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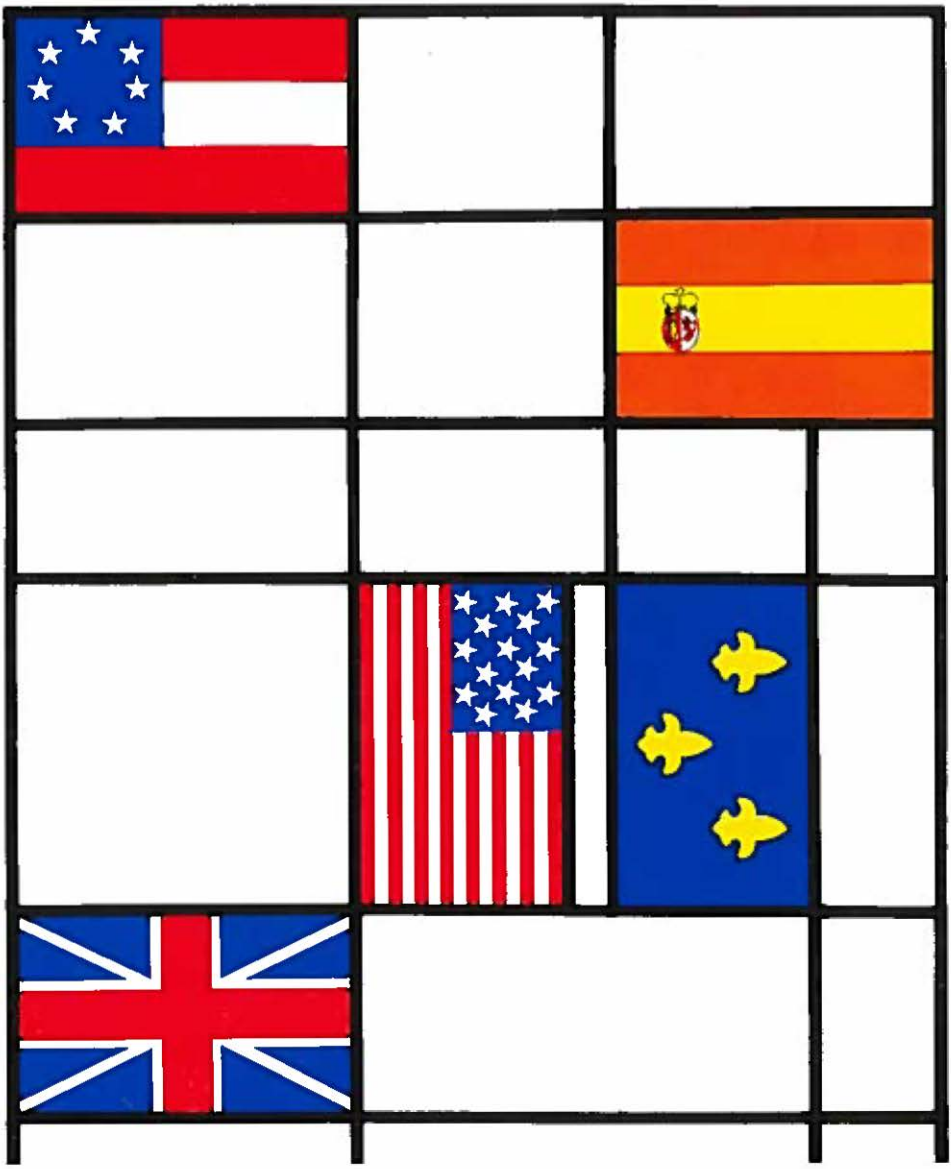

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Map of Louisiana and of the River Mississippi by John Senex, 1721 (detail) *Mobile Public Library*

From the Editors. . . .

As we worked on this sixth issue of the *GCHR* we were certainly reminded that academic historians are not the only people who read and write history. We are indebted to the interest and skills of a sociologist and a linguist as well as historians for our major articles this time. Each author has brought his or her unique mixture of academic discipline and research interest to bear on Gulf Coast history. Ms. D. C. LaFoy has produced a fine comparative analysis of one aspect of our much misunderstood Creole heritage using the skills and training of a sociologist — presented in a most readable fashion. After finding and translating original documents, Professor Ellen Merrill takes us back to the 18th century to analyze the efforts to bring German speaking colonists to the Gulf Coast. Not only were the risks of the voyage and the New World itself considerable, but prospective immigrants were misled about the new land's potential and hindered by authorities who feared wholesale depopulation of the Old World. Once again we are delighted to bring our readers a taste of a major forthcoming publication, this time by Dr. T. S. McWilliams in his article on Erwin Craighead, the Mobile *Register*, and the Spanish American War. Dr. McWilliams is one of Alabama's best known younger historians but he is not alone in representing the discipline by contributing a major article to this issue. He is joined by a Floridian who is enrolled in FSU's doctoral program, Mr. Brian Rucker. Mr. Rucker's presentation and analysis of a letter detailing conditions on the Santa Rosa peninsula in 1925 indicates that he also has a promising career in the profession.

As we have done in the past, this issue has its full measure of illustrations so that our readers can see for themselves the documents, the people, or the places described. Our "From the Archives" section takes a light-hearted look at potatoes and the war effort in 1943 Washington reminding us all once again that historical research can be fun — at least some of the time.

As has been our custom in previous issues, we take you to a historical site in the region, this time the Acadian Village near Lafayette, Louisiana. Our contributor, historian Carl Brasseaux, has written several articles and books on the Acadians and his most recent book is reviewed in this issue. We are trying to get our reviews out as soon as possible after a book goes on sale. After all, what good is the review if the book is already out of print when it finally appears? Our newest book is by Dr. Melton

McLaurin, formerly of the University of South Alabama. His account of growing up in a segregated small Southern town could have been set anywhere in our region and it revives our memory of times that were with us so recently but hopefully will never be again.

We formally welcome three new members to our Editorial Advisory Board: Professors Carl Brasseaux, Chester Morgan, and John Guice. Each brings special kinds of interest and expertise, and we are glad to have their help.

We'll be glad to have yours too, readers. Drop us a line and tell us your reaction to the journal. But don't forget our favorite, and your most important, reaction — subscription renewal. Save yourself and us time and money. Go ahead, renew your subscription as soon as it's time. We don't want to lose you and we do want to hear from you. But if you are so busy that you have to leave a message just to talk to yourself, send the *GCHR* a check. We'll get the message!

