

SIGNIFICANT ASPECTS OF THE ATLANTA COTTON EXPOSITION.

WHEN the record of the "International Cotton Exposition" at Atlanta, Georgia, is made up, it will be marked as singular in many ways. Under the able control of Mr. H. I. Kimball, the Director-General, well sustained by the Executive Committee and by the citizens of Atlanta, it has developed into something vastly greater, better, and of more far-reaching influence than could have been contemplated at its inception; yet it is not, in many respects, what it was intended or what it purports to be.

In the first place, it is not "international." With the exception of one English roller gin, an excellent example contributed by Messrs. Platt Brothers & Co., of Oldham, the writer is unaware of there being any foreign exhibit of machinery included within its limits. There is, however, some foreign combing machinery, forming a part of the collective exhibit of the Willimantic Thread Company. This lack is much to be regretted, as English machinery has been adapted to many purposes with which we are not yet familiar, especially to ginning and preparing cotton. It would have been a matter of great interest to planters and farmers to see more of the work of the English roller gins; but as our own mechanics have now taken up this subject, it may not matter much that the English machines are wanting. The other foreign contributions consist of a valuable exhibit of foreign cotton fibers, in the bale, collected by the Treasurer, Mr. S. M. Inman, to whose firm, wise, and quiet discretion the Exposition owes much; and a quite complete collection of Chinese and Japanese hand-made native fabrics. The Chinese hand-made fabrics and garments contributed by Messrs. Russell & Co., of Shanghai, are of the greatest interest, as they represent the common wear of the immense population of China, of whom not over ten per cent. have yet been supplied with the machine-made goods of Europe or the United States. With these few exceptions, everything in the several buildings is national.

Nor is it primarily an exposition of cotton. The collection of tools and implements for the cultivation of cotton, of machinery and apparatus for preparing, baling, spinning, and weaving, and for the treatment of cotton-seed, has never been equaled in any other exhibition yet held, and cannot be excelled elsewhere at the present time, yet cotton itself is only a small element in the case.

While this is neither an international nor a cotton exposition, in the ordinary sense of the term, neither is it in a general way like other exhibitions. At other times and in other places, vast collections of finished products have been exposed to view, principally for the purpose of advertising their existence. There are very few examples of this class of exhibits at Atlanta. It might, rather than anything else, be called an exhibition of the beginnings of new processes and for the correction of errors in old methods; coupled with examples of a great variety of materials of which the world has as yet had little knowledge. Might we not call it an exhibition of the potentialities of the future? Within the limits of this article, it will be impossible to do more than to name a portion of the contents of the buildings.

The vast collection of minerals, timber, and products of agriculture surprises even the managers of the railroads by whom they have been hastily gathered. Silk from worms fed upon the leaf of the Osage orange finds its place alongside the wild silk of North China, made by worms which feed upon oak leaves of the same variety that grows upon the mountains of Virginia. The Japanese persimmon gives promise of a new and valuable fruit. The ramie fiber is shown in a way that looks as if the secret of its treatment had been discovered. The small, cheap mills for hulling rough rice, of which there are two examples, give promise of profit in the growth of upland rice, which crop may be indefinitely extended if these machines shall adequately serve their purpose. The fine examples of the hair of the Angora goat make it apparent that we may add that, also, to our list of fibers; the cultivation of the olive has begun, and the samples of many kinds of wine give evidence that Italian and Swiss immigrants may have plenty of opportunity to apply their skill to growing grapes and improving the methods of making the wine. Leather is sent from Chattanooga, tanned in what is already the largest single tannery in the country,—a tannery worked wholly by colored laborers. Many machines for utilizing cotton-seed, which the inventors had almost despaired of being able to introduce before, are now being ordered faster than their works can supply them. Trash-cleaners, for saving the waste or total loss of storm-beaten cotton, or cotton which has been blown to the ground, which

were hardly known last year, when the reasons for this exhibition were first submitted, cannot now be made fast enough to supply the demand.

The writer does not feel competent to describe the collection of minerals. Of iron and coal the evidence of unequalled abundance is conclusive. In respect to other minerals, the words of Colonel Killbrew, who is in charge of this department, may be quoted: "Within a radius of one hundred and fifty miles from Mount Mitchell, the highest mountain east of the Rocky Mountains, may be found every mineral that contributes to the arts, and every variety of timber which grows between the St. Lawrence and the Gulf of Mexico. But," said Colonel Killbrew, "tell your people that there are two classes of persons who will not be tolerated here." "Who are they?" asked the writer. "Mormons and Secessionists," was the prompt reply.

This exhibition may also be regarded as an instrumentality for the correction of errors of opinion on the part of citizens of the two sections of this country in regard to each other, in respect to their relative conditions and opportunities, and also in regard to the past history of their respective sections. It may be well to consider the social and political changes which have occurred, without which this exhibition could not have been held, before we treat the industrial changes which are in part a consequence and in part a cause of them.

It surely marks an important era in the history of this country, that even the abolitionists of old time can here meet ex-Confederate officers of high rank, and while conversing, without any sense of animosity, about the events and ideas which controlled the ante-war period, can also take counsel together as to the common interests and common needs of the future,—almost as if slavery and war had never been. It may not be a new conviction to many persons that there were men of great mental capacity in the South, fifty years since, who absolutely feared liberty; who absolutely believed that emancipation would lead to anarchy; and who were positively convinced that if freedom were given to the slave in any way whatever, the existence of the two races in the same place or State would become impossible; yet such is the conception which one cannot fail to receive from the intimate relations into which men of the two sections are brought by such an undertaking as this one is.

That such were the convictions of many persons of little prominence, may have been well understood throughout the long period

of controversy which preceded the civil war; but that such should have been the want of faith on the part of leading Southern men, who, it may be assumed, knew something of history and of politics, is certainly a new conception to many, if not to all, of those who were engaged upon the other side of the question. It is therefore well worth while for men who have passed middle age and who were active throughout the conflict regarding the status of Kansas; who helped fit out John Brown for the beginning of that fight (even though they might have condemned the Virginia raid had they known about it), to review some of the proceedings of that time; and it may also be well even for those who came much later into the ranks of the Republican party, after the Free Soil party had completed its work, to reconsider these questions; better yet would it be for "stalwarts," so called, or the Bourbons of the North, to visit this exhibition, if there were any hope that they could extend their mental vision.

