and confusing.[33]

[33] *Official Record*, "Report of J.W. De Forest, Captain, V.R.C., and Acting Assistant Adjutant-General, to Brigadier General James B. Fry, Provost-Marshal General, November 30, 1865," 543. This report was a history of the operations of the V.R.C. from its inception until September 30, 1865 and provides one of the most detailed accounts available about the origins of the V.R.C. and its actions during the war. A small amount of supplementary information can be found in *Official Record*., Series III., Volume 5, Union Correspondence, etc. "Report of War Dept., Provost-Marshal-General's Bureau, March 17, 1866 to Hon. E.M. Stanton, Secretary of War," Part X, The Veteran Reserve Corps, 681. De Forest would later serve in the Freedmen's Bureau in South Carolina and publish one of the most detailed accounts of life as a Bureau agent, *A Union Officer in the Reconstruction*, edited with an introduction by James H. Croushore and David Morris Potter (Baton Rouge, LA: Louisiana State University Press, reprint edition, 1997).

This changed on April 28, 1863, when General Order 105 of the Adjutant-General's Office authorized the formation of the Invalid Corps. This order organized the corps into companies and battalions and provided the guidelines necessary to improve efficiency as well as greatly increase the number of invalid soldiers serving the Union. Its ranks were filled by officers as well as enlisted men who fit the following descriptions: men in the field who had been disabled by wounds or by disease contracted in the line of duty; men absent from their units in hospitals or convalescent camps, or otherwise under the control of medical officers; and men who had been discharged for injuries received through honorable service.[34]

The moral and military standards for the Invalid Corps suggested its members as likely candidates for service in the Freedmen's Bureau. Medical certification of partial disability based upon personal examination by a medical officer was, of course, required. But soldiers also had to possess "meritorious character in regard to intelligence, industry, sobriety, and attention to duty," and these traits had to be "vouched for by military superiors." The corps was so insistent that its officers were of superior "character and ability" that the provost-marshal-general, on January 12, 1864, established a nine-member board to test their officers' "knowledge of regulations and tactics and their general fitness for their present positions and for promotion." In order to prevent the discharge of active duty soldiers who would satisfy these requirements, regiment commandants were required to submit rolls of all soldiers unfit for field service to their corps commanders who would forward them, with comments, to the provost-marshal-general. If any active duty soldier met the requirements of the Invalid Corps, his commanding officer was not allowed to release him. Officers who had left the service who wished to join the Invalid Corps were required to present the necessary medical certification as well as proof of honorable

[34] *Official Record*, 544. When the order was first issued, no one was sure battalion-level organization would be necessary, but provisions were included if that were the case.

discharge and recommendations form former military commanders. This was the first major step toward the efficient organization of invalid soldiers.[35]

The Invalid Corps consisted of two battalions. Battalion assignment was based upon severity of injury. If a soldier could "bear a musket and do garrison duty," he was assigned to the first battalion; more severely injured men, those who could not use a musket but who were able to use a sword or pistol, were assigned to the second battalion where they generally served as hospital guards or attendants and reported to the surgeon in charge. Even the most severely injured, those who would qualify for discharge even from the Invalid Corps but wanted to remain in the service were permitted to do so and served as clerks or performed other light duty. By September 1863, the Corps was organized by battalions, regiments, and companies and began issuing commissions. In November 1863, "the corps contained sixteen regiments, each constituted of six companies of the First and four companies of the Second Battalion . . . with a total of 491 officers" commanding 17,764 men.[36]

---

[35] Ibid., 544-551. Though De Forest stated these qualities specifically on page 544, throughout his report he reiterates that this corps was not meant to be a haven for soldiers who simply did not want to return to the front, or as De Forest described it, as a dumping ground for "persons who were useless or noxious at the front, but whose offenses were still not flagrant enough to warrant dismissal from the service." It was meant to provide the Union with services it desperately needed but did not have enough able-bodied men to perform as well as provide honorable soldiers who had been wounded or taken ill with an opportunity to continue to serve with dignity. De Forest also notes that small changed concerning who could recommend soldiers to the Invalid Corps were made to keep unhappy corps commanders from dumping undesirables (see especially page 547). The quality of the men recruited into the Corps is evidenced in De Forest's statement that "of those who already held appointments in the organization only one-twenty-fourth were thrown out" as a result of the review board. As of October 31, 1863, there were 491 officers in the Invalid Corps, so if De Forest's estimate is correct, approximately twenty officers were "thrown out as unsuitable for their positions."

[36] Ibid. Originally, the Corps was to consist of three battalions, but according to De Forest's report, the third was combined with the second by General Orders, No. 212, Adjutant-General's Office, July 9, 1863. According to De Forest's estimates, on average the number of men in the first battalion was double the number in the second. This 2-to-1 ratio satisfied the stated goal of the Provost-Marshal-General's Office. A circular issued by the Provost-Marshal-General's Office on May 22, 1863 was used to begin active recruitment of honorably discharged officers who met the requirements of the Invalid Corps and the acting assistant provost-marshal-general of each state was directed to set up recruiting stations and rendezvous camps where the re-enlisted officers would be "organized, uniformed, equipped, and armed." Enlistments were for three years. Active recruitment for the second battalion was discontinued at the end of 1863.

On March 18, 1864, the Invalid Corps became the Veteran Reserve Corps. There were two reasons for the name change. The first stemmed from the growing animosity between field troops and the garrisoned Invalid Corps troops. The corps men did not like to be singled out as different or secondary to other military units, and the term "invalid" did just that. The change to V.R.C. rid them of the label. The second reason was more utilitarian. By March 1864, the enlistments of many Invalid Corps soldiers were complete and the corps' numbers had decreased. To increase enlistments, a circular was issued "allowing enlistments among discharged soldiers not subject to draft, without reference to disabilities." Since enlistment no longer required physical disability, the new name was more appropriate.[37]

By October 1, 1864 the V.R.C. consisted of 764 officers who commanded 27,974 men. Members of the first battalion, the more physically fit of the V.R.C., served as guards at prison camps, recruiting depots, and distribution camps; assisted provost-marshals in enforcing the draft and conducting conscripts to rendezvous; escorted recruits and prisoners to and from the front; guarded railroads; and assisted in the defense of Washington, D.C. Members of the second battalion, who were assigned to hospital duty, served as guards, ward-masters, clerks, and nurses. On March 21, 1865, the second battalion was transferred to the command of the surgeon-general, a decision which reduced the administrative requirements of the V.R.C. and placed the battalion in "the department which needed and employed this organization." At the time of transfer, 8,687 men and 136 officers left the V.R.C.[38]

---

[37] Ibid., 549; 556-557. De Forest detailed the reasons for the decrease in the number of men and though "expiration of term" was most common, others included men who were transferred "to be tried as deserters." Circular 65, Adjutant-General's Office, outlined the changed enlistment requirements. General Orders, No. 111, Adjutant-General's Office, changed the corps name to V.R.C. Even with the detailed report De Forest provides concerning the "numerical changes" in the corps, it is difficult to determine if the changed enlistment requirements brought in many "discharged soldiers not subject to draft."

[38] Ibid., 552-559. The transfer was conveyed in General Orders, No. 43, Adjutant-General's Office. Once the second battalion was officially transferred to the surgeon-general, those men were no longer part of De Forest's report.

In June 1865, as the Secretary of War was mustering out the regular army, the adjutant-general's office issued orders that while all men who had enlisted or re-enlisted in the V.R.C. were bound to serve out their enlistments, anyone who had transferred into the V.R.C. from other regiments could "claim their discharge from the date of the muster out of their original regiments." As of October 1, 1865, 12,353 men were mustered out of the V.R.C. under these conditions. Combined with the transfer of the second battalion to the surgeon-general, this reduced the number of V.R.C. members to 5,427 men and 658 officers. By December this number had dropped to less than 1000 enlisted men and 644 commissioned officers. The remaining enlisted men were "consolidated into independent companies" and assigned officers. The remaining officers who were not on "special service" were sent home to await instructions.[39]

These officers proved a valuable resource for Commissioner Howard in his search for Bureau staff. The strict requirements for assignment to the V.R.C. meant its members would likely satisfy Secretary of War Stanton's admonition to ensure Bureau men were above reproach, both morally and militarily. V.R.C. men also understood the military command structure Howard would employ in the Bureau. From a philosophical as well as pragmatic perspective, reassigning men from the V.R.C. to the Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands made sense. But would it work in reality?

An examination of the career of Boston merchant William Mitchell is in many ways representative of the successes and failures of reassigning V.R.C. men to the Freedmen's Bureau. Mitchell began his army career in the infantry as a first lieutenant in Company G of the 28th

[39] Ibid., 559. General Orders, No. 116, June 17, 1865. It is assumed that the 12, 353 men De Forest refers to are from the First Battalion only, since he claims to have no information concerning the second battalion after their transfer to the surgeon-general in March. De Forest's report is dated November 30 and at that time he estimated an additional 1,200 to 1,300 ore men would eventually be mustered out under this order. If the December numbers are correct, he either underestimated or there were other circumstances which led to the mustering out of additional men.

Massachusetts Volunteers on September 1, 1861. He was forty-six years old. On September 17, 1862 a fall at the Battle of Antietam resulted in a hernia, which rendered him unfit for service in the regular army. He was discharged on November 14, 1862. He returned home to Boston and married thirty-five-year-old Joanna H.L. Webber of Roxbury Massachusetts, on August 8, 1863. Sometime after October 1863, he was granted a pension of $8 per month based upon his injuries at Antietam, but this pension was "discontinued by reason of being mustered in again as" a first lieutenant and commander of the 108th Company of the Veteran Reserve Corps on January 28, 1864. The 108th served at the U.S. Army General Hospital at York, Pennsylvania and it was there that Mitchell received his second war injury on June 3, 1865. As recounted in *The Cartridge Box*, the hospital's newsletter, and later affidavits of witnesses, Mitchell was instrumental in "quelling" a disturbance. The men on guard duty "stacked their arms and refused to do duty." The 108th was ordered out and under Mitchell's leadership stopped the disturbance. Twenty-five "rioters" were arrested as a result. During the riot, Mitchell was injured by a stone thrown by one of the rioters which, according to affidavits in his pension record, resulted in his developing epilepsy. Less than three months before, on March 22, Mitchell's wife Joanna had given birth to a son. Twice injured and with a young family, William Mitchell returned home in December 1865 to await orders, as had other V.R.C. members.[40]

Those orders reached him in late February 1866 and on March 1, he reported for duty via letter, from his home at 14 Garland Street in Boston, to General Howard. He was not eager for duty. He told Howard he had had "only six days leave of absence since September 1861."

[40] William Mitchell, Pension File #WC 166-659, NARA, Textual Records Branch. This substantial file contains numerous affidavits by Mitchell and others describing his service and injuries, a certificate of his marriage, a certification of his son's birth, and his and his wife's dates of death. The injury at Antietam was initially described as a fall over a fence, later as a fall over a stump, and by 1873, in the last mention of the injury in relation to his pension, as a gunshot wound. The injury sustained at York, however, is consistently described as received while "quelling a riot," which gives the impression that Mitchell may have circulated copies of *The Cartridge Box* rather widely.

Howard was not moved and Mitchell was ordered to report to Freedmen's Bureau Assistant Commissioner Davis Tillson at his headquarters in Augusta, Georgia. Mitchell appealed to Howard a second time, requesting an assignment to a "post where [he] could enjoy the society of [his] wife and child." He even enclosed a newspaper clipping from *The Cartridge Box* which described his meritorious service in the riot. Again, Howard was unmoved. Mitchell left his family and reported to Augusta. Apparently an eagerness for service in the Bureau was not a prerequisite for assignment.[41]

On April 7, 1866, Tillson ordered Mitchell to "proceed to Marietta and investigate outrages alleged to have been perpetrated on the freed people of that place." By April 19, he was assigned to duty as acting sub-assistant commissioner at Marietta. Mitchell served in that capacity until November 28, 1866, when he was relieved from duty in the Bureau. During his tenure, he performed the duties typical of Bureau officers. He distributed rations to the citizens of his district, regardless of race, and attempted to obtain transportation for those who requested it, often serving as a sort of facilitator by forwarding transportation requests to Tillson. His reports to Tillson usually included some reference to periodic inspections of his district, whose boundaries never seemed to be clearly defined, and highlighted his role as mediator of disputes. In the early days of the Bureau, simply keeping up with requests for rations and transportation appears to have been a demanding job. It is obvious from Mitchell's correspondence that he dealt with people of both races, and while he did complain of long hours and the seemingly endless requests of both freedpeople and refugees, there is no hint of racism or prejudice in his

[41] NARA Record Group 105, *Records of the Assistant Commissioner for the State of Georgia Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands (BRFAL), 1865-1870*, Microcopy 798, roll 28, Mitchell correspondence to Howard, March 1, 1866 and March 3, 1866. Rufus Saxton was initially assigned to the states of Georgia, South Carolina, and Florida. In September 1866, the states were split into separate districts, Saxton was relieved from duty and Tillson became assistant commissioner of Georgia. No records survive from Saxton's tenure. Tillson claimed he found none when he reported for duty as his replacement. Microcopy 798, roll 28, "Report of Bt. Maj. Gen. Davis Tillson, Ass't. Com's. Bureau R. F. & A.L. for State of Georgia Showing the Operations of the Bureau from Sept. 22, 1865 to Nov. 1, 1866."

reports or letters. Whether this reflected his personal beliefs or may be viewed as conformity to the expectations of his superiors remains unknown.[42]

But there is ample evidence that General Howard relied upon men like Mitchell, no matter their personal views. Between January 6 and March 7, 1866, Howard made five requests of the provost-marshal-general's office for lists of V.R.C. officers who would be "suitable for duty" in the Freedmen's Bureau. He requested a total of 270 officers' names. Lieutenant Mitchell's name was presumably on one of those lists. Howard's request was the reason Mitchell was assigned to the Bureau and sent to Georgia to assist the freedpeople and refugees for eight months. He had no special training and he certainly could never be described as enthusiastic about the assignment. But membership in the V.R.C., with its stringent standards, and recommendations by fellow military officers, were enough for Howard to place his trust in the 295 V.R.C. officers who were assigned to duty in the Bureau by March 1866.[43]

It is unlikely that any wartime or civilian service could have prepared officers such as Mitchell for duty in the Bureau. As early as June 1865, the Bureau began operations in all eleven of the former Confederate states as well as Kentucky, Maryland, and Washington, D.C. As the staff grew with increasing appropriations, supplemental legislation, and the transfer of V.R.C. officers, operations expanded as well. The myriad complexities which confronted Mitchell and his fellow officers as they reported for duty at their stations are well documented in

---

[42] Ibid., Special Orders, No. 63, BRFAL, Office of Acting Assistant Commissioner, Augusta, Georgia, April 7, 1866; Special Orders, No. 70, April 19, 1866; Special Orders, No 169, November 28, 1866. The duties described here are very similar to those described in the numerous available accounts from other Bureau agents or sub-assistant commissioners. Mitchell's daily activities are detailed in his correspondence to various officials, which is found on rolls 28 and 32 of M798. In addition to duties related to rations and other material assistance detailed below, he also reported various crimes and "outrages," including several murders and attempted murders, and his role in presiding over trials concerning freedpeople.

[43] NARA Record Group 105, BRFAL, *Selected Series of Records Issued by the Commissioner*, Microcopy 742, Roll 2, Howard correspondence dated January 6; January 8; January 31; February 5; and March 7, 1866. *Official Record*, Series III, Volume 5, Union correspondence, etc. "Report of War Dept., Provost-Marshal-General's Bureau, March 17, 1866 to Hon. E.M. Stanton, Secretary of War," Part X, The Veteran Reserve Corps, 681.

the various state studies of the Freedmen's Bureau. But there are few studies which attempt to compare state Bureau operations. A brief comparative examination of only one aspect of those operations, ration distribution, uncovers some startling differences in the way each state Bureau approached its duties regarding material aid and provides a basis upon which to evaluate the Georgia Bureau's ration distribution program. It also provides a context within which to accurately assess the links between Georgia's wartime and post-war welfare programs, private northern charitable associations, and the role of the Freedmen's Bureau in providing aid in the early years of Reconstruction.[44]

[44] Ration distribution began in Kentucky in August 1865, in Maryland in June 1866, and in Washington in July 1865.

Chapter VI

The State, the Freedmen's Bureau, and Northern Charity in Georgia, 1865-1867

"Oh! Abundantly provided for; that is, those who deserve it"[1]

Even if all the Bureau men who came to Georgia in late 1865 had not attempted to avoid the assignment as strenuously as William Mitchell, they had good reason to approach their new post with some trepidation. Beyond the sheer enormity of their task, they likely anticipated hostility from many white southerners. Those fears would not have been unfounded. As early as 1862, a play written for an amateur theatre troupe in Atlanta, whose performance would benefit the Hospital Association, featured a commissioner assigned to distribute poor relief as its primary villain. The drama describes the tragedy of the Lee family who, though poor, are happy. The play opens as Mr. Lee announces his enlistment, of which his wife heartily approves. She explains to her husband that she and their small children "will not suffer so long as [she] can obtain employment." Besides, she believes that "the kind and charitable will always sustain those who are worthy." The Lees, undoubtedly, are worthy. But within months of her husband's departure, the Lees are caught in the machinations of Mr. Thompson, who has been appointed commissioner for poor relief. Though he describes his purpose as distributing the state's relief fund to soldiers' families "whenever relief was needed," he succinctly describes his opinion of

[1] *The Soldier's Wife:A Drama in Three Acts*, Written Expressly for the Atlanta Amateurs, by A Lady of Atlanta (Atlanta, GA: Franklin Printing House, Wood, Hanleiter, Rice, and Co., 1862), Act I, Scene III. The original of this play is part of the John Hay Library Collection at Brown University. The proceeds of its performance were "for the Hospital Fund of Atlanta." A short examination of the play itself is found in Kelly Hogan, "The Theater of Such Unhappy Events: Confederate Dramatizations of the Civil War," unpublished thesis. A selection from the thesis is available online at http://www.perspicacity.com/elactheatre/library/confed/confed.htm [accessed 15 June 2004], and was the source through which I first became aware of the play. A phone conversation with Ms. Hogan yielded no additional sources, but did help in locating the original copy of the play.

those needs. "As I am the judge of who is needy and worthy, I find that very few are." Rather than distributing aid, he would simply "mark down on the books, relieved a soldier's family on such a day, take the funds and put them in [his] own pocket." He then invested the funds with a speculator. These two men are in collusion with Mrs. Lee's landlord, and the result of the "villainous trio" is the family's eviction and the death of Mrs. Lee and her children from starvation and exposure. Mr. Lee also meets a violent end when, concerned that he had no communication from his wife, he deserts and returns home only to find his family dead and to be arrested by the military authorities. He is executed for desertion in the final act.[2]

Though the extant copy of the play does not include a date of performance, the fact that its text was printed in a program format is an indication that it was staged at least once. A harsh indictment of the state's relief program for soldiers' families, it provides a glimpse of the perceived inadequacies of the system. These inadequacies, however, did not reach such as level as to force changes in the system. Throughout the war, the state's relief programs were administered through the inferior court judges of each county.. After the war, this system continued as Georgia faced wartime destruction and an ongoing drought. On March 13, 1866,

[2] Ibid., Acts I through III. According to Drew Gilpin Faust in *The Creation of Confederate Nationalism,* The Walter Lynwood Fleming Lectures in Southern History, (Baton Rouge, LA: Louisiana State University Press, 1988; Louisiana Paperback Edition, 1989), such an indictment of speculators was not unusual. Faust's examination of a popular novel by Alexander St. Clair Abrams, published in 1864, and entitled *The Trials of the Soldier's Wife: A Tale of the Second American Revolution*, finds a similar story, a young wife is left in New Orleans with her young children and forced to steal to save one from illness. The child dies, and the mother goes insane from grief and dies as well. Though Faust's primary concern in the analysis of the novel is its portrayal of extortionists and the Confederacy's grappling with free-market ideology, she also notes a theme common to both works: their focus on women as patriotic innocents and men as villain. "When war forced many [women] into contact with the marked, as refugees from the war-torn countryside or as wives unable to produce a subsistence with their soldier-husbands gone from the farm, they entered this new world as consumers: like Mrs. Wentworth, the victims rather than the perpetrators, of extortion," 51. Additionally, a newspaper clipping found in the microfilmed records of the Southern Famine Relief Commission, Roll 4, identified only as a letter in a "New Orleans paper," discusses a proposal to distribute aid in the city. It criticizes charities which seem more interested in developing reputations for themselves, "the cloven foot at times peering out from under the garment of charity," and notes that those who are supposed to distribute aid are often "found in the possession of unusual acquisitions of property." The author goes on to state, "We object to two classes of persons; professional philanthropists and persons holding offices under the law. We impeach nobody in particular, but we have never found professional or official charity efficient or discriminating, whether in the before time or now." Perhaps the anonymous play would have found an enthusiastic audience in New Orleans.

the post-war Georgia General Assembly appropriated $200,000.00 to purchase corn for soldiers' widows and orphans, as well as "wounded or disabled soldiers," and "such aged or infirm white persons as must suffer without aid, on account of their destitution and inability to work for a living." The justices of the inferior courts were ordered, within a month of notification, to report the number of such persons in their counties. The Governor would then appoint a purchasing agent, and the justices would appoint county agents, to procure and distribute the aid. In December 1866, the General Assembly appropriated another $100,000 with the same restrictions, but with the added proviso "that no part of the same shall be expended until the Governor shall become satisfied that a sufficiency of corn will not be contributed from voluntary sources."[3]

But there were also two significant changes in welfare programs serving Georgia. The first was the arrival of the Freedmen's Bureau, whose mission was to aid both black and white Georgians who were deemed in need. The second was the formation of numerous private charitable organizations in the North, those "voluntary sources" noted in the December 1866 Georgia legislation, whose sole aim was to provide material aid, without regard to race, to the devastated South. By 1867, the Freedmen's Bureau was providing rations from its stores to Georgians, which was clearly part of its mission as described by the second Freedmen's Bureau

[3] *Acts of the General Assembly of the State of Georgia, Passed in Milledgeville, At an Annual Session in December 1865, and January, February, and March 1866, Part I, Public Laws, Title III, Appropriations, &c., Volume I,* "An Act for raising a Revenue for the political year eighteen hundred and sixty-six, and to appropriate money for the support of the Government during said year, and to make certain special appropriations, and for other purposes therein mentioned," Section XI., Approved 13 March 1866, 12-13; *Acts of the General Assembly of the State of Georgia, Passed in Milledgeville, At an Annual Session in November and December 1866, Part I, Public Laws, Title II, Appropriations, &c., Volume I,* "An Act for raising a Revenue for the political year eighteen hundred and sixty-seven, and to appropriate money for the support of the Government during said year, and to make certain special appropriations, and for other purposes therein mentioned," Section XXXV, Approved 13 December 1866, 11. Available from "Georgia's Acts and Resolutions from 1799-1999," The Georgia Legislative Documents Project, presented in the Digital Library of Georgia. Section XXVIII of the December appropriation also provided $20,000.00 for transportation of "corn and other supplies donated by the people of Kentucky and benevolent societies of other States, to the destitute of Georgia," which is examined in detail below. Former Comptroller General Peterson Thweatt, who so dramatically argued against repudiating the state's debt, was the state agent for distribution of this fund.

bill. But it was also coordinating the distribution of private assistance, often through the very offices of the inferior court judges who had overseen wartime relief. That aspect of its operations was not so clearly defined in any legislation. It evolved from necessity, as the demands of the South's poor overwhelmed the Bureau's resources.[4]

In the early months of Reconstruction, one of the most basic ways the Freedmen's Bureau addressed southern destitution was by issuing rations. From June 1865 until November 1868, the Freedmen's Bureau issued approximately 20.3 million rations in thirteen states and the District of Columbia. Twenty-six percent of those rations were distributed to white refugees. But this simple statistic does not explain the diversity of ration programs within each assistant commissioner's jurisdiction. There was great variation in the number of rations issued in each state, as well as in the percentage of rations distributed to freedpeople and white refugees. Tables 6.1 through 6.7 detail the distributions for all thirteen states and the District of Columbia, but one example clearly indicates the data's implications. Virginia distributed the greatest number of rations of any state, with a total of 4,257,178. But less than five percent of those rations (203,478.0) were distributed to white refugees. In stark contrast, Alabama, which distributed the second-greatest number of rations (4,219,579.5), issued sixty-five percent of its rations (2,727,406.0) to whites. An attempt to explain the variations for all states is beyond the

[4] A "ration" was far from standardized. Officially, a ration should include enough food, primarily corn, to feed one person for one week. In reality, one ration was often whatever food the agent could procure, divided between the most desperate citizens. Corn, corn meal, bacon, salt pork, and flour are listed in various agents' records. The use of inferior court judges to administer welfare after the war's end is confirmed in a letter, dated February 6, 1867, found in Holmes, *The New York Ladies' Southern Relief Association,* 31-33. Signed by W.B. Johnston, whose title and position are not identified, the letter states that the author had recently spoken to Georgia Governor Jenkins and found "that there is an organization of Agents under the supervision of the Inferior Courts of each County in the State for distributing contributions. All that is sent in money, provisions, & clothing is properly distributed to the poor."

scope of this dissertation, but an examination of the details of Georgia's ration program reveals how one state implemented a policy which was, at best, fluid.[5]

The Georgia Freedmen's Bureau distributed 1,476,579.5 rations from August 1865 to October 1868. It ranked fifth in the total number of rations distributed by state. Only Alabama, Arkansas, and South Carolina distributed a greater number of rations to whites than Georgia. White refugees received 285,933.5 of those rations, or nineteen percent, which also places Georgia in the fifth ranking of percentage of rations to whites. The full implication of Georgia's ration program, however, is not found in its rankings but in the detailed monthly reports the assistant commissioners forwarded to Bureau headquarters each month. Unfortunately, the extant reports do not span the entire period from June 1865 to November 1868. There are, however, consecutive reports from December 1865 until December 1867, which provide a large enough sample to identify areas in which white refugees received rations.[6]

During the war, the forty-five counties which comprised the upcountry and mountain regions (see Figure 1.1) and the home counties of the population centers of Savannah, Augusta, Columbus, and Macon received 52 percent of the total aid distributed from fiscal year 1863-1864

[5] NARA Record Group 105, Entry 33, Box 6, Office of the Commissioner, Reports. This untitled, fourteen-page report is not part of the microfilmed records which comprise the bulk of RG 105. The statistics it contains were compiled based upon each state's and the District of Columbia's monthly reports, which were filed by assistant commissioners.

