GCHR Gulf Coast Historical Review

Vol. 13 Spring 1998 No. 2

Cover design by
Marilyn Thomason

From the Editor . . .

After thirteen years of publication there are exciting changes in store for the *Gulf Coast Historical Review*. Starting with the Fall 1998 issue, the *GCHR* will become *The Gulf South Historical Review* and Southeastern Louisiana University will join the University of South Alabama as a sponsor. Joining us on the editorial staff will be Dr. Sam Hyde, Professor of History and Director of the Center for Regional Studies at SLU. He and the center's staff will help us produce the journal, select articles, and increase our subscriber base. With their help, and that of the other new member of the History and Humanities Conference board, the University of Southern Mississippi, we hope to attract even more good articles on this region than ever before. Dr. Jim McSwain, our book review editor, will continue to do his fine job.

Also the Gulf Coast History and Humanities Conference will become the Gulf South History and Humanities Conference, and will meet every year, not every other year. October 8-10, 1998 we will be in Hammond, Louisiana, hosted by SLU, where the topic will be "Power and Protest: Dissent and Reaction in the Gulf South, 1850-1970." You have information about the conference enclosed with this issue of the *GCHR* and we hope to see you in Hammond. We anticipate that these annual conferences will also produce more good articles for our journal.

Another change will make its way to all *GCHR* subscribers soon. A *Gulf South Newsletter* will come out twice a year (Winter and Summer) and be mailed to you at no additional charge. This will keep you posted about conference plans and activities, and those of groups and institutions affiliated with it. Finally, all subscribers will become members of the Gulf South History and Humanities Conference, also at no additional cost.

Preparing to write this editorial, I looked back at earlier *GCHR* issues and was reminded that we have had some great articles, some by young authors and others by experienced and respected scholars. I can only hope that we will continue and strengthen this tradition. I am looking forward to the next few years.

Michael Thomason

The *Gulf Coast Historical Review* is published biannually in the Fall and Spring by the History Department of the University of South Alabama, Humanities 344, Mobile, AL 36688-0002. The subscription price is $16.00 a year with payment to accompany order. Inquiries about subscriptions or submission of manuscripts and other material for future issues of the *GCHR* should be sent to the Managing Editor, *GCHR*, at the address above. Authors should write for the *GCHR* style sheet before submitting a manuscript. Any claims for lost or missing issues must be made within six months of that issue's publication. The *Gulf Coast Historical Review* is not responsible for statements of opinion or fact made by its contributors. The *GCHR* is indexed and abstracted in *America: History and Life*. This journal is printed on acid-free paper.

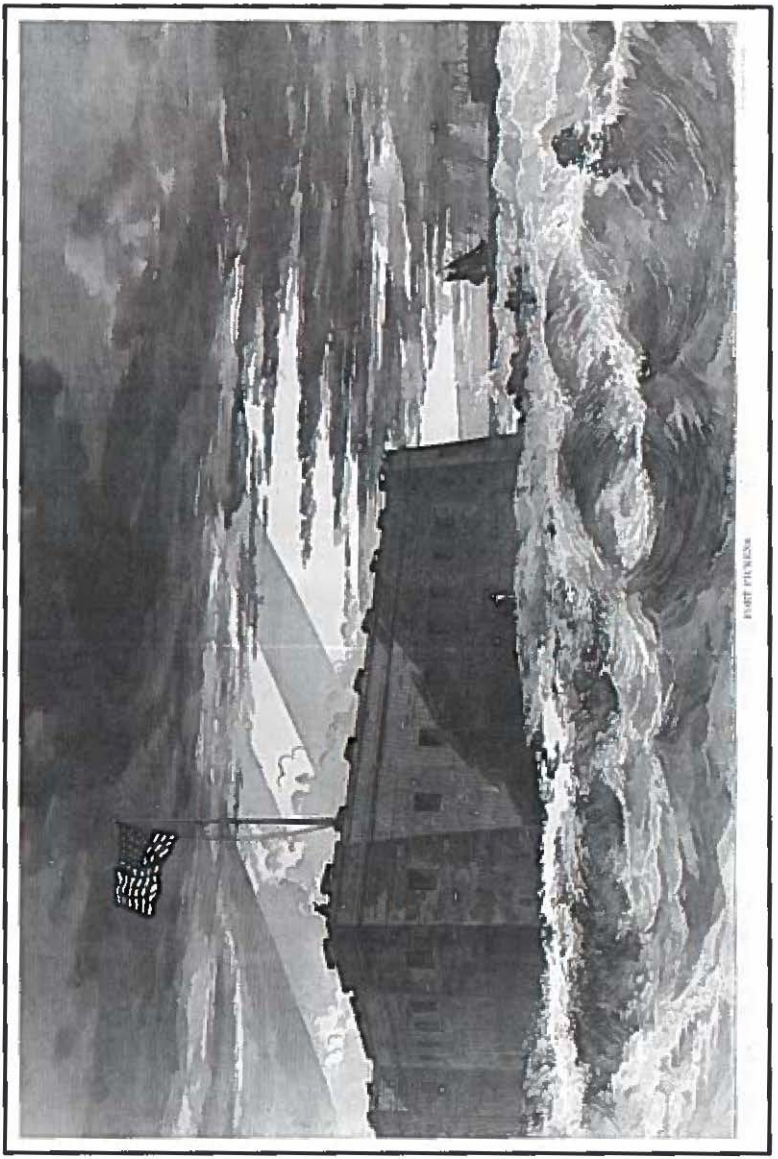
Gulf Coast Historical Review
ISSN 0892-9025

Robert R. Rea

One of the finest historians ever to live and work among us has died. Professor Robert Rea of Auburn, the unquestioned dean of Colonial era Gulf Coast historians, died this fall in Auburn. He was one of the guiding lights of the *GCHR* and never was too busy to help nor too proud to encourage. He was a fine historian and an even finer human being. We all miss him, but we all learned from him, and he will not be forgotten.

Table of Contents

Vol. 13 Spring 1998 No. 2



Fort Pickens. Harper's Pictorial History of the Civil War *(Chicago, 1894), 24.*

Young Men Go to War: The First Regiment Alabama Volunteer Infantry at Pensacola, 1861

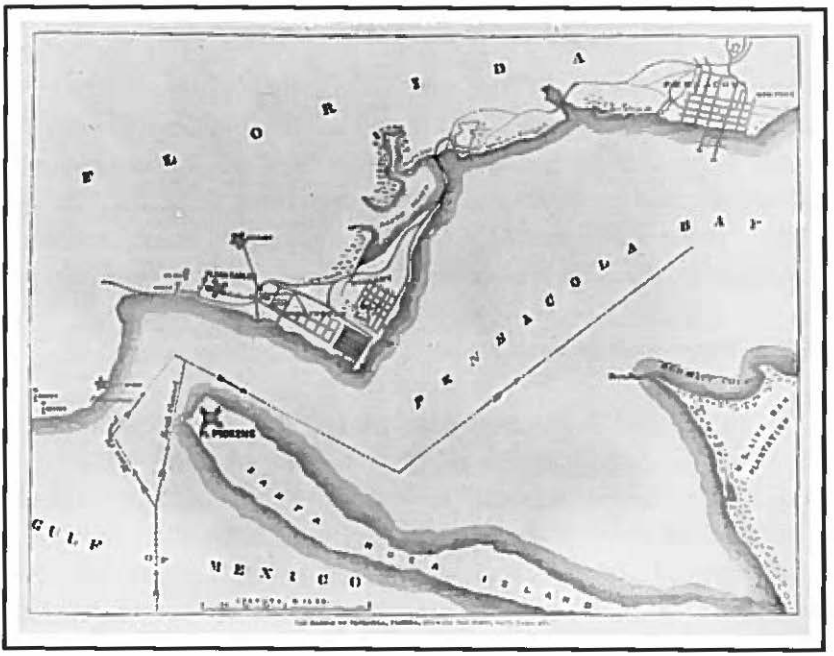
Henry Walker

Walking briskly down the bustling streets of Montgomery, Alabama, Henry Clayton was trying desperately to get into a fight–*the fight*, if it was to come. It was mid-January, and Alabama only a few days earlier had become the fourth state to secede from the Union. Since the late 1840s, as a member of the arch-secessionist group, the Eufaula Regency, Clayton had worked for secession at every possible opportunity. Now, he knew it was up to him and his fellow Southerners to secure their independence, and he personally believed that it would have to be done through war. For this reason, Clayton had already organized an infantry regiment, the Third Alabama Volunteer Regiment–which consisted of several companies that he had incorporated while a member of the Alabama legislature and one company, the Clayton Guards, that he had personally organized. Immediately after the 1860 presidential election, Clayton had offered the regiment to the state's service. Although Governor A. B. Moore had declined to accept the Third Alabama, Clayton tried again after Moore issued a call for volunteers in January to join troops in Pensacola, Florida. Moore again refused the offer since he wanted volunteers who represented the entire state, and the Third Alabama represented only a few counties from east Alabama. Clayton was determined, however, and he continued to petition the governor. Finally Moore gave in and agreed, probably on January 17, at least to accept the Clayton Guards and the companies in the regiment from Eufaula. Clayton, then fearing that Moore would not allow him to go to Pensacola because he was in the state legislature, had himself mustered into the Guards as a private. Realizing Clayton was going to leave the legislature in order to enter military service one way or the other, Moore decided that Clayton should be given a position proper for a man of his intelligence and drive. Therefore, on February 6, Moore appointed him special aide-de-camp with the rank of colonel in charge of all Alabama volunteers at Pensacola, until those troops

could be organized into regiments. With his orders, Clayton left Montgomery for Pensacola, destined to turn a mass of raw Alabama volunteers into a well-trained and hard-fighting regiment.[1]

Clayton was hardly alone in his desire to go to war. Following Alabama's secession, a large number of the state's young men volunteered for military service. This eagerness has usually, and to an extent correctly, been credited to a youthful sense of romance and adventure. Unfortunately, this interpretation has caused many historians to preclude any other reason for the outpouring of martial spirit. Yet, for many young Alabamians there was an even more important reason than not missing out on a great adventure; it was their ideological commitment to secession and the birth and survival of a southern nation. Perhaps the young are more "vulnerable to ideologies." This was especially true for Alabamians in the tumultuous days of 1860 and early 1861. During this period, the state had fallen under the influence of fire-eaters such as Henry Clayton, who had been preaching secession as a liberating gospel. They had convinced the citizens of Alabama, especially the young ones, that the only way to retain their rights, prosper economically, and maintain social control was through secession and the creation of a sovereign southern nation.[2]

It was largely these men who would fill the ranks of the First Alabama when it was officially formed in April. They were idealistic and ideological young men who believed that secession had to be defended and thought the chance to do that would come at Pensacola. Indeed, that seemed to be the case. An entire garrison of Yankees still held Fort Pickens in Pensacola Bay, and the Confederate government, although at first wavering on the question of the federal presence, wanted ultimately to remove it. Of course, a similar situation existed in Charleston at Fort Sumter, but there was no reason, these Alabamians believed, that the first shot of the revolution could not happen in Florida. Moreover, the federal troops in Pensacola not only challenged Florida's contention that it had withdrawn from the Union but also endangered the independence of Alabama, which could easily be reached from the town. Governor



Pensacola, 1861. Harper's Pictorial History of the Civil War, *69.*

Moore expressed this concern when he said that Pensacola was "of the first importance to the safety of the seceding states of the Gulf of Mexico" and that "no other place on the Gulf is safe while the federal troops hold possession of the...fortification at Pensacola."[3]

A show of force, if the Federals did not vacate Fort Pickens, therefore looked probable, and the Alabama troops could barely contain their desire to be in the middle of it. Fortunately for them, battle did not come too soon. Even though, as Braxton Bragg observed, the troops had the idea that they "can whip the world," they were nonetheless "raw volunteers without discipline." It would take work, much work, to turn these rambunctious Southerners into good soldiers. In the months of preparation and training that these men went through at Pensacola, that is exactly what happened. By the time they saw combat in the fall of 1861, they were well trained. This training combined with their belief in the rightness of their cause led them to do their duty well and to become an outstanding regiment.[4]

Why did these men volunteer for service? How were they transformed from "little more than a mob"[5] into a well-trained fighting force? How did they work and live together? These are important questions for the Civil War historian and are the questions that this essay will attempt to answer. By doing so, by observing the lives, actions, and goals of these young men who spent the first year of the war in Pensacola, we can, perhaps, come closer to understanding why this, the bloodiest of American conflicts, occurred.

I. Why They Volunteered

A multitude of citizen-soldiers arrived in Pensacola throughout early February. Among them was Clayton who got there either on or near February 10 and reported for duty at Fort Barrancas. That fort, the old Federal Navy Yard, Fort McRee, and Camp Warrenton–all of which were on the mainland around Pensacola Bay–had previously been surrendered to Alabama and Florida troops by Lieutenant Adam J. Slemmer, who had retired with his men to Fort Pickens. That fort was situated on Santa Rosa Island in Pensacola Bay about a mile and a half from the mainland. Despite the truce that had been agreed upon between the Buchanan administration and the Confederate government concerning the situation at Pensacola Bay, Clayton's belief that a fight was probable was reinforced once he had arrived in Pensacola. With the southern states having just formed their own separate national government, the tension was palatable. But, first things first. At Barrancas, Clayton found no available barracks and discovered that the tents that were supposed to have arrived for the Alabama troops had been delayed. Furthermore, because Clayton commanded all the state's troops until they could be mustered into specific regiments, he planned for the organization of such regiments, made sure that each company of volunteers held elections of officers, and constantly appealed to Governor Moore for more and better equipment.[6]

By the end of March, the Alabama troops had organized themselves into regiments. The first to do so was the First Regiment Alabama Volunteer Infantry, which consisted of the Clayton Guards

Alabama 1860

commanded by Captain Jere N. Williams, the Guards of the Sunny South commanded by Captain Y. D. Conyers, the Eufaula Pioneers commanded by Captain John Clark, the Perote Guards commanded by Captain George W. Dawson, the Wilcox True Blues commanded by Captain I. G. W. Steedman, the Alabama Rifles commanded by Captain Joseph H. Johnson, the Rough and Ready Pioneers commanded by Captain Augustus H. Owens, the Red Eagles commanded by Captain Ben Lane Posey, the Eufaula Rifles commanded by Captain Alpheus Baker, and the Tallapoosa Rifles commanded by Captain James D. Meadows. After the formation of the regiment, the men elected their regimental officers. Clayton was elected the First Alabama's colonel, Steedman was chosen lieutenant colonel, and Williams was elected major. The staff consisted of S. H. Dent as adjutant, Henry R. Shorter as commissary, and L. F. Johnson as quartermaster. After these elections, D. Wardlaw Ramsey took Steedman's position as captain of the Wilcox True Blues and J. W. Mabry replaced Williams as captain of the Clayton Guards. Not long after its organization, the regiment was transferred from the state of Alabama to the Confederate States of America, assigned duty at Fort Barrancas and the adjoining batteries along the shore, and put under the command of Braxton Bragg. By most accounts, the First Alabama was the first regiment at Pensacola to be placed under Confederate authority.[7]

The soldiers who made up the First Alabama left no known records that directly indicate why they had left their homes and families for the discomfort of camp life and the dangers of war. However, by looking at some important characteristics that the soldiers held in common, it is possible to come to an understanding of their motivations and mind-set. The most obvious shared trait among these men was their youth. Ninety percent of them were twenty-five years old or younger, and one in four was eighteen or below, with a number of soldiers being between fifteen and eighteen. Their youth probably made them much more susceptible to the ideologically motivated message of the fire-eaters. This was especially true for these particular men since they came from counties in which the fire-eaters had dominated politics in recent years. These counties were Barbour, Pike, Lowndes, Wilcox, and Mobile in south Alabama

and Talladega and Tallapoosa in the eastern central region of the state. Six of these counties had voted for John Breckinridge–the arch-Southern Rights candidate–in the 1860 presidential race. More importantly, five of them favored separate state secession, which was the most radical manner of secession and the one the fire-eaters urged. Two counties, Talladega and Tallapoosa, wanted secession only with the cooperation of other states, but Talladega did have a strong minority vote for separate state action.[8]

The contention that these seven counties were eager for secession implicitly raises a question that should be addressed: why were some counties more radical than others? Generally, several historical explanations seem valid. One is that counties involved in the plantation economy sought disunion to protect their economic interests and to assure the maintenance of social control over a large slave population. Another is that transportation and economic developments in certain areas during the 1850s had been so great that they created a sense of social dislocation and anxiety. This anxiety allowed the fire-eaters to transform the people's fears into hostility against the Republican Party and thus lead them to revolution. Certainly, these interpretations can help explain why the counties in this study were strongly secessionist. Barbour, Lowndes, and Wilcox were heavy cotton producing counties, Pike grew a moderately heavy amount of the staple, and Talladega and Tallapoosa saw a fairly large amount of cotton grown. Perhaps as important, all the counties (with the exception of Mobile) underwent a tremendous increase in cotton production from 1850 to 1860. Furthermore, economic expansion via the growth of banks, railroads, and other businesses did occur in or near these counties and could have made their citizens more susceptible to the fire-eaters' message.[9]

Another way of ascertaining the values of the men who comprised the First Alabama is to examine the men they elected as company and regimental leaders. One significant fact about the men in charge is that nine of them were from Barbour County, which by 1860 was one of the most radical hotbeds of secession in the South. Five of these Barbour Countians–Clayton, Baker, Williams, Shorter, and Dent–had been members of the Eufaula Regency. This group had

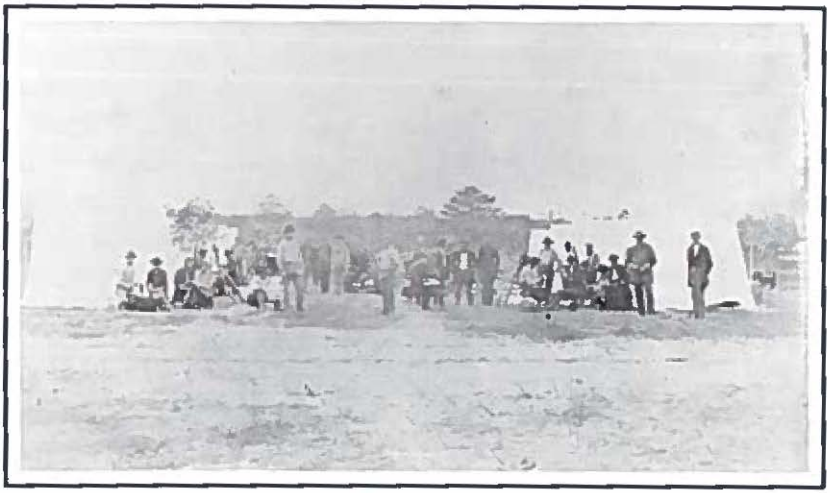
been formed in 1848 for the purpose of carrying the state for Zachary Taylor. After that election, it remained politically active, with its members becoming what one historian has called "the most consistent secessionists in the state during the fifties." These men helped elevate each other to various political offices, had control of several newspapers in Barbour County, and constantly nudged the state along the path to secession.[10]

Because the Eufaula Regency had played such an important part in Alabama's secession and was playing such a pivotal role in the First Alabama, a closer look at Clayton, Baker, Williams, Shorter, and Dent is certainly warranted. Clayton was a thirty-four-year-old lawyer who had done well professionally and by 1860 owned twenty-six slaves and had $12,000 in real estate and $25,000 in personal property. When the doctrine of popular sovereignty had created a bloody contest between free-soil and pro-slavery forces in Kansas in the mid-1850s, Clayton helped raise money to send to Kansas. In 1856 he actually took his own group of emigrants to the territory. Thereafter, he served in the state legislature where he constantly tried to prepare the state for secession.[11] Alpheus Baker, two years younger than his friend Clayton, was also a lawyer and in 1856 had likewise accompanied an expedition of Alabama settlers to Kansas. He too had been elected to the Alabama legislature and was editor of the Regency's secessionist organ, the *Eufaula Spirit of the South*. Like Clayton, Baker had prospered before the war and in 1860 owned thirty-eight slaves and held $10,000 in real estate and $43,000 in personal property.[12] Henry R. Shorter, although only twenty-seven, already had a thriving law practice and owned thirty-eight slaves, a corresponding $35,000 in personal wealth and $15,000 in land.[13] By contrast, S. H. Dent, also a twenty-seven-year-old lawyer, owned no slaves and had only $800 worth of real estate and $2,500 in personal wealth.[14] Jere N. Williams was thirty-one when he was elected major of the First Alabama. Although he practiced law in Montgomery, he was a native of Barbour County and a strong secessionist. Because Williams cannot be found on the census records, his economic standing is not known.[15]

The other four Barbour Countians were not as well known as the Eufaula Regents, yet they were connected to those men through their

profession and politics. Augustus H. Owens was a twenty-seven-year-old lawyer and a friend of Henry R. Shorter's. Unfortunately, there is no account of him in the census.[16] John Clark was a resident of Clayton–the county seat about twenty miles from Eufaula where his colonel, Henry Clayton, made his home–and was involved in local politics. Clark was thirty-seven years old and owned seven slaves, $15,000 in real estate, and $37,000 in personal property, most of which was tied up in his cotton business.[17] J. W. Mabry, a thirty-five-year-old, was the only Barbour Countian in the First Alabama to have a formal military training, which he received at the prestigious Virginia Military Institute. After graduation, he practiced law in Barbour County, where he owned no slaves and had only $5,000 in real and personal property.[18] L. F. Johnston was forty years old and owned sixteen slaves, $14,000 in real estate, and $30,000 in personal property. Curiously, his occupation was listed on the 1860 census as "warehouse keeper."[19]

The other officers in the regiment were just as committed to secession and the maintenance of the South's independence. Indeed, they too came from counties that by 1860 had been radicalized. The regiment's lieutenant colonel, I. G. W. Steedman, was an energetic twenty-six-year-old, who after graduating from the South Carolina Military Academy went on to receive a medical degree and practiced medicine in Wilcox County. Oddly, he does not appear on the census records.[20] Studying to be a doctor was D. W. Ramsey of Wilcox County, who left medical school to join the Confederacy. Not surprisingly, at the youthful age of twenty, he owned no slaves and had neither real nor personal property.[21] Also associated with the medical field was Joseph H. Johnson, a twenty-eight-year-old from Talladega, who had been convinced by Governor Moore in 1858 to found the Talladega Institution for the Deaf, Dumb, and Blind. Johnson's career did not bring him a great deal of wealth, and he owned only seven slaves and $4,000 in personal property.[22] Ben Lane Posey, a Mobile lawyer at thirty-one years of age, was less affluent than Johnson, with only one slave, no real estate and $500 in personal property.[23] Similarly, thirty-four-year-old James D. Meadows from Tallapoosa County had no slaves but did have $22,000 in real



1st Alabama in camp. Gulf Islands National Seashore U.S. National Park Service.

and personal property.[24] George W. Dawson, who was a wealthy twenty-four-year-old Pike County farmer, had twenty-one slaves and $29,225 in real and personal property.[25] Y. D. Conyers was twenty-three and made his living as a planter in Lowndes County with nineteen slaves and $26,440 in personal property.[26]

This biographical material is telling. First, we see that the officers were comparably young with the oldest being forty and the youngest being twenty and the average age being thirty-one. This is important, since it was obviously not just the young who had led Alabama out of the Union but it was the young who would protect the state's independence. Also, the available data suggests that the First Alabama's officers had been strong secessionists before the war. Eight of the officers were attorneys, and as a profession, attorneys in Alabama were overwhelmingly for immediate secession. In the state's secession convention, forty percent of all secessionists were lawyers, and many of those "who constituted the mainstay of Yancey's political organization, were attorneys." One historian has even commented that "It would be no great exaggeration to speak of the conversion of the people of Alabama to the policy of resistance to the North as a lawyers' revolution."[27] What is also telling is that although most of the officers were wealthier than the rank and file

of the regiment, only four of them owned twenty or more slaves. One could assume therefore that wealth and social standing were not the primary determinant for leadership in regiments from a state as democratic as Alabama. Instead, it seems that ideology and political beliefs were more important in the election of officers.

II. How the Soldiers Lived and Trained

With the consolidation of their regiment, the men of the First Alabama saw no reason why they could not now do what they had come to Pensacola to do, i.e., fight. This eagerness was partly due to a romantic notion that war was grand and glorious, but there were more pragmatic reasons to want a clash of arms. The men of the First Alabama believed that only force would remove the Yankees from southern soil. And, they also believed that they were poised on the brink of history: a battle at Pensacola would be remembered as the beginning of their revolution, the new shot heard around the world. Their confidence that such a chance would come was strengthened when the Federals began to erect new batteries at Fort Pickens. The Alabamians thought and hoped that this was a sign that the enemy was preparing for war. Clayton certainly hoped so, and he believed that the Yankees' action was a breach in the Pensacola truce agreed upon between the Federal and Confederate governments. He contended that the Confederate forces could now open fire on the enemy without contradicting any previous agreement. General Braxton Bragg, the overall commander of the Confederate troops at Pensacola, agreed, but was more hesitant about wanting to begin the war at that time. He believed he did not yet have the men or the weapons with which to defeat the enemy on Santa Rosa Island. Although disappointed that no engagement was imminent, Clayton was still hopeful that hostilities would soon begin. He therefore began drilling his men strenuously in the morning and had them on battalion duty in the afternoon. He also had his men strengthen their defenses within Fort Barrancas and among the batteries that the First Alabama was manning on the beach.[28]

Bivouac of rebel troops, Warrington. Harper's Weekly, *June 22, 1861.*

In addition to drill, Clayton began trying to instill military discipline in the men. Clayton himself was just beginning to learn military discipline by attending classes at night that taught the officers–most of whom had no more military experience than he–their various responsibilities. Although many of the Alabama volunteers had previously belonged to local militia companies, this hardly made them well-trained or accustomed to discipline. Showing the independence characteristic of the region, these Alabamians did not readily accept their colonel's attempt to turn them into soldiers. Indeed, Clayton wrote his wife that his men continually tried his patience and even wrote in an open letter to the *Clayton Banner* that many of his friends serving under him became angry when they did not receive special treatment. Among others, he was no doubt referring to three of his privates–John Cochran, James L. Pugh, and E. C. Bullock–all of whom were members of the Eufaula Regency and had been prominent politicians and successful planters and lawyers before the war. To their chagrin, they had been given the same duties as other privates. Clayton's toughness actually led some of his men to write complaining letters home, which made the colonel unpopular in some circles in Barbour County. Although he made no public defense of

his command style nor publicly threatened any reprisals, he did tell his wife, "I dare say the perpetrators will live to regret them [the accusations of unfairness] more than you or I."[29]

In addition to preparing for an eagerly-awaited battle, much of Clayton's time during the spring was spent trying to keep his men out of trouble. For many of them, this was the first time away from home. They were lonely, without the calming influence of family or female company, and were prone to cause–or at least find–mischief. Moreover, they, especially the headstrong "Bully Barbour boys," had come to Pensacola to fight. Their level of tension was running high, and one form of relief was to break the rules and have a good time. Clayton did try to divert his men's attention to more positive ways of staying busy. He encouraged their interest in a newspaper that his Eufaula troops had started, the *Pioneer Banner*, which was filled with messages to sweethearts at home and predictions of ultimate victory. Yet, such an undertaking could only occupy adventurous young men for so long. In late March, the men of the First Alabama received their first pay, and not unexpectedly, "the whole encampment looked like a gambling establishment" with "expert card players reap[ing] a harvest that night from 'suckers.'"[30]

That was not the worst of it. Many of the men turned to alcohol to enliven the camp environment and to fight boredom. There were so many "grog shops" among the Confederate troops that there was probably enough whiskey "to have kept the Army drunk two months."[31] The combination of boredom and alcohol led to a number of problems. One night, a large number of men got "drunk and a free fight commenced." Another night, a soldier decided to pass his time by playing with a loaded revolver, which accidentally discharged and wounded him. An even worse incident occurred when a soldier, while in the town of Pensacola, was carelessly handling a pistol which accidentally discharged killing a black man who was walking down the street. At Barrancas a soldier was killed one night when he refused to answer the sentry.[32]

Certainly Clayton, being new at commanding a large group of nen who had never lived under military discipline, cannot be blamed oo harshly for having not immediately turned these wild-eyed

southern boys into professional soldiers. Yet, Clayton did try, and if he could not get his soldiers' attention with the stick, he hoped the carrot might work. For instance, he issued an order that allowed the men with the cleanest rifles to be exempt from guard duty. This measure had its desired results, and his men began keeping their weapons in good working order.[33]

On April 12, the first shot was fired in the South's revolution, and the men of the First Alabama missed it. About this they had mixed emotions. They were pleased the struggle had begun. Finally, the Confederate States of America had proclaimed that foreign forces would not be allowed on its soil. However, the Alabamians did believe that that message could have been sent just as easily from Pensacola as from Charleston. Their commanding officer, Braxton Bragg, also had mixed emotions. On April 7, he had informed the secretary of war that his troops were eager for a battle and that with luck, they could defeat their enemy on Santa Rosa. However, two days later, he informed the Confederate War Department that he "was less than enthusiastic" about attacking Pickens because he believed he was short on supplies. Since Bragg was hesitant, the government turned its attention to the eastern theater and directed P. G. T. Beauregard to open fire on Fort Sumter. Due to this action and to the secession of Virginia, the War Department ordered Bragg to transfer eighteen hundred of his men to Virginia, causing him and his officers and men to fear that action in Pensacola might be long in coming.[34]

Instead of being discouraged by this turn of events, Clayton used the time to continue his attempt to turn his men into well-organized, disciplined soldiers. To facilitate this, he wanted to provide them with uniforms so that they would look, and hopefully act, more like soldiers. These uniforms were badly needed since no two Alabama companies had the same uniforms, and many soldiers had none. To remedy this, Clayton had furnished the Ladies Aid Society of Montgomery–a patriotic society of women who wanted to do what they could to support the war effort–with supplies to make shirts and pants. By late July, the Ladies Aid Society delivered the much-needed uniforms, which consisted of blue jeans and frock shirts.[35]

Also during the summer, Clayton and many of his men attended Escambia Masonic Lodge in Pensacola. Clayton himself had joined the fraternity in the early 1850s and could easily accept its creeds, especially its contemporary exclusivity to men of prominence and honor and its emphasis on the brotherhood of all Masons. Because of the latter conviction, Clayton and his fellow Confederate Masons allowed their Yankee brethren to come under a flag of truce from Fort Pickens to Pensacola to attend lodge meetings. During these meetings, everyone knew his foes and friends since the attendees usually wore their uniforms. Still, no hostility crept into the ceremonies, and they were conducted ironically with a sense of brotherhood and true union.[36]

Another way the soldiers passed their time was to write home. Although there are few extant letters from men of the First Alabama, two men–Clayton and S. H. Dent–wrote numerous letters that have fortunately been saved. Although these two were regimental leaders, their letters capture sentiments common to all soldiers away from home in a time of war. The most obvious concern was for the loved ones they left behind. In almost all of Clayton's letters to his wife, Victoria, he expresses his fear that she would become ill due to the stress of running their plantation by herself. Although Victoria had had managerial experience on her father's plantation and had run the Claytons' plantation while Henry was out of town, the challenge was now different, and they both knew it. Victoria had no man near her upon whom she could rely, and she was the only white adult on the estate. She could and often did depend upon her father-in-law, Nelson Clayton, for help, but he had his own plantation to run. Furthermore, she was raising crops and food not just for the plantation and for the market but also for the war effort while using her slaves as well as hired labor to make clothes for the troops. Victoria was justifiably proud of her duty and refused to cut back her efforts on behalf of the Confederacy. That Victoria realized the impact of her work on the war effort is evident in her autobiography, *White and Black Under the Old Regime*, where she writes that upon leaving her husband after a brief wartime visit, "he...returned to his post of duty and I to mine."[37]

Of course, Henry also expressed more romantic sentiments to his wife, and she to him. In fact, not long after the two had been separated, their correspondence began reflecting a desperate need to see each other. After discussing this matter via their letters, the couple decided that Victoria should come to Pensacola for an extended visit. Henry did inform her at the time that he believed a fight was coming, but when it did, he assured her that the Navy Yard, which had no military significance and where he had found her a residence, would be safe from attack. By March Victoria had arrived at the Navy Yard, where she was to stay for the next three months. During her visit, she and Henry were able to spend much time together, and she even helped to entertain Governor Moore when he visited Alabama troops at Barrancas. One night, her visit got a good deal livelier when rumors of an attack spread, and soldiers frantically prepared to meet the enemy. A payroll officer at the Navy Yard, fearing that he would soon be engaged in combat, entrusted Victoria with a large amount of gold and silver, thinking that even if the enemy landed at the Navy Yard they would not dare search a lady. Victoria took her duty seriously and hid the money in her girdle, where she was sure it would not fall into unfriendly hands.[38]

As soon as Victoria had returned home, she and Henry began discussing the possibility of another visit. Although the two had been married for over a decade, it certainly seems that they retained a deep passion for each other. In one letter, Victoria expressed this passion in some frankness, writing that she had had a dream in which she and Henry were together again and were "holding sweet communion." Not long after receiving this stirring letter, Henry found a way to get a thirty-day pass.[39]

Dent expressed the same general sentiments. He constantly tried to get a leave of absence so that he could return home to see his wife, Nannie, about whom he was much concerned. Although she had briefly been able to visit him in camp, the two wanted very badly to see each other again. By mid-June, Dent's frustration led him to complain to her that each time he had requested a furlough, he was rejected, and that if he did not get to see her soon he would "pretty near go crazy." His only concern with leaving his post, he informed her, was that he could possibly miss a fight. He believed this would

"be most unfortunate" but then quickly added, "Dearest I would miss three fights–to see you if I could not see you without."[40]

Although Clayton and Dent did not dwell on it in their letters, they also mentioned to their wives a problem that was literally plaguing their troops: serious outbreaks of camp fever–specifically jaundice, measles, malaria, and typhoid fever. From June through October, the hospital at the Navy Yard was almost constantly full of men who were sick and/or dying from these illnesses. The First Alabama itself lost forty men in this manner. One soldier expressed his concern quite gravely and accurately when he said that "a man can die and be buried here with the least ceremony and concern I ever saw."[41]

III. How They Fought

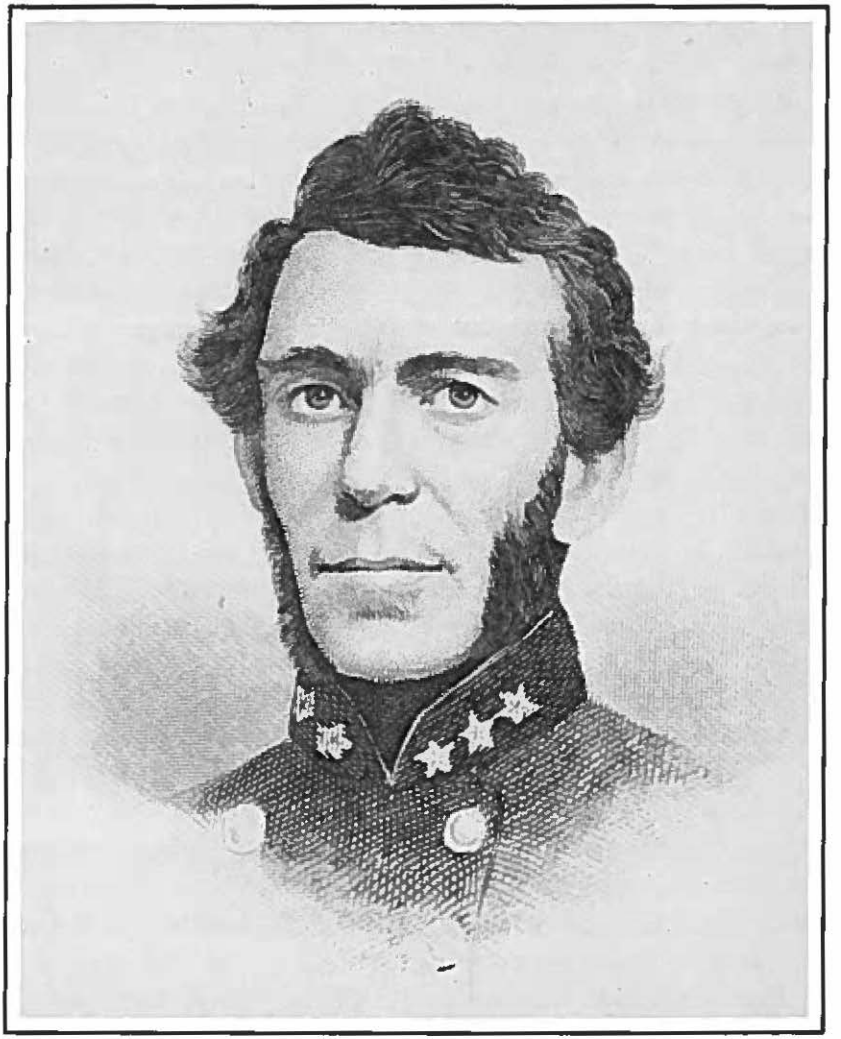
What seemed to bother the soldier mentioned above was not so much that men died–that is to be expected in war–but how they died. The men of the First Alabama wondered why they had left their homes if all they were to do was sit around waiting to die from camp fever. They had trained hard, sacrificed much, and had proudly become soldiers; now they wanted to perform like soldiers. Although they could not have known it, their chance was finally about to come.