Editorial Staff

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A Historical Review of Three Gulf Coast Creole Communities

D.C. LaFoy

In the United States, particularly in the deep South, there are two basic racial classifications: black and white. Traditionally and legally, anyone who is part black and part white is considered black by both races. However, there are some mixed blood populations in the South who have rejected the racial classification assigned to them. These groups prefer to be considered as white or at least not to be considered as black. Along the coast of the Gulf of Mexico there appears to be a number of such groups. Usually known as Creoles, they have tried to remain separated from the black population by frequently asserting that they are not black. Because of their rejection of the racial designation applied to them, the Creoles have tended to form small enclaves of related families and avoid contact with the surrounding white and black populations. In the states of Florida, Alabama, Mississippi, and Louisiana many such groups exist. Why have they remained separate? To understand these groups, the history of mulattoes in general and the history of the specific groups must be examined. This article examines the history of mulattoes in general and of three Creole groups.

Joel Williamson discussed the place of free mulattoes in the region in his book, *New People*. He stated that the largest concentration of free mulattoes was in the upper South, for example in Virginia and Maryland. [1] The lower South had relatively few free mulattoes and they were concentrated in South Carolina, Louisiana, Alabama, and Georgia. Louisiana had the largest number in 1850, while South Carolina had the second largest concentration. South Carolina was considered by other states as "soft" on its free mulattoes. Interracial marriage was never prohibited in South Carolina prior to the Civil War. [2] "Known and visible mulattoes could by behavior and reputation be white; and people of mixed blood could and did marry into white families." [3]

Louisiana with its large population of free mulattoes was influenced by its cultural heritage from France and Spain. In its relatively relaxed racial atmosphere a large and wealthy mulatto population arose. In 1850, two hundred forty-two free persons of color were planters in the state. The wealthiest of these were equal in social status to their white counterparts. In New Orleans, the continual interchange between whites and blacks reached its peak with interracial marriages, the placage [4] system, and light mulattoes who "passed" into white society. [5]

Most of the free mulattoes in Alabama were concentrated in the southern part of the state and benefitted from many of the same influences as their counterparts in Louisiana. Mobile, although much smaller than New Orleans, also had a placage system, but it disappeared much earlier than in the Crescent City.

In general, the lower South resisted the tendency to class mulattoes as black and allowed them greater freedom until the 1850s. Thereafter, the dominant white society throughout the South moved from semi-acceptance of mulattoes to rejection. [6] This attitude was moderated somewhat in the lower South, but interestingly it was strongest in Louisiana and South Carolina, "states where traditionally, mulattoes had been most esteemed." [7] "As mulatto communities in the 1850s confronted an increasingly hostile white world implementing increasingly stringent rules against them in the form of laws or of social pressures," most mulattoes moved from being in sympathy with the whites to the position of guarded antagonism. [8] This estrangement of mulattoes from whites caused the mulatto elite to bond itself to the black destiny in politics and economics, a bond that became even stronger during the Reconstruction period. [9]

White attitudes toward mulattoes, which had begun to change before the Civil War, came increasingly to favor the "one-drop rule." As Williamson states:

> As the alliance between mulattoes and blacks deepened and moved further into politics, native whites turned even more sour and very bitter. Instead of admiring the light elegance of the mulatto elite, they began to deride the mulattoes as "neither fish nor fowl" and to heap upon them such epithets as "ring streaked and striped" and "yellow niggers." Mulattoes had no race, they taunted, and hence no identity. Whites now swiftly finished the work of mulatto proscription begun in the 1850s. By the end of Reconstruction white Southerners were able to condemn the whole of the Negro community as a body, out of hand and without regard to variations in color. As the drama closed, a Northern-bred Negro leader testified that "they call everybody Negro that is as black as the ace of spades or as white as snow, if they think he is a Negro or know that he has Negro blood in his veins." The South had decided it could, after all, lump all Negroes together. [10]

However, some groups with mixed ancestry have tried to retain a separate racial identity. They exist throughout the Southeastern United States, but this article concerns those who inhabit the states bordering the Gulf of Mexico, particularly Alabama, Florida, Mississippi, and Louisiana. Generally referred to as Creoles, these people have a black-white racial mixture but most refuse to be classified with the black

population of the region. At one time some of these Creoles were wealthy land and slave owners, the financial equals of their white neighbors. This was particularly true of the Spanish and French territories of Louisiana and West Florida.

The French and Spanish did not enact any special laws against mulattoes during the colonial period and they did not classify mulattoes with the free blacks. This differed from most English colonies where, early in their histories, laws were passed repressing the mulattoes and other mixed bloods. These laws were a reaction to the large numbers of free mulattoes of poor or modest means who were scattered throughout the populated areas of the English colonies. By contrast, the free mulattoes of the French and Spanish colonies appeared later, in smaller numbers, and were relatively affluent. These free mulattoes were treated by whites as a third class, one between the free black and the whites. This was especially evident along the coast of the Gulf of Mexico. [11]

In the French and Spanish colonies treatment of slaves and free blacks was regulated by the Black Codes. Once a slave had received his freedom, the Black Code guaranteed that he or she would have the same rights and privileges of the freeborn. [12] Even though interracial marriages were forbidden in the Louisiana colonies after 1724, the French settlers were not adverse to such unions. In France interracial marriages were not prohibited until 1778, and then only briefly. [13] Because of the colonists' tolerance of interracial unions, the numbers of free people of color grew. In many cases, the children of such unions were included in their fathers' wills and were assisted in financial matters by their white relatives. [14]

The policies of the United States and the states of Alabama and Louisiana toward the colonial citizens were influenced by treaties with both France and Spain, since both included articles on the treatment of resident citizens:

Article III—Louisiana Purchase Treaty:

> The inhabitants of the ceded territory shall be incorporated in the Union of the United States, and admitted as soon as possible, according to the principles of the Federal constitution, to the enjoyment of all the rights, advantages, and immunities of citizens of the United States; and in the mean time they shall be maintained and protected in the free enjoyment of their liberty, property, and the religion which they profess. [15]

Article VI—Adams-Onis Treaty:

> The inhabitants of the territories which His Catholic Majesty cedes to the United States, by this treaty, shall be incorporated in the Union

> of the United States, as soon as may be consistent with the principles of the Federal immunities of the citizens of the United States. [16]

The attitudes of most Americans toward the Creoles in Mobile and New Orleans differed from that of the French and Spanish, since Americans classed the Creoles with the free blacks. Generally, finer distinctions of color were not made within the free black category. When the former French and Spanish colonies were admitted into the Union, their state constitutions were modeled after the South Atlantic states. Thus, they disfranchised the free colored, including the Creole. [17] This basic first act of discrimination was followed by increasingly restrictive legislation toward the free colored, particularly after the Nat Turner Rebellion of 1831 (with distinctions made between those who were free prior to the treaties with France and Spain). In 1822, when a law was passed to prevent the retailing of "spirits" by free people of color, an exception was made for the descendants of the citizens of Spain or France, due to the respective treaties. [18] However, none of the free colored were exempt from head taxes. During the second session (1820) of the Alabama General Assembly, in an act concerning taxes and census taking, a tax of five dollars was imposed on free people of color. This was reduced the following year to the same tax required for white males over the age of twenty-one, although that amount is not mentioned. [19] In 1824, the Alabama Legislature attempted to impose a tax of $100 on the free colored of Mobile and Baldwin counties to force them to leave the state. The Governor of Alabama vetoed the bill, claiming that it was unconstitutional. [20] In 1832, when the state of Alabama prohibited the education of slaves and free blacks, no exceptions were made. [21] The Creoles of Mobile successfully challenged the law. [22] The following year provisions were made for the education of the descendants of those who "resided there in the time of the change of the flag." [23] However by 1852, when a law was passed to prohibit the sale of spiritous liquors to free Negroes, no provisions were made for the descendants of French or Spanish citizens. [24]