Objection is sometimes made to any reference to these incidents of the past, and it is often assumed that good feeling may be more promoted by silence regarding slavery; but it will soon become apparent to any one visiting the South who attempts to solve the questions of the present, that reference to the past must be made, in order to comprehend or explain the curious anomalies which one meets to-day on every side. Next, one will find that even if he himself carefully refrain from any reference to the war or to the conditions which preceded it, when conversing with Southern friends, they themselves will constantly refer to both; and finally it may also become apparent that they feel more respect and confidence in a man who makes no attempt to conceal his own past ideas and acts than they do for one who tries to excuse or palliate the acts of the past on either side. The sensitive nerve of the citizen of the New South is less quickly touched by any reference to the past than by the expression of doubt as to the immediate capacity of the Southern people to do any kind of work in the manufacturing or mechanic arts.

It is a singular fact that several of the Northern subscribers to the capital of the Atlanta Exposition could not have visited that city without danger to their lives, had they been known, between the years 1855 and 1860 inclusive, because they were either members of the Boston Vigilance Committee for rescuing fugitive slaves, or of the Philadelphia branch of the "Underground Railroad," or active promoters and members of the New England Emigrant Aid Company, by which John Brown was fitted out for Kansas. It

is only necessary to consider the light in which such men were of necessity viewed by the sincere supporters of slavery to perceive that the latter had no choice in the matter, but were compelled, as years went by, to make it more and more unsafe to oppose slavery, even to the extent of outlawing and lynching any man who dared differ in opinion or action: the more sincere they were the more necessary their appeal to force, either with or without law.

The volume of speeches and letters of the late Governor and Senator James H. Hammond, of South Carolina, gives a good example of the convictions of the sincere slaveholder, who really believed that American slavery was warranted by the Christian religion and could be fully sustained by arguments drawn from the Bible, and must be defended at any cost. As one looks over this volume in the light of the present time, it has a strange sound to read such paragraphs as the following, and to perceive that they represented very profound and sincere convictions:

"It is impossible, therefore, to suppose that slavery is contrary to the will of God. It is equally absurd to say that American slavery differs in form or principle from that of the chosen people. *We accept the Bible terms as the definition of our slavery, and its precepts as the guide of our conduct.*" We desire nothing more. Even the right to 'buffet,' which is esteemed so shocking, finds its express license in the Gospel (I. Peter 2: 20). Nay, what is more, God directs the Hebrews to 'bore holes in the ears of their brothers' to mark them, when under certain circumstances they become perpetual slaves.

"I think, then, I may safely conclude, and I firmly believe, that American slavery is not only not a sin, but especially commanded by God through Moses, and approved by Christ through his Apostles."

In another place, he says:

"Hence, slavery is truly the corner-stone and foundation of every well-designed and durable Republic edifice."

This man was no hypocrite; he was honest and true according to his light. Probably no expression uttered by a slaveholder ever created more resentment in the North than the one used by Senator Hammond during the Kansas debates, when he referred to the slaves of the South and the mechanics and laborers of the North as the "mud-sills" of society; yet it was a perfectly natural expression for one to use who had no faith in, and could hardly conceive of, a government uncontrolled by an aristocracy, and who regarded permanent class-distinctions as necessary in their very nature. The simple sincerity with which the Senator quotes the Old Testament as final authority becomes curiously

interesting, now that the awful retribution has cured the error which he sustained, yet it is perfectly evident that he would have been very much shocked had any one defended polygamy upon the authority of the Old Testament.

It was this narrowing of the mind, this intense provincialism, which made slavery so dangerous to those who sustained it; they became incapable of sound judgment, and therefore could not help misleading the States which they governed, even without knowing what they did.

The fear of the negro crops out throughout Governor Hammond's letters and speeches. It is curious to read his words in the light of the present time. He says:

"The negro loves change, novelty, and sensual excitements of all kinds, *when awake.* Reason and order, of which Mr. Wilberforce said 'liberty was the child,' do not characterize him. Released from his present obligations, his first impulse would be to go somewhere; and here no natural boundaries would restrain him. At first they would all seek the towns, and rapidly accumulate in squalid groups upon their outskirts. Driven thence by the armed police which would immediately spring into existence, they would scatter in all directions. Very few of them could be prevailed on to do a stroke of work, none to labor continuously while a head of cattle, sheep, or swine could be found in our ranges, or an ear of corn noddled in our abandoned fields. These being exhausted, our folds and poultry yards, barns and store-houses, would become their prey.

"Finally, our scattered dwellings would be plundered, perhaps fired, and the inmates murdered. How long do you suppose that we could bear these things? How long would it be before we should sleep with rifles at our bedside, and never move without one in our hands?"

"No preparation can avoid these dangers, and gradual emancipation is impossible. Every scheme founded upon the idea that the two races can remain together on the same soil, beyond the briefest period, in any other relation than precisely that which now subsists between them, is not only preposterous, but fraught with deepest danger."

If these were the convictions of honest and otherwise able leaders, what must have been the prejudices of men of less education and intelligence? If we then recall the fact that these dreaded negroes were not only suddenly enfranchised, but that the greater part of the white citizens of the Southern States were, at the same time, disfranchised, while we may not palliate or excuse the period of fraud and violence which followed, we may yet wonder that nothing worse has happened, and that order and safety for white and black alike are now well assured throughout the South, unless it be in some of the most remote districts, not yet penetrated by the railroad.

