

Southward Ho

Horace Greeley and J.A. Sanborn

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"Emigration is a natural law necessary for the perpetuation of human societies and political systems; obey it. The war has opened the door and has shown Northern enterprise a new Canaan. Southward Ho!"¹

- Horace Greeley, 1865

"If the yankee is disposed to go there [South] with his energy, industry, and especially his money and help develop their resources by cultivating the soil or mining or manufacturing and occupy an inferior position contentedly, I have no opinion of his touching anything outside those pursuits."²

- J.A. Sanborn, 1869

On May 21, 1869, in the small town of East Readfield, Maine, 55-year-old J.A. Sanborn writes a letter to his 69-year-old cousin, David Field. "I have nothing very wonderful to relate," says a seemingly exhausted Sanborn of his Southern and Western tour in the spring of 1869, as the nation was undergoing its greatest transformation since the birth of the republic. Despite the opportunities available to him in the American South and West, Sanborn concludes that pursuing a new life on the land is not cost effective in the unstable South or worth braving the uncertainties of life on the Western prairie. In a dry and rushed manner, he goes on to explain the attitude of Southerners he encountered towards Yankees, the pros and cons of owning and operating a farm away from Maine, the presence (or lack thereof) of the "Ku Klux," his perception of Southern and Western life, and the lasting impact of the Civil War on the infrastructure of the South.

Sanborn's letter offers a glimpse into one of the nation's most turbulent and transformational periods: Reconstruction.³ While the Civil War occurred due to the disintegration of an America torn apart by cultural, economic and political divides, Reconstruction was at the least an attempt at reconciling the difference of two vastly and different cultures, and at most an attempt to recreate a new South infused with Northern economic and social values. Sanborn, whose own livelihood could only be benefited by a modernized Southern economy, makes clear in his letter that he falls in the latter category.

Behind Sanborn's matter-of-fact style exists an expression of the reinvigorated post-Civil War entrepreneurial spirit that characterized many Northern businessmen. The story is familiar: Here is J.A. Sanborn, a Yankee factory owner and politician with some "excess greenbacks"⁴ in his pockets heading south to speculate on land in order to both make money and bring the Northern values of "energy and industry"⁵ to a war-torn region with a recently destroyed social order.

And that is merely the surface. Reading between the lines, one also notices that Sanborn's point of view (as a Northern elitist) provides an optic onto the everlasting cultural differences between North and South. While Sanborn himself may have been a typical Northern entrepreneur looking for the best way to invest his capital, the issues he raises in his letter—de facto economic reconstruction in the South, the uses of the heralded Northern capitalist traits such as industry and energy, and the Yankee's perception of the post-war South—reveal familiar historical impressions of the immediate post-Civil War era in America.

The Letter

Cousin David,⁶ East Readfield⁷ May 21st, 1869⁸.

When I last saw you I promised to write you after my southern and Western tour was accomplished if I did not find time to do so while making it. I arrived at my home May 4 but have not till now had a convenient opportunity to write you.⁹ I have nothing very wonderful to relate. [I] did not to my knowledge see anything of that mysterious and desperate band the "Ku Klux" certainly did not encounter them in deadly strife, but was permitted to pass quietly along about my business and was civilly treated by all with whom I came in contact. Still I do not wish you to infer from what I have

said that I think there is an extra amount of love and goodwill on the part of rebels reconstructed or unreconstructed for the once hated yankees.

I judge from what I saw and heard that they will not much object to relieving the yankees from any surplus greenbacks they may be anxious to be rid of but that there will be much cordial good feeling on the part of former or present rebels for the yankees during the present generation I very much doubt. If the yankee is disposed to go there with his energy, industry, and especially his money and help develop their resources by cultivating the soil or mining or manufacturing and occupy an inferior position contentedly, I have no opinion of his own touching anything outside those pursuits[.] I think he would be likely to be permitted to do so without molestation but that they are disposed to receive him cordially on terms of social equality I do not for a moment believe and I do not think our people will be very swift to go there to occupy an inferior position when if the means of accumulating wealth are to be formed in greater abundance than in other sections of country which I am by no means certain is the case. I was disappointed as to the general appearance of the country about Knoxville.¹⁰ The land is not as rich except the bottom land as I expected to find, and the style of cultivation and the general appearance of things in the country is less thrifty¹¹ than I expected to find. Their buildings are poor, mean, dirty things with no sign of any taste or thrifts about them. Houses without windows, and if light is admitted it must be admitted through doors, crevices.

The roads are poor, their little streams unbridged and the people poor and dirty and responsive to a person of taste and refinement.

On foot I saw but little in the country so far as the people are concerned that would be pleasing to you. The country independent of what the miserable institution of slavery made it I think very well of. The climate I think excellent¹², but on the whole I cannot say I want to live there. I do not think you would. Many seem to be of the opinion that emigration is about to pour in upon them in a torrent¹³, and that they are going to get about anything they are disposed to ask for their land.

Their price for land out in the country is from \$25 to \$50 per acre with building nearly worthless, certainly not as good as many of the hog pens in this county. If one is going south

I think he will do better to stop in Virginia than to go to Tenn. They are not asking half as high for their land in Vir.¹⁴ as in Tenn.¹⁵ and it is better situated for reaching the Atlantic seaboard which I think an important consideration. Now about the west you will ask. Well on the whole, I like it better there. The land is richer and easier cultivation and the people are industrious and cordial I think. But there are serious drawbacks there, among the most important is the great distance from the Atlantic seaboard and the great expense of sending their staple crops to market.

When I was in Geneseo¹⁶ corn was worth but 35c wheat but 100c and to sell at those prices and raise them on land worth \$50 or \$60 per acre with building of small value does not it appears to present a flattering proposal for money making. Still a shrewd farmer with some means may undoubtedly do better than to sell at those prices by holding or putting his corn into both. So far as getting a living is concerned I have no doubt a man can do that much easier than in Maine, for a bushel of corn or wheat there is worth as much to eat as in Maine and the people seem to be very cordial and hospitable. Still on the whole I do not think I should enjoy living on the prairies of the West, it is so different from all I have been accustomed to. So to profit I doubt you can have many social privileges for the same amount you sold for in [?] that will afford more net profit than you made there.

Gustauvas¹⁷ I think made a very good selection and is in a good county and neighborhood and has a splendid piece of land, but I do not think the climate there what he needs and I doubt if he remains there next winter. On my return home I visited Vineland, N.J.¹⁸ I have no more time to tell you what I think of that place. I sent you a paper giving some description of it. Gustauvas started for his western home last Monday. My wifes health¹⁹ has been poor about all the time since you were here. Please give my regards to your wife.²⁰ I shall be pleased to hear from you at any time.

