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From the Editors. . .

Our subscribers will notice that this issue is nearly twice as thick as the first. The reason for this is simply that the response to our initial number was so gratifying — both in terms of new subscriptions and the submission of good articles on Gulf Coast history — that we decided to show our appreciation by an extra large issue, which also commemorates the completion of Volume I. Hereafter, we will probably settle down to issues of a little over a hundred pages in length. To continue with larger numbers would require increasing the subscription price, and we like the affordable $10 a year.

This issue continues the tradition of including material from at least three of the Gulf Coast states and presenting the wide ranging character of contemporary historical scholarship. Two of our five articles deal with the 18th or early 19th century Florida and Mississippi subjects and two with topics in women's history. Our expanded book review section has an outstanding essay on three recent books on Southern politics, in addition to our regular review articles. So long as our authors continue their diligent work, we will continue this kind of broad coverage. We are especially proud of the in-depth study this issue affords Mobile. The two articles arrived within a week of each other, were quickly approved by reviewers, and dovetail to give the best account available anywhere of that city during the Second World War. Likewise, the studies of Fort St. Mark's and of law in the Mississippi territory are the products of years of solid research and scholarship. With the insights into the black experience in the early 20th century provided by Professor McGovern, these articles round out our second issue's first section. Our regular feature highlighting a regional historic site is an account of Pensacola's historic Seville Square. After reading it we hope you will want to visit that neighborhood with its shops, museums and restoration projects. Along with book reviews, our issue concludes with a poignant glimpse of the Old South in the brief account of "Aunt Sally" Henshaw.

In addition to a great many congratulatory letters—always welcome—which came in when the first number was distributed, we received several offers to exchange with other local and regional journals. We responded affirmatively to all of them so we could see what other state and regional journals are doing and they could see what the *Gulf Coast Historical Review* is all about. We would be pleased to trade with even more in the future.

We hope you enjoy this issue, and we especially hope you send in your renewal without any further reminder. There is an order blank included in this issue for this purpose. Please return it with your check and consider giving gift subscriptions to your friends. Any saving in secretarial time and postage will be passed on to readers in the form of more illustrations, more articles and a better *GCHR*.

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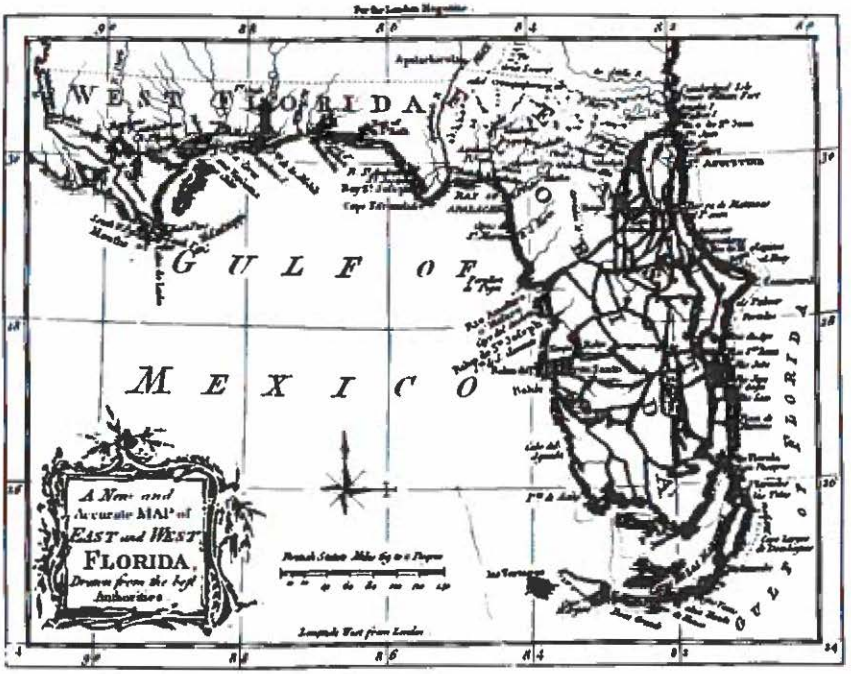
St. Mark's, Apalache And The Creeks

Robin Fabel

The British soldier of the prerevolutionary era, 1763-1775, has seldom been lauded. Even in Britain he was held in low esteem: Englishmen used the contemptuous epithets "Bloodyback," "Lobster," and "Caterpillar" to describe him. [1] In this country he is remembered as an upholder of the authority of parliament and unpopular crown officials against American resistance to measures such as the Stamp, Quartering, Tea, and Boston Port Acts. His officers are remembered in American folk memory as proud, rigid and, in connection with the Boston Massacre, murderously inept. A high percentage of the incidents contributing to these traditions come from New England. However, the vast majority of the British troops then stationed in North America were not in New England, nor even in the thirteen colonies which became the United States, but in Britain's newly acquired provinces in Canada and Florida. [2] This majority had little concern for, and perhaps even awareness of, America's constitutional grievances. For them the Indians were the chief worry.

This was particularly true of the force sent to garrison the Spanish



Kitchin's Florida c. 1766, Museum of the City of Mobile

fort, San Marcos de Apalache, at the confluence of the St. Mark's and Wakulla rivers, nine miles from the Gulf of Mexico. The area contained, the occasional itinerant trader excepted, no white Americans whatsoever. By contrast there were numerous local Indians who, as Lower Creeks, had been pro-French in the recently concluded war and were the least reconciled to British rule of all Florida tribes. Every man in the small detachment would have been aware that, at the time of their arrival at Apalache, a confederacy of tribes under the leadership of Chief Pontiac was contesting British authority by force of arms further north.

Thanks to the British victory over the Spanish in 1762, all of Spanish Florida, including its defense installations, was ceded to Great Britain in 1763. The military justification for occupation of the Spanish fort at Apalache, the name of which was instantly anglicized to Fort St. Mark's, was never clear. A case for the location of a British garrison at Fort St. Mark's was initially inspired, probably, by the mundane notion that for some reason the Spanish had felt it worthwhile to build an unusually substantial fort at Apalache. Sited roughly halfway between Pensacola and St. Augustine, the capitals of the new British colonies of West and East Florida, London thought that a fort at Apalache might facilitate communication between the two provinces. Second, it could prove a safeguard against renewed Spanish activity along a deserted stretch of coastline. Third, it would be a reminder of British power to the potentially restless Indians.

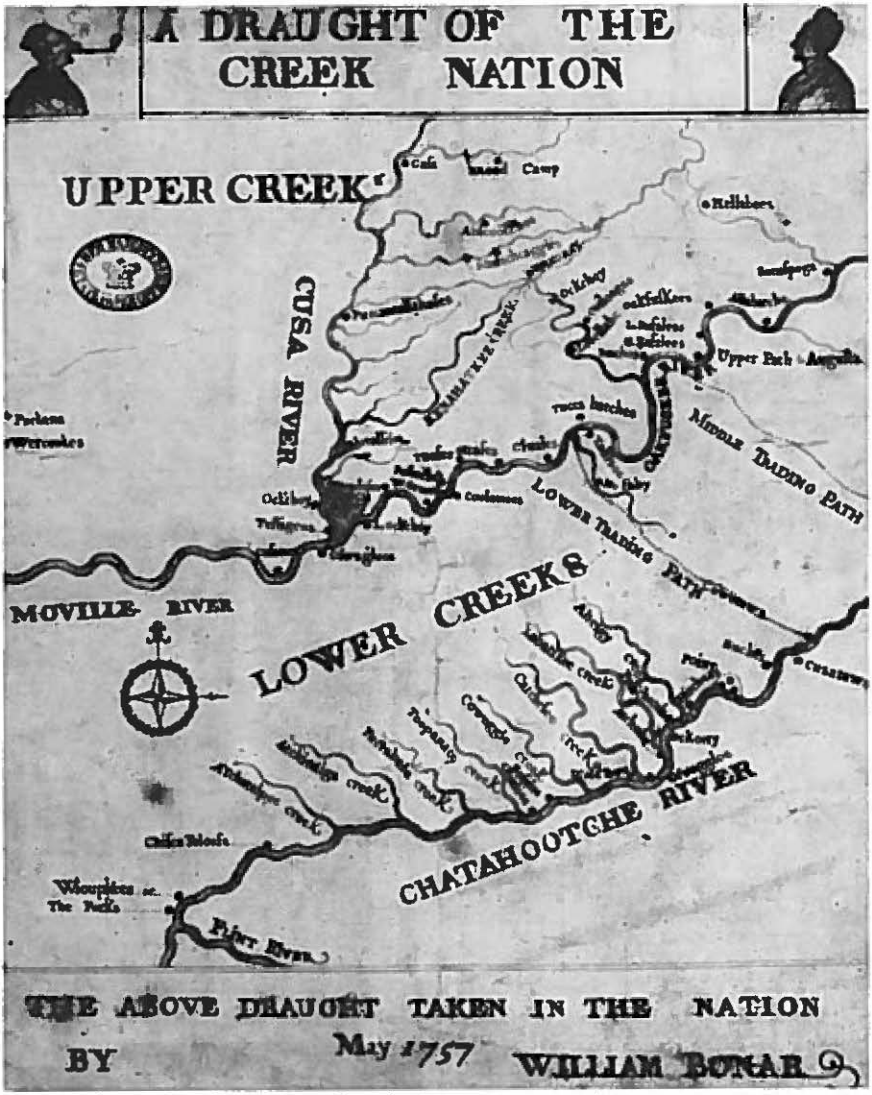
With respect to communications the fort proved more of a nuisance than a convenience. The overland tracks joining it to the Florida capitals were wretched beyond belief. As will be seen, there was some substance to suspicions that the Spaniards had not totally abandoned attempts to influence the local Indians. There was a real and considerable possibility of hostility among the Lower Creeks in that region who, after 1770, would seek to separate themselves from the Creek confederacy taking the name of Seminoles.

In the Apalache area there were bitter memories of earlier English behavior. In 1704 a force under Colonel James Moore had devastated and depopulated the whole region. Hundreds of Apalachees had been killed and more were sold into slavery.[3] In this incident the British had enjoyed the assistance of the Lower Creeks but in 1712 they changed sides, allying with the French and, as a result, aided the Yamasees in their war against the South Carolinians in 1715. Effective British diplomacy and resistance thwarted the success of this combination, and in the aftermath of the Yamasee war the Creeks turned to alliance with Spain. In succeeding years the Carolinian authorities repeatedly

used a trade embargo to prove that friendship with the English, not the Spanish, was useful to the Creeks if they wanted trade goods, principally gunpower, to cope with their Indian rivals. Such friendship was forced and reluctant. The Creeks gave the British little help when they declared war on Spain in 1739.[4] In general both the Upper and Lower Creeks played off the European powers against each other, inclining to whichever white nation demonstrated strength. Thus symbolic shows of strength at conferences with Indians were of great importance. Parading men in full uniform, and firing musket volleys and cannon salutes with all available weapons were necessary pageantry. So was present-giving, because it was significant of a different kind of power, the ability to keep the Creeks supplied with the trade goods upon which their economy had become dependent. In the summer of 1754-55, when the Spanish commandant of Fort St. Mark's tried to counter British influence by calling a congress of headmen at Apalache, although a hundred or so Indians attended, the most important chiefs did not. The English trader George Galphin had offered them more presents to stay away. Respect for Indian dignity was also important. In 1758 Spanish soldiers from the fort at Apalache had committed "indecencies" against local Indian women which evoked savage reprisals.[5] The British were particularly likely to give this kind of offense because of the several ill-disciplined white traders scattered throughout Indian territory. An additional dimension of instability was provided when unruly young Creeks took drastic action against whites, both with and without the approval of their elders. Effective British reaction to such incidents required careful judgment.

In 1760 Lower Creeks had killed eleven traders and ransacked their stores, probably with the backing of some of their chiefs.[6] But for deft British diplomacy, the event might have resulted in a Creek alliance with the Cherokees who were then at war with England. The defeat of the Cherokees in 1761 showed the wisdom of Creek friendship with the English but the tie was frail and made no stronger by the predictions of the Upper Creek chief, The Mortar, that the British intended to take all the red man's land from him.[7] On Christmas Eve, 1763, seven Lower Creeks residing among the Cherokees murdered fourteen whites in the Long Canes area of Georgia. Though neither the British nor the Creek chiefs wanted war at the time, the peace that prevailed was uneasy at the beginning of 1764 when redcoats first arrived at Apalache.

It was to the advantage of the British that the treaty of 1763 had excluded the Spanish and French from the area east of the Mississippi, for there lay all the Creek towns: the Coosa river was their western



Draught of Creek Nation (detail), MPG2 (exCO5/662) PRO, London

boundary, the Chattahoochee river the eastern, and the Gulf Coast around Apalache the southern. Isolated from the French and Spanish, the Creeks could not easily play off the European powers against each other. On the other hand Englishmen were traditionally more likely to settle on Indian land than their rivals, and the Creeks were very sensitive to encroachment. Moreover in the 1760s, the Creeks were growing fast in both population and bellicosity. James Adair believed that they were then the most powerful Indian nation on the American continent. He also argued that, since they were devoted to war, the

Draught of the Creek Nation (detail)

Draught of the Creek Nation (detail)

British government's best policy should be to encourage inter-tribal conflicts. [8]

In fact, although the Creeks were a people among whom martial prowess was more highly prized than wealth, they enjoyed the arts of peace too. They had a workable system of government based on a loose confederation of nearly autonomous towns, customarily built around central squares, and an economy which combined hunting and land cultivation. They also played several games with intensity: every Creek village had its sports fields. A favorite game was *chungke* (junker). While a stone disc of about eighteen inches in diameter was rolling toward the end of the *chungke* field, which was 600 or so yards long, a pair of running players would vie in throwing javelins to fall as close as possible to where it should come to rest. [9] The *chungke* yard also contained a pole atop which would be placed targets for tribal archers. However, the Creeks' favorite sport was a ball game akin to lacrosse. They played it with religious fervor and games were preceded by religious rites. They were also adept at fishing and hunting. Their violent resentment against European settlement on apparently empty land was often caused by the destruction of game that inevitably followed. The Creeks' way of life was well adapted to their environment with separate dwellings for summer and winter use. The winter hothouses, designed specifically to retain the heat fires within, were built partly underground and were equipped with fur-strewn sleeping

Draught of the Creek Nation (detail)

Draught of the Creek Nation (detail)

benches. [10] During the summer they grew vegetables around their houses to supplement fruit and nuts from the forest and meat from the hunt.

The British garrison at Fort St. Mark's would have done well to realize that the Creeks were not simply fighters. The troops assigned to the duty were from the 9th regiment of foot which, in spite of subsequently being named the Norfolk Regiment, had been raised in Ireland. It had taken part in the successful conquest of Havana in 1762 and left Cuba for East Florida in July 1763, where six companies were to garrison the capital, St. Augustine. Two other companies would be detached to the Bahamas and Bermuda and a third would go to Apalache. [11] Apalache's first English commander was Captain Jonathan Harries, a sick, querulous and unfortunate man whose chief aim, as his letters make clear, was to rejoin his family in England. He was supposed to take possession of the fort in November 1763, but he used the loss of his artillery as an excuse for delay. The transport sloop used to carry his company and its equipment had grounded on a sandbank. To get her off he had ordered the cannon thrown overboard and then sailed to Pensacola to obtain replacements. The result was that he did not return to occupy Fort St. Mark's leading an ensign and twenty-six men until February 1764. Perhaps hoping for an order to abandon the place he reported the fort useless: it was a mile and a half from the nearest wood supplies and three from the closest springs of drinking

water; it was situated on low-lying land and a high proportion of his men fell sick. Finally, he was short of provisions and more men were needed to make it defensible. [12]

Harries clearly did not establish an intimate relationship with the local Indians. Probably some of them spoke Spanish but Harries did not. The nearest white who could speak to the Indians in their own tongue, a trader named Forrester, lived in a village some seventy miles away. Harries was probably never really sure whether the inhabitants of the nearby villages who came to the fort demanding food and rum were in general prepared for friendship, although he noted that *some* were "greatly disaffected" to the English. [13] Certainly relations with the Creeks remained volatile.

On May 4, 1764 a white trader, Henry Benfield, was killed by two Creek warriors who subsequently boasted of their exploit. [14] When one of them was caught and executed, British authorities nervously waited for a reaction. John Stuart, Superintendent of the Southern Indians, saw that the situation was serious. He counselled James Pampellone, who was to replace Harries, to be active in Indian affairs by gathering intelligence about Creek activities, to search out unfair traders, and to ascertain the relationships between the tribes around Apalache. Above all, while posing as well disposed to the Indians, Pampellone should in fact foment divisions between them whenever possible. [15]

Stuart himself had arrived at St. Mark's on September 13, 1764 and between September 25 and 28 conferred with the leaders of the five Lower Creek towns near the confluence of the Chattahoochee and Flint rivers. Experienced and skilled in dealing with Indians, Stuart gave them drink to loosen their tongues and discovered that their chief fear was of British encroachment on their lands. Although these chiefs had been absent from the Augusta Congress convened by Stuart to explain British policy to Indians in November 1763, they had learned what had happened there and were relieved when Stuart's account of it agreed precisely with what they had already been told. They gave Stuart their assurances of fair treatment for traders and the St. Mark's garrison. Chehayache of Chescatalensa, spokesman for the local villages, promised to treat as brothers the soldiers at the fort site which "we lent" the Spaniards. Stuart let pass that pretension which in more favorable circumstances he would surely have challenged. [16] The superintendent was aware that The Mortar at that very time was preaching the doctrine that the Creeks had not ceded but merely lent the ports of West Florida to their previous French and Spanish occupants. Like all other loans, these were subject to recall.

On September 27 the shrewd and confident James Pampellone

arrived at St. Mark's to replace Harries. The new garrison commander admitted that the barracks were in a "very crazy" state but had no fears of attack because the Creeks were so badly divided on policy. His own policy was one of "fair words and few provisions" while at the same time digging wells and collecting wood in three canoes against a future change in the current good relations. [17]

Pampellone might well have been able to hold St. Mark's against armed attack in spite of its deficiencies because, having no artillery, the Creeks were capable of besieging nothing bigger than a farmhouse, but he could have been starved into surrender. [18] The British high command had certainly erred in making St. Mark's the responsibility of the regiment at St. Augustine. The only practical means of communication was by sea and Pensacola was much more accessible than St. Augustine. It had taken Stuart forty-eight days to reach Apalache from the East Floridian capital. [19] Provision shipments were in consequence delayed and had Pamellone not bought food from the Indians his men would have starved.

Kitchin's Florida (detail)

In other respects life must have been arduous for the rank and file of the St. Mark's garrison. Their decrepit barracks had flimsy roofs of bark which leaked, making it impossible for a soldier to keep his belongings dry. His clothing wore out rapidly anyway. Normally he would not wear his regimentals—the scarlet coat (with yellow facings in the case of the 9th of foot), tricorne hat, and stock normally seen in illustrations of eighteenth-century soldiers. Except in the short winter and on ceremonial occasions they were much too hot. Instead the soldier in Florida wore a linen shirt, ticking breeches, and thread stockings, all of which would be rotted by sweat much faster than in Europe. Heat weakened the thread and cracked the leather of his buckled shoes. If he used oil to keep them supple, the shoes attracted cockroaches. Soldiers had to pay for replacements of clothing if they were available, but at St. Mark's they were not. The garrison was

Private Soldier, 9th of Foot, PRO, London

probably ragged and at times barefoot. [20]

Food was a perennial problem. The soldier had twopence halfpenny a day deducted from his scanty pay for seven rations a week. At St. Mark's, under Harries, he received only between four and five a week, and after the first couple of months, little more under Pampellone. [21] Since there were few official duties at St. Mark's, the soldiers at least had time to garden, fish or hunt clams and oysters to supplement their diet. No doubt they would have preferred the extra money which could be made at busier garrisons for non-military work such as

building roads or barracks. After $16 was deducted for rations, the official $30 a year for a private soldier was hard to live on without some supplement. [22]

Lieutenant Pampellone and his second in command, Ensign Hawkins, who had handled the commissariat, were relieved in December 1765 by another pair of officers of the 9th of foot, Lieutenant George Swettenham and Ensign James Wright. It was a crucial time for relations between the Creeks and the British. White hunters had been killed by Lower Creeks in October 1765. In 1766 a fresh outbreak of war by the Choctaw on the Creek nation had been instigated. The Creeks suspected British intrigue. [23] The governor of West Florida was so sure that the Creeks intended hostilities against the English that he planned a preemptive strike against them. It was no time for an incompetent such as Harries at Apalache. Luckily George Swettenham, a convivial Irishman, understood the Indians. He had served in one of the South Carolina independent companies during the French and Indian war before going on half-pay, returning to full time service as a lieutenant in the 9th in 1764. [24] During his service at Fort St. Mark's, Swettenham wrote personal letters to his friend Governor James Grant of East Florida. Unlike most surviving correspondence which is typically official, these unpublished letters are engagingly informal and catch the flavor of everyday life.

Scorning the long seaward voyage from St. Augustine, the lieutenant had ridden the shorter two hundred mile trip to Apalache. He had started off in the company of Wright and the surgeon's mate Doyson but they traveled slowly, encumbered with cots and provisions. One hundred and twenty miles from Apalache at the Indian village of Little Savannah, Swettenham had taken the risk of pressing on alone through Indian country. The Indians proved helpful rather than dangerous; Swettenham surmised that they were pleased with the presents they had received from John Stuart at the Picolata Congress in November. On the day after he left his subordinates, he overtook an Indian he knew named Acatchee in the company of three Frenchmen. Acatchee supplied Swettenham with a fresh horse and another Indian helped him cross a river. One of the Frenchmen, an old man known as "The Beaker," asked Swettenham if he could accompany him. The Beaker was frightened of Indians and when the pair happened on a drunk Indian lying in their path, the Frenchman was ready to kill him, take his horse and head for Georgia. Swettenham stopped him. Finally, after riding twenty miles in water and the last nine in winter darkness the lieutenant reached Apalache.

He found the garrison's food supply in a dismal state. The salt

pork was all but exhausted and even with the men on short rations the flour supply could last no more than three weeks. There was no possibility of exchanging soldiers' rations with Indians for venison as Pampellone had done. The Indian presents which might have substituted for rations were also in short supply. Swettenham had been provided with a paltry £10 worth. He begged Grant to send him the most desirable barter item, rum.

In the following month, January 1766, the situation got worse. It was not the season for easy fishing and the lieutenant had been compelled to reduce the bread ration to half a pound a day for each man. It had turned cold and the ice on the river was between two and three inches thick. [25] The interpreter Forrester hardly raised the men's spirits when he told them that the provision schooner was still at the mouth of the distant St. Mary's river. On Christmas Day three of the garrison had deserted. Ensign Wright and two Indians tracked down the deserters: if they had failed, Swettenham was sure that there would have been more defections.

In cultivating good relations with the Creeks the lieutenant had promised them presents when the provision schooler arrived. By late January, when she finally came, the Indians' imaginations had run away with them. On the 27th a single Indian presented himself to herald the imminent arrival of his village chief with twenty attendants. Would Swettenham please send them a keg of rum to refresh them on their journey? The subaltern refused and, when the chief and his party eventually came, he let them know that if they brought meat with them he would gladly allow the garrison troops to exchange their rations for it. It must have been an uncomfortable moment for Swettenham and disappointing for the Indians. With the merest hint of a "protection racket," the chief huffily told Swettenham that his sole purpose in coming to Apalache was to tell Simpson, a local trader who was serving as an interpreter for the British, that he had prevented some young Indians from breaking into his trading post at his village of New Town.

There was no trouble that day but violence did erupt in May. A French vessel was wrecked at the mouth of a nearby river. Indians killed two men and a boy who had survived. In retaliation other survivors found and murdered two Indian women. Furious braves returned to their villages threatening vengeance on traders or the garrison at St. Mark's. This alarming and accurate information came to Swettenham from James Burgess, a trader living among the Lower Creeks. Fear of Indian intervention did not stop Swettenham from sending Ensign Wright to search for survivors. After a few days he

found and saved a man, a woman and her teenage son from almost certain death. [26]

On October 2, 1766 George Swettenham's tour of duty at Apalache ended. [27] Prudently he had reduced his garrison's dependence on the Indians for food by having every soldier cultivate a garden plot: four acres were thus planted with corn and pumpkins. But, after initial tension, he had achieved an uncommonly good relationship with the local people. They had helped him catch deserters and assisted in the rescue of castaways — it was an Indian who had confirmed Burgess' story by reporting his discovery of a corpse on a beach. His friend Acatchee had taken letters to and from the governor of West Florida while Swettenham, as he boasted to James Grant, had enjoyed the favors of at least two Indian women, "a queen and another very fine girl," without provoking trouble.

His relations with the traders, "a parcel of rascals," were more troublesome. Forrester and Burgess had annoyed him by depressing or alarmist rumormongering. Hoping to expand trade, Simpson had urged him to be more generous to Indians camped near the fort. Swettenham thought both measures unwise. The lieutenant's other complaints against the trader were that he was lazy and was governed by his wife, "a bad woman" who disturbed the garrison. It should be noted that although they may have been a nuisance, the traders were useful both as sources of intelligence and as interpreters. By May of 1768 Swettenham was back in Londonderry after the pains of an eight-week transatlantic voyage and the delights of ten days in London. [28] Nine years later he would be promoted to captain. In that rank he served in the 9th of foot throughout the American war.

After Swettenham the command of Fort St. Mark's devolved on Ensign James Wright who was young but, according to Swettenham, "a very good lad." On the heels of the Lieutenant's departure a devastating hurricane struck the fort on October 23, washing away the outer gate and damaging all the Indian presents. Governor Grant noted that it would be unwise to leave it in that state "as it is situated in the centre of a very powerful Indian nation." [29] Grant authorized repairs but limited them, since he knew the commander-in-chief would be reluctant to spend much on Fort St. Mark's: Gage wrote in June 1767 that "unless some use is pointed out to me in maintaining Appalachie [*sic*] it will be entirely abandonded." [30]

A detailed report by an engineer lieutenant, Philip Pittman, made at that time indicated that construction rather than mere maintenance was what the fort needed if it were found to have use. Of the three bastions planned by the Spanish, only one, in the northwest corner of

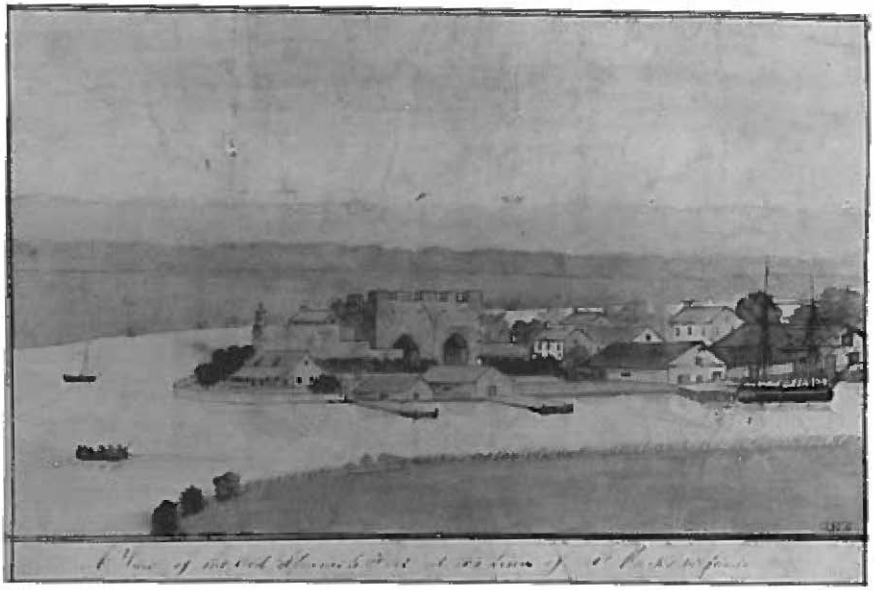
eventually he persuaded them to go back to work. [36]

In contrast to Gage and Haldimand, Governor Grant was firmly convinced of the value of St. Mark's. It "would be of great utility if we should ever have any dispute with our numerous Creek neighbours and when that part of the country comes to be inhabited, the fort would be a protection to settlers against privateers and the Spanish banditti from Cuba." [37]

There was evidence that the Spanish government, rather than freebooters, had retained an interest in Apalache. In February 1768 Pierce Sinnott, a trader and interpreter in the region, reported the return of two Lower Creek chiefs who had gone to Cuba in November 1766. They had been courted by the Spanish and the vessel that brought them back anchored at the mouth of the Apalachicola river. She was loaded with presents of rum for Indian headmen with whom the Spanish hoped to hold a congress. [38] According to Adair, the Spanish interlopers talked of buying land from these Creeks and tried to set them against the British. [39]

This potentially ominous diplomatic move was ignored by the British authorities and it had no sequel. Eventually the British decided to withdraw the military garrison from St. Mark's and to permit a Mr. Gordon to establish a trading post there in order to keep the fort in some sort of repair. [40] Until Gordon's arrival Haldimand ordered a corporal's guard literally to hold the fort. This last British garrison arrived in 1769. The luckless Corporal James McFarlin of the 31st regiment commanded only four men. He was provided with no Indian presents, was ordered to allow no more than two men out of the fort at any time, and to deny entrance to all Indians except chiefs. On no account was he to meddle in the affairs of the Creeks. [41] McFarlin was probably relieved when he was instructed to abandon the fort later in the year.

The initial British decision to order a detachment of troops to garrison St. Mark's was defensible. It is significant that both the Spanish who acquired Florida once more in 1783, and the Americans who dispossessed them nearly thirty years later, maintained a garrison at the fort. The fort was permanently abandoned only after the mass removal of the Creeks from the region in 1824. For both Spain and the United States the potential hostility of the Creeks made keeping a garrison at St. Mark's desirable. This was also a factor in the British decision but there was another consideration: there were insufficient barracks at St. Augustine to house the entire 9th of foot. This was apparent when the entire regiment was concentrated there in 1769. However decrepit they might be, other barracks had been used at St.