No wonder that those who have inherited these convictions from their own immediate ancestors find it hard to believe that the suburbs of the cities in which the negroes

have actually gathered in large numbers, are not all as "squalid" as the suburbs of many other cities which are almost wholly occupied by whites. Most of those who stay in these suburbs remain for the same reasons that keep white men in similar places—because work is more certain and the pay is better. The curious inconsistency in the testimony of the white regarding the negro cannot last much longer in the face of the facts disclosed in places where the latter has had a fair opportunity for work. The ample suburbs of Lynchburg and other places where the manufacture of tobacco is carried on,—an industry which is exclusively in the hands of colored people,—and also of Charleston, Savannah, Norfolk, and many other cities, mark the capacity of the negro to establish himself in comfort wherever the conditions are propitious for saving a portion of his wages, or the means of investment are fairly open to him. Washington itself offers probably more numerous examples of fairly prosperous colored men than any other place.

That there are also many who only work spasmodically cannot be denied, but the reason is not far to seek. Not yet educated to new wants, a little labor suffices to meet their needs, and, until savings-banks are established, the quicker they spend their earnings the safer for them. The true capacity of the negro, and of the poor white of the South as well, cannot be determined until some means of saving small sums with safety shall be provided; when that time comes the South will learn the one lesson now needed more than any other—the difference between a cent and a nickel (five-cent coin)—a difference now measured in Massachusetts by two hundred and twenty-five million dollars in our savings-banks.

Another controlling conviction of the late Senator Hammond constitutes one of the lingering errors which are being refuted at Atlanta. The idea still pervades and misleads the South that the world could not get on without American cotton, and that all the great financial interests would be reduced to chaos if the cotton crop of the South were cut off. Senator Hammond said:

"I do not undervalue the importance of other articles of commerce, but no calamity could befall the world at all comparable to the sudden loss of two millions of bales of cotton annually. The factories of Europe would fall with a concussion that would shake down castles, palaces, and even thrones; while the purse-proud, elbowing insolence of our Northern monopolist would disappear forever under the smooth speech of the peddler scouring our frontiers for a livelihood, or the bluff vulgarity of the South Sea whaler, following the harpoon amid storms and shoals. Doubtless, the Abolitionists think we could grow

cotton without slaves, or that at worst the reduction of the crop would be moderate and temporary.

"Such gross delusions show how profoundly ignorant they are of our condition here."

In his speech upon the admission of Kansas, he added:

"You dare not make war on cotton. No power on earth dares to make war upon it. Cotton is King."

Speaking to the North, he said:

"One hundred and fifty million dollars of our money passes annually through your hands. Much of it sticks: all of it assists to keep your machinery together and in motion. Suppose we were to discharge you; suppose we were to take our business out of your hands;—we should consign you to anarchy and poverty."

All these are the sincere views of a man of profound convictions, whose last words expressed as his last wish, the desire that if the Southern States did not succeed in their effort to secede, a plow should be run over his grave in order that its place might be forgotten. It is a pity he could not have lived to know that the sixteen crops of cotton made by free labor since the war exceed the last sixteen crops of slavery by fourteen million bales.

When it is remembered that the Southern States were actually governed by such leaders in former days, in a way of which we have little conception in the North; that books and papers were few, and that all political instruction was given by speeches, the pernicious influence of such sincere but utterly false convictions may now be comprehended, and with such comprehension may come a removal of the bitter feelings which were engendered by the war. Such men were the mere creatures of circumstance, who could no more avoid the logic of their convictions than the men of the North could avoid resisting them. Of the baser sort, who knew the malignant effect of slavery, but yet sustained it, nothing more need be said either here or hereafter; even if still in life they are now dead and gone.

In general, it may be said that the New South is surely surmounting the intense and dogmatic provincialism of the Old, and is rapidly coming into line with the more progressive States. The most conclusive proof of the change may be found in the instructive book entitled "Our Brother in Black," by President Haygood, of Emory College, Oxford, Georgia.

If, then, Southern men, suffering even under the sting of defeat, are, whether wittingly or not, surrendering errors which have come to them from remote generations, and are now only sensitive when the least doubt is thrown upon their immediate ability to take any

part in any manufacturing, mechanical, or other kind of work,—if they are now in as dead earnest to take up every branch of profitable work as they formerly were averse to sharing certain kinds of manual labor at all,—may it not be well for Northern men to see if they also have not been controlled by some errors in regard to the past history and condition of the South?

In the course of a conversation upon the events preceding the war, with two grandsons of John C. Calhoun, the writer was somewhat startled by a remark substantially to this effect:

“If my grandfather and his associates had known as much about the negro as I know, and could have had the same faith in his capacity for progress which I have attained from my own experience, there would have been neither slavery nor war.”

“Do you mean to tell me,” I asked, “that your grandfather feared liberty for the black, however compassed?”

“Of course I mean that,” said he. “What other justification could there have been? He and his associates believed that the two races could not exist together upon the same soil except in the relation of masters and slaves.”

One of these gentlemen moved from South Carolina to the bottom-lands of the Mississippi, with a large number of the negroes formerly the slaves of his family. He has succeeded in assuring not only his own prosperity, but their welfare also, and he bears conclusive testimony to the ability of the colored laborers to sustain themselves in comfort. I am permitted to use the following notes of my conversation with this gentleman and his brother, which, at my request, one of them reduced to writing, and which will fully indicate the difficulties under which Southern planters and farmers have been placed. After demonstrating the enormous productive power and present low valuation of the bottom-lands of the Mississippi valley, these gentlemen make the following statement:

“These lands rent for eight or ten dollars an acre, but why should lands that produce so much, and rent for so much, sell at such low prices? It is not because there is any danger of losing the rents from the inability of the tenants to pay. The landlord’s lien is a first lien upon the crop, and these lands never fail to produce very much more than the rental. The true explanation will be found in the condition of the country. Here we must go back a little into the past.