[6] Ibid. The four states which distributed more rations than Georgia were Virginia, Alabama, South Carolina, and North Carolina. The four states which issued a greater percentage of rations to whites were Arkansas, Alabama, Kentucky, and Maryland. The assistant commissioners submitted their data on folio-sized, pre-printed report forms, found in NARA Record Group 105, Entry 33, *Monthly Reports of the Assistant Commissioner of the Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands (BRFAL) for the State of Georgia*, December 1865-December 1867. The Georgia commissioners submitted separate sheets clearly labeled "Freedmen" and "Refugees." The reports identify the number of rations issued rather than the number of people who received rations. Since there was no standard number of rations issued to each person, this precludes determining the number of people who received the enumerated rations. Ration distribution is subdivided by gender and age (adult or child under fourteen); "First Class," which included "Dependents," both "Well" and "Sick"; "Second Class," defined as "In Government Employ"; and "Third Class," defined as "Receiving Rations and Giving Lien on Crop." These subcategories will provide fertile ground for further research, but are beyond the scope of this dissertation. Unfortunately, the narrative reports which originally accompanied these statistical reports were separated after receipt in Washington and are no longer part of this entry.

to 1864-1865. Though Cherokee County, then-governor Joe Brown's home county, received the largest portion of any county, it was followed by Savannah's Chatham County, Columbus' Muscogee County, Macon's Bibb County, and Augusta's Richmond County. Table 6.8 reveals that after the war, Freedmen's Bureau ration distribution followed much the same pattern, with one notable exception. Fulton County, home of Atlanta, replaced Cherokee County as the top recipient. This would support the conclusion that the county's large wartime welfare program had been at least partially attributable to Governor Brown's influence. Atlanta's ascendance on the list of post-war aid recipients is likely explained by an influx of refugees, especially after Sherman's army moved through northwestern Georgia. As a growing transportation hub, and city nearest those areas devastated by Sherman's March, Atlanta was a logical destination for destitute people of all races. After Fulton, the counties which received the next largest numbers of rations were, in order, Macon's Bibb County, Augusta's Richmond County, Savannah's Chatham County, and Columbus' Muscogee County. Georgia's major cities continued to function as primary aid distribution centers.[7]

But did early Reconstruction ration distribution follow other patterns established during the war? Yes, as proven by a regional comparison of wartime aid and postwar ration distribution. During the war, as described in chapter three, a significant portion of the state's wartime welfare was distributed to the northern portion of the state, the seventeen counties designated "mountains" and the twenty-four "upcountry" counties, areas which, according to the

[7] *Monthly Reports*, December 1865-December 1867. In order to make appropriate comparisons between wartime aid, which was always reported by county of distribution, the statistics found in Table 6.8 also identify counties (as well as geographical regions) to describe post-war Freedmen's ration distribution. The original monthly reports, however, use a combination of descriptors for distribution points. Most often, the "Station" identified is a city, which is presumably the location of the Freedmen's Bureau agent in that county. Generally, it is the county seat, but there are exceptions. In some cases, the station is identified as a county, and in even fewer cases, counties are combined as a single station. For example, a single monthly report could contain a combination of city stations (Savannah), county stations (Morgan), and multi-county stations (Henry and Newton). Table 6.8 streamlines this data in order to compare wartime and Reconstruction aid distribution.

1860 census, were majority white. This was not surprising during the war, as whites were the sole intended recipients of wartime aid. What is surprising is that the Freedmen's Bureau's ration distribution followed the same pattern. Though only nine of the seventeen mountain counties, and nineteen of the twenty-four upcountry counties were listed as ration distribution stations from 1865 to 1867, the total number of rations the Bureau distributed in those areas totaled 574,597.5, or 56 percent of Georgia's total rations. This area includes, of course, Atlanta's Fulton County, the number-one-ranking distribution station, but that does not alter the simple fact that over half of the Freedmen's Bureau's rations were distributed in twenty-eight of Georgia's 130 counties, and that those counties, without exception, had black populations of less than 42 percent on the 1860 Census. Detailed Georgia Freedmen's Bureau ration distribution statistics are found in Tables 6.8 through 6.12.[8]

Though the 1860 Census does provide an understanding of the location of Georgia's slave population, its obvious limitation is its static nature. It cannot provide information on the movement of populations during the war or in the first years of Reconstruction. It cannot tell us if the percentages of black and white populations remained the same in Georgia's counties. But the Freedmen's Bureau's monthly ration reports can shed some light. Since these reports designate the numbers of rations distributed to "freedmen" and "refugees" at every station in the state, the percentages issued to each group identify the areas in which whites, or "refugees," received the most rations.

Not surprisingly, the mountains, the area with the largest 1860 white population, led the way in refugee ration distribution. Of a total of 152,940 rations issued in nine mountain

[8] Walton County, which is just north of the boundary separating the upcountry from the eastern black belt, had a slave population in 1860 of 6453, or 41 percent of the total county population. Gilmer County, in the mountains, was a ration distribution station, but ranked last in Georgia's slave population, with 2 percent, or 167 slaves of a total population of 6,724, in 1860.

counties, 101,254, or 66 percent went to whites. In the 19 upcountry counties which had ration distribution centers, 33 percent of the 421,657.5 rations issued went to whites. The percentage of rations distributed to whites dropped precipitously in the 10 counties in the eastern black belt, where only 7 percent of the 287,016.5 rations went to whites. The pattern continued in the three counties in the coastal region (of a total of six in the region) which included ration distribution stations, where 2.5 percent of the 103,630 rations went to whites. Only four counties of the nineteen which comprised the western black belt had ration distribution centers, but less than one percent of the 54,154 rations went to whites. The nineteen counties of the pine barrens-wiregrass region had no ration distribution stations. Though Georgia's population was undoubtedly shifting during the war and after, as people sought food and safety, the racial composition of the different geographical regions of the state did not change significantly. As evidenced by the Bureau's ration reports, in the early years of Reconstruction large white populations were still found in the mountains and upcountry counties, while large black populations continued in the eastern and western black belts and the coastal region.[9]

The statistics found in the ration reports also confirm that Georgia's Freedmen's Bureau agents, on average, appear to have implemented the Bureau's mandate to assist both blacks and whites. In areas with large white populations, a large percentage of rations were distributed to whites; in areas with large black populations, a large percentage of rations were distributed to blacks. But the story of Freedmen's Bureau aid to white Georgians is more complex. Cobb County sub-assistant commissioner William Mitchell's correspondence to his superiors provides a glimpse into the life of a Bureau agent serving in a predominantly white county. Mitchell, the reluctant V.R.C. officer from Boston who had requested a post closer to home, was stationed in the city of Marietta, the county seat of Cobb County, just northwest of Atlanta. Seventy-four

[9] *Monthly Reports*, December 1865-December 1867.

percent white in 1860, the county had often been identified in the wartime legislative discussions as one of the areas most affected by drought as well as battle, and had been one of the counties which received special corn distributions. During Reconstruction, from December 1865 until December 1867, the Freedmen's Bureau distributed 31,250 rations in the county. Sixty-two percent of those rations went to whites, reflecting the racial makeup of the county in 1860.

South Carolina Freedmen's Bureau agent John William De Forest, in a book he published detailing his Bureau service, described the inhabitants of his up-country station as "a population already habituated to corn distribution." Mitchell would have agreed with this description. When he reported for duty in the spring of 1866, his position was unenviable. The people of Cobb County were indeed accustomed to receiving aid from the state and according to reports such as Mitchell's were desperate to continue receiving assistance. There was also the potential for animosity between defeated Confederates and the representative of any federal agency, especially one nicknamed the Freedmen's Bureau. It is also entirely possible that they shared the suspicions of the author of *The Soldier's Wife*, who so thoroughly vilified the state's wartime poor relief agents, which may have created hostility in their interactions with Mitchell. But Mitchell's reports and letters, which began in the spring and ended in the fall of 1866, did not include tales of any such animosity. He consistently reported the gratitude with which "both races" received the rations and clothing he distributed.

In June, he reported that he had distributed three thousand rations in one week to one thousand people of both races but noted that since he "had over four thousand applications, it didn't give much satisfaction!" In July, he reported that he had distributed more rations but complained that they were "not regularly graduated to the Regulations! . . . There were twenty pounds of candles sent to ten thousand rations and other things out of proportion. It will be an

arduous task to make out my 'Returns' unless I make them in gross!" In August, the number of rations he distributed reached ten thousand, to 4,071 people, sixty-seven percent of whom were white. He "also received rations for Cherokee and Paulding counties and delivered them to the Special Agents of those counties" along with "32 barrels of meal to issue to the destitute of [Cobb] County." In October, his report included a detailed account of a distribution of clothing to 308 men and added that "the people of this county, although peaceably disposed, are miserably poor and receive this clothing and rations gratefully!" He also requested information "in regard to furnishing transportation to poor white and black people . . . [because] there is (sic) a great many poor people in this county who are bound to suffer if they remain here." In November, he wrote the assistant commissioner,

> [I] assure you that I am annoyed whenever I leave my office for calls for rations and clothing! In going from my boarding house to my store, I was stopped this forenoon 73 times with both women and men of both races pleading poverty and looking for overcoats. I never saw so needy a lot of human beings in my life as there are in this county! . . . I have taken great pains to investigate the affairs of my district and have found many sufferers, both black and white!"

Despite Mitchell's flair for the dramatic, his correspondence confirms that the wartime deprivation in northern Georgia continued into Reconstruction and that white and black people in Cobb County were both "needy" and "grateful" for Bureau assistance.[10]

[10] NARA Record Group 105, M798, Roll 28, Mitchell correspondence, "Concerning the Number of Rations for Cobb County," June 16, 1866; untitled, June 26, 1866; untitled, July 19, 1866; "Concerning the Affairs in the Month of August," August 31, 1866; "Monthly Report for October," October 30, 1866; untitled, October 11, 1866; untitled, November 13, 1866. The June 16th letter noted that Mitchell had "secured the large store of Judge Atkinson" for the purpose of storing and distribution to those who had applied for "relief." Judge Atkinson was likely the Inferior Court judge who had served as relief agent during the war, or was at least in charge of any remaining relief items. The issue of the "loyalty" of the whites to whom Mitchell issued rations is never addressed in his correspondence. This is an area in which there seems to have been wide variation in interpretation of the Bureau's mandate. For example, in North Carolina, which distributed a total of 1,857,139 rations from June 1865 to November 1868 (as detailed in Table 6.5), only 3.343 percent (62,080) went to white refugees. A cursory examination of that state's detailed monthly reports reveals that the language used on these forms is quite specific, noting distribution to "Loyal Refugees." The term "loyal" was never used on Georgia's forms. The sharp contrast in the percentage of rations given to whites in Georgia and North Carolina suggests this was more than a matter of semantics. Additionally, in his book, South Carolina agent John William De Forest noted on several occasions that his distribution of rations and other assistance to poor whites was based upon his assessment that many whites were on the verge of starvation.

While it is impossible, as proven by the many state studies of Freedmen's Bureau operations, to describe any agent or sub-assistant commissioner's tenure or actions as "typical," Mitchell's experiences do not appear to have been extraordinary. The inclusion of whites in the Bureau's mandate to assist the South's poor, the change which had been instrumental in the passage of the initial legislation in March of 1865, may have been a necessary compromise to ensure that the freedpeople would receive post-emancipation aid. But once it became part of the Bureau's mandate, aid to poor whites in its various forms became part of the institution. It was not peripheral to men such as Mitchell who implemented the Bureau's policies. He interpreted his mission as assisting those who were suffering, white and black alike.

But even an exhaustive study of all extant records of every Freedmen's Bureau agent in Georgia would not reveal the full story of relief to poor whites in the first years of Reconstruction. In the area of material aid (food and clothing, primarily), the Bureau did more than distribute the supplies available through government stores or those purchased with its appropriations. It worked closely with private charitable organizations, primarily based in the North, who solicited funds and donations to aid the South. It was through these organizations that poor whites and freedpeople found access to even greater amounts of aid. Private charitable aid was distributed by a variety of people, including Freedmen's Bureau agents, the ubiquitous county inferior court judges, and local ministers. Commissioner Howard himself played a role in facilitating the fundraising and distribution activities of private charities. Their early efforts coincided with a particularly nasty and very public debate in Congress which defeated a proposal to appropriate an additional $1 million in southern aid. An examination of two of those agencies

---

As the majority of recipients he described were female, he felt it unfair and even cruel to determine eligibility based upon the women's husbands' or fathers' wartime allegiances. Since almost 18 percent of South Carolina's 2,320,448.5 rations went to white refugees, it appears that many of De Forest's fellow agents reached the same conclusion.

further clarifies the role of the Freedmen's Bureau in assisting poor whites and freedpeople at a time when the question of assisting white southerners who had not been loyal to the Union was being debated in Congress and in the nation's newspapers.

One of the earliest public charities founded to assist the South was the New York Ladies' Southern Relief Association (NYLSRA), founded in December 1866. A pamphlet by Anne Middleton Holmes, published in 1926 by the Mary Mildred Sullivan Chapter of the United Daughters of the Confederacy, provides detailed information from the association's founding until its final report in November 1867. The information found in the pamphlet is invaluable to understanding the workings of the association, the needs of southerners who wrote requesting relief, and the motivations of the women and men who served the association.[11]

Its founder, Mary Mildred Hammond Sullivan, and her husband, Algernon Sydney Sullivan, were prominent in New York society and had numerous ties to the South. He was born in Indiana, moved to New York, and became a celebrated attorney and philanthropist with political connections. She was a Virginia native who, in addition to founding the NYLSRA, also founded the above-mentioned United Daughters of the Confederacy chapter in New York. During the war, Mrs. Sullivan had, with government permission, traveled in Virginia and had first-hand knowledge of southern devastation after the war. Her southern sympathies were well-known, and may have even influenced federal officials who imprisoned her husband while he served as a member of the defense team for the captain and crew of the *Savannah*, a captured privateer. In formulating their defense against charges of piracy, he corresponded with the

[11] Holmes, *New York Ladies' Southern Relief Association*. The pamphlet includes a narrative introduction by the author, Anne Middleton Holmes, as well as transcripts of letters received. The final report is accompanied by a list of subscribers and their donations as well as brief information concerning the Brooklyn auxiliary. This pamphlet is by no means an unbiased source. The narrative is clearly supportive of the Dunning School of Reconstruction history, which is unsurprising given its publication date and connection to the United Daughters of the Confederacy. It is also possible that the letters published in the pamphlet were edited to include only those which supported Holmes' ideology. This does not, however, compromise their worth as sources. The original records are housed in the Brockenbrough Library at the Museum of the Confederacy in Richmond, Va.

Confederate government, and faced charges of disloyalty when accused of transmitting more information than was necessary. He was freed from Fort Lafayette, and returned to the defense team, after signing a loyalty oath. He went on to become the first president of the New York Southern Society, an organization he founded to meet the needs of New York's expatriate southerners. With such ties to the South and the Confederacy, and a reputation for philanthropy, the Sullivan's interest in post-war southern charity is not surprising. According to Holmes' pamphlet, Mrs. Sullivan was "familiar to hundreds of southerners. . . because of her work with the Confederate prisoners during the war." This reputation led to an influx of mail having "the proportions of an avalanche." Her response to these calls for assistance was to found the NYLSRA and she served as secretary throughout its year-long existence.[12]

The association's entire slate of officers, executive committee, and managers were women, with one exception, Arthur Leary, who served as treasurer. There were many notable

[12] Ibid., 7; 21. Holmes' pamphlet is careful to point out that Mrs. Sullivan never offered aid of which the federal government would disapprove. Sullivan's law firm, Sullivan and Cromwell, still thrives today as one of the country's largest international firms. According to the firm's website, found at http://www.sullcrom.com, its early highlights included involvement in U.S. railroad building and the construction of the Panama Canal. Details of the capture of the Savannah are found in the *Official Record*, Series 2, Volume 3, Part 1, "Prisoners of War and State, Etc.," accessible through ehistory.com at http://www.ehistory.com/uscw/library/or/116/0002.cfm [accessed 5 January 2005]. Details of Sullivan's arrest for suspected disloyalty are also found in the *Official Record*, Series 2, Volume 2, Part 1, "Prisoners of War, Etc.," 682-688, accessible through ehistory.com, http://www.ehistory.com/uscw/library/or/115/0682.cfm [accessed 5 January 2005]. The details of the case are available at the Supreme Court Historical Society's website, found at http://www.supremecourthistory.org/04_library/subs_volumes/04_c20_f.html [accessed 5, January 2005] in an online document entitled "The Trial of the Officers and Crew of the Schooner 'Savannah' John D. Gordan, III." The crux of the case was whether the captain and crew should be treated as pirates or as prisoners of war. The legal classification rested upon whether or not the Confederate States were a nation. After his release from Fort Lafayette, Sullivan rejoined the defense team. The trial ended in a hung jury, but the captain and crew were reclassified as prisoners of war. They were not retried. The Sullivans' southern connections continued after their deaths. Algernon and Mary's son founded the Algernon Sydney Sullivan Foundation in 1934. It took over the responsibility of awarding the Algernon Sydney Sullivan Award from the New York Southern Society, now defunct but which had given the award since the 1890s. The foundation, now based in Oxford Mississippi, continues today and awards over $1million in grants to thirty private Appalachian colleges. They also continue to award the Algernon Sydney Sullivan and Mary Mildred Sullivan Awards, both based upon criteria including philanthropy and humanitarianism, annually at those colleges and another twenty-five southeastern colleges. Details are found at http://www.sullivanfdn.org/ [accessed 29 December 2004]. Holmes also wrote *Algernon Sydney Sullivan* (New York: The New York Southern Society, 1929). Holmes also wrote *Mary Mildred Sullivan (Mrs. Algernon Sydney Sullivan): A Biography* (Concord, NH: Rumford Press, 1924), which notes it was "Written for the records of The Mary Mildred Sullivan Chapter of the United Daughters of the Confederacy, New York City. Printed by the Chapter for private circulation."

names on the roster, including Mrs. J.I. Roosevelt, president, and executive committee members Mrs. J.C. Fremont, Mrs. Cyrus McCormick, Mrs. G. Ticknor Curtis, Mrs. Egbert Viele, and Mrs. E.W. Stoughton. The list of managers includes such surnames as Van Buren and Vanderbilt. In roughly eleven months, these women raised over $71,000 in cash, and the association's Brooklyn auxiliary raised over $12,000 in cash. Additionally, they collected donated goods and "fifty boxes of new and second-hand clothing." All were sent South via a carefully orchestrated disbursement system.[13]

The NYLSRA chose to distribute its aid via "well-known clergymen in the destitute districts at the South." Arthur Leary's importance as treasurer is apparent in the association's system of cash distribution. The procedure was "for the Treasurer of the Association to draw his checks on his bank in New York for an amount designated by the Disbursing Committee, payable in the name of, and only to the order of, the clergyman who was to distribute the funds,

[13] Holmes, 111-113; 83. There were three officers and thirty-two executive committee members. Leary is identified in Holmes' pamphlet narrative as "brother of Countess Annie Leary." Annie and Arthur's father was a wealthy New York merchant. Arthur once served as the Excise Commissioner for the city, and Annie was a noted philanthropist noted for her work with the Catholic Church and with immigrant women and children. One result of this work was the granting of the title papal countess, the first woman in American to receive this recognition, in 1901. For a detailed biography, see the searchable online version of the *Biographical Cyclopedia of U.S. Women*, Volumes I-II (New York: Halvord Publishers, 1924-1925), available from Ancestry.com at http://www.ancestry.com/search/db.aspx?dbid=2018 [accessed 29 December 2004]. All the executive committee members except two were married. Holmes' pamphlet refers to Mrs. J.I. Roosevelt, "wife of the distinguished Judge of that name." Presumably, this was James I. Roosevelt, who served on the New York State Supreme Court and in Congress, and was related to the future president, Teddy Roosevelt. See his entry in the *Biographical Directory of the Unites States Congress*, available at http://bioguide.congress.gov/scripts/biodisplay.pl?index=R000427 [accessed 29 December 2004]. The listing of officers on page 111 lists "Mrs. J.J. Roosevelt," which is likely a typographical error. J.C. Fremont was, among other things, Union army general and the first Republican candidate for president. See his entry in the *Biographical Directory of the United States Congress*, available at http://bioguide.congress.gov/scripts/biodisplay.pl?index=F000374 [accessed 29 December 2004]. Cyrus McCormick, of course, invented the mechanical reaper. George Ticknor Curtis was a noted attorney and served on the defense team in the Dred Scott case and was a presidential biographer. A short biography is available from the *Columbia Encyclopedia*, Sixth Edition, online at http://www.bartleby.com/65/cu/CurtisG.html [accessed 29 December 2004]. Egbert Viele was the engineer who proposed and executed the construction of New York's Central Park, one among many notable accomplishments. A West Point graduate, a short biography is available at http://www.aog.usma.edu/PUBS/register/Viele.htm [accessed 29 December 2004]. E.W. Stoughton was presumably, Edwin Wallace Stoughton, noted New York attorney who had defended Charles Goodyear in an early patent case and was one of the attorneys for the Electoral Commission in the 1876 election. Arguing for Hayes paid off, as he was appointed minister to Russia in 1878. A short biography is available from the U.S. Embassy in Moscow site at http://www.aog.usma.edu/PUBS/register/Viele.htm [accessed 29 December 2004].

and these checks were sent by mail to the persons named therein." The first checks were issued on January 31, 1867 and regular disbursements continued until November 1. A total of $60,634.52 reached the southern clergy in cash, while roughly $7,000 was used to purchase provisions for distribution, and another $3,500 went to miscellaneous expenses.[14]

The association's "Statement of money distributed, with the names and residences of the Clergymen through whom the distribution was made" is as detailed as the name implies and provides an excellent basis for analysis. A chronological list, it includes the name, location, and monetary amount sent to every clergyman. The total sent to Georgia clergy was $11,633.91, or 19 percent of the total cash contribution. The largest single payment was $866.66 to Rev. C.H. Coley of Savannah, on April 5, 1867. The smallest payments were $25.00 each. More than fifty percent of the over $11,000.00 sent to Georgia went to clergymen in the major population centers of Savannah, Atlanta, and Augusta. Savannah's portion was by far the largest, at $4,126.66, while Atlanta received $1,400, and Augusta received $1,320.00. This is not particularly surprising, as major cities were established aid disbursement locations, and were located along transportation routes. Table 6.13 details the Georgia distribution.[15]

[14] Ibid., "Report," "Receipts," and "Statement," 83-110. Miscellaneous expenses included "rent, freight, stationery, advertising & printing, express charges, &c." The exact amounts were $7,114.81 for provisions and $3,527.99 for expenses.