Very Truly Yours,
J.A. Sanborn²¹

America in 1869: The Worlds Sanborn Saw

If the North and the South were two different nations culturally and economically before 1865, the Civil War and Reconstruction period that

followed only served to widen this divide. The only thing the two nations had in common, perhaps, was the devastating human losses in the bloodiest war in American history. The numbers that resulted from four years of fighting are staggering: 360,000 Union troops died and 275,000 were wounded, while the Confederates lost 260,000 men with another 190,000 wounded.²² When those who managed to survive went home, however, the worlds of North and South could not have been more different.

As John Hope Franklin writes in *Reconstruction After the Civil War*, “Traveling through the North, one could feel a new sense of satisfaction. Everywhere wartime industrialization had brought signs of growth.”²³ In the North, the Civil War is commonly viewed as a time of “unprecedented prosperity.”²⁴ Between 1865 and 1873, the nation’s level of industrial production increased 75%, and three million immigrants (most of whom settled in the North or West) helped foster the growth of urban industrial centers. The construction of railroads intensified as an outgrowth of both the Northern war effort and the growing (and often scandalous) ties between corporations and the government, which reaped huge benefits for the former.²⁵

The wartime economic policies of the national government—temporarily unimpeded by Southern agricultural interests—fostered a boom for Northern industry. These policies, which included the introduction of a national paper currency, the construction of the transcontinental railroad (completed in 1869) and the creation of a national banking system, not only served to strengthen the economic backbone of the Union war effort, but also carried with them a strong connotation of “nationalization.” In addition to amplifying the role of a federal government which had been deemed “impotent” on the eve of the Civil War, this “nationalization” established an economic and commercial link between North and West.²⁶ One can safely assume that Sanborn, as the owner of an oil cloth factory, benefited greatly from these policies in the 1860s.

The South, on the other hand, was trying to emerge from the catastrophic economic situation brought on by the physical and social effects of the Civil War. The wealth of the South dropped 30% between 1860 and 1870, while the amount of livestock lost was so severe that it was not until 1910 that livestock reached their 1860 levels.²⁷ Aggravating the situation was the fact that money and credit were in short supply. Banking capital decreased from \$61,000,000 in 1860 to \$17,000,000 in 1870, while the vol-

ume of the region's currency decreased from \$51,000,000 to \$15,000,000 in the same period.²⁸ And then there was the overwhelming problem of labor. Without slavery, the Southern plantations collapsed, leaving vast areas of uncultivated land.

The multitudes who traveled to the South immediately following the Civil War described scenes of devastation, of "fields laid waste²⁹, cities burned, bridges and roads destroyed."³⁰ Whitlaw Reid, whose account of his Southern tour of 1865-1866 is one of the best known Northern writings on the post-war South, wrote of the region's infrastructure: "Means of communication through the interior of the South are so thoroughly destroyed, and Southern society is so completely disorganized, that it is only in the cities that one can hope for any satisfactory view of the people."³¹ Sanborn's description of Knoxville, Tennessee, as a city with "buildings that are poor, mean, dirty things with no sign of taste or thriffts about them"³² is mild compared to that of Richmond, Atlanta and Columbia (South Carolina), which lay in ruins after the War.³³

By 1869, the Congress' progressive program for reconstructing the South was well underway. In 1865, President Andrew Johnson's conservative vision for "restoration" of the South highlighted his desire to shift the power in the South from the white aristocracy to the white yeoman class. He was not interested in giving freedmen any meaningful place in society. "White men alone," said Johnson, "must rule the South."³⁴ His views on race, combined with his policy to quickly readmit the Southern states into the Union once they had accepted the 13th amendment, made for a moderate plan that did not provide the necessary mechanisms to prevent the Southern states from reinstating slavery in a different form.

Johnson's vision was challenged on the left by the Radical Republicans, who firmly controlled Congress. Eric Foner, author of the central text on the history of Reconstruction, asserts that these Radical Republicans, many of whom lead the fight for abolition, possessed an ideology driven by "the utopian vision of a nation whose citizens enjoyed equality of civil and political rights secured by a powerful and beneficial national state."³⁵ The Radical Republicans, like many of the Northern entrepreneurs flooding the South, understood that they were living in a moment where they could, as Thaddeus Stevens put it, "make a nation."³⁶ The first major measure these men took came in the spring of 1867 with the passing of their first reconstruction legislation. The Reconstruction Act

of 1867, passed on March 2nd over Johnson's veto, divided the former states of the Confederacy (except Tennessee) into five military districts and laid down the steps former rebel states would have to follow in order to be readmitted into the Union. These steps, which included writing state constitutions providing for universal manhood suffrage and the ratification of the 14th amendment,³⁷ were a far cry from Andrew Johnson's "restoration" plan calling for little change in Southern society.

By the spring of 1869, when Sanborn likely visited the South, the Radical Republican vision was fading in favor of a return to economic stability and politics as usual. The death in 1868 of the great orator and leader of the Radical Republicans, Thaddeus Stevens, proved to be a damaging blow to the party's leadership and the radical vision for the South. In addition, the Radicals had to campaign on the platform of order and stability during the 1868 election for their survival, and their most important constituency—freedmen—was diminished by intimidation and violence by groups like the Ku Klux Klan.³⁸ This forced the Radical Republicans to adopt a conciliatory stance towards more moderate Republicans and Democrats, causing rifts in the crippled Radical Republican coalition. The Republican platform for the 1868 campaign called for former rebels to be "received back into the communion of the loyal people,"³⁹ a softer stance by the Republicans designed to expand their support beyond blacks and Unionists. Foner writes that in 1868 it was evident that the "Radical generation was passing, eclipsed by politicians who believed the 'struggle over the Negro' must give way to economic concerns."⁴⁰

In his letter, Sanborn is quick to point out that he did not see "anything of that mysterious and desperate band the 'Ku Klux,'"⁴² perhaps in response to a concern of his cousin David Fifield. That Sanborn begins his letter by mentioning the Ku Klux Klan underscores the impact that the terror organization had on Southern society by 1869. The Klan was originally formed in 1866 in Pulaski, Tennessee, as a fraternal organization designed purely for amusement. By 1867-68, however, generals, politicians, and vigilantes took over the Klan and directed its activities towards restoring the antebellum Southern social order through violence and intimidation.⁴³ Foner describes the Klan as "a military force serving the interests of the Democratic Party, the planter class, and all those who desired the restoration of white supremacy."⁴⁴ Klansmen, however, maintained that their actions were prompted by the "instinct of self-protection."⁴⁵ During the first four months of 1868, the Klan expanded to

nearly every Southern state and had effectively launched a “systematic crime wave”⁴⁶ against those aiding the ideas behind the congressional reconstruction effort.

