

From Columbia radiated concentric circles of black expressiveness that was reflected at every level of South Carolina society. On the county level, black men dominated Black Belt boards of supervisors. In cities like Charleston and Columbia, they exerted equal weight on the aldermanic boards and the police force. Black men also served as magistrate, probate judge, justice of the peace, constable and sheriff. On the state level, there were black majorities and black chairmen on the governing boards of the university, the lunatic asylum, and the orphan asylum. Robert Smalls and Prince R. Rivers were major generals in the National Guard. Among the leading black officeholders were:

Alonzo J. Ransier	Lieutenant Governor, 1870-72 U.S. Congress, 1873-75
Richard H. Gleaves	Lieutenant Governor, 1872-77
Francis L. Cardozo	Secretary of State, 1868-72 Treasurer, 1872-77
Robert B. Elliott	U.S. Congress, 1871-74 Speaker, General Assembly, 1874-76 Attorney General, 1876-77
J. J. Wright	Associate Justice, S. C. Supreme Court, 1870-77

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H. E. Hayne	Secretary of State, 1872-77
Robert Purvis	Adjutant General, 1872-76
Joseph H. Rainey	U.S. Congress, 1870-79
R. H. Cain	U.S. Congress, 1873-75, 1877-79
Robert C. DeLarge	U.S. Congress, 1871-73
Robert Smalls	U.S. Congress, 1875-79
Samuel J. Lee	Speaker, S. C. Assembly, 1872-74
Stephen Swails	President Pro Tem, S. C. senate, 1872-77

If, as some people contended, South Carolina was the black man's paradise, it was not, by any stretch of the imagination, a white man's hell. Sir George Campbell, a member of the British Parliament, visited the South at the end of this period and commented: "Before I went South I certainly expected to find that the Southern States had been for a time a sort of pandemonium in which a white man could hardly live. Yet it certainly was not so. . . . When I went to South Carolina I thought there at least I must find great social disturbances; and in South Carolina I went to the county of Beaufort, the blackest part of the State in point of population, and that in which black rule has been most complete and has lasted longest. It has the reputation of being a sort of black paradise, and *per contra*, I rather expected a sort of white hell. . . . To my great surprise I found exactly the contrary. . . . White girls go about freely and pleasantly as if no black man had ever been in power. . . ."

Instead of crumbling under black power, the state as a whole