The laws restricting the free colored became even more severe in the 1840s and 1850s as whites grew increasingly fearful that they would be the instigators of slave insurrections. The Creoles, who were affected by more legislation than in the past, had a vested interest in preserving the status quo. Should the slaves be freed, the Creoles would lose their unique position in the racial hierarchy and would blend in with the free blacks. Nevertheless, some of the laws in Alabama, Florida, and Louisiana which affected the Creoles in the 1840s and early 1850s include: [25]

1848 — Florida, free colored required to have guardians

1856 — Florida, free Negroes without guardians to be fined

1856 — Florida, prevent trade with free Negroes without written permission from guardians

1858 — Florida, free Negroes required to select their own masters and become slaves

1848 — Alabama, free colored prohibited from cotton cultivation

1849 — Alabama, free colored prohibited from working as a clerk or agent for the purpose of retailing liquor

1852 — Alabama, prohibited the selling of liquor to any free person of color

1852 — Alabama, required free persons of color to have a white guardian

1855 — Louisiana, prohibited the incorporation of new religious, charitable, scientific or literary society composed of free people of color

1856 — Louisiana, free people of color prohibited from obtaining a liquor license in New Orleans

1859 — Louisiana, prohibited free Negroes to keep a coffee house

Although these laws did not directly affect the Creoles financially, they lowered their social status. The result was that the Creoles defined their group, distinguishing it from that of the free Negroes. According to Shelley, some of the defining characteristics that the Creoles ascribed to themselves were: Mulattoes of French or Spanish and African descent; Artisans, slave owners and property owners; Roman Catholic and French or Spanish in language and culture. They also believed that the term *Creole colored* did not include Negroes without a profession, those of pure African descent, slaves, or those from the English colonies. [26]

The Creole groups that survive today are mere remnants of a social/racial class that existed throughout the former French and Spanish colonies. Examples of these groups are the Letoyant Creoles, the Indigo Bay Creoles and the Freejacks. [27] The descriptions, which follow, of the groups and the status that these groups now hold illustrate the loss of a rich cultural heritage due to racial prejudice.

Indigo Bay Creoles

The Indigo Bay Creoles are a remnant group of mixed bloods who have managed to maintain a separate racial identity. The author has done some recent historical and ethnographic research on this group which is the basis for this summary. [28]

The earliest ancestors of the Indigo Bay Creoles arrived during the early French Colonial period. Nicholas Bordelan is mentioned by a priest as being a trader on Dauphin Island in 1710. In that same year, Nicholas also received the earliest known land grant from the French governor, a tract of land referred to as "the Island". "The Island" was sometimes called Miragoin because Nicholas Bordelan's title was the "Sieur de Miragoin." The Bordelan family retained possession of the land, and the United States confirmed their title in 1829.

The Indigo Bay Creoles can be specifically traced to Nicholas Bordelan's grandson. In 1798, the mulatto child of Henry Bordelan and Marie was baptized into the Catholic Church. The entry does not give the race of either parent; however, Henry can be traced through records to his grandfather, Nicholas. Since racial designations were, in general, used only for non-whites (and no racial designation is ever applied to Henry, or his parents and grandparents), we can assume that Henry was white. If Gertrude was recorded as a mulatto child, then one parent had to have been Negro or mulatto. The evidence, then, points to Marie.

Henry and Marie had five other children in addition to Gertrude, and each of them inherited equally from their father. One of Henry's brothers, Alexander, also had five children of color. In his will, he left to his "servant girl and slave Yassent" the whole of his house furniture and fourteen head of cattle. He also wished to free her, should she wish to leave the state of Alabama. His "five children of color" received the balance of his possessions, which contained at least 645.36 acres of the Alexander Bordelan Grant. Alexander Bordelan's children became lost in the records, but at least one of Henry's children, Gertrude, can be traced.

Around 1822, Gertrude formed a union with John Comb, a white man. They had eight children by 1850, the oldest being 28 at that time. In the 1850 census, John and the children are all listed as white, while Gertrude is listed as mulatto.

Another important union occurred around 1830. Redegon de Salle, a free woman of color, formed a union with William Wilcox, a white man. The family is traceable through the census records. In 1850, William was listed as white, and Redegon was listed as mulatto. The race of their

six children was split, the two eldest were listed as mulatto and the four youngest as white.

The Bordelans had apparently become a large group of free people of color by the mid-nineteenth century. Henry and his brother Alexander both had a number of children of color, and both acknowledged them in their wills. Both brothers also owned property in the area of the current Creole community. Possibly because of the Bordelan family, other Creoles of color moved into the area. When white men such as Wilcox and Comb married into the community, they stayed and raised their families. It was their children who eventually formed a population distinct from the Creoles living in Mobile.

On the eve of the Civil War, the core of the Indigo Bay Creoles were industrious and prosperous farmers and craftsmen, living within a well defined area. The population was rather light complextioned, often being considered white. In fact, several were light enough to join the Confederate Army, although it was illegal for free people of color to do so.

Prior to the Civil War, the Indigo Bay Creoles were a relatively affluent population. They owned slaves and they were allowed to have their children educated. These privileges were the result of their early settlement in the region. Under the rule of France and Spain, free people of color were allowed most of the privileges of the whites, and some of these privileges were assured, by treaty, with the transfer of the colonies to the United States. The Indigo Bay Creoles, like Creoles throughout the region, found that their intermediate social position above blacks and below whites was eroding as the Civil War approached. They realized that with the dissolution of slavery they would be classified with the freed blacks. After the war, their fears became reality; they were no longer in a different racial classification than the former slaves. The Indigo Bay population then began to slowly withdraw into itself so that, by the turn of the century, they were a group largely isolated from others of both races in the region.

Social withdrawal was not difficult since the community was physically isolated, and for many years the only mode of transportation to and from Mobile was by boat. The surrounding area was sparsely populated. Before 1870 or 1880 the only people in the immediate vicinity were the Creoles, a few white fishermen, and some white farmers. Many of the Indigo Bay Creoles married whites or Creoles from Mobile during this time.

The Creoles tried to retain some of the status symbols of their former position. One of those was the education of their children. The Creoles had two schools in the early part of this century, the Combs School

and the Wilcox School. Several people who remember their early years in school during this period say that each school was a one-room structure, with one teacher who taught grades one through six. The two schools were consolidated in the 1930s, becoming the Wilcox School. The consolidated school had added a seventh year by 1949. By 1960 the school could boast of having all twelve grades.