It is not surprising, however, that Sanborn never came across the Klan during his Southern tour in the spring of 1869. After the escalation of Klan violence in 1868, the carpetbaggers and scalawags who controlled the Southern governments began to crack down on the group’s activities. Governor Brownlow of Tennessee, one of the staunchest advocates of Radical Reconstruction, pushed the “Ku Klux laws” through the state legislature, which outlawed the Klan in an attempt to “preserve the public peace.”⁴⁷ On February 20, 1869, Brownlow declared martial law in nine Tennessee counties, thanks to the state government’s legislation.⁴⁸ Other states followed Brownlow’s lead, and in the spring of 1869, the Klan’s Grand Wizard announced its dissolution. John Hope Franklin argues that the official disbanding of the Klan was a tactical move by the organization with the hope that governments would no longer hold the Klan responsible for Southern lawlessness and crime.⁴⁹ Despite the continuing violence in the South against blacks and those promoting Radical Reconstruction, the Klan’s activities did decrease in the spring of 1869.

Out West, social and economic upheaval, although less dramatic, was also taking place. People continued to move West for economic opportunity, but a new breed of immigrants from the North—similar to those who went South right after the Civil War—had arrived. The 1870 census reveals that the American West contained 1,931,789 people⁵⁰ and that the population had grown by 100,000 between 1860 and 1870. Between 1865 and 1870, a new class of individuals arrived largely comprised of Union army veterans, Republican carpetbaggers and those sympathetic to the Radical Republican effort.⁵¹ Those seeking to work on the land found that demand for crops was high immediately following the War. Also, the lack of a transcontinental railroad⁵² had not brought the West into the “commercial complex that determines price structure,” which meant that price decline was not a problem as it was in the North.⁵³ While the immediate postwar West could still reap great benefits for those willing to live on the prairie, technology and a growing federal government were two factors in its emergence from isolation during the Gilded Age and thereafter.

J.A. Sanborn and Northern Energy

J.A. Sanborn's illustrious political and business careers reflect the types of distinctly "Northern" values—industry, energy, usefulness—that Yankee businessmen and politicians attributed to themselves throughout the 19th century, especially when comparing themselves to the "decadent" Southerners. Readfield⁵⁴ town records paint the picture of a hard-working man who was successful in many different disciplines. Born in 1814, his father died when he was ten years old, and his mother raised him. He became a member of the Readfield Methodist Society at age 22, and entered public life by becoming postmaster of the town as a 30 year old. In 1844-6 he served as a selectman on the town council, by 1849 had become an agent for the local school district, and in 1854 his ambitions took him to a larger arena as a member of the Maine State House of Representatives and Treasurer of the state in 1855. His political career peaked in the 1860s when he served as a State Senator in 1864 and a member of the Governor's Council in 1867 and 1868.⁵⁵ Despite his impressive political career, much of his legacy in town history has been overshadowed by the fact that four Maine governors hailed from Readfield in the 19th century.⁵⁶

Sanborn's abilities did not end in the political arena. He was most well known for his business pursuits, which helped usher in the development of Readfield's "golden age" in the mid-19th century. On the envelope of Sanborn's letter is a return address to a "J.A. Sanborn and Co./Manufacturers and Dealers in/Floor, Stair and Carriage/OIL CLOTH."⁵⁷ This address was one outlet for the sale of oilcloth products that Sanborn manufactured in the factory he helped build in East Readfield in 1845.⁵⁸ Henry D. Kingsbury, who in 1892 published a history of Kennebec County, writes that the oilcloth works became the "high water mark of Readfield prosperity,"⁵⁹ and existed during a time when East Readfield was a "thriving hamlet."⁶⁰ Sanborn started the plant with a group of local men, who Mary Schultze Page, a Readfield historian, describes as possessing the qualities of "perseverance and indomitable resolution necessary to survive" and the "ingenuity and resourcefulness to become good businessmen as well."⁶¹ Sanborn bought out the group of owners in 1865 and was sole owner of the business until 1870 when he sold the entire plant to Charles M. Bailey.⁶² During his tenure, Sanborn expanded the factory's workforce to over 50 people, and opened stores in both Readfield Corner⁶³ and Boston. Since oilcloth was used frequently in the

Civil War, there is little doubt that business boomed for Sanborn and his partners during the War (as was the case for much of Northern industry). When the factory burned down in 1877—the same year in which Sanborn died—Bailey rebuilt it in Winthrop and, as Kingsburg notes, “the bright prospects of a thriving hamlet...were extinguished.”⁶⁴

It is quite clear that J.A. Sanborn was not a man fond of idleness; his self-history indicates the qualities of a character constantly in motion, moving from one pursuit to the next, always in search of power or money. Sanborn exemplified the qualities of industriousness and restlessness associated with the notion of “Northern energy.” The idea of Northern energy describes an industrial Northern society in contrast to the stereotypical laziness of Southern society, with a small ruling planter class that lives idly off the toil of slaves. Anne Norton, in an essay entitled “Paradigms in Conflict,” writes, “The North’s industrialization and the South’s enduring agrarianism present the dominant disparity in the political culture of the two sections.”⁶⁵ The North, which by the time of the Civil War looked completely different from the South due to substantial industrialization, was America’s bastion of capitalism and free market competition. The image of the Northern entrepreneur from this period—clever, industrious, hard working—was in stark contrast to that of the Southern plantation owner, who was often seen as indolent and lacking usefulness.

Sidney Andrews, a Northerner who toured the South in 1865 as a correspondent for the *Chicago Tribune* and the *Boston Daily Advertiser*⁶⁶, observed the lack of emphasis and low value that Southerners appeared to place on labor. Andrews reported: “If there is one thing more needed in the whole South...more needed here than loyalty, it is respect for labor as labor—not merely respect for it as a means of sustaining life; but respect for it as a branch of divine economy, respect for it as a means of human elevation.”⁶⁷ Here, Andrews is referring to the lack of a Southern work ethic and the necessity for the growth of one if the South is to survive economically without the institution of slavery. The notion of developing these Northern ideas in Southern society was an extremely ambitious, if not farfetched one. As Whitlaw Reid bluntly described the former rebels after conversing with dozens of them after the war, “They have no sort of conception of free labor.”⁶⁸