“Prior to the war, as is well known, these plantations were cultivated by slave-labor. In nearly every instance, the planter’s wealth

consisted of his slaves, his plantations, and the personal property required to run them. In the vast majority of cases, he was heavily in debt, either for the purchase of his land, or his slaves, or from his extravagant mode of life. When the war closed, he found his slaves freed, his personal property lost, stolen, or destroyed, and only his land, which had greatly depreciated in value, left to pay his debts. As a rule, his liabilities exceeded his assets. But the price of cotton was very high, and he found persons willing, at a high rate of interest, to carry his indebtedness and to advance the sum necessary to carry on his business. This was the more easily accomplished, as the commission merchant was the principal creditor. In addition to his already existing debt, the planter had to borrow the money with which to buy such personal property, mules, wagons, etc., as he was compelled to have to run his plantations. The slave emerged from slavery without a dollar, and at first the planter had to borrow the money to supply him with the necessities of life. At the high prices of provisions, this was no small item. In spite, however, of all obstacles, the planter found no difficulty in obtaining advances at high rates of interest, and with the high price of cotton and an average season, he was able to make a large sum of money. The result was, that he continued to spend and to borrow, and that 1874 found him poorer than 1865. If the merchants had demanded payment for their claims, it is safe to assert that nearly the entire planting interest would have been found bankrupt, and that the majority of the property would have passed into the hands of the creditors. But it was not the interest of the merchant to foreclose. He could not personally attend to the growing of cotton, and it was better for him to carry the planter at high rates and secure the control of his cotton. If, in order to protect himself, he was forced to foreclose, he willingly sold again on credit. Thus, the planter became, in all but the name, the manager of the merchant. His debts, as a rule, were only carried from year to year. What was left after paying the merchant back the special advance for the year, with the interest, went to the interest on the old debt, and the remainder, after defraying the expenses of the planter’s family, which seemed to have a wonderful way of adapting themselves to the largest crops, went to the principal of the old debt. Thus it happens that every year the planter has had to borrow to run his places. It would be safe to assert that even now, after several years of closer economy than the planter ever before practiced, and after reducing the balance against him, it would be cheaper for him to let his land go to pay his

debts, and borrow money at a legitimate interest with which to buy and run it. The interest he now pays for yearly advances alone, not counting the interest on older debts, would more than pay the interest at six per centum on the present value of his plantations and the money it would take to run them.

"But I do not wish to be understood as condemning the merchants. But for them the planter could not have planted at all, and they have probably been as liberal as any capitalists who had the borrower completely at their mercy. From nowhere else could the planter borrow. Again, the capital of the merchant was, and is, limited. By advancing upon cotton and sugar, and receiving and selling the articles advanced upon during the same month, for a large part of the year, he is able to make five per cent. commissions in one month, besides interest.

"The secret is, that the merchant is not simply a money-lender. Money is to him the lever with which to obtain commissions. No wonder, then, that the commission merchant should be willing only to advance money to the planter at such high rates, or should be willing to sell places which have fallen into his hands, and which rent for eighteen and twenty per cent. on their present value. These latter it necessarily takes some attention to manage, and lying, as they do, hundreds of miles from him, are the source of annoyance.

"Another of the great evils of this system is, that the planter cannot protect his laborers from the extortions of the store-keepers who supply them, or, if he provides for them himself, he, from force of circumstances, becomes an extortioner himself. Borrowing money at a high and ruinous rate, he takes the risk of loaning to the laborer. Many of these are responsible; many are not. The practice is to make the hard-working, the industrious, the frugal, pay for the deficits of the idle. The result of the whole is, to speak in the language of one of the most intelligent merchants of America, to make paupers of the planters and tramps of the negroes.

"Add to this vicious system of business the disturbed state of that section incident to the total overthrow of the former social status, and you have a complete picture of the obstacles under which the planter has labored.

"But the clouds in the sky are beginning to clear away. The country is taking on settled habits; the planter has become more industrious and economical; the negro who, as we said before, emerged from slavery without a dollar, and we here add, with no experience of providing for himself, has, by industry, in many instances been able to buy mules, wagons, farming implements, cattle, etc., and

to surround himself with the comforts of a home. Many others have enough, at least, to support themselves for one year. In spite of everything, many have prospered. The fertility of the soil and their own industry have been in their favor. And here permit me to digress far enough to say that I believe if our ancestors could have foreseen the present condition of the negro, there would have been no war. They did not sufficiently estimate the development which attrition with civilization for several generations had produced upon the savage. But this is too large a subject for this letter. At some other time I hope to give you sound reasons for my opinions.

"But to resume: Why, you will naturally ask, if the condition of the country is so improving, should the planter be willing to sell his lands at the prices I have named?

"Let one example answer this question. There is a plantation that was purchased by a bank, and resold since the war for \$120,000. The purchasers have so managed to reduce their indebtedness as now to owe only \$62,500. To it is attached a landing that is now rented to perfectly solvent and responsible persons for \$3,000 per annum. The rental of the planters this year is 375 bales of cotton. They will sell the whole place, landing included, for \$90,000, and agree to take the plantation for five years at a rental of \$10,000 per annum, because they say it would be cheaper for them to do this than to pay their present interest. Nor can we estimate the demoralizing effect upon a people of borrowing, borrowing, year after year.

"There is another subject to which I would call your attention in this connection, except that your greater familiarity with it forbids. And that is, the immense increase the planter could add to the value of his crop by introducing better machinery, and paying more attention to saving it; and the immense expense he could save by dealing directly with the manufacturers.

"But, I fear, I have already trespassed too far upon your time and patience. In conclusion, permit me to say, that the indications seem to point to a day not far distant when the introduction of Northern capital will give to these lands a value more nearly proportioned to their productiveness, and when their only standards of value will cease to be the necessities of the seller and the offers of the purchaser.

"The abolitionist and the former secessionist can well unite in the prayer for the speedy coming of the day when the planter and manufacturer will be brought into the closest relations."

I give this statement of the Messrs. Calhoun

thus fully because it may go far to explain the reasons why the only exodus of negroes of any moment was from these very same rich bottom-lands of the Mississippi Valley. It is impossible to doubt that with relief from the financial burdens indicated by this letter, better conditions of life for black and white will ensue, and may it not be held that such vast industrial changes must ultimately control the political status of this great valley?