Another symbol of the Creole community was and is the Catholic Church. The Creoles are strong Catholics and participate fully in their local church. Prior to the building of their first church, a priest said mass once a month in the home of one of the Creole families. The church today is a symbol of the Latin ancestry of the group and a means of socialization into the community for the young. Weekly activity revolves around the church.

The Creoles were very isolated and had little contact with their non-Creole neighbors. Also, many of them emigrated in this century and became lost to those who remained on Indigo Bay. A few of the Creole men served in the military during World War I or World War II. The World War I enlistment records for Alabama show at least nine of the Creole men served; all are listed as white. According to informants, several of the Creole men also served in World War II, but no further information was available. Few people in the appropriate age group still live in Indigo Bay. Apparently, most migrated during the war to work in factories or never returned from service.

Indigo Bay did not change much before the 1960s. The Creoles considered themselves to be white and emphasized their French heritage. They remained separate and segregated, particularly in the nearest town. With desegregation, however, the Indigo Bay Creoles are no longer isolated and the ethnic line of the Creoles is wavering. But, the Creoles still recognize the "community" and define it to exclude non-Creoles. The future of the Creole community depends on the continued socialization of the children into the local Catholic Church and into the community value system. Integration has dented the commonality of the group, but, if enough of the group decide to emphasize the cultural distinctiveness, it may survive.

Letoyant Creoles

The Letoyant Creoles of Central Louisiana are very similar to the Indigo Bay Creoles. Sister Frances Woods, C.D.P., studied the population extensively in the 1960s, and has described the people, their history and their problem maintaining a distinct third identity in the Southern bi-racial system. [29]

The Letoyant Creoles began with the union of a Frenchman, Pierre Letoyant, and a black slave, Marie. Their children were raised as free

persons. Pierre later freed Marie and gave her a tract of land to make a home for herself and their children. From this land, Marie carved a successful plantation. Her nine children also established large plantations and acquired the same status symbols as their white contemporaries: "large plantations with spacious homes, exceptionally large slave holdings, speculation in investments of capital, and a reputation as devout and loyal adherents to the church of the original French settlers."

In the decade preceding the Civil War, the Letoyants increased to fifty-six percent of the non-white population of their civil parish. During the war, the Creoles fought for the Confederacy. One man was a cavalry captain, another a colonel. In spite of this, the Letoyant Creoles suffered severe reversals in their prosperity and status following the war. Most of the post-war children of this group were illiterate due to a loss of prosperity and, therefore, to a lack of hired teachers. The freeing of the slaves diluted the distinction between former slaves and the Letoyant Creoles, allowing whites to lump the Creoles in with their former slaves.

After the war, the Letoyant Creoles set themselves apart by settling in and around Riverville, a town which was predominantly populated by Creoles. There they were less subject to the harrassment of local whites who treated them as if they were non-white. The Letoyants today take pride in their ancestry, conveniently forgetting about Marie. They hesitate to admit black ancestry and some emphatically deny any black ancestry after the first generation.

The ideal marriage partner was another wealthy free person of color. Marie's eldest son married a woman who was French and Indian, and his brothers married women who were French, with some black mixture. After the first few generations, the ideal marriage partner was from the community. Laws restricting marriage to whites, and church's discouragement of consensual unions are considered to be the cause of the group's in-marriage. Marriage to a black person resulted in ostracization from the community.

Marriage, family, land, and the Catholic Church are all very important to the Letoyant Creoles. They generally do not make claims that they are white. They considered themselves "colored," although a few object to the term. An emphasis is placed on their French ancestry and the prosperity of their forebearers. The whites in the area do not recognize many of the differences that the Letoyants emphasize as separating them from the blacks. One or two of the white planters in the area see some small differences.

Unlike the Indigo Bay community, when the Letoyant Creoles move away they maintain close ties with Riverville. Families come to visit often, bringing the children and acquainting them with the past. Many people

move back to Riverville to retire. Moving away from Riverville does not necessarily pass the Creoles into white society. They tend to stay among themselves, not socializing with blacks if the Creole population is large enough, but not interacting much with whites either. In-group marriage is still preferred, if possible. In towns or cities where few Creoles live, and where the children attend school with Negroes, there is socialization and acceptance of the Negroes.

In response to a questionnaire that measured racial perceptions and attitudes, Creole children from the area still appeared to distrust both blacks and whites. In schools that are predominantly black or white, the Creoles are denied a distinct identity by the other children. The children expressed dislike of marrying outside of the community, and considered that the worst thing that could happen to their family would be for a family member to marry a Negro.

Woods believes that a continued ethnic consciousness for the Letoyant Creoles lies in the future socialization of their children and in the future migration rate. If young Creoles take advantage of the higher education now available to them in the local state university, and if they can engage in the occupations for which they are prepared in that locale, Creole ethnicity may be reinforced. Young Creoles who are being socialized elsewhere and who have many contacts with outsiders run a much greater risk of weakening or even losing their ethnic identity entirely. This is particularly the case when the parents have been reared in a non-Creole environment or when only one parent has ties to the ethnic group.

Freejacks

The Freejacks are another racially mixed population in Louisiana. While their history is somewhat different from both the Letoyants of Louisiana and the Indigo Bay Creoles of Alabama, there are some similarities. In recent years the same patterns of repression show, but they have reacted to them differently. Darrell Posey has written about the Freejacks extensively, and his analysis serves as the basis for this summary. [30]

Jean Baptiste Raab received a Spanish land grant in 1785. He settled on the coast of Louisiana, establishing the oldest village in the area. Of his five sons, two formed consensual unions with free women of color, producing a number of children. Another of Raab's sons was said to "wander," having several women up and down the river. Since none of the children of these unions were able to inherit from their fathers under the law of the time, many of them left the coast and moved up river.

The Raabs eventually settled in the site of the present-day community, with four other free colored families. By 1840, all of them had applied for American patents in order to homestead the land. Not much is known

about the other four families, but it is believed that they entered the state as refugees from Haiti's slave rebellion (1791-1809). The family names are common among other refugees from that time. Two other families were already in the area, having received Spanish land grants. Their family names are common to mixed bloods across the South, and it is quite possible that they migrated at an early date from South Carolina.

The Freejack settlers had profitable farms and slaves and as the Anglo-American influence became more prevalent over the French/Spanish culture, they made a greater distinction between themselves and Negroes. Although the Freejack families were free people of color, they had never been slaves, they did not associate socially with Negroes, they were well-educated, they held a high social status and they also owned slaves. A free Negro, however, was usually a former slave and held a very low social position. In the years prior to the Civil War the Creoles as well as the free Negroes saw the steady erosion of such rights as they had. The loss of freedom and status caused the free coloreds, including the Freejacks, to become more isolated both geographically and socially. Their community became surrounded by white settlers from the Carolinas and Georgia by the time of the Civil War. These whites did not recognize the differences between the Freejacks and the free Negroes.