Ben Franklin, an American icon whose autobiography was widely read through the nineteenth century, personified and popularized the idea

of Northern energy. Franklin, a capitalist through and through, placed a strong emphasis on usefulness and work ethic. In one of the more memorable passages in his autobiography, Franklin describes his “bold and Arduous project of Arriving at Moral perfection.”⁶⁹ While the very act of seeking moral perfection inherently requires an impressive amount of energy and discipline (although it is worth noting that despite his efforts, it is safe to say that Franklin did not actually achieve moral perfection), virtues number two through six of the thirteen virtues he lists to achieve moral perfection directly relate to his infatuation with hard work. Both Silence⁷⁰ and Order⁷¹ reflect the “usefulness” aspect of Franklin’s work ethic; these virtues encourage him to make the best of his time in order to be as productive as possible. Resolution⁷², Frugality⁷³ and Industry⁷⁴ express Franklin’s desire to persevere and finish tasks, waste no resources or time that can take away from the fruits of labor, and to always focus on “useful”⁷⁵ tasks. It is these ideas that are commonly recognized as Yankee capitalistic characteristics—the notion of joining morality with labor and self-betterment with industry. As Norton points out, the industrial development perpetuated by the capitalism driven by these ideals in the North were “merely a manifestation of the nation’s moral progress.” The marriage of the Northern capitalists’ ideas about work ethic and morality, which we can see manifested in Sanborn’s accomplishments, was the rallying point for those Northern entrepreneurs seeking to promote benevolence through enlightened self-interest.

The concept of Northern energy in relation to reconstructing the South is apparent in the many published accounts by Northerners evaluating Southern culture. Many of these accounts actually reveal more about the Yankee’s vision of himself than they do about the culture and condition of the South. In these accounts, Franklin’s buzzwords of Northern capitalism—“useful,” “industrious,” “energy”—are repeatedly used to describe the types of values these Yankees believe can be infused into Southern society. For example, while passing through Washington D.C. at the beginning of his Southern tour, John Trowbridge is asked by a Southerner, “what do you Northerners, you Massachusetts men particularly, expect to do now with the niggers?” Trowbridge flatly replies, “We intend to make useful and industrious citizens of them.”⁷⁶ A reporter for the *New York Herald*, who claimed to have found a cure for “Southern backwardness” wrote, “The prosperity of the South, of the planters and of the Negroes depend alike on the emigration of the Yankees and Yan-

kee energy."⁷⁷ This confidence or hubris—depending on one's point of view—provided Northern entrepreneurs with the bravado and moral leverage to move into the South and attempt to simultaneously gain wealth and fundamentally alter Southern culture.

"Southward Ho!"

J.A. Sanborn's claim that his interest in investing in the South grew out of a desire to "help develop their resources" was a familiar one in the 1860s. The Yankee entrepreneurs who invaded the South during Reconstruction arrived in large numbers with varying objectives, ranging from the narrow goal of getting rich quick to a larger purpose of helping to rebuild the South in the image of Northern culture and society. The financial success that the North enjoyed during the Civil War coupled with the Yankee air of superiority over Southern culture created the ideal circumstances for "carpetbag imperialism"⁷⁸ in the South. While historians tend to focus on the influx of Republican and Northern ideas into the South through the carpetbag/scalawag voice in reconstructed Southern governments, these ideas were also spread by the voices of Northern industry and capitalism.

The peak of Northern emigration to the South occurred between 1865 and 1866. Like J.A. Sanborn, most of the men entering the South to become planters did not have much farming experience. Records from the period indicate that most of these entrepreneurs were young men aged 30-33 from professional or business backgrounds—in addition, most did not serve in the Union army.⁷⁹ These Northern businessmen made themselves quite visible upon their arrival in the South in 1865; one Boston man, after sailing to the former Confederacy after war's end, reported that "nearly half the travelers in every boat are New Englanders."⁸⁰ A rush for land reminiscent of the frenzies for resources in the West had reached full swing in the South.

Michael J. Quill, author of *Prelude to the Radicals*, argues that despite the rhetoric of many Northerners flaunting their ideas about reconstructing the South, shortly after the war most were in it for the short road to wealth. "As the war came to a close," argues Quill, "it is unlikely that many Northern businessmen had bothered to construct elaborate or detailed blueprints for the new South. Instead, they were much more concerned about the ways in which Southern wealth could benefit the Northern economy in its return to a peace footing."⁸¹ Lawrence Powell,

author of a book on the land rush in the South after the war entitled *New Masters*, also writes, "Almost every northerner who invested in...plantations in these years [1865-66] looked chiefly to the speculative aspects... The newcomers commonly calculated their profits in the tens, even hundreds, of thousands of dollars, with the conviction of men who knew that such a chance comes but once in a lifetime."⁸² Here we see the notion of Northern energy and capitalism playing itself out in the South—there seemed to be no more useful way of spending "excess greenbacks" than in speculation.

Despite the overwhelming evidence that the newcomers were primarily interested in personal financial gain, this pursuit was often aided by ideological or humanitarian visions used to justify the blatantly capitalistic mission, especially in the years following the rush of 1865-66. Some Northern plantation owners leased their plantations to freedmen, in order to help them in the transition from slavery to freedom. Others offered working opportunities to freedmen to prove to Southern society that "the freed Negro under decent and just treatment can be worked to profit to employer and employee."⁸³ In addition, the Yankee sometimes came south to improve agricultural techniques to maximize profits. Yankees often perceived Southern agriculture as "primitive," and experimented with new farming technology to figure out ways to reduce labor and increase their financial success.⁸⁴

If the Northern speculators all agreed on one thing, it was that they were "true pioneers of free labor, evangelists of a more excellent way... they felt sure that their contributions to the economic well-being of the South would improve the condition of every class and race in the former Confederacy."⁸⁵ This, however, was more of a rationalization than a real motive. Although Sanborn's republican beliefs are revealed when he refers to the institution of slavery as "miserable" and the Southerners as "rebels reconstructed or unreconstructed,"⁸⁶ his primary motive still is to find the place where the "means of accumulating wealth are to be formed in greater abundance." Furthermore, if his foremost intention was to aid in the effort to reconstruct the South, he would not have also speculated in the West.

Sanborn, despite his goals and rationalizations, did not fit the mold of the typical carpet-bagging speculator on several levels. He was 55 when he took his trip down south; most speculators from that period were between the ages of 30 and 33. There are clues indicating, however,

that perhaps Sanborn was actually taking the trip to find a place for his son to settle as well as to advise David Fifield on the value of relocating elsewhere. These clues are evident both when Sanborn reveals that his son had settled out West and in his tone towards Fifield. Sanborn tells Fifield, "On foot I saw but little in the country so far as the people are concerned that would be pleasing to you," and comments that Fifield probably would not like the climate around Knoxville.⁸⁷

One of the oddest things about Sanborn's Southern tour, when put in historical context, was that he took it in 1869. The Northern invasion of businessmen and speculators was a phenomenon that was highly concentrated during the years 1865-1866. In 1867, many of those who headed South for their fortunes found their dreams dashed thanks to the crop failures of 1866-67.⁸⁸ Cotton planters suffered from the heavy spring rains and light summer rains which severely retarded plantation work. Wrote one Yankee cotton plantation owner from Port Royal, Mississippi, "It would seem that since the commencement of the rebellion, the elements, worms, & all the forces of nature had conspired against the intruders of the southern soil." By 1867, the price of cotton had fallen to 14 cents a pound and the cost of operating a plantation was double than what it had been in 1860.⁸⁹ This was the case for many crops in the South; by 1867 it was no longer "useful" for a Yankee to speculate in the South strictly for financial gains.