[15] Ibid. See page 103 for the disbursement to Rev. Coley. On page 106, on May 6, an entry notes that $104.00 was sent to Opelika, Ga., but there is no Georgia town of that name. It is likely that this was sent to Opelika, Alabama, which is immediately across the Chattahoochee River from Columbus, Georgia. Periodically, the NYLSRA publicized their disbursements in newspapers, as evidenced by clippings found in the *Records of the Southern Famine Relief Commission*, New-York Historical Society, "Newspaper Abstracts," microfilm roll four. The complete records of the commission are housed at the New-York Historical Society, but many have been included on four rolls of microfilm housed at the University of Georgia library. The microfilmed records were the source for this research, and include "Correspondence and Papers" on rolls one and two; "Minutes of the Executive Committee (Loose)," on roll three; and "Cash Book," "Subscription Books," "Telegrams Received," and "Newspaper Abstracts" on roll four. There is also an immensely detailed finding aid describing the full contents of the records, which is available online from the New-York Historical Society at http://dlib.nyu.edu:8083/nyhsead/servlet/SaxonServlet?source=southernfamrelief.xml&style=saxon01n2002.xsl [accessed 20 June 2003]. One clipping is from April 22, 1867, though there is no notation of the name of the paper in which it was published.

When examined by region, the coast received the largest amount of cash, at $4,226.66, but the majority of this went to Savannah. The eastern black belt received the second largest, at $4,065.00, which included the cities of Augusta and Macon. The upcountry counties, which included the city of Atlanta, received $1,042.25. The western black belt and the mountain regions both received $450.00 each, which is a surprisingly small amount considering that the city of Columbus is in the western black belt and the destitution of the mountain counties had been publicized even before the war was over. The cash distributions of the NYLSRA deviated from wartime state and Reconstruction Freedmen's Bureau aid patterns. It did not focus its relief efforts on the mountain and upcountry counties, though it did continue to distribute aid through most of the state's major population centers, with the exception of Columbus.[16]

It appears, however, that despite some variation in distribution patterns, the NYLSRA interacted with the Freedmen's Bureau to some degree. On December 8, 1866, A. McL. Crawford, sub-assistant commissioner for the Freedmen's Bureau in Charleston, wrote to a Mr. E.W. Ayers, who had apparently requested information about the state of affairs there. General Crawford's reply was that there were "large numbers of Ladies and children in an utterly destitute condition. . . [who] belong[ed] to the upper classes of society." Their social position led them to feel "great repugnance to making their wants known." Therefore, the general took it upon himself to ask for aid. He requested "supplies of any kind," but specifically requested "dresses, underskirts, stockings, flannels, shawls, in fact any and all articles the ladies can spare, and children's clothing, shoes too, even if partially worn." He asked that the boxes be shipped directly to him. This request, for private charity for formerly wealthy, and at least some

[16] Ibid. Further research is required to determine why Columbus, though a major city, received so little aid from the NYLSRA. As the city is on the border with Alabama, it is possible that aid to Columbus was combined with aid to another Alabama city, but a thorough examination of patterns in Alabama is beyond the scope of this dissertation.

presumably Confederate, white women and children provides evidence that some Freedmen's Bureau officers did not restrict themselves to assisting "loyal" refugees and freedpeople.[17]

Most of the forty-eight letters contained in Holmes' pamphlet, however, are from individuals who wrote either to request assistance or thank the association for their aid and they provide a few more clues to understanding aid distribution in Georgia in 1867. Eight of those letters are from Georgia. Two letters came from Mrs. Bachman, a self-described "poor farmer's wife" in Tilton, Whitfield County, Georgia, in April 1867. The first, dated April 18, is a request for aid for destitute people in Whitfield and Gordon counties, both in the northwest mountain region on the Tennessee border. She stated that she had "been requested by several persons to apply to your society for aid for the suffering." In describing conditions in the counties, she explained that

> where shall we get bread, is the constant cry. All are willing to work but there is no money. Provisions are not in the county, & if it had not been for the Bureau, 'and that in our section did not give any bread,' and a little corn from charitable persons in Kentucky, many would have died from starvation ere this. Some poor women have to walk 30 or 40 miles with their infants, some barefoot, to try to get rations, when alas! They have to return faint and weary as they were too late!–all was issued. . . North Georgia is a scene of much suffering, it having been occupied so long by both armies, and the crops proving a failure the past two seasons.

She also offered the names of two men who would be willing to distribute any aid, and three others who would vouch for her statements. Only four days later, on April 22, Mrs. Bachman sent an additional letter because

> since that time others have called on me and begged me to state to your society that this was a class that had not received any aid from any source and without help, many would be obliged to abandon their crops for the want of corn to feed the stock necessary to carry on the work. Many have to depend entirely on grazing, and that the spontaneous growth of the earth, as but few here have yet paid any attention to grasses etc.

[17] Ibid., 29. This is the only letter from a Freedmen's Bureau representative in Holmes' pamphlet, though further research may discover additional interaction between the two groups.

She also noted that yet a third county, Murray, was "in as deplorable a condition as the ones [previously] mentioned." She closed the letter by stating that she was "not a person of much notoriety – a plain farmer's wife – but you probably have noticed the reports of Gov. Jenkins and Gen'l Howard, & therefore will not doubt the truth of what I have written." Her final words were a simple plea – "Please answer." According to the distribution records in Holmes' pamphlet, her requests were ineffective. No cash was sent to a representative in any of the three counties Bachman described in her letters, though it is possible that a more distant representative may have answered her pleas.[18]

A very different letter described the plight of Mrs. Joseph Huger, originally of Savannah, who had relocated to Athens during the war. No farmer's wife, Mrs. Huger is described as coming from "one of the oldest families of South Carolina." A description of her family's circumstances was included from M.G. Harison, who made a plea for aid to the association on Mrs. Huger's behalf. Her description of destitution was much different than Mrs. Bachman's. The Huger's property had been worth $200,000 before the war, but she explained that attempting to farm with hired labor had only "created debts, which, increasing at interest, we can perhaps never pay." Her husband was "re-studying the profession of medicine" while two of her four grown sons were employed but "receive only small salaries." One son had given them money, but illness had taken much of it. She noted that "at this moment I do not own $5.00" and that "several times [they had] not had a cent in the house, nor a week's provisions." Her health and

[18] Ibid., 46-48. In the first letter, Mrs. Bachman is identified as "Mrs. S.W. Bachman," but in the second she is identified as "Mrs. T.W. Bachman." As the distribution of goods is not detailed in Holmes' pamphlet, it cannot be determined if the counties received any material aid from the NYLSRA. It is notable that neither of the men Mrs. Bachman listed as willing to distribute aid was specifically identified as a minister (one had no title, the other was a judge). This may have been the reason those counties received no cash, as there was no known minister to distribute it. The "Bureau" reference is presumably to the Freedmen's Bureau. The first of Mrs. Bachman's letters was reprinted verbatim in the New York *Sun*, dated April 30, and is part of the SFRC Records, "Newspaper Abstracts," microfilm roll four. One of the eight letters, dated February 6, 1867, from Macon, Georgia, describes conditions in the state and the poor relief agents who were supervised by the county inferior courts, as described above.

four small children prevented her from finding work. One daughter gave dancing lessons and "took in work" and friends had assisted them in times of great need. Additionally, two of her daughters had "been furnished education by the Society of Baltimore." Yet Mr. Harison felt this family was deserving of aid from the NYLSRA. It is not known if the association agreed, but a $100 donation was sent care of Rev. W.H. Henderson in Athens on October 15, though the recipient is not noted.[19]

The other letters from Georgia were not written to request aid, but to acknowledge receipt of donations. M.D. Woode, the minister of a Presbyterian church in Decatur, Dekalb County, Georgia wrote to thank the association for a one-hundred-dollar disbursement he received in April, 1867. Though the list of recipients is not included, Woode stated that all were "respectable ladies, formerly in independent circumstances & themselves generous to the poor and suffering." He also described conditions in the area. "Our people are suffering for even *bread* in numerous instances. I know of cases, - aged men and women, most respectable people, who know not today where their trembling hands will find tomorrow what they may eat; widows and orphans who are needy, indeed, living off the line of the railroad & unable to come to town for supplies from the hand of charity." Assuring the association that the "benefaction and succour" of the association was "most gratefully received," he closed by stating that "the blessing of those ready to perish is coming upon you."[20]

In a similar letter, J.H. George of La Grange wrote on May 23 and offered two examples of the people he had assisted with the association's $100 donation. He "made a contribution to a widow with six children, of $10. who said she never though to eating meat, that being too great a

[19] Ibid., 77-78. It is not impossible that women in similar circumstances received direct assistance from the NYLSRA. The report of cash distributions includes six notations of "Donated to a Southern Lady per Committee" in amounts ranging from $25.00 to $100.00. Only one specifically notes a destination city and state.
[20] Ibid., 48-49. A total of $200 was sent to Decatur during 1867.

luxury: she was thankful to get bread once a day. She is trying to support her family by making baskets." Though he did not divulge the amount he gave another widow, he described her family of nine as "all depending upon the exertions of herself and married daughter." And, in the only disclosure of its kind in any of the letters, he noted that "I am among the sufferers, having lost everything, being obliged to take my furniture to buy bread for my family, consisting of eleven children only one of which is old enough to provide for herself. I must avail myself of your kind offer and retain fifty for the use of my family." It is worth noting that no additional funds were sent to Mr. George.[21]

Letters from Augusta and Macon provide even more distribution detail. J.H. Cuthbert wrote on May 27 that he had received $100 on April 9 and distributed it as follows:

A single woman (cripple)	$5.00
Poor widow, husband killed in war	2.50
Family from N. Carolina for bread	5.00
Old widow lady	2.50
To woman whose only son crushed to death by car	10.00
Family half starved	5.00
Widow whose sons were killed in war	2.50
Poor old colored man	1.00
Colored woman with large family	5.00
Family of women and children, son helpless by illness	7.00
Women and children (9) very poor	5.00
Ministers of different denominations in the neighborhood, among the poor	15.00
Left with minister in Columbus who said that within sound of his bell were a thousand at least, who did not know where their bread was to come from tomorrow	20.00
Poor woman, single, confined to her room	5.00

[21] Ibid., 60. George's letter highlights one of the pitfalls in using the detailed "Statement of money distributed," as the only disbursement to "Rev. Mr. George" before mid-May was presumably sent to Lafayette, Georgia, not La Grange. La Grange is in Troup County, in the western black belt, and Lafayette is in Walker County, in the mountains. If this donation did go to La Grange, it would reduce the total amount of cash sent to Walker County to $50.00, reducing the total cash distribution to the mountains to $350.00. This would, of course, increase the amount to Troup County to $100.00, increasing the total to the western black belt to $550.00.

Invalid destitute woman	2.50
Old woman, very poor	2.50

E.W. Warren reported a similarly detailed distribution of $100 in Macon on July 20, and noted that "the pressing necessity for contributions from abroad for the poor is rapidly passing away. A gracious Providence has blest us with most fruitful seasons, and the present prospect now gives earnest of a very good provision crop." His distribution actually listed most recipients by name. All were women, and they received between $.50 and $13.50 each. He also noted that he gave 30 cents to "poor child in bread," and $3.80 was expended for "provisions for poor children." Additionally, he sent $5.00 to "poor widows and orphans" in Rome, Ga., and $15.00 to "poor widows and orphans" in Marietta, Ga.[22]

Despite the clues they offer, the letters sent to the NYLSRA also complicate our understanding of exact aid distribution in Georgia. The letter from Augusta notes that funds sent there were actually distributed in Columbus, on the opposite side of the state. The letter from Macon, in central Georgia, discloses that some of the funds there went to Rome and Marietta, both in the northern part of the state. And apparently some requests for aid were unanswered, for unknown reasons, though there is the suggestion that the NYLSRA preferred assisting "ladies" of "good families." Fortunately, the records of the much larger New York Southern Famine Relief Commission are much more detailed, and even provide some clues as to the interaction between the two relief agencies.

On January 25, 1867 a public meeting convened at New York City's Cooper Institute. Its purpose was to discuss the destitution of the South, a result of the war itself and the continuing drought which had been such a concern for Georgia's wartime legislators. According to various reports from the South, the situation had reached crisis level. Such eminent men as

[22] Ibid., 72.

Reverend Henry Ward Beecher and Horace Greeley made speeches in support of founding an organization which could reliably investigate the southern situation and, if necessary, raise and distribute funds to alleviate suffering. The resulting Southern Famine Relief Commission (SFRC) included an impressive list of prominent citizens. Frederick Law Olmsted is most famous today as American's premier landscape architect, but he was familiar with the South when he helped form the Southern Famine Relief Commission in 1867. He had traveled there before the war and published his observations. He was also familiar with charitable and welfare work, as he had spent two years as the first general-secretary of the U.S. Sanitary Commission, which organized private relief organizations during the Civil War. He established himself as an editor and writer, as well, as partner in both *Putnam's Monthly*, and the *Nation*, founded immediately after the war, which provided both the writing skills and social connections to make him effective as the SFRC's recording secretary and member of the executive committee and the committee on business with the North.[23]

Other members included J. Pierpont Morgan, chairman of the standing committee on city collections; Archibald Russell, president, who had worked with the Christian Commission during the war; Edward Bright, corresponding secretary and chairman of the standing committee on business with the South; James M. Brown, treasurer; John Bowne, general agent; and Howard Potter, chairman of the standing committee on purchasing and forwarding.[24]

---

[23] *The Papers of Frederick Law Olmsted, Volume VI, The Years of Olmsted, Vaux & Company, 1865-1874*, David Schuyler and Jane Turner Censer, eds., "Last Report of the Southern Famine Relief Commission, Adopted November 8, 1867" (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1992), 220-230. For more on Olmsted's opinions of the South in his early travels, see *A Journey in the Back Country: 1853-1854* (Williamstown, MA: Corner House Publishers, 1972; reprint edition).

[24] *Records of the Southern Famine Relief Commission.* According to the records' finding aid, news of the "worsening situation" in the South came from a variety of sources, including "personal letters, agents sent by Southern churches and benevolent organizations, and word passed along to societies and clubs having Southern branches." Frederick Law Olmsted had served as the executive secretary of the U.S. Sanitary Commission, organized in 1861in order to organize other charitable organizations and make them more effective. For more on the Sanitary Commission, see Trattner, *From Poor Law to Welfare State,* Chapter 5, "The Civil War and After –

The new commission's first goal was to assemble credible evidence of the true state of the South and identify those areas which were most desperately in need of assistance. Armed with that information, the commission then issued circulars and placed ads in northern newspapers to solicit subscriptions and donations. The response was impressive. From the end of January until early fall 1867, the commission sent 169,316 bushels of corn to the South, enough "to sustain 600,000 people for a four month period." The total cost of this relief was $206,287. The commission also sent $12,000 in cash, through various agents, "to be used in caring for the sick." Other donations included clothing and other items, and the committee arranged shipping and other transportation, usually free of charge.[25]

The extensive collection of extant SFRC records, which includes letters from southerners, correspondence between the SFRC and other organizations, and a large collection of newspaper clippings, provides an opportunity to add rich detail to the story of welfare and relief efforts in Georgia in 1867. These records prove that the idea of providing aid only to the "deserving poor" was part of the SFRC's mission from its inception. They also highlight Commissioner Howard's role in fundraising and facilitating SFRC relief efforts and explain the rationale behind the SFRC's decision to rely upon Freedmen's Bureau men rather than ministers, as the NYLSRA had chosen, to distribute its aid. Additionally, they clearly identify the areas of the South hardest

---

Scientific Charity," 80-109. According to the Introduction to Volume V of *The Papers of Frederick Law Olmsted*, Howard Potter was "a wealthy attorney and investment banker" who worked with Olmsted on a later landscaping project on the New Jersey Shore.

[25] Ibid. These statistics are found in the online finding aid. A New York *Times* article not found on roll 4 of the SFRC microfilm, dated September 6, 1867, notes the final meeting of the SFRC, and it reports that the total cash receipts were $250,566.00, and the total number of bushels of corn was 175,316. The finding aid also references other groups who raised incredible amounts of money, such as $1,000,000 from the state of Maryland. It also estimates that between three and five million dollars was sent South in 1867alone to assist starving southerners. According to the September 6 *Times* article, "the contributions made in aid of the South have been very nearly $8,000,000; this includes $573,000 expended by order of Congress through the Freedmen's Bureau, under Gen. Howard." Available online through Proquest.umi.com [accessed 12 February 2005].

hit by the drought and most affected by the war and, perhaps most importantly, provide first-hand accounts from those who actually experienced the widespread deprivation of 1867.

The first tasks of the SFRC were to publicize their cause and raise funds. To do so, the commission published circulars, which were basically narrative reports, in various newspapers, which were the primary vehicle for communication between the commission and the public. One of the first was dated February 18, 1867. Entitled "Famine at Home," it provides a succinct summation of the commission's purpose and procedures. It detailed the commission's founding, its communications "by telegraph and letter" through which it procured "trustworthy information" about the state of affairs in the South. After consulting the War Department and the Freedmen's Bureau, it issued a list of thirteen "conclusions." The first two identified populations in need of assistance, primarily "many thousands of women and children, chiefly of the most ignorant class, who have been deprived by the rebellion of their natural protectors." It also noted that the areas of greatest destitution, "the part of our country which lies between the ridges of the mountains and the navigable waters of the larger rivers. . . east of the Mississippi," were not those populated by "large planters." The second conclusion addressed the "seaboard country" where the "destitution, though less general, [was] also great and appalling. Though there were planters there, and the Freedmen's Bureau was "doing much among those who are properly deemed to be, for the time being, under the special guardianship of the National Government," want continued in that area as well.[26]

The third through seventh conclusions addressed specific forms of aid. The commission proposed to send "the barest sustenance for human beings" in the form of "Indian corn." The commission's logic was that this could "be supplied most cheaply, and with the least liability

[26] SFRC Records, Roll 4, "Newspaper Abstracts." Though included in the file of newspaper clippings, the circulars appear to be originals rather than clippings from specific papers, as there are no notations which designate a particular publication date or paper name, but merely a hand-written heading "Circulars issued by the Commission."

[for] waste and misuse." Any funds raised would be used for "purchase, transportation, and distribution." Having already sent twenty thousand bushels south, the commission could estimate that the cost was less than eighty cents per bushel, which could feed a family for a week. The commission preferred cash donations, but would also accept corn "or other breadstuffs," bacon, cured meats and fish, and clothing for "working women and girls." Conclusion seven is specifically devoted to a statement that "delicacies and nice things [were] not wanted." The commission's only purpose was to stave off starvation. Section twelve reinforced this commitment. "The Commission [did] not desire to secure a profuse supply, or to give aid to any who are not in dire need of charitable assistance." This aid was intended for only the most deserving, and, as noted in conclusion nine, "the duty of giving bread to those who lack it, in this instance, is pre-eminently a Christian duty."[27]

Two conclusions addressed the role of women in this charitable work. Conclusion eleven detailed ways in which women could contribute, primarily through "canvassing" their own neighborhoods for donations. They were instructed to specifically focusing upon "grocers and provision dealers" and farmers. It also included plans for more elaborate organization, from division into sub-districts, to selecting an appropriate depot for shipment. But again the circular reminded readers that "for so small a sum as ten cents, the Commission can send corn enough to the famished to provide a day's sustenance for a family." Conclusion ten appealed to "the sympathies of the women whose hearts have followed our own armies, and who, from the first . . . made no distinction in their great work of mercy" between Union and Confederate wounded. If these women would again take up charitable work, the commission believed it would help in "the relaying of the foundation of the republic in the South upon the firm rocks of justice, law,

[27] Ibid. The language of these sections reinforces the theme of supplying aid only to the "deserving poor."

freedom, and education for all." Through charitable aid, northern women could play a role, appropriate to their gender, in reuniting the nation.[28]

This patriotic theme was reinforced in conclusion thirteen, which stated that "the only sufficient guaranty for permanent peace and prosperity in our country must be found in an unqualified security, for all men, in the exercise of their natural rights as defined by the Declaration of our existence as an independent nation." Furthermore, the commission was careful to distance itself from any perception of Confederate sympathy. "The Commission believes it to be necessary, to secure the confidence of the public, to express its respect for these views, and give its assurance that its agency can in no way be used to establish in the minds of the people of the South an impression that those who are most ready to aid them in this distress are influenced by any sympathy with their past or present political views." Relying upon a dual appeal to Christianity and patriotism, the commission hoped to simultaneously relieve suffering and hasten sectional reconciliation.[29]

The NYLSRA and the SFRC were not the only such organizations founded to assist the South. There are scattered references in both organizations' records to others in California, Kentucky, Massachusetts, and Ohio. But the NYLSRA and the SFRC were both based in New York, and both drew their memberships from the elite of that city. At times, they combined efforts for joint pleas for aid, as when they appealed to the Mercantile Library Association asking them to host a benefit concert. But there was also competition and, in one case, it resulted in an

[28] Ibid. For more on national reunification strategies, see David W. Blight, *Race and Reunion: The Civil War in American Memory* (Cambridge: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2001) and Nina Silber, *The Romance of Reunion: Northerners and the South, 1865-1900*, Civil War in America Series, Gary W. Gallagher, Ed. (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1993).

[29] SFRC Records, Roll 4, "Newspaper Abstracts." This file contains individual newspaper clippings, primarily though not exclusively from New York papers, with publication names and dates hand-written in the margins. A comparison to the online database of the New York *Times*, available through ProQuest.umi.com, confirms the hand-written dates as publication dates.

interesting public debate which may help to explain why the men's group was more successful than the women's. It also sheds light upon each organization's goals and methods.

A letter published in the March 12th edition of the Brooklyn *Daily Union* likely spurred what would become a very public debate over the role of each organization, and especially the gender of their members. Signed by "Inkgall of Andersonville," the author rejects all charitable aid to the South, and refers to any attempt to do so as "an idle folly originating in the brains of a few impractical women who have no knowledge, or care for, the world about them." He continues, and asks, "Upon what line in God's revealed will or what principle in morals must these women, who are dying for something to do, take to relieving the other and remote end of the line of miserable consequences of the war?" His words for southern women were no kinder. "A she clay-eater of the Carolinas, or a sand-hiller of Alabama, with but one garment to her body, and that a cotton frock, would elevate her nasal protuberance to its utmost aspiring flexibility at her sister of Brooklyn Heights, although the hand that holds the proffered loaf were covered with [j]ewels. The loaf might be taken but the hand would not be grasped." A response, signed "E.B.," followed on March 14. "I know very little of the Ladies' Association to which he refers; but I do know that the Southern Famine Relief Commission, of which Mr. James M. Brown, 61 Wall Street, is the Treasurer, and which was organized at the Cooper Institute meeting of January 25, *did not* originate with the ladies, whether practical or 'impractical.'" "Inkgall" was unusually vehement in his thrashing of charity for the South, but his letter spurred a very public discussion of the division between the two organizations.[30]

[30] Ibid. It cannot be determined if the pseudonymous "Inkgall of Andersonville" was an intentional reference to the infamous Georgia prison. For an interesting discussion of the role of women in late-nineteenth-century charitable associations, see John T. Cumbler, "The Politics of Charity: Gender and Class in Late 19th Century Charity Policy," *Journal of Social History*, Volume 14 (Fall 1980): 99-111.