The Freejacks are also distinct because of an Indian element added after the black-white mixture was well established. The Indian ancestry is documented only through oral histories, but there were Choctaw and/or Acolapissa settlements in the area in the early period.

After the Civil War, the Freejacks were reduced to extreme poverty because the legal distinctions between free people of color and freed Negroes were eliminated. This brought economic and social disaster to the Freejacks, and their extreme poverty existed well into the twentieth century. They seldom went away from the settlement. In town, stores would refuse them service or would rush them through transactions. The turpentine industry helped the Freejacks with employment, beginning in the 1880s. Unfortunately, it also brought another group of mixed bloods, referred to as "turpentine niggers." The Freejacks resented these newcomers for attempting to associate with them, for jeopardizing their position with the local whites, and for settling in the area. Timber became a source of income as turpentine faded. The timbering brought in few mixed bloods, but a large number of blacks. In the 1930s, when the timber declined, two large black communities remained. These were a source of trouble for the Freejacks as racial mixing began again.

Although some Freejacks are Catholic, it is not the predominate religion in the group. Until 1920, there was no Catholic church in the community, although some claimed to be traditional Catholics. The Church

is important, however, because it brought the Freejack community its first school, the Mission Chapel. The Mission Chapel and school grew until sixty-five students were enrolled in seven grades, but the Mission school was closed in 1965 after schools in the area were desegregated. In addition to the Catholic Church, there are a variety of Protestant churches which the Freejacks attend.

The Freejacks consider themselves to be white, and react violently to any suggestion that they are not, and also object to being called Freejack. If a person recounts the family history, he "remembers" only the white relations. Records that refer to Freejacks in one of the civil parish courthouses have "disappeared." They claim to be of French and Spanish origin, although some families claim English, Portuguese, and Greek descent.

Socially, the Freejacks lie between the blacks and whites, although there are some whites who have a lower status than the Freejacks. Some recent Italian immigrants fall into this category.

The Freejacks tend to have large, close families and strong ties to the community. Yet, the ultimate achievement is to "pass" for white, thus forsaking the family and the community. Passing is not only an achievement for the individual, but for his family and the community. Kin denial is one of the results of passing. Some, in an attempt to gain higher status, will deny a relationship because the other's skin is too dark or they have pronounced Negro features. Many who have married whites never bring their spouses to meet their family because they fear the spouse's reaction.

The Freejack community is intent on assimilating. "The more individuals that can pass as white, the better off the entire Settlement." [31] This change has accelerated since 1965 in the form of school integration and the opening of a causeway connecting the settlement to New Orleans. School integration has already had some effect on changing some attitudes concerning race. The causeway has had more of an impact on the settlement. Since its opening, the settlement has become a suburb of New Orleans, with an accompanying increase in land prices and an increase in white neighbors. This has caused an erosion of a community identity as traditional churches, bars, and stores are being frequented by outsiders. Thus, Posey feels that the Freejacks are close to achieving assimilation into white society.

Conclusions

All three Creole groups can be traced to the Colonial Era. Their existence as groups that are neither black nor white is evidence of the colonial French and Spanish attitudes toward race. The Black Codes guaranteed the rights of citizenship to the free Negro and the free colored. Many of the Colored Creoles were wealthy and well educated, and lasting

affairs between white men and colored women were common with the placage system. The children of these unions were supported by their white fathers, some were educated abroad, and some received legacies in their father's wills. Some Colored Creoles were even allowed to slip into white society if they were of a sufficiently high status. Obviously, this relaxed attitude towards racial ancestry was in sharp contrast to the rigid ideas held on race by the Americans who began to settle the area after the Louisiana Purchase. Surely, the Colored Creoles were offended by these new attitudes that tried to restrict their freedom. At least once in antebellum days the Creoles in Alabama managed to have a law reversed in their favor. Matters gradually became worse for the Creoles as the Civil War approached, and the white fears of free colored complicity in slave rebellions increased. This racial polarization caused the Creoles to define themselves as separate from slaves and blacks, while becoming more isolated from the whites. The aftermath of the Civil War encouraged the Creoles to become even more isolated so that, by the turn of the century, certain groups were distinct communities with their own churches and schools. The communities were formed by outside pressures, internal family ties, land ownership, and physical distance.

Notes

[1] Joel Williamson, *New People: Miscegenation and Mulattoes in the United States* (New York, 1980), 25.

[2] Williamson, 17.

[3] Williamson, 19.

[4] Placage was a formal system where white males took mulatto mistresses. The man had a contract with the woman to support the woman in a certain style and to provide for any children that might result.

[5] Williamson, 14-24.

[6] Ibid., 62.

[7] Ibid., 65.

[8] Ibid., 62.

[9] Ibid., 78.

[10] Ibid., 92.

[11] Ibid., 15.

[12] Charles Gayarre, *History of Louisiana* (New Orleans, 1903), 532- 540.

[13] Gary B. Mills, *The Forgotten People* (Baton Rouge, 1977), 17.

[14] Mills; Frances Jerome Woods, *Marginality and Identity* (Baton Rouge, 1971); Dian Lee Shelley, "The Effects of Increasing Racism on the Creole Colored in Three Gulf Coast Cities Between 1803 and 1860" (M.A. thesis, University of West Florida, 1971).

[15] *Treaties and Conventions concluded between the United States of America and other Powers, 1776-1887* (Forty-eighth Congress, 2nd Session, 1887), 332.

[16] *Treaties and Conventions*, 1018.

[17] C.C. Clay, *Digest of the Laws of the State of Alabama* (Tuscaloosa, 1843), 4.

[18] *Alabama: Acts of the General Assembly, 1822*, 61.

[19] *Alabama: Acts of the General Assembly, 1821*, 5.

[20] Shelley, 43.

[21] Ibid.; *Alabama: Acts of the General Assembly, 1832*, 16.

[22] Shelley, 65.

[23] *Alabama: Acts of the General Assembly, 1833*, 68.

[24] *Alabama: Acts of the General Assembly, 1852*, 80.

[25] Mills; Shelley.

[26] Ibid., 47-48.

[27] Because of the sensitive nature of the issue of race, each of these groups is referred to by a pseudonym, their exact locations are not given nor are any illustrations used in this article.

[28] Deane Chapman, "Ethnic Identity and Assimilation Among an Isolate Group" (M.A. thesis, Florida State University, 1985), 28-105.

[29] Woods and Mills wrote on the same population of Creoles in Louisiana. Mills uses the name Metoyer in his history, while Woods uses Letoyant in her contemporary analysis of their social structure. Since Woods is the primary source for this section, Letoyant is the name used throughout. The references to the community are found on pages 33-65 and 227-376 in Woods' work.