View of St. Mark's Fort, watercolor by George Washington Sully (1816-1890)

Mark's since 1764 to house a company of troops. In 1768 when evacuation was ordered, it was not entirely because Gage doubted the worth of the fort. It was part of a general policy conceived in London. For reasons of economy and military discipline the government withdrew garrisons from isolated outlying posts in Indian country. In 1766 this process began as the Secretary at War deplored the effects on the military budget and discipline of separating troops "into many small bodies, seeing nobody and seeing none but Indians for years together." Had he but known, he was describing St. Mark's, Apalache. [42]

A good deal has been written about the mixed quality of British army officers in the prerevolutionary years because of the importance of money and patronage in appointments and promotions. [43] The results of the system were not always bad. Of the four officers who commanded at St. Mark's, James Pampellone, George Swettenham and James Wright dealt effectively with a number of diplomatic, administrative, disciplinary and personality problems. Surrounded by warlike Creeks, without the means to summon outside help swiftly, and working with underpaid, underfed, ill-housed men of whom a number were possibly reprieved criminals, theirs was no mean accomplishment for junior officers. [44] Their performance probably had nothing to do with the Creeks' helping the British against the Americans and Spanish in the war that followed in the 1770s; the credit for that alignment goes to John Stuart and the Creek chief Alexander

McGillivray.[45] Incompetent subalterns or undisciplined soldiers at St. Mark's could have provoked a bloody crisis or even an Anglo- Creek war in the volatile 1760s. That neither occurred is to the credit of the much maligned 18th century "Redcoats."

Robin Fabel is associate professor of History at Auburn University. His manuscript entitled "Working West Florida: Economic Aspects of Life in the British Years, 1763-1781" has been accepted by The University of Alabama Press for publication.

Notes

[1] Francis Grose, *A Classical Dictionary of the Vulgar Tongue* (London, 1785).

[2] John Shy, *Toward Lexington* (New York, 1965), 238, 328.

[3] Mark F. Boyd, "The Fortifications at San Marcos de Apalache (St. Mark's), Wakulla Co., Florida," *Florida Historical Quarterly*, 15 (1936), 70.

[4] David H. Corkran, *The Creek Frontier, 1540-1783* (Norman, 1967), 109.

[5] Ibid., 187.

[6] Ibid., 211.

[7] Ibid., 234.

[8] Samuel Cole Williams, ed., *Adair's History of the American Indians* (Johnson City, TN, 1830), 275-76.

[9] Ibid., 428-432.

[10] Ibid., 450-452.

[11] I am grateful to Robert R. Rea of Auburn University for notes on the regiment transcribed from F. Loraine Petrie, *The History of the Norfolk Regiment, 1685-1918* (Norwich, n.d.).

[12] Harries to Jeffrey Amherst, December 11, 1763, February 7, 1764, Mark F. Boyd, "From a Remote Frontier San Marcos de Apalache, 1763-1769, Part 1," *Florida Historical Quarterly*, 19 (1941), 185, 402, 405.

[13] Harries to Sage, February 7, 25, 1764, Boyd, "From a Remote Frontier, Pt. 1," 405; continued in Pt. 2, *Florida Historical Quarterly*, 20 (1942), 82, 84.

[14] John R. Alden, *John Stuart and the Southern Colonial Frontier* (Ann Arbor, 1944), 190.

[15] Ibid., 198.

[16] Stuart to Sage, September 29, 1764, Boyd, "From a Remote Frontier, Pt. 2," 206-207.

[17] Pampellone to Sage, September 29, 1764, Ibid., 295, 297, 299, 306.

[18] *New York Journal*, January 26, 1775.

[19] Stuart to Sage, September 29, 1764, Boyd, "From a Remote Frontier, Pt. 2," 203.

[20] Haldimand Papers, British Library, Additional MSS 21677, f. 226. Hereafter these papers will be cited as Add.MSS...BL.

[21] Pampellone to Thomas Gage, June 21, 1766, Boyd, "From a Remote Frontier, Pt. 2", 385.

[22] Anon, n.d., Add. MSS 21677, f. 266, BL. In the 18th century a Spanish dollar was worth 4S.8d.

[23] Corkran, *The Creek Frontier*, 253, 254.

[24] *Georgia Gazette*, November 1, 1764.

[25] Winter temperatures two hundred years ago, were on average about six degrees below modern equivalents Carl Bridenbaugh. *Early Americans* (New York, 1981), 80.

[26] For the story of their sufferings see *The Shipwreck and Adventures of Monsieur Pierre Viaud, a Native of Bordeaux*, trans. by Mrs. Griffin (London, 1771). Viaud went to St. Augustine where Governor Grant helped him, while the woman and her son went westward in the hope of reaching their native Louisiana. No more was heard of the crew of the French vessel.

[27] Boyd, "From a Remote Frontier, Pt. 2," 187.

[28] All of the details about Swettenham are from the Macpherson-Grant Papers, Ballindalloch Castle, Banffshire, Scotland. For permission and facilities to use these papers I owe thanks to Oliver Russell, Esq. For a grant enabling me to go to Scotland in the summer of 1984, I am indebted to Auburn University Humanities branch of the Generations Fund. The letters consulted were Swettenham to Grant, December 1765, January 13, 1766, January 31, 1766, James Burgess to Swettenham, May 5, 1766, Swettenham to Grant, May 14, 1766 and May 21, 1768.

[29] Grant to Jenkins, December 31, 1766, Boyd, "From a Remote Frontier, Pt. 2", 389.

[30] Gage to Haldimand, June 4, 1767, Add. MSS 21 663, f. 70, BL.

[31] Mark F. Boyd, "Apalachee during the British Occupation: A Description in a Series of Four Reports by Lieutenant Pittman, R.E.," *Florida Historical Quarterly*, 12 (1934), 114-116.

[32] Ibid., 116.

[33] Wright to Haldimand, July 9, 1767, Add. MSS 21677 f. 90, BL.

[34] Gage to Haldimand, November 15, 1767, Add. MSS 21 663, f. 129, BL.

[35] Wright to Haldimand, August 14, 1767, Add. MSS 21728, f. 168, BL.

[36] Wright to Haldimand, March 14, 1768, Ibid., f. 245, BL.

[37] Grant to Gage, August 25, 1768, Ibid., f. 349, BL.

[38] Pierce Sinnott to Haldimand, March 15, 1768, Ibid., f. 247, BL.

[39] Williams, *Adair's History*, 286.

[40] Grant to Gage, August 25, 1768, Add. MSS 21728, f. 349, BL.

[41] Instructions to McFarlin, March 27, 1769, Ibid., 21677, f. 115, BL.

[42] Shy, *Toward Lexington*, 257.

[43] See Piers Mackesy, *The War for America, 1775-1783* (Cambridge, 1965), 9: "The aristocratic structure of the services affected their discipline. . .Hard work and ability might help but favour counted most," or John R. Alden, *The American Revolution, 1775-1783* (New York, 1954), 70: "Young men—and boys—of families possessing money and influence accordingly secured these much desired appointments—army commissions—often without the slightest inquiry into the fitness of those chosen."

[44] Shy, *Toward Lexington*, 360.

[45] Michael D. Green, "The Creek Confederacy in the American Revolution: Cautious Participants," in William S. Coker and Robert R. Rea, ed., *Anglo- Spanish Confrontation on the Gulf Coast during the American Revolution* (Pensacola, 1982), 63-66.

"Miz Lillie" and Her Special School

James R. McGovern

Mrs. Lillie A. James was a legend in the black community in Pensacola where for the first fifty-eight years of this century she conducted a highly successful private elementary school for black children. Attendance at that school was a must for children whose black parents wished to provide them with superior education. A list of the names of its graduates, who would later attend Washington High School, reads like an honor roll of the persons who became the social and educational leaders in Pensacola's black community, especially its doctors, lawyers and teachers. [1] It also includes numerous other people who proudly declare that because of their education at the Lillie A. James School they never lacked a job, had a criminal record, or despaired about their ability to cope with life's problems. [2] Although it is more difficult to determine the success of graduates who moved away from Pensacola, there are indications that they too were unusually productive. [3] Mrs. James also deserves to be remembered on account of the achievements of one of her very special students, her own son, Daniel "Chappie" James, Jr. In 1975 he would become the first black to achieve the highest rank, that of four star general, in the American military (five stars are conferred only in time of war) while commanding the vital NORAD defense post against enemy bomber and missile attacks on this country and Canada. [4] General James reached his rank and held his "great command" in the Air Force when blacks constituted less than .03 percent of officers in service.

The genesis of Mrs. James' unusual commitment to private education for blacks can best be understood against the background of the black experience in Pensacola in the early years of this century. After visiting Pensacola in 1900, Booker T. Washington described it as a "healthy community so necessary to our people." [5] At the time local blacks invited white friends to attend his talk at the Opera House, and they did so in impressive numbers. [6] Though Pensacola's blacks enjoyed neither the success nor opportunity of local whites, Booker T. Washington's positive assessment of the town was justified.

Black businessmen at the time had desirable locations on Palafox Street, the city's major business thoroughfare; the People's Drugstore, Pensacola Drug Store and Sam Charles' shoe shop (near Ferdinand Plaza) were all located there. In addition, substantial black businesses, including grocery and furniture stores, were found only one block from Palafox. [7] The impressive homes of members of the professional

Pensacola Opera House *University of West Florida*

and business classes and the existance of at least two private schools were other signs of a sizable black bourgeoisie.[8] Pensacola's growing black population, which temporarily surpassed that of whites in 1900, supplied a broad economic base which supported a number of professional men, including several physicians and ministers, approximately twenty teachers and the editor of a quality journal, the *Florida Sentinel*. At the same time, blacks operated numerous small businesses and held skilled jobs, although most served the black community. One of Pensacola's sixteen builders in 1903 was black, as were five dressmakers out of the city's twenty-five, three owners of meat markets of twenty-five, ten restaurants (two on South Palafox) of twenty-six, thirteen of one hundred groceries, three of twenty-six saloons and one undertaker.[9] In addition, nearly one in ten of the city's residents lived on a city block which was integrated.[10]

Working as servants for affluent white families had important cultural consequences for Pensacola blacks who adopted the goals and values of their employers. Those who also managed a measure of economic success played a leadership role in the community. They worked hard, emphasized the importance of education for their children, and were determined to maintain the social and economic advantages they enjoyed in comparison with late-coming black migrants moving to Pensacola from Alabama or rural Florida.[11] Indeed these advantages, which reflected acculturation with whites, prompted the

Lillie A. James *Lillie James Frazier*

black elite to continue to be hopeful about life's prospects even after 1905 when segregation's Jim Crow system was rigorously imposed in the town.

Mrs. Lillie A. James, nee Lillie Ann Brown, belonged to the black elite in Pensacola and shared its perceptions and sense of opportunity.[12]

Her mother, regarded as one of the most attractive young "colored" women in Pensacola before her marriage, had served as a domestic for one of the town's wealthier families. Her father was a mailman, one of the very few blacks holding such a position of public trust. Her family lived in a special neighborhood, the "tan yard," inhabited by many light skinned colored persons, and she was the beneficiary of an excellent education in St. Joseph's Catholic School, the parish for the elite black community. It was this social background, especially with its emphasis on scholastic achievement, which explained her unusual commitment to the education of blacks in Pensacola after she married Daniel James in 1893.

It was primarily her concern for the well-being of her seventeen children, born between 1894 and 1920, that caused her to start a private school in her backyard for grades one through eight. [13] She reasoned that segregated public schools were so deficient in comparison with the education she had received in private schools that her children's future would be compromised by attending them; she was confident she could produce excellent students in a school of her own by demanding superior achievement. Fundamentally, her educational philosophy reflected Miz Lillie's hopes for the future of race relations in America.

Since she believed whites would acknowledge excellence in blacks and permit them social mobility if they were capable, Lillie James saw her role as one of instilling attitudes in her children that valued striving for excellence. She would then supply them with the tools to reach for self-mastery and freedom. She admonished her children to have their bags packed. "Don't stand there," she would say to a wide-eyed black youngster, "banging on the doors of opportunity, then when someone opens it, you say 'wait a minute, I got to get my bags.' You be prepared with your bags of knowledge, your patriotism, your honor, and when somebody opens that door, you charge in." Students memorized still another of Miz Lillie's aphorisms of achievement. "If more blacks pursued excellence, that sorry, oft-repeated statement that so and so was the first Negro or the only Negro to achieve eminence would disappear," because then "black people would be doing so many things noteworthy that they would no longer be newsworthy." [14]

Every child attending Miz Lillie's school heard the headmistress say over and over, "never let anyone your size beat you doing anything," and each one learned the "Eleventh Commandment," which was "Thou Shalt Never Quit." [15] The general theme of all her remarks, as one former student remembered, was "Don't say you can't. If they

knock you down, get up and start over."[16] Another student recalls that she insisted "Do it well," even if assigned only the menial task of picking up paper on the school grounds.[17]

Every feature of the Lillie A. James School, the teaching and the training, was geared to insuring a student's future success. The students' lively best wishes in a musical greeting to the teacher, "good morning dear teacher," and her reply, "the same to you," taught the importance of being pleasant to those in authority and the expectation that they would reciprocate if approached correctly. Singing the math tables, the method used to help students remember, was not only fun, but assured skills on a par with whites. The Pledge of Allegiance and a patriotic song declared the importance and necessity of working within the system; young scholars showed their ability by singing the alphabet forward and backward, and the drill conveyed the message that more was expected of them than ordinary students. Spelling was also emphasized. Flashcards were used, but students learned competitively using spelldowns where one half of the class lined up on each side of the classroom. The teacher's sympathy and peer pressure all were on the side of the survivors. Since Miz Lillie's school placed critical emphasis on speech, especially avoiding Southern speech idiosyncrasies, students gained confidence in speaking with cultivated whites. Annual plays before large public audiences were a feature of the school year designed for the same purpose, because these invariably included long speech recitations for several actors.[18] Mrs. James was equally determined to teach her students proper social conduct for self-respect and to win the respect of whites. "If they say you are dirty," she advised her children, "make sure you are clean, if they say you are afraid, make sure you are brave, if they say you are dishonest, make sure you take nothing that is not yours."[19]

How did she do it - achieve remarkable results year after year for almost sixty years, teaching forty to seventy children divided into six or eight grades in one large, long room with only one or two assistants? She did it the old fashioned way, stressing her high expectations of the students and relying on discipline, memorization and repetition, amply supplemented by her own imposing personality. Her students helped. Older scholars socialized the beginners, and Mrs. James enjoyed the unswerving support of the parents of her students.

All pupils were expected to know their numbers, Arabic and Roman, master their multiplication tables, tell time and be able to spell a large number of basic words by the second grade. All were to memorize the Pledge of Allegiance by the second grade and the Gettysburg Address by the fourth. Every student in the school recited

lessons every morning, the older students leading the way, thus giving the beginners a prestigious example to follow. The more senior scholars also exemplified good study habits for first and second graders and taught the beginners how to prepare their own recitations. Older students were encouraged to care for the younger ones. Because they helped them get to the bathroom, put on their boots and caps in the winter and escorted the beginners home when necessary, they were looked upon as benefactors, which enhanced their influence with younger children. [20] Miz Lillie's liberal sprinkling of work ethic proverbs in the lessons of all students reinforced the effect. Students who graduated thirty and forty years ago can still recite a litany of her pet expressions such as "empty wagons make the most noise" or "John Brown said coffee was not good for growing boys and girls." [21]

Miz Lillie had little tolerance for those who refused to help themselves. There was no acceptable excuse for a student who was repeatedly shown how to do things and failed, or who wasted his time, perhaps falling asleep as his desk or taking himself to the bathroom without permission. To students who improved or did well she offered praise and prizes; she was patient with first offenders but positively merciless with those who transgressed repeatedly. She used the rod against an unregenerate boy or girl in the presence of the scholar's classmates. [22] There were more elaborate tortures. She collared repeated offenders and pushed their heads over the aperture of a shallow well in the school's back yard, reminding them that deliverance would be conditional on their future application to assigned tasks. Her ultimate reprisal, however, was to seal a young incorrigible in a potato sack. She would then light a paper close to the sack and fan smoke in the direction of its terrified occupant. [23]

The Lillie A. James School would not have succeeded without unconditional parental support. The black community in Pensacola admired Lillie James and respected her school because both embodied hopes for an improved future at a time and place when there were precious few other encouragements. Parents condoned her severe disciplinary practices as being in the child's best interest and even encouraged her to chastise their children at school, even for infractions committed outside school hours. And when the younger children would flee to their homes to avoid her unrelenting standards or punishments, parents would bring them back with "all right, Miz Lillie, he is all your's right now." A woman domestic had to sacrifice to pay twenty-five cents a week tuition for the education of a son or daughter when her weekly wage was only four dollars, but many valued Miz Lillie's school enough to make the sacrifice. For parents with greater

Daniel James Family *Lillie James Frazier*

incomes, Miz Lillie's education meant the basic foundation which would lead to superior public school standing and admission to a good black college. Besides, the countless services Mrs. James offered to parents caused many of them to see her as a kind of saint. Probably half of the children who attended her school could not afford the tuition - so she accepted them for what they could pay and took many others who could not pay at all. She also provided an after school day-care service in the school for working parents at no charge and a summer camp at the school for children under twelve, again without charge. [24]

Dan and Lillie James and their large family lived in a five room, "shot-gun" style wooden house at 1606 N. Alcaniz Street. Here Mrs. James would raise her large family. The early years of her marriage were difficult with so many children - though still-births, disease and poor medical care for blacks resulted in no more than nine children being at home at any one time. In a supreme tragedy, Mrs. James lost twin babies to pneumonia while waiting all day in a white doctor's office. Whites patients received attention before blacks and Miz Lillie's turn never came. But by 1920, the year of Daniel James, Jr.'s birth, economic pressures on the family had eased considerably. The family was more fortunate than their hard-working neighbors. They owned more property and paid higher taxes than those around them. Food was more plentiful and varied at the James house; the younger children had individual pets and in the 1930s the family owned a radio. [25]

The unusual pressures to succeed in the James household pro-

vided Dan Jr. as the youngest child with a remarkable urge to achieve.[26] In fact, despite the presence of other children in the home, he was such a favorite of his mother's that his upbringing closely resembled that of an only child. Mrs. James' enormous capacity for nurture centered on him because at age 44 she was unlikely to have other children, and he was the only boy left at home. To complete the picture, he suffered from a number of childhood maladies which required her continuous attention. Until he was seven years old, "Dan Baby," as his mother called him, a name which caught on among his youthful friends, fell asleep each night while being rocked on his mother's broad lap. Mr. James let the woman raise his son, and during the early years the boy stuck close to the kitchen while his mother baked and cooked and dried the laundry near the stove.

Lillie James' perfectionism and manipulative methods with her special child were to have a major bearing on his adult life. Unlike other children at her school, he was never shown the deep well or invited into the potato sack. Indeed, he was seldom spanked and he did try incredibly hard to please her. However, he never quite felt he was doing enough to win her approval and remained uncertain whether he was fully deserving of his mother's love. This insecurity would cause him later in life to be very vulnerable to needs for public attention and the affection and support of those around him.

The University of Alabama Press

James' success in the white-dominated military seemed to bear our what he and others learned at Miz Lillie's school. He sought no advantages because of color, assumed he would win if he tried hard enough and out-hustled his competitors. His mother's legacy remained a conscious part of his daily life. When he was a colonel, one white officer declared he heard so much about her from Chappie that he came to doubt whether any one woman could know or do so much.[27] And on the day of his retirement, coming at a time when he ranked at the very top of the military hierarchy, the opening line of his retirement speech was "My mother told me when I won my wings. . .'Do well, my son.'"[28]

His mother had died nearly twenty years earlier, in 1958. She became infirm in the last years of her life, and a special chair was constructed to help her go from her house to the school. That school, directed by one of her former students in the last two years of her life, maintained its reputation for excellence until it closed after her death.[29] In the last years of her life, though she deteriorated physically, she remained very alert. Members of the black community in Pensacola officially acknowledged her outstanding contribution to them in the form of an Appreciation Day at the Allen AME Chapel. However, no official appreciation day could fully express the gratitude of a community where, for nearly half a century, young people had come from her school, ready to "charge in"... when the door of opportunity at last opened to them.

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Notes

[1] Noted Pensacolians including Drs. E. S. Cobb, S. W. Boyd, Ralph Boyd, Thomas James, Lawrence Scott, Pansey Harris, Robert Walker, Lillie Frazier, Gloria Hunter, and Mamie Hixon, as well as numerous public school teachers and business leaders, attended Mrs. James' school.

[2] Author's interviews with L. P. Kelper, Pensacola businessman, and Juanita Rodgers, a local maid, November 12, 1985; Margaret Walker, a nurse, November 9, 1985.

[3] For example, her son Charles James became principal of two integrated high schools in Jacksonville, Florida; author's interview with Lillie James Frazier, August 15, 1981.

[4] James R. McGovern, *Black Eagle* (Tuscaloosa, AL, 1985).

[5] Booker T. Washington, *The Negro In Business* (Boston, 1907), 230.

[6] *Pensacola Daily News*, April 17, 1900, 4.

[7] Donald M. Bragaw, "Status of Negroes in a Southern Port City in the Progressive Era: Pensacola, 1896-1920," *Florida Historical Quarterly*, 51 (January 1973), 287.

[8] *Pensacola Florida Sentinel* (annual trade edition), May 26, 1906. Booker T. Washington declared blacks in Pensacola paid taxes on property valued at $450,000. He described their homes as attractive and modern. See Booker T. Washington, *Negro in Business*, 231. See also Charlene H. Hunter, *A History of Pensacola's Black Community* (Pensacola, 1971).

[9] Wiggins' *Pensacola City Directory* (Columbus, OH, 1903), 353-371.

[10] Robert Bradley, "White-Black Residential Maps of Pensacola, 1905-1940" (Unpublished research paper in author's possession).

[11] Author's interview with Dr. Thomas James, a Miami dentist who was raised in the household of Daniel and Lillie A. James, July 18, 1983.

[12] Author's interviews with Gloria Hunter, June 10, 1980; Lillie James Frazier, August 15, 1981.

[13] Ibid.

[14] Dr. Thomas James, July 18, 1983; L. P. Kelper, November 12, 1985.

[15] Lillie James Frazier, August 15, 1981.

[16] Juanita Rodgers, November 12, 1985.

[17] Author's interview with Mamie Hixon, December 3, 1985.

[18] Mabel Bates to author, July 14, 1980. Mabel Bates was a niece of Mrs. James as well as a student at her school.

[19] Lillie James Frazier, August 15, 1981.

[20] L. P. Kelper, November 12, 1981.

[21] Juanita Rodgers, November 12, 1981; Gloria Hunter, November 12, 1985.

[22] Hunter, June 10, 1980; Bates to author, July 24, 1980; author's interview with Dr. S. D. Boyd, November 10, 1980; Frazier, February 12, 1981.

[23] Author's interview with Maudeste James, a daughter-in-law of Lillie A. James, January 10, 1981.

[24] Frazier, January 12, 1981; Maudeste James, January 10, 1981; L. P. Kelper, November 12, 1985.

[25] McGovern, *Black Eagle*, 11-13.

[26] Ibid., 15-18.

[27] Author's interview with Colonel Harry Moreland, November 15, 1980.

[28] WSRE-TV, "Zubkoff...Public Affairs, Department of Defense," January 26, 1978.

[29] L. P. Kelper, November 12, 1985.

Riveters, Volunteers and WACS: Women in Mobile During World War II

Patricia G. Harrison

> Demand for women to staff vital war services has become so urgent that we are appealing to every woman in Mobile to register ... this week.
>
> Civilian Volunteer Office
> March 1942

> We do not believe that you Women of Mobile will shirk your responsibility...we believe you will rally to the call, now.
>
> War Manpower Commission
> February 1943

World War II, with its symbolic figure of "Rosie the Riveter," is considered by some historians to be a watershed in women's history and women's roles. [1] The experience of women in Mobile, Alabama, during World War II provides one of the most striking examples in the country of the changes which affected American women during this period. An indication of the degree of change in the city can be seen in the fact that three times as many women were working outside the home in 1944 as in 1940. [2] However, in Mobile, as in many other defense cities, "Rosie the Riveter" was joined by "Virginia the Volunteer" and "Wanda the WAC." Some resumed the pattern of their lives after the war, many did not, but all Mobile women's lives were affected by the experience. The direct and indirect impact of World War II can be seen in many areas. Women were involved in volunteer activities, in defense work, in other wartime jobs, and in the military service.

As might be expected, volunteer work was one of the first areas in which they became personally involved in the war effort. By early 1942 there were numerous ads and announcements in the Mobile papers describing the need for volunteers. Women were often pictured wearing the uniform of one volunteer organization or another. Appeals for volunteers came from many agencies and organizations, one of the most important being the Red Cross. In the Red Cross Cross one could serve in the motor corps, as a nurses' aide, do canteen work, be a staff assistant, or help with production. By January 4, 1942, seven hundred women had registered for the Red Cross Motor Corps. As part of their training they received instruction on servicing automobiles and making emergency repairs on their vehicles. The course included twenty hours of first aid work and six hours of auto mechanics—enough of the latter to keep a car moving. The volunteers learned to install

TO THE WOMEN OF MOBILE

Uncle Sam Says:

I Need YOU!

There is an acute shortage of workers for both Mobile's War Industries and for Essential Civilian Services. Thousands of new residents have come in and taken up a lot of the slack, but they have not proved to be enough. We Mobilians must pitch in and help to overcome this shortage . . . and at once! Practically all available man-power has been exhausted, so the solving of the problem rests with the women. Uncle Sam, through Mobile's office of the War Manpower Commission is asking that you step up and volunteer to take a job either in a War industry or in some store, office or other essential civilian business. We do not believe that you Women of Mobile will shirk your responsibility . . . we believe you will rally to the call, now.

WHAT WILL YOUR ANSWER BE?

THE WAR MANPOWER COMMISSION *Says:*

To the Women of Mobile:

THIS PAGE IS SPONSORED BY THESE PATRIOTIC MOBILE BUSINESSES!

Alabama Stationery Co.
Battle House
B. F. Goodrich Silvertown Stores
Bond's Jewelry
C. J. Geyler & Co.
Coca-Cola Bottling Co.
Constantino's
Demrich Shoe Store
Delchamps Stores
DeVan Motor Co.
Ford Zundel, Jeweler
Firestone Stores
Frank H. Stoll
Franklin's
Goldstein's
Greater Zoghby Store
Greer's Stores
Gulf Coast Motor Co.
Haas-Davis Packing Co.
Hammel's
Hemrich Motor Co.
Hot Box
Kahn Jewelry Co.
Leader Department Store
McGowin-Lyons Hdwe. & Supply Co.
McPhillips Mfg. Co.
Marshall's Electrik Maid Bake Shops
Mobile Light & Railroad Company
Motor Parts & Supply Co.
M. P. Lindsey Lumber Co.
New Dixie Cafe
Palace Laundry & Dry Cleaners
Palliser 7-up Bottling Co.
People's Credit Clothiers
Pittsburgh Plate Glass Co.
Prichard Furniture Co.
Reins Bros.
Rigbs Department Store
Roxy Theater
Sam Joy Laundry
Sears, Roebuck & Co.
S. H. Kress & Co.
Solmi's
Weatherby Furniture Co.
Yon & Boylan Motor Co.

Mobile Press Register, *February 1943* *USA Library*

"jumper" wires on faulty ignition systems, clean out gas lines, change tires and make other repairs to cars and trucks. [3] The primary duty of the motor corps was to provide transportation service for regular Red Cross chapter activities, but in emergencies members were to be prepared to drive ambulances and to help in various other ways. The women carried emergency medical passes to be used when their services were needed. By 1942 the Red Cross Motor Corps had 110 automobiles at its disposal and was offering free transportation to the men and officers of the air depot at Brookley Field.

Many women volunteered to serve as Red Cross Nurses' Aides and completed the eighty hour, five week course required to qualify for the position. [4] In March 1942 the chapter directors announced that the development of a nurses' aide corps was the task of first importance facing the volunteer services of the Mobile County Red Cross Chapter. [5] In the same month the *Mobile Register* contained an article which began:

> Attention, women of Mobile! If you wish to serve your country, and are able to meet the qualifications necessary to enlist for training, the Mobile Nurses Aid [*sic*] Corps is asking for 300 volunteers to register next Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday ...

Nurses and Red Cross Volunteers, War Bond Parade 1943, ADDSCO Collection, USA Photo Archives

The article stated that Mobile was confronted with a steady depletion of the nursing services of hospitals and health departments, partially due to the requirements of the military. [6] As thousands of workers poured into the city looking for defense jobs, hospitals were desperately in need of auxiliary staff to relieve their overburdened registered nurses.

Another Red Cross activity which depended upon female volunteers was canteen work. Although several hundred women had already registered by March 1942, this announcement appeared in the *Mobile Press Register:*

> MOBILE WOMEN GIVEN OPPORTUNITY TO LEARN TO COOK FOR LARGE CROWDS Can you cook? Do you enjoy watching people eat? If so, you will want to start classes in Red Cross Canteen work beginning Tuesday. [7]

Red Cross volunteers were instructed in canteen organization, nutrition, the preparation and serving of food in large quantities, and improvising equipment. The training course lasted forty hours. By June 1942 volunteers in the canteen were providing lunch for servicemen working in downtown offices. They were open between 12:00 and 2:00 each day except Sunday at 159 St. Michael Street. Plans were made to keep the facility open until 8:00 p.m. in order for men stationed at Brookley Field to get coffee and doughnuts when they came to town. On a more somber note, in the event of disaster, canteen workers expected to be called to feed civilians in the stricken areas. Photographs often appeared in the *Mobile Press Register* featuring women involved in canteen activities. A number of volunteers served on the staff of the Red Cross as typists and clerks or assisted the Red Cross program in various other ways. Many women and women's organizations produced a variety of articles for the Red Cross including knitted sweaters, caps, mufflers, and socks. Others sewed and made surgical dressings.

Red Cross Worker Soliciting Contributions at ADDSCO, ADDSCO Collection, USA Photo Archives

The Junior Red Cross made rugs and afghans to be used in the dayrooms and sunrooms of military and naval hospitals. [8] Mobilians' ideas and designs for the afghans were so well received by the national Red Cross headquarters that they were featured in several national ladies' magazines including *Harper's Bazaar*, *Good Houskeeping*, and *Women's Home Companion.* [9] The afghans were adopted as the official project of the Junior Red Cross.