The Federals had received information that the Confederates at Pensacola were turning the CSS *Judith* into a privateer. To prevent this, the Yankees decided to destroy the ship. At 3:30 A.M. on September 14, a hundred northern seamen and marines led by Lieutenant John H. Russell from the USS *Colorado* landed at the Navy Yard. After a brief skirmish between nearby Confederates and the invaders, the latter boarded the *Judith* and destroyed her. The attacking Federals lost three killed and thirteen wounded and the Southerners lost three killed and an unknown number wounded.[42]

In retaliation, Bragg devised a dramatic plan to attack the enemy on Santa Rosa Island. General Richard Henry Anderson was to take a detachment of men from every regiment–being careful to choose men from every state that was represented at Pensacola–divide these

men into battalions and sail them to Santa Rosa in order to attack the Yankees. The first battalion, numbering 350 men, was under the command of James R. Chalmers and consisted of the Tallapoosa Rifles and Wilcox True Blues from the First Alabama and detachments of the Ninth and Tenth Mississippi Infantry Regiments. J. Patton Anderson commanded the second battalion which was made up of 400 men from the Seventh Regiment Alabama Volunteers, the First Regiment of Florida Volunteers, and companies from a Louisiana regiment. The third battalion was a force of 260 men led by John K. Jackson, with detachments from the Fifth Georgia Regiment. There was also an independent company of 53 men under Lt. James H. Hallonquist. To care for the expected wounded, a medical team of five doctors and twenty staff members went along with the soldiers.[43]

On October 8, the troops left their duty stations to travel to the town of Pensacola, arriving there about 10:00 P.M. Within two hours, they were aboard boats and began sailing toward Santa Rosa Island. By 2:00 A.M. they had landed on the north side of the island. Upon arrival, they put their plan into motion as Chalmers–with Jackson following a few hundred yards behind and Hallonquist to the rear of Jackson–moved along the north beach. Jackson was to deploy his men in the middle of the island once he heard firing from Chalmers or Anderson, both of whom were to move along the south beach. Ideally, that firing would not be until the Confederates had made it to the area between Fort Pickens and the camp of the Sixth Regiment of New York Volunteers, the area from which the Confederates believed they could do the most damage. However, about 3:30 A.M., after the Southerners had made a three-mile incursion into the island, Chalmers and the men of the First Alabama encountered a sentinel who fired at them and was immediately killed. With this disruption to their plan, the Confederates, by General Anderson's orders, advanced rapidly toward the New Yorkers' camp. Meeting little resistance, Jackson's men entered the camp which had, by that time, been deserted. As Jackson was thus engaged, Chalmers and Anderson were advancing along the shores and met Yankee pickets which they disposed of quickly and soon joined Jackson's men in destroying the



Braxton Bragg. Hayward and Blanche Cirker, eds., *Dictionary of American Portraits* (New York, 1967).

Yankee camp. About 4:00 A.M., as the Confederates were burning the tents and buildings, they raised a rousing "Rebel yell." The men at Barrancas and McRee heard their comrades and joined in the "yell." As dawn was approaching, the Federals began a counterattack. The

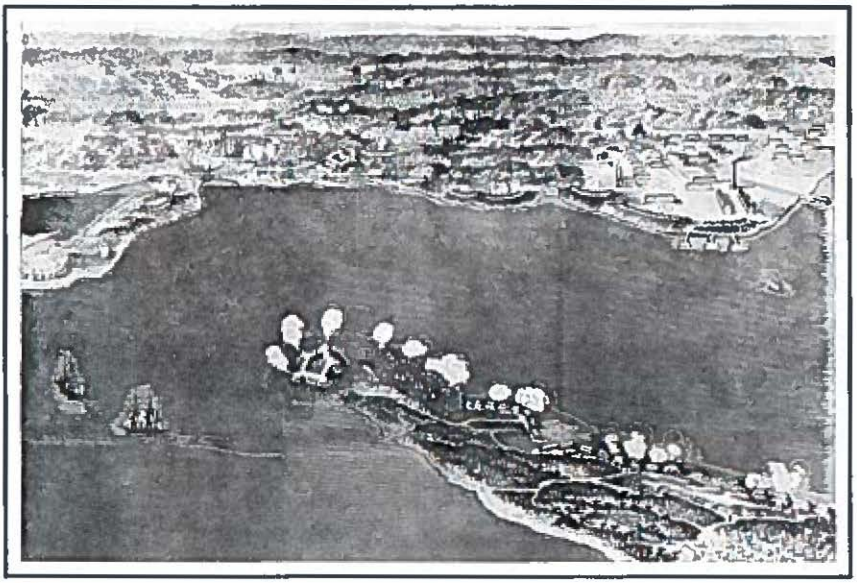
Southerners then hurried to make their escape. About halfway back to the beach, the soldiers encountered two companies of United States Regulars, whom they drove off after a skirmish. The exhausted Southerners finally reached their point of departure and reembarked, but were unable to get away due to a malfunction with one of the steamers that was assisting in the transport. Taking advantage of this delay, the Yankees appeared on the sand dunes and opened fire. Many of the soldiers on the crowded transports were hit, and General Arnold was shot through the elbow. The Confederates immediately returned fire and were eventually able to get out of range. When the action had ended, each side assessed its losses. Not surprisingly, the Confederates lost more men: eighteen killed, thirty-nine wounded, and thirty were missing or taken prisoners; the Federals lost fourteen killed, twenty-nine wounded, and twenty-four prisoners.[44]

Militarily, this action was not decisive in any way, but it did accomplish at least two desired effects. First, as Bragg reported, the Confederates "chastised the enemy on Santa Rosa" for the insult of burning the *Judith* and, more generally, for refusing to evacuate Fort Pickens. Second, it boosted the morale of all the regiments at Pensacola. Certainly, the men of the First Alabama were, despite their harsh treatment by the Yankees, thrilled to have been involved in the action. They had finally proven themselves as soldiers. And, although it had been a fairly small engagement, it had sent word to the federal government that the Confederates at Pensacola were ready and certainly willing to fight.[45]

Both sides had now gone on the offensive, but only on a small scale. Still to be tested were both sides' artillery and the strength of their forts. Each side had certain advantages. Fort Pickens had two tiers of guns which consisted of more cannons than all the Confederate batteries possessed, and its walls were an imposing twelve feet thick. And, situated in the middle of the harbor, its guns could cover any point on the horizon.[46] The Confederate forces did not have equivalent fortifications or weaponry, but they were spread out at Fort McRee and Fort Barrancas and in the batteries along the shore. Obviously, the federal troops had to divide their fire while the Confederates could concentrate theirs on just one target.

At long last, the Federals began a full scale battle. On November 22, about 9:30 A.M., Union guns opened fire on the Navy Yard and Fort McRee. Within thirty minutes, Confederate forces at McRee and Barrancas answered with well-directed, heavy fire. The Union ships USS *Niagara* and USS *Hartford* took up a position west of McRee and began pouring shells over its walls. Without a break, both sides continued their firing for approximately eight hours. The concussion of the cannons was so great that the houses in the city of Pensacola shook, and fish floated to the top of the bay, giving the area an ominous smell of death. For General Bragg, who called this battle "the heaviest bombardment in the world," the scene was "grand and sublime." The following morning about 10:30, the Union guns began another day of shelling that proved to be much like the first. Both sides pounded each other with the Confederates firing the last shot about 4:00 A.M. on November 24 just to show they "were on the alert."[47]

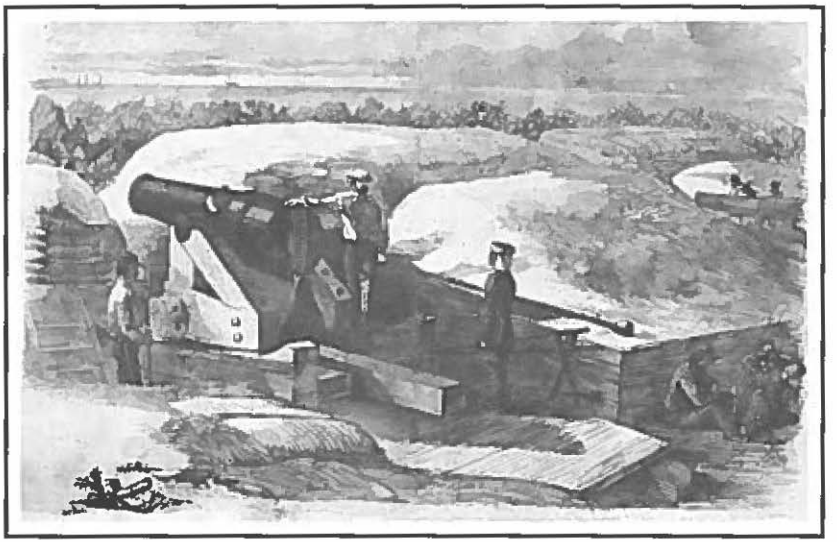
By the time the fight was over, each side could take pride in having manned its guns under tremendous fire. The Yankees had poured about five thousand shells into the Confederate positions, killing seven and wounding thirty-three; the Confederates had answered with one thousand rounds and had killed two and wounded thirteen. The First Alabama had performed especially courageously. In his report on the battle, General Bragg praised the First Alabama for manning the guns at Barrancas and those on the beach under terrific pounding from the enemy. Bragg, believing the First Alabama to be "a well-instructed body of artillery," said that "this gallant regiment has toiled for near ten months on the construction and garnishment of the works they almost despaired of using. Having been the first on the ground, much the largest portion of the labor fell to their lot." Brigadier General Adley Gladden was so impressed with the regiment's performance, he ordered "November 22 and 23" sewn on its colors, and Leonidas Polk later referred to the First Alabama as "Bragg's best artillerists." Clayton too was justifiably proud of his men. Although they had initially proven difficult to discipline, they had learned much over the last ten months. When they came under fire, they performed like veterans.[48]



Bombardment of Fort Pickens, November 22, 1861. Harper's Pictorial History of the Civil War, *183.*

Conclusion

The rest of 1861 was quiet, with neither side taking the offensive. Then in January 1862, the First Alabama was reorganized and elected Steedman its new colonel when Clayton retired. (Within a few months of his retirement, Clayton would organize and be elected colonel of the Thirty-ninth Alabama Infantry Regiment and later go on to the rank of major general.) In March the First Alabama left Pensacola going to Memphis and then to Island No. 10, which was situated in the Mississippi River near the Madrid Bend area of Missouri. From the time of their arrival until the island's surrender on April 9, 1862, the Alabamians were constantly in combat and, as they had at Pensacola, proved to be exemplary soldiers. In October the regiment was sent to Port Hudson, Louisiana, a Confederate strong point on the Mississippi River twenty-five miles north of Baton Rouge. After



Confederate beach battery, Pensacola. Harper's Weekly, *June 15, 1861.*

a long struggle against a large federal force, Port Hudson was captured by the enemy on July 9, 1863. That autumn the regiment rested in camp in Meridian, Mississippi, before being transferred briefly to Mobile in February 1864. In May the First Alabama was put under command of Joseph E. Johnston as he tried to prevent William T. Sherman from taking Atlanta. During the Georgia Campaign, the Alabamians showed courage and steadfastness and especially distinguished themselves in the battles of New Hope Church, Kennesaw Mountain, and Peachtree Creek. In the harsh winter of 1864, the regiment took part in John Bell Hood's ill-fated invasion of Tennessee and fought bravely in the battles of Franklin and Nashville. Along with a large number of troops from the West, the regiment was sent to the Carolinas in early 1865 to confront Sherman's army. Although it was probably apparent to many of the men that the war was lost, still they went and fought until Joseph E. Johnston formally surrendered the army on April 27.[49]

As this service record indicates, the First Alabama took part in some of the most important battles in the western theater. In all of them it performed its duties well and in many showed gallantry. This gallantry did not come naturally. It was largely achieved through the

discipline instilled in the marrow of the First Alabama at Pensacola. There, these swaggering country boys were turned into well-disciplined soldiers and were made aware of the sacrifices that awaited them in their struggle for independence. They accepted those sacrifices and continued their crusade. After all, for these ideologically-motivated men who were committed to secession and the creation of a southern nation, it was not just a war, it was their war right to the bitter end.

Notes

[1]Lewy Dorman, "A History of Barbour County, Alabama," unpublished manuscript, 504-6, 513-14, Lewy Dorman Papers, William Stanley Hoole Special Collections, University of Alabama, Tuscaloosa, AL–hereafter this repository will be cited UA; "The Third Regiment," *Montgomery Weekly Mail*, December 12, 1860; Margaret Russell, *James Clayton of North Carolina And His Descendants in the Old South-west* (Columbus, GA, 1993), 152; *Journal of the Alabama House of Representatives, 1857-1858*, 410-11, 444; "Proceedings of the Alabama House of Representatives," *Montgomery Advertiser*, February 3, 1858; Certificate making Henry Clayton captain of the Clayton Guards, February 24, 1858, and Commission making Clayton aide-de-camp with the rank of colonel, temporarily commanding all Alabama volunteers in Pensacola, FL, n.d., Henry Clayton Papers, UA; "Proceedings of the Alabama House of Representatives," *Montgomery Weekly Advertiser*, November 30 and December 7, 1859; *Journal of the Alabama House of Representatives, 1859-1860*, 115, 149, 160, 189-90; Henry Clayton to Charles C. Jones, July 5, 1861, Charles Colcock Jones Jr. Papers, Special Collections, William R. Perkins Library, Duke University, Durham, North Carolina–hereafter this repository will be cited DU; Holman D. Jordan, "The Military Career of Henry De Lamar Clayton" (Master's thesis, University of Alabama, 1954), 8; "Statement of Military Service of Henry D. Clayton," War Department to Henry Clayton Jr., n.d., Henry Clayton Jr. Papers, UA; Confederate Service Records, 1861-1865, Alabama, Alabama Department of Archives and History, Montgomery, AL–hereafter this repository will be cited ADAH; Henry Clayton to A. B. Moore, February 10, 1861, A. B. Moore's Governor's Papers, ADAH; Green Beauchamp diary, Green Beauchamp Papers, ADAH.

[2]David E. Apter, "Ideology and Discontent" in *Ideology and Discontent*, ed. David E. Apter (New York, 1964), 21; J. Mills Thornton III, *Politics and Power in a Slave Society: Alabama, 1800-1860* (Baton Rouge, 1978), 455-56; John McCardell, *The Idea of a Southern Nation: Southern Nationalists and Southern Nationalism, 1830-1860* (New York, 1979), 323; Henry Mayer, "'A Leaven of Disunion': The Growth of the Secessionist Faction in Alabama, 1847-1851," *Alabama Review* 22 (April 1969): 105-7; also see William L. Barney's *The Road to Secession: A New Perspective on the Old South*, with a foreword by James P. Shenton (New York, 1972) and *The Secessionist Impulse: Alabama and Mississippi in 1860* (Princeton, 1974).

[3]Edward Young McMorries, *History of the First Regiment Alabama Volunteer Infantry, C.S.A.* (Montgomery, 1904), 15; Malcolm C. McMillan, *The Disintegration of a Confederate State: Three Governors and Alabama's Wartime Home Front, 1861-1865* (Macon, GA, 1986), 21; Grady McWhiney, *Braxton Bragg and Confederate Defeat*, vol. 1 (1969; reprint, with new preface and new maps, Tuscaloosa, 1991), 158-70.

[4]McWhiney, *Braxton Bragg*, 161, 164-65.

[5]Ibid., 161.

[6]McMorries, *History of the First Regiment*, 15; Henry Clayton to Moore, February 10, 15, 18, 1861, Moore's Governor's Papers, ADAH; McWhiney, *Braxton Bragg*, 1: 161.

[7]Edwin C. Bearss, "Civil War Operations in and Around Pensacola," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 36 (October 1957): 125; McMorries, *History of the First Regiment*, 13, 15-16; "Statement of Military Service of Henry D. Clayton," Henry Clayton, Jr. Papers, UA; Commission making Henry Clayton colonel of the First Regiment Alabama Volunteer Infantry, n.d., Henry Clayton, Papers UA; Edwin C. Bearss, "Fort Pickens and the Secession Crisis, January-February 1861," *Gulf Coast Historical Review* 4 (Spring 1989): 6-25; *War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies* (Washington, 1880-1901), Series 1, vol. 1, 469-70–hereafter cited as *OR* and unless otherwise indicated, all citations refer to Series 1; Henry Clayton to Jones, July 5, 1871, Jones Papers, DU; "First Regiment Alabama Volunteer Infantry," First Regiment Alabama Volunteer Infantry File, ADAH; Jordan, "The Military Career of Henry De Lamar Clayton," 9-10; Willis Brewer, *Alabama: Her History, Resources, War Record, and Public Men From 1545-1872* (Montgomery, 1872), 589-91; Dorman, "A History of Barbour County, Alabama," n.p., UA; Jordan, "The Military Career of Henry De Lamar Clayton," 9; *OR*, Series 4, vol. 1, 626.

[8]The six counties that voted for Breckenridge were Barbour, Pike, Lowndes, Wilcox, Talladega, and Tallapoosa. The five counties that voted for immediate secession were Barbour, Pike, Lowndes, Wilcox, and Mobile. See Daniel P. Smith, *Company K: First Alabama Regiment* (Prattville, AL, 1885), 3; McMorries, *History of the First Regiment*, 15; Lewy Dorman, *Party Politics in Alabama from 1850 through 1860* (Wetumpka, AL, 1935), 195, 226-27; Harry Philpot Owen, "A History of Eufaula, Alabama, 1832-1882" (Master's thesis, Auburn University, 1963), 47-48; Thornton, *Politics and Power in a Slave Society*, 251, 253.

[9]Brewer, *Alabama: Her History*, 124, 327, 385, 504, 534, 577; William Warren Rogers, Robert David Ward, Leah Rawls Atkins, and Wayne Flynt, *Alabama: The History of a Deep South State* (Tuscaloosa, 1994), 170-85; Dorman, *Party Politics in Alabama*, 226-27; Thornton, *Politics and Power in a Slave Society*, especially 240, 268-342, 345-46; Barney, *The Secessionist Impulse*, 3-49; *Agriculture of the United States in 1860, Compiled from the Original Returns of the Eighth Census* (Washington, DC, 1864); also see Kit C. Carter, Jr., "A Critical Analysis of the Basis of Party Alignment in Lowndes County, Alabama, 1836-1860" (Master's thesis, University of Alabama, 1961).

[10]Dorman, *Party Politics in Alabama*, 36; Thornton, *Politics and Power in a Slave Society*, 250-54; also see Marshall J. Rachleff, "Racial Fear and Political Factionalism: A Study of the Secession Movement in Alabama, 1819-1861" (Ph.D. diss., University of Massachusetts, 1974), 253-54, 267-68.

[11]Henry Clayton diary, and "Barbour County in 1850," Henry Clayton Papers, UA; Dorman, "A History of Barbour County, Alabama," 402-3, UA; *Eufaula Spirit of the South*, March 11, 1856; Barney, *The Secessionist Impulse*, 119-20; Russell, *James Clayton of North Carolina*, 240-41; "Aid for Kansas!" July 12, 1856, and "From Kansas," July 13, 1856, *Tri-Weekly Alabama Journal*; Victoria Virginia Clayton, *White and Black Under the Old Regime*, with an introduction by Frederick Cook Morehouse (Milwaukee, 1899), 63; "A Century Ago in the Enquirer," *Columbus Enquirer*, September 7, 1856, Margaret Russell Private Collection, Eufaula, AL–hereafter this collection will be cited MRPC; Henry Clayton, "Letter From Kansas," *Montgomery*

Weekly Advertiser and State Gazette, October 15, 1856; Henry Clayton to C. C. Clay, July 8, 1857, Clement Claiborne Clay Papers, DU; *Journal of the Alabama House of Representatives, 1857-1858*, 47-48; *Journal of the Alabama House of Representatives, 1859-1860*; *Proceedings of the Democratic State Convention, 1860*, J. L. M. Curry Pamphlets, ADAH; 1860 U.S. census, population and slave schedules, Barbour County, AL, Henry Clayton.

[12]"Alpheus Baker, Esq. and His Connection with the Kansas Affair," *Montgomery Weekly Advertiser*, March 28, 1860; Rhoda Coleman Ellison, *History and Bibliography of Alabama Newspapers in the Nineteenth Century* (Tuscaloosa, 1954), 51, 52; Mattie Thompson, *History of Barbour County* (Eufaula, AL, 1939), 255-58; J. A. B. Besson, *History of Eufaula, Alabama: The Bluff City of the Chattahooche* (Spartanburg, SC, 1976), 19; 1860 U.S. census, population and slave schedules, Barbour County, AL, Alpheus Baker.

[13]Thomas M. Owen, *History of Alabama and Dictionary of Alabama Biography*, (Chicago, 1921) 4: 1552; 1860 U.S. census, population and slave schedules, Barbour County, AL, Henry R. Shorter.

[14]1860 U.S. census, population schedule, Barbour County, AL, S. H. Dent; Owen, *History of Alabama*, 3: 480.

[15]Ibid., 4: 1772.

[16]Ibid., 3: 1312.

[17]1860 U.S. census, population and slave schedules, Barbour County, AL, John Clark; Owen, *History of Alabama*, 3: 334.

[18]1860 U.S. census, population and slave schedules, Barbour County, AL, J. W. Mabry; Owen, *History of Alabama*, 3: 143.

[19]1860 U.S. census, population and slave schedules, Barbour County, AL, L. F. Johnston; it should be noted that in both McMorries's and Smith's books about the First Alabama, Johnston's last name is mistakenly spelled "Johnson."

[20]Owen, *History of Alabama*, 4: 1616-17; McMorries, *History of the First Regiment*, 18.

[21]1860 U.S. census, population schedule, Wilcox County, AL, D. W. Ramsey; Owen, *History of Alabama*, 3: 1408.

[22]1860 U.S. census, population and slave schedules, Talladega, AL, Joseph H. Johnson; Owen, *History of Alabama*, 3: 912.

[23]1860 U.S. census, population and slave schedules, Mobile County, AL, Ben Lane Posey.

[24]Owen, *History of Alabama*, 3: 1182; 1860 U.S. census, population schedule, Tallapoosa County, AL, James D. Meadows.

[25]1860 U.S. census, population and slave schedules, Pike County, AL, George W. Dawson.

[26]1860 U.S. census, population and slave schedules, Lowndes, AL, Y. D. Conyers.

[27]Barney, *The Secessionist Impulse*, 297; Thornton, *Politics and Power in a Slave Society*, 426; Dorman, *Party Politics in Alabama*, 172

[28]*Montgomery Weekly Mail*, April 1, 1861; Grady McWhiney, *Braxton Bragg*, 1: 164, 169; McMorries, *History of the First Regiment*, 17.

[29]"Just Before the Battle," *Montgomery Advertiser*, July 8, 1886; "Very High Privates," *Montgomery Weekly Mail*, February 20, 1861; Victoria Clayton to Henry Clayton, July 19, 1861, and Henry Clayton to *Clayton Banner*, June 25, 1861, and Whit Clark to Henry Clayton, May 6, 1861, and Henry Clayton to Victoria Clayton, July 19, 1861, Henry Clayton Papers, UA.

[30]Dorman, "A History of Barbour County, Alabama," 514, UA; McMorries, *History of the First Regiment*, 22.

[31]Quoted in McWhiney, *Braxton Bragg*, 161.

[32]McMorries, *History of the First Regiment*, 122; "Correspondence of the *Pensacola Observer*," *Montgomery Weekly Mail*, April 5, 1861; Rogers, Ward, Atkins, and Flynt, *Alabama: The History of a Deep South State*, 188.

[33]"Correspondence of the *Pensacola Observer*," *Montgomery Weekly Mail*, April 5, 1861; McMorries, *History of the First Regiment*, 22; "For the Eufaula Express," July 14, 1861, unidentified newspaper, n.d., First Regiment Alabama Volunteer Infantry File, ADAH.

[34]McWhiney, *Braxton Bragg*, 1: 164-65, 169, 172-73, 177; Henry Clayton to Victoria Clayton, May 31, 1861, Henry Clayton Papers, UA.

[35]Jordan, "The Military Career of Henry De Lamar Clayton," 11.

[36]William Clayton, "Civil War and Escambia Lodge 15, F. & A.M.," MRPC.

[37]Henry Clayton to Victoria Clayton, May 31, June 25, and October 2, 1861, Henry Clayton Papers, UA; Clayton, *White and Black Under the Old Regime*, 100, 103, 107.

[38]Henry Clayton to Victoria Clayton, February 2, 25, 1861, Henry Clayton Papers, UA; Clayton, *White and Black Under the Old Regime*, 94-97.

[39]Victoria Clayton to Henry Clayton, July 19, 1861, Henry Clayton Papers, UA.

[40]Ray Mathis, *In the Land of the Living: Wartime Letters by Confederates from the Chattahooche Valley of Alabama and Georgia*, with the assistance of Douglas Clare Purcell (Troy, AL, 1981), 4, 5.

[41]Mathis, *In the Land of the Living*, 7; McMorries, *History of the First Regiment*, 25.

[42]*OR*, 6, 438; Bearss, "Civil War Operations," 144-46.

[43]*OR*, 6, 439, 446, 448, 451, 455-458, 460-61; Bearss, "Civil War Operations," 148, 153; McMorries, *History of the First Regiment*, 28.

[44]*OR*, 6, 560-62; Bearss, "Civil War Operations," 148-54.

[45]*OR*, 6, 458.

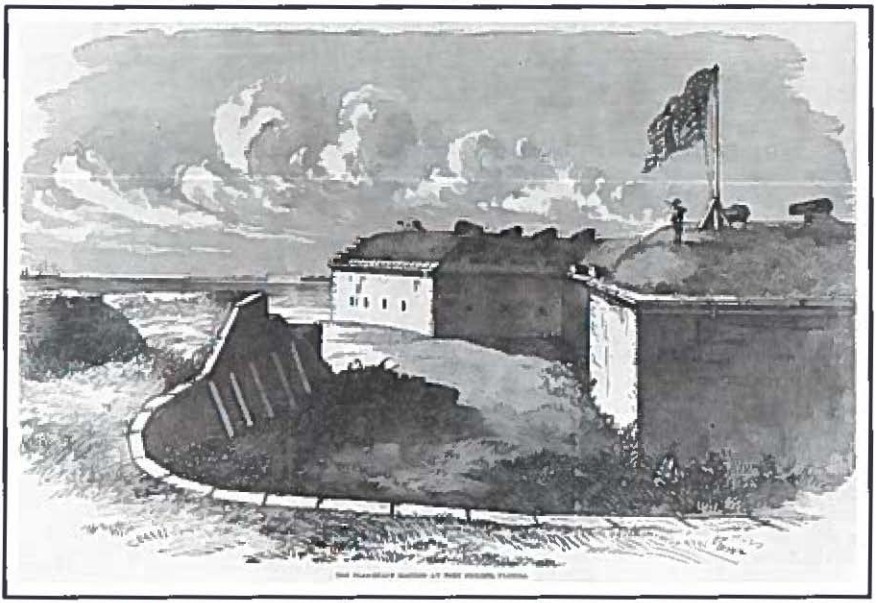
[46]C. Pat Cates, "From Santa Rosa Island to Chickamauga: The First Confederate Regiment," *Civil War Regiments: A Journal of the American Civil War* 1 (1990): n.p.

[47]*OR*, 6, 470, 474-75, 479, 488-91; McMorries, *History of the First Regiment*, 30; Bearss, "Civil War Operations," 161-62; Jordan, "The Military Career of Henry De Lamar Clayton," 12-14; Clayton, *White and Black Under the Old Regime*, 101-2; Cates, "From Santa Rosa Island to Chickamauga," n.p.

[48]*OR*, VI, 489-93, 784; Jordan, "The Military Career of Henry De Lamar Clayton," 13; Bearss, "Civil War Operations," 165; Joseph Wheeler, *Confederate Military History, Alabama* (1899; reprint, with new material, Wilmington, NC, 1987) 8: 53; Mathis, *In the Land of the Living*, 10.

[49]Holman D. Jordan, "The Military Career of Henry D. Clayton," *Alabama Review* 13 (April 1960): 127-34; Larry J. Daniel and Lynn N. Bock, *Island No. 10: Struggle for the Mississippi Valley* (Tuscaloosa, 1996), 1, 35, 38-39, 112, 146; McMorries, *History of the First Regiment*, 35, 46, 48, 69, 72, 94; Wheeler, *Confederate Military History*, 8: 52-56.

Henry Walker is a professor at Shelton State Community College.



The flag-staff bastion at Fort Pickens. Harper's Pictorial History of the Civil War, *70.*

A Question of Authority: Johnstone and Browne, 1766-1767

John H. Frederick

George Johnstone, a navy captain, was appointed the first royal governor of British West Florida in 1763. Johnstone was known as a gallant and heroic officer, but his military service was tainted by petty disputes and duels, and the ministry recalled him in 1767. Although Johnstone's own bombastic and antagonistic nature helped lead to his removal, Lieutenant Governor Montfort Browne played a significant, if largely overlooked role in the recall. From the beginning Montfort Browne sought to undermine and supplant the governor's authority. There is ample evidence of Browne's opportunistic and conspiratorial nature, as well as his efforts to sabotage Johnstone's authority by discrediting the governor in the eyes of the military, the colonists, and the Board of Trade.[1]

Montfort Browne was a descendant of an obscure Irish family. What Browne lacked in status he made up for in ambition, talent, and energy. Browne also displayed an attachment to social position which he guarded fiercely. One of the earliest references to Montfort Browne is in Henry Fielding's *Covent Garden Journal* of May 1752. A literary rival of Henry Fielding's, John Hill, printed a fictitious letter in his "Inspector" column of the *London Daily Advertiser* on April 30, 1752 that satirized Browne, a "young buck about town." Browne was insulted by Hill's questioning of his character and claim to the title of esquire. Browne demanded a retraction, which Hill refused. On May 6 Browne accosted Hill at Ranelagh, a resort in Chelsea, pulled off Hill's wig, and kicked and caned him. Browne stood for bail before Henry Fielding, the magistrate for Westminster. In the *Covent Garden Journal* of May 11, 1752, Fielding defended Browne's character.

> On Saturday last Mountefort Brown, Esq; surrendered himself before the Justice, to answer the complaint of Dr. Hill, for a supposed assault at Ranelagh, on Wednesday last, when upon the affadavit of an eminent physician, that Dr. Hill was not in any Danger of his Life, Mr. Brown

George Johnstone. Public Records Office, London.

was admitted to bail, two Housekeepers of great Credit and Substance becoming his Sureties.

Whereas several scandalous Paragraphs have been published in a common News-Paper, intending to vilify and misrepresent the Character of Mr. Brown; we think it an Act of Justice to declare, that nothing against the Honour of Mr. Browne appeared before the Justice; and so far was he from running away with an Intent to avoid Prosecution, that, having gone about 50 Miles from London on his private Business, he returned back on receiving an Express from his Friends with an Account of what was published against him, in order to surrender himself as aforesaid. We think ourselves further obliged to inform the Public, that Lord Boyle, Colonel Churchill, Mr. Hamilton, Mr. Stewart, and many others of Fashion who were present at Ranelagh at the Time, appeared before the Justice on Mr. Brown's Behalf; which the public will not, I believe, suppose they would have done on the Part of one who was not a Gentleman, and who had not behaved as such.[2]

Browne later appeared at the court session at Hicks Hall and was released for "lack of prosecution." Hill threatened to file charges against Browne at the Court of the King's Bench, but his threats came to naught. Hill cut a ridiculous figure throughout the affair. He attacked both Browne and Fielding, who refused to publish attacks on Hill, perhaps owing to his involvement in the case. Hill published daily bulletins about Browne's supposed "flight" to escape prosecution and of the "mortal wounds" inflicted upon him by Browne. Hill's injudicious remarks cost him his credibility. His tactics backfired and he was ridiculed and satirized in turn.[3] This early episode in Browne's life shows a man quite sensitive about his social position and station. Browne was a brash young man, quick to take offense, a trait that permeated his relationship with Governor Johnstone.