The March 20th edition of the New York *Post* contained an article entitled "Bread for the Southern States" in which the NYLSRA described how Mrs. J.C. Frémont had been successful in acquiring the use of the ship *Dumbarton* with help from Congress. The ladies asked for donations to help them fill the ship with "a worthy expression of the charity of New York." But the article also pointed out that "this association has no connection, except that of a common object, with any other. Its supplies are distributed through the bishops and clergy of all Christian churches in the destitute states." Perhaps "Inkgall" had spurred the women to state their position.[31]

In the next day's edition, the men's organization responded in an unsigned letter, calling "Bread for the Southern States" an "extraordinary little article." According to this version, the *Dumbarton* was never at anyone's disposal, though the SFRC had corresponded with the Secretary of the Navy in an attempt to gain use of her. Instead, the SFRC had acquired use of the *Purveyor* and, though the *Dumbarton* was indeed in the harbor, there was "no knowledge . . . on the part of the authorities there, that she is to be used to carry supplies to the South." Furthermore, the correspondent noted that the SFRC "do not make distribution through the 'bishops and clergy' of the South, but, as recommended by Major-General Howard, through the joint agency of the United States District Commander and governor of a state suffering from the destitution. The object of this arrangement is to be more sure of carrying supplies to all classes of the famine-stricken people, without respect to race or opinion, than the Commission can be in any other way." The *Post*'s editors closed by noting that they had corroborated the SFRC's version of events. In one short letter, the SFRC pointed out the NYLSRA's faulty information

[31] Ibid. It is possible that "Inkgall's" letter was not the reason for the NYLSRA's public statement of its purpose and distribution methods, but it was certainly an important component to the growing public discussion of each organization.

and called into question their distribution system, invoking the name of the venerable General Howard himself.[32]

The ladies fired back on March 29, noting that their organization was founded first, though admitting that the "gentlemen's" organization was of a more "comprehensive scale." Each was an entirely independent organization "proceeding with its work in its own way." Furthermore, the "[Southern Famine Relief] Commission" had already noted "with pride" that the ladies had been instrumental in negotiating with Congress for the use of a ship, originally the *Dumbarton* but ultimately the *Purveyor*. While this public exchange was rather petty, in some ways it was merely a small-scale version of a larger public debate over the propriety of charity for the South which was unfolding simultaneously. But that argument involved much more than who would take credit for gaining use of a federal ship.[33]

By 1867, General Howard's role as commissioner of the Freedmen's Bureau made him an expert on the condition of the South. As such, it was logical for the SFRC to contact him concerning their relief efforts, and throughout the SFRC's operation, Howard offered advice and encouragement. Much of the correspondence was published in various newspapers, including the first contact between Howard and Chairman Archibald Russell. Russell initially wrote Howard in early February to ask his "cooperation . . . in the way of information and suggestion, or in any other way in which [he could] afford it." Howard replied that as the Bureau was only charged with the relief of "loyal refugees and freedmen," he could not officially address the situation of anyone "outside of those classes." He did, however, unofficially endorse "as the best

[32] Ibid. The author of this reply also noted that the cargo of the ship *Memphis* was also available for use, and that "every foot of her room, excepting that for a single box sent by the Ladies' Relief Association, was filled with supplies furnished by the [Southern Famine Relief] Commission."
[33] Ibid. The March 29th reply by the NYLSRA is identified in the clipping file as *Commercial Advertiser*, and the letter itself notes that it was written "To the Editors of the Evening Post." The implication is that the letters were published in multiple newspapers, though not all are included in the clipping file.

means of giving an important present relief, and at the same time securing the South against a recurrence of the existing destitution, advances of money to planters of industrious habits, but destitute of means to enable them to put in a crop for the coming year." For more "immediate relief," he suggested distribution "through the joint agency of the District Commanders and Governors in each State," with careful instructions. At least publicly, Howard continued to insist that the Freedmen's Bureau was not assisting any of the former "planter class," no matter how destitute.[34]

It is possible that Howard's insistence, to Russell and others, that the Bureau was not exceeding its stated mandate was a matter of timing. On March 9, he testified before the Senate Judiciary Committee, offering statistical evidence of the potential starvation in the South. His testimony concerned a joint resolution then in the Senate (H.R. 16), which proposed to appropriate an additional $1 million "for the relief of the destitute in the southern and south-western states." It directed the Secretary of War to "issue supplies of food sufficient to prevent starvation and extreme want among all classes of the people . . . where a failure of the crops and other causes have occasioned wide-spread destitution." The disbursement would be supervised by Howard, and carried out through the officers and agents of the Bureau. On March 8, Howard had written a letter which offered estimates of what was needed in the South to relieve "thirty-two thousand six hundred and sixty-two whites, and twenty-four thousand two hundred and thirty-eight colored people, making in all fifty-six thousand nine hundred who will need food from some source before the next crop can relieve them." Rations for these people would total 1,707,000 per month and, as the famine was expected to continue for five months, the aggregate

[34] Ibid. Howard's suggestion that the commission also focus upon aiding former planters was also a component of the public and congressional debates concerning the "best way" to assist the South. For example, a clipping from the *Journal of Commerce*, May 7, 1867, found on roll 4, includes an appeal from the Board of Trade of the City of Macon, Georgia, dated April 17, 1867. Their plea was rather simple. "There is no capital here at all adequate to meet the exigency."

number would reach 8,535,000 rations. At a cost of $.25 per ration, his estimated cost was $2,183,750.00. After subtracting $625,000.00 which was already appropriated, Howard would need and "additional sum" of $1,508,750. Again, he was careful to distinguish between those persons who fell under the Bureau's jurisdiction in its original mandate, and those who would be relieved by this new appropriation. He stated, "The present appropriation is ample, provided the issues be confined to the classes named in the Freedmen's Bureau act; but the additional sum named will be required should the issue be extended as contemplated in the foregoing estimate." Included in the letter was a "Tabular statement" of numbers of destitute people in all eleven former Confederate states.[35]

In the end, there would be no $1 million appropriation. The joint resolution met fierce debate in both the Senate and the House, and portions of those debates were reprinted in newspapers and were the subject of editorials and letters from citizens. In the House debates, Benjamin F. Butler, Republican of Massachusetts, offered an argument which would be echoed by others in newspapers. He offered a substitute for the bill which would use the funds "in relieving the widows and children of Union soldiers starved to death in the Rebel prisons at

[35] *Congressional Globe*, 40th Congress, First Session, (9 March 1867), 39. Howard's letter and "Tabular statement" are reprinted in full in the *Congressional Globe*. A clipping from the New York *Post*, dated March 9, 1867, which reprinted Howard's letter as well as the statistical table, is included in the newspaper clippings found in the *Records of the Southern Famine Relief Commission*, Roll 4, "Newspaper Abstracts." The states, in order of total numbers of destitutes, were Alabama (10,500); South Carolina (10,000); Georgia (8,000); Virginia and North Carolina (5,000 each); Mississippi (3,900); Tennessee (2,000); Florida and Arkansas (1,500 each); Louisiana (500); and Texas (0). In Howard's letter, he included a postscript that since he had made his report, the Bureau assistant commissioner and the governor of Georgia had written with an estimate of numbers of destitute persons which far exceeded Howard's estimate of 7,500 whites and 5,000 freedpeople. He noted, however, that he was "unwilling to recommend a larger appropriation for Georgia before another estimate shall be made based on a thorough inspection." The question of whom the Bureau was assisting, or would assist with this new appropriation, would find its way into the House debate of the bill. On March 13, page 88, Representative Logan noted that during the war he had witnessed the wives and children of Confederate soldiers lining up "at the doors of the commissary department at different posts receiving food, while we were fighting their husbands and friends at the front. They were not then above asking us to feed them, while they despised us and our cause, and I have no doubt the same class are now to be fed under this appropriation." On March 20, page 236, Representative Stevens posed the question, "Have the officers of the b[u]reau, in relieving destitution, ever made any distinction between the poor loyalist and the poor disloyalist?" Representative Stevens (Pennsylvania), responded, "All I can say is that nine out of ten of those who have been fed by the Freedmen's Bureau have been disloyal men who had become poor."

Andersonville, Salisbury, Libby, Millen, and Bell Isle." Similarly, Williams of Indiana, argued that he could not tax the "one-armed and limbless soldiers of the Republic" in order to support the "women and children who with malignant hatred spat upon our soldiers wounded and weary in their march to the sea." He lodged his "protest . . . in behalf of the widows and orphans of the men who were starved to death at Andersonville."[36] This debate was reprinted in the New York Tribune on March 14, and discussion of the bill itself is found in the pages of the *Commercial Advertiser*, the *Evangelist*, the *Express*, the Brooklyn *Daily Union*, *Sunday Mercury*, the New York *Herald*, and the New York *Times*.[37]

Supporters of the appropriation met these charges, in Congress and in the public debate, with varied responses. Congressman Benjamin Boyer, Democrat of Pennsylvania, based his argument upon a British example. "Twenty years ago, the Parliament of Great Britain voted $50,000,000 for the relief of the starving population of Ireland . . . And shall it be said that the great Republic of America is less merciful to her perishing children than was that nation we have been accustomed to denounce as the tyrant of the Indies and the oppressor of Ireland?" Another reference to Ireland was found in an editorial entitled "Famine at Home" in the New York *Express* of February 20. "We have been sending money to Crete and elsewhere, and years ago sent ships laden with bread to feed the poor of Ireland. It was said in Congress at that time, by

[36] *Congressional Globe*, 40th Congress, First Session, (13 March 1867), 83-87; (20 March 1867), 235. In his argument of March 13, Butler also mentioned that the state of Mississippi had allotted $20,000 not to feed the poor, but to defend Jefferson Davis and that "ladies in Texas" had raised funds by selling Confederate uniforms, which they then sent to endow "the college in Virginia over which the rebel General Robert E. Lee presides." Fernando Wood, Democratic Representative of New York, expressed his concerns about the bill multiple times. On March 13, he stated that he was "opposed to the government of the United States distributing alms under any circumstances whatever, and in direction whatever." Additionally, he felt what the South needed (and he had recently traveled there) was capital, not charity. On March 20, he expanded his reasons for opposition to six. They were: Congress had no power to spend public money for charity; the South had not applied for aid; that the bill itself was "derogatory and insulting" to the southern people; because the Freedmen's Bureau agents were prejudiced against white southerners and would not distribute the aid equitably; he suspected political motivations as the bill was offered just before southern elections; and because the bureau had $2.1 million "unexpended."

[37] SFRC Records, Roll 4. These are only the papers whose clippings are found in the SFRC records. A more thorough examination of papers beyond New York would likely unearth additional editorials and letters.

an old Southern Senator, that he could not comprehend such a thing as a famine abroad, as he had never seen anything but its very opposite at home. The scene now changes. Famine stares us in the face, and among a people who are our brothers and sisters, or if this is not admitted, then at least our life-long countrymen." The editorial closed with an appeal commonly found in arguments supporting the appropriation. "Christian charity and common humanity demands that, as far as in us lies, there shall be an end of this deplorable suffering and sorrow." An editorial in the same paper offered a more matter-of-fact argument on March 14. "We have appropriated millions to killing the people of the South in lawful battle. Can't we conscientiously and consistently to something to feed them?" On March 22, 1867, a greatly altered joint resolution passed the House. It basically allowed the Freedmen's Bureau to use its "unexpended" funds to assist "destitute or helpless persons." Bureau funds were officially available to anyone Bureau officers deemed "deserving." As described by William Lawrence, Republican Representative of Ohio, on March 21, the bill would "direct the officers of the Freedmen's Bureau to expend the $2,100,000 appropriated for the refugees and freedmen for the benefit of all people of all classes, loyal and disloyal, in the rebel States who may be in a destitute condition, thus diverting in part this money from the purpose for which it was appropriated, and taking it in part from the suffering classes for whom it was designed." Before the initial Bureau legislation was passed, loyal whites were included in the "freedmen's" Bureau. Two years later, loyalty was no longer an issue. The Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands could, with congressional sanction, assist anyone deemed "destitute or helpless."[38]

[38] *Congressional Globe*, 40th Congress, First Session, (13 March 1867), 85; 282; 260. Boyer also argued that the Freedmen's Bureau was the best agency for distribution because it already existed and was organized. He felt the great need required expediency, rather than arguing over the possibility of misappropriation. The Congressional debates were quite lengthy and revisited many of the central issues of the debates surrounding the original legislation, including questioning whether Congress had the power to provide charity at all. The final joint resolution (S.R. No. 16) was enrolled on March 25. The figure of $2,100,000 of unexpended Bureau funds was detailed in Lawrence's floor speech. He estimated this amount remained from both the "appropriation act of July

The defeat of the appropriation bill provided the SFRC, and other charitable organizations, added incentive to continue its campaign, and it continued to advertise the plight of destitute southerners in northern papers, and continued to use Howard's name to do so. In the March 25 edition of the New York *Times*, a plea for aid noted that "the sickening revelations of our correspondents concerning the difficulties, embarrassments, privations and sufferings of the women and children who are reduced from wealth or ease to want and poverty are fully corroborated by private letters in the City by reports of Gen. Howard and the Freedmen's Bureau agents. These of themselves constitute a claim, as absolute as the right of a child, upon the generosity of the more prosperous sections of the country." On March 25, the New York *Herald* noted that

> the condition of the Southerners is such that Congress found it necessary to make some provision for them, though appropriations are rarely made and scarcely within the legitimate legislation of that body. But this is a case that could not be overlooked. Consequently an act has been passed to afford relief from the Freedmen's Bureau fund. Major General Howard . . . says 'suffering is great and on the increase' in the South, and that his means for relieving it, with this fresh draft upon his resources, will not last beyond next December. He urges that additional aid be given by voluntary contribution.

Without the additional appropriation, and faced with assisting all "destitute or helpless" southerners, Howard needed the associations' assistance, and they needed his name to give credence to their descriptions of destitution. The arrangement proved fruitful for starving southerners.[39]

Based upon newspaper accounts in the SFRC records, Georgians desperately needed the Commission's assistance. The New York *Times*, on March 28, published an account of Dr. N.M.

18, 1866," which totaled $4,770,250, and the "'deficiency appropriation act' of March 2, 1867," which totaled $1,500,000. SFRC Records, roll 4. The resulting joint resolution, and the final vote, was printed in the March 23rd issue of the New York *Tribune*.

[39] SFRC Records, Roll 4. Howard also urged the various charitable organizations to send their own representatives to the South to ascertain the situation. These, too, were published. See New York *Post*, March 26. A relief committee in Boston followed Howard's advice, and on May 14, 1867, published an account in the Boston *Transcript* describing their agent's trip south, and the disbursement of funds to various states. Georgia received $9,000.00, the largest amount given to a single state.

Cook, "a reputable citizen of Marietta, Ga.," who had written the SFRC. His description of destitution in the northern part of the state was likely eerily familiar to those who were aware of wartime depravation. As summed up by the commission, he reported that "many of the people have no bread, and nothing to buy it with. Dealers in corn and bacon will not sell either without the cash to pay for it, and money in small sums cannot be procured short of five per cent a month on the best security." He also described a Dalton, Georgia, family in which "four children actually died of starvation in February" and expressed his belief "that others have died in the same way, and that more must perish unless relief be given them." He explained that "men, women and children come into Marietta to beg in a state of emaciation and lack of food." His was not the only account of such conditions in Georgia.[40]

On March 31, the New York *Herald* included an account entitled "Starvation in Georgia," which described a meeting held on March 25 in Savannah. The meeting's purpose was "to devise means of relieving the want prevailing in that state and distributing in the best manner the supplies sent from the North." Colonel Hart, a representative of Henry County who had been commissioned by the inferior court, presented an account of conditions there. He stated that "there were one hundred and eighty soldiers' widows, five hundred and fourteen orphans and fifty-four disabled soldiers utterly destitute and actually suffering for want of bread. Besides these, the ordinary paupers depending upon the county for support were numerous." Like Dr. Cook, he reported widespread destitution and at least one case of death from starvation, a woman "surrounded by four little grandchildren, who were found crying for bread over the

[40] SFRC Records, Roll 4. This account was not a verbatim transcript of Cook's letter, but was excerpted by the Commission in order to appeal for more donations. The article also noted that "The *Emily P. Souder* took 12,000 bushels of corn yesterday to Charleston for the Commission."

body of the starved grandmother." He attributed the destitution to a combination of being "devastated by the belligerent armies" and the drought-related crop failures of 1865 and 1866.[41]

In May, a newspaper identified in the SFRC's records only as "*Examiner*," reprinted an incredibly long and detailed account of conditions in Georgia as reported by Reverend Melvin Jameson of Alton, Illinois, dated May 7. Jameson had been selected by his community to travel south to "distribute about two thousand dollar's worth of provisions they had contributed for the relief of Southern destitution." He had traveled to Georgia before and the state's desperation spurred him to travel there. Further research into "many letters at the rooms of the Relief Association of Louisville" helped him narrow his distribution area to "sections remote from the railroads, where there was reason to believe that very little or nothing had been distributed." He spent a few weeks traveling "more than a hundred miles" in the counties of Floyd, Catoosa, Walker, Chattooga, and Floyd, all in far northwestern Georgia. His purpose was to "observe carefully the conditions of the country, and make arrangements with reliable persons for the distribution [of aid]." As with other observers, he attributed the situation to a combination of war and drought.[42]

---

[41] SFRC Records, Roll 4. It is notable that Colonel Hart made a distinction between widows, orphans, and disabled soldiers and the "ordinary paupers." Though he does not use the term "deserving," he did not enumerate the "ordinary paupers" as he did the other groups. The number of orphans is difficult to read in the microfilmed text, but "five hundred" is the most likely number. The New York *Sun* of April 30 reprinted a letter from Whitfield County to the NYLSFRA, cited above in the discussion of that agency.

[42] SFRC Records, Roll 4. The counties Jameson visited are all in the mountain region, with the exception of Floyd, which is in the upcountry. Alton is located across the Mississippi River from St. Louis. Jameson was not describing SFRC aid, but aid from his own community spurred by research into the records of the "Relief Association of Louisville." The Southwester Relief Association, referenced several times in the records of both the SFRC and the NYLSRA, was based in Louisville, Kentucky. Based upon other references found in the SFRC newspaper file, the "*Examiner*" was the New York *Examiner and Chronicle*, a Baptist weekly publication which existed from 1865-1887. For more information see the New York State Newspaper Project at http://www.nysl.nysed.gov/nysnp/231.htm [accessed 11 February 2005]. This conclusion is supported by information found on the website entitled "The Baptist Page," found at http://www.thebaptistpage.com/history/Armitage/Armitage_16.htm [accessed 11 February 2005]. According to the site, Edward Bright, D.D., the SFRC's corresponding secretary, had been editor of the *Baptist Register*, which merged with the New York *Recorder* to become the *Examiner* in 1855, and he continued to serve as editor. The *Examiner* merged with the New York *Chronicle* in 1865. Bright served as editor "for more than a generation." *The*

Both armies had been through the area and their reliance upon the countryside for survival had resulted in hardship. Livestock was such a rarity that Jameson "was shown, as if it were a curiosity, a mule which belonged in the country before the war, and my informant said he did not know how the owner kept it unless he hid it in his well." He also noted that even after the surrender, "the region was infested by guerillas who had committed depravations almost without resistance, pretending to be Federals or Confederates as the occasion demanded." The drought conditions were described by another local as "not enough rain . . . 'to wet a handkerchief" from June 6, 1865 until August 26, 1866. The result, according to a local farmer, was a crop yield of "less than one hundred bushels" of corn for eighty acres.[43]

Jameson also discussed the role of the Freedmen's Bureau. In Rome, Floyd County, he observed "a large number of women, some of whom had walked ten or eleven miles to procure a little food for the immediate necessities of their families" from the local Bureau agent. That agent, however, had only enough for "the cripples and the utterly helpless." Later in his account, he made a general observation that people who may assume the "wants of the South are met by the Government appropriation" were wrong and that "[n]o one is more fully aware of this mistake than the faithful men who are acting as agents of the . . . Bureau, some of whom . . ." described their disbursements as "'but a drop in the bucket.'" Like so many others who pled for donations, Jameson used the authority of the Freedmen's Bureau to support his claims.[44]

Like Dr. Cook's account of Marietta, Reverend Jameson's account of Chattooga County include a reference to a lack of capital. "Those who have a little money are obliged to send long

---

Papers of Frederick Law Olmsted, Volume VI, The Years of Olmsted, Vaux, & Company, 1865-1874, David Schuyler and Jane Turner Censer, eds., 190, fn 1, confirms this information.

[43] Ibid. For more on guerrilla activities in northern Georgia, see Jonathan D. Sarris, "An Execution in Lumpkin County: Localized Loyalties in North Georgia's Civil War," in Kenneth W. Noe and Shannon H. Wilson, eds., *The Civil War in Appalachia: Collected Essays* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1997).

[44] SFRC Records, Roll 4. The agent's account of the situation would seem to support Howard's claim that even with permission to distribute Bureau rations to anyone in the South, existing supplies were simply inadequate to do so.

distances for provisions. I saw several teams making trips twenty and thirty miles to get a supply of corn for family use. But generally the people have no money to buy with." According to a local in the county seat of Summerville, "if a stock of corn and meal were to be offered for sale in that place, there would be but very few who could buy more than a bushel." In Jameson's estimation war, drought, a lack of capital, and inadequate transportation routes all contributed to Georgia's desperate situation in the late spring of 1867. But all was not hopeless. He also reported that "the crops of every kind are looking finely, and with a good season there will be an abundant yield. I never saw people working harder, and on average, there were two women in a field, and perhaps three, for every man."[45]

An unidentified article in the SFRC collection simply entitled "Southern Relief Commission" contained a particularly moving appeal from a group of Georgians. In a letter to the Commission dated May 21, 1867, from Johnson County, four women described their desperation. The article noted that the letter was "printed precisely in the shape in which it came." The women's letter evokes the anonymous play, which so blatantly challenged the benevolence of county poor relief agents. The letter contains several appealing elements, indicators that these applicants were "deserving." Publishing the exact, barely literate language was an indication of the class of the applicants. They were, presumably, not planters' wives. The fact that all four were women identified them as automatically more "helpless" than male applicants. And, they clearly indicted the existing system of poor relief, which apparently

[45] SFRC Records, Roll 4. Jameson noted in the account that he visited Pleasant Valley Baptist church outside Rome, where he met with the congregation and arranged with the minister to distribute fifty barrels of corn meal, though he later learned this was inadequate and the congregation still planned to send a representative to solicit more aid from the "North." Another member of the congregation said that those "who had anything to eat" were planting corn, but "many were obliged to work for their neighbors to get provisions from day to day." Jameson closed his article by reporting that the supplies he sent were gratefully received. One man in Summerville, when he heard of the provisions Jameson had sent, said he should be "tote[d]" around town on the citizens' shoulders. Unfortunately, much of this section of the clipping was badly microfilmed, or perhaps badly trimmed initially, and is partially unreadable.

overlooked the most desperate. It is reproduced here without corrections, as in the original version.

> Unioun Socity pleas heir our desires wants we are Starvin heir for the want of sumthing to ete and we want you to help us if you can. We have nether bred nor meat nor we cant git it plese let us have if you can, we have got no Monney to by with and we want you to send us sumthing if you can as we have not droad enny yet to do enny good for them that did not need it got it and the poar that neaded it got but little them that had a heap got a heap and them that had non nor culd get non so we beg you if you pleas to send us sum that we may not parrish yet I hope you will feal for our distress we the under siners are in distress if you will send us enny send it to No. 11 C.R.R; and send us a letter firs to that place send it to arry one of those names you pleas yours respeckfully
> N.B. if you send the cor or meat brand evry sack or we will never git it
>
> Miamma Helen
> Elizabeth Page
> Elizabeth Watkins
> Mary A. Lamp
>
> Send it speadaly if can yours &C

The SFRC included a closing note in the article which stated that "money or articles sent [to the Commission] will find their way to those needing to be aided." Clearly, these women were among those.[46]

Georgia's Governor Charles Jones Jenkins was concerned with another class of Georgians, but he, too, made a public appeal concerning the destitution which also found its way into northern papers. As described above, the state government made appropriations for the purchase of corn totaling $300,000 in 1866. It also appropriated an additional $20,000 to pay for freight on the supplies coming from the "benevolent societies." There was a restriction, however, that "all supplies on which the State shall pay the freight, shall be distributed under the same provisions as are contained in the resolution of last session." Presumably, this meant that supplies could only be issued to people whom county agents could confirm were unable to work. Even in the midst of such a crisis, the state legislature still emphasized the "deserving poor." But

[46] There is no record Freedmen's Bureau ration distribution in Johnson County, which is in the pine barrens-wiregrass region, but on the border with the eastern black belt, so they were presumably describing the county's relief efforts.

no matter the amount, Governor Jenkins anticipated further suffering and deemed it necessary to issue "an address" to the people of Georgia in May. It was reprinted in the New York *Times*. The first section of the article interpreted Jenkins' address; the second was presented as a verbatim transcript. Both further our understanding of how several sources of aid worked together in Georgia.[47]

Jenkins sought to explain the distribution restrictions on all sources of aid for destitute Georgians. Aid from the state as well as "noble charitable associations of the more fortunate States" were restricted to the poor without property, and "it would be a violation of the trust to distribute them among property holders, in aid of agriculture." And those propertied individuals were Jenkins' primary concern. They, too, were starving in some areas. He described the situation this way. "All that the State Government and the United States Government and the ever memorable charities of benevolent individuals have done will fall short of full relief." The solution he offered to improve the state of affairs was simple. Those with land should plant "cereals and other articles of food." Jenkins "fear[ed] there [was] too much land devoted to cotton, cotton, cotton." As had happened during the war, some Georgia farmers were opting for cash crops, much to the detriment of the state. Jenkins urged them to change tactics as "a dictate

[47] SFRC Records, Roll 4. *Acts of the General Assembly of the State of Georgia, Passed in Milledgeville, At an Annual Session in November and December 1866,* Part I, Public Laws, Title II, Appropriations, &c., Volume I, "An Act for raising a Revenue for the political year eighteen hundred and sixty-seven, and to appropriate money for the support of the Government during said year, and to make certain special appropriations, and for other purposes therein mentioned," Section XXVIII., Approved 13 December 1866, 11. Available from "Georgia's Acts and Resolutions from 1799-1999," The Georgia Legislative Documents Project, presented in the Digital Library of Georgia. SFRC Records, Roll 4. The handwritten date for this clipping is May 25. Jenkins had been elected governor in late 1865, replacing James Johnson, appointed provisional governor in June. Joe Brown had been arrested in May. Jenkins had been a Whig before the war, then switched to the Democratic party. Jenkins was forcibly removed from office by General George G. Meade in January 1868, after Jenkins, who had refused to recognize the legality of Congressional Reconstruction, repeatedly refused to pay the expenses of the required convention. For more on the complexities of these maneuvers, see Nathans, 56-78.

of patriotism." If state, federal, or private charity was unavailable to the landed poor, this was the only way for true recovery.[48]

The exact amount raised by the SFRC, and its precise distribution, are not as easily mapped as the donations of the NYLSRA. The online finding aid for the SFRC's records states that the organization sent $206,287 worth of corn, as well as $12,000 in cash to "be used in caring for the sick." A New York *Times* article noted the Commission's final meeting, and its stated "total cash recipts" of $250,566, "all of which ha[d] been expended," and the purchase of 175,316 bushels of corn. To further complicate our understanding of the total amount of aid sent South in 1867, other major cities organized similar commissions, and the newspaper files of the SFRC contain references to St. Louis, San Francisco, Chicago, Cincinnati, and Philadelphia. The Southwestern Relief Association, based in Louisville, Kentucky, sent aid to throughout the first half of 1867. Some of these cities and organizations coordinated their efforts with the SFRC, and, in the case of San Francisco, sent their donations to SFRC. And, as yet, no thorough examination of private charitable relief during Reconstruction exists. Alice B. Keith, of Meredith College in Raleigh, North Carolina, writing for the sociology journal *Social Forces* in 1939, however, shed some light upon the complexity of the aid process and offers some clues for areas of future research.[49]

In her article entitled "White Relief in North Carolina, 1865-1867," which was the inspiration for this study of Georgia's post-war relief, Keith described how "the story of the sympathy and the assistance given to the white people of the South by the people of the North

---

[48] SFRC Records, Roll 4.