Powell does point out, however, that "occasionally a man of means went south after 1867 in search of a cotton plantation."⁹⁰ While Sanborn appeared to be after something more modest than a cotton plantation, circumstantial historical evidence indicates that he was probably driven more by his situation at home than a burning desire to head south. Sanborn's son had recently married so the timing was ripe for Gustavus and his new wife, Helen M. Thomas, to settle somewhere outside of East Readfield. In addition, J.A. Sanborn had just finished his tenure on the governor's council and was likely in the process of selling his oil cloth factory to William Bailey, a deal that he completed in 1870.⁹¹ Although Northerners had ceased entering the South in hordes as in 1865-66, over two-thirds of Virginia's land and one-quarter of South Carolina's land remained uncultivated as late as 1869.⁹² Although this was no longer the golden age of cheap Southern land, there were still plenty of opportunities for Sanborn to satisfy his agricultural interests. Unfortunately, he concludes that the social and financial start-up costs of living in the for-

mer Confederacy did not justify the potential long-term gains.

The Yankee entrepreneurs' interaction with former rebels formed an integral part of the carpetbaggers' experience. Sanborn describes his interaction with the Southerners as civil but possessing an underlying tension: "...[I] was permitted to pass quietly along about my business and was civilly treated by all with whom I came in contact. Still I do not wish you to infer from what I have said that I think there is an extra amount of love and goodwill on the part of rebels reconstructed or unreconstructed for the once hated yankees."⁹³ Postwar accounts of Yankee interaction with Southerners reveal a mixed bag of attitudes towards the newcomers, often highlighted by the former rebels' paradoxical desires for both economic assistance from the North and a preservation of their culture of defiance and self-rule. In his Southern tour in 1865-1866, Whitlaw Reid witnessed the latter facet of this paradox. While in New Orleans, Reid spoke with a lawyer who was confident that the Northern planter movement to alter the South would fail. "When we get in," the lawyer argued, "we'll put an end to this impudent talk of you Yankees about regenerating the South by Northern immigration. We'll require you to spend ten years in the state before you can vote!⁹⁴...I have no love for the flag. It never protected me; it has robbed me and mine!"⁹⁵

In addition, a general dislike for Yankee men and their culture—particularly the outgrowths of that "Northern energy"—contributed to the Southerners' ill feeling towards the Northern newcomers. Many of the former rebels' perceptions of their culture, filled with images of honor and gentlemanly conduct, were in direct contrast with how they viewed their Northern conquerors. There was quite a bit of resentment that these images would be replaced by "strange faces [Yankees], cold and heartless creatures; plotting and striving for the Almighty dollar."⁹⁶ By 1869, when Sanborn arrived in the South, Radical Reconstruction had provoked an increase in Southern defiance which led to widespread violence by many dedicated white Southerners. While the Radicals were able to turn the political tide in favor of assisting freedmen and instituting progressive reforms to alter the Southern social order, that old resentment of the Yankees lived on.

In spite of this bitterness, more pragmatic Southerners realized that their financial survival after the war could be achieved through the assistance of Northern enterprise.⁹⁷ Quills uses the example of a hotel clerk in Mississippi who was "very effusive" when welcoming specu-

lation-minded guests: "Make yourselves perfectly at home, gents...Lots of new men coming into the country. That's what we want; the Yankee capital, the Yankee enterprise is all we want."⁹⁸ Powell argues that "One fact stands out very clearly: Southerners strained every nerve to encourage Yankee investments in the plantation economy."⁹⁹ Solicitations for Northern investment were prominent in newspapers, while many Southern governments begrudgingly approved legislation that would facilitate Northern enterprise.¹⁰⁰ This was strictly business; this brand of Southern hospitality, as manifested by the Mississippi hotel owner, was purely economic. Sanborn's words were true for the period—there was not any "extra amount of love" on the part of the former rebels. The Southern and Northern identities, at least when one got past the wallet, remained distinct and in conflict during Reconstruction.

Conclusion

J.A. Sanborn passed away in 1877, the same year attributed to the end of Reconstruction. Rutherford B. Hayes won the disputed election of 1876 by making a deal with Democrat Samuel Tilden. Known as the Compromise (or Bargain) of 1877, the agreement included the withdrawal of federal troops from the South, which effectively ended Reconstruction. Remarkedly one black Louisianan Henry Adams, "The whole South—every state in the South had got into the hands of the very men that held us as slaves."¹⁰¹

Most Northerners seeking a life on the land in the South quickly found themselves returning home, and by 1877 it was quite clear that the old agrarian masters had regained control of the South. The New South movement, fiercely advocated by *Atlanta Constitution* editor Henry W. Grady, claimed that industry and manufacturing were the "true remedy"¹⁰² for Southern ills. Still, the industrialization that occurred in the South was not a large enough change¹⁰³ to remedy larger societal evils that haunted the region—segregation, sharecropping, poverty. Although the South looked different by 1900 compared to 1860, the influx of Northern ideas and money during Reconstruction did not affect the kind of social change that would unify a nation.

J.A. Sanborn's letter to his cousin is best viewed as a collection of symbols of the challenges Southern Reconstruction. Sanborn himself is a model of the "Northern energy" paradigm. The Southern attitudes towards Sanborn represent the deep divide between two diametrically

opposed cultures and worldviews, which would impede the ability of the South to reconstruct itself on its own terms. Conversely, Sanborn's description of Knoxville and its people as "poor and dirty" can be viewed as a symbol of Northern arrogance, a condescending perception of Southerners which reveals the hubris of the conqueror and his imperialistic tendencies. Most importantly, his benevolent self-interest represented the rationalizations and realities that drove the Yankee carpetbagger.