The managers of some of the large companies which have loaned money on the security of Western farms, greatly to the benefit of themselves and of the farmers as well, are now turning their attention to these rich lands of the Mississippi Valley, and of the South-west. No greater benefit could happen than will come from this movement: the citizens of such States as have not yet re-established their State credit will be obliged to give attention to the matter at once, lest their own personal interests, which are inseparable from the credit of their State, should be imperiled; on the other hand, whenever full confidence in Southern credits can be restored and mortgages on Southern land are safe, the plethora of capital in the East will be relieved. The work now being done upon Southern railroads is but the beginning, and the managers of these roads have done wisely in giving such ample material evidence of the capacity of the country through which they pass, in their contributions to the Atlanta Exposition.

It is by such intercourse as this, with the Messrs. Calhoun and others, and by the better understanding of industrial conditions which comes from it, that the Atlanta Cotton Exposition may be most useful in removing false impressions on both sides.

It is somewhat difficult for men who have been bred in utter abhorrence of slavery to make the mental concession which is necessary when they become convinced that the iniquity of slavery was not apparent to Southern men of large mental capacity, or, if apparent, was met by graver danger in its removal. Sad must have been the lives of many men under such conditions. It is difficult to conceive that they may have dreaded liberty more than they feared the consequences of slavery; yet as one reviews the heated contentions of the ante-war period, and converses with men who were ruined by the loss of slave property, but who would now resist the re-establishment of slavery more urgently than they ever sustained it, it becomes impossible not to yield to the impression that these men lived according to their light, and that whatever may have been the baneful effects of the system, they themselves were dominated by it,

and could not resist the necessity of their own conditions. The writer well remembers a conversation with Theodore Parker, which he related to some of these Southern gentlemen, and to which they fully assented. He said: "Slavery is a condition of passive war; it can only end in active war, by which it will be destroyed." The first shot fired upon Fort Sumter in 1861, which gave liberty to the slaves, proved how true was the insight of Mr. Parker.

The writer has been held to have spoken harshly and unjustly of the South, both in the address in which the Atlanta Exposition was first proposed and since that time, yet he has found that the intolerance of free thought and expression which was the absolute necessity of slavery, has almost wholly ceased to govern the thought or action of the men of the New South; naught has been set down to him in malice, and no sign of animosity, of any moment, has been witnessed; a few childish examples of jealousy and intolerance on the part of some of the smaller newspapers only bringing the general emancipation of thought into more prominent view. He may therefore the more freely admit that the more he has come into close relations with his Southern friends the more he has had reason to perceive that the sad events of recent history had been the necessary evolution of the past; and that all animosity ought now to cease with the hearty effort of both sections to adopt a policy of "vigorous prosecution of peace."

The errors on the part of the children of Southern slave-holders, which are being removed by contact with Northern men at the Exposition, may be of somewhat the same nature as our own. They had inherited the bitter animosity which their grandfathers entertained against the antislavery men of the North, and it certainly marks a great change in the condition of opinion when an able ex-Confederate general cordially expressed to the writer his gratification at the success of the Exposition and the opportunity which it gave him to make the acquaintance of those who had formerly been his most bitter opponents. Over our lunch we compared notes regarding the past, and discussed in what manner coöperation could be had in the future;—he admitting that the opportunity which had come with liberty had greatly surprised him, and had given him more confidence in the stability of this country than he had ever known before; while also admitting that under the logic of events, had he lived in Massachusetts and inherited the confidence in liberty by which the abolitionists were moved, he himself would have been a bitter abolitionist.

It is necessary to study these changes for oneself in order to appreciate the social and industrial revolution which has occurred since the end of the war. It would be well if a capable observer could spend a few months in each year, for a few years, in studying the phases of this change. Not only would his work cover the effect of the change from slavery to freedom, but the industrial history of two centuries can be observed within the limits of a two days' journey from the center of the mountain section, where the spinning-wheel and the hand-loom are still in use, to the great works of the middle and eastern States. In three short vacation trips which the writer has been able to make in the South during the last few years, it has seemed to him that one of the most remarkable chapters in social and industrial history was passing almost unobserved and unrecorded; that underneath the political froth, which may constitute the only record which will be written, great forces have been working upon which a true observer could base his assurance of future welfare springing up under the peaceful order of liberty, with the same certainty that led Theodore Parker to predict the war by which slavery would destroy itself. No such change can ever occur again, because the conditions can never be repeated, but in view of the impending struggle in Europe by which the system of standing armies is to be destroyed, and "government of the people, by the people, for the people" is to be substituted, it might well repay the ablest student or legislator to study the way in which society has become re-organized in the New South under the working of democratic institutions.

A material error regarding the relative conditions of North and South, of which Governor Hammond's statements of the supposed power of King Cotton constituted so marked an example, is also being removed. The idea still controls very many otherwise intelligent persons in the South, that a very large share of the prosperity of the Northern States rests upon the manufacture of cotton. They express the greatest surprise when informed that this branch of industry constitutes only a small fraction of the work even of Massachusetts, where the largest number of spindles are to be found; and many very intelligent persons yet hold to the idea that it is so profitable as to make it possible to work the mills, even though the rivers freeze up in the winter. It is not an uncommon notion among many persons in the South, that all work in the cotton-mills in New England ceases during a portion of the winter, because the rivers are frozen and the wheels cannot be turned.

This error in regard to the climate and condition of the North finds a correlative in the idea which many Northern people have had regarding the climate and condition of the South. The aspect of the Piedmont district, of the mountain sections and broad plateaus of the central part of the South, from which sections most of the minerals, timber, and products of agriculture on exhibition have been drawn, is evidently a great surprise to many of the Northern visitors, and the variety of products which can be shown from a single small farm, excites the astonishment, not only of Northern visitors, but of most of the Southern planters as well.

No more pernicious error ever obtained, throughout a great section, than what is called the "all-cotton" method of farming; and it was interesting to observe that some of the visitors from the Mississippi Valley, where the plantation system, as has been stated, still continues to exist in greater measure than elsewhere, took especial note of the very low cost of the cotton exhibited by the small farmers of Georgia as their surplus crop. They could hardly imagine that a Georgia farmer could raise wheat, oats, corn, cow-pease, sorghum, potatoes, upland rice; make pickles, sirup, preserves, and bacon, and yet have twenty or thirty bales of cotton, equal to the best of their bottom-land staple, as his surplus or money crop; yet there is ample evidence of these facts in the Exposition.