[30] Darrell A. Posey, "The Fifth Ward Settlement: A Tri-Racial Marginal Group" (M.A. thesis, Louisisana State University, 1975), 33-89.

[31] Ibid., 79.

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Erwin B. Craighead, The New South, and *Cuba Libre*

Tennant S. McWilliams

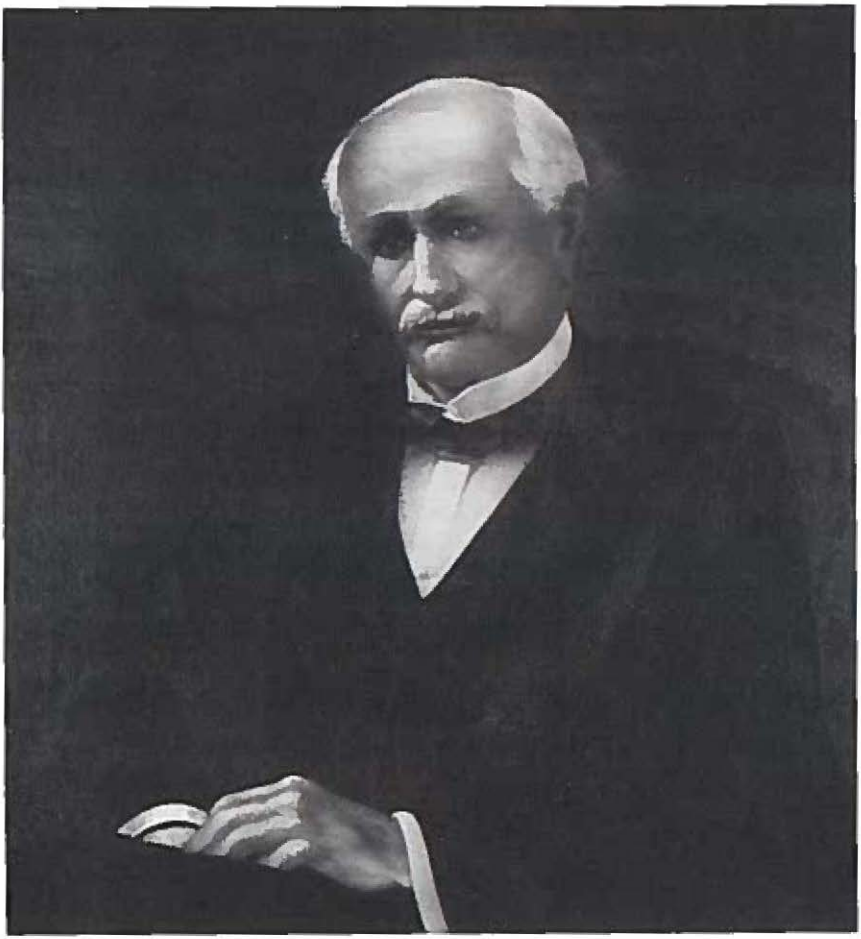
The year 1889 brought death to two key New South editors — Henry W. Grady of the Atlanta *Constitution* and Francis W. Dawson of the Charleston *News and Courier*. However, their journals lived on through the turn of the century as powerful advocates of their creed. In fact throughout the South in the 1890s other editors with similiar views were making themselves heard. In Charlotte, North Carolina, Daniel Augustus Tompkins devoted almost as much effort to the *Daily Observer* as to his textile ventures. Equally important were emerging full-time professional

Erwin Craighead *Overbey Collection, USA Archives*

journalists such as Richard Hathaway Edmonds of the Baltimore *Manufactuer's Record,* Henry Watterson of the Louisville *Courier-Journal,* and a man not so well recognized by historians, Erwin B. Craighead of the Mobile *Register.* [1]

What the New South editors counseled on the coming of the Spanish American War is especially revealing about changing regional attitudes on expansionism. In view of their interest in Yankee industry, it was predictable that these editors often assumed editorial positions which reflected those of the business-oriented journals of the Northeast. Beginning in the spring of 1895 with the outbreak of the second Cuban revolution against Spain, Tompkins, Watterson, and virtually all other New South editors did indeed echo their Yankee brethren. Patriotic, even belligerent, they urged Spain's removal from the Western Hemisphere. As the Cuban revolution continued, however, and chances for American intervention increased, these same journalists urged calmness and a patient, peaceful way of solving the Cuban predicament. They feared that a Spanish-American war would traumatize the stock market and retard recovery from the Depression of 1893. Finally, when William McKinley's administration decided that an American war declaration was the only viable option, they endorsed this decision with a flurry of patriotism and began to focus on the economic benefits the conflict might produce: an end to uncertainty on the stock market and the opening up of former Spanish markets in the Caribbean and the Pacific.[2]

Yet there also were peculiar sectional interests making this journey tormenting and contradictory for New South editors and their readers. As they had shown on the issue of Hawaiian annexation in 1893-94, these editors would reflect strong signs of pacifism and Anglo-Saxonism in reacting to the outbreak of the Spanish-American War. There were new, countervailing forces, too: the compulsion to appear patriotic and "reconstructed" in the first war since 1865, and the desire to appear economically "modern," that is, attuned to contemporary world affairs so as to deflect the criticism that Southerners were "backward." These and other relatively unique sectional impulses made the thought of Caribbean intrusion strikingly complex for New South advocates of the mid- to late-1890s. If, in the early 1890s, most rejected the idea of America's imperialistic takeover of Hawaii, just four years later — they grudgingly began to accept the Northeastern expansionist litany so long urged by their fellow Southerner, Alabama senator John Tyler Morgan, and now applied to Cuba. That Southern votes in Congress, as well as petitions sent to Washington by Southern chambers of commerce, reflected much the same pattern of thought suggests that the New South editors were



Senator John Tyler Morgan *Museum of the City of Mobile*

indeed acting and reacting in tune with their predominantly middle-class readership.[3]

The editorials of the Mobile *Register*, a paper with offices virtually looking out at Cuba, provided a daily, blow by blow account of this Southern experience in journalism and world affairs, and in the process established that paper as yet another in the classic New South mold. Like the Louisville *Courier-Journal* and other better known papers, the Mobile *Register* prospered under the leadership of personalities living in the mainstream of the New South creed, men reflecting that convoluted blend of the Old South and modernizing America. The owner of the *Register*, John L. Rapier, was a Mobilian by birth. As a young Confederate soldier he saw action at Seven Pines, Second Manassas, Sharpsburg, and Fredericksburg, only to be captured some twenty miles from home when

John L. Rapier *Overbey Collection, USA Archives*

Yankees, in 1864, took Mobile Bay and Fort Gaines. At the end of Reconstruction, Rapier — age thirty-five — used a small inheritance and some savings to purchase the Mobile *Register* Company from the Old South diplomat, John Forsyth. Although Rapier had dabbled in journalism during the war and later served briefly as Forsyth's secretary, he was no writer. Rather, he was one of many old-family entrepreneurs determined to take advantage of the boom developing in Mobile with the influx of Yankee capital.[4] Thus, for his newspaper to flourish and to "usher in the new era," he knew that he needed a professional journalist. He found one in Erwin B. Craighead.