Appendix A

Relevant Information about Readfield and East Readfield

East Readfield, Maine, is a small town outside of Augusta, the state's capital. As mentioned in footnote 32, East Readfield is a section of the township of Readfield. By 1892, Readfield was most well known for the number of high-level politicians and statesmen that were born and raised in the town (by 1892, four Maine governors¹⁰⁴, a United States Senator and two members of presidential cabinets hailed from Readfield), Kennebec County historian Henry D. Kingsbury writes, "The air of Readfield seems to have been charged with a tonic, attractive to the tastes and conducive to the growth of lawyers and statesmen."¹⁰⁵ It is in this tradition that Sanborn grew up, and he followed the footsteps of the more famous locally born politicians by becoming a State Senator and a member of the Governors' Council (there are no records indicating that he ran for anything higher).

Despite its reputation as both a thriving agricultural and vacation community, Readfield became a place for mills and factories to thrive in the 19th century. The town featured a grist mill, a cider factory, a tannery where famous leather was made, a potash factory and Sanborn's oilcloth factory.¹⁰⁶ The Readfield depot, which was built in the 1840s, greatly benefited the town's business and allowed the expansion of its factories (like Sanborn's after 1860).¹⁰⁷

The chief researcher and historian at the Readfield Historical Society, a quaint 18th century house (with no heating, telephones or computers) which holds most of the town records, calls East Readfield the "forgotten village."¹⁰⁸ While Readfield as a whole prospered into the 20th century, the Augusta Water Company bought much of the East Readfield's land out shortly after Sanborn's death. The company obtained most of the land around Carleton Pond and demolished the schoolhouse (the town's community center) and almost all of the nearby houses.¹⁰⁹

Appendix B**Sanborn's Letter: Written in 1867 or 1869?**

It is difficult to determine whether Sanborn wrote his letter in 1867 or 1869. Two key pieces of historical evidence indicate that the letter was probably written in 1869. First, official documents provided by the Readfield Town Clerk's office show that J.A. Sanborn's son, Gustavus, was married in East Readfield in 1868. Sanborn writes later in the letter that he thought Gustavus "made a very good selection and is in a good county and neighborhood and has a splendid piece of land, but I do not think the climate there what he needs and I doubt if he remains there next winter."¹¹⁰ It seems unlikely that an unmarried man would go and settle in the West; it seems more probable that Gustavus chose to move away from East Readfield after he married Helen M. Thomas. In addition, town records also show that Gustavus, like his father, became a member of the East Readfield Methodist Society in 1870.¹¹¹ This indicates that his father's prediction ["I doubt if he remains there next winter"] was correct; Gustavus did return home.

Perhaps the most convincing clue to the letter's date is Sanborn's reference to the "Ku Klux." The Ku Klux Klan was only formed as a very small group in 1866, and it had just completed its transformation into a terror group aimed at blocking radical reconstruction efforts in 1867.¹¹² A *New York Times* profile of unionist Tennessee Governor William Brownlow by a correspondent who had spent time in the state, makes no reference to the Klan¹¹³, which had hounded Brownlow and members of his administration for years during Reconstruction. The Klan had not received much attention until 1868, when its activities escalated during the election season. It is extremely unlikely that in May 1867 a Mainer like Sanborn would have heard of the Klan, let alone have gathered enough knowledge to characterize it as a "mysterious and desperate band."

Appendix C**Conditions in Knoxville, Tennessee**

It is particularly interesting that Sanborn chose to describe the city of Knoxville to his cousin David given the city's unique character in the context of the Civil War and Reconstruction. The climate and terrain in the area of Knoxville, which made large plantations inhospitable, were the central influence behind the city's character. The town's ruling class

in the antebellum period, which was comprised mostly of merchants and professional men, resembled more of a Northern urban social landscape than a Southern one.¹¹⁴

As a result of these factors, Knoxville became a Unionist stronghold during the Civil War and remained friendly towards Northerners during Reconstruction.¹¹⁵ It is almost certain that Sanborn, as a Northerner, was welcomed warmly in Knoxville. In 1865, as Whitlaw Reid's railcar approached Knoxville, a former Confederate soldier (mistaking Reid for a former rebel) whispered in his ear:

This isn't a good country for you and me. They're all Tories here. Every d---d scoundrel of them. I've been chased off from my home because I had been in the Confederate army. For three weeks I've dodged about in the woods, and now I'm a going to get out of this Yankee country.¹¹⁶

In addition to the post-Civil War Unionist sentiments, in 1869 Knoxville began a campaign to rebuild itself in the Northern industrial image—an idea akin to the “New South” movement that developed in the 1880s. Advocates of this local movement, who started the Knoxville Industrial Association in 1869, were interested in quelling hostility towards Northern money and capital, and launched a propaganda campaign to achieve this end.¹¹⁷

The city of Knoxville experienced both damage and growth as a result of the Civil War. Sanborn's description of Knoxville as a place with “buildings that are poor, mean, dirty things with no sign of any taste or thrifths about them,” was in line with the city's condition after the war. Although a great deal of track was laid down during the war for the sake of moving Confederate men and supplies to the Virginia theatre, much of these lines was destroyed during the war. Whitlaw Reid claimed that it took 22 hours to make the 204-mile journey from Lynchburg to Knoxville, with constant stoppages due to destroyed track.¹¹⁸ Despite “burnt houses and solitary chimneys over one whole corner of the city,” Reid asserts that the people in Knoxville live quite “comfortably.”¹¹⁹ This was, of course, in comparison with the horror he saw in some of the harder hit Southern urban centers. Sanborn's description of Knoxville as a town filled with buildings that are “poor, mean, dirty things” and people who are also “poor and dirty”¹²⁰ are perhaps also a commentary on his comfort zone—Knoxville was a far cry from his “thriving hamlet.”

Appendix D

Geneseo

In the letter, Sanborn does not mention in which part of the American West Geneseo is located. There are currently three towns named Geneseo in the United States that are located West of the Mississippi (the fourth is located in New York). Of the three Geneseos in the Western half of the United States, through process of elimination one can conclude that Sanborn is referring to Geneseo, Illinois.

Geneseo, North Dakota, was almost certainly not visited by Sanborn in 1869 because there is no evidence to suggest that a Geneseo existed there in 1869. The State Historical Society of North Dakota also indicates that while settlement in the area began in earnest around 1861, "significant immigration" commenced only after the Northern Pacific Railway was built to the Missouri River in 1872 and 1873, and the great settlement "boom" did not occur until the 1880s.¹²¹

Settlement in the town of Geneseo, Kansas, did not begin until the homesteading movement of the 1870s, and even if Sanborn did manage to beat the wave of settlers that would enter the state throughout that decade, Geneseo did not become a township until 1887.¹²²

This leaves Geneseo, Illinois, which was first settled in the early 1800s and incorporated into the state of Illinois as a municipality in 1865. Given the town's rural setting (it is located in the Western part of the state near Iowa), it is likely that farming was the main occupation for the town's residents in the late 19th century.¹²³ This information shows that it is likely Sanborn visited Geneseo, Illinois.