[49] SFRC Records, Roll 4. Alice B. Keith, "White Relief in North Carolina, 1865-1867." The journal *Social Forces*, founded in 1922 by sociologist Howard Odum, is still published by the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill and is associated with the Southern Sociological Society. Their website is accessible at http://socialforces.unc.edu/ [accessed 20 January 2005]. It is through Keith's early research that I gained a general knowledge of the possibilities of relief sources for Georgia. No research has yet determined if the records of the Southwestern Relief Commission exist. This is a potentially crucial avenue for further investigation.

during [Reconstruction] is not often heard." Focusing her work exclusively on North Carolina, she found newspapers and magazines the best sources of information. And, though at the time of her research she could not locate the records of or even confirm the existence of the SFRC, she did discover many of the other private charitable organizations, as well as state appropriations, devoted to southern poor relief. An article she quoted from the Raleigh *Sentinel* of September 5, 1867 entitled "Our Best Friends" stated "'The entire Southern Relief Fund amounts to $2,876,809. Of this $500,000 comes from Louisville; $321,000 from New York; $1,000,000 from the State of Maryland; from Boston $49,127; from Saint Louis $347,375.'" Though an exhaustive study of all sources of private charity sent South from 1865 through 1867 is beyond the scope of this dissertation, preliminary research indicates that these numbers are not improbable and serves to highlight a simple fact. Welfare aid to the South from 1865 through 1867 was not limited to the Freedmen's Bureau, and Bureau aid programs extended beyond "loyal" refugees. Poor whites in Georgia had multiple organizations to which they could appeal for assistance, and they did so. The North, in the form of federal government as well as private organizations, responded to those pleas as the state of Georgia continued to provide its own relief. Though the interaction of the numerous agencies is complex, all focused their efforts on the "deserving" poor of the South and invoked patriotic and Christian themes to defend their goals and distribution systems. Though the records of the Freedmen's Bureau, the NYLSRA, and the SFRC provide an intriguing starting point, sixty-six years after Keith's article there is a much more detailed story of these and other Reconstruction-era agencies waiting to be discovered.[50]

[50] Keith, 337, 345. Keith noted that "the Southern Famine Commission is puzzling. There is the intimation that there was an attempt to consolidate the work for the famine relief in a central committee in New York City, but not description of such an organization has been discovered." She was, however, intimately familiar with the ladies' organization, thanks to Anne Middleton Holmes' publication, the same source used for this dissertation.

Table 6.1
Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands, Alabama and Arkansas, Ration Distribution by State, June 1865-Nov. 1868

Month/Year	**Alabama Freedpeople**	**Alabama Refugees**	**Arkansas Freedpeople**	**Arkansas Refugees**
June 1865	0.0	0.0	36,181.0	313,627.0
July 1865	0.0	0.0	45,009.5	84,712.0
August 1865	0.0	0.0	60,784.0	58,762.0
September 1865	36,295.0	45,771.0	41,766.0	39,456.0
October 1865	38,621.0	33,125.0	26,583.0	12,658.0
November 1865	36,402.0	34,379.0	25,173.5	11,935.5
December 1865	36,853.0	40,164.0	15,850.0	19,352.0
January 1866	32,695.0	78,821.0	11,696.0	47,836.0
February 1866	64,389.0	239,802.0	9,817.0	84,023.0
March 1866	91,655.0	260,612.0	11,442.0	102,204.0
April 1866	120,753.0	295,513.0	6,919.0	43,742.0
May 1866	191,993.0	421,574.0	10,595.0	64,745.0
June 1866	246,765.0	545,984.0	9,157.0	57,083.0
July 1866	140,634.5	336,230.0	7,297.0	16,982.0
August 1866	91,685.0	190,932.0	6,853.0	5,048.0
September 1866	93,917.0	198,043.0	6,050.0	1,827.0
October 1866	19,852.0	190.0	4,155.0	495.0
November 1866	17,405.0	145.0	3,936.0	495.0
December 1866	18,377.0	110.0	4,026.0	620.0
January 1867	17,033.0	1,017.0	4,584.0	744.0
February 1867	14,691.0	110.0	4,943.0	602.0
March 1867	15,547.0	93.0	5,515.0	574.0
April 1867	13,786.0	45.0	5,048.0	413.0
May 1867	14,179.0	62.0	6,026.0	565.0
June 1867	13,864.0	272.0	7,197.0	980.0
July 1867	13,554.5	3,249.0	8,384.0	1,038.0
August 1867	15,254.0	217.0	10,192.0	1,203.0
September 1867	13,417.0	210.0	7,986.0	1,578.0
October 1867	13,968.5	62.0	8,501.0	1,807.0
November 1867	11,240.0	60.0	7,746.0	1,722.0
December 1867	6,458.0	62.0	7,440.0	1,001.0
January 1868	5,628.0	62.0	7,333.0	1,070.0
February 1868	5,151.0	62.0	7,065.0	1,247.0
March 1868	5,841.0	62.0	6,749.0	806.0
April 1868	5,970.0	60.0	6,140.0	780.0
May 1868	5,783.0	62.0	6,371.0	868.0
June 1868	5,795.0	60.0	6,090.0	870.0
July 1868	3,111.0	62.0	6,023.0	1,054.0
August 1868	3,658.5	62.0	3,823.0	961.0
September 1868	3,465.0	60.0	3,870.0	930.0
October 1868	4,417.5	0.0	4,115.0	868.0
November 1868	2,070.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
	1,492,173.5	**2,727,406.0**	**484,431.0**	**987,283.5**
Combined Subtotal of Rations		**4,219,579.5**		**1,471,714.5**
% of Rations to **Refugees**	64.6369%		67.0839%	
% of Rations to **Freedpeople**	35.3631%		32.9161%	

Source: NARA, RG 105, Entry 33, Box 6, Office of the Commissioner, Reports. This untitled, fourteen-page report is not part of the microfilmed records which comprise the bulk of RG 105.

Table 6.2
Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands, Florida and Georgia, Ration Distribution by State, June 1865-Nov. 1868

Month/Year	**Florida Freedpeople**	**Florida Refugees**	**Georgia Freedpeople**	**Georgia Refugees**
June 1865	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
July 1865	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
August 1865	0.0	0.0	62,178.0	0.0
September 1865	0.0	0.0	137,960.0	2,913.0
October 1865	0.0	0.0	73,944.0	8,683.0
November 1865	0.0	0.0	64,161.0	4,216.0
December 1865	0.0	0.0	40,212.5	1,490.0
January 1866	1,483.0	406.0	45,029.0	240.0
February 1866	3,100.0	885.0	44,360.0	364.0
March 1866	2,707.0	520.0	32,199.5	893.0
April 1866	3,030.0	585.0	19,669.5	415.0
May 1866	2,988.0	320.0	18,065.0	248.0
June 1866	2,801.0	224.0	19,269.5	32.0
July 1866	3,969.0	420.0	58,955.5	65,213.5
August 1866	4,096.0	424.0	58,692.0	88,291.0
September 1866	4,167.0	0.0	31,728.0	9,347.0
October 1866	2,294.0	0.0	17,131.0	0.0
November 1866	2,299.0	0.0	23,297.0	0.0
December 1866	2,309.0	0.0	21,203.0	1,057.0
January 1867	2,387.0	0.0	28,277.0	19,767.0
February 1867	6,308.0	0.0	25,335.0	4,917.0
March 1867	2,235.0	0.0	33,400.0	11,926.0
April 1867	3,519.0	0.0	42,766.0	22,322.0
May 1867	8,308.0	0.0	24,102.0	70.0
June 1867	8,095.0	0.0	56,135.0	41,405.0
July 1867	2,406.0	0.0	20,010.0	1,145.0
August 1867	8,709.0	0.0	20,520.0	800.0
September 1867	2,820.0	0.0	20,089.0	0.0
October 1867	2,185.5	0.0	21,871.0	150.0
November 1867	1,815.0	0.0	19,445.0	0.0
December 1867	2,139.0	0.0	16,820.0	0.0
January 1868	2,294.0	0.0	14,108.5	0.0
February 1868	1,964.0	0.0	12,440.5	29.0
March 1868	2,359.0	0.0	12,802.0	0.0
April 1868	3,005.0	0.0	11,277.5	0.0
May 1868	123,230.5	0.0	9,653.5	0.0
June 1868	331,041.0	0.0	7,517.5	0.0
July 1868	104,649.0	0.0	8,063.0	0.0
August 1868	14,249.5	0.0	7,778.5	0.0
September 1868	3,835.0	0.0	6,310.0	0.0
October 1868	3,061.5	0.0	3,870.5	0.0
November 1868	3,780.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
	679,638.0	**3,784.0**	**1,190,646.0**	**285,933.5**
Combined Subtotal of Rations		**683,422.0**		**1,476,579.5**
% of Rations to **Refugees**	0.5537%		19.3646%	
% of Rations **Freedpeople**	99.4463%		80.6354%	

Source: NARA, RG 105, Entry 33, Box 6, Office of the Commissioner, Reports. This untitled, fourteen-page report is not part of the microfilmed records which comprise the bulk of RG 105.

Table 6.3
Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands, Kentucky and Louisiana, Ration Distribution by State, June 1865-Nov. 1868

Month/Year	**Kentucky Freedpeople**	**Kentucky Refugees**	**Louisiana Freedpeople**	**Louisiana Refugees**
June 1865	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
July 1865	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
August 1865	87,195.0	87,180.0	48,204.0	1,178.0
September 1865	66,750.0	0.0	55,186.0	825.0
October 1865	43,401.5	0.0	50,509.5	777.0
November 1865	34,547.5	0.0	42,629.0	795.0
December 1865	34,547.5	0.0	29,207.0	1,278.0
January 1866	7,056.0	0.0	27,946.0	726.0
February 1866	17,186.0	0.0	22,949.5	454.5
March 1866	7,423.0	0.0	30,537.0	2,166.0
April 1866	4,710.0	0.0	31,678.0	247.0
May 1866	7,856.0	77,538.0	31,161.0	2,089.0
June 1866	4,686.0	23,000.0	23,941.0	91,095.0
July 1866	0.0	0.0	28,566.0	42,412.0
August 1866	3,180.0	0.0	32,776.0	17,808.0
September 1866	3,420.0	0.0	30,702.0	1,278.0
October 1866	3,596.0	0.0	31,603.0	660.0
November 1866	3,940.0	0.0	29,304.0	2,895.0
December 1866	4,611.0	0.0	31,942.0	721.0
January 1867	5,558.0	0.0	16,736.5	1,023.0
February 1867	5,879.0	0.0	12,361.0	1,288.0
March 1867	6,479.0	0.0	10,996.0	744.0
April 1867	7,317.0	0.0	12,812.5	3,241.0
May 1867	5,765.0	0.0	11,263.0	1,261.0
June 1867	7,264.0	0.0	13,763.5	1,003.0
July 1867	7,493.0	0.0	14,560.0	1,695.0
August 1867	7,780.0	0.0	16,479.5	1,522.0
September 1867	6,410.0	0.0	14,118.0	987.0
October 1867	6,887.0	0.0	16,255.0	1,075.0
November 1867	7,120.0	0.0	15,341.0	1,053.0
December 1867	8,003.0	0.0	15,975.0	1,187.0
January 1868	8,146.0	124.0	16,050.0	3,460.5
February 1868	9,852.0	58.0	15,297.5	2,247.5
March 1868	10,153.0	93.0	15,576.0	788.0
April 1868	8,270.0	120.0	15,391.5	1,068.0
May 1868	6,938.0	138.0	15,740.0	744.0
June 1868	6,108.0	142.0	14,476.5	720.0
July 1868	4,411.0	0.0	14,075.5	899.0
August 1868	3,197.0	0.0	14,030.0	899.0
September 1868	2,730.0	0.0	11,195.5	900.0
October 1868	2,633.0	0.0	10,436.0	844.0
November 1868	2,280.0	0.0	10,392.0	960.0
	480,778.5	**188,393.0**	**902,162.5**	**197,013.5**
Combined Subtotal of Rations		**669,171.5**		**1,099,176.0**
% of Rations to **Refugees**	28.1532%		17.9237%	
% of Rations to **Freedpeople**	71.8468%		82.0763%	

Source: NARA, RG 105, Entry 33, Box 6, Office of the Commissioner, Reports. This untitled, fourteen-page report is not part of the microfilmed records which comprise the bulk of RG 105.

Table 6.4
Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands, Maryland and Mississippi, Ration Distribution by State, June 1865-Nov. 1868

Month/Year	**Maryland Freedpeople**	**Maryland Refugees**	**Mississippi Freedpeople**	**Mississippi Refugees**
June 1865	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
July 1865	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
August 1865	0.0	0.0	92,538.0	10,440.0
September 1865	0.0	0.0	68,355.0	11,766.0
October 1865	0.0	0.0	55,707.0	5,520.0
November 1865	0.0	0.0	33,693.0	2,467.0
December 1865	0.0	0.0	12,532.0	651.0
January 1866	0.0	0.0	14,565.0	822.0
February 1866	0.0	0.0	20,039.0	1,076.0
March 1866	0.0	0.0	11,168.0	1,660.5
April 1866	0.0	0.0	10,409.0	1,775.0
May 1866	0.0	0.0	10,532.0	2,489.0
June 1866	3,511.0	1,425.0	8,992.0	2,000.0
July 1866	2,379.0	1,434.0	10,229.0	532.0
August 1866	1,461.0	430.0	11,344.5	1,116.5
September 1866	0.0	0.0	11,385.5	540.0
October 1866	0.0	0.0	9,950.0	0.0
November 1866	0.0	0.0	7,770.0	0.0
December 1866	0.0	0.0	7,861.0	48.0
January 1867	60.0	99.0	8,142.0	0.0
February 1867	95.0	45.0	6,910.0	0.0
March 1867	47.0	0.0	7,351.0	0.0
April 1867	94.0	0.0	7,370.0	0.0
May 1867	34.0	0.0	7,263.0	0.0
June 1867	40.0	0.0	7,836.5	0.0
July 1867	42.0	0.0	8,308.5	0.0
August 1867	88.5	5.0	9,106.5	0.0
September 1867	112.0	0.0	13,950.0	0.0
October 1867	88.0	0.0	8,620.0	4,929.0
November 1867	124.0	0.0	8,850.0	4,755.0
December 1867	197.0	0.0	7,191.0	5,022.0
January 1868	213.0	0.0	7,120.5	4,877.0
February 1868	165.0	0.0	7,068.0	2,555.5
March 1868	110.0	0.0	7,739.0	6,040.0
April 1868	147.0	0.0	7,699.0	5,918.0
May 1868	242.0	0.0	7,450.5	6,305.0
June 1868	117.0	0.0	8,472.0	6,789.0
July 1868	104.0	0.0	8,243.0	6,340.0
August 1868	10.0	0.0	9,081.0	5,802.0
September 1868	0.0	0.0	8,480.0	5,992.0
October 1868	0.0	0.0	10,269.0	5,679.5
November 1868	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
	9,480.5	**3,438.0**	**579,590.5**	**113,907.0**
Combined Subtotal of Rations		**12,918.5**		**693,497.5**
% of Rations to **Refugees**	26.6130%		16.4250%	
% of Rations to **Freedpeople**	73.3870%		83.5750%	

Source: NARA, RG 105, Entry 33, Box 6, Office of the Commissioner, Reports. This untitled, fourteen-page report is not part of the microfilmed records which comprise the bulk of RG 105.

Table 6.5
Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands, North Carolina and South Carolina, Ration Distribution by State, June 1865-Nov. 1868

Month/Year	**North Carolina Freedpeople**	**North Carolina Refugees**	**South Carolina Freedpeople**	**South Carolina Refugees**
June 1865	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
July 1865	214,585.0	700.0	0.0	0.0
August 1865	155,463.0	826.0	26,001.0	0.0
September 1865	136,840.0	510.0	59,389.0	0.0
October 1865	119,878.0	1,306.0	66,559.0	4,359.0
November 1865	107,321.0	807.0	65,216.0	0.0
December 1865	104,302.0	680.0	99,301.0	2,264.0
January 1866	110,980.0	596.0	68,452.0	4,563.0
February 1866	105,068.0	412.0	55,264.0	10,696.0
March 1866	94,393.0	169.0	60,941.0	9,919.0
April 1866	72,029.0	178.0	65,813.0	12,013.0
May 1866	44,109.0	130.0	58,667.0	197.0
June 1866	39,382.0	70.0	112,914.0	19,228.0
July 1866	34,955.5	45.0	110,262.0	32,567.0
August 1866	30,675.0	287.0	138,924.0	39,192.0
September 1866	25,302.0	0.0	116,195.0	41,014.0
October 1866	7,763.0	0.0	5,492.0	3,540.0
November 1866	7,102.0	0.0	3,720.0	3,590.0
December 1866	13,832.0	100.0	11,668.0	1,085.0
January 1867	24,203.0	1,433.0	23,165.0	7,612.0
February 1867	27,301.0	1,846.0	39,482.0	6,733.0
March 1867	25,313.0	716.0	54,731.0	10,380.0
April 1867	30,974.0	3,360.0	48,691.0	13,598.0
May 1867	32,609.0	0.0	90,660.0	36,743.0
June 1867	32,134.0	13,126.0	150,650.0	50,280.0
July 1867	38,627.5	23,040.0	136,329.0	50,177.0
August 1867	46,639.0	11,508.0	129,526.0	34,991.0
September 1867	6,073.0	235.0	8,270.0	45.0
October 1867	4,674.0	0.0	12,208.0	2,960.0
November 1867	1,499.0	0.0	5,870.0	0.0
December 1867	1,147.0	0.0	5,967.0	0.0
January 1868	1,165.0	0.0	5,891.0	2,325.0
February 1868	3,167.0	0.0	8,697.0	1,740.0
March 1868	6,622.0	0.0	9,426.0	1,860.0
April 1868	12,374.0	0.0	7,975.0	1,684.0
May 1868	27,650.0	0.0	8,323.0	1,907.0
June 1868	24,546.0	0.0	6,210.0	1,790.0
July 1868	4,097.0	0.0	8,339.0	1,891.0
August 1868	8,494.0	0.0	6,450.0	1,725.0
September 1868	7,795.0	0.0	5,970.0	1,725.0
October 1868	2,711.0	0.0	6,665.0	1,782.5
November 1868	1,265.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
	1,795,059.0	**62,080.0**	**1,904,273.0**	**416,175.5**
Combined Subtotal of Rations		**1,857,139.0**		**2,320,448.5**
% of Rations to **Refugees**	3.3428%		17.9351%	
% of Rations to **Freedpeople**	96.6572%		82.0649%	

Source: NARA, RG 105, Entry 33, Box 6, Office of the Commissioner, Reports. This untitled, fourteen-page report is not part of the microfilmed records which comprise the bulk of RG 105.

Table 6.6
Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands, Tennessee and Texas , Ration Distribution by State, June 1865-Nov. 1868

Month/Year	**Tennessee Freedpeople**	**Tennessee Refugees**	**Texas Freedpeople**	**Texas Refugees**
June 1865	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
July 1865	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
August 1865	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
September 1865	0.0	0.0	35.0	0.0
October 1865	0.0	0.0	246.0	0.0
November 1865	0.0	0.0	369.0	0.0
December 1865	0.0	0.0	496.0	87.0
January 1866	0.0	0.0	878.0	37.0
February 1866	0.0	0.0	1,159.0	42.0
March 1866	0.0	0.0	969.0	0.0
April 1866	0.0	0.0	763.0	0.0
May 1866	0.0	0.0	3,133.0	93.0
June 1866	0.0	0.0	1,836.0	0.0
July 1866	1,365.0	140.0	1,907.0	0.0
August 1866	806.0	62.0	1,035.0	90.0
September 1866	2,568.0	123.0	1,295.0	0.0
October 1866	5,492.0	0.0	618.0	0.0
November 1866	1,320.0	0.0	600.0	0.0
December 1866	1,550.0	0.0	775.0	0.0
January 1867	3,964.0	2,301.0	744.0	0.0
February 1867	1,260.0	0.0	34.0	0.0
March 1867	1,441.5	0.0	0.0	0.0
April 1867	3,456.0	2,010.0	15.0	0.0
May 1867	6,332.0	2,340.0	0.0	0.0
June 1867	5,291.0	2,800.0	0.0	0.0
July 1867	3,712.0	660.0	0.0	0.0
August 1867	2,552.5	0.0	0.0	0.0
September 1867	1,835.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
October 1867	1,819.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
November 1867	2,130.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
December 1867	2,263.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
January 1868	2,619.5	0.0	0.0	0.0
February 1868	2,345.5	0.0	0.0	0.0
March 1868	2,530.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
April 1868	2,130.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
May 1868	2,365.5	0.0	0.0	0.0
June 1868	1,965.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
July 1868	1,902.5	0.0	50.0	0.0
August 1868	1,947.5	0.0	70.0	0.0
September 1868	1,780.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
October 1868	1,719.5	0.0	0.0	0.0
November 1868	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
	70,462.0	**10,436.0**	**17,027.0**	**349.0**
Combined Subtotal of Rations		**80,898.0**		**17,376.0**
% of Rations to **Refugees**	12.9002%		2.0085%	
% of Rations to **Freedpeople**	87.0998%		97.9915%	

Source: NARA, RG 105, Entry 33, Box 6, Office of the Commissioner, Reports. This untitled, fourteen-page report is not part of the microfilmed records which comprise the bulk of RG 105.