Although Mobile's women volunteered in large numbers early in the war, demand consistently outpaced the supply. For example, on March 24, 1942, the Civilian Volunteer Office issued this statement:

> The Civilian Volunteer Office needs volunteers and must have them. Demand for women to staff vital war services has become so urgent that we are appealing to every woman in Mobile to register ... this week. [10]

One organization which received many volunteers was the USO (United Service Organizations). It provided many services to military personnel and defense workers through its member organizations. In March 1942 the national board of the Young Women's Christian Association (YWCA) sent an emergency worker, June Donahue, to the Mobile USO area. [11]She was to cooperate with other USO officials who were operating under the supervision of the National Catholic Community Services. She said that in sending her, the YWCA national board showed that it "regarded Mobile as one of the largest centers of defense industry in the country." [12]As a member agency of the USO, the YWCA directed its work primarily toward the problems

Government Street USO Club, McNeely Collection, USA Photo Archives

of girls and women affected by the defense program. It attempted to meet the needs of both female defense workers and the female family members of the defense workers and military personnel who were arriving in Mobile in increasing numbers. Miss Donahue felt that one of the YWCA's major services was to "help maintain a nearly normal social life among women in defense areas, with health, relaxation, and recreation stressed." [13]

The USO's attempt to provide a social life for the servicemen in Mobile included sponsoring many dances. Hostesses were available at the USO centers to play table games with servicemen and at the train depot to serve refreshments. By April 1942 the USO had established a club for industrial and defense workers at 307 Conti Street. [14] At the USO Service Men's Club located at 602 Government Street, activities included boxing instruction, bridge, photography, dances, and "home hospitality," or the Sunday dinners, another task assumed by Mobile's women. In the black community, female volunteers staffed the Davis Avenue Service Center which had been established for black military personnel.

Other groups also sponsored dances for servicemen. The Mars Girls (Mobile Army Recreation Service) were well known and were referred to as Mobile's dancing girls. Asking Mobilians to volunteer to serve with the Mars Girls, one officer pointed out that "recreational service is an important national defense project." [15] Organized in April 1941 the Mars Girls had sponsored nearly thirty dances by February 1942. By February 1944, 1500 volunteers had served with the organization. [16]

A Downtown Service Men's Center, sponsored by twelve Mobile churches, was established at the St. Francis Street Methodist Church located at St. Francis and Joachim Streets. Activities included ping pong, darts, horseshoes, movies, reading, table games, and suppers. Soldiers and sailors who visited the center were asked to list their interests and hobbies so that it could determine what they most wanted to do. It was open daily from 2:00 p.m. to 10:00 p.m. There were evening programs, games, and music, and on Sunday nights, a men's song service. The Government Street Presbyterian Church kept a "Browsing Room" open every day from 9:00 a.m. to 10:00 p.m. It actually consisted of several rooms—a lounging room, a date room, a writing room, and a ping pong room. Three pianos, a phonograph, and a radio were all provided by the church.

In March 1942 the Civilian Defense Volunteer Office issued a plea for six hundred female volunteers for Air Raid Warning Service. The *Mobile Register* urged Mobilians to perform the important function

Hostesses at Downtown Servicemen's Center,
Archives, St. Francis Street United Methodist Church

of defending this major industrial center from enemy raids. Some women had almost completed air raid warning training and there was a need for additional help. The *Register* stressed that since Mobile was such an important industrial center, her women should be eager to serve, and since the war might last for a number of years, they should receive appropriate training. The article also noted that a good way for newcomers to meet other women was to become involved in war work. [17] Evidently many did not heed the call, for two weeks later the headline read, "Mobile's Women Slow to Proffer Services in War." [18] Only one hundred fifty people had responded to the newspaper's earlier plea.

For those who were more traditionally minded, the Information Center and the Sunday Dinners provided opportunities for women to serve their country in the wartime crisis. They could volunteer to work in the Information Center which was opened in Bienville Square in June 1942. It was designed to assist servicemen, war workers, and the general public, using competent and well trained volunteers. However, an even more traditional way of serving one's country was to invite a serviceman to dinner on Sunday. Committees were formed which worked with the USO to provide opportunities for servicemen to be Sunday dinner guests in the homes of Mobilians. Soldiers or sailors registered on the Saturday preceding the Sunday they wished to come to dinner.

Many of the established or traditional women's clubs and organizations participated actively in volunteer work or urged their members to do so. They regularly had defense-related topics for their monthly programs. [19] At the January 1942 meeting of the Virginia Cavalier Chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution (DAR), reports were given on Red Cross work and the group donated a box of clothes to Britain. The Bonnie Blue Flag Chapter of the United Daughters of the Confederacy officially joined defense classes and organized a first aid class for members of the chapter. In the same month the Wisteria Study Club's guest speaker was the chairman of civilian defense in Mobile. He stressed the important role women had to play in that activity while urging club members to do what they could to help. Members of the Mobile Business and Professional Women's Club, representing those who were gainfully employed outside their homes, pledged their talents and efforts in the nation's war effort. In February the speaker for that organization evaluated the accomplishments of female workers in the volunteer defense effort in Mobile. The Forum Club's topic for their March meeting was "Air Raid Precautions." By May 1942 the Junior League had started a scrap drive. It placed a bin at Government and Broad Streets in which the public could deposit rags, rubber, worn-out tires, old newspapers, boxes, and scrap metal. Younger women also got involved. Mobile Girl Scouts began collecting books for servicemen as part of a nationwide drive. They collected adventure and mystery stories, and all sorts of books considered suitable for soldiers and sailors. Thus by early 1942, Mobile clubwomen were either being made aware of, or actively participating in, some phase of war-related activity. The war intruded and changed the routines of Mobile's women and girls. Through club activities and volunteer work, they developed new skills, broadened their circle of acquaintances, and widened the range of their daily activities.

However, the most striking and obvious changes World War II brought to women's lives, not only in Mobile but throughout the country, were the changes in work patterns. Many women who had never worked outside the home began doing so during World War II. Patriotic ads encouraging women to join the war effort could be seen in Mobile as well as in other parts of the country. A typical example appeared in the *Mobile Press Register* in February 1943.

TO THE WOMEN OF MOBILE
Uncle Sam Says:
I NEED YOU

The full page advertisement, sponsored by forty-five Mobile businesses and signed by the War Manpower Commission of the United

States Employment Service, declared "there is an acute shortage of workers for both Mobile's War Industries and for Essential Civilian Services." It stated:

> Thousands of new residents have come in and taken up a lot of the slack, but they have not proved to be enough. We Mobilians must pitch in and help to overcome this shortage...and at once! Practically all available manpower has been exhausted, so the solving of the problem *rests with the women.* Uncle Sam, through Mobile's office of the War Manpower Commission is asking that you step up and volunteer to take a job either in a War Industry or in some store, office, or other essential civilian business. *We do not believe that you Women of Mobile will shirk your responsibility* ... we believe you will rally to the call, now. [20]

In the same issue of the *Mobile Press Register* an Alabama Dry Docks and Shipbuilding ad was captioned: WOMEN CAN BUILD SHIPS, YET NEVER SEE A SHIPYARD. It continued:

> We are building ships faster than they have ever been built before on the Gulf Coast. But we must employ many more workers if we are to reach peak production. *Many of the new workers must be women.* Jobs are open now for women who have finished training courses.

It then went on to describe how they could receive training. However, it was stressed that women were needed in jobs beyond the shipyard as well:

> BUT WOMEN CAN BUILD SHIPS, yet never see a shipyard. Our workers must have food, clothing, and housing. Many businesses are essential to shipbuilding even though they are not directly connected with shipyards. Their service to shipyards must not be reduced by lack or workers. In the words of the War Manpower Commission, every Mobile woman who isn't in a war job or an essential civilian job and isn't needed in her home is urged to take an essential job or training which will prepare her for a job. [21]

In addition to civilian jobs such as grocery store clerks, stenographers, waitresses and salesclerks, they were needed to fill numerous positions at the Mobile Air Depot (Brookley Field). Women were encouraged to receive training to become welders, mechanics, and war plant workers. A representative for the War Manpower Commission stated:

> perhaps a housewife can work only part time in say, for example, a department store. But that little aid will help enormously. If every woman will do something towards winning this war, the task won't be such a long, hard one. [22]

Mobile Press Register, *February 1943*

Mobile Register, *February 1943*

The week of February 22-27, 1943, was designated as WOMEN'S RECRUITMENT WEEK IN MOBILE. Registration booths were open in all public schools and at several downtown locations. More than two thousand Mobile women registered for jobs in the war industries and essential civilian industries during the week.[23] The War Manpower Commission had hoped for six thousand registrations but the drive was considered a success since it was expected that others would take jobs later.

By February 1943 significant changes can be seen in the Mobile newspapers. At the beginning of the war, they had contained many references to the *male* workers at the shipyards and there were occasional stories featuring the women or wives behind these men. But by February 1943 the war industries in Mobile were actively recruiting women for defense jobs. There were other examples of this change. In June 1942 women had been advised not to come to Mobile looking for jobs. At that time the Information Center volunteers in Bienville Square said that women and girls from out-of-town were pouring into Mobile, "expecting to find jobs plentiful and for the asking." The volunteers noted that "in almost every case, the visitors were short of money and had not paid their board very far in advance."[24] They urged

them not to come to Mobile unless they had relatives or enough money to return home. Just eight months later the positions were reversed. The female workers were being actively courted by industry.

Because of the boom in defense and other war related work, many women changed jobs during World War II. The teaching profession offers a striking example, for although there was a tremendous growth in the school age population, many teachers resigned their positions. They left to work in the war industries or for the government where they could earn much more money. The maximum annual salary for teachers with college degrees at the beginning of 1943 was $1300 while the maximum annual salary without a degree was $1200. [25]Women in the war industries could earn over $2000 a year. [26] Although patriotism may have been a factor, many teachers simply left their overcrowded classrooms for better paying jobs.

ADDSCO Woman Welder *ADDSCO Collection, USA Photo Archives*

By February 1944 there were over two thousand women employed at the Alabama Dry Dock and Shipbuilding Company (ADDSCO), most of them as welders. There were also female firemen on almost every shipyard crane, and at least one female rigger. ADDSCO's Women's Counseling Service Supervisor headed a staff of nine women, some of whom had been shipyard workers themselves. Their duty was "to keep the girl workers happy, healthy, and on the job." [27]

The Counseling Supervisor, Mrs. Mary McMullan Roberts, observed that

> when women first came to the shipyards, the shipyards were not quite ready for them. At first, therefore, they came into only a few crafts. As the manpower shortage increased, more women were needed, and they began to spread into a greater variety of jobs.[28]

The counseling service helped working women plan for the care of their children. Mrs. Roberts pointed out that a large number of the workers had children and that that nurseries were important to them. She tried to insure that mothers took advantage of the available nurseries and the extended day care program at the the public schools. The service also made arrangements for women to participate in local activities in their time off the job. It maintained contact with the the USO, the YWCA, and the city recreation units. Mrs. Roberts emphasized that every effort was being made to make the shipyard women part of the community through local church and recreational activities. She noted, "After all, by the time this war is over the so-called 'newcomers' will be Mobilians." She emphasized that people shouldn't think that after the war these workers would pull up their stakes and go home. "Remember," she said, "many of them have been here several years already, and they should feel they're a part of Mobile."

Mrs. Roberts also faced problems fitting people who were not used to working regular hours to the mold of shipyard life. She stated that most of the new workers had farm backgrounds and were accustomed to working ten hours one day and perhaps going fishing the next. The counseling department stressed to them that ADDSCO expected eight hours of work from them each day, but no more. Roberts also hoped to spend more time scouting for new job possibilities for women in the shipyard, explaining their needs to the community, and attacking the causes of absenteeism. The counseling service had round the clock duty—four counselors worked at night and five during the day.

At Brookley Field the civilian work force increased dramatically. By July 1943 it was estimated that approximately fifty per cent of the civilians employed at the Mobile Air Service Command (MOASC) were women.[29] Local publications highlighted the many jobs they held at Brookley. They worked as secretaries, typists, and clerks—white collar jobs which some had held before the war. Others did skilled work on aircraft, repairing engines, working on fuselages, welding or soldering parts, operating precision machines, and shearing, tacking, or riveting sheet metal. One observer noted that "one immediately

Counselor and Shipyard Worker

ADDSCO Workers *ADDSCO Collection, USA Photo Archives*

perceives that the majority of repair work on airplane instruments is being done by girls, for experience has proven them to be more adept than men at handling the intricate parts." [30] Women also worked in the supply warehouses getting material ready for shipment overseas or to a sub-depot. Some of them worked on high ladders getting supplies from shelves while others loaded packages on warehouse wagons. Still others were drivers or chauffeurs, civilian guards, nurses, radio mechanic helpers, parachute packers, mail handlers, telephone operators, and inspectors. One woman who was an operating engineer at the water treatment plant was responsible for purifying Brookley's water supply. A Brookley Field publication noted that she was the only member of her sex in the United States to hold down this "strictly man-sized job." [31] A group of physically handicapped women, some deaf mutes and some totally blind, also worked at MOASC. Women of all ages worked at Brookley Field. Seventeen and eighteen year olds were joined by matrons in their fifties and sixties. Several articles in the Brookley Field publications and in the Mobile papers highlighted the facility's working grandmothers. One headline read: "No Rockers Wanted: Grandmothers Far from Old Fashioned at MOASC." [32]

In addition to defense work, many took what had been non-traditional jobs. By April 1942 the senior interviewer for the U.S. Employment Service in Mobile outlined jobs recently opened to women including work at service stations, groceries, banks, radio stations, and as elevator operators and mechanics. Local papers were filled with pictures and articles on working women—butchers, telegraph messengers, gas company draftsmen, bank tellers, elevator operators, service station attendants, and gas company dispatchers. They also had milk routes, repaired meters for the electric power company, and by 1943 drove Mobile city buses. During 1944 female sheriff's deputies directed traffic in front of Mobile schools. The sheriff announced that a shortage in manpower made this program necessary. [33]

The Women's Bureau of the Department of Labor conducted a study of women workers in ten war production centers including the Mobile metropolitan area. The Bureau conducted interviews for this project in Mobile in November 1944. The report described Mobile as a "Southern city where comparatively few women in peacetime are employed in manufacturing and where the mushroom growth was due to demand for women workers in shipyards and air service installations." It added that the "area [is] also representative of the employment opportunities of Negro women workers in the South." [34] It should be noted, however, that the female workers interviewed in each

ADDSCO Workers *ADDSCO Collection, USA Photo Archives*

Telephone Operators, 1944 *ADDSCO Collection, USA Photo Archives*

area were representative of all industries and occupations except household employment. It was considered too difficult to interview household employees in the homes of their employers. [35] Thus the data included in the bulletin generally excluded household employment and the many Mobile black women working as domestics.

The Women's Bureau survey is revealing and indicates the degree of change the war brought to the lives of many Mobile women. [36] Indeed, the study found that of the ten cities surveyed, the relative increase in employment was most marked in Mobile. Discounting household help or domestics, three times as many women were working outside the home in 1944 as in 1940. In-migrants, or those coming into Mobile, represented 47 per cent of the women employed in war-time Mobile. Eighty per cent or more of those surveyed said that they intended to continue working after the war. About two and one-half times as many wanted to continue working in the Mobile area as had been employed in 1940. There were more females employed by government during the war than in all the city's trade and service industries in 1940. Employment in those industries also increased substantially from 1940 to 1944. Although Mobile ranked just below the three highest paying areas in war manufacturing earnings (Detroit, San Francisco, and Seattle), it was the lowest paying area in three of

the other five industrial groups. It also contained a higher proportion of black working women (31 per cent) than any of the other areas. However, not one black female was found working as an operative in the war factories in November 1944. Of all the women who worked outside the home during the war period, 40 percent were single, 47 per cent were married, and 13 per cent were widowed or divorced.

In Mobile the weekly take-home earnings of female operatives averaged $43.45 in war factories while the weekly take-home earnings of their counterparts in consumer installations was $22.90. Wages in other categories of civilian work were even lower. The take-home earnings in retail and wholesale trade averaged $21.25 per week while the equivalent pay of women employed in restaurants and taverns was $13.95. The lure of employment in wartime industries was obvious.

WACS Visit ADDSCO, 1943 ADDSCO Collection, USA Photo Archives

While many Mobile women were working in volunteer agencies and in defense industries to support the war effort, others joined the armed forces. In May 1942 several took the first steps toward joining the WACS (Women's Army Corps). Others later joined the WAVES, the SPARS, and the Marines. Stories appeared in the local papers about young women in the services, and the regular feature "Men in Our Armed Forces" was sometimes captioned "Men and Women in Our Armed Forces." Many local businesses sponsored recruiting ads for the WACS showing women in uniform driving, typing, or involved with photography, the mail, and supply services. WACS were sta-

tioned at the Brookley Field headquarters of the Mobile Air Service Command. Most had office assignments but they also served in a variety of other positions including aircraft mechanics, drivers, map readers, flight dispatchers, dental assistants, and nurses' aides. By February 1945 there were WACS at Brookley representing forty-one states. [37]

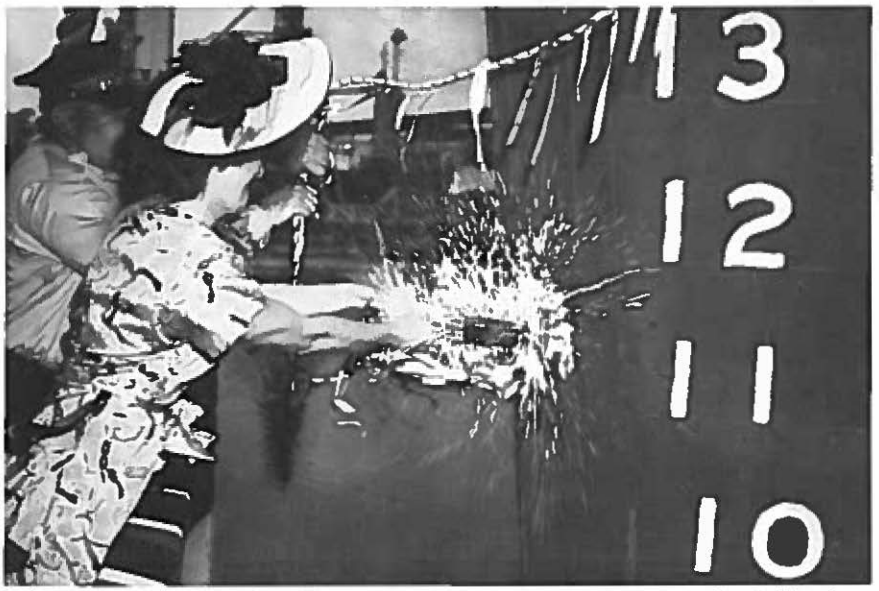
The war affected the daily lives of all Mobile women. The city suffered an acute housing shortage when thousands of people seeking jobs in the war industries or at Brookley, plus military personnel, poured into the city. In an effort to meet the newcomers' housing needs, women conducted door to door canvasses to find housing and to monitor conditions. Figures tell the city's story. Mobile had a population of 114,906 in the 1940 census; by May 1942 the estimated population of the Mobile metropolitan area was 175,000; and by February 1944 the estimate was 250,000. [38] The Chamber of Commerce called upon Mobilians to list any suitable living quarters for these newcomers. The Chamber asked for a "patriotic sacrifice" by residents to meet the situation. [39] During these years many of the large old homes were chopped up into several apartments or even into single rooms.

Schools were also terribly overcrowded even though many children did not attend regularly. In April 1943 it was reported that the rate of absenteeism at Murphy High School was increasing to an alarming figure. According to a school spokesman, the war was the major cause as older boys who expected to be called up for the military service did not take school seriously, country children were attracted by the city and its activities, and working mothers did not know if their children were in school or not. [40]

Washington Avenue Nursery, 1943 *ADDSCO Collection, USA Photo Archives*

Day care for pre-schoolers was also a pressing problem for working mothers. By the end of the war eleven nurseries and kindergartens were operating in the city with Lanham Act funds. [41] The Lanham Community Facilities Act was designed to supplement local efforts in areas where war industries had brought about crowded conditions. These nurseries and kindergartens in Mobile, administered by the Board of School Commissioners, cared for children of women employed in war work. The minimum age for children in the nurseries was two years. In the spring of 1945, 530 children were enrolled and plans were being made for a twelfth center. [42] Nevertheless, access to child care represented a major problem for many. ADDSCO's counseling supervisor was aware of the problem. The Women's Bureau of the Labor Department found in its survey that even though a number of arrangements were made regarding child care, such as leaving them with relatives or friends, that sixteen per cent of the city's children had no care while the worker was absent. [43]

The war was a daily fact of life for all Mobile women whether or not they were war workers or volunteers. In March 1942 the city experienced its first blackout. Sugar and gasoline were rationed and home milk deliveries were eventually stopped due to restricted tire usage. Women were encouraged to grow victory gardens. Housewives were asked to shop between 10:00 a.m. and 3:00 p.m. to help alleviate Mobile's severe traffic congestion. Stores were kept open on Monday



Christening the "Carib Queen", Gulf Shipbuilding Company, *S. Blake McNeely Collection, USA Photo Archives*

nights so female defense workers could shop. Women from one end of the economic and social scale to the other were affected. Ladies christened the many ships built at the shipyards. Female prisoners helped the sheriff prepare defense booklets. [44]

Newspaper advertisements are good mirrors of the changes in lifestyles. In 1942 a large Mobile Gas Service Corporation ad pictured a pretty woman in a Red Cross nurses' aide uniform, referred to her as a "Lucky Lady," and described how she organized her work at home so that she had precious free hours to devote to the nation's war effort. [45] Later ads showed women in military uniforms.

Yet in some ways life went on as before. Throughout the war years the department stores ran ads featuring the latest fashions and the society pages continued to chronicle events in the lives of the socially prominent. Marriages took place, but increasingly the young men were in the military service. Babies were born and most children went to school. Nevertheless, the effects of World War II on Mobile women were profound. Before the war Mobile had been a small Southern city in which most women filled traditional roles. During the course of the war, they were recruited for new jobs and undertook new responsibilities. Women grew and changed during the war, and if many returned to their traditional roles after V-J Day, they never forgot their wartime lives. Former shipyard workers still tell their grandchildren about their experiences as welders during the war; former volunteers and members of the armed forces still recount their wartime years with a sense of satisfaction. Women continued to work after 1945, holding on to the opportunities the war had brought in private business or at Brookley Field. Many who had come to the city seeking employment in war-related work remained in Mobile after the war. Whether the newcomers worked outside the home or not, they

Hammel's Advertisement, Mobile Press Register, *February 1943,*

brought new attitudes and values to the city they now called home. As in other parts of the country, the war changed the lives of Mobile's women, and for many, their lives would never be the same again.

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Notes

[1] William H. Chafe, *The American Woman: Her Changing Social, Economic, and Political Roles, 1920-1970* (New York, 1972). However, some historians maintain that the changes brought about by World War II were only temporary since many women resumed their former traditional roles after the war.

[2] United States Department of Labor. Women's Bureau, *Women Workers in Ten War Production Areas and Their Postwar Employment Plans.* Bulletin of the Women's Bureau, No. 209 (Washington, D.C., 1946), 3. In 1940, 7,800 women were employed compared to 27,000 in November 1944. This does not include household help.

[3] *Mobile Press Register,* January 4, 1942, 11.

[4] *Mobile Register,* March 6, 1942, 22.

[5] *Mobile Register,* March 11, 1942, 2.

[6] *Mobile Register,* March 6, 1942, 22.

[7] *Mobile Press Register,* March 15, 1942, 4B.

[8] *Mobile Press Register,* April 19, 1942, 5.

[9] *Mobile Press Register,* May 3, 1942, 1.

[10] *Mobile Register,* March 24, 1942, 1.

[11] *Mobile Press Register,* March 1, 1942, 5. Miss Donahue was from Little Rock, Arkansas.

[12] *Mobile Register,* March 13, 1942, 15.

[13] *Mobile Press Register,* March 1, 1942, 5.

[14] *Mobile Press Register,* April 12, 1942, 7.

[15] *Mobile Register,* February 13, 1942, 10.

[16] *à la MOAD,* February 28, 1944, 13. *à la MOAD* was published by the Mobile Air Service Command, Brookley Field.

[17] *Mobile Register,* March 17, 1942, 2.

[18] *Mobile Register,* March 28, 1942, 12.

[19] Accounts of the following meetings can be found in these issues: *Mobile Register*, 1942: January 15, 10; January 9, 10; January 10, 5; February 19, 9; March 13, 15; February 15, 5. *Mobile Press Register*, 1942: January 4, 5; May 17, 1.

[20] *Mobile Press Register*, February 21, 1943, 3B. (Italics mine.)

[21] Ibid., 9. (Italics mine.)

[22] Ibid., 1B.

[23] *Mobile Press*, March 1, 1943, 7.

[24] *Mobile Register*, June 18, 1942, 18.

[25] *Mobile Press Register*, May 16, 1943, 10.

[26] Women's Bureau, *Women Workers in Ten War Production Areas*, 15-16.

[27] *Mobile Press Register*, February 13, 1944, 7A.

[28] Excerpts and quotes from the interview contained in these two paragraphs can be found in the *Mobile Press Register*, February 13, 1944, 7A.

[29] *à la MOAD*, July 5, 1943, 8.

[30] Ibid.

[31] *The Welfarer*, July 18, 1945, 9. *The Welfarer* was published for the civilian personnel of the Mobile Air Service Command at Brookley Field.

[32] *The Welfarer*, November 3, 1944, 5.

[33] *Mobile Register*, January 8, 1944, 5.

[34] Women's Bureau, *Women Workers in Ten War Production Areas*, 27.

[35] Ibid., 2.

[36] The information contained in these two paragraphs can be found in: Women's Bureau, *Women Workers in Ten War Production Areas*, 3-5, 8, 14-16, 44-45.

[37] *The Welfarer*, February 18, 1945, 1.

[38] *Mobile Press Register*, May 10, 1942, 1; *Mobile Register*, May 8, 1942, 1; *Mobile Press Register*, February 13, 1944, 1.

[39] *Mobile Press Register*, April 12, 1942, 1.

[40] *Mobile Register*, April 14, 1943, 5.

[41] *Mobile Press Register*, April 29, 1945, 1B.

[42] *Mobile Register*, March 11, 1945, 1.

[43] Women's Bureau, *Women Workers in Ten Production Areas*, 56.

[44] *Mobile Press Register*, March 15, 1942, 1.

[45] *Mobile Register*, February 18, 1942, 5.

The Mobile Homefront During The Second World War

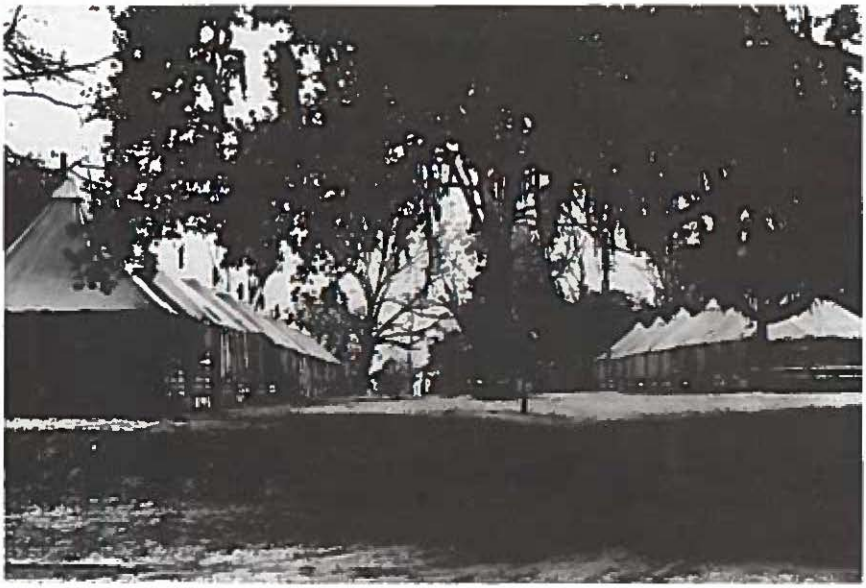
Mary Martha Thomas

World War II brought tremendous economic and social changes to Mobile and the Gulf Coast area. The city was the site of a large shipbuilding industry and an airplane repair and supply depot at Brookley Field. Because of the presence of these defense activities, Mobile experienced a sudden economic boom. Thousands of depression-starved men and women seeking employment migrated from the farms and small towns of the rural South into the mecca of Mobile. The population of the metropolitan area increased 75 percent from 1940 to 1944, making it the most congested urban area in the United States. [1] As a result of the wartime experience, historic Mobile changed from a small Southern city with a leisurely paced life-style into a crowded, overpopulated metropolis in which people lived in tents, trailers, and shacks. The city struggled to maintain adequate public services such as schools, hospitals, transportation, and recreational facilities. With this influx of migrants, a gulf developed between old-time Mobilians and the newcomers. The experiences of World War II drastically altered the population of the city and forcefully shaped its future along new and different patterns.