Other than Fielding's report, little is known about Browne's activities prior to his appointment as lieutenant governor of British West Florida. It is known that Browne served as a subaltern in His Majesty's 35th Regiment of Foot during the Seven Years' War and saw action in several campaigns in both North America and the West Indies. He was wounded twice, but his reputation was tarnished when a complaint, lodged against him by an enlisted man, brought Browne before a court of inquiry. The substance of the charge was not publicly disclosed, but its effect was palpable, for it earned Browne

the contempt of his fellow officers. After Browne left his regiment, he secured the posting as lieutenant governor of the British West Florida colony through political patronage. His patron was Wills Hill, Viscount Hillsborough, whose influence on Browne's behalf was to prove most valuable.[4]

George Johnstone, Browne's superior in British West Florida, was also sensitive about station. In response to a printed denouncement of the appointment of a Scot to the post of governor, Johnstone went so far as to attack the editor of the English scandal sheet *The North Briton*. The appointment of a miltary man to the post of governor seemed a prudent choice, since the colony of West Florida formed part of the frontier bordering Spanish and Indian territories. Johnstone replaced Lt. Colonel Ralph Walsh, who was the military commander of Pensacola before Johnstone's arrival.[5]

Johnstone did not have governmental experience, but he did have one indispensible asset: political connections. His Scottish ancestry and an almost nonexistant connection to those in power initially limited his prospects. When the Scottish Earl of Bute became the first lord of the Treasury, however, one of Johnstone's close friends, John Home, became Lord Bute's secretary. Home may well have been the political connection that helped Johnstone secure the governorship. Political patronage was one of the few things that Johnstone had in common with his lieutenant governor.[6]

Browne helped to increase both his own fortune and augment the population of Britsh West Florida. His plan coincided with the wishes of a group of Huguenots who petitioned the Board of Trade for the right to emigrate to the colony. Browne presented a proposal to the Board of Trade that was quite similar to that of the Huguenots. The Board took up both the Huguenots' petition and Brown's proposals, and, after discussion, favored Browne's plan.[7]

The matter then became one of selection and transportation. Browne transported sixty Protestants on a ship prepared to sail from London to either Pensacola or Mobile, whichever port would be more advantageous. Under the terms of the agreement between Browne and the Board of Trade, Browne received "seven pounds seven shillings sterling" for every settler that he transported; every two children under fourteen counted as one adult. Upon the arrival in West Florida

each settler would be furnished arms, tools, and provisions for nine months. On July 5, 1765, John Ellis, the royal fiscal agent for West Florida, and Montfort Browne signed the formal agreement. The foundation for Campbell Town, the name of the Huguenot settlement, also provided a starting point for several confrontations between Browne and Johnstone.[8]

The English ship transporting the colonists, the *Red Head*, sailed from Cork, Ireland in the autumn of 1765 after a layover for food stores and arrived at Pensacola in January 1766. It was an uneventful voyage, except for the desertion of a few passengers when the ship stopped briefly at Dominica. After their arrival, Governor Johnstone and a delegation of the immigrants examined several tracts of land before selecting a settlement site near the Escambia River. The governor held a high opinion of the site, but the lieutenant governor did not share his superior's view and communicated his objections to the Board of Trade, noting that the Protestants, under Johnstone's guidance, selected a most unhealthy location for their settlement.[9]

In a letter dated April 1, 1766, that Johnstone sent to John Pownall, secretary for the Board of Trade, the governor cited acts of gross misconduct on the part of his lieutenant governor. Browne had arrived in West Florida at a critical juncture in a conflict between Johnstone as the civil authority and Lt. Colonel Ralph Walsh as military authority in the province. Walsh was *de facto* military authority in Pensacola for the eleven months prior to Johnstone's arrival. The main issue between them dealt with the "right of disposal of government property, the custody of the keys of the garrsion and the honors due the governor." Browne unduly complicated matters by siding with Walsh against the governor, even though upon first hearing the charges against Walsh, according to Johnstone, Browne was of the opinion that Walsh deserved "death for his Crimes." Browne also recommended sending for Lt. Colonel Edward Maxwell and his regiment from Mobile in order to force open the garrison and take it from Walsh. The governor wrote,

> During the Commotion, when the very Existence of the Province was at Stake, Armed Troops without, directed to enter; and armed troops within, drawn forth to oppose their Passage; The Wolf Indian King, with three

> hundred of his warriors, within a Mile of the Town, And his Messengers stopped at the Gate; The Registers of the Country threatened to be thrown into the Streets, and His Majesty's Council kicked out of Doors. All Passage in or out of the Fort denied to the Governor or his Attendants; All means of summoning His Majesty's Council together prevented; Every Communication with the Chief Justice stopped; At this period, was the Lieutenant Govr of the province most active in the countenancing and supporting the author of all those Disturbances, Lieutenant Colonel Walsh.[10]

Johnstone came to the conclusion that Browne's about face was due to the governor's "refusal" to publish Browne's commission of civil authority at Mobile. Browne's commission became effective only in the event of the governor's death, or his absence from the colony, so that to publish the commission would be completely irrevelant. This incident, in Johnstone's view, heightened the dispute between Browne and Johnstone because of Browne's hunger for power.[11]

Browne used both the military and the colonists as pawns in his plan to usurp the governor's authority. In the same letter of April 1, 1766, Johnstone expressed further apprehension regarding the soldiers' loyalty because of their refusal to allow him and his private secretary, James Primrose Thompson, into the Pensacola garrison. When the governor and his secretary attempted to enter the post by scaling the wall, they encountered armed resistance. According to Johnstone, his secretary had to protect them both by fending off the garrison guards with his sword while the rank and file of the post chanted "run him through," directed at Governor Johnstone. One of those leading the chants, "in that charitable Advice," was his own lieutenant governor. Browne gained access to the fort as a messenger between Lt. Colonel Walsh and his supporters. The lieutenant governor apparently pacified Walsh. Johnstone believed that he presented Walsh a special peace offering: one of the Huguenot girls, which the governor "thought was so far improper, as she came hither at the expense of the government."[12]

Browne continued his machinations against the governor Johnstone expressed strong reservations about the "poor ignoran North Americans," noting that they would have died for him si months before, but now it seemed as though they would gladly "pu me to death in their service." Johnstone related to Pownall tha

Browne had circulated a petition to the inhabitants of the colony, telling them that "a Memorial was only necessary, from the meanest Inhabitant to produce my Dismission and his Appointment." The colonists seemed to credit what Browne told them as it were "divine revelation."[13]

Browne's attacks upon Johnstone apparently did not monopolize all of the lieutenant governor's time. Strong circumstantial evidence supports charges that Brown defrauded and stole from the royal government and the province during Johnstone's tenure. Johnstone reported that in the original agreement between Browne and John Ellis, the lieutenant governor agreed to provide arms, ammunition, soap, tea, and sugar valued at approximately £42 for use by the inhabitants of Campbell Town. When Browne and the Huguenots arrived in the colony, the governor requested that Browne deliver the tools, supplies, and provisions that the Board of Trade had specified. Initially, Browne acquiesed in the release of the supplies. A day later, however, he claimed that they had never left England. He maintained that the ship must have sailed before the supplies were loaded and that he was not informed until it was too late to turn back. Browne further claimed that John Pownall knew that the supplies had not been sent but insisted that Browne keep the money because of his efforts to obtain them. Johnstone doubted the truth of Browne's explanation, since the governor knew Pownall to be a scrupulously honest man. In order to protect himself against a charge of duplicity, considering Browne's questionable actions, Johnstone wrote a letter outlining his concerns regarding Browne's behavior and addressed it to his lieutenant governor. Browne regarded the letter as a veiled attempt at character assassination. According to Browne, the governor eventually offered to settle their differences with a duel which he declined.[14]

Browne agreed to replace the "lost" supplies, but only after Johnstone threatened to arrest Richard Neal, the master of the *Red Head*, for their theft. Browne landed some implements of husbandry, agricultural tools, twenty-one inferior Birmingham guns, a barrel of powder, and a box of musket balls which did not fit the guns, from his own stores. He then asked the governor for a receipt for the

merchandise at three times its original value. Perhaps Browne yielded to Johnstone's threat to arrest Captain Neal because he feared that his fellow conspirator, Neal, might expose his profiteering. Johnstone subsequently claimed that Browne "demanded" a receipt from the governor for the guns at three pounds each, though they were not worth more than ten shillings. Browne also insisted, again that the governor publish the lieutenant governor's commission of civil command at Mobile. His tactics successfully forestalled an official investigation into his activities, but it did not prevent him from trying to implicate the governor in wrongdoing or the governor from lodging further complaints against him.[15]

Browne subsequently called into question the stamp appended to a land grant for Dauphin Island held by the Council. Browne affirmed in testimony before the Council that he noticed the stamp on the first grant which he claimed entitled him to the pilothouse, instead of the guardhouse, on the island. Since the stamp on the grant presented by the Council was not perforated, Browne swore that the grant held by the Council was not the original, but a forgery by either the clerk of the Council or Governor Johnstone. Chief Justice William Clifton, either through ignorance or conspiracy, agreed with Browne that the stamp was not the original. Confusion reigned until the governor pointed out that no other stamps of that value were issued, so the grant held by the Council must indeed be the original. Governor Johnstone reluctantly related this matter to the Board, but he felt that it was necessary that the Board of Trade be made aware of what type of man held the post of lieutenant governor. Frustrated for the moment, though not defeated, Browne would persist in his attempt to augment his political power.[16]

Historians of British West Florida have often glossed over the matter of the disputatious relationship between Johnstone and Browne. Perhaps that is because much of their correspondence to the Board of Trade has the tone of petty bickering between unruly schoolboys, but they were not schoolboys and the colony of West Florida and its welfare were worth more than a bag of marbles or a few runs at cricket. There are two substantial and independently verifiable examples of Johnstone's charges concerning Browne's attempts to

depose the governor. The first is found in the sworn Deposition of Robert Collins, a resident of Pensacola.[17]

> Robert Collins of the Town of Pensacola in the Province aforesaid being sworn on the Holy Evangelists of the Almighty God, Deposeth and Sayeth, that some Time about the Middle of the Month of March 1766-He this deponent was in the company with one Matthew Butler, Clerk to Mr. James Noble of the said Town, And that he the said Matthew Butler told this Deponent, that there was going to be a great Revolution or Rebellion in the Town shortly,...That this Deponent asked the said Matthew Butler what he meant; That the said Matthew Butler said, that Mr. Noble had told him, that they were drawing up the Heads of a Remonstrance,...in order to depose his Excellency Governor Johnstone, and to put in Lieutenant Governor Browne. This Deponent further Sayeth, that the said Matthew Butler told him, that in order to carry the said Scheme into Execution, they were to demand Assistance from the Military, And that Lieutenant Colonel Walsh was to give them his Assistance...that the People who were concerned were all the Opposition to his Excellency the Governor, namely Mr. Wegg, Mr. Noble, Mr. Moore, Baker John Watts, acting King's Commisary...And that Mr. Noble and Mr. Moore were the two that was to wait on Lieutenant Governor Brown; That upon the Deponent's remonstrating to him, what a dangerous thing it would be to attempt the least thing against His Excellency the Governor, as it would be the hanging of them all, and tbat this Deponent was surprised, that even if they had such a thing on the Carpet...and that Mr. Clifton must certainly know of what a terrible Nature such a Combination must be, as his Excellency certainly represents the King in this Province...[18]

Governor Johnstone did not give much credence to the efforts of the conspirators and the would-be rebels since he did not truly believe that the military would go to such lengths to secure his removal, nor did he believe that most of the inhabitants of the colony would support such a course of action. He was right. No conspirators rose to oppose him. Browne did, however, make one final stab at the governor. The blow did not destroy Johnstone's administration, but the wound it inflicted proved politically fatal.[19] In October 1766, Governor Johnstone left Pensacola on official business to hold two congresses with the Choctaw and the Alibama Indians at Mobile. During Johnstone's absence, Lt. Governor Browne convened the Council in an attempt to seize control of the government of West Florida. Browne insisted on obtaining all of the governor's public

dispatches, perhaps to inspect them for evidence concerning possible malfeasance. Browne's actions were clearly counter to His Majesty's commission and instructions mandating "that the Lieutenant Governor cannot with any title of Authority, perform any act of government unless in the case of the Governor's death or his absense from the colony." Johnstone's secreatry rejected Browne's demand to surrender the governor's dispatches because Johnstone had not departed the colony, merely Pensacola; Thompson consequently would not acknowledge Browne as commander-in-chief.[20]

The Council concurred. The Proceedings of His Majesty's Council for October 18-20, 1766, confirmed both Johnstone's and Thompson's accounts of the incident. The Council duly registered an official complaint regarding Browne's actions. It denied the "logic" of the lieutenant governor's argument that he should be allowed to assume the duties of the crown's representative in the governor's absense. Browne declared that he was also entitled to open the dispatches though they were expressly directed to Governor Johnstone. When Browne could not gain his point he ordered the *Hillsborough* packet to sail immediately, thus hoping to prevent the governor from reporting the lieutenant governor's malfeasance to the Board of Trade. Browne defended his actions by stating that he did not believe that he could detain the packet ship for more than forty-eight hours due to the unpredictibility of the tides. He also claimed that he sought to take over the burden of command because some of the letters delivered by the *Hillsborough* packet might require an immediate response by means of this ship and the council was uncertain of the date of the governor's return to Pensacola. The Council believed that the colony was on the brink of war with the Indians and that the governor's dispatches should be forwarded to the Board of Trade upon his return to Pensacola, which the Council believed was imminent. Indeed, Johnstone arrived just before the ship was to sail and suceeded in forwarding his dispatches. Browne's attempt to usurp Johnstone's authority was thwarted.[21]

For his own part, the lieutenant governor in a letter to the Board of Trade dated April 14, 1767, merely alluded to a "misunderstanding" between Governor Johnstone and himself. Browne wrote that he never gave the governor cause for mistrust. However, he did

charge that it was the governor who prevented him from becoming well-acquainted with the colony's government. By April 14, 1767, Johnstone received a grant of a leave of absense in anticipation of his recall to England. The publicly circulated reason for his recall was that Johnstone went against the prevailing governmental policy of conciliation with the Indians by advocating a "pre-emptive strike" against the hostile tribes.[22]

The primary reason for Johnstone's recall was that he planned a punitive war on the Creeks. Contrary to Clinton N. Howard's assertion that Johnstone had made war on the Creeks, it must be stressed that Johnstone did not attack the Creek nation, though he strongly advocated it. Johnstone lacked military backing, and without that, there could be no "pre-emptive strike." However, Johnstone was not recalled solely because of his Indian policy. William Petty, secretary of state for the Southern Department, maintained that the primary reason for Johnstone's dismissal was his intended, and unauthorized action against the Creeks. There was, however, a second and perhaps more pervasive reason for Johnstone's recall. He had created a "Spirit of Disunion," within the colony. He went against another prevailing theme in British policy, namely that of conciliation of British citizens as well as the Indians in the colonies. Historians point out that that colonial governors were to avoid confrontations with colonists, Indians, and other officials. They were also expected to employ "temper and moderation," qualities that did not come easily to Johnstone. His abrasive, bombastic personality was not suited to diplomacy. If conciliation was the order of the day, then certainly Johnstone was the wrong man for the job. He was a navy captain, attuned to the rigors of the ship and the autocratic habits of isolated command. Johnstone's longstanding feud with the military in West Florida combined with the complaints from colonial bureaucrats and colonists over his "arbitrary" methods of government gave Shelburne all the evidence he needed to dismiss the first governor of British West Florida.[23]

After Johnstone's recall Montfort Browne became acting governor. The second royal governor, John Eliot arrived on April 2, 1769. Eliot's tenure was short-lived; he died less than a month later, an

apparent suicide. Browne resumed the duties of acting governor until his own recall. Elias Dumsford then filled the post until the arrival of Peter Chester who would serve as royal governor until Spain reconquered Florida in 1781.[24]

George Johnstone's administration lasted only four years, 1763-67. He was hampered by several factors, not the least of which was his own temperment. One significant ingredient in his eventual recall has been largely overlooked by historians, that of Montfort Browne's attempts to both undermine and usurp the governor's authority. Browne's motives were complex. They stemmed from a combination of a desire for prestige and authority and the frustration of a subordinate role to a navy captain. The governor refused to endorse Browne's commission of civil command at Mobile, successfully blocked his efforts to achieve financial gain through chicanery, and finally his political ambitions. Despite Johnstone's success at curbing Browne, or perhaps because of it, Browne eventually triumphed. In the end the lieutenant governor's actions contributed to Johnstone's early recall.

Notes

[1]Public Record Office, Colonial Office, Series 5, Vol. 574:712-15, hereafter cited as PRO, CO 5/574; Dunbar Rowland, ed., *Mississippi Provincial Archives, English Dominion* (Nashville, 1911), 1:464, hereafter cited *as MPAED.*

[2]Henry Fielding, *The Covent Garden Journal and a Plan of the Universal Register Office*, ed. Bertrand A. Golgar (Middletown, CT, 1988), *xxxviii*, 292n, 325-27nn, 378n, 432-33. Henry Fielding is also the author of the ribald classic, *Tom Jones.*

[3]Fielding, *The Covent Garden Journal*, 325n.

[4]Browne served in the campaign against the Cherokees and in successful engagements to conquer Martinique, Grenada, St. Vincent, Tobago, and Havana. Browne to the Earl of Shelburne, June 29, 1767, PRO, CO 5/584:416; Memorial of Montfort Browne, November 10, 1772, D(W) 1778/II:458, Dartmouth Papers in Robin Fabel's "An Eighteenth Colony: Dreams for Mississippi on the Eve of the Revolution," *The Journal of Southern History* 59 (November 1993):648; Browne to Dartmouth, November 3, 1783, ibid, folio 1929; Lord Amherst to the officer commanding the 35th of Foot, August 24, 1763, PRO, War Office 34/102:37 in Fabel, "An Eighteenth Colony," 649. Johnstone also commented on Browne's military career in a letter tc John Pownall, secretary to the Board of Trade and Plantations, citing that Browne hac been asked to leave the 35th Regiment rather than stand court martial for ar undisclosed offense, *MPAED*,1:464.

[5]John Burke, *Burke's Peerage*, 102d ed. (London), 1236-38; Robin Fabel, *Bombast and Broadsides, The Lives of George Johnstone*, (Tuscaloosa, AL, 1987), 1-24: Cecil Johnson, *British West Florida, 1763-1783*, (1942; reprint, Hamden, CT, 1971), 15-20, 24; Robert R. Rea, *The English Press in Politics, 1760-1774* (Lincoln, Nebraska, 1963), 98.

[6]Robin F. A. Fabel, "Thoughts Concerning Florida–A Case Of Lobbying?" *Alabama Review* 29 (July 1976): 167-68. According to Dr. Fabel the basis for this article, "Thoughts," was an anonymous undated document long ignored by Florida historians, perhaps because it was not housed in the Public Records Office papers, but the Egremont Manuscripts. The document is no more than a few seemingly disinterested suggestions on how the newly acquired territory should be organized. See also Robert R. Rea's "Lieutenant Colonel James Robertson's Mission to the Floridas, 1763," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 53 (July 1974).

[7]Endorsed "Copy of Govr Johnstone's preamble to His Majesty's Instructions on the speedy & effectual Settlement of the Province of West Florida. In the Govr's letter of 9 Novr 1764," PRO, CO 5/574; "Memorial of several French Protestants" read June 26, 1765, PRO, CO 5/574: 217-18. For a discussion on the immigration into British West Florida, see Jeanette M. Long, "Immigration to British West Florida, 1763-1781" (M.A. thesis, University of Kansas, 1969); Clinton N. Howard, *The British Development of West Florida, 1763-1769*, (1947; reprint, Millwood, NY, 1974), 29, 30, 36 46, 70, 100, 104, 118, 124; Cecil Johnson, *British West Florida, 1763-1783*, 132-44, 150-54; J. Barton Starr, "Campbell Town: French Huguenots in British West Florida," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 55 (April 1976): 532-47. See also Robin Fabel, *The Economy of British West Florida, 1763-1783* (Tuscaloosa, AL, 1988) for an account of another of Montfort Browne's plans to increase the population of the province involving Irish immigrants. This venture was an utter failure that proved fatal to most of Browne's charges through his contemptible neglect of them. This was a private enterprise, so he did not need to supply a record of accounts to the Board of Trade.

[8]Agreement between John Ellis and Browne, July 5, 1765, PRO, CO 5/574:401; J. Barton Starr, "Campbell Town," 534-35; Roy A. Rauschenberg, "John Ellis, Royal Agent for British West Florida," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 54 (July 1976): 1. See also Robert R. Rea's "King's Agent for British West Florida," *Alabama Review* 16 (April 1963): 141-153.

[9]Browne to the Board of Trade, March 25, 1767, PRO, CO 5/575: 253-54; J. Barton Starr, "Campbell Town," 537. The Board of Trade made provisions that Governor Johnstone should allow the Huguenots 20,000 acres of crown land. The idea behind such generosity was that the Huguenots had a reputation for thrift and hard work which would contribute much to the well-being of the colony. The settlers did not possess the knowledge necessary to cultivate the vineyards or the spinning of silk, which were the primary hopes for employment. They were indifferent farmers. In June of 1768, a group that started out as forty-eight potential new citizens had dwindled to but a few. In two years Campbell Town became a ghost town or, more appropriately, a "rotten borough" with respresentation, but no voters. Fabel, *The Economy of British West Florida, 1763-1783*, 13.

[10]Minutes of the Council, *MPAED*, 1: 373-74; ibid, 460-61; ibid, Johnstone to Maxwell, Jan. 20, 1766, 419-20; PRO, CO 5/574: 225, 703-15; Johnson, *British West Florida, 1763-1783*, 54-56. See also Howard, *British Development of West Florida*, 20-25. Work on the Indians of British West Florida include Kathryn E. Holland, "The Path between the Wars: Creek Relations with the British Colonies, 1763-1774" (M.A.

thesis, Auburn University, 1980); Debra L. Fletcher, "They Lived, They Fought: The Creek-Choctaw War, 1763-1776" (M.A. thesis, Auburn University, 1983); See also Helen L. Shaw, *British Administration of the Southern Indians, 1756-1783* (Lancaster, PA, 1931); John R. Alden, *John Stuart and the Southern Colonial Frontier* (Ann Arbor, MI, 1944); David H. Corkran, *The Creek Frontier, 1540-1783* (Norman, OK, 1967).

[11]MPAED, 1: 463.

[12]PRO, CO 5/574:708-9; *MPAED*, 1: 461-62.

[13]*MPAED*, 1: 462.

[14]PRO, CO 5/574: 708-9; *MPAED*, 1: 302, 462-63.; Starr, "Campbell Town," 538.

[16]*MPAED*, 1: 463-64.

[17]Deposition of Robert Collins, *MPAED*, 1: 458-60.

[18]Ibid.

[19]*MPAED*, 1: 459.

[20]*MPAED*, 1: 302, 463; Letter to John Pownall from Governor Johnstone dated October 22, 1766, PRO, CO 5/575:109; Letter to Primrose Thompson from Montfort Browne dated October 18, 1766, PRO, CO 5/575:125-29; Letter to Montfort Browne from Primrose Thompson dated October 19, 1766, PRO, CO 5/575:129, 133.

[21]Proceedings of His Majesty's Council, October 22, 1766, PRO, CO 5/575: 133; Letter to John Pownall October 22, 1766, PRO, CO 5/575: 137-39.

[22]Letter to the Board of Trade, April 14, 1767, PRO, CO 5/575: 269; Fabel, *Bombast and Broadsides*, 53.

[23]Ibid, 53-57; Johnson, *British West Florida, 1763-1783*, 60; Starr, *Tories, Dons and Rebels: The American Revolution in British West Florida*, (Gainesville, FL, 1976), 16-17. For an account of Johnstone's diplomatic efforts with the Indians see Robert R. Rea and Milo B Howard, Jr., *The Memoire Justificatif of the Chevalier Montault de Monberaut, Indian Diplomacy in British West Florida, 1763* (Birmingham, AL, 1965). Shelburne wrote a letter to Johnstone on February 19, 1767 informing him of the king's displeasure with the governor's actions and his subsequent recall. Johnstone, however, left the province on January 9 after his request for a leave of absence was granted.

[24]Letter to the Earl of Hillsborough from Montfort Browne, July 6, 1768, PRO, CO 5/577:1-4; Johnson, *British West Florida, 1763-1783*, 69.

John H. Frederick is pursuing a degree in archival studies from Louisiana State University.

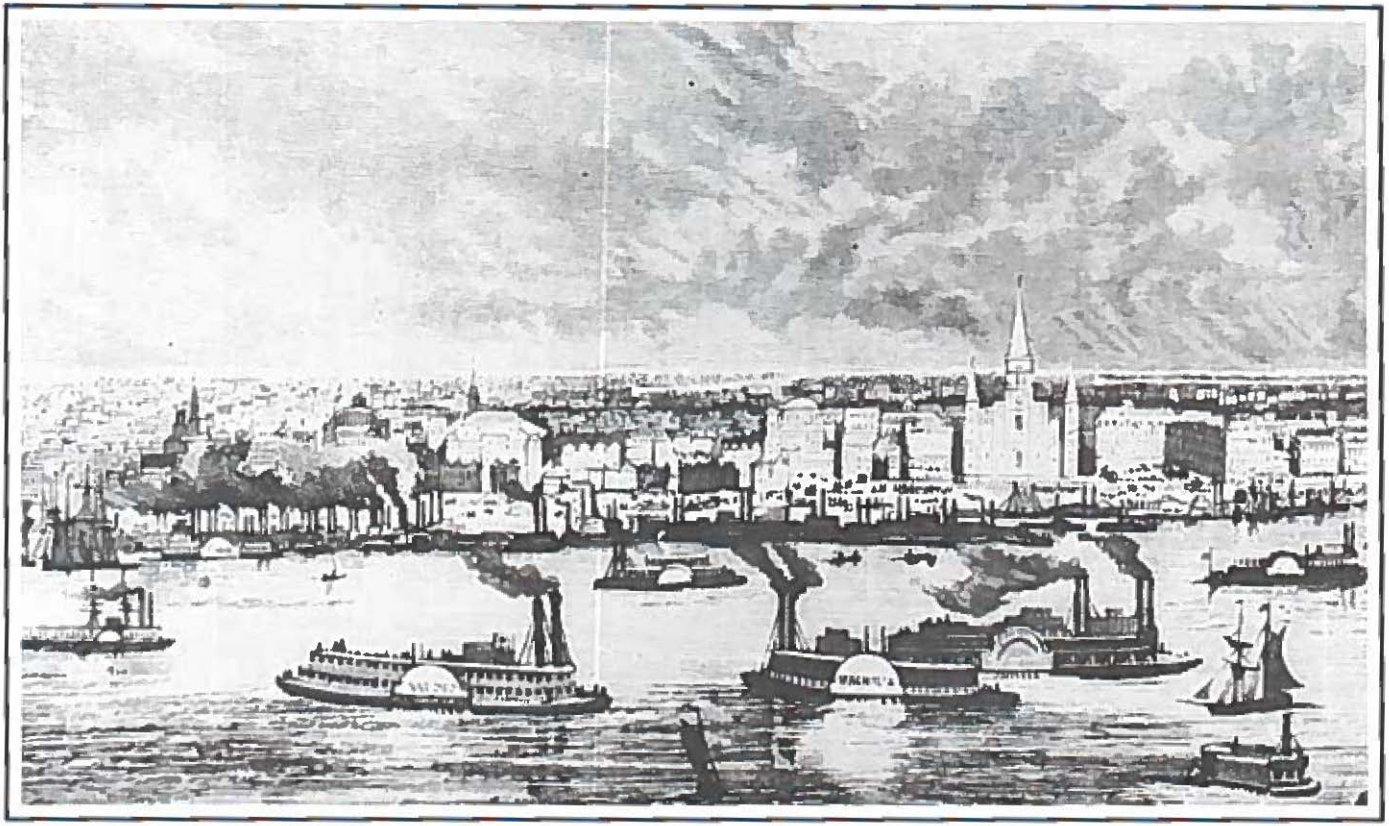
A Journey of Lost Souls: New Orleans to Natchez Slave Trade of 1840

Richard McMillan

In the year 1840, 1,029 human beings were shipped into the port of New Orleans via the coastwise slave trade. The coastwise slave trade involved the transportation of enslaved African Americans on the open seas from one domestic port to another. The data on these slave shipments have been well documented through the collection of "Slave Manifests."[1] The Slave Manifests were instituted after the 1808 federal ban on the African slave trade. The manifests were used to assure that anyone of African descent traveling on an ocean-going vessel was a domestic slave and not an illegal African, Caribbean, or South American import.[2] The manifests listed the entreport and destination of the shipment, information about the vessel, as well as the details on its "cargo": i.e., the slave's first name (occasionally the last name), age, height, color of skin, and owner. Although the point of departure is known, the final destination of these souls is still open to speculation.

New Orleans had become a key distribution center of slaves during the eighteenth century.[3] The opening of new fertile lands in the "New South" of Alabama, Louisiana, and Mississippi, coupled with soil exhaustion and slave overpopulation in the large slave-holding states of Maryland and Virginia, created the ideal combination of planter migration and surplus slaves–both supply and demand.[4]

By 1840 the South had begun to recover from the Panic of 1837 and began to buy slaves again. In our study year of 1840 we have the details on 1,092 of the 1,129 recorded slaves imported to New Orleans.[5] Of those 1,092 slaves, 613 were males and 479 were female; a ratio of 56 to 44 (Chart 1). The twelve-point difference is considerable when compared to the six point difference of the Savannah slave exports of the 1840s.[6] This disparity between the sexes is understandable considering the demand for field hands which the labor-intensive cash crops of the Deep South, cotton and sugar, would require.[7] What is most striking is the patterns which appear



New Orleans, c. 1860. Center for Regional Studies at Southeastern Louisiana University.

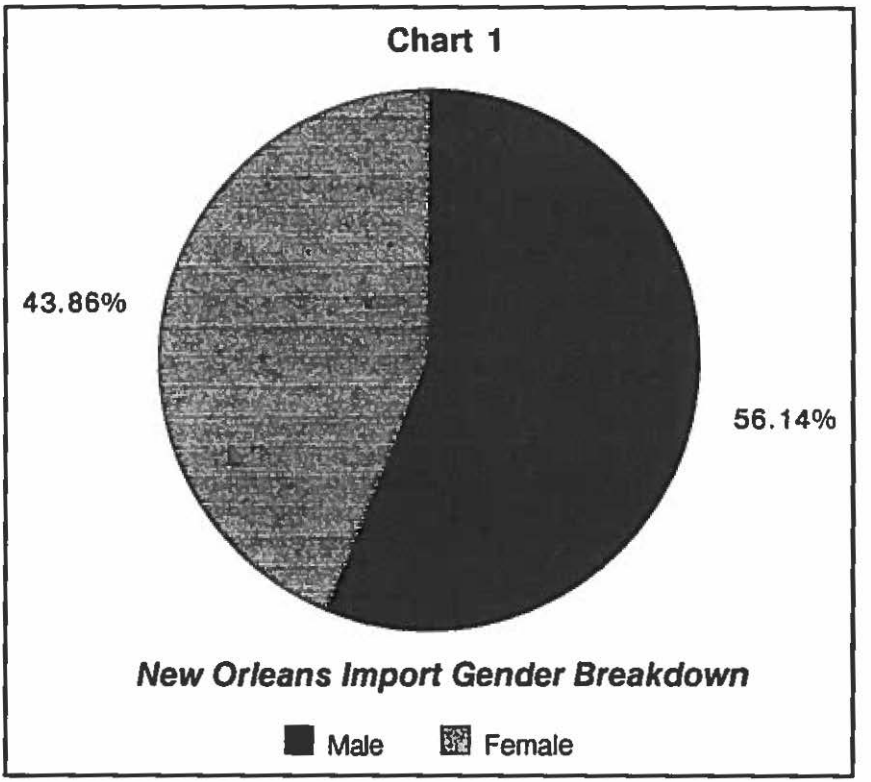


Chart 1
43.86%
56.14%
New Orleans Import Gender Breakdown
Male
Female

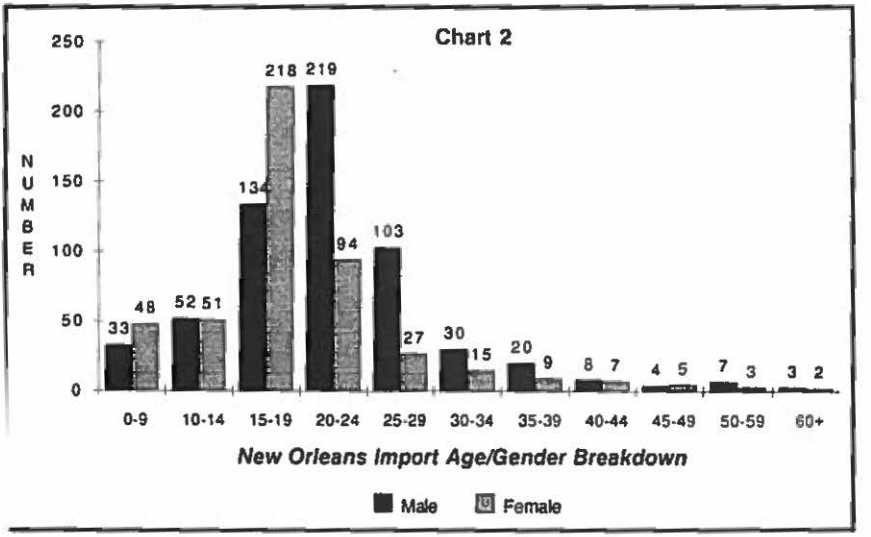


Chart 2
NUMBER
250
200
150
100
50
0
33 48
52 51
134 218
219 94
103 27
30 15
20 9
8 7
4 5
7 3
3 2
0-9
10-14
15-19
20-24
25-29
30-34
35-39
40-44
45-49
50-59
60+
New Orleans Import Age/Gender Breakdown
Male
Female

when the gender ratio is broken down into age and gender percentages (Chart 2).

The age/gender breakdown shows what would be expected; in all but two categories (age groups 0-9 and 15-19) males outnumber females. The gender breakdown on children (ages 0-9) is unpredictable. Children usually would be shipped and sold with their mother. It was against Louisiana law to separate a mother from her children aged ten years or less. But how well this law was enforced is another matter altogether.[8] The mother would have been the focal point of the purchase, assuming the family was not broken up either during shipment or in auction, the children, whether wanted or not, would have been part of the sale. This being the case, no rational pattern can be developed, making the children's gender, percentage, and gender ratios relatively unimportant. However, in the fifteen to nineteen age group 70 percent of the slaves were female. This is the antithesis of the twenty to twenty-four age group, where males total 80 percent. It is easy to understand the large percentage of males considering the labor intensive work which would have befallen a slave in the Deep South. We can only speculate as to why such a large number of fifteen- to nineteen-year-old females would have been imported. This could have been just an anomaly and the females may have been destined, as were the males, for the fields. Alternatively the women could have been bound for work as domestics in urban New Orleans. They may also have become "fancy girls" working in one of the famous New Orleans bordellos.[9] However we cannot forget the additional value an enslaved young woman would fetch as "breeding stock" to a perspective slave buyer. Whatever the lot of the females may have been, the question is whether the 1840 shipments are consistent patterns for the demand for younger females or an inconsistency of one year.