Table 6.7
Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands, Virginia and Washington, D.C., Ration Distribution by State, June 1865-Nov. 1868

Month/Year	**Virginia Freedpeople**	**Virginia Refugees**	**Washington, D.C. Freedpeople**	**Washington, D.C. Refugees**
June 1865	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
July 1865	0.0	0.0	23,374.0	0.0
August 1865	178,120.0	238.0	33,474.0	0.0
September 1865	275,887.0	0.0	31,547.0	217.0
October 1865	235,781.0	0.0	32,020.0	357.0
November 1865	202,978.0	0.0	30,989.0	51.0
December 1865	190,108.0	0.0	41,190.0	280.0
January 1866	235,334.5	801.0	29,453.0	0.0
February 1866	262,581.0	2,203.0	42,196.0	0.0
March 1866	181,247.0	2,618.0	121,687.0	1,984.0
April 1866	148,886.0	1,118.0	67,990.0	660.0
May 1866	141,177.0	2,018.0	54,239.0	0.0
June 1866	117,678.0	1,490.0	59,605.0	0.0
July 1866	111,939.0	1,085.0	59,745.0	0.0
August 1866	107,837.0	2,419.0	52,058.0	0.0
September 1866	111,933.5	7,196.0	43,014.0	0.0
October 1866	37,134.5	1,396.0	37,834.0	0.0
November 1866	31,509.0	4,049.0	36,020.0	0.0
December 1866	30,319.5	3,824.0	35,950.0	0.0
January 1867	53,076.0	3,840.0	39,108.0	0.0
February 1867	78,994.5	4,501.0	46,822.0	0.0
March 1867	78,020.0	4,509.5	30,366.0	168.0
April 1867	72,528.0	6,701.0	30,352.0	84.0
May 1867	83,825.5	3,970.0	28,795.0	140.0
June 1867	73,326.0	3,162.0	25,890.0	0.0
July 1867	74,813.5	2,563.0	26,610.0	0.0
August 1867	67,000.0	2,148.0	25,534.0	0.0
September 1867	45,758.5	3,227.0	25,550.0	0.0
October 1867	39,798.5	3,243.5	25,054.0	0.0
November 1867	55,659.0	3,942.5	24,610.0	0.0
December 1867	33,072.0	2,870.0	26,362.0	0.0
January 1868	43,564.0	8,687.0	27,263.0	0.0
February 1868	106,562.0	27,839.0	26,195.0	2,341.0
March 1868	112,211.5	39,108.0	29,015.0	0.0
April 1868	82,723.0	12,865.0	26,830.0	0.0
May 1868	68,587.5	8,978.0	28,307.0	0.0
June 1868	51,005.0	7,985.0	26,570.0	0.0
July 1868	51,233.5	5,799.5	25,532.0	0.0
August 1868	50,087.5	5,448.0	21,348.0	0.0
September 1868	45,798.0	2,885.0	14,750.0	0.0
October 1868	41,106.5	3,861.0	16,061.0	0.0
November 1868	44,500.0	4,890.0	15,110.0	0.0
	4,053,700.0	**203,478.0**	**1,444,419.0**	**6,282.0**
Combined Subtotal of Rations		**4,257,178.0**		**1,450,701.0**
% of Rations to **Refugees**	4.7796%		0.4330%	
% of Rations to **Freedpeople**	95.2204%		99.5670%	

Source: NARA, RG 105, Entry 33, Box 6, Office of the Commissioner, Reports. This untitled, fourteen-page report is not part of the microfilmed records which comprise the bulk of RG 105.

Table 6.8
Georgia Freedmen's Bureau Ration Distribution by County and Geographic Region, December 1865 – December 1867

County	Geographic Region	Freedpeople	Refugees	Total
Catoosa	Mountains	3,000.0	10,000.0	13,000.0
Murray	Mountains	6,200.0	10,300.0	16,500.0
Whitfield	Mountains	25,686.0	47,304.0	72,990.0
Catoosa, Murray & Whitfield	Mountains	300.0	150.0	450.0
Chattoga	Mountains	3,000.0	9,000.0	12,000.0
Dade	Mountains	5,000.0	3,000.0	8,000.0
Gilmer & Pickens	Mountains	2,000.0	3,000.0	5,000.0
Gordon	Mountains	4,500.0	10,500.0	15,000.0
Walker	Mountains	2,000.0	8,000.0	10,000.0
		51,686.0	**101,254.0**	**152,940.0**
Bartow	Upcountry	11,000.0	13,000.0	24,000.0
Campbell	Upcountry			
DeKalb	Upcountry	10,000.0	5,000.0	15,000.0
Fulton	Upcountry	180,727.5	13,313.0	194,040.5
Campbell, DeKalb, & Fulton	Upcountry	9,390.0	8,850.0	18,240.0
Carroll & Harralson	Upcountry	1,215.0	7,605.0	8,820.0
Cherokee	Upcountry	3,000.0	10,000.0	13,000.0
Milton	Upcountry			
Forsyth	Upcountry			
Cherokee, Milton, & Forsyth	Upcountry	2,550.0	6,420.0	8,970.0
Clayton	Upcountry	5,600.0	5,000.0	10,600.0
Fayette	Upcountry			
Clayton & Fayette	Upcountry	5,205.0	3,915.0	9,120.0
Cobb	Upcountry	12,019.0	19,231.0	31,250.0
Paulding	Upcountry	2,000.0	12,000.0	14,000.0
Polk	Upcountry	4,000.0	4,000.0	8,000.0
Cobb, Paulding, & Polk	Upcountry	5,078.0	8,150.0	13,228.0
Floyd	Upcountry	14,974.0	12,271.0	27,245.0
Franklin	Upcountry	1,000.0	0.0	1,000.0
Gwinnett	Upcountry	1,000.0	0.0	1,000.0
Heard	Upcountry	2,000.0	2,500.0	4,500.0
"Fulton"	Upcountry	7,774.0	11,870.0	19,644.0
		278,532.5	**143,125.0**	**421,657.5**
Bibb	Eastern Black Belt	127,294.0	16,063.5	143,357.5
Clarke	Eastern Black Belt	6,832.0	0.0	6,832.0
Henry & Newton	Eastern Black Belt	6,780.0	2,340.0	9,120.0
Morgan	Eastern Black Belt	200.0	400.0	600.0
Oglethorpe	Eastern Black Belt	200.0	400.0	600.0
Pike	Eastern Black Belt	400.0	600.0	1,000.0
Richmond	Eastern Black Belt	122,977.0	30.0	123,007.0
Spalding	Eastern Black Belt	1,100.0	400.0	1,500.0
Wilkinson	Eastern Black Belt	600.0	400.0	1,000.0
		266,383.0	**20,633.5**	**287,016.5**

Dougherty	Western Black Belt	154.0	0.0	154.0
Muscogee	Western Black Belt	52,410.0	0.0	52,410.0
Thomas	Western Black Belt	40.0	0.0	40.0
Troup	Western Black Belt	1,000.0	550.0	1,550.0
		53,604.0	**550.0**	**54,154.0**
Chatham	Coast	96,765.0	2,565.0	99,330.0
Glynn	Coast	4,000.0	0.0	4,000.0
Liberty	Coast	200.0	100.0	300.0
		100,965.0	**2,665.0**	**103,630.0**
"Clayton"	Upcountry/Mountains	1,110.0	1,890.0	3,000.0
"Bellsville Colony"	Unknown	2,535.0	0.0	2,535.0
		3,645.0	**1,890.0**	**5,535.0**
Total Rations Dec 1865-Dec 1867			**1,024,933.0**	
Total to Freedpeople		**73.6 percent**	**754,815.5**	
Total to Refugees		**26.4 percent**	**270,117.5**	

Source: NARA, RG 105, Entry 33, *Monthly Reports of the Assistant Commissioner of the Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands (BRFAL) for the State of Georgia, December 1865-December 1867*. These are preprinted statistical forms completed by Freedmen's Bureau agents each month and compiled in the Washington, D.C. office.

Table 6.9
Georgia Freedmen's Bureau Rations Issued per Month by Station Freedpeople (FR) and Refugees (R), December 1865-May 1866

City	FR Dec. 1865	R Dec. 1865	FR Jan. 1866	R Jan. 1866	FR Feb. 1866	R Feb. 1866
Augusta	9,627.0	0	13,323.0	0	5,441.0	0
Columbus	1,240.0	0	1,591.0	0	1,040.0	0
Atlanta	19,425.0	0	18,106.0	0	17,465.0	0
Savannah	3,829.0	1,490.0	6,495.0	240.0	5,803.0	364.0
Macon	6,091.5	0	5,504.0	0	4,165.0	0
Thomasville	0	0	10	0	30.0	0
Albany	0	0	0	0	0	0
Cuthbert	0	0	0	0	0	0
Sea Islands	0	0	0	0	4,000.0	0
Athens	0	0	0	0	4,316.0	0
Rome	0	0	0	0	0	0
Dalton	0	0	0	0	0	0
Waynesboro	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	40,212.5	1,490.0	45,029.0	240.0	42,260.0	364.0

City	FR Mar. 1866	R Mar. 1866	FR Apr. 1866	R Apr. 1866	FR May 1866	R May 1866	Total
Augusta	5,441.0	0	2,008.0	0	1,875.0	0	37,715.0
Columbus	1,261.0	0	1,200.0	0	1,040.0	0	7,372.0
Atlanta	8,349.0	676.0	6,342.0	175.0	7,992.0	248.0	78,778.0
Savannah	5,999.0	217.0	6,362.0	240.0	5,621.0	0	36,660.0
Macon	4,733.5	0	3,757.5	0	2,137.0	0	26,388.5
Thomasville	0	0	0	0	0	0	40
Albany	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.0
Cuthbert	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.0
Sea Islands	0	0	0	0	0	0	4,000.0
Athens	0	0	0	0	0	0	4,316.0
Rome	0	0	0	0	2,085.0	0	2,085.0
Dalton	0	0	0	0	525.0	0	525.0
Waynesboro	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	25,783.5	893.0	19,669.5	415.0	21,275.0	248.0	197,879.5

Source: NARA, RG 105, Entry 33, *Monthly Reports of the Assistant Commissioner of the Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands for the State of Georgia*.

Notes: The February 1866 report (freedmen) notes that 2,100 rations were issued to patients in the smallpox hospital in Hamburg, S.C. "in the absence of clearly appointed officers of the bureau." The March 1866 report (freedmen) notes an identical distribution "owing to defective arrangement the officer in charge of that subdistrict has not drawn rations and has been temporarily supplied from this department." Additionally, 4,316 rations were issued to freedmen in "different locations." The May 1866 report (freedmen) notes that rations issued at Rome and Dalton were "in compliance with instructions from Major General O.O. Howard, Command."

Table 6.10
Georgia Freedmen's Bureau Rations Issued per Month by Station
Freedpeople (FR) and Refugees (R), June 1866-December 1866

City/ County	FR June 1866	R June 1866	FR July 1866	R July 1866	FR Aug 1866	R Aug 1866	FR Sept 1866
Augusta	1,933.0	0	2,370.0	0	2,000.0	0	5,010.0
Columbus	2,120.0	0	4,308.0	0	3,806.0	0	3,250.0
Atlanta	4,770.0	32.0	4,105.5	136.0	3,189.0	0	3,899.0
Savannah	4,935.0	0	4,436.0	0	4,406.0	0	3,779.0
Macon	3,571.5	0	271.0	542.5	3,645.0	1,637.0	5,760.0
Rome	2,000.0	0	3,345.0	1,655.0	4,000.0	6,000.0	0
Dalton	0	0	5,000.0	10,000.0	3,000.0	7,000.0	700.0
Waynesboro	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Marietta	0	0	4,420.0	8,580.0	3,346.0	6,654.0	2,240.0
Spring Place	0	0	4,000.0	6,000.0	2,000.0	4,000.0	200.0
Jonesboro	0	0	2,200.0	2,800.0	3,000.0	2,000.0	400.0
Ringgold	0	0	1,000.0	4,000.0	2,000.0	6,000.0	0
Calhoun	0	0	1,500.0	3,500.0	3,000.0	7,000.0	0
Fulton	0	0	3,000.0	7,000.0	1,500.0	3,500.0	0
Canton	0	0	1,000.0	4,000.0	2,000.0	6,000.0	0
Dallas	0	0	1,000.0	5,000.0	1,000.0	7,000.0	0
Lafayette	0	0	1,000.0	4,000.0	1,000.0	4,000.0	0
Summersville	0	0	1,000.0	4,000.0	2,000.0	5,000.0	0
Trenton	0	0	2,000.0	1,000.0	3,000.0	2,000.0	0
Cartersville	0	0	5,000.0	3,000.0	2,000.0	8,000.0	4,000.0
Griffin	0	0	0	0	600.0	400.0	500.0
Decatur	0	0	7,000.0	0	3,000.0	5,000.0	0
Van Wert	0	0	2,000.0	0	2,000.0	4,000.0	0
Walthourville	0	0	0	0	200.0	100.0	0
Ellijay & Jasper	0	0	0	0	2,000.0	3,000.0	0
Carnesville	0	0	0	0	1,000.0	0	0
Zebulon	0	0	0	0	0	0	400.0
Madison	0	0	0	0	0	0	200.0
Irwinton Station	0	0	0	0	0	0	600.0
Bairdstown	0	0	0	0	0	0	200.0
Lawrenceville	0	0	0	0	0	0	1,000.0
Total	19,329.5	32.0	59,995.5	65,213.5	58,692.0	88,291.0	32,138.0

Source: NARA, RG 105, Entry 33, *Monthly Reports of the Assistant Commissioner of the Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands for the State of Georgia.*

Table 6.10, Continued
Georgia Freedmen's Bureau Rations Issued per Month by Station
Freedpeople (FR) and Refugees (R), June 1866-December 1866

City/ County	R Sept. 1866	FR Oct. 1866	R Oct. 1866	FR Nov. 1866	R Nov. 1866	FR Dec. 1866	R Dec. 1866	Total
Augusta	30.0	3,829.0	0	4,155.0	0	3,937.0	0	23,264.0
Columbus	0	1,274.0	0	1,320.0	0	1,574.0	0	18,652.0
Atlanta	0	3,748.0	0	4,385.0	0	5,072.0	936.0	30,272.5
Savannah	0	3,012.0	0	3,000.0	0	2,054.0	0	25,622.0
Macon	952.0	5,268.0	0	10,437.0	0	8,536.0	0	40,620.0
Rome	0	0	0	0	0	100.0	121.0	17,221.0
Dalton	300.0	0	0	0	0	0	0	26,000.0
Waynesboro	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Marietta	3,790.0	0	0	0	0	0	0	29,030.0
Spring Place	300.0	0	0	0	0	0	0	16,500.0
Jonesboro	200.0	0	0	0	0	0	0	10,600.0
Ringgold	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	13,000.0
Calhoun	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	15,000.0
Fulton	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	15,000.0
Canton	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	13,000.0
Dallas	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	14,000.0
Lafayette	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	10,000.0
Summersville	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	12,000.0
Trenton	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	8,000.0
Cartersville	2,000.0	0	0	0	0	0	0	24,000.0
Griffin	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1,500.0
Decatur	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	15,000.0
Van Wert	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	8,000.0
Walthourville	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	300.0
Ellijay & Jasper	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	5,000.0
Carnesville	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1,000.0
Zebulon	600.0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1,000.0
Madison	400.0	0	0	0	0	0	0	600.0
Irwinton Station	400.0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1,000.0
Bairdstown	400.0	0	0	0	0	0	0	600.0
Lawrenceville	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1000.0
Total	9,372.0	17,131.0	0	23,297.0	0	21,273.0	1057.0	395,781.5

Source: NARA, RG 105, Entry 33, *Monthly Reports of the Assistant Commissioner of the Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands for the State of Georgia.*

Notes: The July 1866 report for refugees lists separate stations for "Atlanta" and "Fulton," though Atlanta is in Fulton County. The November 1866 report for freedmen states "5,025 rations issued to emigrants by order of Maj. Genl. Howard from Macon Ga. to Charleston S.C. en route to Liberia."

Table 6.11
Georgia Freedmen's Bureau Rations Issued per Month by Station
Freedpeople (FR) and Refugees (R), January 1867-July 1867

City/County	F Jan 1867	R Jan 1867	F Feb 1867	R Feb 1867	F Mar 1867	R Mar 1867
Augusta	4,063.0	0	8,698.0	0	4,744.0	0
Columbus	1,630.0	0	1,496.0	0	2,260.0	0
Atlanta	7,845.0	4,767.0	7,600.0	2,903.0	5,696.0	0
Savannah	2,573.0	0	1,755.0	14.0	2,373.0	0
Macon	5,302.0	0	4,644.0	0	10,717.0	6,204.0
Rome	729.0	1,000.0	0	0	1,400.0	1,500.0
Marietta	135.0	0	455.0	0	670.0	0
Dalton	6,000.0	14,000.0	687.0	2,000.0	2,000.0	2,852.0
Athens	0	0	0	0	266.0	0
Fulton	0	0	0	0	3,274.0	1,370.0
Clayton	0	0	0	0	0	0
Bellsville Colony	0	0	0	0	0	0
Troup	0	0	0	0	0	0
Heard		0	0	0	0	0
Fulton, Campbell, and Dekalb	0	0	0	0	0	0
Paulding, Polk, and Cobb	0	0	0	0	0	0
Henry and Newton	0	0	0	0	0	0
Clayton and Fayette	0	0	0	0	0	0
Harralson and Carroll	0	0	0	0	0	0
Cherokee, Milton, and Forsyth	0	0	0	0	0	0
Albany	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	28,277.0	19,767.0	25,335.0	4,917.0	33,400.0	11,926.0

Source: NARA, RG 105, Entry 33, *Monthly Reports of the Assistant Commissioner of the Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands for the State of Georgia.*

Table 6.11, Continued
Georgia Freedmen's Bureau Rations Issued per Month by Station
Freedpeople (FR) and Refugees (R), January 1867-July 1867

City/ County	F Apr 1867	R Apr 1867	F May 1867	R May 1867	F June 1867	R June 1867	F July 1867	R July 1867	Total
Augusta	4,972.0	0	5,004.0	0	4,565.0	0	4,529.0	0	36,575.0
Columbus	2,730.0	0	3,135.0	0	2,580.0	0	2,000.0	0	15831.0
Atlanta	9,050.0	3,440.0	5,826.0	0	5,860.0	0	6,228.0	0	59215.0
Savannah	5,899.0	0	6,079.0	0	3,150.0	0	2,666.0	0	24509.0
Macon	9,135.0	5,928.0	3,746.0	0	3,510.0	0	3,379.0	0	52565.0
Rome	1,315.0	1,995.0	0	0	0	0	0	0	7939.0
Marietta	753.0	207.0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2220.0
Dalton	6,662.0	10,752.0	312.0	70.0	800.0	330.0	0	0	46465.0
Athens	2,250.0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2516.0
Fulton	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4644.0
Clayton	0	0	0	0	1,,110.0	1,890.0	0	0	3000.0
Bellsville Colony	0	0	0	0	2535.0	0	0	0	2535.0
Troup	0	0	0	0	1,000.0	550.0	0	0	1550.0
Heard	0	0	0	0	2,000.0	2,500.0	0	0	4500.0
Fulton, Campbell, and Dekalb	0	0	0	0	9,390.0	8,850.0	0	0	18240.0
Paulding, Polk, and Cobb	0	0	0	0	3,885.0	7,005.0	1,193.0	1,145.0	12083.0
Henry and Newton	0	0	0	0	6,780.0	2,340.0	0	0	9120.0
Clayton and Fayette	0	0	0	0	5,205.0	3,915.0	0	0	9120.0
Harralson and Carroll	0	0	0	0	1,215.0	7,605.0	0	0	8820.0
Cherokee, Milton, and Forsyth	0	0	0	0	2,550.0	6,420.0	0	0	8970.0
Albany	0	0	0	0	0	0	15.0	0	15.0
Total	42,766.0	22,322.0	24,102.0	70.0	56,135.0	41,405.0	20,010.0	1,145.0	330,432.0

Source: NARA, RG 105, Entry 33, *Monthly Reports of the Assistant Commissioner of the Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands for the State of Georgia.*

Notes: The reports for April through July contain copious notes, most which seek to clarify situations where rations were begin issued to freedpeople and refugees in hospitals, and some cases of "extreme destitution," such as in Dalton, Atlanta, and Troup County.

Table 6.12
Georgia Freedmen's Bureau Rations Issued per Month by Station Freedpeople (FR) and Refugees (R), August 1867-December 1867

City/County	F Aug 1867	R Aug 1867	F Sept 1867	R Sept 1867
Atlanta	6,081.0	0	5,905.0	0
Macon	5,097.0	800.0	4,545.0	0
Columbus	2,356.0	0	2,280.0	0
Savannah	2,418.0	0	2,640.0	0
Augusta	4,544.0	0	4,695.0	0
Albany	24.0	0	24.0	0
Whitfield, Murray, and Catoosa Counties	0	0	0	0
Total	20,520.0	800.0	20,089.0	0

City/County	F Oct 1867	R Oct 1867	F Nov 1867	R Nov 1867	F Dec 1867	Total
Atlanta	5,295.0	0	4,135.0	0	4,359.0	25,775.0
Macon	5,069.0	0	4,335.0	0	3,938.0	23,784.0
Columbus	2,666.0	0	2,610.0	0	1,643.0	11,555.0
Savannah	3,148.0	0	2,785.0	0	1,548.0	12,539.0
Augusta	5,363.0	0	5,550.0	0	5,301.0	25,453.0
Albany	30.0	0	30.0	0	31.0	139.0
Whitfield, Murray, and Catoosa Counties	300.0	150.0	0	0	0	450.0
Total	21,871.0	150.	19,445.0	0	16,820.0	99,695.0

Source: NARA, RG 105, Entry 33, *Monthly Reports of the Assistant Commissioner of the Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands for the State of Georgia*.

Notes: The reports for August through December contain copious notes, most which seek to clarify situations where rations were begin issued to freedpeople and refugees in hospitals, and some cases of "extreme destitution."

Table 6.13
New York Ladies' Southern Relief Association Cash Distributions to Georgia Cities, 1867
Ranked from Largest to Smallest Total Distribution

City	County	Region	Amount
Savannah	Chatham	Coast	4126.66
Atlanta	Fulton	Upcountry	1400.00
Augusta	Richmond	Eastern Black Belt	1320.00
Sparta	Hancock	Eastern Black Belt	725.00
Macon	Bibb	Eastern Black Belt	710.00
Athens	Clarke	Eastern Black Belt	560.00
Marietta	Cobb	Upcountry	350.00
Columbus	Muscogee	Western Black Belt	350.00
Dahlonega	Lumpkin	Mountains	300.00
Rome	Floyd	Upcountry	210.00
Decatur	DeKalb	Upcountry	200.00
Griffin	Spalding	Eastern Black Belt	200.00
Oxford	Newton	Eastern Black Belt	200.00
Lafayette	Walker	Mountains	150.00
Roswell	Milton	Upcountry	132.25
Americus	Sumter	Western Black Belt	100.00
Cassville*	Cass	Upcountry	100.00
Greensboro	Greene	Eastern Black Belt	100.00
Louisville	Jefferson	Eastern Black Belt	100.00
Midway	Liberty	Coast	100.00
Milledgeville	Baldwin	Eastern Black Belt	100.00
Bold Spring	Franklin	Upcountry	50.00
Thompson (Thomson)**	Columbia	Eastern Black Belt	50.00
Total			$11,633.91

Source: Anne Middleton Holmes, *Southern Relief Association of New York City, 1866-1867* (New York: Mary Mildred Sullivan Chapter United Daughters of the Confederacy, 1926), 96-110.

*Cass County was renamed Bartow County in 1861. Cassville was the county seat of Cass County, but was destroyed by Union troops in late 1864. In 1867 the now-renamed Bartow County's county seat was moved to Cartersville, which was on the line of the new Western and Atlantic Railroad. For more information, see http://notatlanta.org/cassville.html (accessed 15 January 2005).
**Thompson is likely a misspelling of Thomson, Georgia. Today Thomson is in McDuffie County, which was created in 1870 from Columbia and Warren counties.

Chapter VII

Epilogue

"Man is Not Given to Advertising His Indigencies Nor to Eulogizing His Creditors"[1]

Alice B. Keith's explanation above of the historical oversight of welfare aid to poor whites in Reconstruction rings as true today as it undoubtedly did in 1939. She further explained that "the people who were served were not the articulate class; in fact many of them were entirely illiterate." There are also other reasons. Although the state-funded wartime and post-war aid programs in Georgia as well as federally funded aid via the Freedmen's Bureau were on a scale without precedent in American history, they were short-lived. The New York Ladies' Southern Relief Association and the Southern Famine Relief Commission operated for less than a year. The year 1868 brought great changes. Radical Republicans took power in Georgia, and counties began to retake control of the care of the poor and indigent. There were no more massive appropriations for poor relief. The Freedmen's Bureau continued until 1872, but in reality its relief operations for Georgia's whites were over by late summer 1867, when a good harvest resulted in decreased need**.** News of the good harvest reached the North, and private charitable organizations ceased their fundraising campaigns.[2]

It is well-documented that northern interest in the plight of the freedpeople waned during the later years of Reconstruction, and that lack of interest turned to a full-fledged retreat after

[1] Keith, "White Relief in North Carolina," 337.
[2] For more on the Bureau's ration programs coming to an end, see Cimbala, *Under the Guardianship of the Nation*, Chapter 4, 93-98. For the shift back to county and local control of "paupers," see Wallenstein, 144-146. Even as early as March 1867, early crop forecasts were positive, as those reported for Georgia in the New York *Post*, March 4, 1867, found in the SFRC Records, Roll 4.