All of the Southern states with their warm climate, open spaces, and available labor attracted training facilities, air fields, and defense industries during the war. Beginning in 1941, the region experienced a defense boom with the construction of new training camps, powder mills, shipyards, and growth in the established fields of steel and textiles. One observer noted that the payrolls were bouncing "from one merchant's cash register to another." [2] The entire defense effort held tremendous potential for economic development. During the first year following passage of the National Defense Act of June 1940, the Southeastern states received 11.7 percent of all defense contracts, a proportion below their 21.5 percent of the population but about equal to their proportion of the existing industrial capacity. [3]

Alabama received its share of war industries reviving its depressed economy and bringing essentially full employment by 1943. [4] Virtually every town which had industrial capacity received a war contract to manufacture anything from ships, shells, and ammunition to tents, barrack bags, and pistol belts. Birmingham was the leading industrial city in the state with the Tennessee Coal Iron and Railway Company and the Ingalls Iron Works Company receiving millions of dollars of

War Production Board contracts. [5] It was also the site of an important airplane modification plant which was built by the Bechtel-McCone-Parsons Company in sixty-one days between January 15 and March 19, 1943. [6] By January 1941 Childersburg had become the arsenal of the Southland with the construction of the $70 million DuPont Ordnance works. [7]



Brookley Construction, USA Photo Archives

Mobile shared in this wartime economic boom, but in a more drastic and sweeping manner than any other Alabama town. These changes began as early as 1939 when the Army Air Force decided to establish a major base at Brookley Field south of the city. Actual construction did not begin until early 1940. In October 1941 the Air Force created an Air Service Command as a separate branch of the Army Air Force in order to supply and maintain its wartime aircraft requirements. By late 1942 the status of the Command was changed from a military organization to an industrial one whose duties were to furnish supplies, provide repairs, overhaul and rebuild Army Air Force planes throughout the world. The Mobile Air Service Command (MOASC) was one of nineteen depots in the U.S. and overseas. Brookley Field employed large numbers of civilian employees because of the industrial nature of its work. This civilian work force neared 17,000 by 1943, half of whom were women. Added to this figure were the thousands of Air Corps personnel who poured into Mobile from around the county. [8]

The city also became a major shipbuilding center as shipyards mushroomed along the Gulf Coast under the sponsorship of the Maritime Commission. Mobile quickly became a major wartime port because of its connections with the iron and steel industry of Birmingham, as well as its long tradition of shipbuilding. During the war years the shipyards manufactured vessels in record numbers. The Alabama Dry Dock and Shipbuilding Company (ADDSCO) launched a new 16,000 ton dry dock which, combined with previous facilities, enabled the company to construct 102 tankers, 20 liberty ships, and repair over 2,800 additional vessels during the war years. The Gulf Shipbulding Company, which opened on the old Chickasaw yard site, produced 29 minesweepers, 30 tankers, 7 destroyers, and a landing dock. The Waterman Repair Division repaired and reoutfitted over 50 vessels. [9] ADDSCO employees increased from less than 2,000 in 1940 to approximately 30,000 by 1943 and Gulf Shipbuilding from 240 to 11,600. These employees worked in eight-hour shifts around the clock six days a week. [10]

The wartime growth greatly expanded the industrial capacity of Mobile, brought recovery from the Depression, and provided full employment. The influx of workers seeking employment in Mobile's war industries almost doubled the county's labor supply, in spite of the loss of men inducted into the armed forces. In March 1940 only 58,000 workers were in the labor force in the county; by 1944 the number had increased to almost 102,000. [11] Despite this tremendous growth, Mobile remained critically short of labor during the war years. Prosperity can also be seen in the wholesale and retail trade figures. By

Shift Change, ADDSCO Collection, USA Photo Archives

September 1942 the city's $100 million wholesale trade was double its 1940 level. The retail trade also doubled from $33 million to $65 million. Daily phone calls had tripled and newspaper circulation rose one and a half times. [12]

However, this economic boom came with the heavy cost of social dislocation. The Governor of Alabama, Chauncey Sparks, described the social conditions in the state in 1943 in *War Comes to Alabama.* Sparks believed that the rapid industrialization and the demand for labor created problems which the government did not have the facilities to handle. Migration into the state and within the state complicated these problems. Shack, trailer, and tent cities mushroomed to house war workers. He wrote:

> In such communities are found constant and serious threats to health, while the problems of welfare are varied and never ending. Schools, too, have become a serious problem there, with the demands for school services far out running local ability to supply teachers, equipment, and plants. The present "boom" is not without its seamy side, particularly as regards human welfare. [13]

The Governor did not go into specifics in his essay, but his remarks generally described Mobile's social conditions.

The greatest change with which the city had to deal was the influx of people streaming into the city in search of defense jobs. Almost half of the migrants came from other areas of Alabama, while an equal number came from other states in the South, primarily Mississippi, Georgia, and west Florida. Surprisingly, only a little more than a fourth of the migrants claimed to have lived on a farm before 1940. The overwhelming majority (86 percent) were white; only 14 percent were black. White people were in a better position to learn of job opportunities and take advantage of them than were blacks. The migrants swelled the population of the metropolitan area from 114,906 in 1940 to 201,369 in 1944. The city, unprepared to deal with this 75 percent increase in population, struggled to provide basic services. [14] Living conditions were chaotic; workers could not find adequate housing, transportation, medical services, educational services, or food supply.

The most critical problem in Mobile was the lack of suitable housing. Makeshift shelters such as tents, shacks, and trailers sprang up overnight. Single men crowded together in nightmarish boarding or bunk houses. John Dos Passos' description of this Southern boom town has been widely quoted:

> There's still talk of lodginghouses where they rent "hot beds." (Men work in three shifts. Why shouldn't they sleep in three shifts?) Cues [*sic.*] wait outside of movies and lunchrooms. The trailer army has filled all the open lots with its regular ranks. In

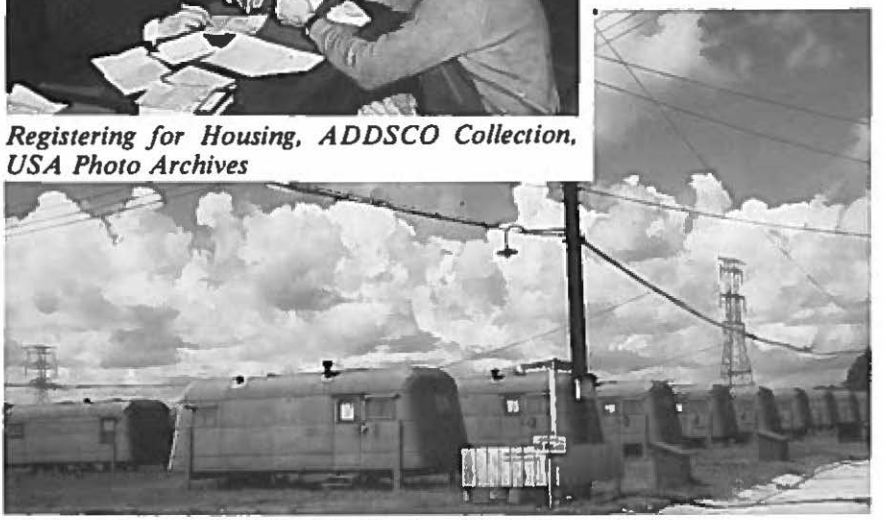
> cluttered back yards people camp out in tents and chickenhouses and shelters tacked together out of packingcases. [15]

These observations of Dos Passos were echoed by the testimony of executives of the shipbuilding companies who spoke at a hearing committee of the U.S. House of Representatives in May 1942 which was investigating national defense migration. They said:

> We cannot build ships because the workers have no place to live. Our turnover is almost 4 percent per week because employees go home when they have to sleep in "hot beds." This turnover is increasing and as it does so, our productive efficiency declines. [16]

Those workers who were fortunate enough to live in houses or trailers often lived in communities as distant as Foley or Atmore. In

Registering for Housing, ADDSCO Collection, USA Photo Archives



Trailer Housing, ADDSCO Collection, USA Photo Archives

August 1943 some 3,400 workers traveled fifty miles to work on a daily basis, but that number decreased in December 1943 when the Office of Defense Transportation prohibited workers from commuting such great distances. Even then, some 1,600 workers lived twenty-five miles from their work. [17]

Share Your Home—Rent Your Spare Space For Extra Income!

This is a direct appeal to your patriotism—and an opportunity that means extra money for you, too!

Our city's record war production volume is seriously endangered by an acute housing shortage. Many men and their families who came here to work in our war industries cannot find any home or are trying to live under unbearable conditions.

Your Government is depending on private enterprise as well as public funds to carry out its vast war housing program.

But enough NEW housing simply cannot be built to meet our needs. For construction takes materials needed for ships, planes, tanks and guns.

Property owners and tenants in this city and neighboring communities must answer this problem. If you have vacant space of any kind—spare rooms in your home—space in your attic or over your garage—it can be put to vital use and earn extra money for you. Give vital war workers first choice by phoning the War Housing Center today!

War workers and their families in this city are desperate for lack of living quarters. Unable to obtain housing, they will give up their important war jobs. More must be recruited, but will not come here unless assured of proper housing for their families. Won't you help them—and your country—and earn extra income besides?

Mobile Register, *October 12, 1943* *USA Library*

In August 1943 the National Housing Agency surveyed Mobile and determined living space was available for 6,200 additional people if residents would give up their unused sewing rooms, guest rooms, storage rooms, and studios. Authorities issued a plea to rent some 3,440 available rooms before new construction would be considered. The next month the Junior Chamber of Commerce, the Mobile War Housing Committee, and the War Housing Center launched a drive to obtain more living quarters for war workers. The slogan was "Share Your Home." The campaign aimed to rent all available space and to remodel other properties to create additional accommodations. Advertisements in the local newspapers appealing to the patriotism and pocketbooks of residents urged them to rent their extra space. [18]

The National Housing Authority eventually constructed 16 housing projects containing 11,000 units by the end of the war. These were largely located on the outskirts of the city in Prichard, Chickasaw, and Blakely Island. Of the sixteen units, only two were for blacks. [19] Residential construction as well as increased utilization of existing housing facilities did not keep abreast of the rapid population growth. The number of occupied dwelling units in the county increased by 59 percent while the population increased 65 percent. [20] Even as late as January 1944, more than 2,000 families were still seeking adequate housing. [21]

Housing projects adjacent to Brookley Field, Museums of the City of Mobile

Shortages of food also developed in Mobile. By November 1942 grocers' shelves and meat counters were understocked, and housewives had difficulty finding sufficient food for their families. This problem stemmed from the determination of the Office of Price Administration (OPA) to base food quotas upon Mobile's modest prewar population, rather than on its inflated wartime figures. By January 1943 food shortages, coupled with labor problems, had closed twenty-five grocery stores. Meat, milk, vegetables, and lard were the items in shortest supply. Meat was available only for a brief period after a shipment was received. Practically no grits or white meal was

available, but yellow meal was in plentiful supply. A. F. Delchamps of the Delchamps Grocery Stores pointed out that the rural residents from the surrounding counties, who used to grow their own food and offer some for sale, were now working in war jobs. Up to 1,000 additional gallons of milk a day were brought into Mobile from Montgomery; however, even this amount provided only about half the needs of the area. The fresh milk shortage increased the use of canned milk and, as a result, canned milk supplies ran low. Several dealers reported that they delivered canned milk only with a doctor's prescription. Authorities considered using powdered milk, but housewives generally viewed this as an unacceptable alternative. [22]

Mobile authorities conducted a campaign to persuade the OPA to revise its methods of establishing quotas for consumer commodities in this defense-crowded area. In November 1943 the agency announced a new regulation which would provide Mobile with a more equitable food supply. However, it was not until the special census of 1944, when the OPA had an actual count of the Mobile population, that the city began to receive its fair share of consumer commodities. [23]

The city school system was simply overwhelmed by the children of the new labor force. The problem became acute as early as September 1942. By this time the population had increased 50 percent and the school system, which had been inadequate before the war, found itself completely unable to provide classes for all the children. During the school year 1942 - 43, double shifts of four hours each were conducted in the schools. Even with these double sessions, 2,500 white students had no classes to attend. No one knew what proportion of black children did not attend schools but it was probably even higher. The double sessions were far from satisfactory and parents were complaining by December 1943 that their children were not receiving proper instruction. [24] The Superintendent, W. C. Griggs, and the School Board looked to the federal government for assistance and only slowly made plans of their own. [25]

The leadership of Griggs and the School Board came under fire from both Agnes Meyers of the Washington *Post,* who traveled through the South in 1943 investigating war towns, and the editors of the *Mobile Register.* Meyers described Griggs as a seventy-four year old man who offered ineffective leadership and should have retired years earlier. The newspaper editors criticized the Superintendent and the Board for delays in resolving the school crises of 1942 - 43. Even when the school year of 1943 - 44 was about to open, they had done little to alleviate the problems. The Superintendent refused even to file an application with the Federal Works Agency for additional con-

struction because of an earlier experience in which his request had been denied. He was so bitter about this refusal that he intended to make do with the present facilities rather than undertake fighting for a new application. [26]

Eventually, the Superintendent did file the application and plans were laid for a forty-room school in Prichard, a twenty-eight room facility on South Ann Street, and a sixteen room school on Blakely Island, but only after the Chamber of Commerce, the War Manpower Commission, and the editor of the newspaper applied considerable pressure. Community leaders feared that war workers with children would leave the area and wartime production of ships would decrease. However, Mobile had to struggle through another academic year because the new schools did not open until March 1944. The Superintendent hoped that the new schools would solve the system's problems, but the truth was that even with the new buildings the number of classrooms was still insufficient. [27]

W.C. Griggs, Overbey/Mobile Public Library Collection, USA Photo Archives

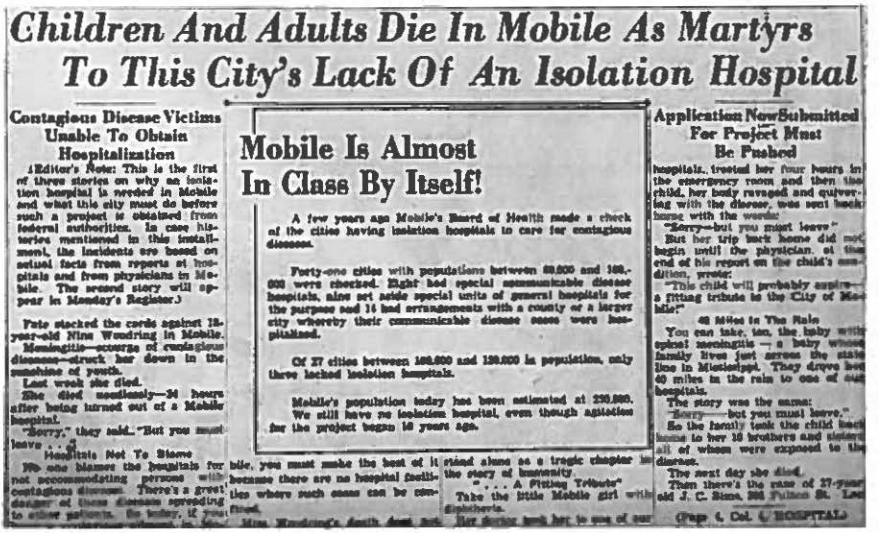
In addition to the classroom shortage, Mobile also needed teachers. The salaries offered were low, compared not only with national, but also with regional averages. In 1940 - 41 a National Education Association survey of thirteen Southern cities placed Mobile salaries in twelfth place for elementary teachers and eleventh place for high school teachers. In the elementary grades a white teacher with two years of college received $800 a year; those who had completed three years received $850; and college graduates started with $950. The maximum for which they might hope was $1,300. High school teachers began with $1,150, and after long years of service women might receive $1,700 and men $2,100. The salaries for blacks were even lower. Many teachers left such low paying jobs for war work where a typist could make $1,440 and shipyard workers nearly $3,000.[28]

An even greater problem than inadequate schools was the severe shortage of doctors and hospital facilities. The entire nation faced a shortage of doctors because 50,000 of the country's approximately 185,000 doctors were in the armed forces, but the situation was more acute in Alabama and Mobile than elsewhere. In the nation, one doctor for every 1,500 people was regarded as a safe minimum standard. As of June 1, 1943 Alabama had one doctor for every 2,671 people. While twenty-eight other states lacked sufficient numbers of doctors to meet the minimum standard, Alabama suffered from the greatest shortage. [29] The city of Mobile fared better than the state as a whole with seventy-eight white and seven black physicians providing one doctor for every 1,824 people. The U.S. Public Health Service provided one doctor and one dentist for each of the housing projects in the area. However, even with this number of physicians, patients often spent long hours in waiting rooms and found it virtually impossible to obtain the services of a doctor at night. [30]

The critical shortage of hospital facilities in Mobile was thrown into stark relief as early as September 1942. At that time all hospitals were operated at 110 percent capacity. The city had a ratio of 1.7 beds per thousand population compared with a war standard of 4.0 beds. By 1944 Providence Hospital had added a 130 bed wing and the City Hospital had constructed an addition containing 175 beds and an enlarged nurses' home. Even these improvements failed to provide an acceptable number of beds for the congested area. [31] This shortage of hospital beds became particularly acute when the city was faced with a flu epidemic followed by an outbreak of meningitis. No isolation ward was available for victims of such infectious and contagious diseases.

During the winter of 1942 - 43 Mobile escaped serious epidemics despite the shortage of medical services. This encouraged Dr. Albert

Dix of the Mobile Health Department to assume that the city would be equally fortunate the following winter. Dr. Dix spoke to the teachers at the opening of the school term in September 1943 and discounted fears of epidemics. He felt disease could be combated by teachers emphasizing good health instruction, encouraging immunization against diptheria, small pox, and whooping cough, and maintaining the sanitary equipment of the schools. Editorials in the Mobile papers warned against any relaxation in efforts to promote community health. In January 1944 there were 2,000 cases of influenza and health officers warned Mobilians to consider the illness seriously by taking the necessary precautions. Authorities estimated that eventually half of the population was affected to some extent by the flu virus. [32]



Children And Adults Die In Mobile As Martyrs To This City's Lack Of An Isolation Hospital

Contagious Disease Victims Unable To Obtain Hospitalization

[Editor's Note: This is the first of three stories on why an isolation hospital is needed in Mobile and what this city must do before such a project is obtained from federal authorities. In case histories mentioned in this installment, the incidents are based on actual facts from reports of hospitals and from physicians in Mobile. The second story will appear in Monday's Register.]

Fate stacked the cards against 18-year-old Nina Wendring in Mobile. Meningitis—scourge of contagious diseases—struck her down in the sunshine of youth.

Last week she died.

She died needlessly—36 hours after being turned out of a Mobile hospital.

"Sorry," they said. "But you must leave . . ."

Hospitals Not To Blame

No one blames the hospitals for not accommodating persons with contagious disease. There's a great danger of those diseases spreading to other patients. So today, if you

Mobile Is Almost In Class By Itself!

A few years ago Mobile's Board of Health made a check of the cities having isolation hospitals to care for contagious diseases.

Forty-one cities with populations between 80,000 and 300,000 were checked. Eight had special communicable disease hospitals, nine set aside special units of general hospitals for the purpose and 14 had arrangements with a county or a larger city whereby their communicable disease cases were hospitalized.

Of 27 cities between 100,000 and 130,000 in population, only three lacked isolation hospitals.

Mobile's population today has been estimated at 230,000. We still have no isolation hospital, even though agitation for the project began 10 years ago.

Application Now Submitted For Project Must Be Pushed

hospitals, treated her four hours in the emergency room and then the child, her body ravaged and quivering with the disease, was sent back home with the words:

"Sorry—but you must leave."

But her trip back home did not begin until the physician, at the end of his report on the child's condition, wrote:

"This child will probably expire—a fitting tribute to the City of Mobile!"

40 Miles in The Rain

You can take, too, the baby with spinal meningitis — a baby whose family lives just across the state line in Mississippi. They drove her 40 miles in the rain to one of our hospitals.

The story was the same:

"Sorry——but you must leave."

So the family took the child back home to her 10 brothers and sisters, all of whom were exposed to the disease.

The next day she died.

Then there's the case of 27-year-old J. C. Sims, 304 Fulton St. Last

bile, you must make the best of it. stand alone as a tragic chapter in the story of humanity.

". . . A Fitting Tribute"

Take the little Mobile girl with diphtheria.

Her doctor took her to one of our

(Page 4, Col. 4, HOSPITAL)

Mobile Press Register, *February 13, 1944*

In February 1944 a more serious crisis developed with an outbreak of meningitis. The hospitals of the city would not admit and treat patients having meningitis because they had no isolation wards. As a result, these patients were sent back to their homes, boarding houses, or rooms to wait out the course of the disease. During the whole of 1943 there were thirty-two cases of meningitis, but in the first two weeks of 1944, a total of fifteen cases developed. Two eighteen-year old women died in February 1944. A little girl with diphtheria was treated in the emergency room, then sent back home where she subsequently died. Another family drove forty miles in the rain with a baby who had spinal meningitis only to be turned away. [33]

The *Register* publicized the situation and attacked the do-nothing policy. One editorial was entitled, "Let's Quit Playing the Role of an

Ostrich!" Another said:

> That such a situation should exist in a metropolitan city in the year 1944 is well-nigh barbaric in its implications. In the Stone Age primitive men drove their fellow tribesmen into the forest to die when they contracted leprosy and other communicable diseases. Mobile's methods of dealing with communicable diseases is not so much more merciful than that pursued by the men of the Stone Age. [34]

Dr. O. L. Chason of the Mobile Health Department expected an unusually high incidence of meningitis during the winter of 1943 - 44. His fear turned out to be correct. By February the city was averaging a case a day, and that rate was expected to continue until spring. On February 11 the Mobile Board of Health, deciding time had come to take action, passed a resolution recommending that a portion of the City Hospital be set aside as an isolation ward. The City Commission and the County Board of Revenue agreed to provide the necessary funds to operate the section. The city owned the hospital, but the Sisters of Charity operated it under contract. Dr. Chason wrote a letter to the Sisters informing them of the Board's action. However, when they did not immediately reply, he took no further action. The Mayor, Robin C. Herndon, looked to Chason and the Health Department to implement the plan and Chason waited for the Sisters to respond to the proposal. No one seemed willing to take a leadership role. [35]

City Hospital Sets Aside Ward To Care For Meningitis Cases

Patients May Be Accepted At Public Institution Starting Monday

Relief came Tuesday to Mobile's army of meningitis sufferers, forced for the past several years to fight it out without the benefit of hospitalization.

Following a series of conferences with the Sisters of Charity, operators of City Hospital under a contract with the city, Mayor Robin C Herndon said an agreement had been reached to set aside a section of the hospital building for the treatment of meningitis patients.

Previously Turned Out

Previously, meningitis sufferers have not been accepted into any hospital in Mobile because of the danger of the disease spreading.

Mayor Herndon said the isolation ward will be located in the west wing on the main floor of the main hospital building. It contains both wards and private rooms and will accommodate at least 30 beds.

May Open On Monday

Shortly after the agreement was announced, laborers went to work remodeling the wing for almost immediate occupancy. Mayor Herndon said Cliff Adams, the city's building

.... Press Register Staff Photo

MOBILE MENINGITIS VICTIM HEARS GOOD NEWS

Twelve-year-old Jerry Crutchfield, son of Mr. and Mrs. S. F. Crutchfield, 162 St. Emanuel St., and a pupil at Robert E. Lee School, was stricken ill last Tuesday. He was taken to City Hospital where a spinal test showed meningitis. Due to a rule in all Mobile hospitals against keeping any meningitis victims, young Jerry was taken back to his home to fight it out. But Thursday he heard good news as his mother, above, read him newspaper accounts of the contemplated early opening of an emergency meni-

Mobile Press Register, *February 25, 1944*

Finally, Mayor Herndon and Sister Mary Vincent, Superintendent of the hospital, bypassed the Health Department and reached an agreement to use a section of the City Hospital as a temporary isolation ward. Work began immediately, but the first patient did not enter until March 5 following numerous delays in renovating the old wing and securing sufficient staff for it. Meanwhile, during the month of February, twenty-three more cases of meningitis developed, and none of them received hospital treatment. [36]

Mobile officials were woefully unprepared to deal with the problems that arose during the war years. The city did not offer adequate services before the war, and it was overwhelmed by the influx of migrants. The city administration did not have the structure for making decisions; no one assumed responsibility or supplied leadership. The lack of leadership was especially evident in this epidemic of meningitis. The Mayor and the City Commission did not feel they were

Ralph Chandler, Mobile Press Register

responsible for the operation of an isolation ward. They believed that was the job of the hospital and the Board of Health, but the Board under the leadership of Chason failed to function. The Mayor finally took action and eventually established the temporary isolation ward. Unlike the city's officials, Ralph B. Chandler, publisher and editor of the *Press* and *Register*, used his newspapers to propose constructive solutions for this and other problems during the war years. He also worked behind the scenes for positive results. He was one of the few community leaders who realized the seriousness of the city's wartime situation and attempted to seek solutions to the problems it produced. [37]

As a result of the stress placed on community institutions and social services by the influx of war workers, an angry division developed between the immigrants and the older residents. Native Mobilians, many of whom traced their ancestry to early settlers, saw their world being destroyed by newcomers whom they regarded as primitive, uneducated, backwoods people. One Mobilian, expressing a common feeling, said: "We are quite exercised about the problems these newcomers raise for the city. . .[j]uvenile delinquency, illegitimate babies, venereal disease. . . .They are what we call riffraff." A Mobile teacher described the newcomers as "the lowest type of poor whites, these workers flocking in from the backwoods. They prefer to live in shacks and go barefoot. . . .Give them a good home and they wouldn't know what to do with it. They. . .let their kids run wild on the streets. I only hope we can get rid of them after the war." [38] Even the census takers met hostility. When one explained that the census figures were needed to determine food quotas, a housewife replied, "Perhaps if we don't get enough food, some of these war workers will go back home." [39] The War Manpower Commission described the community's attitude as hostile to the hordes of migrants and believed that it made little effort to meet the variety of problems created by crowded conditions. [40]

Such resentment arose from the clash of values and interests between the old established urban middle class and the new workers who emerged from the backwoods of rural poverty. Mobile seemed a closed society to the war workers, ostracizing all newcomers and resisting any cooperation in making their lives more comfortable. Workers came seeking jobs that paid decent wages, and found the old community blamed them for the wartime chaos. The cleavage between the two groups was so severe that the president of the Chamber of Commerce, R. D. Hayes, made a plea for a friendlier attitude and cooperation between the natives and the newcomers. Most Mobilians

blamed the migrants for the congested conditions, rather than recognizing that the war was transforming society everywhere. Some older residents hoped that the newcomers would leave when the war was over. This was not to be, for many stayed to become permanent residents. The population of the city continued to increase even after the war. It reached 129,000 by 1950, an increase of 64 percent since 1940. [41]

Not only did Mobile have to adjust to the influx of migrants, it also had to deal with the demands of blacks for their share of the economic opportunities. The black population of Mobile increased by a modest 35 percent as compared with a 50 percent increase among whites. These changes caused a decline in the proportion of blacks from 36 percent of the population in 1940 to 28 percent in 1944. This same pattern is reflected in employment patterns. The white labor force almost doubled along with the population, but the black labor force increased by only 23 percent. Blacks were able to find jobs, but not in proportion to their increase in population. The percent of blacks in the labor force declined from 39 percent in 1940 to 28 percent in 1944. [42]

John LeFlore, USA Photo Archives

Blacks suffered from both legal and informal patterns of segregation in housing and employment. They were crowded into two major areas, one north of the city and the other on its south side. The increase in population put tremendous pressure on the available housing facilities. As of December 1943 only 635 additional housing units had been constructed for blacks. The executive secretary of the local NAACP, John LeFlore, attempted to expand economic opportunities and was successful in establishing a welding school for Negroes and encouraging the Fair Employment Practices Commission (FEPC) to see that blacks were hired on an equal basis with whites. However, resistance to these changes sparked a serious race riot at ADDSCO. [43]

The race riot began after the FEPC pressured ADDSCO to employ black workers in skilled positions in the shipyard. ADDSCO,

White Workers Leave Addsco As Negroes Return To Jobs; Armed Troops Stay On Guard

Are You An American?

Idle rumors are dangerous.

When they spread in America they are as valuable to Adolf Hitler as one of his bombs or one of his best fifth columnists.

Idle rumors — they spread hatred, discontent, bitterness. They are the weapons used by the foes of democracy. The Axis wants these rumors — absolutely false and unfounded — to be spread throughout the land and especially in Mobile during these tense days.

So remember, when your "friend" tells you today that the streets of Mobile have been littered with dead, be a good American.

Ask your "friend" where he received his information. Ask him if he knows he's part of a giant conspiracy — even though unknowingly — against our soldier boys.

Ask him to keep his mouth shut unless he knows that what he's saying is the absolutely truth, based on cold and complete facts.

Ship Production Goes Ahead At Pinto Island Despite 'Confused Situation' And 'Lots Of Rumors'; Number Out Not Disclosed

New walkouts added complications Thursday to the confused and complex labor situation at the Pinto Island plant of the Alabama Dry Dock & Shipbuilding Company where tankships are being constructed for the United States Maritime Commission.

Although the plant was in operation—under the protective eyes and the bayoneted rifles of soldiers—many white workers left their jobs when what was described as "a substantial number" of negroes reported for work after being sent home Tuesday when racial disorders, in which several persons were injured, swept the shipyard.

The situation was so confused that Charles Hanson, regional director of the Industrial Union of Marine Shipbuilders of America (CIO), the bargaining agency at the plant, sent a telegram to William T. Daly, industrial relations manager urging an immediate conference between company officials and representatives of the press, the union, the workers, War Manpower Commission, the Army, Navy and Maritime Commission in an effort to reach a solution to the shipyard's troubles which began when the company said it upgraded negro welders in accordance with a directive from President Roosevelt.

Hanson said that Addsco, in a reply, had accepted his proposal and the meeting began at 9 o'clock Thursday night in the Hotel Admiral Semmes.

(Page 12, Col. 4, SHIPYARD)

Mobile Register, *May 28, 1943*

the War Manpower Commission (WMC), and labor union representatives concluded an agreement with the FEPC to employ black workers on segregated shipways. ADDSCO did not follow these plans and placed twelve black welders alongside white workers on the night shift of May 25, 1943. White workers started a riot and drove the blacks out of the yard injuring several of them. The whites demanded that the blacks be excluded from all skilled jobs. Federal troops were called in to keep order. The Maritime Commission, the FEPC, the WMC, and the local unions all took the firm position that black workers must be utilized in accordance with their skills. ADDSCO finally established a segregated yard in which black workers were employed in all the skilled jobs required in hull construction. [44]

This firm action solved the immediate problem, but the racial tensions in Mobile remained high for the duration of the war. A group of black and white clergymen and other responsible citizens condemned the rioting and defended the right of blacks to full participation in war industries. Wartime jobs and higher pay checks gave blacks a taste of the rewards of the American economic system, encouraging them to demand more in the years following the war. This triggered changes in race relations with which Mobile would have to deal in the post-war period.

Black Shipyard Workers, ADDSCO Collection, USA Photo Archives

A typical wartime line, Jackson Street, USA Photo Archives

The city's homefront experience paralleled that of other congested areas. The most immediate and obvious effect was an increase in economic prosperity that brought a higher standard of living. Many Mobilians had suffered severe poverty during the Depression. To people who had grown to maturity during those lean years, the boom of the war years stood in utopian contrast. Many saw their first real prosperity with substantial wartime pay checks. All this was not without its costs, however. As defense workers flocked to jobs, Mobile suffered growing pains with shortages of housing, food, schools, doctors, and hospitals. Newcomers and old-timers struggled during the war years to cope with the various shortages, but often showed little understanding of each other's problems.