As this is one of the most significant points brought out at the Exposition, the following statement, made by Mr. James F. Jones, of Hogansville, Troup County, Georgia, may well be made a part of this review. It will be observed that the subsistence of the family and the money value of the boys' labor are charged against the crop, but Mr. Jones makes no charge for his own work.

"CROP OF 1880.

"	Based on 21 acres in cotton,	
"	12	" corn,
"	10	" wheat,
"	14	" oats,
"	1	" sweet-potatoes,
"	$\frac{1}{4}$	" rice,—

besides water-melons, chufa and ground pea patches, garden vegetables, such as cabbage, tomatoes, Irish potatoes, turnips, beans, pease, and all other garden products usually grown in this section. In January and February, during such weather and at such times as plowing could not be done free from freezing or wet, we cut and put in forty (40) cords of wood. Our compost heap was prepared also in such times and during rainy weather, as it was all under shelter. Our wheat being sowed, our first work on the farm was to sow oats. We had been three (3) days seeding wheat, and now required about the same time to put in our oats. Our cotton land, in connection with four (4) acres of corn land, also such other preparation

as was necessary for garden—sweet-potato patch, etc.—was all finished up in good time, the four (4) acres of corn being planted last of March and cotton last of April, our manures all having been applied with a distributor, and a planter used in planting seeds. The remaining corn was planted in June, after oats from same land had been harvested. (Corn all on bottom or branch land.)

“By the time our small grain was ready for the scythe, our four (4) acres in corn had been plowed twice and hoed out, our cotton plowed twice and hoed out nicely and clear of weeds. In accomplishing this, I used the seventeen dollars of extra labor, so as to be ready for my wheat and oats crop when it was ready to harvest.

“Now, in order to get through with harvesting in time to get back to my corn and cotton before it would suffer for work, I employed extra labor. Three (3) cradlers and three (3) binders finished the wheat and oats in a little less than two and one-half (2½) days, at one

dollar and a half a cradle, they furnishing their own binders. The wheat cost one-tenth ($\frac{1}{10}$) and oats one-twelfth ($\frac{1}{12}$) for threshing. (I own an interest in a field thresher and did not pay toll.) For this work, I had three extra hands at seventy-five cents per day, and in one day threshed out and housed all my grain and penned the straw. Then up to saving my fodder and picking cotton, no extra labor was used. After finishing up the crop, I set about repairing about my premises, such as renovating gates, moving rock for fencing purposes, cleaning ditches, etc., which time lasted about one month, from the 15th of July to 15th of August; in the meantime finishing up the cultivation of our late corn, planted after oats.

“We commenced to pick cotton last of August, and in order to gather it and our fodder, cow-pease, etc., as it ripened, employed extra labor to pick half the cotton—fourteen bales at seven dollars per bale. At the conclusion of our year's labor, the results were as follows:

RECEIPTS.

28 bales cotton, average weight 518 lbs. at 10c	\$1448.00
300 bushels corn, at \$1.00 per bushel	300.00
190 “ wheat, at \$1.25	237.50
500 “ oats, at \$1.00	500.00
80 “ sweet-potatoes	25.00
16 “ rough rice, at \$2.00	32.00
3500 lbs. fodder at \$1.00 per hundred	35.00
3000 lbs. swamp hay “ “	30.00
12 bushels cow-pease, at \$1.50	18.00
Wheat and oat straw and shucks, worth	50.00
40 cords wood at \$1.50 per cord	60.00
850 bushels cotton-seed, and from their extra quality, I sold 200 bushels for	600.00
The remaining 650 bushels I used as manure and to plant, 20c. per bushel	130.00
We fattened and sold five (5) beeves of our own raising, 1 and 2 years old, for	40.00
We raised, fattened, and killed nine (9) hogs, at 7c. per pound	125.00
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	\$3630.50

EXPENSES.

Willie Jones, 16 years old	\$75.00
Hugh Jones, 12 “	40.00
Gordon Jones, 9 “	40.00
Of extra labor cultivating	17.00
Seed wheat, 10 bushels, worth	12.00
Harvesting wheat, oats, and threshing, extra labor	13.50
Seed oats, 30 bushels	30.00
Rails made and put up, 2000 at 50c. per hundred	10.00
300 feet lumber used on farm	3.00
Nails, 25 lbs.75
Blacksmithing, iron, etc.	15.00
Picking cotton with extra labor	98.00
One and a half (1½) tons guano	90.00
Cotton-seed used as manure	63.00
250 bushels corn was consumed	250.00
1000 lbs. fodder	10.00
70 bushels oats	70.00
60 “ wheat, as bread	75.00
1200 lbs. pork	84.00
Garden vegetables, etc., not estimated	
	<hr/>
	\$996.25
Bagging and ties for cotton	33.60
	<hr/>
	\$1029.85

“N.B.—Ground pease, chufas, turnips, Irish potatoes, and garden vegetables not being marketable here at a fair valuation, no value can be estimated correctly. We also raised one fine colt that year.”

The high price at which Mr. Jones credits corn, oats, and hay gives an indication of the disadvantage under which his neighbors work, who pursue the all-cotton method still, and who buy Western corn and Northern hay. It will be observed that the crop of cotton is very nearly 700 pounds lint per acre: that if the cotton is charged with its proportion of the expense of the farm, according to its ratio of value to the rest of the crop, 14,500 pounds cost \$410.90, or less than three cents per pound.

A discrepancy will be noticed between the price at which cotton-seed is credited in the crop and charged in the cost. This arises from the fact that Major Jones cultivates an extra quality of great prospective value, of which he sells the seed, buying common seed for manure.