New Orleans was a major entreport of slavery in America, due not only to the number of slaves shipped into the Crescent City, but the size of each shipment. The port routinely saw single slave shipments of upwards of one hundred enslaved persons.[10] The 1,129 slaves shipped into New Orleans were aboard eighty-nine ships. This is an average of nearly thirteen slaves per shipment. Again that is considerable when compared to the Savannah export average of two

to three slaves per shipment.[11] Shipping such large numbers of slaves leads to the assumption that large slave sales may have occurred. The large shipments would have been either slaves of a planter migrating west or slave traders transporting their human cargo.[12] The name of a slave owner on a large shipment manifest does not necessarily indicate a slave trader, someone whose livelihood is dependent on the buying and selling of enslaved people. However, ten names continually appear as slave importers in 1840.[13] For our purposes we will concentrate on three: Thomas Boudar, Mark Davis, and the infamous Theopolis Freeman.[14]

Boudar, Davis, and Freeman were major importers in the New Orleans slave trade. Combined, they imported 30 percent of all the slaves who arrived in New Orleans in 1840: Thomas Boudar shipped 70 slaves (6.4 percent), Mark Davis had 92 slaves (8.4 percent), while Theopolis Freeman consigned 164 bondsmen, or 15 percent of the total New Orleans coastwise trade.[15] These three well-documented slave traders of the 1840s and 1850s shall be considered representative of the New Orleans slave importers as a whole.

Slave trading was an expensive business to enter into, but not without its rewards. In the New Orleans slave markets the price of a slave could be as little as four hundred dollars for a child, and upwards of one thousand dollars for an adult.[16] Transactions were usually cash purchases, often sealed only with a handshake. Large purchases may have included contracts which would need to be notarized. These notarized records of slave sales disclose the name of the purchaser, the date of the sale, the slave's first name, sex, age, the sale price and the conditions of sale (cash, balance due, in exchange, etc.), and the name of the notary. All three of the slave traders had notarized sales.[17]

Thomas Boudar sold 44 slaves on twenty-four notarized transactions, however, only 6 of the slaves had been from his 1840 coastal imports, giving an overall sales percentage of 9 percent of Boudar's coastal trade. Mark Davis made fifteen transactions in which 9 of the 92 slaves were from the coastwise trade, accounting for 14 percent of his import total. Theopolis Freeman had seventeen notarized sales which included the sale of 27 slaves, but only 4 of

those slaves were from the 164 which were coastal imports, less than 3 percent. Of the 326 blacks brought through the port of New Orleans by Boudar, Davis, and Freeman only 23 are listed in sales by notary publics, just 7 percent, leaving 303 of their slaves unaccounted for. Their other notarized slave sales either came to New Orleans via the coastwise trade or overland with some other trader which they purchased while in New Orleans, or were slaves they picked up within the local area. If 7 percent is used as the standard for all notarized slave sales from the coastwise imports, then that would amount to 76 slaves sold from the 1,092 slaves who were brought into the New Orleans coastal imports of 1840. We are now left with a puzzling dilemma, what happened to the remaining 1,016 slaves? Where did they go? It is plausible that many of the remaining slaves were sold up river, in Mississippi.

During the decade of the 1840s, over fifty thousand slaves were shipped into the state of Mississippi.[18] New Orleans was the hub of the thriving slave trade in the lower Mississippi Valley. Even before 1820 slaves were being shipped up the Mississippi River to be sold in Natchez.[19] Many of the New Orleans slave importers and traders also conducted their business in Natchez, Adams County, Mississippi This can be confirmed by the Adams County tax rolls which show traders like T. McCargo, Paul Pascal, and Isaac Franklin, who sold slaves and paid the county taxes on those sales.[20] Natchez was second only to New Orleans as a slave trading center.[21] The means of transportation to Natchez from New Orleans would either be on foot chained together in coffles, or via the river; on barges and steamboats. Travel by any means other than steamboat would be nearly impossible to trace. Fortunately, many of the steamboat records have survived.

However, tracing steamboat shipments is not as easy as it might sound. It is necessary to formulate a steamboat schedule using steamboat advertisements found in the New Orleans newspaper and then compare the steamboat schedules with steamboat freight bills and passenger lists.[22] Since slaves are listed on "Slave Manifests" perhaps they would be listed on steamboat freight bills. Using this information one must then connect the steamboat records to the advertisements of slave auctions in the Natchez newspaper. While there are steamboat

schedules listed in several New Orleans newspapers, surviving freight bills and passenger lists are quite rare. A search of the Natchez newspaper also proved to be unproductive. The Natchez newspaper, *The Weekly Courier and Journal* had advertisements for slave auctions, from August 13, 1840, to September 13, 1843, which dealt with individual sales and sheriff auctions. There is no record of the large sales which we would expect to find, nor of any of the names we had found in New Orleans. There was one ad which might explain the lack of slave auctions advertised in the Natchez area; the ad read:

New Orleans Auction Mart
Camp Street
J. A. Beard & Richardson[23]

Perhaps all the large slave buying markets were in New Orleans, not Natchez.

One of the largest slave owners in the Natchez area was Dr. William Mercer. On three of his plantations labored four hundred enslaved males and females.[24] Over the course of twenty years (1827-47) Mercer bought eighty slaves in thirty transactions. The location of the slave purchases is noted on fifteen of the transactions. Ten of those fifteen transactions occurred in New Orleans, while the other five were in Natchez and West Feliciana Parish. Mercer's New Orleans purchases were made for him by a "Mr. Dick," apparently his agent.[25] Although we do know that planters like Mercer did purchase slaves locally, at places like "Fork-in-the-Road,"[26] the bulk of their purchases may have been done in New Orleans, perhaps through agents.

No matter how or where the purchases were made the question remains, how did slaves get transported up the Mississippi River? Using the Mississippi State Harbor Master Reports a piece of the puzzle does appear.[27] The Harbor Master Reports for Adams County list the boat and its captain, its home port and destination, tonnage, fees paid, and its cargo. Steamboat freight bills confirmed that the vessels carried what one would expect; cotton, corn, sundry

merchandise, and even Indians, but no slaves. Slaves may have been listed on the passenger list, but if so, then why weren't the Indians? Furthermore, what is the difference between "sundry" and "merchandise?" Tax records may shed some light on these discrepancies. Adams County collected a tax on the sale of every slave for the state. They used standardized printed tax forms with the blank spaces filled out by hand and signed by both the tax payer and the tax collector. They read as follows:

> STATE OF MISSISSIPPI - Adams County
> *I Walter W. Ourley* Do solemnly swear that the above is a true and perfect account of all sales of Merchandise, or sales made by me since the preceding return, or collecting of Taxes. So help me God.[28]

On the back of the form was printed the words, "Sales of Merchandise." It would be an acknowledgement of what had transpired, the sale of the "merchandise." On one of these tax receipts the word "merchandise" is crossed out with the word "slaves" written above.[29] The term "merchandise" on these forms at least, is a colloquialism for slave, and may also have been used for steamboat records as well. The term "merchandise" does appear on most of the steamboat freight bills. Are these numerous listings for "merchandise" on the Harbor Masters Reports actually the listing of slave trafficking?

The Mississippi State law does help answer this question. In 1822 the state established a series of laws pertaining to slaves auctions and auctioneering practices. In this collection of laws Mississippi determined that the legal term of a slave would be "merchandise." The law read: "*And be it further enacted, That slaves are hereby declared merchandise, within the meaning of this act.*"[30] In an attempt to depersonalize slavery the lawmakers tried to dehumanize the enslaved African Americans by defining them as inanimate objects–merchandise.

It is impossible to arrive at any firm conclusions at this point. We know that slaves were shipped into New Orleans, some were sold there, and that some of those sales were notarized. We also know

that "merchandise" referred to slaves. Perhaps the records of the remaining slaves transported up the Mississippi River are listed on the many missing steamboat freight bills. It is also possible that the New Orleans imports were shipped up the Red River to be sold in Texas and Arkansas, or like Solomon Northup, redistributed to work the sugar plantations of southern Louisiana.[31] The firm evidence needed as proof of a Mississippi River connection between New Orleans and Natchez still evades us, and may always do so. To establish, or disprove, this connection will require extensive work in the archives, depositories, and private collections of the Deep South. Until such time the question about the fate of thousands of lost souls shall remain unanswered. It is a disservice to their memory, and likewise, a disservice to us all.

Notes

[1]Slave Manifests, New Orleans, 1819-1852, Records of the U.S. Customs Service, RG 36, File 36.4, National Archives. This study was originally undertaken with the guidance of Dr. Ronald L. F. Davis of California State University, Northridge. Without his support and encouragement this article would never have seen the light of day. Thank you "Captain."

Kenneth Stampp, *The Peculiar Institution* (New York, 1978). African-American seamen were also required to be documented. This document was titled "Return of Seamen." It stated the ship's name, the captain, home port, date of arrival, and length of employment. To date the author has yet to find documentation for "Free Persons of Color" who were traveling on the open seas. Slave Manifests, New Orleans, 1819-1852, File 36.4, Records of the U.S. Customs Service, RG 36, File 36.4, NA.

Ronald L. F. Davis, *The Black Experience in Natchez* (Washington, DC, 1993), 1.

. Niven, *The Coming of the Civil War* (Arlington Hts., IL., 1990), 9; Stampp, *The eculiar Institution*, 238-39.

he remaining thirty-seven slaves were a compilation of infants of unknown gender, aves lacking critical data on the manifests or were deceased in transit.

ichard McMillan, "Savannah's Coastal Slave Trade: A Quantitative Analysis of Ship anifests, 1840-1850," *The Georgia Historical Quarterly* (Summer 1994): 339-59.

harles Sydnor, *Slavery in Mississippi* (Glouster, MA, 1965).

I. H. Stephenson, *Isaac Franklin Slave Trader and Planter of the Old South* louster, MA., 1968), 71-72. But if any question about enforcement, or lack thereof,

is needed, read Solomon Northup, *Twelve Years a Slave* (Baton Rouge, LA, 1968), 56-60.

[9]U. B. Phillips, *American Negro Slavery* (Baton Rouge, LA, 1969), 196, 259.

[10]On November 4, 1840, the Brig *Orleans*, captained by Hiram Horton, brought in 204 slaves from Petersburg, Virginia. The next day Captain William Smith brought in the brig *Isaac Franklin* of Alexandria, Virginia, with 92. Slave Manifests, New Orleans, 1819-1852. Records of the U.S. Customs Service, RG 36, File 36.4, NA.

[11]Richard McMillan, "Savannah's Coastal Slave Trade," 339-59.

[12]Occasionally a slave owner with one to a few slaves will appear on these Large Shipment manifests. This is because of the opportunity to catch the next available slave ship out of port rather than part of a planned trade pattern. Slave Manifests, New Orleans, 1819-1852, Records of the U.S. Customs Service, RG 36, File 36.4, NA.

[13]Those men were: Hope Slatter, Henry Davis, Mark Davis, Thomas Boudar, George Kephart, Theopolis Freeman, William Goodwin, Alex McDonal, William Williams, and T. McCargo–the captain of the mutinied Creole slave ship. Slave Manifests, New Orleans, 1819-1852, Records of the U.S. Customs Service, RG 36, File 36.4, NA.

[14]Theopolis Freeman gained his notoriety as the man who sold Solomon Northup "up-the-river" in Solomon Northup, *Twelve Years a Slave* (Baton Rouge, LA, 1968).

[15]These figures are based on the 1,092 identifiable slaves in our study.

[16]There are, of course, exceptions to this price structure. Rarely did a male slave eve warrant more than $900 or a female slave $800, but Thomas Boudar did sell bondsman to Alexis Tircuit of St. Johns Parish for $1025 and Theo. Freeman sol two women for the combined price of $2000 to Alfred T. Conrad. These purchaser must have considered the "merchandise" in excellent condition to fetch such a hig price, or the slaves had brought with them specialized skills (Conveyance Offic Conveyance Records, File 27, 4-661, New Orleans Notarial Archives). For exampl William Mercer of Natchez once paid $2000 for a cook (Mercer Papers, Speci Collections, Hill Memorial Library, Louisiana State University, Baton Rouge, LA). Bu not all purchases were made in dollars. Thom. Boudar sold a seventeen-year-old gi to Charles Roman for 1500P (Piastres, a French term, perhaps Acadian, for dollar

[17]Conveyance Office, Conveyance Records, File 27, 4-661, New Orleans Notari Archives.

[18]Tadman, *Speculator and Slaves* (Madison, WI, 1989), 12.

[19]Davis, *The Black Experience in Natchez*, 68, and Stephenson, *Isaac Franklin Sla Trader and Planter.*

[20]Natchez Municipal Records, Adams County Tax Rolls, RG 29, MF1 & MF Mississippi Department of Archives and History, Jackson MS (hereafter MDAH).

[21]Davis, *The Black Experience in Natchez.*

[22]Louisiana Division, New Orleans Public Library, New Orleans, LA.

[23]*The Courier and Journal*, August 9, 1843 and September 8, 1843.

[24]Mercer Papers, Financial Records, 187H874. Succession of W. N. Mercer, Slave Records, Ms. Property, Record Group UU79, #292, box 3, file 20, Special Collections, Hill Memorial Library, Louisiana State University, Baton Rouge, LA. As of Mercer's June 1849 inventory of his plantation slaves. The names of Mercer's Natchez plantations were Brookhurst, Ellisciiffe, and Ormond. There is an interesting side note to his plantation, Ormond. The file at LSU lists the plantation as Ormond, but some of the documents within the file spell it with an "e," Ormonde.

[25]Mercer Papers, Special Collections, Hill Memorial Library, LSU.

[26]Ibid., November 4, 1847. The "Fork-in-the-Road" was the slave auction center outside of Natchez where two roads converged, a fork in the road. Records of transactions and slave purchases are housed at the Historic Natchez Foundation, Natchez, MS, as well as several books about Natchez which deal with "Fork-in-the-Road." Ironically, the main road at Fork-in-the-Road has since been renamed Liberty.

[27]Natchez Municipal Records, Harbor Master Reports, RG 56, MDAH.

[18]Natchez Municipal Records, Adams County Tax Roles, February 1, 1828, RG 29, MF1 & MF2, MDAH.

[9]Ibid., March 30, 1928.

[0]Laws of the State of Mississippi, Jackson, MS, 1838, Sec. 8, 83 (private collection of Charles Brenner, Jackson, MS). There is also a margin note which reads: "Slaves declared merchandise."

Northup, *Twelve Years a Slave.*

Richard McMillan is professor of U.S. and Latin American history at Pierce College in Woodland Hills, California.

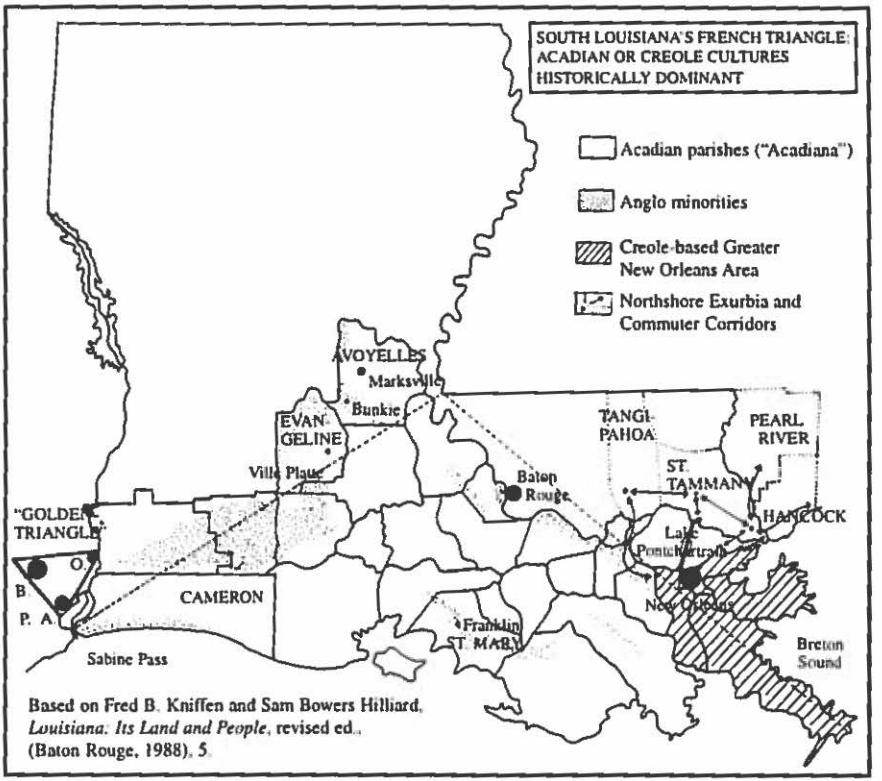
Updating the North-South Contrast: Anglo-Saxon and Latin Louisiana in Popular Culture

Timothy F. Reilly

While Louisiana's cultural history contrasts sharply with that of the rest of the South, the chief domestic paradox has always involved the state's Anglo-Saxon and Latin communities. Some observers assert that "French Louisiana" has been culturally doomed, its inevitable death the result of the casual machinations of the immense Anglo-American world which effectively surrounds it. Why then, does the state's peculiar southern region still persist in personifying that well known "Louisiana of the mind" which is so often sustained in popular literature, film, tourist brochures, and to a lesser extent, perhaps, in the subtleties of artistic and architectural landscape expression?

In order better to understand the nature of the north-south contrast, scholars in anthropology and cultural geography have in the past established boundaries between the two domains.[1] The criteria they used in mapping the borders included the incidence of ethnic surnames, voting habits, religious affiliation, foodways, settlement patterns, commonly used place-names, and building construction techniques among others. In judging the quality of the miscellaneous materials, qualifying their use, and interpreting the results, researchers have not always been in agreement, even when they occupied the same discipline and employed the same strategies.[2]

There is, however, a general agreement on the existence of a "French Triangle" dominating the south central portion of the state Sociologist T. Lynn Smith and geographer Fred B. Kniffen both plac the apex of the Triangle at the confluence of the Mississippi and Re rivers, while the Triangle's base stretches eastward from Sabine Pas in Calcasieu Parish to Breton Sound off Plaquemines Parish. Howeve Kniffen's straight eastern side bypasses most of the New Orlean metropolitan area. The other writers place their lines a small distanc west and extend the apexes farther north to Rapides Parish fc historical and linguistic reasons.[3]



A more recent definition of the "French Triangle" greatly expands the borderland perimeter. Architectural historian Philippe Oszuscik has created a secondary zone which he calls the "Regional French Triangle." Adjoining Louisiana's original inner Triangle, Oszuscik's version stretches continuously along the shore of the Gulf of Mexico from the south Texas coast to Florida's Panhandle. Pushing northward up the Mississippi River valley, the outer Triangle reaches the confluence of the Arkansas and Mississippi rivers.[4]

Oszuscik's comprehensive Triangle has merit, since it includes portions of neighboring states which owe much to Latin influence stemming from the lower Mississippi valley. Southeast Texas, particularly in the vicinity of the commercially oriented "Golden Triangle" (Beaumont-Port Arthur-Orange), contains what are perhaps the largest colonies of transplanted Acadians outside Louisiana.

Adjacent to Louisiana's eastern border, Hancock County may still be the sole Mississippi county with a Roman Catholic majority–the result of a long-time spillover from New Orleans. Farther east, sizable populations of Roman Catholics are clustered along the Gulf Coast as far as Pensacola. It should be emphasized that Mobile, Alabama, predates New Orleans as a French colonial site. It is home to numerous descendants of French Creole and Acadian settlers, and its Mardi Gras is older than that of New Orleans.[5]

Historic Exclaves, Enclaves, and March Sites

Spatially, Latin Louisiana's civilization is not a compact, well-integrated unit. Within the state's Anglo-Saxon north is the most famous outlier: the Cane River region of the middle Red River valley. Founded in 1714, Natchitoches and its surrounding area served as an outpost of colonial French Louisiana at a time when the French and Spanish empires were in a prolonged dispute over the precise location of the border separating Louisiana and Texas.[6]

Other Latin citadels have been less successful in resisting absorption. Founded by Don Juan Filhiol in 1785, Fort Miro later succumbed to the advancing American frontier. Even Don Juan, himself, changed his name pronunciation to "John" when the tide of American settlers appeared overwhelming. Originally named after a colonial Spanish governor, the settlement's name was later changed to "Monroe" in 1819, apparently with much popular support. In that year, the river steamer *James Monroe*–namesake of the then President–had arrived, opening the port to steam navigation. Thereafter, the remaining scraps of French culture were represented by a tiny collection of mispronounced surnames and place names.[7]

Farther south, the French settlement of Les Rapides (1723 eventually lost its name to the twin-city conurbation of Alexandria Pineville. Elsewhere, settlements in the Natchez area, Lake Providence and Concordia, though founded under French or Spanish colonia administration, were also submerged in the Anglo-Saxon tide.[8]

During the nineteenth century, the coalescing Latin borderland wa stabilized by the appearance of a number of forwardly-positione march sites. Whenever the Latin and Anglo-Saxon populations can

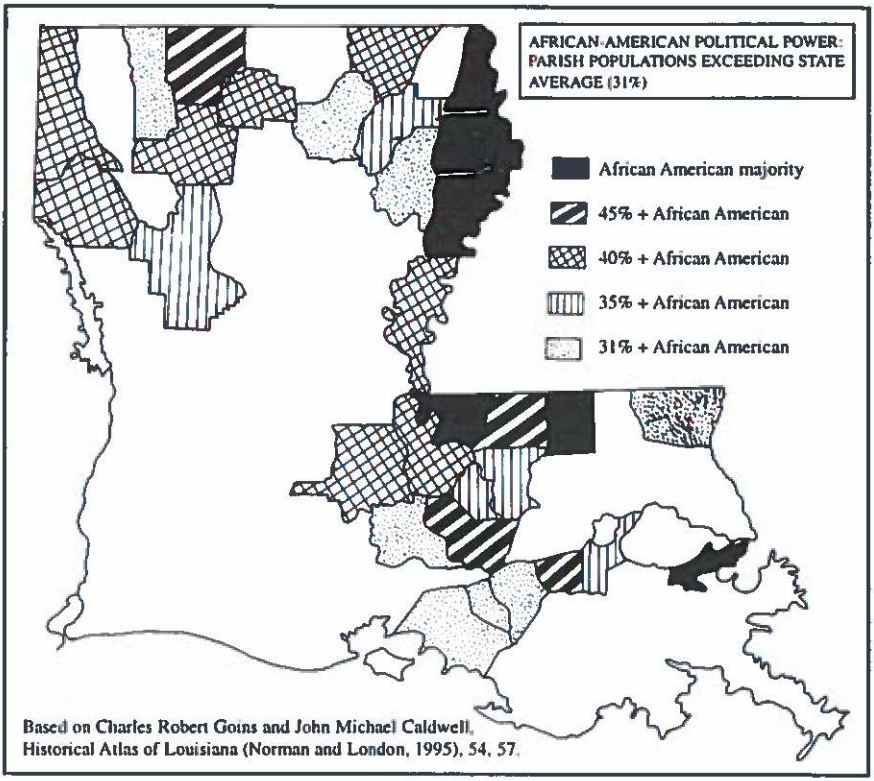
into relatively close quarters, one or the other might form a socio-cultural haven for offensive or defensive purposes. The relatively compact settlement might discourage foreign entry through unspoken economic boycott or a mild form of social ostracism. Emotions were seldom at a fever-pitch. Personal avoidance, fortified by language difference, merely built invisible walls.

In Avoyelles Parish, the town of Marksville remains as the northernmost bastion of a combined Creole-Acadian culture. In nearby Evangeline Parish, Ville Platte and its surrounding prairies remain doggedly French, while a solid phalanx of Anglo-Saxons occupies the intervening woodlands and cove clearings around Bayou Chicot and Turkey Creek. From the opposite perspective, geographer Milton B. Newton, Jr., sees settlements such as Baton Rouge and Bunkie as historic march sites founded or reinforced by the southward penetration of Anglo-Saxon culture.[9]

The nineteenth-century Anglo-Saxon "enclave" is most dramatically shown in the examples of St. Mary and Cameron parishes within the Latin south itself. Dominating a march site such as Franklin, St. Mary Parish's "Lowland South" immigrants displaced much of the older Acadian population by purchasing their small farms and carving out large sugar-cane plantations. Farther west in Cameron Parish, a proliferation of English and Scotch-Irish surnames can be traced as far back as the antebellum period when Texas ranchers, fruit growers, and fishermen moved into the Chenier Marsh.[10]

Recent Intrusions Along the Borderland, 1945-95

Following the Second World War, the Catholic south's most startling foray into the northern borderland occurred in St. Tammany Parish, just across Lake Pontchartrain from New Orleans, and long a traditionally Protestant Anglo-Saxon preserve. In the nineteenth century, St. Tammany Parish first became popular as a summer resort getaway for wealthy New Orleanians escaping the city's oppressive humidity, endemic malaria, and recurring bouts of yellow fever. Mandeville, with its distinctive *Northshore* summer homes, along with Madisonville, Abita Springs, and Covington, have since grown up as



exurban boundary settlements amidst the serene fastness of the piney flatwoods.[11]

By the middle of the present century, the automobile helped to make the fast-sprouting suburb of Slidell, just across the Rigolets from Orleans Parish, increasingly popular with the more ambitious commuter, while the completion of the Lake Pontchartrain Causeway in 1956 linked the other northshore towns to New Orleans. Transportation technologies thereby initiated the migration of a large part of the city's middle and upper-middle class population beyond the lake.

Soon afterward, a growing African-American population inside New Orleans, along with a host of other factors, accelerated the middle class exodus into a veritable "white flight" which today shows no sign of abating. The current demographic trend may portend the creation of a rival metropolitan node covering the southern half of St.

Tammany Parish. Predominantly white and middle class, this sprawling "Faubourg St. Tammany," its site more exurban and suburban, seems to transcend the modern-day phenomenon of the typical *edge-city* by insulating itself both spatially and administratively from predominantly black New Orleans. Tourist-laden Venice, Italy, is something of a parallel. As that island-city struggles against the tidal waves of the Adriatic Sea, its mainland counterpart continues to expand its industrial and residential functions. Likewise, insular New Orleans, another museum city, nurses its precious tourist trade while fending off swamp and ocean. Meanwhile, a new alternative urban focus is busily taking shape on the nearby mainland. In the last four years alone the population of St. Tammany Parish has increased by 15.7 per cent, making it the state's fastest growing parish and seventh in population.[12]

Actually, the "Latinization" of St. Tammany is largely mythical. The invasion from across the lake during the past fifty years probably counts more Anglo-Saxon, German, and Irish-Americans than the total number of transplanted white Creoles and resident Italian-Americans put together. One must also consider the hundreds of families who have no ethnic ties to Louisiana whatsoever.

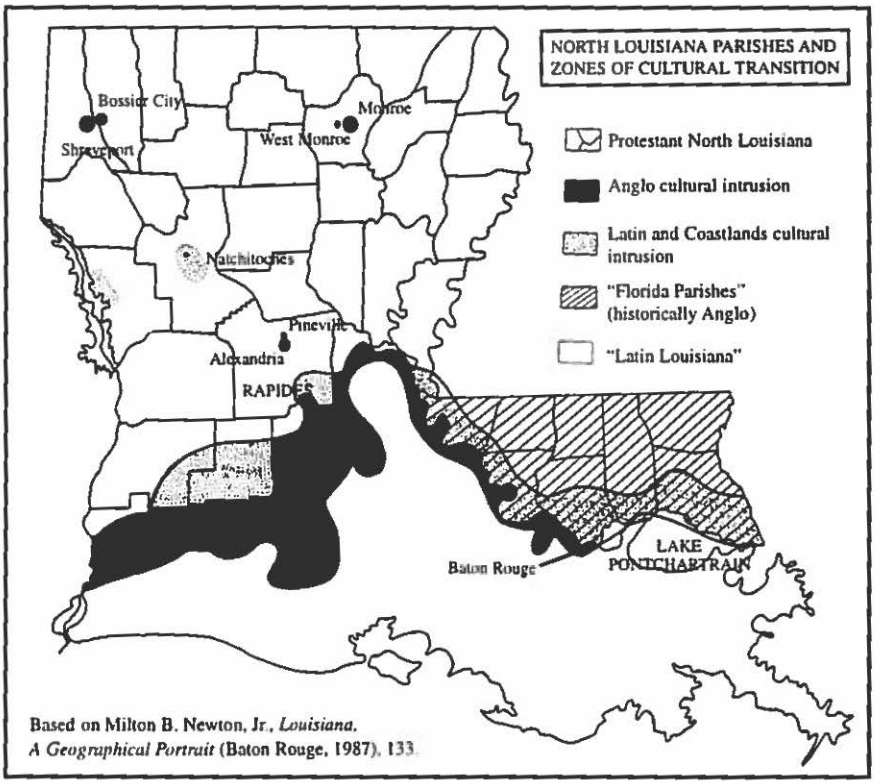
Infiltrating cultural features on the Northshore often include an enlarged Roman Catholic population, a higher average per capita income, a growing diversity in foods and residential architecture, a wider array of commercial services and entertainment, and changes in the character and direction of local politics. With the possible exception of religion and politics, these changes are admittedly connected more closely to rapid urbanization than to "Latinization." This abrupt superimposition of an urban dormitory culture on what was a once-bucolic landscape has been a boon for the St. Tammany developer, but it has not been a happy encounter for some of the older native inhabitants, many of whom wish that the causeway had never been built.

The growing dormitory complex or "bedroom community" can also be applied to southern Tangipahoa Parish and its population center of Hammond. Not only is Hammond fast becoming a major growth center north of the lake, its regional university's expanding

enrollment owes much to college-bound urban youths who, for a variety of reasons, bypass New Orleans' several institutions of higher learning. It is this New Orleans-oriented population which has incorporated a once slumberous campus in the piney woods into an urbanized northshore nexus. Almost one-third of the students attending Southeastern Louisiana University come from the Greater New Orleans area, including St. Tammany Parish. As a whole, Tangipahoa has grown by 6.5 per cent during the last four years, and now is tenth in the state in total population.[13] Moving westward and closer to the Acadian subregion, one has to consider the march site of Baton Rouge. For several generations this Anglo-Saxon growth pole has absorbed thousands of French-speaking in-migrants without seriously compromising its historic North Louisiana ethos. Despite the Napoleonic Code, burgeoning "Cajun Power" in the hinterland, and almost two hundred years of ethnic intermarriage, many of the city's dominant institutions continue to reflect the culture of the inland south, historically the zone of entrenched Anglo-Saxon hegemony at odds with the more cosmopolitan southern coastlands.[14]

A legacy of agrarian conservatism survives among the state's legislators and lobbyists. The city's business leaders still promote the cautious capitalism typical of Faulkner's Snopeses. Louisiana State University remains almost a classic inland south institution of higher learning as demonstrated by the long-standing WASP-ishness of its top administrators, the scrupulous conservatism of its faculty, and the ossified customs of the student body's fraternity and sorority set. Not least of all, the LSU football team has maintained a north Louisiana across-the-board loyalty approaching a religious devotion. In French Louisiana, this worshipful pose has been spotty and more restrained but can sometimes be pronounced among members of the elite.

Nevertheless, geographer Milton Newton observed not long ago that Baton Rouge was beginning to let down its guard, at least on the public relations front. Calling it "the southernmost Redneck city, and "the forward post of a non-French power, set to watch the affairs to the south," Newton maintains that Baton Rouge acknowledged nearby Acadiana's legitimacy after the first election of Cajun Governor Edwin Edwards in 1971. It was not until then, said he, that "the capital [began] to adopt French pretensions, such as Mardi Gras, flee



Based on Milton B. Newton, Jr., *Louisiana. A Geographical Portrait* (Baton Rouge, 1987), 133.

l'lis on street signs, and the serving of jambalaya and gumbo at Chamber of Commerce promotions."[15] Newton further implies–with good humor–that the city, in its political anxiety, had adopted the dvocacy tone of a Johnny-on-the-spot: "The phoney stylistics in Baton Rouge, of course, reflect the political ascendancy of the Cajun: f you can't beat 'em, join 'em!"[16]

Newton may not be far off the mark. Less than 17 per cent of ıe total population of East Baton Rouge Parish claims French eritage, and since the parish has long been adjacent to the north- ıuth border, most of this minority group is ethnically diluted.[17] The -culturalism which has recently set Greater Baton Rouge somewhat ıart from the inland south goes beyond its youthful Mardi Gras lebration and the inclusive folk life display at the Louisiana Rural fe Museum. At the media center of Louisiana Public Broadcasting,

during the past decade has forced the city to exploit alternative tourist potential.[24]

Alexandria's Most Distinguished Survivor: The Kent Plantation House. Reilly photo.

Penetration of the Deep North: Shreveport and Monroe

Less than 14 percent of the combined population of Caddo and Bossier parishes claims any French heritage. Despite this slender base, the commercial landscape of Shreveport-Bossier City is certainly acquiring a south Louisiana accent, unthinkable just a few years ago.[25] Shreveport-Bossier's youthful Mardi Gras celebration boasts at least seventeen "throwing floats" and a schedule of events lasting from early January through the end of February. In addition, small floats, open convertibles, marching bands, live dancing, food festivals, and Mardi Gras performers together draw an estimated one hundred thousand people from the "Ark-La-Tex" tri-state area. A partial list of corporate sponsors of the event gives some indication of the strategic commercial sense behind the city's newest and what may become its biggest festival. The Louisiana Lottery, Harrah's Casino, Budweiser Beer, and Miller Beer are leading supporters. Even the

formal "Blessing of the Floats" has become customary in this former bastion of Puritanism.[26]

Other echoes of south Louisiana include the "Let the Good Times Roll Festival" in June which features the music, art, and food of the local African-American culture, and another festival in May known as "Mudbug Madness," the area's annual Crawfish and Cajun Heritage Festival. Now in its fourteenth year, the latter entertainment offers "the top Cajun and Zydeco bands," crawfish eating contests for men, women, and children, Cajun dance contests, Cajun arts and crafts, and a five-kilometer Cajun Run. Highlighting the affair is the crowning of King and Queen Mudbug. Sponsored by Downtown Shreveport Unlimited, this event is hardly a quiet picnic gathering for the city's minuscule Cajun colony.[27] Shreveport's Cajun souvenirs include mounted crawfish, ceramic crawfish, boxed Cajun food, and several varieties of hot sauce. Local kitchens can rely year-round on "Tubbs Cajun Gift Shop" in Bossier City. It carries virtually every kind of Cajun food and gift product manufactured within Acadiana.[28]

In another quarter of Louisiana's deep north, Monroe-West Monroe offers its own version of Mardi Gras along with its annual "Crawfest" and the "Taste of Louisiana Food Fair" during the month of April. The February Mardi Gras celebration boasts over two hundred entries in its grand parade, including floats, marching bands, and evening dances which attract more than one hundred thousand celebrants. The Monroe Mardi Gras is advertised as a "very special Louisiana tradition," and the Royal Court includes the pillars of what is a seasoned Anglo-Saxon establishment. Less than 12 per cent of Ouachita Parish's citizens claim any French ancestry.[29]

For at least a decade the Shreveport and Monroe areas have offered a great many restaurants specializing in south Louisiana dishes. Vying with the mainstream fare of fried chicken and catfish, even major restaurants in Shreveport-Bossier heavily advertise their Cajun and Creole specialties, including Gumbeau's Louisiana Deli and Catering, and Bubba and Boudreaux's Redneck and Coonass Cuisine. Alas, Bubba and Boudreaux's recently closed its doors, allegedly the victim of political correctness. However, Cajun cuisine continues to thrive locally under more decorous banner headings. And in Monroe,

at least five major restaurants capitalize on Cajun and Creole cooking.[30] Ironically, the nationwide popularization of south Louisiana foods during the past generation has given them a trendy respectability formerly lacking in the state's deep north. But now the local tourist bureaus are conscientiously following the State Tourist Commission's directives to promote Louisiana's most colorful and distinctive cultural attributes. The policy has proved profitable.