Descendant of a noted Presbyterian minister from North Carolina, Craighead had experienced the Civil War as a youth in Tennessee. During Reconstruction he studied at Racine (Wisconsin) College, read law at Nashville College, near his home, and then went abroad for even further study in law and philosophy — first at the Middle Temple, Inns of Court,

London and later at the University of Leipzig. On returning to the United States in 1877, he moved immediately to New Orleans where he used an inheritance to purchase half ownership in that city's *Daily States.* There he discovered not only his own significant talents as a writer but his great dislike for the business of running a newspaper. "Up and coming," fluent in German, yet slow-moving and "lanky" and "courtly" and preoccupied with the Civil War, young Craighead had just the combination of old and new ways to make Rapier's paper a success.[5]

In 1883 Rapier hired Craighead to come to Mobile as city editor. Quickly the young journalist developed the reputation of "Mobile's newspaperman" in part due to an article he wrote on the death of President Ulysses S. Grant. Reprinted in prestigious journals nationwide, the essay urged the New South cause of sectional reconciliation. By 1889 Rapier had named Craighead Vice-President of the *Register* Company and three years later Editor-in-Chief as well.[6] With equally cosmopolitan wives, Craighead and Rapier fitted neatly into Mobile's elite. Their regular social beat included the Mobile Chamber of Commerce, the Commercial Club, and the Cotton Exchange as well as the Athelston Club and secret Mardi Gras societies. They saw "eye to eye on all." [7] But it was Craighead who wrote the editorials of the Mobile *Register* and who, on retirement in 1927, enjoyed a reputation in New York journalism circles as "perhaps the most scholarly. . . man at the head of any newspaper in the South" and, indeed, "one of the most forceful of the Southern editors." [8] Delivered in a precise, legalistic style, Craighead's editorials on *Cuba Libre* provide a rare opportunity to examine the ambivalence in the minds of many New South advocates as America, for the first time, went forth into the modern industrial world to fight a war.

At first the *Register* conveyed anything but confusion. On March 8, 1895, with the second Cuban revolution less than two weeks old, a Spanish gunboat fired blank shots across the bow of an American merchant vessel, the *Allianca.* Spain apologized, saying that the *Allianca,* en route from Colon, Panama to New York, had been suspect of carrying contraband to Cuban revolutionaries.[9] Not waiting for the apology, Craighead swiftly joined the *Register* to the journalistic response nationwide: Spain was guilty of an atrocity. With an intricate discussion of "international waters" and many references to *Wharton's Digest of International Law,* the *Register* characterized the attack as "an outrage upon the American flag" and urged Madrid to reprimand the Spanish captain.[10] The same patriotism blared forth two weeks later in response to internal changes in the Spanish government. Conservative leader Canovas del Castillo replaced the Liberal minister of state, Praxedes Sagasta, in a crisis touched off by press

censorship. To Craighead, the change of government not only indicated that many "foreigners" failed to "understand the idea of an absolutely free press" but also that the Hispanics' unstable society lacked the ability to "rise above local prejudices." Sooner or later, he believed, Spain's decadence would be a problem in the Caribbean, and the Monroe Doctrine would need to be activated. Ultimately, Cuba would be brought into the "American System" through legal means — but not through "Hawaiian monkey business," i.e., an American coup.[11]

The same tone persisted into the summer of 1895. Ever the trained attorney, Craighead stood forcefully behind the claims of Antonio Mora, a naturalized American citizen whose vast Cuban sugar estates had been confiscated by Spanish authorities on the island.[12] Throughout this period, he reiterated an important comparison. Spain remained "backwards" in its concepts of "law" and "rights," while America had "progressive" legal traditions.[13] The fact that Hannis Taylor, a Mobile attorney and close friend of both Rapier and Craighead, served as American minister to Spain at this time and negotiated many of the developing Spanish-American disputes, only made the American flag wave more briskly across the pages of this New South journal.[14] So strong was this sentiment that Craighead, an erudite man and one normally attuned to the subtleties of history, seemed unaware of the irony of his position: a journalist of the American South was criticizing nineteenth century Spain for its inability to solve problems of localism and function as a cohesive, progressive nation. Even more curious was his rapid *reversal* from this position.

In January 1896, as Spanish-American tensions increased and some congressmen and journalists began to talk about the need for American intervention in Cuba, the *Register* recoiled from its earlier advocacy of the American rescue of Cuba. Canovas, Spain's new minister of state, attempted to stymie the Cuban revolt by placing the island under the control of General Valeriano ("the Butcher") Weyler. The new commander's policy of concentration camps sparked a range of aggressive responses in the United States — calls for recognition of Cuban belligerency (which would legitimate American aid to the Cubans), calls for immediate American military intervention, even pleas for American annexation of the island.[15] Ignoring his recent references to the mission of the Monroe Doctrine, Craighead attacked his own senior senator, Mr. Morgan, and other interventionists for being irresponsible. On the question of belligerency status for Cuba, Craighead warned, "it is well for us to know whither we are drifting."[16]

With escalation of Spanish-American tensions, the breadth, not to mention the sources of Rapier's anti-war sentiment found clarification. In the spring of 1896, filibustering expeditions from the American coast

began slipping weapons and supplies into Cuba. Much like business-oriented journals in the Northeast, and unlike the emerging yellow press, the *Register* blasted the filibusterers as troublemakers.[17] When, in late April, a Spanish gunboat apprehended one such American-based blockade runner, the *Competitor*, Craighead applauded the arrest of the seven adventurers even though two of them were naturalized American citizens. In time Spain would release them. Not knowing their fate, however, Craighead argued that "those who render assistance by offering personal service and are caught in the act, have taken their lives in their [own] hands, for by the law of nations they are condemned."[18] Indeed, he now portrayed General Weyler and his government as ethical and excessively tolerant:

> If Weyler is the bloodthirsty man he is popularly supposed to be, why did he not hang the alleged fillibusterers from the yardarms of their vessel instead of bringing them to trial and causing all the present discussion? He could have said that they were found with arms in their hands, that they resisted arrest, [and that] they had been disposed by summary courtmartial on deck. Being hanged they could not have refuted the statement![19]

Even if Spain had acted less prudently in the *Competitor* affair Craighead still believed that Americans would have been unwise to let the episode become an issue. Pointing up the relationship between Cuban difficulties and the Venezuelan boundary dispute, then in final stages of resolution, he suggested that it "would not be wise to take up new [diplomatic] trouble when the old one with Great Britain is in an unsettled condition." Rapier did not want war, especially when Britain could not be counted on as an ally.[20]

The question of *why* he so swiftly embraced an anti-war view began to be answered in response to developments of late 1896 and early 1897. In December, President Grover Cleveland attempted to beat back growing war and annexation sentiment by proposing, in his annual message, that Spain grant autonomy to Cuba.[21] Craighead praised the speech as something that "will command the respectful attention not of Spain only but of the civilized world." [22] What is more revealing is the *Register's* defense of Cleveland when he was attacked by Senator Morgan. Leader of the small imperialist element within the New South leadership group, which included Alabama Congressman Joseph H. Wheeler, Morgan criticized Cleveland's policy as "weak" and urged all Americans to support, instead, a Cuban belligerency resolution recently introduced in the House of Representatives.[23] Craighead fought back.