In the two statements of the Messrs

Calhoun and of Mr. Jones are embodied examples of two different methods of work, and of conditions varying greatly from each other; yet both so far removed from the conditions of the ante-war period that it is almost impossible to convey in words even a faint idea of what has been called the industrial reconstruction of these States. It should be added that for several years Major Jones tried the “all-cotton” plantation system, and only gave it up when he had incurred a debt of more than seven thousand dollars; he then went to work with the aid of his boys, and may now, having paid his debts, rightly enjoy the name he has given to his place, that of “Farm Independence.” Samples of all his crops are to be found in the Exposition, together with the honey saved and the pickles and preserves made by his daughters.

We may now consider some more technical points. The Exposition has dispelled an error held by Major Jones, and by many others;—namely, that he could properly prepare his cotton upon a saw gin. It will be observed that he values his crop at ten cents per pound, but the variety of cotton which he grows is of extra staple, and he was much astonished when he brought a portion of his crop of 1881 to the roller gin of the Willimantic Thread Company, and was informed that when prepared upon that machine it was worth sixteen cents a pound, at which price he has since sold several bales to the manager of that company.

If English readers still have any fear that "Cheap Cotton by Free Labor" may not be supplied in any needed quantity, it may interest them to know that the State of Georgia alone contains fifty-eight thousand square miles, of which, if every acre were cultivated as intelligently and as productively as the little cotton-patch of Major Jones, less than seven thousand would be needed to produce the present entire cotton crop of the United States, or over six million bales; also that the average summer heat of Troup County, which is in part about seventeen hundred feet above the level of the sea, is less than that of some parts of Philadelphia, and that land in Troup County equal to Major Jones's can be purchased at ten dollars per acre, while unimproved but equally good land at a greater distance from a railroad is worth only three to five dollars.

In view of this testimony of Major Jones and many others, I may be permitted to make the following extracts from my first writing upon cotton, a pamphlet published in 1861, the first year of the civil war, entitled "Cheap Cotton by Free Labor." In this I said:

"The object of the present pamphlet is to prove that labor upon cotton culture may be performed by whites, with perfect ease and safety—that it will yield a larger return to the small cultivator than almost any other agricultural product of the country, and that free labor upon cotton is an absolute necessity to enable this country to maintain its hold upon the cotton markets of Europe.

"What intelligent farmer will deny his ability, with one able-bodied assistant, to cultivate forty acres of light sandy loam in corn and wheat * * * then let him suppose himself upon Texas cotton-lands, the best in the world, producing five hundred pounds clean cotton to the acre. He will put twenty acres in cotton, and if he is blessed with a reasonable family of children he will require very little assistance to pick it. He will pick ten thousand pounds of cotton, and will, for some years to come, be certain of receiving at least ten cents a pound for it, after paying all expenses of sale—one thousand dollars income from one-half his land. Any one who doubts that his other twenty acres will yield wheat, corn, and other products sufficient for the food of his family, may have his doubts removed by reading Olmsted's 'Texas Journey.' Let it be borne distinctly in mind that at ten

cents a pound, or even higher, this country can hold almost a monopoly of the cotton markets of the world."

It may be added that at the time it was published, so little were the facts about cotton then understood, this pamphlet excited considerable derision even in the North. It was at this time that the writer also submitted the proof that if cotton were a northern plant producing seed alone and no lint, it would constitute one of our most valuable crops in the production of oil and oil-cake.

It is a curious fact that while cotton has affected modern history most profoundly, and is a prime factor in all finance, yet the grower and the spinner have been cut off from each other almost as if they lived on two sides of an impassable sea, neither knowing the requirements of the other. Men who have spent their lives in spinning visit Atlanta in order to see cotton in the field for the first time, and to witness its preparation. Men who have grown cotton all their lives go there to see a spindle operated by power, to learn what a machine-card is, and to be taught how to form a true judgment of the quality of their own staple.

It is by consultation with Major Jones and his associates that another error, which has been widely held in the North, is also being dispelled, to wit: that the intelligence and mental activity of the Southern planter and farmer are to be measured by the barbarous manner in which cotton is picked, ginned, baled, and pressed. Such an inference is entirely unwarranted; the whole treatment of the cotton fiber was the logical necessity of slavery—the planter was controlled by his own conditions, but yet it took a great deal of mental capacity and power of organization to operate a large plantation with ignorant slaves, incapable of using good tools or machinery without abusing them. On the other hand, how could the white cotton-farmer, working his small bit of cotton land in a sparsely settled community, be expected to master in one or two decades the true methods acquired of necessity by Northern farmers during a century of close attention to small savings? It is a great error to assume that there is not as much mental capacity applied to the working of land in the South as there is in the North or West, if not more, and if this is not yet fully apparent in the results, ought not some of the reasons to be considered?

The rapid extension of the railway system, the establishment of schools, and the opening of direct communication between the two departments of the cotton manufacture, cannot fail to produce most beneficent results. The want of direct communication has had a most pernicious effect on both sides.

Very many planters and farmers have heretofore assumed that it was better not to attempt to remove dust, sand, and trash from their cotton-bales, and that they could get more money for the trash than they could for well-handled staple. There may have been sound reasons for this conclusion before the last cotton year, ending September, 1880; but the large quantity of very low grade cotton which formed a part of that crop, and which brought a very low price, taught the necessary lesson. The new spirit which controls the New South has led to the investigation of this and other questions. When the planters began to weigh clean and dirty bales in order to compare them, many of them discovered that for each quarter-cent's worth of dirt left in the bale, they lost a cent in the grade of the cotton. Greater discrimination is now being used in the sorting of the cotton from the very beginning; and the pernicious habit of merging all kinds of staple together is passing by. It is true that this important change is just beginning, and that much time will of necessity elapse before new methods will be perfected. How much farther this reform may be carried can be inferred from an incident which happened at the Exposition. A preliminary trial of the various kinds of cotton-gins had been arranged, and the persons in charge of the supply of seed-cotton had been requested to bring in a load of seed-cotton from one field, of uniform quality: this they did, so far as they knew, and sold it all at three and one-half cents a pound in the seed; but when a portion of the cotton had passed through two of the gins, and a third was being tried, the staple came from the gin worth, in the judgment of the experts who were watching the proceedings, at least two and one-half to three cents a pound more than the cotton already ginned. At first the improvement was attributed to the merit of the gin; but it presently appeared that an entirely different variety of cotton was being worked. Yet those who had provided the cotton were not aware of the difference in value; and had they been carrying their load to a neighboring gin, it would all have been merged together and sold at the same price; the good cotton even injuring rather than improving the poor staple by the irregularity in length of the staple which would have ensued.