The Bi-Cultural Legacy and the Eroding Political Order

The north-south political cleavage was formalized in 1812, when Louisiana's statehood was accomplished after the grafting of a part of old Spanish West Florida to the Purchase territory of Orleans Governor William C. C. Claiborne, a Protestant from Tennessee sought to moderate the cultural excesses of French-dominated New Orleans using several thousand English-speakers who had taken up residence north of Bayou Manchac, the lower Amite River, and Lake Pontchartrain. The formula worked. The Florida parishes constituted the first rampart of Anglo-Saxon control. Moreover, wave after wave of Anglo-Americans infiltrated the Crescent City, itself, in subsequent years. Removal of the state capital to Donaldsonville, then to Baton Rouge, effectively ended New Orleans' political hegemony. Anglo invasion of the northern river lowlands and hill country further impeded French aspirations in state politics.

In recent history, perhaps the strongest political divergence between north and south has occurred whenever a Roman Catholic from the south has sought Louisiana's governorship, or when a Roman Catholic has run for President of the United States on the Democratic Party ticket. In his three unsuccessful attempts to become governor, New Orleans reform Mayor deLesseps Morrison failed to transcend his classic role as the perennial regional candidate from French Louisiana. In his battle against Earl K. Long in 1956 Morrison was very popular among white and black voters in the French Triangle, but he failed miserably in the Florida region and in the Hill Country and the Bourbon-controlled Black Belt along

Queen Mudbug of Mudbug Madness, Shreveport. Shreveport Convention and Tourists Bureau.

ver Mississippi River. Later, in his race against Jimmie Davis in 0, and John McKeithen in 1964, Morrison majorities still were

Rex on board the Krewe of Janus, Monroe Mardi Gras. Monroe-West Monroe Convention and Visitors' Center.

limited to to the core parishes of Acadiana and the New Orlear area. To make matters worse, his moderation on the issues of raci segregation and militant labor demands further eroded his positic both inside and outside the Triangle.[31] Of course, nominal Cathol Governor Edwin Edwards has fared better than Morrison in mo recent times, but his weakest support has always been among rur white Protestants in the hill country and lowlands of the north.

John F. Kennedy's presidential triumph in 1960 followed statewide victory in Louisiana also based upon overwhelming supp in Catholic Louisiana which narrowly managed to overcome predictable opposition from the north. In fact Kennedy's grea popularity with organized labor helped him to succeed where home-grown Morrison had failed. Outsider Kennedy succeeded establishing pluralities in every south Louisiana parish exc Plaquemines and St. Bernard, both of which were controlled by ar segregationist Leander Perez. He also succeeded in capturing ev parish in the Florida region except the two Felicianas and St. Hel In addition, Kennedy won the north Louisiana parishes of Rapi

Natchitoches, Vernon, and Beauregard. Each of these parishes then held a qualified political loyalty to the inland south due to greater ethnic diversity, urbanism, and a somewhat higher voter turnout among blacks. In the end, the election issues of religion, racial integration, and labor demands combined to form another in a series of classic fractures between north and south.[32]

In the 1980s and 90s, gubernatorial politics based on religion have altered the north-south divide due to larger black voter participation, urbanization, and changing attitudes among whites in both regions of the state. In 1987, three-term Cajun Governor Edwin Edwards, whose Catholicism was somewhat blurred by a latent evangelical connection, lost to Buddy Roemer, a north Louisiana Methodist whose reformist impulse temporarily stirred the ideals of the middle class. Almost without exception Roemer won every north Louisiana parish except where black voters were in a majority. Roemer also captured most of southwestern Louisiana, along with the core parishes of Lafayette, Iberia, and Ascension. Although losing heavily in his own backyard, Edwards did manage to invade the north's newly-enfranchised Black Belt, securing the old Bourbon bailiwicks of East Carroll, Madison, Tensas, Concordia, West and East Feliciana, and St. Helena parishes.[33]

In 1987 the political chemistry in both the north Louisiana "Planter parishes" and the Florida parishes had gone through significant changes. Black voters had not supported Edwards because he was a Cajun or a nominal Catholic. They did so because of his individual style, his reliable patronage, and the perception that he was more sympathetic to African-American needs than his opponent. Roemer's startling invasion of the French Triangle, on the other hand, was in part the result of an urban, white middle-class disillusionment with Governor Edwards.[34]

Four years later in another gubernatorial campaign, the politics of the further complicated Louisiana's politico-cultural map. This time Roemer Governor Edwards was the eventual winner in a three-way contest with non-Gallic rivals Governor Roemer, the incumbent, and David Duke, a reputed white supremacist. Duke's role in the election changed voting habits in both north and south Louisiana. In the

Earl Long being sworn into office, 1948. Historic New Orleans Collection.

north, he won the support of nineteen parishes which had supporte Roemer four years earlier. In the south, Duke gutted the Frenc Triangle by winning the parishes of Iberia, Ascension, Terrebonne, S Charles, Jefferson, Plaquemines, and St. Bernard. Roemer als managed some small success within and along the Triangle's bord by hanging on to white middle-class supporters in the parishes Calcasieu, Lafayette, and East Baton Rouge, while he won S Tammany for the first time ever.[35]

It is increasingly apparent that the topics of race, income a educational levels, suburbanization, and even gender preferences a replacing the older issues of religion, language, and white ethn loyalty. Louisiana may have retained its peculiar human geography a remarkable extent, but the pressure of federal laws and t incessant demands of popular culture may have finally caught up w it. The political lines between north and south Louisiana could n fall just about anywhere or not at all, depending on new vc demographics, the hardening or softening of racial attitudes, or drift of political liberalism and conservatism.

Ironies abound in this new political wilderness. Columnist John Maginnis recently summed up the tragedy of deLesseps Morrison's career following Morrison's posthumous entry into north Louisiana's newly consecrated Political Hall of Fame, located at Winnfield:

> The late Mayor Chep Morrison, who brought reform and international attention to New Orleans, may well be the best governor Louisiana never had. He lost to three straight North Louisiana boys–Earl [Long], Jimmie Davis, and John McKeithen–and so the Winnfield honor, accepted by Chep's granddaughter, was a peacemaking tribute of sorts. The irony is that, were Chep around today, he could get elected governor but probably not mayor [of New Orleans].[36]

With regard to national political campaigners, it is almost certain: ı liberal nominee–Catholic or non-Catholic, Latin or Anglo-connected, ılack or white, Democrat or Republican–today maximizes fracturing vithin each of Louisiana's two opposing political cultures. In the case f Bill Clinton's presidential win in 1992 and his re-election, it ppears that Louisiana's bloc-voting according to racial or even gender reference represents an emerging new force, capable of demolishing ıe old north-south pattern.

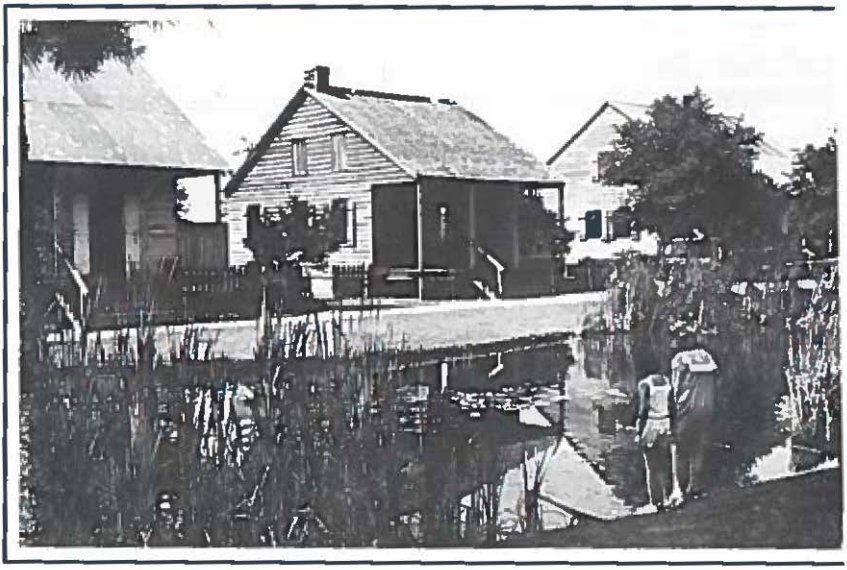
Political theater in New Orleans, alone, has forever disrupted the :culiar ecology of the old Triangle. At first, the city's new-found frican-American majority was dominated by the political presence of : traditional black Creole society. More recently, a recurring power uggle has developed between the black Creole establishment and allenging non-Creole elements under the leadership of Congressman illiam Jefferson, a non-native to the city and a Protestant. anwhile, the city's shrinking white minority continues to lose steam its role as the swing vote between the two black factions. As non-oles increasingly outnumber Creoles, urban politics will continue move toward the left. Today, the politics of race inside New ans shows a closer resemblance to the larger cities of the inland th than to an older period when a white majority was hallenged, or even later when a triumphant black majority etimes went out of its way to soothe jittery whites.

Mayor deLesseps Morrison. Historic New Orleans Collection.

During 1995's "Louisiana Mardi Gras" in, of all places, 'ashington, D.C., Jefferson announced his entry into the race for ›vernor. The act signalled a new political alignment not just in the iangle, but in the rest of Louisiana, as well. As a black Baptist and native of East Carroll Parish in rural north Louisiana, Jefferson :gan his pursuit of a larger constituency beyond his adopted New rleans base where less than one-third of the state's black population sides.[37] Ultimately, the actual race for governor was lost by another frican-American Baptist, Cleo Fields, an inland southerner from the aton Rouge area. Neither of these two African Americans is a ɔme-grown exponent of the French Triangle. In his career as ɔngressman, both of Fields's gerrymandered districts violated the orth-south cultural boundary by straddling it. Fields's future moves :e uncertain due to the recent anti-gerrymander stance of the federal ɔurts.

;oundaries of the Future

Presently, Louisiana's north-south contrast appears to be less and :ss important to the state's inhabitants. Free from the abstract onstrictions of the French Triangle, New Orleans and much of the est of the state face a new cultural complexity involving fundamental hanges in urban demography, traditional rural subcultures, coalescing thnicities, and the politics of race. Some traditional ingredients in outh Louisiana's distinctive culture are fading rapidly while others emain fairly potent. In another generation it will be hard to find nyone left who speaks Cajun French as a first language. New Orleans' Creole French, for all practical purposes has been dead for he past three generations. Roman Catholicism, rather than language, :ndures more successfully as a cultural landmark. As elsewhere, it ppears that continuing losses to white and black evangelical churches re offset by a substantial birth rate and a variety of diverse cultural nfusions. Other elements of south Louisiana culture which may be just as successful in preserving traditional French ways include the prevalence of surnames and place-names, authentic foodways, peculiar



Acadian Village, Lafayette.

settlement patterns, musical traditions, and not least of all a mildl self-deprecating Cajun brand of humor.

Modern architectural trends seem less likely to preserve regiona distinctiveness. Since World War II, the flood tide of mobile home and permanent tract dwellings has helped to erase south Louisiana' unique residential architecture. The downtown skylines and periphera shopping malls of the smaller cities–north and south–are also virtuall interchangeable. Most people may crave the exotic for entertainment' sake, but younger south Louisianians–like their counterpart elsewhere–apparently seek conformity and neighborhood acceptanc intheir choice of a house, automobile, and professional endeavor

Perhaps the last distinctive characteristic to fade from th domestic scene in south Louisiana will be the closeness found within the extended family. Dominated by the manipulative talents of the strong matriarch whose emotional ties with her children last indefinitely, these families have helped to perpetuate religious allegiance, parental and sibling loyalty, and even geographic propinquity. These are substantive elements of traditional culture; surnames on mailboxes and the latest food recipes are often superficial.

It is the political theme, however, which registers the clearest reorganization of Louisiana's cultural framework. To a certain extent the state's traditional north-south boundary was the product of a migration pattern and settlement structure organized and developed at a time when white male heads of family were unchallenged in their social dominance, especially beyond the hearth, and when white supremacy in all walks of life permeated Louisiana and the rest of he nation. As a practical necessity, the white male leadership class epresenting both Louisiana cultures marked off territories, allotted olitical offices, and apportioned the spoils in each of their agreed-pon spheres of interest. It now appears that the strongest forces reaking down these old dividing lines are those of ethnic oalescence and evolving political strategies based on racial and ender bloc-voting. Diminution of old ethnic loyalties among whites ıd the rise of increasing numbers of independent-minded female oters could be viewed as positive changes in Louisiana democracy. oting according to the single issues of race or gender, on the other ınd, is not.

At the very least, racial "balkanization" in Louisiana is keeping with the rest of the surrounding Southland, and in some instances may be outpacing the region. The fact that, for whatever reason, ıvid Duke received a substantial majority of the white vote in the 91 gubernatorial election indicates a growing alienation between the o races and not a warming of relations. If bloc-voting among ites should become a parallel phenomenon to the predictable bloc-ting of blacks, the agelong political divides will be replaced by v fractures based on party extremists, racial chauvinism, and titionings worthy of Cyprus, Sri Lanka, or Northern Ireland.

es

ɔgrapher Fred B. Kniffen in 1941 initially divided the south from the north. equent scholarship on Louisiana's cultural divide included that of William B. meyer (1956), Perry H. Howard (1963), and Milton B. Newton, Jr. (1971). Over ty-year period, one observer may have emphasized historical data, such as place-s and original folk settlement, while another might have ignored the historical d and instead have analyzed the contemporary population. In another instance, ı emphasis might have been given to the incidence of a distinctive "Cajun" or

"Creole" patois, while "Americanization" of a borderland French community migh have caused the obliteration of an older cultural orientation. See Milton B. Newton Jr., *Louisiana: A Geographical Portrait*, 2d ed. (Baton Rouge, 1987), 133; *Atlas o Louisiana: A Guide for Students* (Baton Rouge, 1972), 71.

For a fairly comprehensive review of the historical geography behind Louisiana' ethnic mapping, see Lawrence E. Estaville, "Mapping the Louisiana French," *Southeastern Geographer: Journal of the Southeastern Division, Association o American Geographers* 26 (November, 1986): 90-113.

[2]For additional information on the north-south divide see Roger W. Shugg, *Origin of Class Struggle in Louisiana* (Baton Rouge, 1939), 1-19; T. Lynn Smith an Homer L. Hitt, *The People of Louisiana* (Baton Rouge, 1952), 47-49; and Allan I Sindler, *Huey Long's Louisiana* (Baltimore, 1956), 29-34.

[3]Newton, *Louisiana*, 133.

[4]Philippe Oszuscik, "French Creoles on the Gulf Coast," in *To Build in a New Lan Ethnic Landscapes in North America*, ed. Allen G. Noble (Baltimore and Londo 1992), 139-42.

[5]For a more recent portrayal of the north-south divide see Charles Robert Goins a John Michael Caldwell, eds., *Historical Atlas of Louisiana* (Norman, OK, and Londc 1995), 97. Here, the cultural boundary is based on the findings of several authors addition to the works of Kniffen, Knipmeyer, and Newton. The western side of French Triangle follows what is nearly a straight line between Marksville and Sab Lake. The eastern side of the Triangle includes almost all of the lowland coun within the Florida parishes bordering the Mississippi River, the Amite River ba and the northern fringes of Lake Pontchartrain. The composite border recognizes encroachment of Greater New Orleans upon St. Tammany Parish, the inclusion Greater Baton Rouge as a French-influenced "Anglo" conurbation, the secure ram of Avoyelles Parish, and the continued confinement of western "Cajun Country" the flatwoods. North Louisiana's Anglo culture is compromised by the French ou of the Cane River community and the heavily diluted "Spanish outlier" along Tol Bend Reservoir. South Louisiana's French tradition is modified to a certain extent historic Spanish settlements and the famous midwestern enclave of the western pr region.

[6]Workers from the Writers' Program of the Works Projects Administration in the S of Louisiana, *Louisiana: A Guide to the State* (New York, 1941), 299-311.

[7]Ernest Russ Williams, "Jean Baptiste Filhiol and the founding of the Post Ouachita," in *North Louisiana: Essays on the Region and Its History*, ed. B Gilley (Ruston, LA, 1984), 1: 18-21; John D. Winters, "The Ouachita-Black," in *Rivers and Bayous of Louisiana*, ed. Edwin Adams Davis (Baton Rouge, 1968) 26.

[8]Newton, *Louisiana*, 131-33, 140-47.

[9]Ibid., 133, 241.

[10]Ibid., 133, 181-83; Newton, *Atlas*, 67, 70, 73, 86, 89; Carl A. Brasseaux, *Acadian to Calun: Transformation of a People, 1803-1877* (Jackson and London, 1992), 6-9, 92-93.

[11]Milburn Calhoun and Susan Cole Dore, eds. *Louisiana Almanac, 1992-93*, (Gretna, LA, 1992), 240-41; *Louisiana: A Guide to the State*, 446-48.

[12]U. S. Department of Commerce, *1990 Census of Population and Housing Summary Tape File 3A*, Orleans Parish and St. Tammany Parish, (Washington, DC, 1990).

According to one source, property transfers in St. Tammany Parish averaged more han one hundred a day in the two-month period immediately following the 1977 lection of Ernest "Dutch" Morial, New Orleans' first African-American mayor. Oral nterview with Ms. Bonnie Treuil, formerly employed in the Recorder of Deeds office f St. Tammany Parish, Covington, November 29, 1997.

Oral interview with Donald Boeckman, research associate, Institutional Research and valuation, Southeastern Louisiana University, March 6, 1995.

In recent times, regional geographers have separated the larger south's coastal rim om the culture of the interior due to its greater ethnic diversity, peculiar agricultural d industrial specialization, a sprawling urbanism, and a distinctive tourist economy. ese features are a part of the larger "Sunbelt" phenomenon between the Carolinas d California. See C. Langdon White, et.al., *Regional Geography of North America*, ı ed. (Englewood Cliffs, NJ, 1985), 203-28.

Iewton, *Louisiana*, 241.

)id.

990 Census, East Baton Rouge Parish.

'ledge Week," Louisiana Public Broadcasting, December 8, 1994. Specifically, the ıe time evening program featured artists Francis Pavy, Floyd Sonnier, and Robert ford; Chef John Folse, the Council for the Development of French in Louisiana, lywood films on Louisiana, and Creole and Acadian food processing and dining.

'uisiana Tour Guide* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana Office of Tourism and Louisiana 'el Promotion Association, 1994), 19.

d., 149; *Building a Marketing Plan* (Alexandria/Pineville Area Convention and ors Bureau, 1995), 37.

t., 4-5, Bi, B2, B2[A]; *Welcome to Kent House*, (Alexandria: Kent Plantation se, Inc., n.d.); see also *Alexandria-Pineville: The Crossroads of Louisiana*, :andria: Alexandria/Pineville Area Convention and Visitors Bureau, n.d.); and *iana Tour Guide*, 149, 155-56. The original spelling of Pierre Baillio's surname 'Bailliotte." Oral interview with Mr. Malcolm McCauley, Site Manager of Kent ɜ Plantation State Commemorative Area, November 14, 1997.

[22]*Arthur Hardy's Mardi Gras Guide 1995*, Louisiana State Museum, as cited by "Outlook: [*Party Gras*] Database," *U.S. News and World Report*, February 20, 1995 14.

[23]*1990 Census*, Rapides Parish.

[24]Oral interviews with Ethma Odom, Bob Coleman, and Babs Zimmermann, Television Station KALB, Channel 5, Alexandria, March 2, 1995.

[25]*1990 Census*, Caddo Parish and Bossier Parish.

[26]*1995 Mardi Gras Season: The Krewe of Centaur*, (Shreveport: Shreveport-Bossie Convention and Tourist Bureau, 1995); *Krewe of Gemini, 1995*, (Shreveport Shreveport-Bossier Convention and Tourist Bureau, 1995).

[27]*Shreveport-Bossier Visitors Guide*, (Shreveport:Shreveport-Bossier Convention an Tourist Bureau, 1994), 20, 24; *Mudbug Madness!*, (Shreveport: Downtown Shrevepo Unlimited, 1994).

[28]*Mudbug Madness!; Shreveport-Bossier Visitors Guide*, 8.

[29]*The Twin Cities' Krewe of Janus–Mardi Gras*, (Monroe: Convention and Visitc Bureau, 1995); *Visitors Guide to Monroe-West Monroe*, (Monroe: Convention a Visitors Bureau n.d.), 2; *1990 Census*, Ouachita Parish.

[30]*Shreveport-Bossier Visitors Guide*, 60-71; *Shreveport-Bossier Louisiana Dining Gui* (Shreveport: Shreveport-Bossier Convention and Tourist Bureau, n.d.); *Visitors Gu to Monroe-West Monroe*, 13-16.

[31]Perry H. Howard, *Political Tendencies in Louisiana*, 2d ed. (Baton Rouge, 19 288, 340-44, 349-53; Newton, *Atlas*, 104.

[32]Howard, *Political Tendencies*, 355-63; Newton, *Atlas*, 104.

[33]"How Parishes Voted in 1987," *Morning Advocate* (Baton Rouge), October 1991.

[34]Ibid.

[35]"How Parishes Voted for Governor," *Morning Advocate*, October 27, 1991.

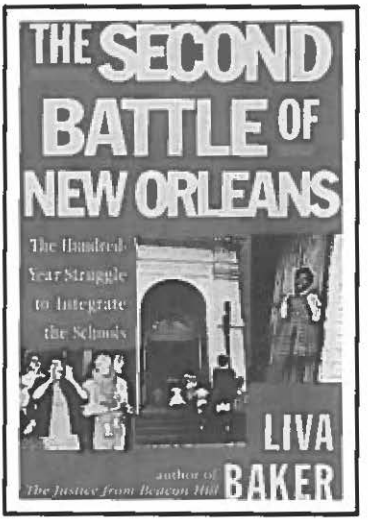
[36]John Maginnis, "Sunset for the Single-Digit Candidates," *The Times of Acac* (Lafayette), February 8, 1995.

[37]John Maginnis, "The Jefferson Effect," *The Times of Acadiana*, February 15,

Timothy F. Reilly is a professor in the Department of History and Geogr at the University of Southwestern Louisiana, Lafayette.

ook Reviews

va Baker. *The Second Battle of New rleans: The Hundred Year Struggle Integrate the Schools.* New York: ırper Collins, 1996, pp. 564. $32.00. BN 0-06-016808-0



Despite the ferocious competition tween Democrats and Republicans ring the Reconstruction struggle in uisiana, many observers hoped that : Bayou State, and especially New leans, would serve as a model of aceful integration in the South. though New Orleans had endured re than its share of racial violence, high-lighted by an 1866 race t that amounted to little more than a slaughter of blacks by a ite mob, a special set of circumstances evident in the Crescent y appeared to offer the hope of an easy transition from segregation integration. The pres-ence of a significant black Creole population h strong ties to many elements of the white community, along h a small but assertive group of liberal whites, provided the ndation for this hope. In her study of the desegregation of the v Orleans school system, Liva Baker demonstrates that despite this, process remained far from simple.

Baker's account is an exhaustive examination of the struggle for ality of treatment, or more appropriately human dignity for African ericans, in New Orleans from Reconstruction to the civil rights vement of the mid-twentieth century. She skillfully employs a es of biographical sketches to highlight the major players as she ɔhasizes the transitional nature of the struggle. Her conclusions are ported by oral interviews in addition to primary and secondary ature.

Baker's passion for her subject is clearly evident in the narrative she endeavors to equate the struggle for black rights with war.

Although some chapters are burdened by excessive, if not superfluo detail, much of the book is characterized by exciting particulars th should delight most readers.

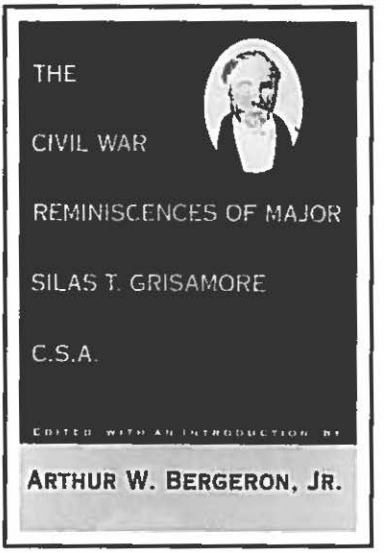
Serious students of southern history, however, may take issue wi certain aspects of this book beginning with the title. Should not t events associated with the 1862 capture of the city by federal forc be regarded as the second Battle of New Orleans? How about t infamous Reconstruction era Battle of Liberty Place to which Bak often refers? The system of endnoting will likely cause even grea concern among some researchers. The combination of notes oft make supporting evidence at best vague, and may challenge t patience of even the most casual readers.

Many of the author's conclusions would have been strengther by some supporting statistical data. In one case she compares t reception received by presidential candidates Dwight Eisenhower a Adlai Stevenson. According to Baker, Eisenhower enjoyed a her welcome due to his cool reception of civil rights and support states rights, while the response to Stevenson was barely polite. Y Stevenson carried the state, in Baker's view due to the presence slightly more than one hundred thousand registered black voters. T strength of this conclusion and others would have been grea enhanced by tables demonstrating the validity of the asserti Moreover, Stevenson's success in Louisiana, despite his open supp for "minority rights," may open to debate the percentage of Louisi residents who regarded support or opposition to integration as only relevant issue. This is a fundamental point that may wan further research.

Despite such concerns the most apparent strength of this book Baker's resourcefulness in taking a complex topic, fraught with le technicalities, and making it accessible to popular tastes. It will lik remain a model among civil rights studies for some time to con

Samuel C. Hyde, Jr. Southeastern Louisiana Univers

rthur W. Bergeron, Jr. *The Civil War eminiscences of Major Silas T. risamore, C.S.A.* Baton Rouge: ɔusiana State University Press, 1993, *iii*, pp. 227. $24.95. ISBN 0-8071-317-6



It is wise to be skeptical of emoirs, most of them written decades ter the events they describe. emories fade; perceptions change; ce fresh personal experiences become zy history. Happily, the miniscences of Silas Grisamore defy e odds. Grisamore recorded his ɔollections in a series of articles for a Louisiana newspaper between 67 and 1871, while the war years remained vivid in his memory. oreover, it is probable that he relied on a wartime diary (since nished) to refresh his memory. Indeed, large parts of the niniscences read like a diary, with Grisamore frequently offering ily entries and detailed reconstructions of events. Three issues of : original newspaper (the *Weekly Thibodaux Sentinel*) are no longer tant, but the most important of the missing articles, which dealt th the battle of Labadieville, have been reconstructed from isamore's later writings.

What remains is a delightfully fresh, witty, informative, and gely accurate account of life in the 18th Louisiana Infantry. The liana-born Grisamore moved to Louisiana in 1846. After working tially as a teacher, overseer, and merchant, he established himself a copper, tin, and sheet iron business at Thibodaux in 1857. irty-six years old when the war started, Grisamore joined the nfederate cause as a sergeant in the Lafourche Creoles, later mpany G, 18th Louisiana. He eventually became the regiment's ıartermaster, and in April 1864, was promoted to major and made gade quartermaster. His regiment first saw action at Pittsburg ıding in March 1862, although Grisamore's only combat experience ıe two months later in a skirmish at Farmington, Mississippi.

Thus, his narrative details less of the fury and thunder of battle a more about the condition of the common soldier, details of camp li and the seldom seen frustrations of an army quartermaster.

The literate quality of Grisamore's work is alone worth the pri of admission. Particulary attractive is his ability to see the light side of the war and to poke fun (usually with understatement or clever turn of phrase) at people and conditions. "I have never yet h the opportunity of visiting any town or section that presented many inducements to emigrate from as Corinth (Mississippi)," concludes of the army's encampment at that "delectable place." Lat in describing skirmishing around Mansfield, he offers a tongue-i cheek description of "backward Texans" who nearly mistook a Fede Zouave for a "strange animal." In describing the "patriotic ambitio of two dozen conscripts assigned to his regiment, Grisamore admi how enthusiastic they were to volunteer as scouts: "and for all know they are scouting yet. At least they never returned to rep progress."

On the other hand, Grisamore's insights are extremely valuable students of the war on the Gulf Coast, particularly for the oft neglected story of operations in Louisiana. Few Louisiana soldi kept diaries or wrote memoirs describing the war in their home sta If for no other reason, Grisamore's account deserves credit for helpi to fill this void. Approximately half of the entire narrative discus events in Louisiana and the Trans-Mississippi. After fighting at Shil and Corinth, and serving on garrison duty in Mississippi a Alabama, the 18th Louisiana arrived for duty in the Lafourche Distr in October 1862. It remained in Louisiana for most of the rest of war as part of General Richard Taylor's Army of Western Louisia Grisamore's accounts of the Louisiana campaigns, from Labadievi through Red River (especially the battle of Mansfield), until his o surrender at Washington, Louisiana, in June 1865, provides excellent survey of general operations and some nuggets of deta Flor instance, Grisamore not only gives us the precise location General Alfred Mouton's headquarters at Labadieville but also reve that Mouton suffered from rheumatism during the October 1862 ba near there. Elsewhere Grisamore describes Confederate trickery u to outwit Federal troops at Alexandria and the controversial beha

f General Henry H. Sibley in the battle of Bisland. On a smaller ut no less important scale, he provides details–dates of enlistment, lnesses, casualties, and so on–about the service of individual soldiers ı his regiment that are missing from official records.

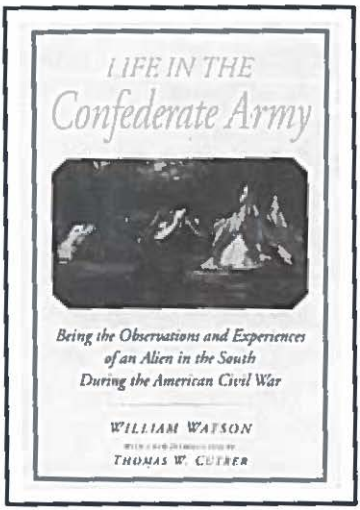
But any edited source is only as good as its editor. For that ason, Grisamore's reminiscences take on added value as a result of rthur Bergeron's efforts. Bergeron has scoured scores of published ıd unpublished sources, including letters, diaries, and newspapers, to rify or correct nearly every line of Grisamore's memoirs. His planatory footnotes (and they are happily genuine footnotes, thanks the continuation of that tradition by LSU Press) are as informative d as entertaining as the text. Few readers will be tempted to skip em. For, packed as they are with useful information, correctives to isamore's narrative, and citations of additional sources, they are a tural extension of the text. Taken together, Grisamore and Bergeron ovide students of the war with an extremely useful and downright joyable account of military and quartermaster operations in the West d the Trans-Mississippi.

niel E. Sutherland University of Arkansas

lliam Watson. *Life in the Confederate Army: Being the servations and Experiences of an Alien in the South during the erican Civil War.* Reprint with a new introduction by Thomas W. trer. Baton Rouge and London: Louisiana State University Press, 5, *xviii*, pp. 456. $16.96. ISBN 0-8071-2040-5

mas D. Cockrell and Michael B. Ballard, eds. *A Mississippi Rebel he Army of Northern Virginia: The Civil War Memoirs of Private id Holt.* Baton Rouge and London: Louisiana State University s, 1995, *xx*, pp. 354. $34.95. ISBN 0-8071-1981-4

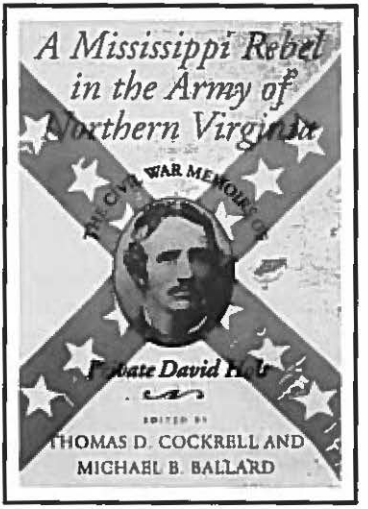
Bell I. Wiley once warned students of the Civil War that soldiers' onal memoirs must be used with caution "on account of the ices of recollection, particularly its tendency to minimize nesses and magnify virtues." Despite this sage advice historians



of the war continue to seek out an employ such works in their efforts t understand the struggle an the men who fought in it. Even in th face of possible flaws, books penne by Civil War veterans can still conve an immediacy that reaches across th years to the present.

One such memoir is Willia Watson's *Life in the Confederate Arm* first published in 1887. A native Scotland, Watson migrated to ant bellum Louisiana and earned a livi as a civil engineer on sug plantations. When that state opted f the Confederacy in 1861, he enlisted in the Third Louisiana Infant Regiment even though he opposed secession and slavery. Aft promotion to the rank of orderly sergeant Watson followed the Thi Louisiana through the battles of Wilson's Creek and Pea Rid Along the way he learned the hard life of the soldier with its lo marches, short rations, illness, and the tedium of drill and camp li

In *Life in the Confederate Army* Watson promised his readers "confine myself in this narrative only to what came under my o personal observation, I leave history to history writers." The S experienced much in his service and leaves a rich chronicle of h amateur soldiers became hardened fighters. Watson freely comme on the quality of Confederate generalship on both sides of Mississippi from the popular Ben McCullouch to the disliked E Van Dorn and Braxton Bragg. He even mentions an encounter w Union General Benjamin "Beast" Butler in New Orleans. Watson briefly detained there in the summer of 1862 after his discharge fr Confederate service due to his British citizenship. Eventually return to the ranks of the Third Louisiana, Watson saw more combat, wounded, and became a paroled prisoner of war. In 1863 he sa from the South for a brief career as a blockade-runner before w end.