The defeat of the Axis powers brought an abrupt halt to the wartime boom. The shipyards began laying-off employees in the spring of 1945 at the rate of 5,000 per month. By the year's end their payrolls shrank from a high of 43,000 in 1943 to only 8,500. Six months after the war a total of 40,000 jobs had disappeared from the economy. By early 1946, 55,000 people had left the metropolitan area. The boom years were over and Mobilians turned to the difficult task of insuring continued economic growth using their wartime experience while preserving the old city's proud heritage.

Mary Martha Thomas is Professor of History at Jacksonville State University, Jacksonville, Alabama. She has recently completed a

book-length manuscript on Alabama women on the home front in World War II.

Notes

[1] U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Wartime Changes in Population and Family Characteristics, Series CA-2, no. 1, July 7, 1944, Record Group 183, Box 3, National Archives. Hereafter, Record Group will be referred to as RG and National Archives as NA. The population of Mobile County, as opposed to the metropolitan area, increased 64.7 percent. Comparable figures for the other congested production areas in order of their increase in population were Hampton Roads (44.7 percent), San Diego (43.7 percent), Charleston (38.1 percent), Portland-Vancouver (31.8 percent), San Francisco (25 percent), Puget Sound (20 percent), Los Angeles (15.1) percent, Muskegan, Mich. (14.4 percent), and Detroit-Willow Run (8.2 percent).

[2] *Time*, 37 (February 17, 1941): 75-80.

[3] George Brown Tindall, *The Emergence of the New South, 1913-1945* (Baton Rouge, 1967), 695.

[4] Chauncey Sparks, "The Impact of the War on Alabama," *War Comes to Alabama* (University, AL, 1943), 4.

[5] Birmingham *News*, January 17, 1943; Labor Market Developments Report for Birmingham, June 1, 1943, RG 183, Box 1, NA.

[6] Tindall, *The Emergence of the New South*, 697; Birmingham *News*, January 17, September 3, September 4, 1943; Sparks, "The Impact of the War on Alabama," 2.

[7] Tindall, *The Emergence of the New South*, 679-698; Birmingham *News*, March 7, March 14, April 25, 1943; Sparks, "The Impact of the War on Alabama," 1-2.

[8] Ralph Dennis Metzger, "History of the Mobile Air Service Command: First Installment - Mobile Air Depot: January 1939 - February 1943," 27-33; *Brookley Bay Breeze*, May 3, 1943; *à la MOAD*, October 18, 1943. The history and the newsletters of MOASC are deposited at the Museum of the City of Mobile. See also Labor Market Developments Report for Mobile, October 7, 1943, RG 183, Box 3, NA.

[9] Melton McLaurin and Michael Thomason, *Mobile, The Life and Times of a Great Southern City* (Woodland Hills, CA, 1981), 124.

[10] Survey of the Mobile Employment Stabilization Plan, June 1943, RG 183, Box 3, NA.

[11] Bureau of the Census, Mobile Congested Production Area: March 1944, RG 183, Box 3, NA.

[12] *Mobile Press*, September 18, 1942.

[13] Sparks, "The Impact of War on Alabama," 5.

[14] Bureau of the Census, Mobile Congested Production Area: March 1944, RG 183, Box 3, NA; Bernadette Kuehn Loftin, "A Social History of the Mid-South (Panama City-Mobile) 1930-1950", (Ph.D. diss., University of Southern Mississippi 1971), 273-331.

[15] John Dos Passos, *State of the Nation* (Boston, 1943), 92-93.

[16] *Alabama Social Welfare* (State Department of Public Welfare, Montgomery), June 1942. This journal is in the Department of Archives and History in Montgomery.

[17] Labor Market Developments Report for Mobile, August 9, December 10, 1943, RG 183, Box 3, NA.

[18] *Mobile Register*, August 3, September 27, October 12, 1943.

[19] McLaurin and Thomason, *Mobile*, 126.

[20] Bureau of the Census, Mobile Congested Production Area: March 1944, RG 183, Box 3, NA.

[21] Executive Office of the President, Committee for Congested Production Areas, February 19, June 16, August 31, 1944, RG 212, Box 17, NA.

[22] *Mobile Press Register*, November 29, 1942; *Mobile Register*, January 15, January 16, 1943; Labor Market Developments Reports for Mobile, August 9, 1943, RG 183, Box 3, NA; Committee for Congested Production Areas, Mobile Area, December 11, 1943, February 19, June 16, August 31, 1944, RG 212, Box 72, NA.

[23] *Mobile Register*, May 21, November 23, 1943. The U. S. Bureau of the Census conducted a special wartime census in 1944 of the ten congested areas of the nation. Mobile's census, which was taken during March, contains valuable information on migration, the labor force, families, and housing patterns.

[24] Committee for Congested Production Areas, Mobile Area, December 11, 1943, RG 212, Box 72, NA.

[25] *Mobile Register*, August 29, September 18, 1942; Labor Market Developments Reports for Mobile, August 9, 1932, RG 183, Box 3, NA.

[26] Agnes E. Meyers, *Journey Through Chaos* (New York, 1943), 202-213; Committee for Congested Production Areas, Mobile Area, December 11, 1943, RG 212, Box 72, NA; *Mobile Register*, June 24, August 3, August 13, 1943; *Mobile Press Register*, July 18, July 25, 1943.

[27] Committee for Congested Production Areas, Mobile Area, February 19, June 16, August 31, October 14, 1944, RG 212, Box 72, NA; *Mobile Press Register*, March 5, 1944.

[28] *Mobile Register*, March 9, 1944; Meyers, *Journey Through Chaos*, 204; *Mobile Register*, September 3, 1943; Labor Market Developments Reports for Mobile, August 9, 1943, RG 183, Box 3, NA.

[29] *Mobile Register*, December 14, 1943.

[30] Labor Market Developments Report for Mobile, October 28, 1942, August 9, December 10, 1943, RG 183, Box 3, NA.

[31] Report of the Conference of the Regional War Manpower Commission held in the Ansley Hotel, Atlanta, Georgia, on September 9 and 10, 1942, Alabama Department of Archives and History; Committee for Congested Production Area, December 11, 1943, February 19, June 16, 1944, RG 212, Box 71, NA.

[32] *Mobile Register*, September 7, September 8, December 14, 1943; January 1, January 8, 1944.

[33] *Mobile Press Register*, February 13, 1944; *Mobile Register*, February 22, 1944.

[34] *Mobile Register*, February 12, February 13, 1944.

[35] *Mobile Press Register*, February 20, 1944; *Mobile Press*, February 22, 1944.

[36] *Mobile Press*, February 24, 1944.

[37] Survey of the Mobile Employment Stabilization Plan, June 1943, RG 183, Box 3, NA.

[38] McLaurin and Thomason, *Mobile*, 127; *Mobile Register*, September 18, 1942, Loftin, "A Social History of the Mid-Gulf South," 289.

[39] *Mobile Press Register*, March 5, March 19, 1944.

[40] War Manpower Commission, Statement on the Mobile, Alabama Labor Market Area, August 4, 1943, RG 183, Box 3, NA.

[41] Bureau of the Census, 1950, 2-28.

[42] Bureau of the Census, Characteristics of the Population, Labor Force, Families, and Housing, Mobile Congested Production Area: March 1944, Table X. RG 183, Box 3 NA.

[43] Committee for Congested Production Areas, Mobile, Alabama, December 1, 1943, RG 212, Box 71, NA; McLaurin and Thomason, *Mobile*, 128.

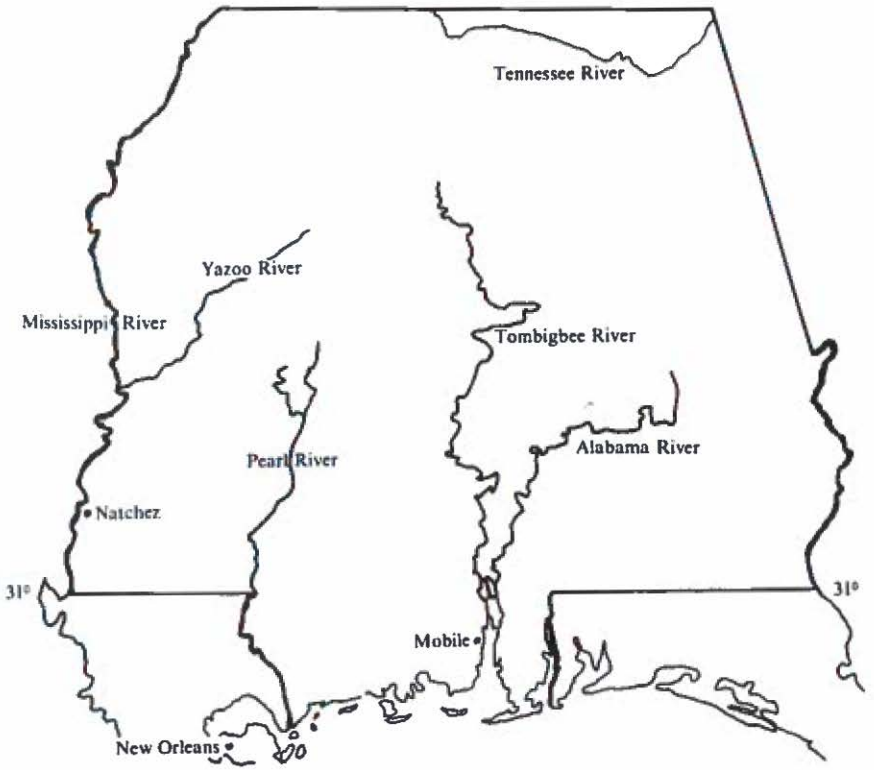
[44] Committee for Congested Production Areas, Mobile, Alabama, December 1, 1943, RG 212, Box 71, NA; Labor Market Developments Reports for Mobile, June 12, 1943, RG 183, Box 3, NA; *Mobile Press Register*, May 26, 30, 1943; *Mobile Register*, May 27, 28, 29, 31, 1943.

[45] Labor Market Developments Report for Mobile, December 10, 1943, RG 183, Box 3, NA.

[46] McLaurin and Thomason, *Mobile*, 137.

The Cement of Society: Law in the Mississippi Territory

John D. W. Guice



Mississippi Territory *Marilyn Thomason*

No institution more accurately reflects the complexity of frontier development or the intricacies of the Natchez community than its legal system. Indeed, one who studies the jurisprudence of the Old Southwest quickly recognizes the pitfalls of environmentalism and localism which have entrapped so many historians of the westward movement. English common law represents one of the most important pieces of cultural baggage which crossed the Atlantic and then the Appalachians with our ancestors. [1]

William B. Hamilton described this process in more poetic terms. "The Thames flowed into the muddy waters of the majestic Mississippi

and transformed them, engulfed them, Anglicized them forevermore." Hamilton believed that the study of jurisprudence in the Mississippi Territory challenged Frederick Jackson Turner's frontier thesis. Turner viewed the frontier, with its abundance of readily available land, as the dominant factor in shaping the personality traits of Americans as well as their brand of democracy. Hamilton disagreed: "The evidence tends to show. . . that the old, or cis-Mississippi frontier, if it fashioned new institutions out of its contacts with the wilderness, did not do so with such a pervasive, fundamental institution as the law." [2]

It should not be surprising that the society in the Natchez District was litigious in view of its cosmopolitan population and its attraction for a steady stream of immigrants — land and commerce. Land tangles alone must have handsomely supported the lawyers most adept in unraveling them; commercial disputes provided other large fees. Added to this mixture were the complications of international trade and the raucousness of Natchez Under-the-Hill, a bustling port where boat men and other transients matched wits with unprincipled sorts who hoped to empty their pockets. A need for "law and order" became apparent. Even Americans in the isolated Tombigbee settlement above Spanish controlled Mobile called for the introduction of courts.

Though the citizenry of the territory looked forward to the establishment of an Anglo-American jurisprudence, they were unprepared for the way in which their first set of laws was imposed by the puritanical and militaristic Yankee governor, Winthrop Sargent. Undoubtedly, the more informed residents realized that the Northwest Ordinance of 1787 empowered the governor and a majority of the territorial judges to "adopt and publish . . . such laws of the original states . . . as may be necessary and best suited to the circumstances . . . ." [3] Few were prepared for some of the harsh punishments prescribed and the powers of the judges, and many residents considered Sargent's laws repressive and unconstitutional. The public outcry and the political furor which followed the proclamation of Sargent's Code, however, must not becloud the fact that those acts established the first court system for the territory. [4]

In each county Sargent's Code created the General Quarter Sessions of the Peace Court to hear charges concerning misdemeanors and the Court of Common Pleas for cases arising from civil, personal, or real causes. The governor appointed the judges who met for four three-day sessions a year. On the surface these courts, which were based on the common law, seemed reasonable enough. Defendants could demand a jury trial, and appeal cases from both courts to the

federally appointed Territorial Supreme Court which met at least annually in every county. In addition to its appellate function, the Supreme Court possessed original jurisdiction over all felony cases, suits involving misconduct by territorial officials, and all pleas of the United States.

It was the power of individual judges, rather than the court structures themselves, which caused most public discontent. In or out of session, the governor's appointees possessed broad authority to keep the peace, including confinement in jail for an indefinite period of time. Judges, for example, could sentence persons literally on the spot if a crime was committed in his view. Overall, they possessed authority which their fellow citizens deemed unreasonable. [5]

Of all aspects of Sargent's Code which aroused the ire of the citizenry, the establishment of a Probate Court to handle problems of estates perhaps produced the loudest clamor. Considering the value of estates in the Natchez District, it is not surprising that settlers proved so sensitive to this particular power of appointment by the governor. Despite a vociferous objection to these provisions, the Probate Court functioned satisfactorily until repeal of the Code. In the eyes of territorial residents, Winthrop Sargent may not have been a gracious, or even acceptable, agent of cultural transmission, but he did officially emplant the common law in the territory and build upon it a functioning court system. [6]

Mississippians anticipated many benefits from the election of James Madison as President; high on the list was reform of the judiciary and statutes. So, his appointee as governor, W.C.C. Claiborne, pleased the Assembly in his first address when he called for a "strict adherence to the Federal Constitution" and "justice in the most cheap, easy, and expeditious manner . . . conformably to the Law." [7] Following the amenity of a warm, formal response, the Assembly enacted a completely new judicial system and code of laws which Claiborne hailed as an improvement. [8] He notified President Madison of the repeal of the "greatly defective" Sargent's Code, suggesting that the new statutes "will conduce more to the convenience and protection of the people than those they have heretofore been accustomed to." [9]

The lengthy 1802 judiciary act considerably simplified the court system. It created superior courts, held by the federally appointed territorial justices, who sat twice a year in each of three districts: Adams — Adams and Wilkinson counties; Jefferson — Claiborne and Jefferson counties; and Washington — the huge but sparsely settled eastern county. The superior courts heard both civil and criminal

James Madison

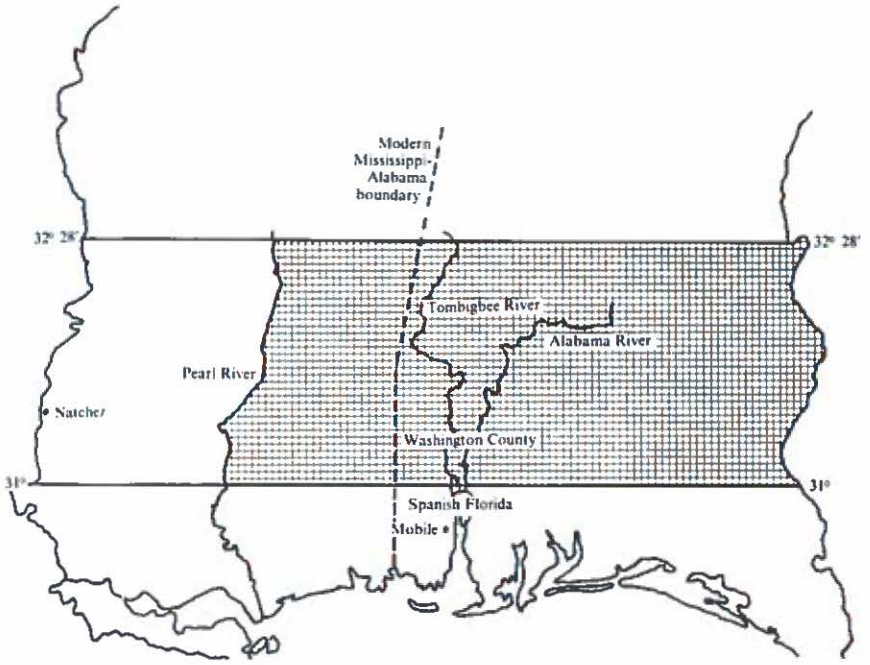
William C.C. Claiborne
USA Photo Archives

cases and sat as courts of law as well as equity. While appeals to them could be made from the county courts, none could be carried beyond superior courts. [10]

Apparently, the volume of appeals from the county courts caused the Assembly to remodel the system in 1805. It created a supreme court, comprised of at least two of the federally appointed territorial justices, which sat twice a year in the county seat of Adams primarily as an appellate court, but it possessed original equity jurisdiction. Though it heard appeals as well as demurrers and motions for new trials, the supreme court could hear original civil cases of "difficulty and magnitude" at the discretion of circuit courts created by the same act. [11]

Presided over by one or more of the territorial judges, the circuit courts met twice a year in each county. However, the court in Washington County, for which Congress authorized a judge of its own because of its isolation, exercised powers of the supreme as well as circuit court with the course open for writs of error from it to the supreme court. [12]

In December 1809 the Assembly abolished the supreme court and combined its powers with those of the former circuit courts which it now styled Superior Courts of Law and Equity. [13] So from 1809 until a final judicial reorganization early in 1814, the territorial judges rode through their districts to preside over the Superior Courts of Law and



Washington County c. 1803 *Marilyn Thomason*

Equity which followed the same calendar of terms as the circuit courts. An act of January 20, 1814 re-established the supreme court as the Supreme Court of Errors and Appeals which sat in Adams County. However, it now had original jurisdiction in all except petty matters which the new law placed under the jurisdiction of the superior courts — actually petty courts at this point. [14] After 1814 the territorial judicial system remained basically unchanged until statehood.

Of all legal institutions, the one which most directly touched the lives of territorial residents was the so-called county court presided over by justices of the peace. Malcolm J. Rohrbough, in his penetrating analysis of the trans-Appalachian frontier, describes the county court as a "focal point of the institutional structure of life in the western country." [15] The experience in Mississippi Territory strongly supports this assertion.

Though the first county courts created by Sargent generated considerable public displeasure, a modified form of the county court endured throughout the territorial period. Along with the militia it was one of the two foundations of local government. [16] To preside over these courts the governor appointed in each county at least five "justi-

ces of the peace and of the quorum" who, as individuals, kept the peace in their districts but who *en banc* sat as the county court. [17] The governor designated one of the appointees as chief justice of the orphans' court, as the county court was known when hearing matters relating to orphans and other persons requiring the custody and protection of the government. Though at first one person may have served as both a justice of the peace and of the quorum, by the late territorial period, justices of the quorum primarily served as county court judges. Other persons serving as justices heard applicable criminal and civil pleadings in their individual districts. [18]

As coroner, notary, and presiding judge in a court with an assortment of criminal as well as civil authorities, the individual justices of the peace wielded considerable power. This is still true in Mississippi and other states with a similar system. [19] In addition to its jurisdictions as a court of law and probate, the county court, *en banc*, supervised a wide array of community affairs. [20] Its administrative responsibilities included designation and construction of roads, determination of tolls, oversight of mills, approval of dams, care of the indigent, lame, blind and other helpless citizens, licensing and setting of rates for taverns, and enforcement of fence laws. [21] The economic as well as social implications of such an assortment of activities point to the significance of these officials and the need for monographic treatment of them similar to that of John Wunder's analysis of their role in Washington Territory. [22]

Until the last decade, scholars tended to malign as "hacks and derelicts" the federally appointed justices of the territorial courts, and at first glance, the territorial bench in Mississippi tended to support this view. However, closer scrutiny of the judges as a group, indicates that they fit the revisionist pattern of effective, competent officials. [23]

On balance, they were educated and literate, if not always formally trained in the law. Four held college degrees from Harvard, Princeton, Trinity in Dublin, and Yale, and three others attended Dartmouth, Princeton, and William and Mary. All but three had read law; one had served as a college president. [24] Indeed, the careers of the men on the Mississippi bench support the assertion of legal historian Kermit Hall that the territorial judiciary represented an "educated elite," comparing quite favorably to other federal judges and congressmen in terms of education. [25]

While the overall record of the judiciary may support the revisionist view, the composition of the very first territorial bench more nearly fits the traditional, less complimentary interpretation. Even Secretary

of State Thomas Pickering acknowledged the need for "an experienced law-character" on the panel, provided one could be found who would accept the post. [26] He was writing after the first two appointments to the bench, Peter Bruin and Daniel Tilton, were made. A native of Ireland who settled in the Natchez District in 1788, Bruin quickly emerged as one of the most colorful and influential partisans of the area. Though not learned in the law, his qualification as a Federalist sufficed to boost him into an office which he occupied until 1809. Only his convivial nature permitted him to serve so long in face of his legendary inebriation. [27] Though he contributed little, if anything, to the judiciary, Bruin's constant involvement in territorial affairs is an example of a judgeship being used as a political power base.

It is clearly demonstrated that education was not the sole prerequisite for success as a frontier judge in the brief career of Daniel Tilton, a signer of the first set of acts in Sargent's Code. This graduate of Harvard who attended Dartmouth and Phillips-Exeter Academy abandoned the territory only months after his arrival, apparently in an effort to reconcile his family responsibilities with those of his office. [28] The only member of the original panel with actual legal experience was William McGuire, a practicing Virginia attorney who had studied law at William and Mary College. However, he too left the territory after less than a year of service, citing low pay as his reason. [29] In addition to the annual salary of $800, the acrimonious political atmosphere during the Sargent administration and the privations of frontier life explain the reluctance of these Easterners to remain in the territory.

The territorial court stabilized with the replacement of McGuire and Tilton by Seth Lewis and David Ker — men already resident in the Old Southwest — and its quality as a judicial body grew throughout the territorial period. Judge Lewis was the son of a London merchant who migrated to West Florida via New England. He became a lawyer and legislator in Tennessee after a childhood on the Mississippi Valley frontier that epitomized the hardship and tragedy of life there. Though described by Governor Claiborne as a "learned lawyer" and a "man of talents," and praised by the Natchez bar for his "clearness of judgement" as well as his "acuteness of perception," Lewis' politically motivated detractors denigrated his honor as a former cobbler, a trade he learned as a destitute youngster. After resigning effective May 1, 1803, Lewis practiced law and served as a territorial attorney before moving in 1810 to a long judicial career in Louisiana. [30]

A graduate of Trinity College in Dublin, Ker migrated before the Revolution to North Carolina where he began careers as a clergyman

and professor, participating in the founding and early administration of the University of North Carolina before turning his interest to the law. In 1801 Ker settled in Mississippi, involved himself in education and government, and obtained an appointment (with Governor Claiborne's assistance) to the bench where he served until his death in January 1805. [31]

In 1870 on a frontier half a continent distant from Mississippi, the governor of Montana Territory begged President Ulysses S. Grant to "send us a Civilizer." He explained that "an able Judge has more power for good here than all the federal officers put together." [32] It is interesting that the most astute chronicler of Mississippi's territorial experience described a judge who arrived in Natchez sixty-seven years prior to that plea in precisely the same terms. According to William B. Hamilton, Judge Thomas Rodney "served his country with energy and good sense, zealous in his civilizing mission and conscious of his responsibilities as a warden of the marches." [33]

After a grueling trip which began in Delaware three and a half months earlier, the fifty-nine year old Rodney arrived in Natchez on December 1, 1803 carrying two commissions, one as a territorial judge, the other as one of the three land commissioners for the district west of the Pearl River. Thus began the final phase of a career full enough to satisfy the ego of even a fairly ambitious man; Thomas Rodney, whose brother Caesar signed the Declaration of Independence, had agitated for and fought in the Revolution, as well as served in the wartime Continental Congress. Many years at the bar, on the bench, and in the halls of assemblies in Delaware prepared Rodney for his roles as land commissioner and judge.

Rodney concluded his responsibility on the commission three and a half years after his arrival with completion of its final report in July 1807. [34] One marvels at his ability to cope with pressures of running back and forth from court to commission without losing both credibility and sanity. But he did — even while the judicial system was undergoing transformation and while having to cover for ill, absent, or ineffectual colleagues. Justice Ker died in January 1805, and George Mathews did not arrive until the following December. Then after only a month he left for a new post. Mathew's successor, Walter Leake, appeared a year and a half later and dissented frequently when he was not out of the territory. Bruin, often under the influence of "John Barleycorn," provided little assistance. Nevertheless, Rodney contributed significantly to establishing the common law in the Mississippi Valley and to the development there of an Anglo-American system of

jurisprudence. Indeed, the only surviving equivalent of territorial supreme court reports for Mississippi Territory is his diary. [35]

His accomplishments as a frontier jurist and land commissioner placed Thomas Rodney far above the majority of his peers, but his zealous sense of mission manifested itself most clearly as an early proponent of what would later be known as "Manifest Destiny." The spirit of '76 also dwelled inside this old colonel. As a "guardian of the frontier," Rodney harbored a keen awareness of the dangers of the Spanish presence in West Florida and advocated American possession of it. [36] A letter to his son several years prior to his death on January 21, 1811 reveals that Rodney truly was a warden of the marches. "If I depart in the West, I shall set like the sun in the Evening of My day, On the border of the Western Ocean. There the Union banner will rest, if Florida is not given up . . . ." [37]

Thomas Jefferson appointed Ephraim Kirby to the judgeship which Congress created in 1804 to placate the isolated settlers in Washington County who sought some degree of law and order. However, the Connecticut native, also a land commissioner east of the Pearl, died at Ft. Stoddert before holding a term of court. [38] Though there were other names suggested, the President assigned Harry Toulmin to the post. He proved to be a strong, positive force in the turbulent Tombigbee region. [39]

With a minister for a father and a bookseller for a mother, Toulmin came by his intellectuality naturally. He left England for Virginia in 1792 where his liberal tendencies were strengthened by his acquaintance with Thomas Jefferson, James Madison, and other Virginia free thinkers. He migrated to Kentucky where he became president of Transylvania Seminary in 1794 and then secretary of state from 1796 to 1802. A man of considerable literary skills, he edited *A Description of Kentucky* (1792) which he concluded with an eloquent commentary on the democratizing influence of the American frontier. [40] Though he compiled a collection of laws and co-authored a commentary on criminal law in Kentucky, he welcomed the opportunity to leave that state where his dissenting religious views were out of tune with those of the more fundamental majority.

Only the hardiest of souls persisted in the Tombigbee settlement after the Spanish drove the British out of Florida during the Revolution. Indeed, the people among whom Toulmin found himself were surrounded by Indians — Creek and Choctaws — and Spanish who controlled access to the Gulf of Mexico. For several years, the new judge — along with the commander at Ft. Stoddert — represented the sole source of law and order. In addition, he filled a variety of subordi-

Judge Harry Toulmin *H.T. Toulmin*

nate roles — postmaster, preacher, medical authority, and outspoken patriot during the War of 1812 — Toulmin effectively acted as the community leader. The judge strengthened his position through cultivation of a wide circle of friends and the marriages of his children. One daughter married the commander of Ft. Stoddert, Edmund Pendleton Gaines, another, the son of General James Wilkinson. His son married the daughter of James Caller. In addition, Jefferson and Madison supported this bright immigrant, whom they remembered from his brief residence in Virginia, as did Governor Holmes. However, Toulmin did have enemies, especially the filibusterers whom he repeatedly restrained from attacking Mobile and other Spanish possessions. [41]

The Mississippi Assembly commissioned the thirty-one year old Toulmin to compile a digest of territorial laws, undoubtedly because of his experiences in Kentucky. Considering the range of Toulmin's

involvement in the affairs of the eastern region, completion of the 1807 digest and a 216 page commentary on court procedures the same year was no mean achievement. [42] Toulmin displayed in these publications a keen perception of the law and an ability to overcome the limitations and impediments of a backwoods frontier environment hundreds of miles from urban centers east or west.

While Rodney and Toulmin migrated to Mississippi with commissions in hand and served at least part of their terms during the territory's formative years, George Poindexter rose to the bench after more than a decade of residence in the Natchez District. [43] To observe that Poindexter was no stranger to the territory and its politics is at best an understatement; in particular he was well acquainted with the judges and their problems. For instance, Rodney had performed his

George Poindexter *Mississippi Department of Archives and History*

marriage. As district attorney he often appeared before their courts, and as territorial delegate to Congress he dealt with attacks on the judiciary, fending off charges against Toulmin and agonizing over Bruin's intemperance and truancy. In Congress Poindexter devoted considerable attention to judicial reform, attempting in 1808 to secure appointment as Bruin's replacement. However, petitioners from the bar apparently dissuaded Madison, despite considerable pressure in Poindexter's behalf from colleagues in the House. So Poindexter remained a territorial delegate, an incumbency that he defended in a particularly abrasive campaign in 1811; its bitterness led to a duel in which he mortally wounded a prominent Natchez merchant, Obijah Hunt.


WASHINGTON REPUBLICAN.

Mississippi Department of Archives and History

On the final day of his term, the Senate confirmed Poindexter's nomination to the territorial bench, a position he held in Mississippi from June 6, 1813 until August 15, 1817. While the sparse surviving evidence indicates that he performed creditably on the bench, his tenure was tempestuous. An acromonious exchange with editor Andrew Marschalk of the *Washington Republican* soon grew into a full-scale battle of headlines between Marschalk and Peter Islec, his counterpart on the *Mississippi Republican*. Eventually, the war of words centered around Poindexter's conduct in the Battle of New Orleans which Marschalk characterized as cowardly. On his return to Natchez, the judge bodily threatened the editor who filed charges before a justice of the peace, an action which resulted in an arrest. Whereupon, Poindexter issued himself a writ of *habeas corpus* which Judge Walter Leake used to effect his release. Marschalk eventually was jailed for libel, but continued his acid scribblings even during his confinement.