Endnotes

¹ Horace Greeley, New York Tribune, April 20, 1865 as quoted in Michael J. Quill, *Prelude to the Radicals* (Washington, D.C: University Press of America, 1980) 114.

² J.A. Sanborn, East Readfield, to Cousin David Fifield [location unknown], 21 May 1869, transcript at Special Collections, Magill Library, Haverford College, Haverford, Pennsylvania.

³ Although Reconstruction is often defined as the years 1865-1877, I will specifically be looking at the period 1865-1869.

⁴ Sanborn, letter to Cousin David.

⁵ Sanborn, letter to Cousin David.

⁶ Sanborn's cousin was David Fifield, who was born in 1800. Readfield town records could not provide the date of his death.

⁷ East Readfield, Maine. For a brief sketch of the town's history, see Appendix A.

⁸ There is some ambiguity over whether he wrote the letter in 1867 or 1869. See Appendix B for a discussion of why it is likely (based on historical evidence) that the letter was written in 1869.

⁹ On a light note, Sanborn's propensity for procrastination (at least when it came to sending letters) also appeared in a prior letter to Colonel George B. Barrow in 1864. Sanborn was writing Barrow in response to the Colonel's request for a photograph of the Senatorial board that served prior to Sanborn's 1864 term. Sanborn writes, "I have neglected day to day thus far to do so [send the photograph]..." (J.A. Sanborn, East Readfield, to Colonel George B. Barrow [location unknown], 27 Aug 1864, transcript at the Maine Historical Society, Portland, Maine).

¹⁰ See Appendix C for Knoxville information.

¹¹ Thrifty, in this 19th century context, means "characterized by success or prosperity: thriving, prosperous, well-to-do, successful, flourishing, fortunate." Based on the definition given by *The Oxford English Dictionary*, second ed, 1999.

¹² Based on weather records from the past 48 years, the average temperature in Knoxville, Tennessee is 59 degrees. Sanborn likely passed through the city sometime between December and March. The average temperatures for those months are as follows: December, 41 degrees; January, 38 degrees; February, 42 degrees; March, 50 degrees. Not surprisingly, the records for Kennebec County, Maine are substantially colder. The mean temperature there is 45 degrees. In comparison, the winter monthly temperatures are nearly half that of Knoxville: December, 24; January, 19; February, 22; March, 51. Information gathered from www.weatherbase.com.

¹³ They were wishful thinkers. The Radical Republican effort was severely waning by 1870, and the impact of the 1873 recession proved to be the final straw in turning the North's attention away from the humanitarian ideas of reconstructing the South and towards their own economic interests. Once the federal government's role declined in reconstructing the South, the antebellum social structure returned (slavery became sharecropping) and the white Southern farmers regained control of much of the land.

¹⁴ Virginia.

¹⁵ Tennessee.

¹⁶ Geneseo, Illinois. For an explanation on why this is likely, see appendix D.

¹⁷ Gustavus Sanborn, son of J.A. Sanborn.

¹⁸ I could not find any evidence to suggest a reason why Sanborn mentioned his visit to Vineland, New Jersey.

¹⁹ J.A. Sanborn's wife was Lucy Ann B. Sanborn. Despite her "poor health" in 1869, she died at the age of 67 in 1888 [Readfield town records].

²⁰ David Fifield's wife was Hannah Stevens [Readfield town records].

²¹ His official name was Joseph Appleton Sanborn and he was commonly referred to as Joseph A. Sanborn [Readfield Town records].

²² John Mack Faragher, et al., *Out of Many: A History of the American People* (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice Hall, 1993) 512.

²³ John Hope Franklin, *Reconstruction After the Civil War* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1961, 1994) 1.

²⁴ Eric Foner, *A Short History of Reconstruction* (New York: Harper & Row, 1994) 9.

²⁵ Foner 200.

²⁶ Foner 9-11.

²⁷ William M. Russell, "The Economic Impact of the American Civil War" (Ph.d. Dissertation, George Mason University, Spring 2001) 15.

²⁸ Lawrence N. Powell, *New Masters* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1980) 37.

²⁹ Sanborn describes the land around Knoxville, Tennessee as "not as rich except the bot-

tom land as I expected to find..." It is difficult to say, however, whether the land was damaged or neglected as a result of the War or if that was just the natural state of the land. The latter is likely; see Appendix C.

³⁰ Franklin 2.

³¹ Whitlaw Reid, *After the War: A Tour of the Southern States, 1865-1866* (New York: Harper & Row Publishers, 1965, 1866) 10.

³² Sanborn Letter.

³³ Faragher et al. 512.

³⁴ Foner 84.

³⁵ Foner 105.

³⁶ Foner 105.

³⁷ Foner 122.

³⁸ Foner 146.

³⁹ The Republican Platform on Reconstruction, 1868 as quoted in Walter L. Fleming, *Documentary History of Reconstruction* (Cleveland, Ohio: The Arthur H. Clark Company, 1906) 480.

⁴⁰ Foner 147.

⁴¹ Fleming 481.

⁴² Sanborn, letter to Cousin David.

⁴³ Allen W. Trelease, *White Terror* (New York: Harper & Row Publishers, 1971) 3-5.

⁴⁴ Foner 184.

⁴⁵ Franklin 153.

⁴⁶ Trelease, 27.

⁴⁷ Franklin 160.

⁴⁸ Kathleen R. Zebley, "Unconditional Unionist: Samuel Mayes Arnell and Reconstruction in Tennessee," in *Tennessee History*, ed. Carroll Van West (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1998) 193. This was the same day that Brownlow resigned as governor to take a seat in the United States Senate.

⁴⁹ Franklin 161.

⁵⁰ U.S. Bureau of Census, *Ninth Census of the United States: 1870, Population* (Washington D.C., 1872) 328-335 as cited in Eugene H. Berwanger, *Reconstruction and the West* (Chicago, University of Illinois Press, 1981) 18.

⁵¹ Eugene H. Berwanger, *Reconstruction and the West* (Chicago, University of Illinois Press, 1981) 18.

⁵² It was actually just completed in 1869, but the economic transformation that it would engender took some years to occur.

⁵³ Berwanger 33.

⁵⁴ East Readfield was established in 1850 after the partitioning of Readfield. The current township of East Readfield contains four towns: East Readfield, Readfield Corner, Readfield Depot, and Kent's Hill. [see <http://www.rootsweb.com/~mcreadrf/readfld.htm>].

⁵⁵ East Readfield town records.