Aimed at a European audience, 'atson's tale made a real effort to :plain the nature of the American ivil War and the complex society of e lower South. His first twelve apters remain an excellent description d analysis of the region's political lture and the coming secession crisis. ɔmbined with his military adventures ɛse make *Life in the Confederate my* a classic in the Civil War soldier rrative genre.

Also interesting, but less useful, is .vid Holt's *A Mississippi Rebel in the my of Northern Virginia.* Born to a ıthwest Mississippi planter family in 1843, Holt joined the :teenth Mississippi Infantry Regiment and soldiered with it from the 52 Shenandoah Valley campaign to Petersburg before being ɔtured by Union forces in 1864. Private Holt grew from a boy :king glory to a hardened campaigner respected by his comrades. :e Watson, Holt spent many pages describing daily life in his npany and the constant hunt for something to supplement meager ıy food, as well as constant bouts with disease.

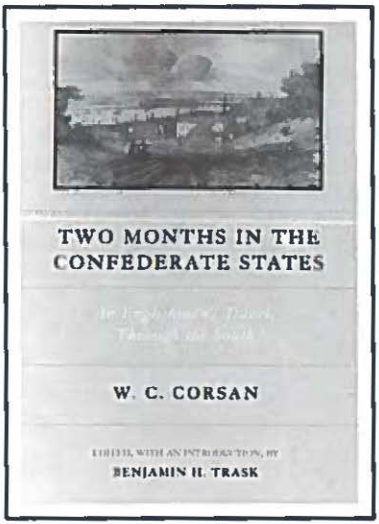
Holt's observations on the war are telling and often poignant. The nbing monotony of camp and the terror of battle were eased newhat by practical jokes and humor as the Mississippian writes t "we did not give up the fun of living [just] because we had ıstantly to face the chance of dying." Death became so common during the 1863 clash at Chancellorsville he recalled how "small l insignificant a dead man appears on the battlefield." Like so ıy rebel soldiers, Private Holt found comfort from such horrors in deep religious faith, which permeates his account.

However, *A Mississippi Rebel in the Army of Northern Virginia* its shortcomings. David Holt did not begin his war history until was past the age of seventy, and parts of it, such as the section Gettysburg, are confused and in poor order. The young private ned to spend a considerable amount of time with high-ranking

officers, and once even offered his colonel tactical advice when action. Some modern readers may be offended by the occasion racist and anti-Semitic language Holt utilizes. The most unexpect comment on *A Mississippi Rebel* is a statement from the edito themselves that "there are no earthshaking revelations contained this memoir."

Both books add to the body of Civil War literature Confederate soldiers from Gulf Coast states and shed a little mo light on the nature of their experiences and motivations. Sergea Watson and Private Holt remind us again of just how extraordina the "ordinary" Civil War soldier was.

Robert A. Taylor Florida Historical Library



W. C. Corsan. *Two Months in t Confederate States–An Englishmar Travels Through the South.* Edit with an introduction by Benjamin Trask. Baton Rouge: Louisiana St University Press, 1996, pp. 1 $26.95. ISBN 0-8071-2037-5

William Carson Corsan came America in October 1862, on mission of great personal importan The rebellion in America threate the financial stability of factory–Corsan, Denton, and Burdek a manufacturer of hardware and cutlery employing two hund workers and whose business depended heavily on exports Confederate customers. The firm had made several shipments into South during the war, and unpaid accounts from merchants in pla such as New Orleans had become particularly troublesome. The had been captured by the Union navy and was under the milit administration of Major General Benjamin F. Butler–a man disli in England almost as much as he was hated in the South.

In September 1862 Corsan booked passage to New York, and ıfter much trouble with authorities obtained clearance for a trip to Jew Orleans–ostensibly to speak with agents who owed his firm noney and to determine whether the accounts would ever be paid. He ılso wanted a firsthand look at the South's economic potential ıecause he considered it important to his future business planning. Corsan believed that if the Confederate government gained ndependence, it would no longer be compelled to trade with the Jorth, and with a more favorable arrangement of tariffs, postwar trade vould benefit friendly British manufacturers such as himself.

New Orleans especially interested Corsan because it was the ırgest city in the South and the gateway to every state connected to ıe watershed of the Mississippi River. He did not like lortherners–mainly because they were competitors–but at the time he ked them even less because he felt that they had started the war 'hich was injuring his business back in Yorkshire. He arrived at the 'rescent City in late October and found the streets deserted, ıosquitoes abundant, and barely a store open anywhere–a mercantile ıtastrophe he blamed solely on General Butler. After meeting with is defunct and doleful customers, Corsan noted gloomily, "people :emed pleased another day is gone," adding that New Orleans :xceeded in dulness [*sic*] any little country-town I ever saw the day 'ter market-day," such was the suppression of the populace.

He remained in New Orleans long enough to develop a deep slike for General Butler and praised every civilian having enough ›urage to oppose him. Aside from deepening his hatred toward the orth, however, he made no progress collecting debts. Merchants vished him with promises and convinced him that in the end the ›nfederacy would prevail. Corsan accepted these notions, and as he ›ntinued his travels through the South, he made the mistake of cepting the same views from everyone he met. Eventually, he turned home with a badly distorted view of his future business ospects.

From New Orleans Corsan traveled to Jackson, Mississippi. He und the town in the early stages of deterioration and backtracked Mobile, on one occasion barely escaping conscription. Unable to tain a bed "for love or money," he finished his business in Mobile

and started north, passing through Montgomery, Atlanta, and Augusta, finally settling for a few days at Charleston, South Carolina. There he observed a brisk business in goods shipped through the blockade, and for the first time in his travels he saw large sums of hard money exchanged. This revived his spirit and falsely stimulated his otherwise bleak business outlook, but money in the hands of others did nothing to bolster his own dwindling bank account.

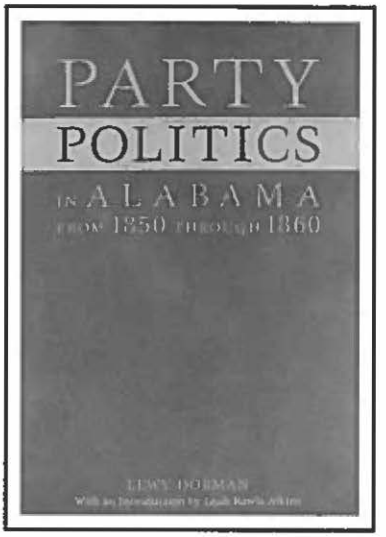
Corsan reached Richmond on the eve of the Battle of Fredericksburg, and being present during the aftermath of the Army of the Potomac's disastrous defeat, he returned to Great Britain fully convinced that the Confederacy would survive and gain independence. Although he abhorred the slave trade, he considered it essential for the South to recover from the war and to regain her wealth. When Corsan returned to England, he based his conclusions on the early conversations he had with the hopeful merchants of New Orleans who promised to cover their debts as soon as the war ended. They hated Butler and baited every creditor from Great Britain with great expectations–hoping, of course, that men like Corsan would return to England and add their voice to the public outcry for intervention.

There were many English visitors to the South during the Civil War who later published their observations, but Corsan's stand among the best. Benjamin H. Trask has made the author's account superb by painstakingly adding extensive documentation to the book and accurately annotating events and economic conditions that Corsan could not have understood during his travels. Trask also explains what happened to the author after he returned to England, but that will be left for the reader to discover.

Corsan's original book, which is subtitled *A Visit to New Orleans under the Dominion of General Butler*, is sold today for as much as $585.00. Owning a copy edited by Benjamin Trask is far more valuable and much less expensive. I would not be without one.

Chester G. Hearn Potts Grove, Pennsylvania

ewy Dorman. *Party Politics in labama from 1850 through 1860.* eprint with an introduction by Leah awls Atkins. Tuscaloosa: The niversity of Alabama Press, 1995, *xvi,*). 173. $19.95. ISBN 0-8173-0780-X



The University of Alabama Press as done a great service to students of ntebellum Alabama political history by printing Lewy Dorman's *Party olitics in Alabama From 1850 hrough 1860.* As Leah Rawls Atkins rites in her informative introduction, e book–originally published in)35–has been out of print for decades and was available in only a w libraries. Although it has been surpassed in recent years by onographs done by J. Mills Thornton and William L. Barney, it is ill the starting point in any examination of Alabama politics in the st decade of the antebellum era.

Dorman's main contention is that "secession was impossible so ng as there were two political parties with almost equivalent mbers, each of which had leaders whose ideas on secession were)t unified." It is therefore vital, Dorman insists, to understand the evelopments between and within political parties during the 1850s id in 1860 in order to understand why Alabama chose disunion. uring the first half of the decade, the Democratic Party was)minant, yet faced organized opposition, whereas in the second half generally went unchallenged. Dorman believes that it was due both this lack of party competition as well as a power shift within the rty after 1856 that ultimately led Alabamians to secede from the nion.

Dorman begins his study by examining a situation quite similar the one with which the study ends: Alabama divided over how st to react to perceived northern assaults on the South's property ghts. The controversy–which began in earnest with the introduction the Wilmot Proviso–increased with the Compromise of 1850,

causing the statewide elections of 1851 to become a referendum o the Compromise. In that election, north Alabama Whigs an Democrats united with south Alabama Whigs to form the pr compromise Union Party; and Black Belt Democrats united wit Whigs in that area to form the anti-compromise Southern Righ Party. When the Union Party carried the election, the Democrats trie to win back their constituents by embracing the Compromise. Due t this moderate policy, the party regained its strength and by 1852 ha reunified. The Whigs were not as fortunate. Because the party national leaders were espousing antislavery rhetoric, the Whig disappeared in Alabama by the mid-1850s. However, by that time, th American or Know-Nothing Party had taken its place as th opposition party to the Democrats. Although the Americans wo mayoral races in Mobile and Montgomery and were successful in th statewide races in 1855, within a year the party collapsed. With th death of the Whigs and the failure of the Know-Nothings, th Democrats enjoyed supremacy for the rest of the antebellum perio During that time, the leadership of the party went to a group o young, radical Southern Rights advocates who desired secession. Wit these men's capture of the party and the lack of interpart competition, Alabamians fell under the radicals' influence and we thus led out of the Union in 1861.

Dorman's contention that Alabama seceded because of the lack o a two-party system raises several problems. First, during the 1850 there was not a strict, rigid two-party system in the state, as th election of 1851 demonstrates. Second, between 1857 and 1860, th Democratic Party was supreme. Yet, during most of those years, eve with the party increasingly under the control of young radicals, rejected extremism. Third, Dorman neglects the fact that Alabamian chose disunion in 1861 and not in 1850, because they saw the interests tied to secession due to national political issues as well a statewide political, economic, and social developments. It is certainl possible, therefore, that even if the Democrats had faced oppositio by an *organized* party in 1860, the magnitude of Lincoln's electio would have still caused the majority of Alabamians to s secession–either immediate or in cooperation with other states–a necessary. Fourth, one should remember that despite Dorman

ntention that only one party existed in Alabama in 1860, there ere actually three parties in the presidential election–one for John eckenridge, one for Stephen Douglas, and one for John Bell. lthough they may not have been extraordinarily well-organized or ng-lived, they gave Alabamians a choice for president. Furthermore, o factions, approximating parties, quickly appeared concerning the ate's secession: immediate secessionists and cooperationists.

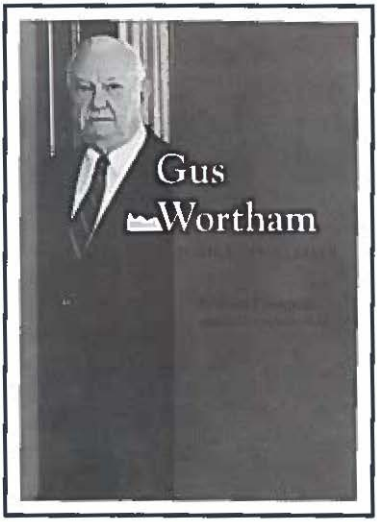
These criticisms should not detract from Dorman's significant ntributions. His close examination of the major elections in labama from 1847 through 1860 is tremendously helpful, especially e appendices which contain legislative rolls, tables, charts, and aps. More importantly, his attention to the young men who came power in the late 1850s is vital for an understanding of the cession movement. And, his discussion of intrastate sectionalism eds much light on the state's politics.

Dorman's work has retained its value for over six decades ecause of these insights. Moreover, it raises one of the most difficult nd important questions in American history: why did the South cede? Although its answer is not completely satisfying, the work hould be read by anyone interested in antebellum politics and the oming of the Civil War.

Ienry Walker Tuscaloosa, Alabama

ran Dressman. *Gus Wortham: Portrait of a Leader.* College Station: exas A&M University Press, 1994, pp. 284. $29.95. ISBN 0-89096-80-3

In the mid 1930s Fran Dressman notes, "the elite of Houston was ntering its period of greatest influence over civil affairs." At the ame time, Gus Wortham, founder of the insurance and financial ervices corporation, American General, was on the rise within the Houston elite. In *Gus Wortham: Portrait of a Leader,* Dressman outlines the making of Wortham's kingdom, utilizing American General Corporation archives, American General scrapbooks, Wortham's ranches' scrapbooks, interviews, and the University of



Texas's oral history collection. Th themes emerge from her investigatio that Gus Wortham was a go businessman, that connections important people were essential to l business ability, and that t importance of land permeated aspects of Wortham's life. Dressman work delivers a portrayal, albeit in somewhat limited context, of t business and political coalition at wo developing Houston through the mi twentieth century.

Many of Wortham's origin financial backers–and early customers–were friends and busine relations of his father, John L. Wortham. John was a businessm and a professional politician, rising to secretary of state in 1912. Jol and Gus founded their own insurance firm, John L. Wortham an Son, shortly after their arrival in Houston in 1915. The Worthan proved innovators in the insurance business, being one of the first t offer comprehensive automobile coverage. Gus continued to expan into new insurance lines and investments throughout his life. In th early 1920s Wortham and colleagues developed an honesty bond t insure employees of federal banks and their subsidiaries. He lat moved into fire and casualty insurance, thus creating a firm offerin "multiple lines" of insurance–American General. In later year Wortham's insurance interests provided automobile and home loan life insurance, and variable annuities. Forays into cattle ranchin combined something of a hobby and a lucrative business for Worthan and others among the elite.

The younger Wortham continued his father's lucrative practice o cultivating financial and political connections. Eventually, Wortham sa on the board of other Houston businesses, while other business elit served on American General's board. Indeed, all of Wortham' colleagues sought growth in their own businesses and in Houstor itself. All fostered a business climate that they thought benefited th city, and favored public policy that benefited business. Dressma

gues that these men created "an interlocking network or 'economic ite' which held much of the 'public decision making' power of ouston." And, "what they thought best and wanted for the city was cactly what they sought for their businesses: prosperity through rowth."

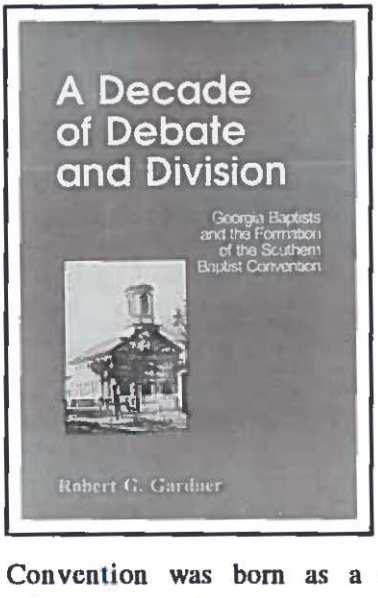
Wortham maintained social relationships with the civic elite as ell. He and his colleagues discussed politics and business over cards ıd horse races, effectively shaping Houston's future growth. As ressman describes the group that gathered in room 8F of the Lamar lotel to socialize, "as the group began to come into power, it was ustomary for members to select and support the local, state, and ventually national politicians they thought could best promulgate ıeir group agenda of support for and growth of business interests." Vortham was active politically regarding issues integral to Houston usiness, contacting local, state, and federal politicians on these ıatters and donating to those he felt worthy. As in his business, his olitical contacts were often those he was familiar with through his ıther. As his insurance prowess grew, Wortham was often asked his pinion on related policy matters.

While Dressman details Wortham's financial backing of institutions uch as Houston's symphony, the author glosses over more ontroversial social issues. This is less the fault of the author than reflection of Wortham's and other business leaders' opinions as to vhat was best for the city. Houston's leaders developed the cultural spects of Houston, something they saw as benefiting residents, as vell as attracting people to Houston. By contrast, less energy and noney were spent dealing with the city's labor and public housing ıroblems. Wortham's work with the Chamber of Commerce on the ɔccasionally violent National Maritime Union strike against Standard Dil is covered briefly. Dressman attributed the elite's conservative ıpproach to the "traditional southern aversion to unions among the ɔusiness elite." Similarly, in the all too short discussion of racial ntegration and public housing (when Wortham was serving on the ɔoard of the Houston Housing Authority), Dressman again excuses Wortham's inaction by stating that "there was no question that a man ɔf Gus Wortham's background and position would follow the ınwritten rules of the white establishment in his dealing with blacks."

Wortham, instead, spent most of his time and money supporting t Houston Symphony and Rice University, activities he thought mc central to the social betterment of the city.

Dressman's work is weakened somewhat by its failure to discu broadly Houston's history and growth through the twentieth centur as well as the larger themes of southern urban development. Whi we see some of Houston's history through the booster activities Wortham and his colleagues, a broader context is needed to pla them in perspective. The Houston developers were not alone in ci growth promotion and business activism. Cities throughout the Sou were engaged in similar activities and demonstrated like trenc politically and culturally. A broader context would have benefite Dressman's thorough portrayal of Houston's business-political nexu

LeeAnn Bishop Lands Georgia Institute of Technolog



Robert G. Gardner. *A Decade c Debate and Division: Georgia Baptist and the Formation of the Souther Baptist Convention.* Macon: Merce University Press, c. 1995, pp. 121 $15.95. ISBN 0-8655-484-0

Since its inception in May 184! the Southern Baptist Convention (SBC has become largest non-Catholi denomination in the United States Such remarkable growth is due to thi denomination's emphasis on persona evangelism and church building Ironically, the Southern Baptis Convention was born as a result of a controversy that involvec missionary work.

In *A Decade of Debate and Division: Georgia Baptists and the Formation of the Southern Baptist Convention* Robert G. Gardne explores the role that Georgia Baptists played in the SBC's formation.

argument is simple: slavery was the reason why Baptists in the ıth separated from their northern brethren and formed their own omination. He has combed dozens of church record books as well the minutes from Georgia's numerous Baptist associations. The ılt is a very brief monograph, 121 pages, of which just over sixty- are text. The real "meat" of the book consists of eight ıendices that provide rich detail on Georgia's delegates to the C's formational meeting in Augusta as well as information on the ırches they represented. The research presented in the appendices truly impressive, and future scholars will profit from Gardner's rk. He has also provided a brief bibliography and a surprisingly rough index.

Nevertheless, this book has several serious flaws. First, Garner's ited scope skews his contextualization. By beginning his analysis the 1840s he fails to note how earlier problems helped shape er-regional conflict among American Baptists. For example, The ennial Convention was formed in 1814 to promote missionary rk, but that organization was divided from the outset over hodology. Northerners tended to favor the "society" plan whereby sionary societies operated independently of churches. Southerners led to favor a "convention" or associational approach to missions ereby churches cooperated in missionary endeavors. Likewise, the vention approach to missionary work created a structure that wed for numerous benevolences. In 1826 the Triennial Convention ided to focus exclusively on foreign missionary activity. They also ided to move their headquarters from Philadelphia to Boston, a ve that alienated many Southerners who could no longer attend etings regularly. In 1832 Baptists finally organized the American ptist Home Mission Society (ABHMS), an agency dedicated to sion work in America.

The issue of centralized authority was not moot and had siderable bearing on the SBC's formation. As early as 1819 John lor's *Thoughts on Missions* had raised serious questions regarding sion methodology and fiscal accountability. So, mission hodology had been a thorny issue between northern and southern ptists over twenty years before the SBC was formed. The formation a new missionary society in 1832 revived the society versus

convention debate, but Gardner's narrow focus does not allow him address this problem.

Another problem with this work is historiographical. Gard apparently ignores several key secondary works that might h influenced his interpretation along other lines. He cites Robert Baker's *The Southern Baptist Convention and Its People, 1607-19* but he failed to consult Baker's older work, *Relations Betw Northern and Southern Baptists*. He also cites H. Leon McBeth's *Baptist Heritage: Four Centuries of Baptist Witness*, but said noth about McBeth's sterling article, "The Broken Union of 1845: Reassessment" in *Baptist History and Heritage* 24, no. 3 (1989). B of these works argue that the Southern Baptist Convention's format was in part due to philosophical differences between northern southern Baptists regarding mission work as well as an increasin hostile attitude toward slavery among northern Baptists.

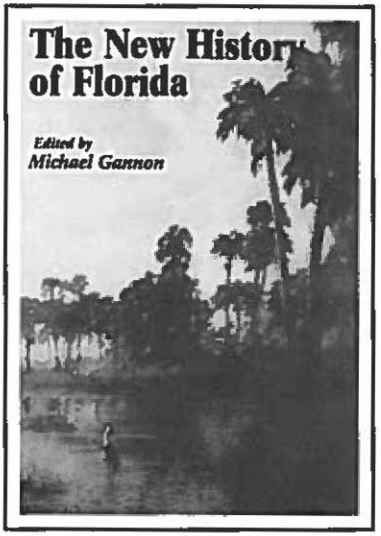
Finally, if Gardner is correct and slavery was the only issue t led to the SBC formation, several important questions rem unanswered. First, if the ABHMS was officially neutral on slav why did they decline to appoint James E. Reeves, a Geor slaveholder whose financial support was already guaranteed thro private sources, as one of their missionaries in 1844? Divis between northern and southern Baptists had already been discus privately. Surely the ABHMS understood that its actions wo provoke a negative response. Second, what did other churches Baptist associations outside of Georgia think about the decision create the SBC? John L. Waller, editor of the *Western Baptist Revi* initially admonished Southerners to remain affiliated with the ABH in order to drive out its abolitionists. Southerners did not heed advice, but Waller supported the new convention nonetheless. Fina if slavery was the only factor that led to the SBC's formation, v did the SBC assume the configuration that it did? It would have b just as easy for Southern Baptists to form missionary societies t would conduct missionary work at home and abroad, but t deliberately choose to form a convention.

No one will deny that slavery was an issue in the SB formation, but it was not, as Gardner claims, the only issue. hopes that works such as this will stimulate further inquiry that

less inclined toward presentism and directed more toward broader nolarly inquiry.

:ith Harper Southeastern Baptist Theological Seminary

ichael Gannon, ed. *The New History Florida.* Gainesville: University ess of Florida, 1996, *xvi*, pp. 490. 4.95. ISBN 0-8130-1415-8



Michael Gannon, one of Florida's fted historians and authors, brings gether the work of twenty-one holars and edits a book of thoritative substance and storytelling ntinuity that fleshes out many new mensions of Florida history. Indeed, : work of the contributors accurately rrors the title. Here, the New Florida ilds on the history-rich centuries er Spaniards sloshed ashore to found St. Augustine and Pensacola keystones of the sixteenth-century colonial Floridas.

Already Florida historians conclude that this work–crafted by ademic experts in various areas of Florida studies, including Spanish est Florida historian William S. Coker and Samuel Proctor, istinguished Service Professor of History at the University of orida–will be the new standard history for the state. Certainly the w approach is more readable than Charles W. Tebeau's monumental *History of Florida*, the standard text since its landmark publication 1971. Tebeau's work served Florida with useful longevity, but the orida Sesquicentennial (1845-1995) was apt timing to weave the verse, multicultured elements into an expanded history of a state town for its many states within a state. Indeed, the West Florida nhandle remains far different from Old Middle Florida and certainly mote from the palmed precincts of the long peninsula with its Key 'est toe in the Florida Straits.

Rather than offering merely updates, the writers bring t knowledge from twenty-five additional years of research since t Tebeau study. Moreover, they go beyond the hard chronology Florida development and emphasize social, political, and ethnic issu Among these are the role of Seminoles and Miccosukees, blac women, and the transformation of the state's limited rural politics urbanization in the late twentieth century. The authors also assess t influences of overpopulation and environmental degradation.

On these pages are the many Floridas–two colonial provinc joined as an American territory–that evolved into a state in 1845. the shadow of the twenty-first century, it remains a magnet f millions of transplanted Americans seeking subtropic paradise highrise coastal cities and retirement villages.

Studies on the Spanish colonial period–sixteenth century 1821–reflect new research and expanded perspective–especial Pensacola and West Florida, including the crucial role of Bernardo Galvez on the Gulf Coast and his victorious siege of Briti Pensacola in a climactic battle that ended English rule in th fourteenth and fifteenth colonies during the American Revolution.

Dr. Coker, Professor Emeritus of the University of Florida, prov his expertise in his study of Spanish Pensacola, tracing its histo from its era of permanent founding, in 1683, to the arrival of t British in 1763. Coker joins Susan R. Parker for revealing portra of East and West Florida during the second Spanish period, includi the daring raids of Andrew Jackson that weakened colonial contr and persuaded the Spanish to cede East and West Florida to t United States in the Adams Otis Treaty of 1819 and the coming the Americans to Pensacola and St. Augustine in 1821. The chapt concludes with a telling sweep of history: "More than three centuri of sunrises and sunsets lay between the first and last appearances the Spanish flag in Florida. It will be the twenty-second centu before the same can be said of the flag of the United States."

Robin E. A. Fabel succinctly chronicles the British perio specifically West Florida, a much larger province than East Florid Overall, the Gulf Coast region known as the Panhandle–with i kinship to Alabama and other regions of the Northern Gulf Coast–h finally been brought into the mainstream of Florida history.

While most complete, the chapter on the Civil War could have better illuminated Pensacola and Fort Pickens and General Braxton Bragg's recruited army from Pensacola and Mobile that General Pierre Beauregard later said were the best-trained among southern troops massed for the battle of Shiloh. Nonetheless, Canter Brown, Jr. weaves together events to portray Governor John Milton's state torn by war.

In Dr. Proctor's otherwise excellent "Prelude to the New Florida, 1877-1919," it was Stephen R. Mallory II, son of the Confederate Secretary of the Navy Stephen Mallory, who defeated Pensacola railroad leader William Dudley Chipley for the U. S. Senate seat–not Wilkinson Call. It had been Chipley's aim to defeat Call, and Mallory's surprise victory caused Chipley to rationalize his loss as a defeat of Call. Otherwise Proctor, legendary editor of the *Florida Historical Quarterly*, brings a knowledgeable perspective to Florida entering the twentieth century.

Readers should like Gannon's Florida sesquicentennial volume: the topic chapters flow in continuity, yet may be read independently. The editor's introduction is a well-paced preface that conveys the spirit of Florida and the goal of a sesquicentennial work that would "provide documented, reliable, up-to-date source for the use and reading pleasure of the general public, teachers, and fellow historians, both professional and avocational.

The bibliography is a healthy selection, and book's design and illustrations blend pleasingly to the eye. For the first time, the sometimes slighted West Florida region takes its place within the priorities of Florida's early historic development. These historians have given students twenty-two chapters of Florida history in a highly readable, thought-provoking study that should be in all classrooms and generally appreciated by adult history readers as well.

Gannon's labor of love in editing what he views as "wonderfully organized and elegantly written manuscripts" translates into a welcome addition to the understanding of the Land of Flowers, from Spain to spaceport and beyond.

Jesse Earle Bowden *Pensacola News Journal*

Sheree Hightower, Cathie Stanga, and Carol Cox, eds. *Mississippi Observed: Photographs from the Photography Collection of the Mississippi Depart-ment of Archives and History with Selections from Literary Works by Mississippians.* 1997, pp. 210. $45.00. ISBN 0-87805-727-7

Mississippi Observed nostalgically captures a sense of place. These images of Mississippi are taken from the holdings of seventeen collections in the Mississippi Department of Archives and History. The photographs presented in *Mississippi Observed* were selected by Sheree Hightower and Cathie Stanga, photography collectors and owners of a photography laboratory and gallery in Jackson, Mississippi. The text, comprised of quotes by famous Mississippi authors, was selected and edited by Carol Cox, a poet and free-lance editor in Tougaloo Mississippi.

Some of the most interesting images presented here are from the Farm Security Administration collection. During the 1930s, the FSA documented rural life in the United States, and a number of the photographs seen here were taken by such legendary artists as Dorothea Lange and Marion Post Wolcott. Other thought-provoking collections include that of J. C. Coovert, a professional photographer living in Greenville, Mississippi, in the 1890s who documented Greenville, Vicksburg, Yazoo City, Memphis, and Jackson. Old postcards of Mississippi scenes (ironically donated to the Mississipp Archives Library by the State Historical Society of Wisconsin) and photographs from the Piney Woods Country Life School further enhance this medley of images. Although the book is captivating with its 210 duotone photographs, it is ultimately frustrating and disappointing. Because of the vintage nature of these photographs, one might assume that they would be reproduced in their varying shades. Instead, the images are all the same, flatly offered with no traces o

pia or shades of velvety black or stark white. While the duotone ocess cannot reproduce original color, it can offer excellent tonal nge.

As intriguing as the photographs are by themselves, the captions hich should accompany them are instead relegated to the back of e book, so that the reader must constantly flip from one section to ıother in order to appreciate these images more fully. And even hen the reader makes this extra effort, the citations provide ustratingly little information. If the point of the book is to publish :lections from the holdings of the library to make them more vailable to the general public, then the book is only partially uccessful. It exhibits a number of images, but the descriptive ıformation which would enable the viewer to understand the hotographs better is lacking.

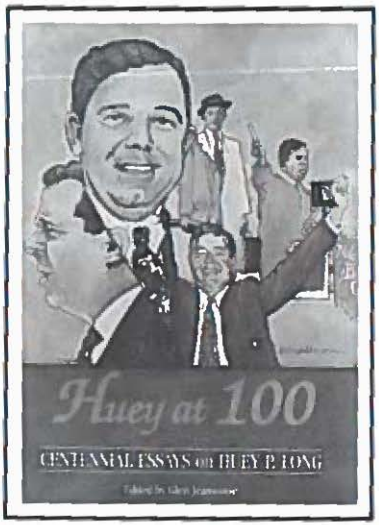
An interesting text by Mississippi authors is in harmony with the hotographs, but again this text is not nearly as important as the anquished captions. Quotations are featured from many Mississippi vriters, including William Faulkner, Ellen Gilchrist, Willie Morris, Elizabeth Spencer, and Eudora Welty.

The book also contains prints that illustrate men, women, and :hildren, both black and white, of varying social classes at work and .eisure. A sense of place is established by views of Mississippi cotton fields, chicken coops, a croquet field, and even a rare view of ice skating on a frozen pond. Poignant images of individuals on swings, in gardens, and beneath huge shady oak trees echo the state of Mississippi. Wonderful photographs of little children enraptured with the joy of learning to read are included along with the Mississippi library extension program in its traveling bookmobile serving children waiting eagerly in line. The Piney Woods Country Life School photographs of members of the girls' quartet in the 1920s are so exuberant and joyous as to nearly burst into song. Southern architecture is also a major component of this publication, with many views of shotgun houses, the abandoned Windsor Plantation, wraparound style porches, and simple wood frame houses. Progress and the passage of time is evident with depictions of horses and buggies, dirt roads, old bridges, drawbridges, Model T Fords, and the city trolley.

In the last few years, there has been a revival of interest in : things Southern, perhaps, culminating in the selection of the city Atlanta as the host venue of the 1996 World Summer Olympic Southern photography has become an important area of region contemporary art. Exhibitions such as the High Museum of Art *Picturing the South 1860 to the Present* and the Birmingham Museu of Art's *The South by its Photographers* bring the outstanding rang of southern photography to an ever increasing audience. In this sens *Mississippi Observed* is a useful coffee table book which illustrate yet another slice of the deep South.

Susan Sipple Elliott Birmingham Museum of Ar

Glen Jeansonne, ed. *Huey at 100: Centennial Essays on Huey P Long*. New York: McGinty Publications, 1995, *v*, pp. 237. $22.95 ISBN 0-940231-08-5



This book consists of a collection of articles from the symposium, "Huey at 100: A Centennial Symposium on Huey P. Long," sponsored by Louisiana Tech University. As editor Glen Jeansonne notes in the preface, "every living biographer of Huey Long" took part in this symposium, resulting in "the most complete collection of Long scholars ever assembled." From this wealth of information and insight, Jeansonne has brought together the efforts of thirteen Long scholars and biographers in a work that covers a wide range of views of Huey Long and his legacy. Decades after the assassination of the Louisiana governor and presidential hopeful, debate continues to rage about Long and his assassination, from the traditional perspective of T. Harry Williams to

the contemporary view of William Ivy Hair. This book surveys these controversies.

The theme of power unites this collection. Each author examines from a distinct perspective how Huey Long used or abused his. Alan Brinkley contrasts the view of Robert Penn Warren, expressed in novel form, to that of T. Harry Williams, in what is considered the definitive Long biography. Writing in 1946 Warren depicted Long as a charismatic dictator, in the style of Stalin or Hitler. Brinkley contends that Warren was less concerned about the actual facts of Long's political life than its mythic proportions. It was the myth, not the man, that fueled Long's political machine and mobilized disenfranchised Louisiana voters. Warren proposed that the critical flaw of the democratic process was its propensity to foster undemocratic behavior, and cited Long as a prime offender.

Conversely, Williams portrays Long as a benevolent Aristotlean philosopher-king. As Brinkley notes, Williams's perceptions were undoubtedly colored by his Midwestern schooling and his introduction to populism. Brinkley counters that neither model accommodates Long, contending that Long earned votes, and thereby political power, through the use of tangible rewards, such as the Charity Hospital system and the construction of roads throughout Louisiana.

Glen Jeansonne expands this discussion of power, maintaining that it motivated Long's every action. According to Jeansonne, Long claimed that he sought power to help the people of his state, but the benefits he awarded the poor of Louisiana were incidental to his quest.

Edward F. Haas's article explores Long's love of power which bordered on the megalomaniacal. He examines Long's book which detailed his anticipated capture of the White House and the ensuing presidential acclaim. Long's intentions to build universities, repair natural disasters, and, above all, redistribute the wealth of America with the aid of the nation's industrial robber barons, is fantastical, but demonstrates his preoccupation with gaining virtual omnipotence.

Henry C. Dethloff attacks this traditional presentation of Long as the embodiment of populism in Louisiana, arguing that the state had been undergoing a progressive reformation since the turn of the century. While populists and progressives endeavored to decentralize

government and to bring an end to machine politics, Long worked tc concentrate government control and to empower the political machine.