Passage of the enabling act authorizing Mississippi's statehood led Poindexter to resign his judgeship so that he could fully participate in the constitutional convention. Thereafter he ran for and was elected as the state's first congressman. Later he served as governor and United States senator.[44] While chief state executive, Poindexter advocated a codification of Mississippi laws. In 1821 the legislature accepted this recommendation and named him as the codifier. As governor, Poindexter also had championed a judicial reform which created district Chancery and county Probate Courts. So in the careers

of Poindexter, Toulmin, and Rodney, similarities outweigh the differences; politicians all, but hardly "hacks and derelicts." [45]

One of the most perplexing questions which these men faced related to the place of their courts within the federal system. [46] To what extent, if any, did territorial courts have federal jurisdiction? In a sense, they were creatures of the territorial Assembly which on several occasions altered their form and jurisdictions. So, which of them were United States courts? And from which of them could appeals be taken to the United States Supreme Court? These questions remained largely unanswered throughout the territorial period, much to the satisfaction of most residents who desired to keep as great a distance as possible between their land claims and the Supreme Court.

For whatever reason the territorial courts in Mississippi served as courts of last resort; there were no appeals of record to the United States Supreme Court. This reality reflected dominant public opinion as well as that of the federally appointed officials. Paradoxically, society perceived its economic self-interest — at least for the time being — best protected by a court system set apart from the main stream of federal jurisprudence. [47] After statehood with land titles apparently secure, leaders of the bar petitioned with other Southwesterners for full-fledged representation in the federal judiciary. [48]

Disputes over the federal nature of the local judiciary persisted, but unanimity characterized the attitude of the legal profession regarding the application of the common law in Mississippi Territory. [49] The ancient system of jurisprudence had to be adapted to fit existing conditions, but the process was based on respect not animosity. Even in Britain the common law was constantly evolving. Colonists soon altered the system which they had carried to Jamestown, and modification continued during the two-century process of transporting it to the Natchez District. While only expert legal scholars can comment on the nuances of such changes, assertions of Rodney, Toulmin, and their fellow "law characters" indicate that the common law was firmly implanted in Mississippi Territory.

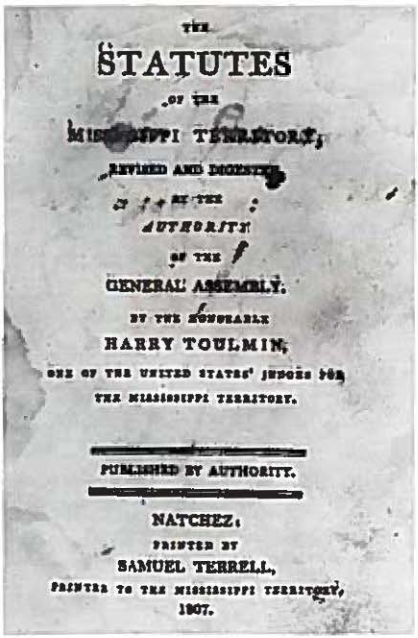
Of the three great bodies of English jurisprudence — common law, statute law, and equity, the first two automatically accompanied American territorial sovereignty over the Natchez District. [50] However, equity or chancery jurisdiction was not bestowed on the courts until a public outcry followed an inequitous decision by the territorial supreme court against a tenacious, courageous Natchez widow who successfully defended her property rights against a local merchant. Phoebe Calvit, who struck a mighty blow for women's rights, won her case in the Court of Common Pleas in 1800, but under appeal, the

Supreme Court ruled for Robert Moore on grounds that the lower court erred in the introduction of parol evidence. [51] In so ruling the judges validated Moore's grant which was generally suspected to be an example of the prior dated Spanish grants. The territorial Assembly, which at first hesitated because of Governor Claiborne's opposition, finally acquiesced to outraged petitioners and conferred equity jurisdiction upon the superior courts. [52] Though some critics persisted, equity or chancery jurisdiction remained through the territorial period and provided legacy for the state judiciary.

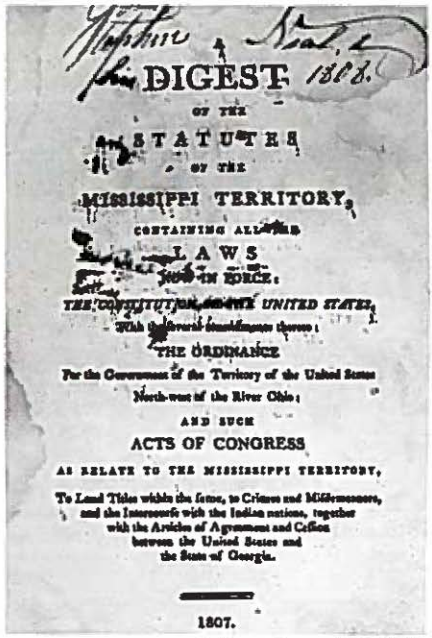
Barristers and jurists also had to learn to cope with a body of law strange to them — the civil codes of Spain. As they dealt with litigation rooted in the Spanish dominion, the judges demonstrated considerable pragmatism and ingenuity. Because Rodney left the only reports of their cases, his theories are best documented, but there are indications that his was a representative view. He asserted unequivocably that Spanish law prevailed in the territory from 1780 until the signing of the Treaty of San Lorenzo on October 27, 1795, at which time Spain "ceded" their dominion to the United States. [53] As many of the commercial transactions under litigation were initiated under Spanish rule, it was not unusual for Spanish law to be introduced in the pleadings. Though federal decisions ran to the contrary, state courts generally concurred with their territorial colleagues on this point.

The accomplishments of the territorial judiciary are impressive by any standard, but they loom even larger when considered in light of the adverse circumstances under which they labored. Even if many of the migrants to the Natchez District were cosmopolitan and urbane, living and working conditions there were primitive. How exasperating it was for men of genteel backgrounds to labor without the rudimentary accoutrements of civilization. Nevertheless, waves of territorial officials would experience the same feeling, one described so aptly by an early Colorado judge who protested that the national administration expected territorial officers "to make bricks without straw." [54]

"The people complain," wrote Governor Claiborne, "that they are ignorant of the laws." [55] The absence of adequate printing facilities plagued all territorial officials, but Sargent had particularly felt this handicap. Andrew Marschalk, the only printer in the territory when Sargent promulgated his code, was an army officer who was transferred from Natchez to Vicksburg where he completed publication of the first laws. [56] He suggested a price of $2.25 each for the two hundred volumes which he delivered in October and November 1799. Copies of territorial acts remained expensive and hard to find until statehood. The Assembly ordered only 200 copies of Toulmin's *Digest* (1807); the



THE
STATUTES
OF THE
MISSISSIPPI TERRITORY,
REVISED AND DIGESTED
BY THE
AUTHORITY
OF THE
GENERAL ASSEMBLY.
BY THE HONORABLE
HARRY TOULMIN,
ONE OF THE UNITED STATES' JUDGES FOR
THE MISSISSIPPI TERRITORY.
PUBLISHED BY AUTHORITY.
NATCHEZ:
PRINTED BY
SAMUEL TERRELL,
PRINTER TO THE MISSISSIPPI TERRITORY,
1807.



DIGEST 1808.
OF THE
STATUTES
OF THE
MISSISSIPPI TERRITORY,
CONTAINING ALSO
THE
LAWS
NOW IN FORCE:
THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES,
With the several Amendments thereto;
THE ORDINANCE
For the Government of the Territory of the United States
North-west of the River Ohio;
AND SUCH
ACTS OF CONGRESS
AS RELATE TO THE MISSISSIPPI TERRITORY,
To Land Titles within the same, to Crimes and Misdemeanors,
and the Intercourse with the Indian nations, together
with the Articles of Agreement and Cession
between the United States and
the State of Georgia.
1807.

Museums of the City of Mobile

lawmakers did increase to 1200 the quantity of *Turner's Digest*, completed shortly before statehood. [57]

A lack of courtrooms, judges' chambers, jails, offices for clerks, and other court facilities plagued the judiciary. Until the erection of public buildings, homes, stores, taverns — any protection from the elements had to suffice. For example, judges often found accomodations on military posts. [58] As late as 1805 the dearth of facilities remained so acute that officials vied with one another for the available structures. [59] On all frontiers fire remained a constant hazard, and even after the construction of public buildings, many burned down. [60] However, it was not the facilities that generated complaints from the judges. For all types — gentlemen as well as yeomen — anticipated privations associated with frontier life.

The federally appointed judges did expect ample remuneration, and the grossly inadequate salary of $800 per year created considerable difficulties for them. That salary, complained Thomas Rodney in 1804, was "Not Sufficient to Maintain a Man and Home without a Servant." [61] Two years later he blamed the problems facing the territorial bench on the money it paid judges. "It is no doubt Difficult to Prevail on any Fit person to Come here from the States for the trifling Salary," wrote Rodney, who recommended instead the appointment of a territorial resident. [62] Rodney clearly implied there that a colleague

who had already established himself financially might be more willing and able to accept so low-paying a position. Earlier he had affirmed that practicing attorneys of "respectable standing" earned far more than he and his colleagues. [63]

No aspect of the territorial experience can be more readily documented than the inadequacy of salaries. Judges were not singled out; all of the officers complained that their pay was too low in comparison to the cost of living. Harry Toulmin, who doubted that a family could be "decently supported for double the sum," blamed the inequity on the fallacy of comparing the cost of living in Mississippi with that in the Northwest Territory. [64] Since this parsimonious congressional policy persisted throughout the 19th century in far western territories, one wonders whether or not it was based on ignorance of high prices on the constantly moving frontier or on an unstated assumption that territorial officials would profit by their positions. In Mississippi perhaps, congressmen assumed that officials would speculate in land or commerce; later, in the Rocky mountains, in minerals. Secretary of State Thomas Pickering, in explaining the low salary to a prospective jurist, indicated the Congress assumed that officials would have other sources of income. Then he tempted his correspondent, "You will doubtless duly appreciate the cheapness of good land in the Natchez country." [65]

Politics provided another hazard for members of the territorial bench. Though political campaigns sometimes were fought under a facade of Republican and Federalist banners, family and factional alignments rather than party principles divided the combatants. Though judges in Mississippi occasionally suffered from partisan attack, their problems were mild compared to those of judges who served after the maturity of the two party system. For example, political chicanery was particularly venomous west of the Mississippi following the Civil War due to bitter memories of the sectional struggle and intense national party differences. [66]

However, Mississippi's territorial judiciary was not immune to pressure from the Assembly and other sources. Seth Lewis bore the brunt of reaction against the Sargent administration and the ire of citizens over the Phoebe Calvit case. [67] Tempers flared so in the Assembly that Governor Claiborne described the clash to James Madison as a "violent dispute." Though Judge Lewis withstood the heat for a while, he finally resigned on May 15, 1803. [68]

Though age and infirmity, not politics, ended Thomas Rodney's career, he was no stranger to the political fray. On the death of his colleague David Ker, who was aligned with the faction of Acting

Governor Cato West, Rodney engaged in one of the most acrimonious exchanges of the period with assemblyman John Shaw, spokesman for West. Shaw published a proposed resolution — which failed to gain approval of the Assembly's lower house — in which he asked the President for speedy replacement of Ker and in which he denigrated others on the bench for their "want of legal talents, knowledge and acquirement." Rodney, in a piece signed as "Veritas," responded to the "quandam pill-maker late from the frog ponds of North Carolina." In part he wrote: "It has become proverbial, that he is capable of every meanness. Contemptible below all manner of conception, — versed in little villainies, — possessing a soul depraved and black as _____." [69] Despite the bitterness of this exchange, it spawned no serious political attack on the bench.

Of the other judges who served in Mississippi, Toulmin and Poindexter most frequently found themselves in the political arena. Considering the extent of Toulmin's involvement in the affairs of the entire Tombigbee settlement, one wonders how he avoided as much controversy as he did, especially in view of the popularity of filibustering activities. As for Poindexter, his remarkable career in Mississippi politics extended from his appointment in 1803 as attorney general for the district west of the Pearl River to 1856 when he lost his bid for reelection to the U.S. Senate.

One explanation of the laudable performance of the territorial bench may be the quality and character of the lawyers who practiced before it. While attorneys seem ubiquitous frontier types, the extraordinary opportunities in the Natchez District attracted large numbers who possessed considerably more skill and sophistication than the run-of-the-mill country lawyer. Extensive litigation over valuable land claims and a flourishing mercantile trade provided lucrative fees. Thus, the better attorneys had little need to take criminal cases to maintain their respectable incomes. The size of the bar also indicates a livelier legal profession than most new areas supported. Dunbar Rowland lists 200 attorneys who practiced in the Mississippi Territory, and the number undoubtedly exceeded his figure. [70]

Accounts of frontier lawyers generally leave an impression that they often were armed only with Blackstone and a bag full of stories to delight juries. However, practice in Mississippi according to Rodney demanded much more, including the ability to speak a "mingled Jargon." [71] Because attorneys encountered litigation predating American dominion, the most accomplished ones could cite Spanish intellectuals such as Jose Febrero and Francophones such as Jean Domat. The finesse with which attorneys relied on rarely-used common law

pleadings and their knowledge of obscure English statutes also indicated assiduous research. [72] Indeed, the leaders of the bench and the bar challenged and sharpened each other's skills, contributing to the quality of both professions in the territory.

The bar was also well regulated. Sargent's Code provided that prospective attorneys present their credentials to the governor to obtain a license. [73] The Assembly kept this provision in the new laws passed in 1802 and provided a penalty of $200 for each offense of practicing without a license. [74] Felons were ineligible for a license; fines for malpractice, which could result in disbarment, ranged from $25 to $2000. In addition, the Assembly established a schedule of basic fees for attorneys. [75] There is no evidence that members of the bar objected to these measures which raised their professional standards and incomes.

Characteristically, members of the legal fraternity left an important legacy in the libraries which they collected. Indeed, Hamilton's studies indicated that Toulmin and other legal authorities were not alone in the possession of commentaries and statutes. Additional evidence of the existence of libraries, which given prevailing conditions were substantial, was offered by bibliographer Michael H. Harris who demonstrated that lawyers on the Indian frontier gathered surprisingly large libraries. [76]

According to Harris' statistics, texts by famed English jurists — Blackstone, Bacon, Chitty, and Peake — were the most common volumes in personal libraries, a fact strongly supportive of Hamilton's conclusions. Law books retained their value and sometimes even appreciated. The late date at which the Assembly established a law library may indicate the degree of availability of treatises and statutes in private collections. The 1815 act authorizing the secretary to purchase a collection also revealed the sophistication of assemblymen and attorneys; in addition to the expected statutes and reference works, the list included volumes by Montesquieu, Vattelle, and Adam Smith.

Indeed, the impact of members of the bench and bar on territorial society defies simple description. Their roles were as complex as they were consequential; they acted as transformers as well as transmitters of Anglo- American culture. The story of the courts, the counsellors, and the litigants is the story of the territory and of the nation. Yet scholars who argue that frontiersmen lived in an emulative society do not find undisturbed comfort in a study of the law.

Hamilton did his graduate work during the ascendency of Turner's critics; he wrote his book on Rodney as the anti-Turnerian movement peaked. By then the thrust of Hamilton's research interest

had changed to British history. By his own admission, frontiersmen adapted the common law to suit their needs. Future legal historians may compare the nature and role of changes in the Mississippi Valley with those in England. The jurists and their constituents tended to accept portions of the law less agreeable to the Easterners (equity), and they displayed considerable practicality and ingenuity in the blending of Spanish and French codes with English law. Also, in view of Hamilton's criticism of Turner's frontier thesis, it is interesting that he recognized that land was the foundation of the territory's wealth. "The major questions raised by legal minds in the region were not matters for academic debate, coolly distant from the concerns of the common man, but realistic problems in which the material interests of the majority were at stake." [77]

Historians can be as equivocal and ambiguous as the proverbial Philadelphia lawyer when evaluating the role of the law in Mississippi's territorial experience. We can cite the courts as evidence, on the one hand, of regional influence, and on the other, as illustrative of our colonial and early national heritage. But the conclusion is inescapable that in the diverse and contentious society of territorial Mississippi the one institution that could "cement the society together" was the law. [78]

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Notes

[1] For a discussion of the role of the common law and other English law in the Mississippi Valley see William B. Hamilton, "The Transmission of English Law to the Frontier of America," *The South Atlantic Quarterly* 67 (Spring 1968): 243-64.

[2] Ibid., 260. Hamilton, a Duke professor whose early work centered on Mississippi in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, later devoted his career to British history. In his commentary on the common law in Mississippi, he laid down numerous research challenges which only historians trained in the law can accept. See his *Anglo-American Law on the Frontier: Thomas Rodney and His Territorial Cases* (Durham, 1953), 117-155. In this work he also edits four of Rodney's notebooks —covering cases from February 1804 through June 1809 — which relate testimony, evidence, and leadings in amazing detail, 159-173.

[3] Clarence Edwin Carter, ed., *The Territorial Papers of the United States* (Washington, 1934) II: 42-43.

[4] John Wunder, "American Law and Order Comes to Mississippi Territory: The Making of Sargent's Code, 1798-1800," *Journal of Mississippi History* (JMH) XXX-VIII (May 1976): 131-56. Manuscript copies as well as photographic copies of the printed Code are in the Mississippi Department of Archives and History (MDAH). However, Sargent's Code is reprinted with an introduction by William N. Ethridge. *American Journal of Legal History* II (1967): 148-189, 282-346.

[5] Residents harshly criticized Sargent for violating the Ordinance of 1787 by "making" rather than "adopting" laws, charges which must be understood in the context of intense factionalism.

[6] For a resume of the various non-judicial aspects of the forty-six sections of Sargent's Code see Wunder, "American Law and Order."

[7] Address to the Assembly, December 2, 1801, Executive Journal, RG2-11, MDAH.

[8] Statement of Assembly, December 4, 1801, RG2-11, MDAH; "An Act to provide for the more convenient organization of the Courts of this territory," January 26, 1802, RG5-2, MDAH. Printed in laws of 1801-1802, photostat copy without title page, MDAH.

[9] Claiborne to Madison, January 20, 1802, Executive Journal, RG2-11, MDAH.

[10] Act of January 26, 1802, RG5-2, MDAH. For comparison of the court structure in Mississippi Territory with those in the Northwest, see Jack E. Eblen, *The First and Second United States Empires: Governors and Territorial Government, 1784-1912* (Pittsburgh, 1968), 117-137.

[11] Act of March 2, 1805, RG5-4, MDAH.

[12] Act of March 27, 1804, 2 *STAT* 301, MDAH.

[13] Act of December 22, 1809, *Turner's Digest* (Natchez, 1816), 178-9.

[14] Act of January 20, 1814, *Turner's Digest*, 200-201.

[15] Malcolm J. Rohrbough, *The Trans-Appalachian Frontier: Peoples, Societies, and Institutions, 1775-1850* (New York, 1978), 182. Rohrbough placed great importance on the need of frontiersmen for security and stability and suggested that the county court effectively provided the latter requirement.

[16] The districts presided over by the justices of the peace coincided with those of the captains of the militia; governors at times appointed nominees of the militia companies. See Henry Daingerfield, Acting Governor, to John Donaho, December 28, 1811, Carter, *Territorial Papers*, VI: 257.

[17] *Turner's Digest*, 314-27.

[18] While it is difficult to distinguish a justice of the peace from a justice of the quorum by reading the statutes where the titles are often used either in combination or interchangeably, it is evident from separate oaths and from Appointment Records that a clear distinction existed. By the later territorial period, some appointees were designated on commissions as justices of the quorum and others as justices of the peace. One of the former was indicated chief justice. Though in the early years the

same person may have served in both capacities, that practice obviously was eventually discontinued. See Appointment Records, RG2-MF12, MDAH.

[19] Such was the collective power of justices of the peace in Mississippi that they successfully lobbied for the abolition of a judicial council which recommended drastic changes in the JP system during the 1980 legislative session.

[20] *Turner's Digest*, 131-33.

[21] *Turner's Digest*, 292, 345-46, 366-68, 397, 425.

[22] John R. Wunder, *Inferior Courts, Superior Justice: A History of the Justices of the Peace on the Northwest Frontier, 1853-1889* (Westport, CT, 1979). Hamilton conducted a cursory search of the question, concluding that, while many JP's owned considerable property, some paid virtually no real estate taxes. William B. Hamilton, "American Beginnings in the Old Southwest: The Mississippi Phase," (Ph.D. diss., Duke University, 1937), 279.

[23] For an example of a revisionist historian's views see Kermit L. Hall, "Hacks and Derelicts Revisited: The American Territorial Judiciary, 1789-1899," unpublished paper read at the December 1979 meeting of the American Historical Association; John D. W. Guice, *The Rocky Mountains Bench: The Territorial Supreme Courts of Colorado, Montana, and Wyoming* (New Haven, 1972); Mark K. B. Tachare, *Federal Courts in Early Republic Kentucky* (Princeton, 1979).

[24] For dates of commissions, see Carter, *Territorial Papers*, I: 19; this summary is based on Dunbar Rowland, *Courts, Judges, and Lawyers of Mississippi, 1798-1935* (Jackson, 1935), 11-44. Rowland had access to and was familiar with a massive collection of manuscript sources, though these biographical sketches are in some cases quite incomplete if generally accurate.

[25] Hall, "Hacks and Derelicts Revisited." Statistics generated by this massive analysis of biographies should stimulate further studies of the judiciary and other officials.

[26] Thomas Pickering to Andrew Ellicott, May 11, 1798, Carter, *Territorial Papers*, V: 34.

[27] Though Rowland in his *Courts, Judges, and Lawyers* makes no reference to Bruin's problem with alcohol, Carter, *Territorial Papers* contains many references to it (V: 428, 489, 510, 615). Judge Thomas Rodney's observations indicate that these criticisms had a basis in fact, not just in politics. See Hamilton, *Anglo-American Law*, 74.

[28] Rowland, *Courts*, 11-12; Carter, *Territorial Papers*, V: 81, 129, 178.

[29] Rowland, *Courts*, 13-16.

[30] Rowland, *Courts*, 16-18; Carter, *Territorial Papers*, V: 215; W.C.C. Claiborne to Secretary of State James Madison in Claiborne, Mississippi, 223. Petition, November 2, 1802, Carter, *Territorial Papers*, V: 179-80.

[31] Kemp P. Battle, *History of the University of North Carolina*, 2 vols. (Raleigh, 1907-1912), I: 140. Rowland, *Courts*, 18-19; Carter, *Territorial Papers*, V: 184, 373.

[32] Guice, *Rocky Mountain Bench*, 137.

[33] Hamilton, *Anglo-American Law*, 3-90. For the following biographical sketch of Rodney, the author relied on Hamilton's exhaustive search of the voluminous Rodney papers in a half-dozen repositories as well as Carter's *Territorial Papers* and government documents in Mississippi.

[34] *American State Papers, Public Records*, I: 598 ff.

[35] Hamilton, *Anglo-American Law*, 149-473.

[36] Ibid., 76. Rodney's attitude supports Robert Remini's strong emphasis on the concern for national security shaping the history of the Old Southwest. See Remini's *Andrew Jackson and the Course of American Empire, 1767-1821* (New York, 1977).

[37] Rodney to C. A. Rodney, December 17, 1806, cited in Hamilton, *Anglo-American Law*, 90.

[38] Carter, *Territorial Papers*, V: 303, 356.

[39] Ibid., V: 353-5, 367. For an indication of Toulmin's involvement, see the indices for Carter, *Territorial Papers*, V and VI.

[40] Thomas D. Clark, ed., *A Description of Kentucky* . . . by Harry Toulmin (Lexington, 1945), ix-xiii. For additional bibliograhpy, see Haynes, "A Political History," 137, n. 54.

[41] Haynes, "A Political History," 238-40; Leland L. Lengel, "Keeper of the Peace: Harry Toulmin in the West Florida Controversy, 1805-1813," (M.A. Thesis, Duke University, 1962).

[42] Cited here as *Toulmin's Digest* and *The Magistrates' Assistant*, both printed by Samuel Terrell, Natchez, 1807. For half-page titles and collation, see Douglas C. McMurtrie, *A Bibliography of Mississippi Imprints, 1798-1830* (Beauvoir Community, MS, 1945).

[43] The following comments on Poindexter are based on Sunna Smith, "George Poindexter: A Political Biography," (Ph.D. diss., USM, 1980), especially chapters 2-6.

[44] Territorial judge Walter Leake also later served as state governor.

[45] The improvement in the quality of the territorial bench of 1817 becomes apparent by comparison with the Northwest Territory. See Eblen, *The First and Second U.S. Empires*, 129.

[46] Hamilton, "American Beginnings," 300-309; Hamilton enlarges upon and refines his treatment in *Anglo-American Law*, 91-115.

[47] While legislative intent for federal jurisdiction appears clear, Congress may have accepted the vague judicial situation for reasons similar to those of territorial residents.

[48] Michael deL. Landon, "The Mississippi State Bar Association, 1821-1825," *JMH* XLII (August 1980): 235-37.

[49] Readers not acquainted with the legal terms used should consult *Black's Law Dictionary*.

[50] Some authorities suggest that litigants in the territories felt a stronger need for equity than those in the original states where a prejudice against that system existed. See Francis S. Philbrick (ed.), *The Laws of Illinois Territory*. Collections of the Illinois State Historical Library, XXV, Law Series, Vol. V (Springfield, 1950): xli.

[51] Parol evidence, which in this case was probably oral testimony, is evidence that is extraneous to written documents.

[52] For details of the case and a description of Phoebe Calvit see Hamilton, *Anglo-American Law*, 129-30; also Haynes, "A Political History," 88-89; Petition of August 4, 1801, RG5-14, MDAH.

[53] Hamilton, *Anglo-American Law*, 132-36.

[54] Chief Justice Benjamin F. Hall to Attorney General Edward Bates, August 17, 1861 in Guice, *Rocky Mountain Bench*, 38.

[55] Governor W.C.C. Claiborne to Secretary of State James Madison, Natchez, February 5, 1802, cited in Claiborne, *Mississippi*, 224; W.C.C. Claiborne to James Ferrall, February 23, 1802, RG2-11, MDAH.

[56] For an account of this fascinating episode, see William B. Hamilton (ed.), "The Printing of the 1799 Laws of the Mississippi Territory," *JMH*, II (April, 1940): 88-99; Charles Sydnor, "The Beginning of Printing in Mississippi," *Journal of Southern History* I (February 1935): 49-55; Winthrop Sargent to Cushing, July 21, 1799; Cushing to Sargent, July 23, 1799, Letterbook of Major Thomas Cushing. RG 98, National Archives.

[57] *Turner's Digest*, 245-251, 472-3.

[58] Cushing to Captain John Wade, Fort Sargent, January 31, 1800, Letters sent, Commanding Officer, Troops in Mississippi Territory, July 1799 - May, 1800, Cushing Letterbook, RG 98, NA.

[59] Exchange of letters between Judge Thomas Rodney and Governor Robert Williams, Carter, *Territorial Papers*, V: 406-8.

[60] Financial records show the buildings were modest. An Adams County courthouse and jail, replacing one destroyed by fire, cost $380 in 1807. Acts of January 8 and February 7, 1807, RG5-4, MDAH.

[61] Rodney to President Thomas Jefferson, July 27, 1804. Carter, *Territorial Papers*, V: 328-9.

[62] Rodney to President Thomas Jefferson, December 14, 1806, Ibid., 489.

[63] Rodney to Secretary of State Thomas Pickering, January 24, 1805, Ibid., 373.

[64] Toulmin to Delegate William Lattimore, December 6, 1805, Ibid., 436.

[65] Pickering to William McGuire, July 24, 1798, Ibid., 41.

[66] See Guice, *Rocky Mountain Bench*, particularly chapter 6.

[67] Haynes, "A Political History," 88-89.

[68] Governor W.C.C. Claiborne to James Madison, February 5, 1805, Claiborne, *Mississippi*, 224; Lewis to James Madison, April 16, 1803, Carter, *Territorial Papers*, V: 215.

[69] Letter to the Natchez *Herald*, February 20, 1805 and memorial printed in the Natchez *Messenger*, together with explanatory notes, Ibid., 378-9; also see Hamilton, *Anglo-American Law*, 73.

[70] Rowland, *Courts, Judges and Lawyers*, 45-75. Rowland makes no claim for the inclusiveness of his list. It is probable that some of the attorneys' names who practiced in the earlier period have been lost. In his *Anglo-American Law*, Hamilton includes commentary on attorneys as their names appear as counsel in Rodney's reports.

[71] Hamilton, "American Beginnings," 298-300.

[72] Hamilton, "The Transmission of English Law," 252-53.

[73] Wunder, "The Making of Sargent's Code," 141.

[74] Acts of January 30 and May 13, 1802 as amended February 10, 1807, *Turner's Digest*, 60-62.

[75] Act of March 6, 1805, RG5-4, MDAH.

[76] Michael H. Harris, "The Frontier Lawyer's Library; Southern Indiana, 1800-1850, As a Test Case," *American Journal of Legal History* 16 (July 1972): 239-251. A cursory examination of estate inventories indicates that Mississippi's pioneer lawyers collected libraries as substantial as Harris found and probably larger.

[77] Hamilton, "American Beginnings," 283.

[78] Hamilton, *Anglo-American Law*, viii.

Pensacola's Seville Square Historic District

Text and Photographs by Michael Thomason

When you visit the Seville Square Historic District, you not only learn about the history and heritage of Pensacola but also gain a sense of how her people feel about their past. There are museums, shops, restored houses and the delightful square itself, but the most important ingredient is a sense of welcoming vitality. There are things to do and see, and people want to help you do and see them. History is alive and well around Seville Square.

The district is compact and walking is easy. Bring a picnic or have a sandwich or a meal in a nearby restaurant and enjoy a visit to a 19th century town. Facing the square itself, which is used for everything from weddings to the Greater Gulf Coast Arts Festival, stands old Christ Church. Built in 1832, it originally served as the home of the city's oldest Episcopal congregation and after 1936 as a public library. In August 1960 the Pensacola Historic Society took the building and made it a museum. After a pleasant lunch in the park, Christ Church offers an interesting introduction to Pensacola's long and colorful history. Preservationists will certainly feel that the Pensacola Historical Museum in Christ Church is a fine example of "adaptive reuse," while others will simply enjoy poking around among the memorabilia assembled there. A short stroll down Zaragoza Street brings you to the Transportation Museum and The Museum of West Florida History. The Transportation Museum recreates a turn of the century Pensacola street, complete with a trolley car for the kids to climb around on. Across the street the Museum of West Florida History offers a variety of displays and "hands on" opportunities to explore the region's past.