1877. It is equally well-documented by historians such as James C. Klotter that the focus of charity and assistance refocused on poor whites in Appalachia. As he points out, timing was important for the discovery of Appalachian whites. Appeals to assist this group came "at an appropriate time for those disillusioned with black progress. Efforts previously devoted solely to blacks now could be partially redirected to mountain whites. Support that might have aided Negroes – even if the support was becoming half-hearted – now turned fully to mountain reform." However, Klotter's assertion that aid prior to the 1880s was given "solely to blacks" is inaccurate. The research presented here proves that poor whites, including Appalachian whites, had received aid from Confederate governments during the war, and during Reconstruction poor whites received federal and private aid alongside freedpeople. Klotter also argues that "the racism, frustration, and disappointment of white reformers who dealt with blacks after slavery would not be a factor in this [Appalachian white] society." This argument is too simple. While the frustration of white reformers in aiding the freedpeople is important in understanding why they shifted their attentions to white Appalachians, we must also ask if there was an accompanying frustration in dealing with the South's white poor during Reconstruction. Nina Silber's compelling argument that many Americans perceived southern industrialization as a likely solution to the poverty of white southerners outside Appalachia, which would provide a rationalization for discontinuing welfare measures, provides an added perspective to Klotter's interpretation. But it does not tell the whole story.[3]

The changing perceptions, expressed in congressional debates and in newspapers, concerning who was "deserving" among the American poor provide a necessary component in

[3] Klotter, "The Black South and White Appalachia," 84. Silber, "'What Does America Need So Much as Americans?," 245-58. Klotter also states that the popularization of the mountain's "feuds" helped spur public interest. For more on this topic see, Altina L. Waller, "Feuding in Appalachia: Evolution of a Cultural Stereotype," in *Appalachia in the Making: The Mountain South in the Nineteenth Century*, Mary Beth Pudup, Dwight B. Billings, Altina L. Waller, eds. (Chapel Hill,NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1995), 347-376.

our understanding of wartime and Reconstruction relief efforts, and this idea carries forward into explaining the motivations for post-Reconstruction aid in Appalachia as well. Through the Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands, the federal government expanded the race-based aid programs begun in Georgia and other Confederate states during the war to include all destitute southerners, or at least most of them. Considering the portrayal of "deserving" mountain whites that quickly followed the end of Reconstruction, this could this have been a reflection not only of the frustrations of trying to assist the freedpeople during Reconstruction, but also frustration with attempting to aid "undeserving" whites, the "poor white trash."

Klotter's uses examples from late-nineteenth and early twentieth century publications to illustrate that in many ways descriptions of black people and Appalachian whites were viewed in "a similar manner." Both groups were portrayed as poor, dirty, religiously primitive, immoral, lazy, and the ever-popular "shiftless." This comparison would "eventually resort in the formation of an image that allowed many late-nineteenth century reformers to turn their backs on the ex-slaves, as they told themselves that Appalachia needed them as well." William H. Turner, expanding upon Klotter's work in an article on blacks in Appalachia, stated it was the "ever-stabilizing Jim Crow system" that convinced reformers that "the highlands of Appalachia symbolized humanitarian needs that were politically unobtainable in their work for blacks." White Appalachians were particularly intriguing as the new focus of charitable assistance because they were popularly portrayed as some sort of "lost people." Because of geography, they had been isolated from the civilizing influences of the rest of the country. In an odd way, they were "pure." What could possibly make them more "deserving"?[4]

[4] Klotter, 832. William H. Turner, "Blacks in Appalachian America: Reflections on Biracial Education and Unionism," *Phylon*, Volume 44, Number 3 (3rd Quarter, 1983): 200. Available online via JSTOR, at http://links.jstor.org/sici?sici=0031-8906%28198333%2944%3A3%3C198%3ABIAARO%3E2.0.CO%3B2-1 [accessed 17 February 2005]. For more on the myth of Appalachia Anglo-Saxon purity and absence of black

Klotter, Silber, and Turner make convincing, and complimentary, arguments. They offer a logical explanation of the "turning away" of the North from the freedpeople post-Reconstruction that is part of every modern history of the era. But there is another part of the story we must consider. Klotter and others clearly state that one reason for the appeal of the Appalachian whites was that they were both physically and culturally isolated from the "poor whites" of the rest of the South. They not only had not been slave owners, in the popular perception, but they had not even been tainted by exposure to the slave system. They had fought valiantly for the Union after their states seceded. William Goodell Frost even identified them as "our contemporary ancestors," a people whom time had forgotten. And, in a nation increasingly concerned with immigration, they were Protestant, though of a primitive variety. But did frustrations with the "poor whites," so often the subject of Freedmen's Bureau and private northern charity, also contribute to the new focus on Appalachian whites? Appalachian whites compared favorably to freedpeople, and, as Reconstruction ended and southern "redemption" triumphed, did they not also compare favorably to the "poor whites" who seemed to have allied with the old white aristocracy to ensure the consolidation of post-Reconstruction white supremacy?[5]

While the answers to these questions are beyond the scope of this dissertation, we can connect Reconstruction-era aid to white southerners and the post-Reconstruction focus on

---

people, see John C. Inscoe, "Race and Racism in Nineteenth-Century Southern Appalachia: Myths, Realities, and Ambiguities," in *Appalachia in the Making: The Mountain South in the Nineteenth Century*, Mary Beth Pudup, Dwight B. Billings, Altina L. Waller, eds. (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1995), 103-131.

[5] Klotter, 837. William Goodell Frost served as president of Berea College in Kentucky from 1892-1920. The title of Silber's article comes from a quote of his, "What Does America Need So Much as Americans?" and reflects his shift in focus from interracial education, the purpose at Berea's founding, to the growing popularity of the Appalachian whites. In 1904, the Kentucky legislature would outlaw interracial education (the Day law). For more, see Henry D. Shapiro, *Appalachia on Our Mind: The Southern Mountains and Mountaineers in the American Consciousness, 1870-1920* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1978), especially chapter five, "Naming as Explaining: William Goodell Frost and the Invention of Appalachia," 113-132. Only two examples of authors who discuss the "retreat" from Reconstruction are William Gillette, *Retreat from Reconstruction, 1869-1879* (Baton Rouge, LA: Louisiana State University Press, 1979) and Foner, *Reconstruction: America's Unfinished Revolution*.

Appalachian whites through the philanthropic careers of two people instrumental in providing aid to the Reconstruction South. General Oliver Otis Howard served as commissioner of the Freedmen's Bureau throughout its lifetime. Mary Mildred Sullivan (Mrs. Algernon Sidney Sullivan) founded and managed the New York Ladies' Southern Relief Association. Both also worked to aid Appalachian whites after Reconstruction.

Howard's career beyond the Freedmen's Bureau included almost five years as president of Howard University, which began in 1869 while he was still the Bureau's commissioner. But even later in his career, he was instrumental in the founding of Lincoln Memorial University, near Knoxville, Tennessee. John A. Carpenter's biography of Howard attributes Howard's interest in establishing a "living memorial" to Lincoln to "his lecture agent, Cyrus Kehr of Chicago." The Lincoln Memorial University website's "Heritage" section credits inspiration to Lincoln himself, who supposedly suggested such an institution to Howard during one of their conversations. In a 1902 article in *Munsey's Magazine*, Howard himself confirmed what the university's website describes as "legend." "On the 26th of September, 1862, as I was about to leave Washington with my command for Chattanooga, almost the last words that President Lincoln spoke to me concerned Cumberland Gap and the people of East Tennessee. . . In manner and words he manifested a peculiar tenderness towards the people of that mountain region." In 1895, Howard found himself in the Cumberland Gap area to deliver a lecture and was inspired to finally fulfill his promise to Lincoln.[6]

At the time, the Harrow School, founded by American Missionary Association minister and his wife, Reverend A.A. and Ellen Myers, had been established for about five years. The

[6] Carpenter, *Sword and Olive Branch*, 293-295. Oliver Otis Howard, "The Folk of the Cumberland Gap: A Neglected Corner of the United States, and What the Lincoln Memorial University is Doing for the People of the Tennessee, Kentucky, and Virginia Mountains," *Munsey's Magazine*, Volume XXVII, April to September 1902 (New York: The Frank A. Munsey Company, 1902): 506-508. Lincoln Memorial University's "Heritage" section is available at http://www.lmunet.edu/heritage/ [accessed 17 February 2005].

area had seen a great, though short-lived boom during which an impressive 700-room hotel was built. By 1895 the boom was over and most of the hotel was demolished. The Myers hoped Howard might help their cause for Appalachian education. What Howard devised as he listened to the Myers' plight was the "living memorial" Kehr had suggested. He proposed the establishment of a new university on the old hotel property, and promised to do what he could to assist the endeavor. In the 1902 article, we can see an example of Howard's appeal for support of the institution. He states that he was "anxious to describe the case of the mountain people – people who have our best blood in their veins, and yet who have been overlooked and left behind in all our education privileges – I am fearful of an inability properly to picture the situation so as to enlist the practical sympathy and interest of my countrymen." Additionally, he stated that the institution was "far from" charity and that every student paid their way. And, in case anyone doubted his plea was for those who were certainly "deserving," he closed by stating that he was confident the needed funds would be found amongst his fellow Americans. "In their generosity I place my trust and the care of the poor whites of the country that Abraham Lincoln loved."[7]

Lincoln as the freedpeople's hero was firmly established. Howard proposed to make him the hero of Appalachian, formerly Unionist, and therefore "deserving" whites, as well. He continued to work for the university, primarily focused upon fundraising, until his death in October 1909. If we consider Howard as the exclusive hero of the freedpeople, as so often happens in the story of Howard and the Bureau, this emphasis on white Appalachian education might appear uncharacteristic. William H. Turner noted this irony in his statement that "The diminution of the liberal's efforts in behalf of blacks was exemplified most piercingly by the head of the Freedmen's Bureau, O.O. Howard . . . In a twist of pronouns from 'these our

[7] Ibid. See also Howard, *The Autobiography of Oliver Otis Howard,* Chapter LXX. McFeely's study of Howard does not extend beyond his Bureau work.

brothers' to 'our people,' Howard led the American Missionary Association – then the premier organization fighting and financing the empowerment of blacks – in redirecting funds away from black people and towards the cause of Appalachian whites." But when we consider the research presented here, which focuses upon his dedication to helping all the South's poor, it is not nearly as surprising.[8]

In 1924, Anne Middleton Holmes, who had published the pamphlet detailing the activities of the New York Ladies' Southern Relief Association, published a biography of the association's founder, Mary Mildred Hammond Sullivan, or Mrs. Algernon Sidney Sullivan. In what is an admittedly worshipful biography, which was commissioned by the New York United Daughters of the Confederacy chapter named for Mrs. Sullivan, we find some of the few clues to the life of this compelling woman. Holmes describes how Mrs. Sullivan, "nearing seventy years of age" in 1905, was again asked to assist the South. Mrs. Martha Sawyer Gielow, identified as "Founder of the Southern Industrial Education Association," solicited Mrs. Sullivan's assistance in setting up a branch of the association in New York. Holmes described the association's goal as "educational work in the sparsely-settled mountain districts of the Southern States."[9]

Gielow's work is fairly obscure. The Southern Industrial Education Association is not as well-known as other groups who undertook such efforts, such as the Southern Highland Division of the Russell Sage Foundation, or the Rockefeller Fund. But Gielow did publish several books, most now out-of-print, including one from which Holmes quoted extensively to describe the association's work and Sullivan's role. The book was entitled *The Light on the Hill: A Romance of the Southern Mountains*, published in 1915, and she dedicated it to Sullivan. As quoted in

[8] Ibid. Carpenter notes that in 1902, the University was experiencing desperate financial times and turned to Howard, who took over as managing director until 1907. Turner, 200-201.
[9] Holmes, *Mary Mildred Sullivan,* 94-95. A notation on the publication page states "Written for the records of The Mary Mildred Sullivan Chapter of the United Daughters of the Confederacy, New York City, Printed by the Chapter for private circulation."

Holmes, she stated "In December 1905, after long months of struggle to start an organization to aid the education uplift of the Anglo-Saxon race of our Southern Appalachian Mountains, I received a Charter for the Southern Industrial Educational Association with eight Charter Members, formed a 'Board', and, as authorized head of the Association, started forth to form branches and to secure interest and aid for our work. My first objective was New York City, the philanthropic moneyed centre of the world." She went on to describe how Sullivan had indeed formed the "New York Auxiliary" and was chosen president of a "board of fifty women." Sullivan continued this work for at least ten years. In 1921, Sullivan was honored at a ball given by a group called The Virginians in New York, and the evening's remarks were put into pamphlet form by the UDC chapter and reprinted in Holmes' biography. Included is a reference to how, in "1905 when health demanded that you reduce your labors, under urgent request, you directed your sympathy, influence and endeavors, toward establishing a society to aid in educational work among the Southern Mountaineers."[10] The rhetoric of the "discovery" of Appalachia undoubtedly reached Martha Sawyer Gielow, and through her, Mary Mildred Sullivan. Considering Sullivan's southern background, and devotion to southern causes, her support of the association is not surprising. However, it is noteworthy that in Holmes' biography, which appears to highlight Sullivan's work in the South, there are no references to

[10] Ibid., 95-97, 111. She continued the work for at least ten years, according to the biography, as she was honored in 1915 for ten years' service. Martha S. Gielow, *The Light on the Hill: A Romance of the Southern Mountains* (Fleming H. Revell Company, 1915). After searching several online used and rare book sources, I can find no copy of this book. Amazon.com lists the book, but with no information beyond the name and date of the original publication. The publisher, Fleming H. Revell, is now Revell Publishing Group and according to their website at http://www.revellbooks.com [accessed 21 February 2005] they publish Christian books and have done so since their founding. The Auburn University Library's microform collection includes a list of Gielow's works, along with a very brief biography, which identifies her as born in Greesnboro (presumably North Carolina), "reader, lecturer," and "founder and vice-president of Southern Industrial Education Association, Washington, D.C. which was organized for the purpose of promoting industrial education among Southern Appalachian Mountain white children." Her other works are *Camp Jingles and Songs* (Seattle: Ivy Press, 1917); *Mammy's Reminiscences and Other Sketches* (New York: Barnes, 1898*); Old Any the Moonshiner* (Washington, D.C.: Roberts, 1909); *Old Plantation Days* (New York: Russell, 1902); Uncle Sam (New York: Revell, 1913); and *The Whispering Fairy: Constructive Stories for Children* (Los Angeles: Rowny Press, 1923). Auburn's library site is available at http://www.lib.auburn.edu/madd/docs/ala_authors/g.html [accessed 17 February 2005].

any other southern charities with which Sullivan was involved. Surely Sullivan and Howard are not the only people who shifted from assisting the South's black *and* white poor to the Appalachian whites after Reconstruction. This is surely fertile ground for further research to expand upon the ideas presented in this dissertation, to bring the South's white poor back to the history of the Freedmen's Bureau and other Reconstruction-era welfare organizations.

The need for this research is highlighted by comparisons of some recent textbooks. Two of these are social welfare textbooks which both address the Freedmen's Bureau in the larger story of American welfare. In the fourth edition of *A New History of Social Welfare* (2003), Phyllis J. Day, in a chapter entitled "The American Welfare State Begins," starts her discussion by describing the Civil War as an event which

> affirmed federal responsibility over states' rights and laid the groundwork for the United States to become a welfare state. The first evidence came in the Freedmen's Bureau, a federally legislated program that cut across state lines to care for people displaced by the Civil War. Massive economic problems, including major depressions, pushed responsibility for social welfare upward from local overseers of the poor, first to city or county welfare departments, then to states, and finally, with the Social Security Acts of 1935, to the federal government.

Similarly, in June Axxin and Mark J. Sterns' sixth edition of *Social Welfare: A History of the American Response to Need* (2005), the Freedmen's Bureau was described as "the first federal welfare agency and, between 1865 and 1869, the major source of public welfare in the South. . . In its first three years, it distributed 18.3 million rations, about 5.2 million of which went to whites. By the end of its fourth year of existence, it had distributed 21 million rations, about 6 million having gone to whites."[11] Both books' versions of the story of American welfare of this era coincide with the research presented here.

[11] Phyllis J. Day, *A New History of Social Welfare*, Fourth Edition (Boston: Allyn & Bacon, 2003), 192. June Axxin and Mark J. Sterns, *Social Welfare: A History of the American Response to Need*, Sixth Edition (Boston: Allyn and Bacon, 2005), 97.

However, two American history textbooks published by the same parent publisher present a different story. In the seventh edition of *America: Past and Present*, Volume II, by Robert A. Divine, et. al., there is no mention of Freedmen's Bureau activities beyond land contracts, marriages, and schools. Even in the text's glossary, the entry for the Freedmen's Bureau reads, "Agency established by Congress in March 1865 to provide freedmen with shelter, food, and medical aid and to help them establish schools and find employment. The Bureau was dissolved in 1872." In this description, there is no mention of poor whites, an oversight that should have been corrected long ago. Similarly, the first edition of *Created Equal: A Social and Political History of the United States*, by Jacqueline Jones, et. al., neglects poor whites as Bureau aid recipients. Again, the focus is on the Bureau's labor and educational efforts. There is no mention of the Bureau's work with poor whites. These are both outstanding, and very popular, textbooks, written by notable and lauded scholars. But the descriptions of the Bureau in the social welfare texts are much more accurate. Why are they not part of the story in the history texts?[12]

This discrepancy becomes more bothersome when considering that the articles which inspired this dissertation, Alice B. Keith's "White Relief in North Carolina, 1865-1867," and John Hope Franklin's "Public Welfare in the South during the Reconstruction Era, 1865-80," were both published in social work journals, not history journals. But perhaps the discrepancies can help us understand the need for a new approach to Freedmen's Bureau and welfare history, such as the one taken by Elna C. Green in *This Business of Relief: Confronting Poverty in a*

[12] Robert A. Divine, T.H. Breen, George M. Frederickson, R. Hal Williams, Ariela J. Gross, H.W. Brands, *America: Past and Present*, Seventh Edition (New York: Pearson/Longman, 2005). Jacqueline Jones, Peter H. Wood, Thomas Borstelmann, Elaine Tyler May, and Vicki L. Ruiz, *Created Equal: A Social and Political History of the United States* (New York: Longman Publishers, 2003). Longman Publishers, Pearson/Longman, and Allyn and Bacon are all part of the larger Person Education, Inc. I have not undertaken an exhaustive examination of all history survey texts.

Southern City, 1740-1940. As Armstead L. Robinson so concisely described in his 1981 article "Beyond the Realm of Social Consensus: New Meanings of Reconstruction for American History," "only by integrating analyses of the causes and consequences of the Civil War and Reconstruction era into the very center of our study of the middle period are we likely to be able to comprehend how this critical age of transition helped to wrench America from the rural-agrarian world of the Revolution and to move it into the urban-industrial milieu of the twentieth century." As long as we attempt to evaluate the Bureau as strictly an agency designed to assist the freed slaves, our evaluations will be incomplete at best. We must begin to view the Bureau within the context of American welfare, including its predecessors and successors. We must study it as part of a larger history, rather than an interesting anomaly.[13]

[13] Robinson, "Beyond the Realm of Social Concensus," 277. Green's edited collection of essays entitled *Before the New Deal: Social Welfare in the South, 1830-1930* (Athens, GA: UGA Press, 1999) shows great promise for a new focus on this field. But of the ten essays in the book, only one addresses the Freedmen's Bureau, and that was written by Peter Wallenstein, a major source of information on Georgia cited above and deals specifically with lunatic asylums in Georgia.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Primary Sources

Account of the Supplies Sent to Savannah with the Past Appeal of Edward Everett in Faneuil Hall; The Letter to the Mayor of Savannah; and the Proceedings of the Citizens, and Letter of the Mayor of Savannah. Boston: John Wilson and Son, 1865.

Acts of the General Assembly of the State of Georgia, Passed in Milledgeville at an Annual Session in November and December, 1861. Milledgeville, GA: Boughton, Nisbet & Barnes, State Printers, 1862. The electronic edition, part of the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill Libraries' Documenting the American South web site, is available at http://docsouth.unc.edu/imls/gagen61/menu.html [accessed 12 February 2005].

Acts of the General Assembly of the State of Georgia, Passed in Milledgeville at an Annual Session in November and December, 1863; Also Extra Session of 1864. The electronic edition, part of the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill Libraries' Documenting the American South web site, is available at, http://docsouth.unc.edu/gagenas/georgia.html [accessed 19 February 2005].

Andrews, Sidney. *The South Since the War, As Shown by Fourteen Weeks of Travel and Observation in Georgia and the Carolinas.* Boston: Ticknor and Fields, 1866.

Annual Report of the Comptroller General of the State of Georgia, Made to the Governor, October 17, 1864. Milledgeville: Boughton, Nisbet, Barnes & Moore, State Printers, 1864.

Annual Report of the Comptroller General of the State of Georgia Made to the Governor, October 16, 1865. Milledgeville: Boughton, Nisbet, Barnes, & Moore, State Printers, 1865.

Anonymous, *The Soldier's Wife: A Drama in Three Acts*, Written Expressly for the Atlanta Amateurs, by A Lady of Atlanta. Atlanta, GA: Franklin Printing House, Wood, Hanleiter, Rice, and Co., 1862.

Congressional Globe, 38th and 39th Congresses. Available online through the Library of Congress' American Memory Collection at http://memory.loc.gov/ammem/amlaw/lwcg.html [accessed 19 February 2005].

Correspondence between Governor Brown and President Davis, on the Constitutionality of the Conscription Act. Atlanta, GA: Atlanta *Intelligencer* Print, 1862. The electronic edition, part of the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill Libraries' Documenting the American South web site, is available at http://docsouth.unc.edu/imls/govbrown/brown.html [accessed 19 February 2004].

Families Supplied with Salt, 1862-1864, Georgia Department of Archives and History, Records of the Governor and the Adjutant and Inspector General.

House Journal, 38th and 39th Congresses. Available online through the Library of Congress' American Memory Collection at http://memory.loc.gov/ammem/amlaw/lawhome.html [accessed 19 February 2005].

Howard, Oliver Otis. *Autobiography of Oliver Otis Howard, Major General, United States Army.* New York: The Baker and Taylor Company, 1907.

_____. "The Folk of the Cumberland Gap: A Neglected Corner of the United States, and What the Lincoln Memorial University is Doing for the People of the Tennessee, Kentucky, and Virginia Mountains." *Munsey's Magazine*, Volume XXVII, April to September 1902. New York: The Frank A. Munsey Company, 1902: 506-508.

Journal of the Senate of the State of Georgia, at the Annual Session of the General Assembly, Begun and Held in Milledgeville, the Seat of Government, in 1861. The electronic edition, part of the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill Libraries' Documenting the American South web site, is available at http://docsouth.unc.edu/imls/gasen61/menu.html [accessed 12 February 2005].

Journal of the Senate of the State of Georgia, at the Annual Session of the General Assembly, Begun and Held in Milledgeville, the Seatof [sic] Government, in 1862. The electronic edition, part of the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill Libraries' Documenting the American South web site, is available at http://docsouth.unc.edu/imls/gasen62/menu.html [accessed 12 February 2005].

Journal of the Senate at an Extra Session of the General Assembly of the State of Georgia, Convened Under the Proclamation of the Governor, March 25th, 1863. The electronic edition, part of the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill Libraries' Documenting the American South web site, is available at http://docsouth.unc.edu/imls/gaextr63/menu.html [accessed 12 February 2005].

Journal of the Senate of the State of Georgia, at the Annual Session of the General Assembly, Begun and Held in Milledgeville, the Seat of Government, in 1863. The electronic edition, part of the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill Libraries' Documenting the American South web site, is available at http://docsouth.unc.edu/imls/gasen63/menu.html [accessed 12 February 2005].