Matthew J. Schott addresses the issue of Long's power as well, but attacks the scholars and journalists who criticize Long's political excesses. Schott argues that scholars vilify the Machiavellian approach in leaders they dislike, but embrace this approach by popular leaders. According to Schott, if the abuse of power is wrong, it is always wrong. Morality is not relative.

Michael L. Kurtz advances the thesis of power, linking Long to organized crime. Though of uncertain origin, the governor's ties to the Mafia are well-documented, and he was responsible for importing an organized criminal syndicate into Louisiana, as well as contributing to its continued success through legislation and control of state authorities. This affiliation illustrates the extent to which Long's quest for power became the end, not the means.

This collection of articles demonstrates the immense impact of Huey Long upon the state of Louisiana and the development of its politics. Whether his quest for power developed from a need to serve his people, or his public service was merely a stepping stone to political office, Long was assuredly the most prominent and powerful leader the state has ever known. His legacy, for better or worse, abides with its government and its people. Scholars and casual readers alike will find this collection of articles both informative and intriguing.

Margaret C. Gonzalez Southeastern Louisiana University

Erle Johnston. *Politics: Mississippi Style, 1911-1979*. Forest, MS: Lake Harbor Publishers, 1993, pp. 333. $23.50. ISBN 0-9639109-0-6

A veteran Mississippi newspaperman, Eric Johnston is editor of the *Scott County Times*. He has also been a public relations man for many state politicians, notably former Governor Ross Barnett. One of his earlier works–*I Rolled with Ross* (1980)–dealt with this aspect of his career, while another–*Mississippi's Defiant Years, 1953-1973*

1990)—looked at the critical period of racial readjustment from the standpoint of what might delicately be called the conservative position. Thus, he is well-placed to survey a proverbial lifetime of politics in the Magnolia State, provided one recognizes that his is a view from the geographic center but the political right.

Predictably, *Politics: Mississippi Style* begins with the white suit and red tie of Theodore G. Bilbo. If outsiders know the state's politics, they tend to know it via "Bilboism." A notorious demagogue, Bilbo inspired equally flamboyant oratory from his opponents. Appealing to what V. O. Key termed "the delta mind," U. S. Senator Hubert Stephens, for example, reacted to the prospect of Bilbo's challenge for his seat in 1934 with the lament that "You can't skin a skunk without getting some disagreeable odor on your hands." Bilbo's riposte was to declare that he would "rather be a skunk with an odor all my own, rare and distinct, than to be an odorless fathead like Stephens." The man from Pearl River County had a rare gift for embracing a charge in the act of rebutting it. Accused in a later campaign of anti-Semitism, he retorted that he was for "every damn Jew from Jesus Christ on down." Although the Delta planters would have preferred a patrician to represent them in Washington, by 1946 they stomached Bilbo because his seniority would help kill racial reform.

In 1947 when Bilbo's death (from cancer of the mouth, ironically) gave John Stennis of Kemper County the chance to launch his own long senatorial career, most Gulf Coast votes went to his rival Congressman W. M. Colmer of Pascagoula. Johnston attributes Stennis's success partly to a policy of reminding both Colmer's and John Rankin's constituents that if either one left the House for the Senate, he would have less influence as a freshman senator than as congressman with committee seniority. Johnston also makes clear the importance of the tolerated bootleg liquor trade along the coast.

However, the impression given by the book as a whole is that les strategic calculations determined voter choice. In short, V. O. Ke was right in 1950 when he stressed the "friends-and-neighbors" effec of a highly atomized state politics. This justifies Johnston's insistenc on giving the reader not only the name and home base of eac candidate but also, in several cases, the same details for thei campaign team since the latter needed to know the local situatio intimately to get out the vote for its candidate.

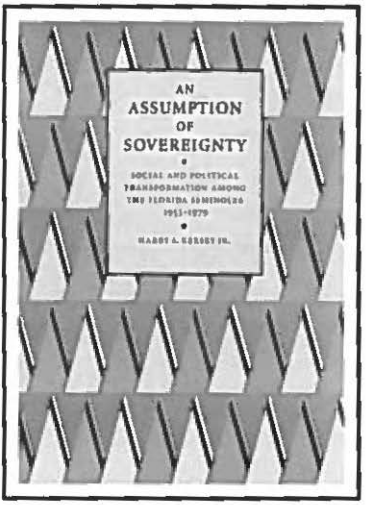
However, if most of the campaigns described support a genera model of southern politics with solidarity towards the nation and factionalism at the state level, the campaigns since the Second Reconstruction suggest that, in several ways, politics Mississippi-style has moved towards politics American-style. Simultaneously, and with some disquiet, one can suggest that national politics have started to resemble those of the Magnolia State. Johnston, with his background in campaign publicity, makes much of the influence of Memphis-based public relations firm Deloss Walker which helped to secure James Eastland's unprecedented sixth term as U. S. Senator in 1972. The agency insisted that the aging senator become more photo-friendly with new suits and more stylish spectacles, and they stage-managed unity rallies rather than submitting their candidate to a long trail of small venues. Eastland's appeal to the Gulf Coast counties, however, remained the classic one of the incumbent, reminding them of the benefits of the proposed coastal waterway and warning them that a Republican majority in the Senate would funnel federal monies to the northern border states. If image-conscious campaigns were the wave of the future for both state and nation, then Cliff Finch's unexpected defeat of Lieutenant Governor William Winter for governor in 1975, which Johnston attributes to a "working man theme," taken from Tom Harkin's Iowa congressional race, may also reflect a broader devaluation of incumbency. In the mid-1970s people had begun to respond to a rhetoric of running against the system itself.

However, Johnston isn't interested in generalities but in the campaigns, the candidates, and the final tally. For those who relish such details and who like to be reminded of the stories that spice or

our an election, Erle Johnston's work will serve, and occasionally elight.

Peter Ling Department of American & Canadian Studies
University of Nottingham

Harry A. Kersey, Jr. *An Assumption of Sovereignty: Social and Political Transformation among the Florida Seminoles, 1953-1979.* Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press, 1996, *xvi*, pp. 266. $42.50. ISBN 0-8032-2728-0



The sovereignty of native peoples, their path from tribalism to nationalism, is a current movement of global proportions being documented with interest, creating new depart-ments in history as well as law. It is a subject which, for some tribes, began many decades ago when they were vulnerable and weak, without the legal, corporate tools and ideals necessary to deal with those who wished to subjugate them.

How far one sovereign entity, the Florida Seminoles, has progressed in the twentieth century! One hundred years ago, the government's plans for the Florida Seminoles, as with most Native-American communities, did not take seriously their culture or religious/political ideals. Just as it was inconceivable for the Seminoles to remain on a reservation instead of seasonally ranging over south Florida, so it was inconceivable in the twentieth century that they would give up their religious/political system. It would take the infusion of a new economy, cattle raising, and a new religion to create new mores, ethics, and leadership roles. Cattle and Christianity provided the platform for the Seminole tribe's formal organization. Kersey places this transition–the new Seminole polity replacing the old traditional polity, at midcentury.

However, sovereignty was something which the population ha supported since postwar days. Most "Florida Seminoles," were non Christian, anti-government, Mikasuki-speaking people, who calle themselves "I. laponathi..." With no peace treaty signed after tw major wars with the United States, they were the "Unconquere Seminoles." An infusion of these two ideologies would create the tw tribes as we know them today.

Kersey's book opens at the end of Indian Commissioner Collier' New Deal programs with a discussion of past and current Federa policies towards Native Americans. This set the stage for triba termination. In postwar 1947, there was a push to reduce federa expenses, and Assistant Commissioner of Indian Affairs, William Zimmerman, felt that the termination of federal services to some tribes would create a sizeable budget reduction. Thus, the government's attitude towards Native Americans had swung from wardship to the "emancipation and equalization" based on self-government.

Kersey does an extremely thorough job of placing the Florida Seminoles in the context of the political interpretation of the federal termination proceedings, discussing the personalities of those influencing, legislating, and interpreting termination. It was during the 1953 termination proceedings that the federal government learned that there were two distinct groups which comprised the government's generic label "The Florida Seminoles."

Instead of termination, the federal government urged the Seminoles to undertake formal tribal organization. The Christian minority on the Seminole reservations pulled together an agenda for tribal organization under federal supervision. Meanwhile, the anti-government, nativistic "Trail Indian" contingency agitated for their own recognition, spearheaded by their aggressive Miami attorney, Morton Silver.

Kersey discusses the seemingly unsurmountable difficulties encountered in cross-cultural decision making. For example, there were problems with the nativistic Miccosukees over such issues as the native interpretation of land ownership. Further, some observers asked if it was appropriate for the small minority of interested and educated Christian Seminoles to speak for the majority of the people who were nativistic illiterates. Yet, the two groups formally organized and were

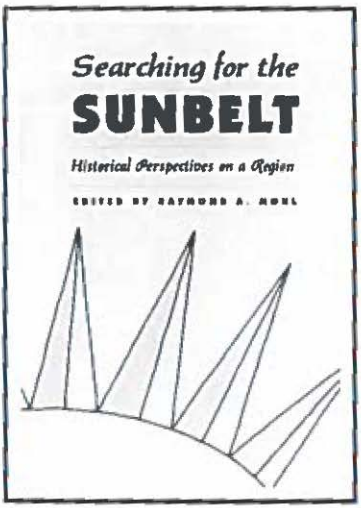
ederally recognized as the Seminole Tribe of Florida (1957) and the Miccosukee Tribe of Indians of Florida (1962).

Kersey gives a detailed account of formal tribal development, utilizing extensive state and federal records supplemented by interviews with members of the Seminole Constitutional Committee. The first election of officers was September 1957. A decade later the elections saw what Kersey terms "transitional leadership" by "younger, better-educated" politicians. The War on Poverty programs helped the Seminoles to move "from a total dependence on the bureau to a state of quasi independence." Other federally-funded agencies provided reservation-based programs (CETA, NYC, CAP, and Head Start) which created tribal employment opportunities and were the first discretionary funds ever made available to many tribes.

A measure of sovereignty came to the Seminoles through federal and state court cases starting in the late 1970s. A result of the Seminole Land Claims Case, which was to compensate monetarily for losses of land prior to the Second Seminole War in 1835, was that Congress "implicitly" recognized Seminole tribal sovereignty. The tribe's participation in tax-free smoke shops and high stakes bingo tested and strengthened the new era of tribal sovereignty while placing the Seminole tribe on the road to economic prosperity.

This publication is the conclusion of a valuable trilogy begun by Kersey in 1975. It has been preceded by *Pelts, Plumes and Hides: White Traders among the Seminole Indians, 1870-1930* (1975) which discusses the economy of this tribal people and *The Florida Seminoles and the New Deal, 1933-1942* (1989) which discusses Collier's aid program. In *An Assumption of Sovereignty, Social and Political Transformation among the Florida Seminoles, 1953-1979* (1996). Kersey has expertly placed the Florida Seminoles within the broad focus of federal legislation and the awakening of Native-American political consciousness across the nation. The field of Florida Seminole history has been greatly enriched by his contributions.

Patsy West Seminole/Miccosukee Photographic Archive
Fort Lauderdale



Raymond A. Mohl, ed. *Searching fo the Sunbelt: Historical Perspectives o a Region.* Athens and London University of Georgia Press, 1993, *xvii* pp. 249. $14.95. ISBN 0-8203-1579-6

Glen E. Lich, ed. *Regional Studies: The Interplay of Land and People.* College Station: Texas A & M University Press, 1992, *xiii*, pp. 181. $32.50. ISBN 0-89096-477-7

These two anthologies, which stem from interdisciplinary research conferences held, respectively, in Miami (1985) and at Baylor University (1987), examine the significance of regional factors in the social sciences. Both collections concur on the importance of regionalism as a dynamic component of growth and development in the American Sunbelt and Southwest. Both works are already somewhat dated. Mohl's study was initially published in 1990 and re-released in paperback with relatively few changes in 1993. Both volumes lack material available since 1987, particularly the 1990 census. Original chapters by a single author for each book, rather than a dozen authors per volume, could have avoided duplication and made each work more cohesive and readable. Yet, ideas from a cross-section of writers, while occasionally confusing to readers and reviewers alike, provide the diversity that is the trademark of most collections.

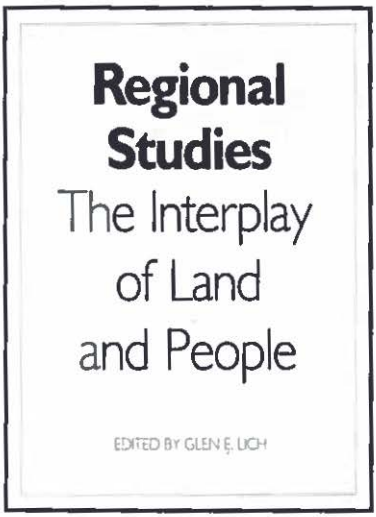
The term "Sunbelt" was coined in 1969 by Kevin P. Phillips, whose *The Emerging Republican Majority* foresaw how the former Confederacy and the Southwest would unite to establish a new GOP electoral base in presidential elections. The prognostica-tion proved accurate in 1972 and 1980-88, but the 1976 and 1992 elections demonstrated that the Sunbelt coalition could be shattered when the Democrats offered southern-based nom-inees. Because of the publication schedule, Mohl did not address the 1988 or 1992 elections, for which a Sunbelt progressive is essential to interpretation.

By 1975, "Sunbelt" had become standard jargon in scholarly ircles, when Kirkpatrick Sale's *Power Shift* further espoused by lectoral clout of the "southern rim." Indeed "Sunbelt" became journalistic shorthand for the economic, political, and demographic ·ends occurring in an ambiguous zone somewhere below the 37th arallel." From an economic but not geographic standpoint, the unbelt by the middle 1990s had bypassed New Mexico, Louisiana, lississippi, and Alabama, but it had established additional beachheads n Nevada and Utah in the West and Georgia, Tennessee, and the 'arolinas in the Southeast.

Mohl's collection consists of an introduction and eleven articles ncompassing such diverse topics as:

(1) Metropolitan Politics
(2) Ethnic and Racial Politics
(3) The Origins of the Sunbelt-Frostbelt Struggle
(4) Miami: The New Immigrant City
(5) The Air Conditioner and Southern Culture

Richard Bernard ("Metropolitan Politics in the American Sunbelt") :xplains how a "commercial-civic elite" of "Old Guard" politicians ;overned southern and southwestern cities through the end of World War II. In Dallas, the Citizens Charter Association held sway; in Houston, the 8-F Club; in Atlanta, Mayor William Hartsfield and the Chamber of Commerce. Yet, old-style politics continued to dominate Memphis (Ed Crump) and New Orleans (Robert S. Maestri and the Choctaw Club). Indeed, Bernard concluded that the line between civic leadership and political machines could wear thin. After the war, a reform revolt swept the metropolitan areas. Archetypical of the GI reformers was thirty-four-year-old Mayor deLesseps S. "Chep" Morrison, who toppled the Maestri forces in New Orleans in 1946. Between 1945 and 1955, reform elements obtained new municipal charters for Dallas, Houston, San Antonio, and Phoenix. City-county consolidation was adopted in Baton Rouge, Nashville, Jacksonville, and Oklahoma City. The Old Guard lost power when the population base of the central cities declined and metropolitan areas and burgeoning suburbs grew rapidly. By the 1970s, such cities as New Orleans, Atlanta, Birmingham, Richmond, and Miami had turned



increasingly to black and minorit leadership, a reflection of changin racial composition and housing pattern

Roger Lotchin ("The Origins of th Sunbelt-Frostbelt Struggle") explain how political and economic factor enabled the Sunbelt to displace th East (which had shared power with th Midwest) from its national hegemony Lotchin determined that the essentia ingredient to the rise of California an the Sunbelt South rested with th decentralization of military spendin away from the East and Midwest.

Perhaps the most original and interesting article in Mohl's anthology is Raymond Arsenault's "The End of the Long Ho Summer: The Air Conditioner and Southern Culture," initially published in *The Journal of Southern History* (1986). Arsenault found that even before air con-ditioning, southerners had mastered techniques to cope with the hot, humid climate of the region: high ceilings, thin walls, long breezeways, floors rained off the ground, steeply pitched roofs vented from top to bottom, open porches, broad eaves to block the slanting sun, groves of shade trees, and houses build to catch breezes. This science of passive cooling was rendered obsolete with residential air conditioning. The architecture of yesteryear hence gave way to low ceilings, small windows, and a compact floor plan.

James Cobb ("The Sunbelt South: Industrialization in Regional, National, and International Perspective") explains how the slow growth of industry and the dispersal of local enabled the Sunbelt to mitigate the social and political upheavals that had accompanied industrialization in the North. Still, the Sunbelt faced difficulty in making its industry provide payoffs in terms of wages, benefits, and tax revenues.

Lich's collection focuses on:

(1) Economics and Politics of Regionalism
(2) Media, Politics, and Regionalism
(3) Region and Religion

(4) Gender and Regionalism
(5) Language of Regionalism
(6) The Changing Character of North America Culture
(7) A Subregion: the Upper Cumberland

Samuel Hill ("Region and Religion") labels the Sunbelt as evangelical," a term (distinct from "fundamentalist") that accents the eed for personal conversion to the cause of Christ and the obligation o witness to others one's faith practice. Baptists and Methodists have raditionally been the leading denominations in the South in part ecause they draw members from both races. Yet, Hill found ifferences in worship format and spiritual beliefs among most outhern whites and blacks. For instance, the threat of hell is rarely motivation for blacks to straighten out their lives and to seek alvation. According to Hill, blacks view the Bible as less of an uthority to be defended than a source of narratives which elicit neaningful responses. A minority of southerners, mostly Catholics, dhere to confessional Christianity, not the conversionist theology of he Protestant majority.

Susan Armitage (Gender and Regionalism) claims a male bias in rederick Jackson Turner's century-old frontier thesis: "For too long nuch western history has been told as an adventure story of solitary nen...{rather} than in the context of larger groups." Armitage found hat until quite recently, most of the information about women in the Vest came from such children's books as Laura Ingalls Wilder's *ittle House* series. Lillian Schlissel's *Women's Diaries of the Vestward Journey*, the first study based exclusively on women's liaries and reminiscences, argues that the female experience of the vestward journey consisted of "worry, privation, and loss." Schlissel laims that women never lost their personal awareness of death. ndeed, many counted the graves they encountered as they headed vest. Men conversely viewed death in aggregate and abstract terms. Sandra Myres's Westering Women challenges feminist historians for aving added a new female stereotype, that of "the downtrodden lrudge, to the existing inadequate portraits" of women in the West.

Lynwood Montell offers nostalgic reminiscences of his native Jpper Cumberland subregion, which encompasses the Tennessee-Kentucky border. Montell recounts how as a child he sat around the

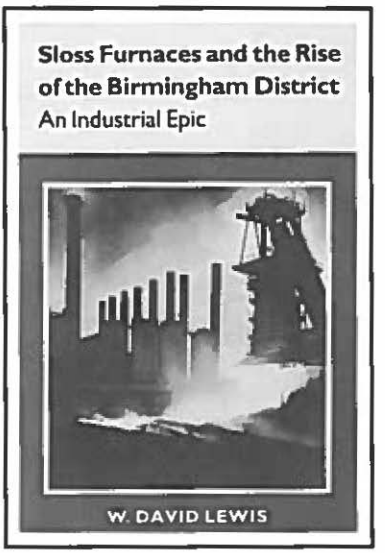
fireplace on long winter evenings or at Sunday afternoon gathering to listen to parents, grandparents, and other relatives and neighbor engage in tale-swapping. He notes that people in the Upper Cumberland believed that when a part of the natural universe acted peculiarly, such activity signaled that someone in the family or community was marked for death. He adds that his loyalty and identification with the Upper Cumberland demand that he be buried among six generations of his ancestors. In the tradition of fellow Kentuckian Jesse Stuart, Montell explains that "not only do I write about local people and local topics, I write for local people.... The goal I set out for myself years ago was to represent local people and culture in the words of the people themselves."

Both collections are properly documented and geared to academic and specialists within the social sciences as well as graduate library holdings. A few chapters within each volume, such as Arsenault's study of air conditioning and Montell's glimpse of the Upper Cumberland, may appeal to general readers. However, few general readers will likely encounter either book. One advantage of collections is that readers may pick and choose the chapters which interest them. There is no obligation to read every selection to grasp an overall theme. Of the two, Mohl's work is priced to sell, is monolithic in outlook, and is consistent in its findings and conclusions. Lichten's volume is expensive, lacks an index, is rather esoteric, and includes too many topics under a single umbrella of regional studies.

Billy Hathorn Laredo (Texas) Community College

W. David Lewis. *Sloss Furnaces and the Rise of the Birminghan District: An Industrial Epic.* History of American Science and Technology Series. Tuscaloosa and London: University of Alabama Press, 1994, *xxiv*, pp. 645. ISBN 0-8173-0708-7

W. David Lewis's monumental study was originally commissioned as a guidebook for the Sloss Furnaces and evolved into a scholarly history of an often-ignored southern industry. The South's cast iron trade, which Lewis calls an "historiographical Cinderella" because it



vas overshadowed by major northern teel producers, has received little ttention by historians of technology. Ie starts and ends his study with Vulcan, the largest cast-iron statue on arth, which overlooks Birmingham. The iron man's gradual deterioration rovides a metaphor for the transition rom preindustrial to postindustrial Birmingham.

According to Lewis, Birmingham, Alabama's "Magic City," is uniquely ocated at the geological convergence of three raw materials–coal, ore, and imestone–crucial to the production of ron. Lewis chronicles Birmingham's gradual growth into a regional nanufacturing center through its successes in the iron industry.

Lewis convincingly argues that the southern engineer-entrepreneurs nanaging the Birmingham iron district initially invested in and dvanced the region's leading industry without northern participation. His chronological account of Sloss Furnaces from its 1881 founding o final flame in 1970 focuses on personalities, primarily a group of Virginians. These men secured control of the furnaces in 1886 and ushered in an era of prosperity and "a distinctive southern style of ndustrialization" which was "rooted in prewar southern agribusiness and industrial slavery."

Lewis cautions historians not to dismiss the cast-iron industry as echnologically inferior to the steel trade and explains that technological choices were based on the "chemical peculiarities" of raw materials. In 1902 Sloss-Sheffield Steel and Iron Company managers decided to concentrate on cast iron production because the area's abundant brown iron ore was more suitable for pig iron sold for foundry usage than for steel. This decision caused strife among city leaders who espoused a "gospel of salvation through steel." Lewis links the disillusionment suffered when leaders and citizens realized Birmingham would not be a great steel manufacturer due to

racial discord and social disorder, culminating in 1960s Civil Right violence.

By 1942 the United States Pipe and Foundry Company controlle the Sloss Furnaces. Prosperity continued through the 1950s, bu during the next decade, the entire industry suffered due to energ shortages, rising costs, and foreign competition. The cumulative effec was the closure of the final Birmingham blast furnace in 1980. Lewi documents the manner in which the Birmingham communit cooperated to prevent demolition of Sloss Furnace. His book is tribute to Randall G. Lawrence, deceased director of the Slos Furnaces National Historic Landmark, who originally invited Lewis t narrate Sloss's history to inform museum visitors and to correct long held myths about iron versus steel production in Alabama.

Lewis's research is extensive, ranging from archival sources patent records, and obscure printed works, to new insights from hi graduate student, Jack R. Bergstresser, Sr. The author interviewe specialists–former furnace superintendents, engineers, and laborers- familiar with the Birmingham District. He immersed himself not onl in historical literature but also geological and technical treatises an consulted authorities in related fields.

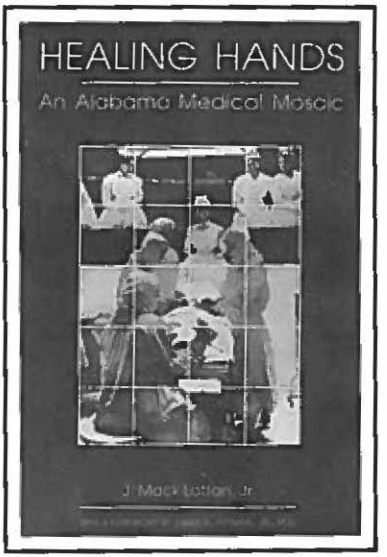
The scholarship is superb, but critics may carp about the lengt of the book and the inclusion of tangential topics, such as the histor of Birmingham's various colleges and suburbs. Lewis obviously ha great respect for the men who managed the Birmingham Distric furnaces and therefore favors management over labor. Perhaps, h should have omitted some extraneous information and focused his analysis on the relationship among racism, labor, and technology in Birmingham or explored the industrial impact on Alabama's environment and public health. Lewis, however, offers his book t both professional historians and "general readers." Its copious detail reveals his "zest for observing how things work and explaining the operation of complex devices." His work identifies issues, raises questions for future examination, and inspires further research.

Masterfully written, *Sloss Furnaces and the Rise of the Birmingham District: An Industrial Epic* is solid testimony to an outstanding historian's lifelong commitment to investigate the history

of iron and steel technology. Davis Lewis's expertise empowers all who aspire to understand the history of southern technology.

Elizabeth D. Schafer Loachapoka, Alabama

J. Mack Lofton, Jr. *Healing Hands: An Alabama Medical Mosaic.* Tuscaloosa: The University of Alabama Press, 1995, pp. 287. $29.95. ISBN 0-81730-7796



This book relates the personal experiences of more than seventy-five Alabama medical people–physicians, nurses, midwives, home remedy practitioners, and social workers–who reflect on their chosen profession and tell of incidents from their varied careers. The interviews, which span a period from just after the turn of the century to the 1990s, abound in colorful, amusing, and often poignant detail.

As with any oral history the reader must allow for the frailty of memory, individual personality, and perspective. Most of the interviews, however, are striking in their honesty. "Yeah, Henry," recalled one elderly doctor, "we had some bad times back there. I would put on my robe [a Ku Klux Klan robe], and go out there and beat the hell out of these people, and I would have to go back to the hospital, get cleaned up, and go down there and sew 'em up."

Some of the best interviews portray graphically the harsh conditions with which healers often had to cope in the early years, conditions rooted in the poverty and ignorance of the rural South. Many of the older doctors recall the limited effectiveness of their drug arsenal and the lack of basic hygiene which they encountered frequently.

The reader also meets Dr. Richard Dale, the first black physician to graduate from an Alabama medical school. Unfortunately, Dr. Dale does not offer any insight into what it was like to break the color barrier. Readers will, however, gain a greater understanding of the day-to-day drama of medicine–the prodigious amount of reading and memorization required during the first two years of medical school, the challenges of starting and managing a practice, of coping with the rapid advances in medicine, and of dealing with patients of all ages and backgrounds. This is history not found in textbooks, history which would have been lost but for these interviews.

We hear from a range of specialists, from family practitioners in isolated rural areas to suburban ophthalmologists and IMGs ("International Medical Graduates," formerly called "Foreign Medical Graduates," a term now considered politically incorrect), doctors who were neither born nor educated in the United States, but who today represent more than one fifth of the nation's practicing physicians. Thus, through these interviews we witness not only the changes in American medicine but also the century's social and political changes.

To one's surprise few of those interviewed mention difficulties in financing a medical education. Most found jobs to supplement whatever assistance they were getting from home. Many, of course, were subsidized by Uncle Sam following service in World War II. All speak of the people they treated and the situations they encountered in the course of their careers. "Because I do my hematology work, I am usually the first to know when a patient is in serious trouble, especially with a cancer patient," observes one physician. "One of the rewards of this specialty is the courage I see in the patients and family members. Most of them are able to face up to the problem, and there is a lot of strength, a sort of quiet heroism."

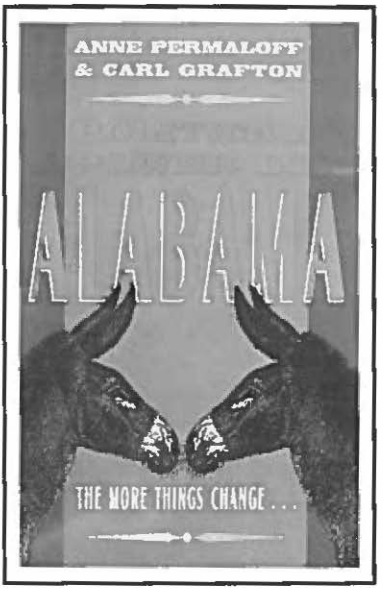
The book includes a handful of photographs. It would have enhanced the text if readers could see how the medical personnel looked during various stages of their careers, the hospitals they worked in, the equipment they used, and the communities where they lived. In addition some of the best interviews are too brief. One senses that much worthwhile material was not included, perhaps due to space limitations.

This is oral history at its best. Author J. Mack Lofton, Jr., a free-lance writer from Birmingham has given us a unique view of medicine from the perspective of those who practice the art of healing.

Steven Hanley

Arkansas Children's Hospital
Little Rock, Arkansas

Anne Permaloff and Carl Grafton. *Political Power in Alabama: The More Things Change....* Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1995, pp. 336. $50.00. ISBN 0-8203-1721-7



This book is about state politics in Alabama from 1958 to 1970. It covers the election campaigns which saw John Patterson and George and Lurleen Wallace elected as governors, and Albert Brewer defeated in his attempt to remain in the office he inherited when Lurleen died. The book also describes the policies of these governors. The three introductory chapters comment on gaps, political theory, and economics, and set the tone for the book. The concluding eighteen-page chapter holds that the political mess remains unchanged.

The issues around which Alabama politics revolved included segregation, education, reapportionment, tax reform, selection of legislative committee members and chairs, and a constitutional amendment to allow governors to serve two consecutive terms. In almost every case, the authors hold, the Alabama politicians pursued the wrong course. If advances were made, it was due to federal intervention, as in civil rights and redistricting.

The authors teach at Auburn University, Montgomery. They have published articles on Alabama politics, and this book is a sequel to their *Big Mules and Brancheads*, a biography of governor "Big Jim"

Folsom. *Political Power in Alabama* is encyclopedic. About 150 Alabamians are mentioned in it, along with a dozen local and statewide organizations, as well as many people and groups outside the state that became involved in Alabama politics. A list of sources is forty pages long, and the "selected" bibliography another ten. There are seven charts and tables.

The authors argue that the Wallaces were interested only in political power. If they had to be segregationists and against tax increases, then they were segregationists and against tax increases. They did not promote any legislation that did not maintain or increase their power. Their appointments to office and their support of road construction and two-year colleges were clear examples of kickbacks and patronage. Patterson and Brewer come off a little better.

The "evil empire" in Alabama prior to the 1960s was controlled by the "Big Mules," made up primarily of big businessmen in Birmingham. The authors maintain that these leaders were happy with the system created by the 1901 constitution and prevented any changes from taking place. Due to redistricting and changing economic patterns, this empire split. One part was the big businessmen of Birmingham and their counterparts in northern Alabama. The "plantation" aristocracy and rural counties in central and southern Alabama made up the second. But if this is true, how did the liberals John Sparkman and Lister Hill become U. S. senators, and Jim Folsom governor?

If insights from other disciplines had been used, this book would have been better. The authors fail to mention the important role of religious fundamentalism in the traditional-individualistic culture of the South, particularly Alabama. White supremacy is a part of this fundamentalism. When the liberals in the 1950s and 1960s refused to promise "segregation forever," the conservatives did, and the typical southern voter became a conservative. This was more pronounced in Alabama than elsewhere. In no other state did most of the leading clergymen condemn the activities of the Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr. as being immoral as they did in Alabama. This union of conservatism and fundamentalism has been explained well in *Religion and Politics* by Kenneth Ward (1987).

No evidence is given in the book to show that the beliefs of the power brokers differed from the beliefs of the average voter. If public opinion polls were utilized, they probably would show that a majority of the people were in favor of the path Alabama has taken. This hardly justifies that path, but does suggest that "power structures" alone should not be blamed (or praised).

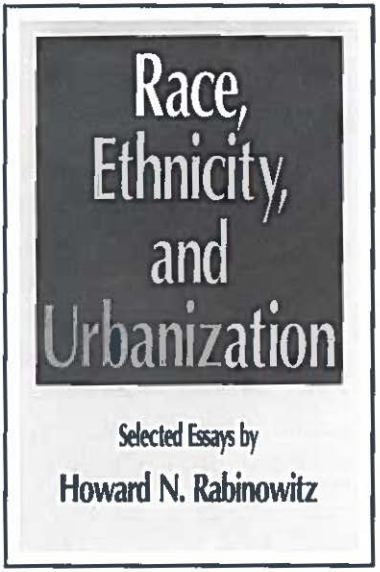
The authors contend that Alabama is in a rut and that it will remain there unless the power structures are weakened or removed. A more optimistic outlook, however, can be found in *The South Moves into Its Future*, edited by Joseph Himes (1987).

Alabama has the climate, rivers, soils, minerals, and tourist attractions that other states envy. Our failure to use these advantages effectively is a disgrace, but that failure antedates today's Big Mules. Our football culture is a bigger burden on us than the power structures. Polls have shown that enough people vote for governor on the basis of whether the candidate attended Alabama or Auburn to swing close elections. The currents of Alabama politics are much too complex for anyone to say that they are the result of the evil machinations of a few.

Roy Lechtreck Alabaster, Alabama

Howard N. Rabinowitz. *Race, Ethnicity, and Urbanization: Selected Essays*. Columbia and London: University of Missouri Press, 1994, pp. 359. $42.00. ISBN 0-8262-0930-0

Over the past twenty years Howard N. Rabinowitz has often brought innovative ideas and new perspectives to the study of Southern race relations. In the late 1970s his challenge to C. Vann Woodward's thesis on the origins of segregation in the South transformed the way many historians regarded the pattern of race relations in that region during the nineteenth century. His work also greatly enhanced our knowledge of the usually neglected area of Southern urban history.[1] Scholars of the region therefore should be delighted to learn that in his new book, *Race, Ethnicity, and Urbanization: Selected Essays*, he has collected and made available in one



volume over a dozen of his previously published articles and essays. His best work is represented, and after reading the essays specialists and nonspecialists alike will find them as informative and thought-provoking as when they were first published.

The book is thematically organized into five sections, which together highlight the author's interest in the related topics of race, ethnicity, and (Southern) urban history. The first part consists of a pair of well-crafted historiographical essays on the origins of segregation, either of which would be of keen interest to students who wish to familiarize themselves with the historical scholarship on nineteenth-century race relations. The selections in Part Two outline his own argument regarding Southern segregation. Segregation was not an invention of white politicians of the 1890s, he concludes in "From Exclusion to Segregation: Southern Race Relations, 1865-1890." While that decade did witness an increasing commitment on the part of lawmakers to codify the policy of racial separation, *de facto* segregation as by that time already in widespread existence. Moreover, what the policy of segregation represented was not a shift from a policy of racial integration but a departure from the longstanding practice of excluding blacks from participation in Southern society.