From the small shops and historic houses which dot the district to Seville Quarter, home of Rosie O'Gradys et al., there is a lot to see and enjoy anytime. If tranquility and a relaxed introduction to regional history are not enough come back for Mardi Gras, the Fiesta of Five Flags, an evening in Old Seville, the Seafood Festival or the Greater Gulf Coast Arts Festival. These events occurring throughout the year bring crowds into the district and Pensacola seems one big neighborhood.

The museums are open year round, except Sundays and holidays, and admission is free. A picnic in the park and a stroll along the tree lined streets (with such romantic names as Florida Blanca or Intendencia) costs nothing. Parking is free and the people are friendly. You don't have to be a history buff to enjoy the Seville Square Historic District, and there are lots of things for children to see and do. While

you are in the area, drive along Palafox and see the fine renovation going on in the city center (go west on Zaragoza) or take Alcaniz Street to old St. Michael's cemetary. As you walk through that 19th century necropolis, look to the north. Adjoining the cemetery is the new civic center and the Hilton hotel which uses the old L & N railroad terminal as its lobby. From Palafox to the Hilton with Seville Square in its center, Pensacola is preserving its history and building its future. It's done on a truly human scale and that's certainly nice to see. The city's historic district is well worth the trip, and thanks to I-110, travelers can reach it easily from I-10.

Christ Church/ Pensacola Historical Museum

Greater Gulf Coast Arts Festival, Seville Square

Interior of Christ Church/ Pensacola Historical Museum

Weaving Demonstration, Museum of West Florida History

Clio's Notes

Springtime is a nice time for meetings along the coast and March was a great month for Civil War buffs. The Gulf Coast History and Humanities Conference scheduled for March 6-8 focused on the topic "The Civil War Along the Gulf Coast." Dr. Grace Ernest coordinated the meeting, which was held at the Pensacola Hilton Hotel. Three weeks later the first annual Gulf Coast Civil War Conference was scheduled for March 28-29 at the Sheraton-Tampa in Tampa, Florida. A variety of papers dealt with topics which included, but were not limited to, Gulf Coast subjects. It was sponsored by the Civil War Round Table Associates. For information about future meetings contact John L. Russell, National Chairman, CWRT, P.O. Box 7388, Little Rock, AR 72217.

The Alabama Historical Association's annual meeting will be held in Mobile April 24-26. Hundreds of people from all over the state will converge on the city's Riverview Plaza for a weekend of scholarly activities and some more frivolous pursuits as well. For information contact Mr. Caldwell Delaney, Museums of the City of Mobile, 355 Government Street, Mobile, AL 36602.

The next day, Sunday, the Society of Alabama Archivists and the Society of Mississippi Archivists gather at the University of Southern Mississippi's Gulf Park Conference Center for a joint conference. Its theme will be "Eighty-five Years and Counting: The Archival Profession in Alabama, Mississippi and the Nation." For more information about this meeting which concludes at mid-day April 29, contact Beth Muskat, Alabama Department of Archives and History, 624 Washington Avenue, Mongtomery, AL 36130 or Terry LaTour, University of Southern Mississippi, Southern Station, Box 5148, Hattiesburg, MS 39406.

The *GCHR* continues to sponsor its essay contest described in our first issue. The new deadline for submissions is September 1st. For more information write our managing editor. The address is at the end of this column.

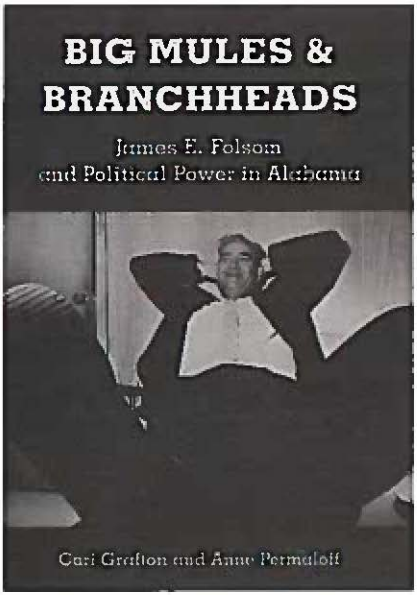
The October 31-November 3 Oral History Association meeting at Pensacola was disrupted by the late arrival of Hurricane Juan, a guest no one invited. Naturally airline schedules were upset and the weather was hardly what it might have been (Rain in October?), but those who did make it to the Pensacola Hilton enjoyed the wide ranging program of a major national scholarly association.

Next fall another national historical society will meet in Pensacola. Smaller and less well known than the Oral History Association, The Leica Historical Society of America (LHSA) will bring scores of enthusiasts, collectors and scholars from all over the world to the city. For more information contact Gordon Thiel, 8435 Lofton Drive, Pensacola, FL 32514. Gordon, who is vice-president of the LSHA, assures us that while he hopes that people who are interested in using, collecting and studying Leicas — the cameras that launched the 35mm photographic revolution — will join the association, the convention is open to everyone.

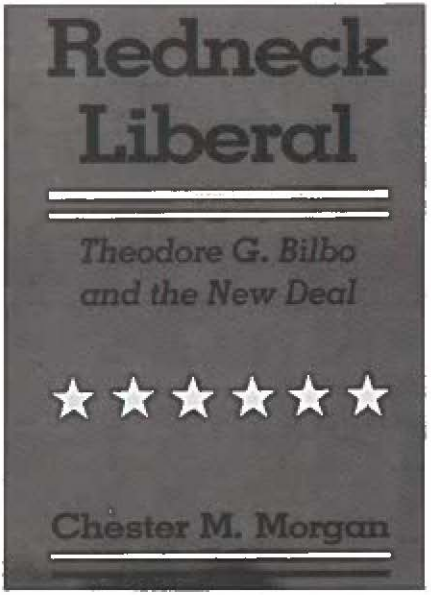
So, there are all sorts of meetings scheduled in our area over the next few months. Coupled with the new publications dealing with the Gulf Coast, several of which the *GCHR* reviews in this issue, there is much to do for the historically inclined. By the time you read this, Virginia Parks' new book, *Pensacola: Spaniards to Space Age*, published by the Pensacola Historical Society, should be available and we hope to review it soon. Ms. Parks is the editor of the society's magazine, *Pensacola History Illustrated.*

If we missed an event or publication that you think should have been in *Clio's Notes*, or if there's something coming up that we ought to know about and publicize, drop us a line. Write the *GCHR*, Humanities 344, University of South Alabama, Mobile, AL 36688.

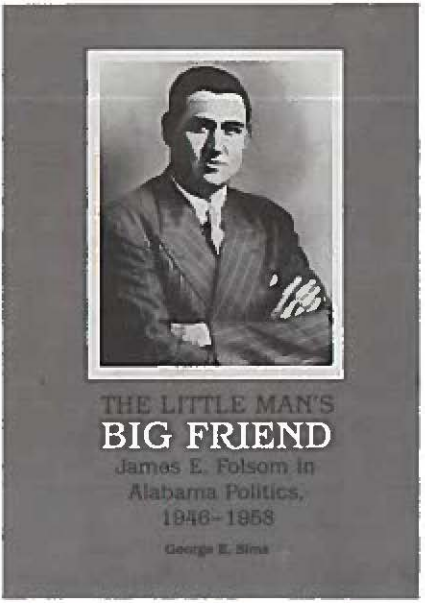
Book Reviews



The University of Georgia Press



Louisiana State University Press,



The University of Alabama Press,

"Big Mules," "Rednecks," "Gentlemen" and "Peckerwoods:" Class and Race in Twentieth Century Southern Politics

Samuel L. Webb

Carl Grafton and Anne Permaloff. *Big Mules and Branchheads: James E. Folsom and Political Power in Alabama*. Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1985, pp. 360. $27.50.

Chester M. Morgan. *Redneck Liberal: Theodore G. Bilbo and the New Deal*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1986, pp. 274. $27.50.

George E. Sims. *The Little Man's Big Friend: James E. Folsom in Alabama Politics, 1946-1958*. University: University of Alabama Press, 1985, pp. 328. $29.50.

In no other region of America have rhetorical excesses, colorful public behavior and irrational conduct been more a part of political life than in the South, and no part of the nation has a more misunderstood or misinterpreted political past. In the theater of twentieth century Southern politics the posturing of the leading actors and the racial overtones of the script have obscured the primary plot. We have had the absurdity of Gene Talmadge calling for the dismissal of everyone in Georgia state government with more than an eighth grade education, and the tragedy of Mississippi gubernatorial candidate Paul Johnson, Jr. in 1963 referring to the NAACP as "Niggers, apes, coons and possums." Such incidents contributed to the construction of myths leading to widespread prejudices about Southern politicians, about their motives and their lack of sophistication in the art of governing. Many writers, when called upon to describe the politics of the region, have consequently responded by emphasizing surface

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characteristics. They have been unwilling to concede or unable to recognize the complexity of an underlying political struggle that transcends race, while at the same time including it.

Illuminating that struggle and challenging the myths are three recent biographies. One, with the unlikely title of *Redneck Liberal: Theodore G. Bilbo and the New Deal* is by Chester Morgan, a University of Southern Mississippi historian. George Sims, another historian, has written a book about former Alabama Governor James E. "Big Jim" Folsom entitled *The Little Man's Big Friend*. In *Big Mules and Branchheads* Carl Grafton and Anne Permaloff, two political scientists, have also examined the political career of Folsom. All are excellent additions to the study of Southern history and should be taken seriously by scholars interested in the politics of the region. Myths contain a particle of truth, however, and are sometimes impervious to the attacks of scholars, particularly when they are vital to the elite that created them.

Two pervasive examples were described by George Brown Tindall. "It seems to be a proposition generally taken for granted now," he said, "that the South is, by definition, conservative and always has been." The image of a "Senator Claghorn," holding forth against the enlightened forces of Northern liberalism in a phony cornpone accent, is all too familiar as a set piece of American popular culture. Charles Laughton played the part to perfection in the movie version of Allen Drury's *Advise and Consent*. Another prevalent myth is that of the "benighted South," a region filled with racist ignoramuses. No movie or novel about a small Southern town would be complete without a host of pot-bellied law enforcement officers and their slackjawed friends, all of whom have nothing to do but intimidate black people. This image, said Tindall, "established certain presuppositions about what is to be recognized as 'typically Southern.'"

Cultural and social myths within the region itself, prevalent among both conservative and liberal elites, about how the "best people" are supposed to act, talk and dress and about what racists look and sound like, led to a simplistic view of the great mass of Southern whites, denying their humanity and that of their folk hero politicians. In much the same way that the Negro became an "invisible man" before the civil rights movement, stereotypes about "rednecks," "peckerwoods," "crackers," and "greasers" served as a mask that allowed the common whites to be dismissed as real people. It was much easier for Northern liberals to sympathize with Negroes than with poor whites, and easier still for wealthy Southerners to blame the problems of their region on their ill-mannered redneck brothers.

It did not matter that the poor whites were often caught in a cycle of poverty similar to that which held the black man, nor did it matter that many of them were also disenfranchised by poll taxes and literacy tests. Those who lived in the foothills and the mountains were deprived of adequate representation in the state legislatures by Black Belt and Delta "gentlemen" whose primary mission in politics was the domination of blacks and poor whites. The ability of the gentlemen to maintain control of the region for most of the century contributed to the generalization that the South was conservative, even reactionary. This conservatism, however, was articial and did not reflect the views of a majority of Southern whites, many of whom were frozen out of power by the voting restrictions and gerrymandered legislatures.

Meanwhile, the myth of the "benighted South" gained credence from such incidents as the Scopes "Monkey Trial," the Scottsboro rape case, the beating of freedom riders and the murder of civil rights workers. The benighted image of Southern politics was reinforced by the men who became popularly known as the "Southern demagogues." Despite the existence in the North of such obviously unlettered and unscrupulous politicians as Frank Hague of New Jersey and James M. Curley of Boston, the image of political darkness seemed to fall exclusively on the South. What commentators could not explain was the existence, side by side with conservatism and demagoguery, of a reform tradition that at times moved to the left of Northern progressives and liberals.

The liberal-humanitarian impulse in the South was often led, not by gentlemen and scholars, but by earthy rednecks ingloriously labeled "demagogue." It has been difficult for the most tolerant historian to rank them high on the list of humantarians. Scholars are more likely to place Hugo Black or Lister Hill in that category because these men were educated, prudish in their personal habits and dignified in their public conduct. Yet, even Black and Hill were forced to resort to the rhetoric of the common man to get elected. The backbone of their support was the "little people," that great mass of whites outside the ruling circle whose friends and relatives kept turning up at Ku Klux Klan meetings and anti-evolution parades.

This ironic situation was further compounded by the fact that so many of the leftists fit the demagogue mold. Intellectuals writing in the liberal tradition have always shared with wealthy conservatives a preference for genteel behavior and a love affair with sophisticated style. C. Vann Woodward saw their dilemma and warned them about it in his essay "The Populist Heritage and the Intellectual." Politics, he said, "are not ordinarily conducted in a seemly fashion by the learned

and reflective." All reform movements have had "their seamy side and their share of the irrational, the zany and the retrograde." In order for reform to remain a possibility, "intellectuals must not be alienated from the sources of revolt." There will be "future upheavals to shock the seats of power and privilege" and they will contain their repulsive side. Woodward understood that intellectuals wanted to mold reform movements in a proper image, but he knew that those who needed the reforms would pick champions with whom they, not their intellectual superiors, could identify.

There were a group of Southern politicians whose visceral identification with the "little people" transcended that of a reformer like Hugo Black and, unlike a Black or a Hill, potentially threatened the "seats of power and privilege." Their ability to strike a responsive chord in the hearts of the masses grew out of not only their words, but their character, their dress and their demeanor. If the wealthy and the intellectual were drawn to the genteel and the sophisticated, the little people were pulled by something more elemental, even more authentic. Unfortunately, they often supported men who promised reform and then sold out or were never serious in the first place. Those were the real demagogues. Eugene Talmadge posed as the champion of the poor whites of rural Georgia ("come down to the mansion boys and we'll piss over the rail on those city folks"), but served the interests of corporate power once in office. Sadly, the whites also struck out at black people, fearing the day when blacks would steal their jobs or perhaps their daughters.

Race was not, however, the only recurring theme of these "princes of the peckerwoods." "Pitchfork" Ben Tillman of South Carolina reported that he carried two speeches with him on his campaigns, one on race and one on monopolies. If Tillman liked the one on race better, others preferred economics or class bitterness. Huey Long built a career attacking the public utilities, the oil companies and New Orleans' high society. The conservative elite hated Long, not only his leftist economics, but his rude manners, his loud clothes and his barnyard humour. He was the most effective of the left-wing Southern leaders and rarely broke faith with the desires of his redneck constituency.

There were others, in the Long mold, who ran on economic issues and appealed to the "little man." Chester Morgan has written a revisionist biography of Theodore G. "The Man" Bilbo that categorizes most of Bilbo's career as that of a left-wing agrarian radical rather than racial demagogue. Morgan's stimulating view of Bilbo opens the question of whether or not standard interpretations of Southern politics

James E. "Big Jim" Folsom, 1945, Knox Collection, Auburn University Archives

are in need of revision, with a marked lack of emphasis on race as the primary factor motivating the region's voters. There is little doubt that race was an important issue, often the leading one, but it has not always prevailed. Morgan questions who was responsible for putting the race issue into political campaigns and lays the blame on the doorstep of the genteel conservatives, not at the feet of the rednecks.

The biographies of Alabama's "Big Jim" Folsom echo much of what Morgan has argued. Folsom's career began as Bilbo's was ending and points to the continuity of economics and class bitterness as determining factors in Southern political life. He was much more

Theodore G. Bilbo at the Democratic convention, 1940, McCain Library, University of Southern Mississippi

courageous on the race issue than most Southern politicians and, unlike Bilbo, never succumbed to baiting black people. Even more remarkable is the fact that his career shot skyward in the post-war South at a time when race was becoming a more important issue than ever before. He was finally defeated in 1962 when racial tensions were at their peak in Alabama, but as the new biographies show, his demise may have been more the result of his public behavior or his style than race. However, neither Bilbo nor Folsom can be properly understood without an examination of the historical forces that produced them.

Both men were descendants of a political movement that made an assault on the forces of economic power and privilege during the 1890s. The movement failed, but its essential impulses, its underlying bitterness, and its rhetorical style lived on.

Populism, a national reform movement of the period from 1890-96, spawned a radical third political party. The movement was strongest in the South and West, and Alabama was a "banner state" of the Populists. Populism was a movement of farmers caught in a declining farm economy. It sought to restructure the economic and political system of the nation so that giant corporations, big banks and large landowners could not dictate the terms of existence to the nation's "little people."

In those years farm prices declined across the board, credit dried up and people lost their farms and homes, often to usurious bankers and merchants. The credit problem was particularly pervasive in the South. Sharecroppers and small landowners were forced to give liens or mortgages on their crops and land to planters and "furnishing" merchants for supplies or cash. The 1890s found thousands of Alabama and Mississippi farmers trapped in a system where they faced economic extinction, forced to borrow again and again to feed themselves and their families in a cycle that seemed unbreakable. Their bitterness overflowed, causing them to join radical farm organizations and break with the ruling Democratic party. They saw among their enemies the "Eastern" banks in charge of the nations money supply, called the "money lords," and closer to home, a group of state politicians they named the "Bourbons."

The Bourbons had controlled politics in the South since the end of Reconstruction. Extremely wealthy, often from "old money," their political power grew out of an uneasy coalition between the large planters and the nascent industrial elite of the South, particularly the railroads. The planters and the industrialists mistrusted each other at first but agreed to create a "New South" that would allow them joint control. This alliance was necessary because of the possibility of another combination of forces that threatened to sweep them from power. The spectre of a coalition between the struggling farmers from the hills, urban workers and blacks became a constant menace to the Bourbons, who were badly outnumbered. Populist political leaders openly sought the black vote, thus giving credence to Bourbon fears. Bourbons viewed with increasing alarm the Populist view that there was an artificial class division in American society which placed parasitic economic forces in control and everyone else in a dependent position.

The Bourbon ideal was a society where everyone had his place and the "best people" ruled. An elite would guide white society in a "herrenvolk democracy" where all white men would be made to feel that they were "better" than Negroes. The "herrenvolk" principle relegated Negroes to the lowest rung in society and created a bond among all whites, supressed class conflict and insured the preservation of white supremacy. As the Populists gained strength, the Bourbons charged a "black and tan" conspiracy and warned of black domination. All of this was done to divide the potential white and black coalition. The racial bugaboo often proved too much for poor whites, who buckled beneath the charges of racial treason.

The race issue proved especially strong in the black belt areas where unity among all classes of whites appeared particularly strong. In the hills, piney woods and wiregrass regions, the Populists remained effective even after race became a factor in the campaigns. The Bourbons used threats, violence and fraud at the ballot box, including vote buying and every conceivable method of vote "rigging" to keep the black vote in line. As a result they received overwhelming victories in the predominately black counties. In Alabama the Populist gubernatorial candidate Reuben F. Kolb charged that the election was stolen from him in both 1892 and 1894, and historians have agreed.

Similar methods were used in Mississippi to defeat an agrarian revolt in the 1880s and 1890s. Populism was not as successful in Mississippi as in Alabama, but the struggle against the Bourbons was waged along similar sectional lines, with the hills of northeastern Mississippi and the piney woods section of the southeastern portion of the state allied against the delta. After the passing of Populism, this split was carried on within the Democratic party. Chester Morgan, in the introductory chapters of *Redneck Liberal*, traces the evolution of Mississippi politics from Reconstruction to the New Deal. Bourbonism, which had meant "undertaxed corporations and plantations," few government services to the poor and "inadequate schools," promised no relief, says Morgan, from "the grinding poverty that strangled the redneck." The predominately white counties, where agrarian radicalism had flourished, fought back, and in the early years of the twentieth century they found their champions.

It was into one of the "white" counties that Bilbo was born in 1877. He became either the most famous and beloved or, depending upon one's viewpoint, the most notorious and reviled political leader in the history of the state. In seeking power Bilbo was ruthless, displaying a cut and slash political style that brutalized his political enemies. He was state senator, lieutenant governor, twice governor and twice U.S.

Bilbo's Campaign truck, 1934, McCain Library, University of Southern Mississippi

senator. He has been most criticized for the racial vituperation of his last years in politics, but as Morgan points out, it was his "style" that condemned him as much as his racism. Cal Logue and Howard Dorgan, in *The Oratory of Southern Demagogues* called Bilbo the "evangelist of racial purity," but William Alexander Percy, scion of one of the great Mississippi Delta families, disliked him for other reasons. Bilbo was, said Percy, "a pert little monster, glib and shameless." The masses were not fooled by him, argued Percy, but saw through him completely. They supported him because he was "a slick little bastard."

Chester Morgan does not agree with Logue-Dorgan or Will Percy and criticizes writers for their failure to examine the career of Bilbo more closely. Morgan has not argued that Bilbo was a nice fellow or that he was not a racist, but that he was an economic liberal who did not resort to racism to get votes until his last term in the senate. Although the book focuses primarily on Bilbo's first senate term (1935-1941), there is an excellent chapter on his rise to prominence. Morgan's Bilbo is somewhat like Vann Woodward's Tom Watson, who began his career as an idealistic champion of the poor and ended it as a rabid racial bigot. Bilbo was never driven by the melancholy intellectualism that moved Watson, nor did he ever seek the support of blacks, as Watson had. Unlike his mentor James K. Vardaman, however, he did not build his political base by playing on racial themes and turned to race only after it became obvious in the 1940s that it was becoming the major issue in Mississippi.

Morgan's argument that Bilbo was a liberal is not a new one, but

the nature and extent of that liberalism is startling. Albert G. Kirwan, in *Revolt of the Rednecks* acknowledged Bilbo's populist intentions and gave him full credit for achievements in behalf of common folk during his first term as governor (1916-1920.) More recently Dewey Grantham, in *Southern Progressivism*, praised Bilbo for his progressive administration and noted the lack of racist appeals in his early campaigns. Nevertheless, says Morgan, most observers of Southern politics will find the characterization of Bilbo as liberal "surprising if not incredible."

He was, however, the leader of the reform faction of the Mississippi Democratic party and advocated a populist variant of "progressivism." After 1900, Morgan argues, practically every Mississippi politician who expected to get elected had to offer a progressive platform of some kind. Bourbon conservatism remained very much alive in the state legislature, but aspirants to office were chosen in a statewide primary after 1902, whereas before, the nominees of the party had been chosen by the Bourbon bosses. Running statewide, the candidates had to appeal to a larger constituency and they were forced to offer some hope to the lower classes.

There was more than one brand of progressivism in Mississippi. One version, Morgan says, is still very much alive and offers more style than substance. It creates a kind of a "progressive mystique," for the only thing that is progressive about it is appearance. It offers superficial reform in such matters as education and health and it supports "efficiency" and "management" in government, a kind of clean-it-up and make-it-look-nice brand of reform which never really addresses the economic problems facing the great mass of people. Often led by men with "good manners," says Morgan, this progressivism gives the masses "civility" in their public affairs. Civility is not a contradiction to conservatism and often becomes a "cornerstone" of it, deflecting attention from real reform towards preoccupation with image in government. Morgan characterizes this brand of progressivism as "Rotarian reform."

It was Theodore Bilbo's "very lack of civility," said Morgan, "that became the basis of his notoriety, both within Mississippi and beyond, and that so distorted the common perception of who he was and what he really did in forty years in public life." The "very excesses" that made him the hero of the rednecks, "his crudeness, his passion for their cause, his flamboyance — made him contemptible in the eyes of others more educated and more refined." It was, says Morgan, "a paradox" that Bilbo was the leader who energized the masses of Mississippi toward reform, but when he went to Washington, sophisticated liber-

als "were unable or unwilling to understand him or those he represented."

In Washington he refused to compromise his liberalism or put aside his strident rhetoric. His voting record in the Senate, says Morgan, would have been the envy of any Northern liberal. A Roosevelt loyalist from the outset, "he backed the President on almost every detail, and when he did wander off the New Deal reservation, it was usually in what was considered a leftward direction." He joined Hugo Black and "the old progressives" like William Borah and George Norris in trying to push the President to the left. When Roosevelt offered huge emergency relief and public works measures that frightened Southern conservatives like James Byrnes, Bilbo's appetite for the New Deal "waxed rather than waned." In his first year in the Senate he supported the Wagner Labor Relations Act, the Public Utilities Holding Company Act and Roosevelt's "soak the rich" tax bill. All of these measures were anathema to the conservative business community.

Bilbo campaigning for the Democratic ticket, 1940, McCain Library, University of Southern Mississippi

During the 1937 fight over Roosevelt's court packing plan, Bilbo came down hard in behalf of the President and displayed the spirited populist rhetoric that had been his trademark. Morgan quotes a Bilbo attack on patrician Senator Carter Glass of Virginia for a speech Glass had made criticizing Roosevelt. Bilbo said he could not believe that anyone could be moved by "the unctuous, high-sounding and hypo-

critical explosions of old man Carter Glass, the aristocrat." Glass was "the known sympathizer and manipulator of the predatory interests." He was "old, feeble, irritable and senile." When he dies, said Bilbo, it would be nice if "old Andy Mellon would pass out at the same time: [then] these two old corporate fossils could be buried in the same grave, on the right hand side of Wall Street ...where their sympathies and hearts have always been."

One Southern conservative who became increasingly restive under the leftist swing of the New Deal was Pat Harrison, the senior Senator from Mississippi. During the first two years of the Roosevelt administration Harrison had been one of the President's floor leaders. His ability to bring other Southern conservatives into line had been of enormous help to the President, but after 1935 he moved slowly to the right, often opposing the President. Morgan describes the frustrating fight that Bilbo had with Harrison over federal patronage doled out to Mississippi. The New Deal bureaucracy, with the President's tacit approval, continually supported Harrison in patronage disagreements despite Bilbo's greater loyalty. Jobs and money which Bilbo had hoped to bring to his supporters went instead to Harrison men. Harrison had always been supported by conservatives and "Rotarian" reformers. Morgan argues that this slowed efforts to create a liberal democratic party in Mississippi. He concludes that either Roosevelt was afraid of the power Harrison wielded as a Senate insider or that both the President and the liberal intellectuals who ran the agencies, men like Aubrey Williams and Harry Hopkins, "found it more palatable to deal with a conservative Southern gentleman than with a liberal demagogue."

By constantly upholding Bilbo as the victim of class prejudice, Morgan runs the risk of ignoring the dark side of mass leaders like Bilbo whose own style often led to dangerous substantive results. Many Southern demagogues were anti-intellectual, ignored democratic processes and had little respect for civil liberties. Huey Long had an unhealthy liking for strong arm tactics that reeked of fascism. Another trait, common to them all, was a devotion to the Jacksonian spoils system over a government of qualified civil servants. There was also a mean spirited, often sleazy side of mass leaders who played to the crowd. During his second term as governor, Bilbo engaged in tactics that led to a serious breach of academic freedom at the University of Mississippi.

In the year that Bilbo was running his last campaign for public office, Alabama elected another mass leader to the office of governor. James Elisha Folsom, a man who shared Bilbo's economic populism,

rapport with the "little people" and a style offensive to social leaders, brought "a more radical element," said Virginia Hamilton, "onto Alabama's political battlefield." Alabama had developed a tradition of sending liberals to Washington. Hugo Black and Lister Hill broke cleanly with the conservative elite in their state, but those politicians who served in state government moved within well defined limits, paying fealty to racial customs and making their peace with the agribusiness and industrial establishment. Folsom threatened to break out of this mold by calling for the reapportionment of the state legislature, registration of black voters, and an end to the poll tax. Unlike Bilbo, Folsom was a warm, humorous man who would rather poke fun at his enemies than attack them in a vicious manner. A huge country boy, standing six feet eight inches in height, Folsom, said Hamilton, bore an uncommon resemblance to "L'il Abner."

Unfortunately, this genial giant had a huge appetite for beautiful ladies, an unhealthy relationship with the bottle and a fondness for "good ole boys" who abused both him and the state government. His opponents exploited these traits to the hilt.

The Little Man's Big Friend by George Sims and *Big Mules and Branchheads* by Carl Grafton and Anne Permaloff cover much the same territory, focusing on the years of Folsom's governorship, 1947-51 and 1955-59, and his two winning political campaigns in 1946 and 1954. Sims and Grafton-Permaloff take different approaches to the subject, but both have provided excellent insights into the operation of Alabama state government in these years. Men whose names have been forgotten during the last thirty years but who exercised tremendous power in their time, reappear in the pages of these books. The greatest value of both works may be that these leaders of the state legislature and bureaucracy, along with the interest groups that influenced them, are now an integral part of the stories.

Grafton-Permaloff include a chapter on the evolution of Alabama politics from Reconstruction to Folsom, thus placing "Big Jim" and his times in proper perspective. They are interested in the configuration of power groups that struggled for control of Montgomery and are not coy about explaining who they were. Sims, on the other hand, is aware of the interest groups, but is more objective in appraisal. Unfortunately, his strict neutrality often leads to bland prose, whereas Grafton-Permaloff are unafraid to draw conclusions. Their book is also more detailed, both about Folsom and his times. Both works rely too much on something labeled "confidential interview," a source that is often unreliable. Still, the story that unfolds is not unlike that described by Morgan, an economic power struggle where blacks were

"Big Jim" Folsom and the Strawberry Pickers, 1946, Alabama Department of Archives and History

used as pawns to maintain elite authority and poor whites had to rely on champions like Folsom.

Folsom was born and raised in Coffee County, Alabama, in the Wiregrass section of the state, an area devoid of aristocrats and large slave owners in the antebellum period, and mostly populated by white yeoman farmers at the time of his birth. Located in extreme southeastern Alabama, the Wiregrass joined with the foothills of north Alabama as the center of populist strength. No county in the state was more strongly devoted to the movement than Coffee. Folsom, whose family members were involved in local politics, was imbued with the lore of that great revolt and a world view that pitted the "little folks" against the "big shots." Candidates for local office, says George Sims, "did not forget to criticize the corrupt power of big business."

In 1933 Folsom, who did not finish college, received an appointment as head of the Marshall County Civil Works Administration, a New Deal relief agency. Grafton-Permaloff argued that this experience had a great effect on him. Marshall County, in the north Alabama foothills, was filled with poor struggling farmers and their plight confirmed Folsom's "anti-big-business sentiments," particularly against electric utilities and large banks. In 1936 Folsom returned to Coffee County and ran a losing race for Congress against an entrenched incumbent, but received a surprising 38% of the vote. In 1938 he tried again, and was defeated. In both campaigns, say Grafton-

Permaloff, he ran on a platform that was leftist in nature, supporting federal aid to education, expanded relief to farmers and a radical plan of financial assistance to the aged.