Journal of the Senate at an Extra Session of the General Assembly of the State of Georgia, Convened Under the Proclamation of the Governor, March 10th, 1864. The electronic

edition, part of the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill Libraries' Documenting the American South web site, is available at http://docsouth.unc.edu/imls/gaextr64/menu.html [accessed 12 February 2005].

Journal of the Senate of the State of Georgia, at the Annual Session of the General Assembly, Commenced at Milledgeville, November 3, 1864. The electronic edition, part of the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill Libraries' Documenting the American South web site, is available at http://docsouth.unc.edu/imls/gajournal/menu.html [accessed 12 February 2005].

Journal of the Senate of the Extra Session of the General Assembly, of the State of Georgia, Convened by Proclamation of the Governor, at Macon, February 15th, 1865. The electronic edition, part of the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill Libraries' Documenting the American South web site, is available at http://docsouth.unc.edu/imls/gaextr65/menu.html [accessed 12 February 2005].

LeConte, John. *How to Make Salt from Sea-Water.* Columbia, S.C.: Charles P. Pelham, State Printer, 1862. Electronic edition available from the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill Libraries' Documenting the American South, http://docsouth.unc.edu/lecontej/leconte.html [accessed March 23, 2004].

National Archives Record Group 105, Entry 33, *Monthly Reports of the Assistant Commissioner of the Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen and Abandoned Lands (BRFAL) for the State of Georgia, December 1865-December 1867.* These records are not part of the microfilmed collection of Freedmen's Bureau records.

National Archives Record Group 105, *Records of the Assistant Commissioner for the State of Georgia Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands (BRFAL), 1865-1870*, Microcopy 798.

National Archives Record Group 105, *Records of the Chief Quartermaster and Disbursing Officer for the State of Georgia, 1865-1869, Bureau of Freedmen, Refugees and Abandoned Lands*. Part of National Archive microfilm publication Microcopy 798, in a separate 9-reel volume.

National Archives Record Group 105, *Registers and Letters Received by the Commissioner of the Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands, 1865-1872.* Microcopy 752.

National Archives Record Group 105, *Selected Series of Records Issued by the Commissioner of the Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands*, Microcopy 742.

Proclamation Declaring Terms of Amnesty, May 29, 1865, available online from Berea College's Appalachian Center Civil War Amnesty Letters Transcription Project at http://www.berea.edu/appalachiancenter/amnestyproc.htm [accessed 19 February 2005].

Records of the Southern Famine Relief Commission, The New-York Historical Society, microfilm rolls 1-4. The complete records of the commission are housed at the New-

York Historical Society, but many have been included on four rolls of microfilm housed at the University of Georgia library. The microfilmed records include "Correspondence and Papers" on rolls one and two; "Minutes of the Executive Committee (Loose)," on roll three; and "Cash Book," "Subscription Books," "Telegrams Received," and "Newspaper Abstracts" on roll four. There is also an immensely detailed finding aid describing the full contents of the records, available online from the New-York Historical Society at http://dlib.nyu.edu:8083/nyhsead/servlet/SaxonServlet?source=southernfamrelief.xml&style=saxon01n2002.xsl [accessed 20 June 2003].

Report to the Contributors to the Pennsylvania Relief Association for East Tennessee. Philadelphia: Pennsylvania Relief Association, 1864.

Report of the American Freedmen's Inquiry Commission, 22 June 1864, 38th Congress, First Session, Senate Executive Document 53, Serial 1176.

Senate Journal, 38th and 39th Congresses. Available online through the Library of Congress' American Memory Collection at http://memory.loc.gov/ammem/amlaw/lawhome.html [accessed 19 February 2005].

The Confederate Records of the State of Georgia. Allen D. Candler, Compiler. Atlanta: C.P. Byrd, state printer, 1910-41.

The Papers of Frederick Law Olmsted, Volume VI, The Years of Olmsted, Vaux & Company, 1865-1874, David Schuyler and Jane Turner Censer, eds., "Last Report of the Southern Famine Relief Commission, Adopted November 8, 1867." Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1992.

U.S. Statutes at Large, 38th and 39th Congresses. Available online through the Library of Congress' American Memory Collection at http://memory.loc.gov/ammem/amlaw/lawhome.html [accessed 19 February 2005].

War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies. Washington, D.C.: 1880-1901. The *Official Record* is available online via ehistory.com at http://www.ehistory.com/uscw/library/or/index.cfm [accessed 12 January 2005].

William Mitchell, Pension File #WC 166-659, National Archives and Records Administration, Textual Records Branch.

Online Databases and References

Biographical Cyclopedia of U.S. Women, Volumes I-II (New York: Halvord Publishers, 1924-1925), available from Ancestry.com at http://www.ancestry.com/search/db.aspx?dbid=2018 [accessed 29 December 2004].

Biographical Directory of the United States Congress available at http://bioguide.congress.gov/scripts/biodisplay.pl?index=E000106 [accessed January 10, 2004].

Columbia Encyclopedia, Sixth Edition, online at http://www.bartleby.com/65/cu/CurtisG.html [accessed 29 December 2004].

New York State Newspaper Project, online at http://www.nysl.nysed.gov/nysnp/231.htm, [accessed 11 February 2005].

New York *Times* searchable database. Available at http://www.proquest.umi.com [accessed 19 January 2005].

United States Historical Census Data Browser. University of Virginia Geospatial and Statistical Data Center, 1998. Available at http://fisher.lib.virginia.edu/census/ [accessed 4/23/2004].

Secondary Sources

Ash, Stephen V. "Poor Whites in the Occupied South, 1861-1865." *Journal of Southern History* Volume 57, Number 1 (February 1991): 39-62.

Axxin, June and Mark J. Sterns. *Social Welfare: A History of the American Response to Need*, Sixth Edition. Boston: Allyn and Bacon, 2005.

Beale, Howard K. "On Rewriting Reconstruction History." *American Historical Review* Volume 45, Issue 4 (July 1940): 807-827.

Belz, Herman. "The Freedmen's Bureau Act of 1865 and the Principle of No Discrimination According to Color." *Civil War History* XXI (September 1975): 197-215.

Bethel, Elizabeth. "The Freedmen's Bureau in Alabama." *Journal of Southern History* Volume 14, Issue 1 (February 1948): 49-92.

Blight, David W. *Race and Reunion: The Civil War in American Memory*. Cambridge: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2001.

John B. Boles, ed. *A Companion to the American South,* Volume 3 in the Blackwell Companions to American History Series. Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishers, 2002.

Bond, Horace Mann. "Social and Economic Forces in Alabama Reconstruction." *Journal of Negro History* Volume 23, Issue 3 (July 1938): 290-348.

Boney, F. N. *Rebel Georgia.* Macon, GA: Mercer University Press, 1997.

Bremner, Robert H. "The Impact of the Civil War on Philanthropy and Social Welfare." *Civil War History* 12 (December 1966): 293-303.

Butchart, Ronald E. *Northern Schools, Southern Blacks, and Reconstruction: Freedmen's Education, 1862-1875.* Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1980.

_____. "'Outthinking and Outflanking the Owners of the World': A Historiography of the African American Struggle for Education." *History of Education Quarterly*, Volume 28, Number 3 (Autumn, 1988): 333-366.

Carey, Anthony Gene. *Parties, Slavery, and the Union in Antebellum Georgia.* Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 1997.

Carpenter, John A. *Sword and Olive Branch: Oliver Otis Howard.* Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1964.

Cimbala, Paul A. *Under the Guardianship of the Nation: the Freedmen's Bureau and the Reconstruction of Georgia, 1865 -1870*. Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1997.

_____. "The 'Talisman Power': Davis Tillson, The Freedmen's Bureau, and Free Labor in Reconstruction Georgia, 1865-1866." *Civil War History* 28 (June 1982): 153-71.

_____. "Making Good Yankees: The Freedmen's Bureau and Education in Reconstruction Georgia, 1865-1870." *Atlanta History: A Journal of Georgia and the South* 29 (Fall 1985): 5-18.

_____. "A Black Colony in Dougherty County: The Freedmen's Bureau and the Failure of Reconstruction in Southwest Georgia." *Journal of Southwest Georgia History* 4 (Fall 1986): 72-89.

_____. "The Freedmen's Bureau, the Freedmen, and Sherman's Grant in Reconstruction Georgia, 1865-1867." *Journal of Southern History* 55 (November 1989): 597-632.

_____. "On the Frontline of Freedom: Freedmen's Bureau Agents and the Reconstruction of Georgia, 1865-1868." *Georgia Historical Quarterly* 76 (Fall 1992): 577-611.

_____ and Randall M. Miller, eds. *The Freedmen's Bureau and Reconstruction: Reconsiderations,* with an Afterward by James M. McPherson. Reconstructing America Series, ed. Paul Cimbala. New York: Fordham University Press, 1999.

Cox, John H. and La Wanda. "Andrew Johnson and His Ghost Writers: An Analysis of the Freedmen's Bureau and Civil Rights Veto Messages." *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, Volume 48, Number 3 (December 1961): 460-479.

_____. "General O.O. Howard and the 'Misrepresented Bureau'." *Journal of Southern History* 19 (1953): 427-456.

Cox, LaWanda. "The Promise of Land for the Freedmen." *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, Volume 45, Number 3 (December, 1958): 413-440.

Cumbler, John T. "The Politics of Charity: Gender and Class in Late 19th Century Charity Policy." *Journal of Social History*, Volume 14 (Fall 1980): 99-111.

Curry, Richard O. "The Abolitionists and Reconstruction: A Critical Appraisal." *The Journal of Southern History*, Volume 34, Issue 4 (November 1968): 527-545.

Day, Phyllis J. *A New History of Social Welfare*. Fourth Edition. Boston: Allyn & Bacon, 2003.

De Forest, John William. *A Union Officer in the Reconstruction*, edited with an introduction by James H. Croushore and David Morris Potter. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, reprint edition, 1997.

Divine, Robert A., T.H. Breen, George M. Frederickson, R. Hal Williams, Ariela J. Gross, H.W. Brands. *America: Past and Present*, Seventh Edition. New York: Pearson/Longman, 2005.

Du Bois, W.E.B. *Black Reconstruction in America*, with an Introduction by David Levering Lewis. New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1935; reprint, New York: Simon and Schuster, Touchstone Edition, 1995.

_____. "The Freedmen's Bureau." *Atlantic Monthly* (March 1901): 354-365.

Dunning, William A. "Military Government in the South." *Political Science Quarterly*, Volume XII, Number 3 (September 1897): 381-406.

Edwards, Laura F. "Emancipation and Its Consequences," in John B. Boles, ed., *A Companion to the American South*, Volume 3 in the Blackwell Companions to American History Series. Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishers, 2002: 269-283.

Escott, Paul D. *After Secession: Jefferson Davis and the Failure of Confederate Nationalism.* Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1978.

_____. "The Cry of the Sufferers: The Problem of Welfare in the Confederacy" *Civil War History* 23 (September 1977): 228-40.

Faust, Drew Gilpin. *The Creation of Confederate Nationalism: Ideology and Identity in the Civil War South*, The Walter Lynwood Fleming Lectures in Southern History. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1988; Louisiana Paperback Edition, 1989.

Fitzgerald, Michael W. "Political Reconstruction, 1865-1877," in John B. Boles, ed., *A Companion to the American South*, Volume 3 in the Blackwell Companions to American History Series. Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishers, 2002: 284-302.

Fleming, Walter L. "Reorganization of the Industrial System in Alabama After the Civil War." *American Journal of Sociology,* Volume 10, Issue 4 (Jan. 1905): 473-500.

_____. *Civil War and Reconstruction in Alabama*. New York: The Columbia University Press, 1905.

Foner, Eric. "Reconstruction Revisited." *Reviews in American History*, Vol. 10, No. 4, The Promise of American History: Progress and Prospects (December 1982): 82-100.

_____. *Reconstruction: America's Unfinished Revolution, 1863-1877.* New York: Harper and Row, 1988.

Franklin, John Hope. "Public Welfare in the South During the Reconstruction Era, 1865-1880." *The Social Service Review* 44 (December 1970): 379-392.

_____. "Whither Reconstruction Historiography?" *The Journal of Negro Education*, Volume 17, Issue 4 (Autumn, 1948): 446-461.

Gates, Paul Wallace. "Federal Land Policy in the South, 1866-1888." *Journal of Southern History*, Volume 6, Number 3 (August 1940): 303-330.

Gillette, William. *Retreat from Reconstruction, 1869-1879.* Baton Rouge: LSU Press, 1979.

Goggin, Jacqueline. "Countering White Racist Scholarship: Carter G. Woodson and the Journal of Negro History." *The Journal of Negro History*, Volume 68, Issue 4 (Autumn 1983): 355-375.

Gray, Charles. "The Freedmen's Bureau: A Missing Chapter in Social Welfare History." Ph.D. diss., Yeshiva University, 1994.

Green, Elna C., ed. *Before the New Deal: Social Welfare in the South, 1830 – 1930.* Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 1999.

_____. *This Business of Relief: Confronting Poverty in a Southern City, 1740-1940*. Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 2003.

Green, Fletcher M. "Walter Lynwood Fleming: Historian of Reconstruction." *Journal of Southern History*, Volume 2, Issue 4 (November 1936): 497-521.

Gross, Jennifer Lynn. "'Good Angels': Confederate Widowhood and the Reassurance of Patriarchy in the Postbellum South." Ph.D. diss., University of Georgia, 2001.

Habegger, Alfred. *My Wars are Laid Away in Books: The Life of Emily Dickinson.* New York: Random House, 2001; New York: Modern Library paperback edition, 2002.

Hahn, Steven. *The Roots of Southern Populism: Yeoman Farmers and the Transformation of the Georgia Upcountry, 1850-1890.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1983.

Haller, John S., Jr. *Outcasts from Evolution: Scientific Attitudes of Racial Inferiority*, 1859-1900. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, reprint edition, 1995.

Hogan, Kelly. "The Theater of Such Unhappy Events: Confederate Dramatizations of the Civil War." Unpublished thesis. A selection from the thesis is available online at http://www.perspicacity.com/elactheatre/library/confed/confed.htm [accessed 15 June 2004].

Holmes, Anne Middleton. *Algernon Sydney Sullivan*. New York: The New York Southern Society, 1929.

_____. *Mary Mildred Sullivan (Mrs. Algernon Sydney Sullivan): A Biography.* Concord, New Hampshire: Rumford Press, 1924.

_____. *The New York Ladies' Southern Relief Association, 1866-1867: An Account of the Relief Furnished by Citizens of New York City to the Inhabitants of the Devastated Regions of the South Immediately After the Civil War*. New York: The Mary Mildred Sullivan Chapter, United Daughters of the Confederacy, 1926.

Inscoe, John C., ed. *Appalachians and Race: The Mountain South from Slavery to Segregation.* Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 2001.

_____. "Race and Racism in Nineteenth-Century Southern Appalachia: Myths, Realities, and Ambiguities," in *Appalachia in the Making: The Mountain South in the Nineteenth Century*, Mary Beth Pudup, Dwight B. Billings, Altina L. Waller, eds. Chapel Hill: UNC Press, 1995: 103-131.

Jones, Jacqueline. *Soldiers of Light and Love: Northern Teachers and Georgia Blacks, 1865-1973.* Chapel Hill, N.C.: University of North Carolina Press, 1980.

_____, Peter H. Wood, Thomas Borstelmann, Elaine Tyler May, and Vicki L. Ruiz. *Created Equal: A Social and Political History of the United States.* New York: Longman Publishers, 2003.

Kaczorowski, Robert J. *The Politics of Judicial Interpretation: The Federal Courts, Department of Justice, and Civil Rights, 1866-1876.* New York: Fordham University Press, 2004; paperback reissue.

Keith, Alice B. "White Relief in North Carolina, 1865-1867" *Social Forces* Volume 17, Issue 3 (March, 1939): 337-355.

Kennett, Lee. *Marching Through Georgia: The Story of Soldiers and Civilians During Sherman's Campaign.* New York: Harper Collins, 1995.

Klotter, James C. "The Black South and White Appalachia." *Journal of American History* 66, Number 4 (March 1980): 832-49.

Krug, Mark M. "On Rewriting the Story of Reconstruction in the U.S. History Textbooks." *The Journal of Negro History*, Volume 46, Issue 3 (April 1961): 133-153.

Lieberman, Robert C. "The Freedmen's Bureau and the Politics of Institutional Structure." *Social Science History*, Volume 18, Number 3 (Autumn 1994): 405-437.

Lowe, Richard. "The Freedmen's Bureau and Local White Leaders in Virginia." *Journal of Southern History*, Volume 74, Number 3 (August 1998): 455-472.

Massey, Mary Elizabeth. *Ersatz in the Confederacy.* Columbia, S.C.: University of South Carolina Press, 1952.

_____. *Refugee Life in the Confederacy,* with a new introduction by George C. Rable. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1964; reprint, Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2001.

McFeely, William S. *Yankee Stepfather: General O.O. Howard and the Freedmen.* New Haven: Yale University Press, 1968; Norton, 1994.

McPherson, James M. "White Liberals and Black Power in Negro Education, 1865-1915." *The American Historical Review*, Volume 75, Number 5 (June, 1970): 1357-1386.

Moreno, Paul. "Racial Classifications and Reconstruction Legislation." *Journal of Southern History*, Volume 61, Number 2 (May 1995): 271-304.

Nathans, Elizabeth Studley. *Losing the Peace: Georgia Republicans and Reconstruction, 1865-1871.* Baton Rouge: University of Louisiana Press, 1968.

Nieman, Donald G. "Andrew Johnson, the Freedmen's Bureau, and the Problem of Equal Rights, 1865-1866." *Journal of Southern History*, Vol. 44, No. 3 (August 1978): 399-420.

Noe, Kenneth W. and Shannon H. Wilson, eds. *The Civil War in Appalachia: Collected Essays*. Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1997.

Olds, Victoria. "The Freedmen's Bureau: A Nineteenth-Century Federal Welfare Agency." *Social Casework* 44 (May 1963): 247-254.

_____. "The Freedmen's Bureau as a Social Agency." Ph.D. diss., Columbia University, 1966.

Olmsted, Frederick Law. *A Journey in the Back Country: 1853-1854.* Williamstown, MA.: Corner House Publishers, 1972; reprint edition.

Oubre, Claude F. *Forty Acres and Mule: The Freedmen's Bureau and Black Land Ownership.* Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1978.

Parks, Joseph H. *Joseph E. Brown of Georgia.* Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1977.

_____. "The Freedmen's Bureau as a Social Agency." Ph.D. diss., Columbia University, 1966.

Pudup, Mary Beth, Dwight B. Billings, Altina L. Waller, eds. *Appalachia in the Making: The Mountain South in the Nineteenth Century*. Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1995.

Randall, James G. "John Sherman and Reconstruction." *The Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, Volume 19, Issue 3 (December 1932): 382-393.

Reid, Whitelaw. *After the War: A Southern Tour.* Cincinnati: Moore, Wilstach, & Baldwin, 1866.

Reidy, Joseph P. "Economic Consequences of the Civil War and Reconstruction," in John B. Boles, ed., *A Companion to the American South*, Volume 3 in the Blackwell Companions to American History Series. Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishers, 2002: 303-317.

Robinson, Armstead L. "Beyond the Realm of Social Consensus: New Meanings of Reconstruction for American History." *The Journal of American History*, Volume 68, Number 2 (September 1981): 276-297.

_____. *Bitter Fruits of Bondage: The Demise of Slavery and the Collapse of the Confederacy, 1861-1865.* With introductory essays by Joseph P. Reidy and Barbara J. Fields. Carter J. Woodson Institute Series. Charlottesville, VA: University of Virginia Press, 2004.

_____. "In the Shadow of Old John Brown: Insurrection Anxiety and Confederate Mobilization, 1861-1863." *Journal of Negro History* 65 (1980): 279-297.

Roosevelt, Theodore. *Hunting Trips of a Ranchman: Sketches of Sport on the Northern Cattle Plains*. Illustrated by A.B. Frost, R. Swain Gifford, J.C. Beard, Fannie E. Gifford, Henry Sandham. New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1885; Bartleby.com, 1998. Available online via Bartleby's at http://www.bartleby.com/52/i15.html [accessed February 1, 2004].

Rose, Willie Lee. *Rehearsal for Reconstruction: The Port Royal Experiment*, with an introduction by C. Vann Woodward. Indianapolis: Bobs-Merrill, 1964. Reprint, Athens, GA.: University of Georgia Press, 1999.

Sarris, Jonathan D. "An Execution in Lumpkin County: Localized Loyalties in North Georgia's Civil War," in Kenneth W. Noe and Shannon H. Wilson, eds., *The Civil War in Appalachia: Collected Essays.* Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1997.

_____. "'Hellish Deeds . . . in a Christian Land": Southern Mountain Communities at War, 1861-1865. Ph.D. diss., University of Georgia, 1998.

Schnapper, Eric. "Affirmative Action and the Legislative History of the Fourteenth Amendment." *Virginia Law Review* Volume 71, Number 5 (June 1985): 753-798.

Shapiro, Henry D. *Appalachia on Our Mind: The Southern Mountains and Mountaineers in the American Consciousness, 1870-1920.* Chapel Hill, N.C.: University of North Carolina Press, 1978.

Silber, Nina. "'What Does America Need So Much as Americans?:' Race and Northern Reconciliation with Southern Appalachia, 1870-1900." in *Appalachians and Race: The Mountain South from Slavery to Segregation*, ed. John C. Inscoe. Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 2001: 245-58.

_____. *The Romance of Reunion: Northerners and the South, 1865-1900*, Civil War in America Series, Gary W. Gallagher, Ed. Chapel Hill, N.C.: University of North Carolina Press, 1993.

Simkins, Francis B. "New Viewpoints of Southern Reconstruction." *The Journal of Southern History*, Volume 5, Issue 1 (February 1939): 49-61.

Sproat, John G. "Blueprint for Radical Reconstruction." *Journal of Southern History* 23 (February 1957): 25-44.

Stampp, Kenneth M. *The Era of Reconstruction, 1865-1877.* New York: Vintage Books, 1965.

Stephenson, Wendell H. "A Half Century of Southern Historical Scholarship." *The Journal of Southern History*, Volume 11, Issue 1 (February 1945): 3-32.

Taylor, A. A. "The Confusion of the Transition." *Journal of Negro History* Volume 9, Issue 3 (July 1924): 259-279.

Thomas, Emory M. *The Confederacy as a Revolutionary Experience.* Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice Hall, Inc., 1971; reprint edition, Columbia, S.C.: University of South Carolina Press, 1991.

_____. *The Confederate Nation, 1861-1865*, The New American Nation Series, eds. Henry Steele Commager and Richard B. Morris. New York: Harper & Row, 1979; Harper Torchbooks edition.

_____. "To Feed the Citizens: Welfare in Wartime Richmond, 1861-1865." *Virginia Cavalcade*, Volume XXII (Summer 1972): 22-29.

Trattner, Walter I. *From Poor Law to Welfare State: A History of Social Welfare in America.* New York: The Free Press, 1974; reprint edition, 1994.

_____. "The Federal Government and Needy Citizens in Nineteenth-Century America." *Political Science Quarterly*, Volume 101, Number 2 (Summer 1988): 347-356.

Turner, William H. "Blacks in Appalachian America: Reflections on Biracial Education and Unionism." *Phylon*, Volume 44, Number 3 (3rd Quarter, 1983): 198-208.

Wallenstein, Peter. *From Slave South to New South: Public Policy in Nineteenth-Century Georgia.* Chapel Hill, N.C.: University of North Carolina Press, 1987.

Waller, Altina L. "Feuding in Appalachia: Evolution of a Cultural Stereotype," in *Appalachia in the Making: The Mountain South in the Nineteenth Century*, Mary Beth Pudup, Dwight B. Billings, Altina L. Waller, eds. Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1995: 347-376.

Weisberger, Bernard A. "The Dark and Bloody Ground of Reconstruction Historiography." *The Journal of Southern History*, Volume 25, Issue 4 (November 1959): 427-447.

Weland, Gerald. *O.O. Howard, Union General.* Jefferson, NC: McFarland and Co., 1995.

White, Howard A. *The Freedmen's Bureau in Louisiana.* Baton Rouge, LA.: Louisiana State University Press, 1970.

Whites, Lee Ann. The Civil War as a Crisis in Gender: Augusta, Georgia, 1860-1890. Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 1995.

Wiley, Bell Irvin. *The Life of Johnny Reb: The Common Soldier of the Confederacy.* Baton Rouge, LA.: Louisiana State University Press, 1978; reprint, 1992.

Williams, David. *Rich Man's War: Class, Caste, and Confederate Defeat in the Lower Chattahoochee Valley.* Athens, GA.: University of Georgia Press, 1998.