Another error may perhaps be corrected. The superiority of the cotton prepared upon a roller gin has long been admitted with regard to the long staple or black-seed cotton of the Sea Island variety; but it has not been supposed that any roller gin existed which could be applied to the green-seed or common cotton of commerce in an economic way. It has

always been assumed that no roller gin could approach the saw gin in quantity, and therefore it has been inferred that the roller gin could not be generally used. Many farmers and planters are attending the Exposition from the interior, where the Sea Island variety is not grown, who had never even seen a roller gin. They find several kinds in the Exposition which are expected to yield not only the better quality resulting from their use, but also as large a quantity in proportion to the capital invested in machines, and in ratio to the power and labor applied, as can be obtained from any saw gin in existence. If such shall prove to be the fact, a great step will be made in enabling this country to undertake branches of fine spinning, such as are now conducted in Europe mainly by the use of Egyptian cotton, worked upon combing-machines. We have had a full supply of Sea Island cotton for the very finest work; we have also had a full supply of green-seed cotton for common and medium work. But we have lacked the middle class, like the Egyptian, for spinning yarn suitable for fine hosiery, fine lawns, and other classes of goods for which the Sea Island cotton is too expensive. A large number of varieties of extra staple cotton can be found in the Exposition which will serve even better than Egyptian or South American for all these purposes, provided they are prepared upon a roller gin, and are not torn in pieces and virtually destroyed, as they are by the work of the saw gin. Many growers informed the writer that they had been unable to carry out plans for the improvement of their crop, because they could not prepare the cotton properly upon the saw gin, and did not know that there was any other machine which could be used with economy.

Another error which has greatly retarded the progress of the South may be corrected by the Exposition. It seems to have been assumed by the managers of Southern railroads that very high rates of charge were most expedient. Hence traveling in that section has been more expensive than in any other part of the country. But the low excursion rates established upon all the lines which center in Atlanta have set great crowds in motion, and if a permanent change of policy should follow, the people and the railroads will be equally benefited. This matter is the more important in view of the consolidation and extension of the Southern railway service now in progress. A thorough analysis of the railway service of the United States will reveal the fact that the great consolidated lines which have been most profitable to their owners are also the lines which have performed the largest public service at

the lowest rates of charge. In the sixteen years which have elapsed since the end of the civil war, sixty-six thousand of our present total of one hundred thousand miles of railway have been constructed, or about four thousand miles a year; but, in this extension, the Southern States have had the least proportionate share. With our increasing population and traffic, it is not too much to assume that we shall construct about six thousand miles a year, or a little more, for the next sixteen years, by which we shall double our present mileage. This work will call for the continuous service of three hundred and fifty thousand men, as executive officers and engineers, as workers in mines, iron-works, rolling-mills, and machine-shops, and as car-builders, track-layers, and laborers. This small army, engaged in works that make for peace and plenty, is just one-half the standing army which we should need if we should maintain a force under arms in camp and barracks equal to the present standing armies in active service in France and Germany, in proportion to our population as our population will be for the period named. With the other half of our industrial army employed especially upon the development of the resources just now brought to light at Atlanta, we may bring the commerce of the world to our feet. A nation endowed like our own with the most abundant elements of wealth—applying even moderate skill and industry to their development,—which is free from the blood-tax of a standing army, and which pays high wages because the opportunities for labor are many—can enjoy the greatest abundance of the products of the field, the mine, and the factory, at the lowest cost, and pay for its exchanges with other nations by the sale of what it does not need and could not itself consume.

On the other hand, our abundant supply of the products of the field, the mine, and the forest is rendering the burden of rent, of tithes, and of standing armies intolerable to the people of other countries, and when our commerce is even in part made free from the obstruction of our navigation laws, and our excessive war tariff, our competition in supplying the world with manufactured goods will be felt in equal measure.

Several other errors exist, but on which side the error lies cannot yet be determined. It is alleged by many that although Northern men and Northern capital are now welcome in the South, and each one is free to work in his own way, yet families are not received with the same welcome,—that women

and children are isolated, and that offensive distinctions are made, not only in regard to persons of Northern birth, but even in respect to those of Southern birth who do not belong to the dominant political party. Should this be true, it will prove to be a great error in judgment, if Southern men expect to secure the use of capital or to promote emigration in any but the most scanty measure. The writer himself believes that the error in this case lies upon both sides; that in the larger portion constituting the progressive parts of the South, all such prejudices have been abated, but that they still exist in some remote or insignificant places in sufficient measure to justify the allegation. That such silly prejudices can resist the effect of the closer relations brought about by this exposition is not to be believed.

I can close this article in no better manner than by quoting the words of one of the most intelligent Georgia farmers, who summed up the case in this way: "Massachusetts has heretofore sold us her shoddy and has bought of us our trash; this exposition has given us the first chance we have ever had to meet each other and to begin anew under better methods of trade."

It will be apparent to the reader of this article that any attempt to analyze the true meaning of the Atlanta Cotton Exposition must lead the observer into deeper questions than those of mere purchase and sale, and may make his treatment of it very discursive. This exhibition deals apparently with mere material interests and business questions, but its social and political influence will profoundly affect the future history of this nation. The exhibition of minerals and timber contributed by only a portion of the Southern railroads cannot fail to give increased confidence in the future value of the railways themselves; the intercourse between the planters of the Mississippi Valley and men controlling capital from the Northern States may soon lead to the extension of the system of lending capital through the mortgage-security companies, which has worked so successfully in the West; the small farmers of other Southern States may learn a useful lesson from the progressive men of Georgia, whose crops give such assurance of their intelligence and activity. All these forces work together toward peace, order, industry, and mutual confidence; they will compel those who are called political leaders to obey their behest, and will render futile all attempts to maintain party divisions upon the dead issues of the past.