In 1938 Folsom returned to north Alabama and entered the insurance business in Cullman County, which adjoined Marshall. This area, like the Wiregrass, had been strongly populist and the lives of the people there had not significantly improved in the years since the revolt. Indeed, in 1938 President Roosevelt called the South the nation's number one economic problem and pointed out the poverty stricken conditions of both blacks and poor whites.

In 1942 Folsom decided to run for governor, even though he had never before held public office. Prior to that year, say Grafton-Permaloff, Alabama politics had run on the same basic set of tracks. Even though progressive governors were sometimes elected, their reforms were generally "Rotarian" in nature. Once in office the Progressives had to deal with an alliance of Black Belt reactionaries and big-business legislators. Real reform, such as legislative reapportionment or addressing the condition of Alabama's poor, remained in the background. The old alliance was particularly fearful of labor unions, which they viewed as a communist inspired threat to their liberty. No one, of course, even discussed Alabama's racial situation, which was considered sacrosanct. Bibb Graves, who styled the old alliance "The Big Mules" and was the state's most progressive governor, worked within the limits prescribed by the "bosses." He was never, say Grafton-Permaloff, a real threat to boss interests. Then came Jim Folsom.

In 1942 nobody gave him a chance. Newspapers described him as an illiterate bumpkin. He began a new style of campaigning in Alabama, crossing the state with his friends and speaking to any group no matter how small, going directly to the people. He ignored the "courthouse rings," bosses and interest groups. Although Chauncey Sparks won the Democratic primary without a runoff, Folsom finished a surprising second in the five man race. He did it on a shoestring with almost no campaign funds. His platform was pure New Deal, "updated and pushed a bit to the left."

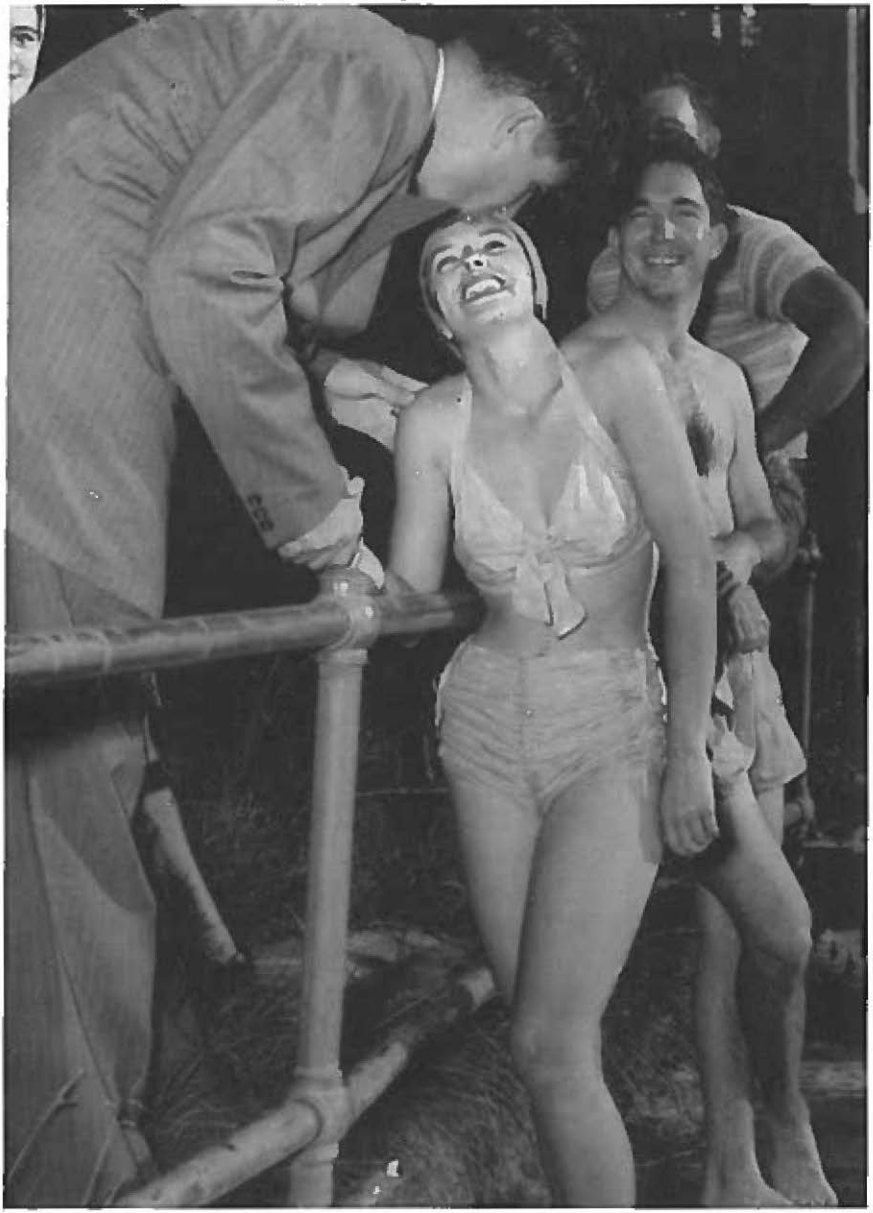
The 1946 governor's race was the apogee of Folsom's career. The newspapers and "political experts" did not expect him to run, much less win. Both biographies include excellent chapters on the classic 1946 campaign. Folsom moved even further to the left, directly challenging the "Big Mules" and those he called the "Gotrocks." His emphasis on reapportionment and abolition of the poll tax aimed straight at the heart of the old alliance. He called for one man-one vote

reform of the legislature, arguing that north Alabama had been deprived of an equal voice in the legislature with the Black Belt, and he further offended the old alliance by shaking the hands of black people and asking for their help. He made excellent use of symbols, carrying what he called the "suds bucket" and a mop, saying he would "clean out" the Capital. He might also take off his "brogans," rub his feet and lie under a tree to rest, all in sight of the crowd. His speeches were filled with homey anecdotes about rural life. His opponents thought him a clown, but as Grafton-Permaloff point out, Folsom thought politics

Folsom's Inauguration, 1947, Auburn University Archives

was a "deadly serious, centuries-old struggle of working people versus kings, slaveholders, or corporate elites." Folsom may have been a ham actor, but as both books reveal, he was committed to his populist ideology.

Although the "Big Mules" spared no effort to defeat Folsom in the



"Kissing Jim" Folsom, c. 1950, Alabama Department of Archives and History

1946 runoff, he scored a landslide victory. His first administration as governor was little short of a disaster. Immediately after his election he was hit with a paternity suit which was settled out of court. He allowed *Life* magazine to photograph him in his undershirt and in the bathtub. The upper classes were scandalized, but it was just what they had predicted. The fallout from his antics was bad enough, but Folsom did almost no planning for the legislative sessions. As a result, the "Big Mule" coalition destroyed his program. Throughout his first term those few legislators who supported "Big Jim" had to engage in filibusters to stop the old alliance from completely taking over state government.

There were, nevertheless, some bright spots. Folsom pushed for the appointment of voter registrars who would register black voters. In predominately black Macon County, Folsom's appointee registered large numbers of blacks until, says George Sims, the other members of the Board either quit or refused to meet. Substantial progress toward registration also took place in Mobile County, and Folsom fought a proposed constitutional amendment that would further restrict black voting rights. He also spoke out against racism and opposed the "Dixiecrat" movement in the 1948 Presidential election.

Folsom was a liberal in ways that Theodore Bilbo never was. Not only was he concerned about black civil rights but about the civil liberties of all citizens. In two legislative sessions the lawmakers passed acts requiring "an anti-communist loyalty oath for public employees," and Folsom vetoed them. He felt that such an act violated the First Amendment of the Constitution. These and other efforts by Folsom are set out by Grafton-Permaloff in an excellent chapter on "civil rights." They argue that Folsom's "first term civil rights record was a distinguished one."

Throughout both of Folsom's two terms in office, charges of corruption followed him. If Sims and Grafton-Permaloff are right, many of the charges are true. The authors are quick to point out that Folsom did not benefit from the corrupt activities, but he tacitly allowed his cabinet members to do so. His appointments to cabinet posts and other government jobs had little to do with the qualifications of the applicant. As a result, the state was constantly embarrassed by the improper conduct of one member or another of Folsom's administration. "Kickbacks" from state contracts and agents representing liquor companies became an integral part of state government, although both books suggest that such activities also took place under previous "Big Mule" administrations.

Folsom was elected to a second term as governor in 1954 by

another landslide, defeating several opponents without a runoff in the Democratic primary. Both Sims and Grafton-Permaloff say that he came to his second term better prepared than the first and his working relationship with the legislature improved. A large part of the program that he proposed passed the legislature, but he had set his sights much lower. Gone was the radical rhetoric and the stern attacks on the forces of privilege. The second term was successful because Folsom, in most matters, reached accomodation with the old alliance. Although he pushed a reapportionment amendment through the legislature it was far from "one man, one vote" and the people rejected it at the polls. Improvements were made in teacher salaries, roads and the State Docks at Mobile, but reform stopped there. The governor was constantly hampered by anti-civil rights legislation which he refused to sign or pocket vetoed.

The decision in *Brown v. Board of Education* in 1954, delcaring state sponsored segregation illegal, created an atmosphere of near hysteria in Alabama politics. Both biographies point to the dominance of race as an issue during Folsom's second term. In Alabama it was particularly pervasive because of the Montgomery bus boycott and an increase in violence against blacks within the state. Although Folsom did not join the parade to racism, he muted his previous strong position against it. Two incidents haunted him the rest of his days. One involved black Congressman Adam Clayton Powell whom Folsom invited to the Governor's mansion when Powell was in Montgomery for a speech. The two had drinks together and Powell later talked about it to the press. Folsom was pilloried from all sides for having a drink with a Negro at the state mansion. According to his biographers, the incident severely damaged his political future.

Another incident involved the attempted desegregation of the University of Alabama by a black woman named Authrine Lucy. Mobs took over the campus for a time and the threat of violence became so bad that the university officials acceded to demands that Lucy be dismissed from the school. While all this was going on Folsom was on a fishing trip and was reportedly drinking heavily. He did nothing to counter the threat of violence or to gain the admission of Lucy. Both biographers agree that this was one of the great failures of his career.

Alcohol abuse became a constant problem for Folsom who, according to Grafton-Permaloff, was drunk during much of his second term as governor. George Sims relates humorous tales of Folsom's drunken escapades, but as he notes, the drinking ceased to be a laughing matter. It affected Folsom's relationship with the legislature

and his administration of the state bureaucracy. He often did not know what was going on around him. This problem became an open secret and further damaged his political influence. In 1962, according to Sims, it may have been the cause of his defeat when seeking a third term as governor. Although many say the race issue was too damaging to Folsom, Sims thinks that his intoxicated appearance on statewide television the night before the election was a major factor in his failure to make a runoff with George Wallace.

Clearly, Folsom's performance as governor fell below his liberal-populist promise and both books agree on this. Grafton-Permaloff say that the economic impact of Folsom on the state was minimal, although they give him high marks for road building and teacher salary increases. They also praise him for a courageous civil rights record and say that he gave "self-respect" to thousands of blacks and poor whites who found in Folsom's attacks on the "Big Mules" the reason for their plight. Sims argues that Folsom's campaign style and rhetoric brought more people into the political process and helped make the state a more democratic society.

These studies of Bilbo and Folsom confirm a persistent liberal-populist tradition in Southern politics. They also show that the masses were mobilized to support reform by the charismatic presence of men who offended the social sensibilities of the region's elite. Without the support of the so-called redneck element, Southern liberalism would not exist. It has been the common whites, not the elite, who have pushed for a more equitable society and if they have at times been racist, it was their condition in society that made them so. That condition was created and sustained by the conservative elite, who made fun of the redneck leaders and opposed reforms benefitting the lower class. Virginia Hamilton, in her book *Alabama*, saw it clearly. Commenting on the bitter resentment that common whites showed toward Northern civil rights workers, she wrote:

> By their taunts and threats, the poorest white element was expressing not only a deeply-ingrained racism but fear, drummed into them for generations, that their precarious station would be diminished if the day of racial justice should ever dawn. Yet the nation observed them on television with distaste, perceived their forebodings and ignorance only as brutality, and failed to recognize that here were other oppressed people to whose rescue no avengers from afar had ever flown.

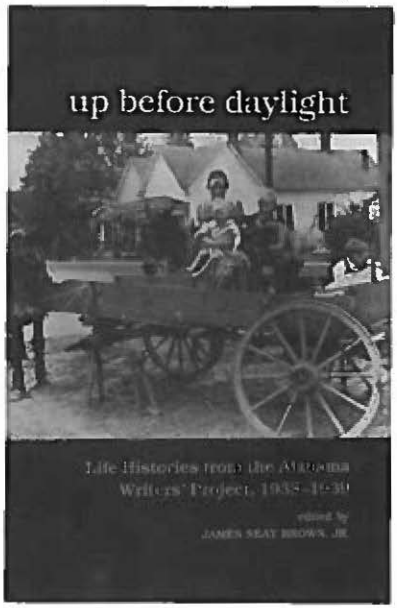
Bibliographical Essay

The most influential "popular" book about the history of the South and its politics is *The Mind of the South* (1941) by W. J. Cash. The economic penury of the Southern masses is recognized by Cash, but he has little sympathy for poor whites and contends that their support for charismatic leaders grew out of irrational emotion rather than genuine class consciousness. Cash helped popularize the stereotype of the Southern politician as racist demagogue. A needed corrective to Cash are the works of C. Vann Woodward, whose *Tom Watson, Agrarian Rebel* (1938) and *Origins of the New South* (1951) put class feeling into the motivations of Southern voters and show how economic considerations often dominated in the region's political life. In *The Burden of Southern History* (1960) Woodward's essay on intellectual attitudes toward Populism chastises liberal academics for their prejudice against mass leaders. George Brown Tindall, in *The Ethnic Southerners* (1976) and *The Persistent Tradition in Southern Politics* (1975), collections of his essays, explores popular myths that obscure Southern history and argues that populism, bourbonism and progressivism are categories of political behavior that have been continuous throughout the twentieth century. J. Morgan Kousser, in *The Shaping of Southern Politics* (1974) says that the movement to disenfranchise voters in the South was led by Bourbons who wanted to strike poor whites from the roles as badly as they did blacks. No book of course, has had greater impact than V. O. Key's *Southern Politics* (1949), generally regarded as the definitive study of the period up to 1950. Nor is there a better study of Populism than Lawrence Goodwyn's *Democratic Promise* (1976), published in shorter form as *The Populist Moment* (1978). Goodwyn views Populism as the last mass movement that had any chance of democratizing the American economic system and notes the strong role of Southerners in the movement. The so-called "progressive movement" which took place from 1900 to 1920 is given comprehensive treatment in Dewey Grantham's *Southern Progressivism* (1983). An outstanding study of Mississippi politics from 1876 to 1925 is Albert D. Kirwan's *Revolt of the Rednecks* (1951). The career of James K. Vardaman and the rise of Bilbo are excellent features of this classic work. William Warren Rogers, in *The One-Gallused Rebellion* (1967) tells the story of the agrarian revolt and populism in Alabama while Sheldon Hackney's *Populism to Progressivism in Alabama* (1969) places progressives in the role of

genuine, if conservative, reformers. Virginia Hamilton, in her book length essay *Alabama* (1976) shows an extraordinary understanding of the Alabama political mind and of what she called the "plain people" of the state. In a recent essay in the *Alabama Law Review* entitled "Lister Hill, Hugo Black and the Albatross of race," Hamilton writes of the devotion of Hill and Black to the "cause" of the poor. Bill Bernard covers the rise of Jim Folsom in *Dixiecrats and Democrats* (1974), which deals with Alabama politics from 1942 to 1950. Robert J. Norrell, in *Reaping the Whirlwind* (1985) studies the civil rights movement in Tuskegee showing how the upper classes worked overtime to institutionalize racism and maintain economic hegemony in Macon County, Alabama. Cal Logue and Robert Dorgan in *The Oratory of Southern Demagogues* (1981) focus on the speeches of the demagogues, including those of Bilbo. Both *Huey Long* (1969) by T. Harry Williams, one of the finest Southern political biographies, and *The Wild Man from Sugar Creek*, (1975) an excellent study of Eugene Talmadge by William Anderson, are useful in understanding mass leaders of the South.

James Seay Brown, Jr. (ed.). *Up Before Daylight: Life Histories from the Alabama Writers' Project, 1938-1939.* University: University of Alabama Press, 1982, pp. 261. $8.95.

During the 1930s, writers and other intellectuals toured America in pursuit of people with stories. Those who did the listening and notetaking were members of the Federal Writers' Project, an appendage of President Franklin Roosevelt's bureaucratic New Deal. Those who did the talking represented a broad spectrum of the poor and the modest, most experiencing hard times in the Depression. Here were blacks and whites, people of the city and of the country, some with jobs, some without. Several published works have come from these interviews: *These Are Our Lives* (1939), *Weevils in the Wheat* (1976), *Such As Us* (1978) and *First-Person America* (1980). Now, with *Up Before Daylight*, James Seay Brown offers an edited collection of interviews of Alabamians who participated in the Federal Writers' Project.



Brown begins his volume with a first-rate essay on the undertaking. He explains the critical role of University of North Carolina professor, William Terry Couch, who revamped the project and gave it clear focus on "life histories." Thus *Up Before Daylight* unfolds with twenty-eight of the one hundred life histories recorded in Alabama during 1938-39. Not all the recollections are, in fact, life histories. Some studies focus more on a specific event or topic than a span of life. Yet this external difficulty in no way diminishes the powerful array of humanity that Brown offers the reader. In the recollections about Bob Johns, fisherman and river rat; about the Jim Bittingers, cotton mill laborers; about Jake Gaw, turpentiner; and about many more the reader is reminded once again that poverty, racism, ignorance, elitism and other societal maladies often went untouched by the major progressive programs of the early to mid-

twentieth century. What makes this account of that story so striking, however, is that the human personality is not severed from the implicit social analysis. A compulsion to swim the Chattahoochee River over and over or a wife teaching a husband to read are essential elements in the reality of the social dynamic. In recent years, many professional historians have overlooked this strain of plot in their stories, leaving a distorted (if still "reform-minded") account of the past. Through cautious editing of the Alabama interviews, Brown gives a fuller, more humanistic approach to a historical problem, not to mention an eminently readable book.

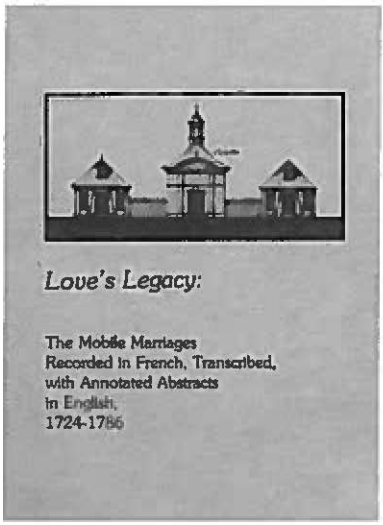
Fear of leftist intellectualism and socialist revolution ultimately undermined most of the political support and therefore funding for the Federal Writers' Project. The program ceased in 1943. *Up Before Daylight* can be read as an ironic commentary on the rise and fall of the project. At least in Alabama, many folks left out of the American dream had few, if any, plans for dissent or revolt. Well into the 1930s, they ran their trot lines, isolated and with the expectations of a past century.

Tennant S. McWilliams University of Alabama at Birmingham

Jacqueline Olivier Vidrine (ed.). *Love's Legacy: The Mobile Marriages Recorded in French, Transcribed, With Annotated Abstracts in English, 1724-1786.* Lafayette: Center for Louisiana Studies, University of Southwestern Louisiana, 1985, pp. 432. $20.00.

This beautiful book makes available to the public some of the Gulf Coast's most valuable, and least used, information about the area's earliest European immigrants. At the same time, it preserves for posterity data from the rapidly deteriorating old records in the Chancery Archives of the Roman Catholic Archdiocese of Mobile, Alabama. Those eighteenth-century documents contain a wealth of information about the origins and the every-day lives of the French, British, and Spanish settlers who lived along the Gulf Coast in the 1700s. Unfortunately, however, researchers who attempt to use them face several obstacles. Language is one major barrier. The documents were written in French, using the archaic script, spelling, and terminology of the period. The collection's condition creates another problem. Many of the older records have deteriorated so badly that much of

their contents are illegible. Potential users also face the challenge of deciding which documents to search. The collection, which is quite large, has not been indexed, making its use tedious and time-consuming. In *Love's Legacy*, Mrs. Vidrine has removed the obstacles from some of those valuable records.



She has painstakingly transcribed the marriages recorded by Mobile's Roman Catholic priests between 1724 and 1786. She copied each record, letter-by-letter, exactly as it appears in the original document, including marginal notes, words and phrases that have been crossed over, and surviving letters from words that are no longer legible in their entirety. Contents vary, but each record contains the marriage date, the bride's and groom's names, the names of those who witnessed the ceremony, and the groom's occupation. Most identify the principals' parents, and some give the couple's home parishes in Europe. By itself, this compilation would be a valuable contribution to Gulf Coast history. Mrs. Vidrine's abstracts greatly increase that value.

Each marriage is transcribed on a separate page, and on the facing page, is the annotated abstract for that record, translating pertinent data, furnishing additional information about the principals and witnesses, and often providing from other sources data that could not be retrieved from the damaged originals. Mrs. Vidrine has carefully documented the abstracts, citing contemporary source documents, with occasional references to the published works of other researchers and historians. Footnotes are conveniently located on the page with the abstract to which they refer.

Love's Legacy is fully indexed, and, while it is primarily a compilation of early marriage records, it also contains a few baptisms and funerals, as well as some interesting old maps of the Gulf Coast area. Another feature is a 1772 list of more than 200 persons who owned land in the area. All who are interested in the Gulf Coast's history, and in the people who have lived here, will enjoy this fascinating book. It is

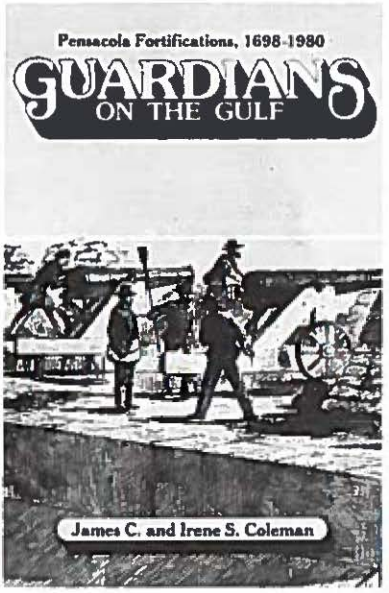
to be hoped that Mrs. Vidrine will continue her efforts to preserve and disseminate data from Mobile's Chancery Archives.

Glen R. Johnson — Certified Genealogist, Mobile

James C. and Irene S. Coleman. *Guardians on the Gulf: Pensacola Fortifications, 1698-1980.* Pensacola: Pensacola Historical Society, 1982, pp. 120. $7.95.

The brevity of this study belies its usefulness. In fact, this modest volume serves a variety of purposes: as a sourcebook for local history; as a guide for the historically inclined tourist; and as a treatise on the evolution of coastal fortification.

Basing their research on a wide array of both primary and secondary sources, and making use of that too-often neglected treasure-trove, the National Park Service, the Colemans prove their contention that "no United States coastal city has had a more varied history, or has had the variety of military installations than those built on . . . Pensacola Bay." In an appendix, the authors list 165 military establishments constructed in the area over the 285 year period of their study.



The first fort, built by the Spanish and designed by an Austrian engineer, simply began what is a kaleidoscopic picture: a Waldeck regiment of "Hessians" arrives in 1780; pirates threaten in 1816; Geronimo and his Apaches serve time in 1886; the first Naval Aeronautic Center is established in 1914. Problems abound. Hurricanes and tropical illnesses beset all and sundry. The Spanish run so short of food that they have to appeal to their potential enemies, the French in Louisiana, for help. Royal Navy sailors find the heat and tedium so demoralizing that they are kept in order with the lash. American engineers watch their works undercut by shifting sands and ravaged by floods.

Bursts of action punctuate the record. A British magazine, hit by a shell from Galvez' artillery, explodes, killing almost 100 defenders. The Spanish, in turn, are forced to capitulate to Andrew Jackson. Confederates duel unsuccessfully with Union gunners. In 1899, a magazine mishap destroys the entire northwest bastion of Fort Pickens.

The Colemans provide anecdotes to spice any lecture. The first shots of the Civil War, they claim, were fired by a sentry at Fort Barrancas on January 8, 1861 when a crowd of Floridians threatened that post. Some forts of the Totten Program contained mine chambers to be selectively exploded if the other defenses failed.

The value of the book is enhanced by its clear illustrations, the profile of a typical fortification, and the systematic presentation of data on the more important forts. The authors include in most cases location, designers, descriptions, armaments, garrison size, and present status. Be forewarned that the emphasis of the study is most definitely on the period before 1900. That caveat aside, this work is valuable for any library dealing with Florida history and for any library having a military collection.

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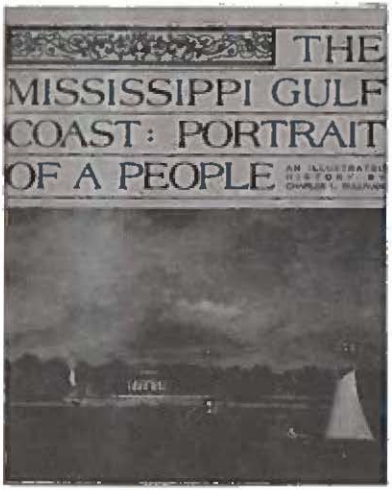
Charles L. Sullivan and Murella H. Powell. *The Mississippi Gulf Coast: Portrait of a People.* Northridge, CA: Windsor Publications, 1985, pp. 200. $22.95.

In medieval Europe the monks who kept alive, however faintly, the learning of the ancients and even literacy itself, also wrote history. Actually they compiled chronicles which were appallingly brief and sketchy by modern, or even ancient, standards. Their fragmentary accounts are often our best sources for what was inevitably local history. Whatever their shortcomings those monkish writers understood the importance of context in history. No matter how parochial their world they always began their chronicles at the beginning which they understood to be as described in the Old Testament. So the medieval chronicler related his humble local story to the Creator's grand design. Local history was in reality neither local nor unimportant, it was an integral part of the story of purposeful creation.

If our monkish historian left a lot to be desired on points of scholarship, at least he had perspective. It is that quality of perspective which so distinguishes *The Mississippi Gulf Coast: Portrait of a People*

by Charles L. Sullivan and Murella H. Powell. From the first page the authors look at regional history as part of a national and even international story that begins as the receding polar ice caps created the coastal bays and rivers. From that perspective it is a long story, but a fascinating one. The book reads well and does not assume that the reader already knows the coast's history and simply wants confirmation of the stories learned at "grandmother's knee." Mr. Sullivan chairs the social studies department at the Perkinston campus of the Mississippi Gulf Coast Junior Colleges and Ms. Powell is the genealogy and local history librarian at the Biloxi Public Library. Their work on this book, which has taken them several years to complete, was supported by the Mississippi Coast Historical and Genealogical Society and many other interested individuals and groups. They traveled across Mississippi and in Alabama and Louisiana to ferret out source material, including an impressive range of color and black and white illustrations. Theirs is a book about people not families. You need not be related to one of the coast's fine old families to want this book: historical curiosity is all you need to enjoy it.



The Mississippi Gulf Coast: Portrait of a People is published by Windsor Publications, a California firm which has made quite a name for itself with its numerous local histories. The cost of publication is partially defrayed by business histories, the "Partners in Progress" prepared in this volume by Nedra A. Harvey, and the result is a handsome and affordable book. While it would have been nice if the typeface was a little larger, *The Mississippi Gulf Coast* belongs on every historian's book shelf at least from New Orleans to Mobile.

This is a local history the way it ought to be done. Sullivan and Powell don't pull their punches, nor do they flatter the elite and ignore the "plain folks." The text is readable, the source list is extensive, the illustrations intriguing. From the ice age to the high noon in the Sun Belt, Sullivan and Powell show us local history can be fascinating, instructive and part of the grand tale historians have been telling ever since someone invented campfires.

Michael Thomason University of South Alabama

From the Archives: A Portrait of the Old South . . . "Aunt Sally" Henshaw

"Aunt Sally" Henshaw was born a slave in Cumberland County, Virginia. Her owner, Andrew I. Henshaw, brought her to Alabama as a young girl in the late 1840s, and she was a maid to his wife, Mrs. Mary Anderson Isbell Henshaw (Torrey), and later nursemaid to her daughter, Mary "Molly" Montague Henshaw Toulmin. Mr. Henshaw's sister died in 1856, and thereafter "Aunt Sally" also took care of her three children. Although she was close to all four, Molly was always her favorite. In later years she enjoyed telling about the little blond girl who grew up to be one of the great beauties of her day and ultimately one of Mobile's grandes dames. After the Civil War Sally married Andrew who had also been a Henshaw family slave. Taking his former master's surname, Andrew made his living as a cobbler in the town of Claiborne on the Alabama River. The couple had two daughters, Florence and Mary.

Valued for her skills as a nursemaid, Sally ultimately moved to Mobile to live at "Oakland Farm" in Toulminville where this turn of the century photograph was made. In it she is holding the dolls which her favorite, Molly, had played with years earlier.

The date of Sally Henshaw's death is lost. She was still alive in 1929 because Molly bequeathed $100 to "my faithful old nurse" in a will written in that year. However, Aunt Sally had died before Molly did in 1934 since the bequest was shared by her daughters who then lived at 621 Belmont Street, Pensacola.

According to Henshaw-Torrey family legends, and in the best traditions of the Old South, it was Andrew and Sally Henshaw who saved the family silver and valuables by burying them when Union forces occupied Claiborne in the last days of the Civil War. Members of the Torrey family still remember "Aunt Sally" as a neatly dressed, diminuitive figure who loved to tell stories of days long gone.

Charles J. Torrey III

USA Photo Archives