The major themes of the Rabinowitz's scholarship are also woven into the later sections of the book, although for some readers the section on Jews and other ethnics (Part Four) may seem somewhat out of place in this volume. Nonetheless, the essays in Parts Three (Reconstruction and Its Legacy) and Five (Continuity and Change) do a good job in underscoring other important elements of the historian's thought. The selections on Southern cities, for example, clearly present his view of the South as distinctive in both the pace and direction of its development. Other articles, such as "The Weight of the Past vs. The Promise of the Future," reveal the value he places

on comparative analysis as a tool for enhancing our understanding of the course of Southern history. And his essays on Reconstruction remind readers of the significance he gives to the period and its various actors for the evolution of black/white relations.

For the most part the writings in this volume–some of which date back to 1974–have stood up well over time. That is not to say that there are no weaknesses in any of the pieces contained in it, however. Rabinowitz has always overstated the importance of continuity in the development of Southern cities, as evidenced in the essay entitled "Continuity and Change: Southern Urban Development, 1860-1900". Perhaps, the difficulty is that despite his attempts to remain mindful of the enormous complexity of Southern urban development, he misses or pays insufficient attention to some qualitative changes that occurred in postbellum cities. A more recent essay, "The Weight of the Past vs. The Promise of the Future", also seems problematic, but for entirely different reasons. Though admittedly chosen "a bit arbitrarily," his periodization of American race relations is troubling. Perhaps one can reasonably argue, as he does, that the years between 1900 and 1954 constituted a single period in the evolution of race relations in this country. But can one really say with confidence the same thing about the years between 1619 and 1787? What about 1865-1900? It would be difficult to do so without ignoring completely the many sharp changes that took place within each of these time periods. His decision to examine only black and white people in this essay is equally troubling, if only because relations between these groups in the South have often been affected by the actions and behavior of other races or ethnic groups. Moreover, Rabinowitz analyzes Southern relations by comparing them to the North, where even during the 1800s race relations were more than simply a matter of black and white.

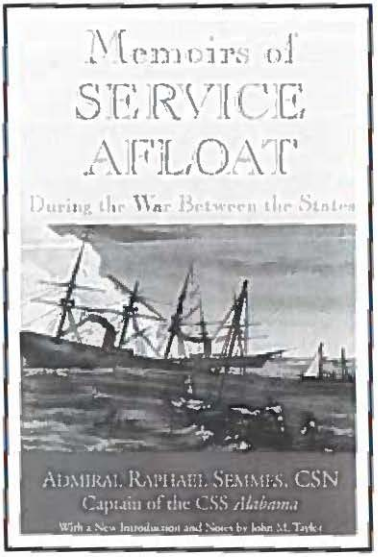
Whatever it analytical flaws, on of its strengths is that it is styled so as to appeal to a wide variety of readers. The informal language used in many of its selections makes it accessible to a general audience. The prefaces that accompany most of the essays give background information, which should further make this book accessible to readers with only a limited knowledge of regional history. Those with a more extensive knowledge can look for

additional context and background in the author's introduction, in which he guides his readers through his own evolution as a scholar. Historians who study the Gulf Coast can find useful information on social and economic development of the Gulf Coast cities of Mobile, New Orleans, Galveston, and Houston.

Like other works by Howard Rabinowitz, his latest offering is sure to find a place in the libraries of very many urban, social, political, and Southern historians.

Connie Meale San Diego, California

[1] Howard N. Rabinowitz, *Race Relations in the Urban South, 1865-1890* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1978).



Admiral Raphael Semmes, CSN. *Memoirs of Service Afloat during the War between the States.* Reprint with a new introduction and notes by John M. Taylor. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1996, *x*, pp. 861. $19.95. ISBN 0-8071-2086-3

Here is a book that should appeal to Old South traditionalists, naturalists, Civil War aficionados, and all who enjoy tales of adventurous seafaring. Raphael Semmes remained an unreconstructed Confederate to the day he died, firm in his disdain for the "Puritan" Yankees, but ever a charming, southern gentleman, with a wry sense of humor and a pragmatic view of his self-assigned task to encounter and to destroy the Union's commercial fleet.

His raiding adventures in command of two ships took him over more than half the globe, and his descriptions of tropical ports of call are a delight to read. Deftly, he forms pictures of Jamaica's lush, mountainous country-side, washed by sparkling blue waters, a visit to

the ruins of a palace built by Columbus in old St. Domingo, and a botanist's exploration of a mysterious Malayan jungle.

So complex were the issues that led to the Civil War, and so devastating were the land battles in the divided nation, that among thousands of books published on the period, there are few that dwell on the conflict at sea. In contrast to the bloody battles across the divided land, the maritime war produced little loss of life. But the destruction of the federal merchant fleet was so ruinous that America's pre-war position as the world's dominant maritime nation has never been regained. Semmes, the zealous ocean raider, put ship after ship to the torch, until the burning of an elegantly rigged clipper off present-day Vietnam even brought tears to his mariner's eyes. He alone was responsible for the destruction of seventy-one Northern vessels, more than one-third of all Union losses. The havoc he spread forced five hundred Northern ships to change to the flags of neutral nations in an attempt to avoid capture and loss of cargo.

Semmes's description of his exit from the Passes of the Mississippi aboard the troubled little CSS *Sumter*, and his subsequent escape from the federal blockade has all the elements of the sea chases recounted in the much-read Patrick O'Brian novels. One feels the humid, mosquito-ridden air clear as the Confederate raider gets under way and passes the lighthouse at the pilot station. The USS *Brooklyn* turns in pursuit, and the race is on. The Southern brig's boiler foams in eking out every last turn of the screw, but not enough to prevent the gap between the vessels from closing. Semmes prepares to strike his colors and to throw his chest of bullion over the side when the two ships are enveloped in a rain squall. After it clears, the *Brooklyn* is within striking distance, its guns run out. The wind shifts, and the saucy little *Sumter* with its fore-and-aft sails gets an edge over the square-rigged *Brooklyn*. For three hours the chase continues, the *Sumter* working closer to windward and opening the distance between raider and pursuer, until the *Brooklyn* finally furls its sails and returns under power to its blockading station.

Semmes was the only Confederate naval officer to engage in two battles, the first going beyond his charter as a commerce raider. His hate of the Union general Nathaniel Banks drove him to take the powerful CSS *Alabama* to Galveston in pursuit. There, in the dark of

night, he encountered the old USS *Hatteras*, did battle, and in thirteen minutes sank it, inflicting the first loss of life in eighteen months of successful raiding. Even then, Semmes the humanitarian took *Hatteras* survivors aboard, offered the comforts of his cabin to the defeated commanding officer, and delivered his captives to Jamaica. There he enjoyed without recrimination the sight of the warring sailors reveling together in the neutral port.

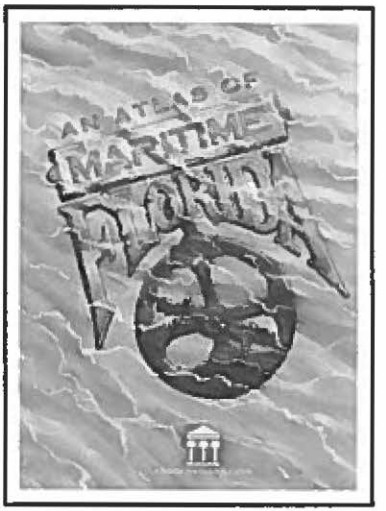
His detailed description of the sinking of the famous *Alabama*, watched by perhaps fifteen thousand people, a painting of which hangs in the Louvre, signaled the end of what Semmes bemoans as the Lost Cause. Here he also tells of the loss of his faithful steward and overall factotum, Bartelli, a sailor whom Semmes rescued from alcoholism, but who, until it was too late, never admitted to being unable to swim.

Between the departure of the *Sumter* and the loss of the *Alabama*, the reader has absorbed Semmes's eloquent analysis and defense of the right and reason for secession, his impassioned views of Yankee materialism, his informative diversions on meteorology and his descriptions of the pleasures and difficulties of life at sea. His engaging style marks a vast improvement on the turgid prose of Jefferson Davis and Benjamin Butler. Biographer John M. Taylor (*Confederate Raider: Raphael Semmes of the Alabama*, 1994) makes a valuable contribution to Semmes's long memoir with a summarizing introduction, wide-ranging notes, and a detailed index, the first for the text. The additions make this initial major southern memoir on the conflict a useful reference for both maritime and Civil War historians.

John A. Butler Potomac, Maryland

Roger C. Smith, James J. Miller, Sean M. Kelley, and Linda G. Harden. *An Atlas of Maritime Florida*. Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1997, pp. 45. $9.95. ISBN 0-8130-1512-X

An Atlas of Maritime Florida is an easy-to-digest primer about the natural historical, and technological factors that contribute to the nautical history of Florida. This large-format paperback with a colorful



cover is written for anyone, novice or scholar, interested in Florida's history as viewed from the sea. As a result of the authors' intent to make the atlas reader-friendly, the work will find its way to a broad audience, onto the bookshelves of libraries, and next to the shells and schlock of any Florida tourist trap. However, the atlas offers a scholarly approach to Florida's maritime history and does not regale the reader with folklore about the search for the Fountain of Youth, or pirate legends, or fabulous tales of shipwreck and treasure. Rather, the atlas is a compilation of facts and figures woven together to convey a broad understanding of the natural and historical factors that characterize Florida's nautical heritage. As the name implies, it is well illustrated with photographs, maps, charts, tables, and timelines to complement the text. Even the most casual student of maritime history will find the atlas extremely informative, even if they look only at the illustrations. Additionally, a final section provides a bibliography of sources, conveniently grouped by topical theme, so the reader can explore other avenues for more detailed investigation of a particular topic.

The impetus for creating this atlas by the authors, all employed by the Florida Division of Historical Resources, was to provide a historical and environmental overview of the shipwrecks in state waters. Formerly in Florida, submerged cultural resource management policies concerning the preservation and scientific investigation of shipwrecks and other maritime artifacts were limited. Those charged with the management of these resources lacked an understanding of these archaeological remnants. However, as a result of several National Oceanic and Atmospheric Agency Coastal Zone Management grants in the early 1990s, the state of Florida started an inventory of shipwreck sites in the waters off Pensacola, Pompano Beach, and Panama City. An important corollary to this work was generating an informed appreciation and awareness of submerged archaeological

resources among the public and visitors. Part of this public-oriented program centered on developing educational and recreational opportunities for people to explore fascinating relics physically from different historical periods through the creation of underwater archaeological preserves. There are currently six preserves throughout the state, ranging from a 1715 wreck to the battleship USS *Massachusetts* (BB-2). The atlas, as a component of the educational outreach program, was conceived as a concise discussion of the shipwrecks' natural and historical contexts, and other related maritime activities in Florida.

The atlas consists of a collection of topical discussions separated into six sections, each divided further into several sub-topics. For a book of only forty-five pages, the atlas contains a large amount of useful information. This is accomplished through double-column text accompanied by copious illustrations and figures concerning all the aspects of Florida's nautical legacy. The first topical section details the physical setting of Florida in regards to the landscape, wind, and currents. An often overlooked, but important concept imparted in the atlas is that the Florida of today does not look like the Florida of 5,000 years ago due to climatic changes. The coastal areas of that prehistoric land, occupied for approximately 8,000 years by the first human inhabitants, are currently under several fathoms of water along the continental shelf in the Gulf of Mexico. From a management perspective, the archaeological remains of Florida's first citizens are in the cultural bank awaiting future expeditions to investigate.

The next topic covers the development of Florida from the prehistoric to historic periods and into the twentieth century. Charts and timelines in this section are important in facilitating and elaborating on the information imparted. Various legal maritime activities such as lumber, marine recreation, commercial fishing, historic and modern trade and illegal ones including rum running during Prohibition years and the on-going drug smuggling operations of present times are examined. The Navigation and Ship Type section in the atlas is essentially a picture reference of navigation aids from the compass to the Global Positioning System (GPS) and of ship types, from canoes to aircraft carriers, used along the Florida coast over the centuries. Next, the book turns to the threats to navigation

(i.e., reefs, shoals, currents, and inlets) and the development of the lighthouse and other methods along the coastline to deal with them. The final chapter reviews the losses of several Spanish treasure fleets, the artificial reef program, and reported ship losses. In this section, a graph for each region of the state shows the number and distribution of ship losses along the coast over the years.

Using a very few pages, the atlas succeeds through the text and illustrations in presenting a coherent and well-researched work on the maritime threads of Florida's nautical past. It is within this context that the atlas serves as an excellent introductory tool and as a point of departure for additional study and reading.

James D. Spirek Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology
University of South Carolina

Trudy Wilner Stack. *Christenberry Reconstruction: The Art of William Christenberry.* Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 1996, pp. 208. $35.00. ISBN 0-87805-856-7

Henry James once observed that it took a great deal of history to produce a little bit of art. Because he loved art so much, he made his home in Europe, where the cultural traditions were far richer than in his native United States. A great artist can come out of any culture, however, whether that culture is deeply rooted or not. Indeed, if a culture's history has been especially difficult, we should expect the productions of its artists to be particularly worthy of note.

Such is the case with the work of Alabama artist William Christenberry (born in 1936). Christenberry, a native of Tuscaloosa, now teaches drawing and painting at the Corcoran School of Art in Washington, D. C. *Christenberry Reconstruction*, published in

conjunction with a traveling exhibition, takes stock of his artistic achievements. It consists of two essays and two sections of color plates. The first essay, "Alabama Bound, Unbound" by Allen Tullos (a professor at Emory), is a rather poorly organized melding of interviews with Christenberry and facts about his life. Christenberry was born into a family of middling means and spent his formative years in Tuscaloosa and Hale counties, on the western edge of the Alabama Black Belt. Though not a part of the hardscrabble history of this region's tenant farmers, Christenberry is irresistibly drawn to the material remains of their culture. Indeed, he was initially motivated by the alarming "disappearance of that world in Alabama during his parents' lifetimes." Tullos points out that Christenberry's art, "draws intensity from past as well as continuing cultural shocks, displacements, and transformations experienced in a small area of his home state." Anyone who has any degree of familiarity with the Black Belt will recognize the reality of these cultural transformations.

In 1960, Christenberry first encountered James Agee and Walker Evans's monumental, *Let Us Now Praise Famous Men* (1941), in a Birmingham bookstore. He was profoundly affected by this volume, especially by Evans's photographs. Using a Brownie camera, Christenberry recorded "the landscape of ghost buildings" in the Alabama Black Belt. In 1973 in what must surely have been an epiphany, Christenberry and an aged Walker Evans visited Hale County, taking pictures of the landscape and one another.

The second essay in this volume, "Material Remains," is by Trudy Wilner Stack, curator at the Center for Creative Photography at the University of Arizona. Stack's essay is pedantic and sometimes dense, but her analysis is sound. "Christenberry can neither resist nor avoid the inevitabilities of time passing," she writes. This explains the haunting quality of many of his images. Though most people think of Christenberry as a photographer, Stack gives extensive coverage to his sculpture and collages. These creations often take as their point of departure images or themes from his photographs. Some of Christenberry's sculptures are nearly exact copies of buildings he has photographed while others are more abstract. The latter include complex constructions featuring cubes, cones, and cylinders. These shapes, contends Stack, are "conscious referents: the cubes as

architecture, the cones as Klan, the spheres as force." Two sections of plates follow the essays. The first focuses on Christenberry's photographs, sketches, paintings, and sculpture. Most of these plates are in color and are quite breathtaking. Though Christenberry has labored almost exclusively within Hale County, his work has a distinctive quality that is universally southern. The second section features photographs of artifacts in The Klan Room, an entire portion of Christenberry's studio devoted to the Ku Klux Klan. Christenberry started The Klan Room in 1963 in an effort to express his "abhorrence" of the organization.

Anyone interested in an artistic interpretation of the history of Alabama and its material culture should take note of this volume. It presents with wonderful clarity the sometimes beautiful and moving, as well as the sometimes terrifying and disturbing aspects of our region. The history of the Alabama Black Belt has been difficult. Fortunately for us, this difficult past has nourished a first-rate artist. *Christenberry Reconstruction* is the best sampling of his work available.

John Sledge Mobile Historic Development Commission

Stephen Z. Starr. *Colonel Grenfell's Wars: The Life of a Soldier of Fortune.* Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1995, *vii*, pp. 352. $14.95. ISBN 0-8071-2034-0

While old soldiers may fade away, a superior military study always finds a way to survive, and *Colonel Grenfell's Wars* is such a survivor. Louisiana State University Press has reissued the old classic in a paperback edition, and it still has something to offer those interested in the Civil War.

George St. Leger Grenfell led an adventuresome life. Not bound by the normal conventions of the Victorian era, he yearned for an exciting and daring lifestyle. He succeeded beyond his wildest dreams. Grenfell rejected the security and wealth that his birth into a well-to-do English family afforded him, and instead chose to probe the limits of acceptable behavior. The Colonel could not hold a regular steady

job and failed miserably as a family man. The life of a soldier of fortune appealed to him much more than tranquil domesticity.

Grenfell's career took him to North Africa, Asia, South, and North America. His many escapades did not endear him to the British Foreign Service and may explain part of its reluctance to rescue him from his final catastrophic adventure. Starr has done a fine job of weaving together the account of Grenfell activities. Grenfell's loose regard for truthfulness did not help piecing together the events of his life. Exaggerations by friends after his death also complicated the process. The truth, while not as exotic and romantic as originally stated by Grenfell, can still hold one's attention.

Despite Grenfell's numerous adventures, his service with the Confederate army immortalized him in military history. Grenfell could sense adventure in the American Civil War, and like a moth drawn to the flame, he had to offer his services to the new Confederate nation. As a soldier Grenfell exhibited bravery in combat and some sense of organization and discipline in the camp. He served with several Confederates of note such as John Hunt Morgan, Joseph Wheeler, Braxton Bragg, and Jeb Stuart. However, despite Grenfell's combat effectiveness and organizational skills, he also had several major weaknesses. He had a prickly personality that frequently clashed with other strong personalities, though he got along well with John Hunt Morgan and Jeb Stuart. In addition, Grenfell's "acquisition" of horses and use of funds were of a questionable nature and led to serious allegations against him.

By 1864 Grenfell appeared to have worn out his welcome in the Confederacy and prepared to leave. As an Englishman, he traveled through the battle lines into Union territory. Grenfell promised Secretary of War Edwin Stanton to sit out the remainder of the war, and federal authorities allowed him freedom of movement. At this point Grenfell became involved in a plot to free Confederate prisoners at Camp Douglas in Chicago. Later, federal authorities claimed that Grenfell planned to torch Chicago and kill as many civilians as possible.

The accusations placed Grenfell in a most unfavorable light. A trial ensued in which the basic rules of evidence and judicial fairness were ignored. Grenfell was a marked man. The court convicted him

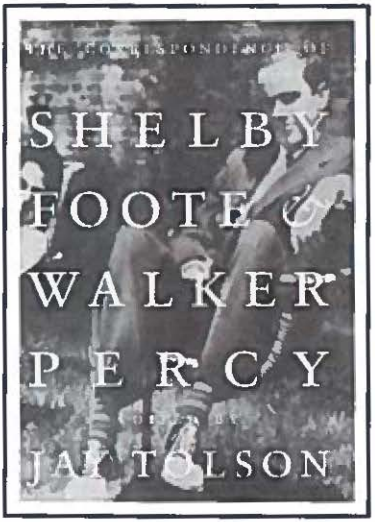
on very flimsy evidence. Then, John Wilkes Booth assassinated President Lincoln before sentencing, and this inflamed public opinion. Federal authorities had no mercy for an Englishman who had participated in a conspiracy against the country. Grenfell was sentenced to life imprisonment at Dry Tortugas. Although he continued to plea for release, the government would not budge. Finally, in desperation, Grenfell attempted an escape in 1868. He was never seen again. Instead, he became one of the heroes of the Confederacy.

Starr's study has many strengths. It is well researched and superbly written. The author's analysis of such characters as John Hunt Morgan, Joseph Wheeler, Braxton Bragg, and Jeb Stuart are concise and penetrating. Likewise, Starr places Grenfell's contribution to Civil War cavalry tactics within the context of the era. The author's expertise clearly shines in this portion of the text. Anyone interested in cavalry tactics or cavalry leaders will enjoy this book.

This is a paperback edition of a 1971 study, and it could have benefited from a modest revision by the author. For example, recent studies of John Hunt Morgan by John A. Ramage and of Jeb Stuart by Emory Thomas might have broadened our understanding of Grenfell. Including several maps would have strengthened the book and guided the reader along the many tortuous paths that Grenfell followed.

Still, this is an excellent study of a neglected individual and deals with several topics that historians frequently omit in their portrayal of the Civil War. If one enjoys the study of cavalry tactics, the role of foreigners in the Civil War, conspiracy theories, or the intricacies of military justice, then this book is for you. Enjoy the adventures of a soldier of fortune.

Damon Eubank Campbellsville University



Jay Tolson, ed. *Correspondence of Shelby Foote & Walker Percy*. Durham: Double Take Books, 1997, pp. 310. $27.50. ISBN 0-8071-2037-5

When I picked up *The Correspondence of Shelby Foote and Walker Percy*, I expected a good book with high intellectual rewards. After all I would be reading an honest, uninhibited dialogue between two of our finest southern writers. These expectations were amply rewarded. On the intellectual side, their letters are more valuable to struggling writers than most creative writing texts, and they provide remarkable insight into literature from Homer to Hemingway. On the uninhibited side, the letters provide many offenses and affronts to our current politically correct establishment which is another delight. For example, one of them writes, "No poet today is worth the salt in his food, let alone cash money." I will leave it to the reader to discover with whom to be angry because on the way there, another more important discovery will be made. This is more than a good book. This is an important book and an ideal gateway into some of the most influential art and thought of Western Civilization. In the last gasps of this century, what could be more important than an honest dialogue between a high modernist and a high Roman Catholic existentialist who together have created some of the greatest literature of our times? As both of these doors slam shut with a resounding thud, it is significant to hear a summation of the absolute finest of what each of these paths had to offer.

In Shelby Foote's letters we are presented with a portrait of a man who believes completely in himself and in the ability of art to ameliorate the human condition. For him writing is as much of a religion as Walker Percy's Catholicism. Foote writes, "It's [writing] an act of devotion beyond prayer–which, incidentally, comes at least as close to 'fondling oneself' as any tracing of words on paper–or at least it's prayer with art." In another letter, he jabs at Percy as only

friends can jab: "For you to speak against Proust to me is as if I were to run down St. Francis (or, better, St. Augustine) to you." Throughout Foote's letters but especially throughout the 1950s and 1960s, Proust is quoted and invoked as both creed maker and patron saint, perhaps as a defense against his friend's avid Catholic faith. Although there are no Percy letters until the seventies, one can sense the struggle of competing faiths in Foote's lengthy expositions. Like Proust, Mr. Foote is a magnificent letter writer. In fact, these letters reveal many other similarities between the modernist deity and his disciple. This should come as no surprise. Not many other modern writers have given us such a Proustian gift as has Mr. Foote in his *Civil War: A Narrative History.*

Although Foote seems content in the Church of Art ("havent [*sic*] read anyone but the standards, Keats-Browning & Co."), Walker Percy seems to realize that both his church and Foote's are falling apart, and his letters reveal him as a trapped man searching for a way out. Regarding the Catholic "trap" he writes, "Christendom no longer can or even should call the tune. If Christians believe in the kingdom, that's their business, but they should realize that the world has by and large turned away. There is no longer such a thing as Christendom, and as Kierkegaard said, maybe it's just as well." Regarding the existentialist trap he writes, "I am having the uncomfortable feeling of having at last been stuck in my slot–as a 'Christian existentialist'." Regarding the writer's trap, in which Mr. Foote seems so comfortable, Percy writes, "I think beginning a new novel is like the onset of a chronic illness, something to be suffered and gotten through, if possible, in one piece."

These letters are larger than their authors because they are a metonymy of one of the key dialogues of the twentieth century, both capturing and capping an era. However, despite the superior control and eloquence of Mr. Foote's letters, it is Mr. Percy who most clearly sees that both modernism and hierarchical religion are finally done with as cultural influences, and he also clearly sees the "semiotic breakdown" rising to engulf them both. Death found Mr. Percy successfully sailing the post-modern flood with his work in progress, *Contra Gentiles.*

Both writers end their correspondence by affirming their respective faiths. Mr. Percy writes in the year of his death, "Dying, if that's what it comes to, is no big thing since I'm ready for it, and prepared for it by the Catholic faith which I believe." Mr. Foote's eulogy for Mr. Percy invokes Dostoevsky, Bergson, Proust, O'Connor, Faulkner, James, Maupassant, and Dante and then places Walker Percy in the pantheon of the Church of Art: "Their subject, his and Faulkner's–and all the rest of ours, for that matter–was the same: 'the human heart in conflict with itself.'"

Charles Belcher, Jr. San Antonio, Texas

Frank J. Welcher. *The Union Army, 1861-1865: Organizations and Operations*. Bloomington: University of Indiana Press, 1989 & 1992. *The Eastern Theater*, vol. 1, $75.00. ISBN 0-253-36453-1/*The Western Theater*, vol. 2, $75.00. ISBN 0-253-36454-X

Anyone who has had to deal with the military history of the Civil War understands how complicated it is trying to discover what military units were at a given battle, or part of any particular campaign. This reviewer works in the field of historic preservation, primarily with the preservation of Civil War sites. The National Register nomination process is the cornerstone of historic preservation, and in order to nominate a site it is essential to know who was in a battle or at a fortification, etc. Consequently, one often becomes frustrated trying to ferret out the "order of command" for some of the lesser known engagements or forts that our state was trying to place on the National Register. Fortunately Frank Welcher has created an easy to

use reference work that eases the pain researchers suffer trying to find necessary military information, especially for minor events.

Welcher's work is not an attempt to replace Frederick H. Dyer's *Compendium of the War of the Rebellion*. Dyer's classic three-volume reference has an enormous amount of detailed information. This detail is what makes the work so unwieldy. Dyer uses charts to follow the evolution of a given command. This often gets confusing given the fact that the names of the command or post changed. This is not a problem for the experienced military historian. However, for those of us who have had to examine the military references out of necessity, it can be maddening. Welcher, on the other hand, presents his information in a clearly written narrative format that places the information at hand into its proper historical context; in addition he explains any changes in commanders or names.

There are some similarities between Dyer and Welcher. For example, one volume of Dyer is devoted strictly to unit histories. Welcher includes some unit history as well, but it is limited to the United States Colored Troops. This is very useful information. With a couple of notable exceptions there is very little data on the African-American regiments raised during the Civil War. In many cases the short unit histories found in Dyer's and Welcher's works are the only secondary sources available for many African-American regiments.

Welcher's two volumes are laid out in a format that adds to their usefulness. First, the eastern and western theaters are placed in separate volumes. Instantly a researcher will know which volume to choose to begin the search. Rarely did military units travel from one theater to another. If this happens, it is referenced in the text, and the reader is given a cross reference to continue the search. Within the volumes the sections of the books are laid out logically, again adding to the ease of using the material.

The table of contents of the volumes are organized from the largest unit of the military to the smallest. For instance, in volume two the table of contents' order is: *Military Divisions of the Army, Departments of the Army, Field Armies, Army Corps, Miscellaneous Organizations, and Battles and Campaigns*. This organization makes the book, to use a 90s phrase, "user friendly." Most researchers will

know where the object of their search falls. If not, Professor Welcher has provided three indices: 1) *Campaigns, Battles, Engagements, and Other Organizations*, 2) *Names*, and 3) *Union Batteries, Regiments, and Other Organizations*. To eliminate confusion the page numbers within the indices are printed in lightface if they appear in volume one and boldface for volume two.

Professor Welcher's work will prove very useful for both military historians and those who dabble in the field. It is a good place to begin research on a Civil War military event. The thumbnail sketches of the battles and the campaigns make the complex events more readily understood. As Welcher puts it, "the details are mostly confined to simple descriptions of...exactly what happened at a given time and place."

This work has a serious flaw. The volumes are biased. The work concerns the Union army, and the author no doubt read numerous accounts of the battles and campaigns that utilized the Union point of view. In reading the account of the Battle of Brice's Crossroads, a decisive Confederate victory, one would almost think that the Union army had won. However, this reference is not meant to be interpretive, and as long as the reader is aware of the nature of work this is not a problem. Dr. Welcher has created a very useful reference work that will appeal to both experienced military historians and novices. While this two volume set is probably too expensive for individuals to own, it will be a valuable addition to any library's reference section. Welcher's work is extremely usable, which is the hallmark of a good reference book. I highly recommend it.

Joseph E. Brent Kentucky Heritage Council

Robert H. Zieger. *The CIO, 1935-1955*. Chapel Hill and London: University of North Carolina Press, 1995, *x*, pp. 491. Cloth, $39.95. ISBN 0-8078-2182-9

Robert Zieger has produced a long-needed survey of the CIO covering the years from its birth to its merger with the AFL. Fifteen years in the making, Zieger's work is detailed, thorough, and a

valuable contribution to the general body of labor history. His emphasis on the CIO as an institution leads him to state that he planned to eschew overtly interpretive issues in favor of "getting the history of the CIO right." But in the end Zieger cannot resist venturing opinions on the more controversial aspects of the CIO's record: civil rights, its relationship to Communist affiliates and the government, and its "failure" to challenge the fundamental tenets of capitalist mass production.

Zieger's evaluation of the CIO is highly favorable–though not unsubstantiated or unqualified. On virtually every point of major contention he defends the CIO and, in the end, interprets even the more questionable aspects of its record as positive. "While the stress on the limitations of the CIO project is often intriguing," Zieger writes, "it is... not persuasive.... In the final analysis... all institutions are flawed." Zieger's positive assessment of the CIO springs principally from his acute appreciation of the difficulties that confronted labor organizers. He does not have his head in the sand though–far from it. But while Zieger acknowledges CIO shortcomings in areas from civil rights to collective bargaining and arbitration, his conclusions are almost preordained by his sympathy with and empathy for the organizer's plight.

In addition to Zieger's positive appraisal of the CIO (what might be called his main thesis) two subthemes, both ironies, also run through the narrative. Zieger makes the point that, while the organization often impressed friend and foe alike as a tower of strength, it was constantly plagued by an internal fragility, especially in terms of the sureness of its institutional footing. It relied heavily on a friendly public sector and often lurched from crisis-to-crisis with no overall defining goal. Zieger also makes it clear that the CIO's most important victories–those with the most far-reaching and lasting

impact–occurred during the World War II era, not during the fabled 1930s.

Zieger credits the organization with six major achievements – four of which occurred from 1941 to 1945. During the frenetic 1930s the CIO channeled diffuse working-class anger and disaffection into a coherent, mass production, labor organization and politically powerful body. Zieger credits the wartime CIO with helping to win the domestic and international struggle against fascism; creating labor's most enduring and important political action vehicle (thereby laying the groundwork for a vital role in postwar liberalism); playing a positive role in the furtherance of black civil rights; and with rightly opposing communism at a time when many on the left were naively enchanted or dangerously ignorant of the character and extent of Stalinist repression. The CIO's final major achievement, accomplished after World War II, was the prosecution of aggressive collective bargaining that enhanced worker dignity and material well-being as well as the decency, safety, and security of work. He points with special pride to gains in wage levels, pensions, and access to health care.

Zieger acknowledges that each of these gains came at a price, often a heavy one. He notes that scholars have argued, for instance, that genuine shop-floor unionism and perhaps a basic challenge to American-style capitalism were forfeited during the 1930s because of the CIO pursuit of "responsible" unionism within the existing system.

A second criticism, that the author rejects perhaps too readily, is the argument that the CIO's relationship with a flawed Democratic party may have short-circuited the possibility for mounting a third party, a genuine worker's party.

However, the most troublesome crises for Zieger are race and radicalism. He goes further in acknowledging CIO shortcomings in the area of race than in any other, but again Zieger defends the organization's record as far better than anything else labor had yet offered. On this score Zieger might have perhaps paid more attention to southern distinctiveness and the unmatched power of the race issue for the CIO in the South.

The Communist issue also troubles Zieger. He clearly laments the 1947-50 CIO purge of eleven Communist affiliates totaling one

million members–many of them the organization's most principled racial egalitarians and dynamic unionists. But Zieger sees the move as absolutely essential within the context of the period. "How long," he asks, "could a CIO tainted with the... moral incubus of Communist association have remained an effective force?"

Zieger does more than his claim to "mount a modest defense" of the CIO, and his assertion that "[t]he CIO stands at the center of the history of twentieth-century America" is hyperbolic. Even so, *The CIO, 1935-1955* is an impressive achievement. It is now the standard work on the CIO and one of the best on any institution related to labor. Zieger is to be congratulated and thanked for a job well done.

Glenn Feldman Center for Labor Education and Research
University of Alabama at Birmingham

Elizabeth Barrett Gould

died peacefully March 23, 1998, in Urbana, Illinois. She was ninety-one. Betty was the author of *From Fort to Port: An Architectural History of Mobile, Alabama, 1711-1918* (1988) and *From Builders to Architects: The Hobart-Hutchisson Six* (1997), both impressive works of architectural history. A portion of *From Fort to Port* was published in the *Gulf Coast Historical Review*, Volume 3, Number 1 (Fall 1987). Betty was a fine historian and a delightful person and she will be sorely missed by all who knew her.

Call for Papers and Panel Proposals:
Seventeenth Gulf South History and Humanities Conference

Power and Protest:
Dissent and Reaction in the Gulf South, 1850-1970

October 8-10, 1998
Southeastern Louisiana University
Hammond, Louisiana

Organized three decades ago, the Gulf Coast History and Humanities Conference has become the Gulf South History and Humanities Conference. It will now be an annual event, sponsored by the Gulf South History and Humanities Association, a consortium of Gulf South colleges and universities including:

- The University of South Alabama
- The University of West Florida
- Pensacola Junior College
- The University of Southern Mississippi
- Southeastern Louisiana University.

The 1998 Conference will serve as the venue for examining the interplay of power and protest in the Gulf South, 1850-1970. Potential topics of papers and panels include: Secessionists and Unionists, Slave masters and Slaves, Reconstructionists and Redeemers, Agrarian Protesters, Populists, Progressives, Suffragettes, Political Bosses and Reformers, Demagogues, and Segregationists and Integrationists.

All paper and panel proposals should be postmarked by June 15, 1998. Reviews of proposals will be completed early in the summer. To submit an individual paper, send a brief resume, the title of the paper, and a 50-word abstract. Those organizing panels (three or four presenters, chair and/or commentator) must submit a resume, title and a 50-word abstract of each participant. Those proposing round tables (five or six discussants with a chair) must provide a short resume and topic for each participant. It is the organizers' responsibility to contact all participants about planning and acceptance. There will be a $200.00 award given to the best graduate paper. Please send proposals to:

Dr. Samuel C. Hyde, Jr. Ph.D.
Director, Center for Regional Studies
Southeastern Louisiana University, SLU 730
Hammond, Louisiana 70402