⁵⁶ Evelyn A. Potter of Readfield, Maine, interview by author, November 20, 2002.

⁵⁷ Sanborn, letter to Cousin David (return address on envelope).

⁵⁸ Henry D. Kingsbury, *History of Kennebec County* (Maine: Maine State Library, 1892) 898, and Readfield Town Records. Another Readfield historian, Mary Schultze Page, asserts that the factory was started in 1847. Given her occasional historical inaccuracies (for example, she misspells "Sanborn") and the evidence from the town records, it is more likely than not that the factory was built in 1845.

⁵⁹ Kingsbury 897.

- ⁶⁰ Kingsbury 892.
- ⁶¹ Mary Schultze Page, *Reflections of Readfield* (Farmington, Maine: The Knowlton & Mc-Cleary Co., 1975) 20.
- ⁶² Kingsbury 898 and Readfield Town Records.
- ⁶³ Another section of Readfield.
- ⁶⁴ Kingsbury 898 and Page 20.
- ⁶⁵ Anne Norton, *Alternative Americas: A Reading of Antebellum Political Culture* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1986) 251.
- ⁶⁶ Glenn M. Linden, *Voices from the Reconstruction Years, 1865-1877* (Fort Worth, TX: Harcourt & Brace College Publishers, 1999) 27.
- ⁶⁷ Sidney Andrews, *The Chicago Tribune*, November 25, 1865 as quoted in Lindell 1999, 31.
- ⁶⁸ Whitlaw Reid, *After the War: A Tour of the Southern States 1865-1866* (New York: Harper & Row Publishers, 1965, 1866) 343.
- ⁶⁹ Benjamin Franklin, *Benjamin Franklin's Autobiography*, eds. J.A. Leo Lemay and P.M. Zall (New York: W.W. Norton and Co., 1986) 66.
- ⁷⁰ "Speak not but what may benefit others or your self. Avoid trifling conversation." (Franklin 67)
- ⁷¹ "Let all your Things have their Places. Let each Part of your Business have its Time." (Franklin 67)
- ⁷² "Resolve to perform what you ought; perform without fail what you resolve." (Franklin 67)
- ⁷³ "Make no expense but to do good to others or yourself; i.e., waste nothing." (Franklin 67)
- ⁷⁴ "Lose no time; be always employ'd in something useful; cut off all unnecessary actions." (Franklin 67)
- ⁷⁵ Alexis de Tocqueville critiques Americans' obsession with usefulness: "I see nothing around but people bent publicly on proving, by word and deed, that what is useful is never wrong. Is there no chance of finding some who will make the public understand that what is right may be useful?" See Alexis de Tocqueville, *Democracy in America* (New York: Harper & Row, 2000 ed.) 527.
- ⁷⁶ Trowbridge, J.T., *The South, A Tour...* (Hartford, Conn: L. Stebbins, 1866) 78.
- ⁷⁷ *New York Herald*, Aug. 28, 1865 as quoted in Powell 5.
- ⁷⁸ George Winston Smith, "Some Northern Wartime Attitudes Toward the Post-Civil War South," *The Journal of Southern History* (Aug., 1944), 253.
- ⁷⁹ Powell 8. See Appendix for tables.
- ⁸⁰ *Boston Daily Advertiser*, Jan. 15, 1866 as quoted in Powell 1980, 7.
- ⁸¹ Quill 111.
- ⁸² Powell 18.
- ⁸³ Garth W. James to Henry James, Sr., Apr. 7, 1866, in possession of Prof. William Childers, University of Florida as quoted in Powell 1980, 29.
- ⁸⁴ Powell 30.
- ⁸⁵ Powell 31.
- ⁸⁶ Sanborn, letter to Cousin David.
- ⁸⁷ Sanborn, letter to Cousin David.
- ⁸⁸ Powell 150.
- ⁸⁹ Powell 146.
- ⁹⁰ Powell 151.
- ⁹¹ East Readfield town records.

⁹² George Ruble Woolfolk, *The Cotton Regency* (New York: Octagon Books, 1979) 101.

⁹³ Sanborn, letter to Cousin David.

⁹⁴ It is worth noting that this type of sentiment was inspired by Johnson's soft and doomed Reconstruction effort, which provided Southerners with the hope that they could restore their social order and continue to defy the federal government.

⁹⁵ Reid 412.

⁹⁶ Bammie to Ema, June 14, 1866, S.C. Bonner Papers, LSU as quoted in Powell 51.

⁹⁷ Also see Appendix C, third paragraph.

⁹⁸ Quoted in Quill 115.

⁹⁹ Powell 38.

¹⁰⁰ Quill 115.

¹⁰¹ Foner 245.

¹⁰² Henry W. Grady as quoted in Walter Licht, *Industrializing America* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1995) 120.

¹⁰³ By 1900, the South contained 30% of the nation's population but just 10% of its industrial output. See Grady 122.

¹⁰⁴ Jonathon G. Hunton, Dr. John Hubbard, Anson P. Morrill, Lot M. Morill. See <http://www.rootsweb.com/~mecreadf/rdfldgov.htm>.

¹⁰⁵ Kingsbury 890.

¹⁰⁶ Page 20.

¹⁰⁷ Page 27.

¹⁰⁸ Evelyn A. Potter of Readfield, Maine, interview by author, 20 November 2002.

¹⁰⁹ Page 19.

¹¹⁰ Sanborn, letter to Cousin David.

¹¹¹ Readfield Town Records (applies to all family information in paragraph).

¹¹² Peter Smith, *Unionism and Reconstruction in East Tennessee* (Gloucester, Mass.: University of North Carolina Press, 1966) 58.

¹¹³ *New York Times*, June 26, 1867.

¹¹⁴ Michael J. McDonald and Bruce Wheeler, *Knoxville, Tennessee: Continuity and Change in an Appalachian City* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1983) 12.

¹¹⁵ This may have been the result of Tennessee's ability to put itself on a course of self-Reconstruction. Carpetbaggers did not play much of a role in Eastern Tennessee politics. Instead, local unionists (or "scalawags") like Brownlow ran the government. See Paul Bergeron, Stephen V. Ash, Jeannette Keith, *Tennesseans and Their History* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1999) 158.

¹¹⁶ Reid 350-51.

¹¹⁷ McDonald and Wheeler 16.

¹¹⁸ Reid 340.

¹¹⁹ Reid 351.

¹²⁰ J.A. Sanborn, letter to Cousin David.

¹²¹ See <http://www.state.nd.us/hist/ndhist.htm>.

¹²² Jim Grey and Janet Ritcha, <http://skyways.lib.ks.us/towns/Geneseo/history.html>

¹²³ See city website, www.geneseo.org.