> [Morgan] exhibits a fine contempt for our business interests and assumes a monopoly of right thinking. . . .The Mobile merchants declared that peace is essential to the recovery of the commercial interests of the country from the acute depression of the past several years, and that peace should not be endangered by the intrusion of our government into the domestic concerns of people foreign to us in race, language, and institutions. . . .There is a feeling of weariness [here] caused by the senator's heroics and Quixotic performances generally. He should strive to keep in touch with the commercial interests in Alabama.[24]

And a week later, on January 12, 1897, Craighead shot out again: ". . . Senator Morgan is [ready] to throw commercial interests to the winds . . . . Fortunately, there are cooler and wiser heads in the Senate, and there is a safe man at the helm of the state." Morgan may have worked for commercial growth by advancing the China market and a Nicaragua canal. But on the Cuban issue, in the minds of Craighead and Mobile's business leaders, Morgan's leadership seemed to defeat certain basic interests of the New South. Morgan's "solution" to the Cuban problem would start a war with Spain. That war, in turn, not only would force America off the gold standard, discouraging investment and recovery from the Depression of 1893, but it would deliver an American victory leading to annexation of more nonwhites and further race tension in an already unsettled racial climate.[25] Here were standard anti-war arguments appearing in the New York *Journal of Commerce* and other conservative organs of America's industrial and commercial expansion.[26] But Mobile's civil elite had an even greater stake in these arguments. Theirs was not just one of general Anglo-Saxonism and national recovery from the depression. They sought progress according to a complex racial and economic formula — they sought a New South. In view of these regional and national interests, Craighead determined that *Cuba Libre*, regardless of the Monroe Doctrine and America's mission to expand its influence, simply was not worth a war.[27]

Craighead spread the pacification message through the remainder of 1897. On August 8, Spain's minister of state, Canovas, was assassinated.[28] Although Craighead had once portrayed Canovas as "backwards," he now eulogized the fallen leader.

> It must be said to [Canovas's] credit that Spain has prospered when conservatism prevailed, and but for the rebellion in Cuba and the Philippines, would be today in exemplary condition. Personally, he was a man of highest character, diligent, well-informed and thoroughly patriotic. In his death Spain has suffered a serious loss.[29]

He gave a similarly positive assessment of General Weyler, who was removed shortly thereafter from the Cuban command. "No matter what opinion Weyler's enemies may hold [of] him," he wrote, "it must be said [that] the Cuban governor-general vacated his place in a very graceful manner." America's yellow press showed no such kindness.[30] Nor did it share Craighead's optimism about Sagasta's return to the office of minister of state. In September Craighead advised Mobilians of Sagasta's new approaches to the Cuban problem. Instead of seeking resolution through sheer force, he offered Cubans universal manhood suffrage and control over certain internal economic affairs. This was quite an offer for such a "polyglot" population, Craighead wrote. Even though Cubans rejected the reforms and kept fighting for full independence, Craighead emphasized the "conciliation" in Sagasta's offer and repeated the central point: "Spain is not out for war with [America]. The new premier uses language on this subject that should inspire action on the part of our administration worthy of [our] great and glorious republic." [31]

That depiction of a pacific American government found ironic contrast in Craighead's treatment of a great, impetuous dame of the Confederacy, Mrs. Jefferson Davis. Having once been a rebel herself, Mrs. Davis wrote to the Queen of Spain criticizing Spanish forces for imprisoning Evangaline Cisneros, a celebrated revolutionary on the island. Craighead viewed her letter as "premature." Miss Cisneros "had not been tried, much less condemned." The editor would not even bow to Lost Cause notables in urging a steady course of peace.[32]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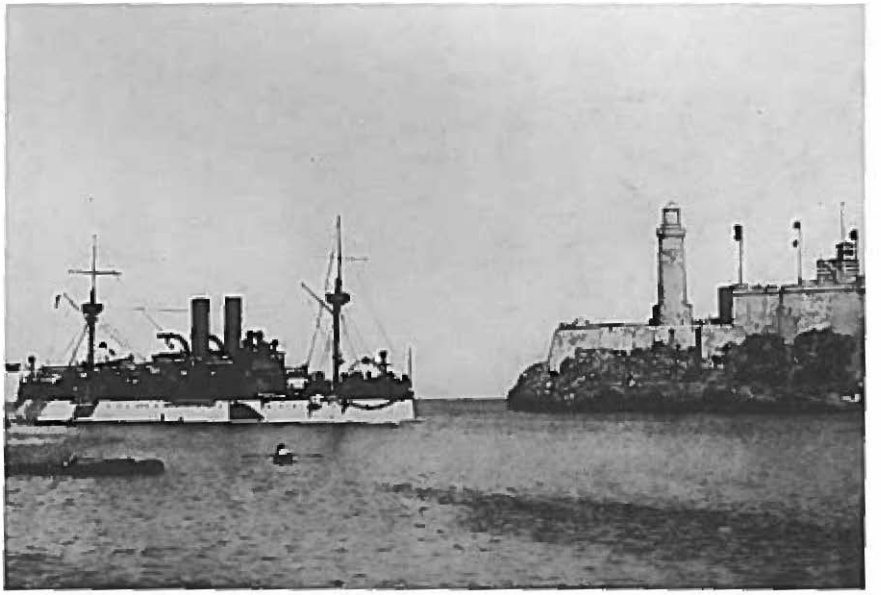
Museum of the City of Mobile

Even as the critical year of 1898 arrived, the *Register* attempted to hold this position. On February 9, 1898, New York papers printed the famous deLome letter, in which the Spanish Ambassador to the United States described the new president, William McKinley, as a weak leader unable to withstand war pressures. While many editors nationwide now urged an American declaration of war,[33] Craighead stuck with highly conservative Eastern papers and sought to diffuse the issue. He argued that Madrid's quick recall of Señor deLome represented decisive action "taking the breath [out] of the jingos" and still further indication that Spain "is anxious to avoid trouble with us." "It is not possible," Craighead advised on February 15, "that any further unpleasant consequences will have to be noted" on the deLome issue. [34]



The U.S.S. Maine *entering Havana harbor, January 26, 1898*

The Story of the Maine, *1911, Museum of the City of Mobile*

Indeed, the same day Craighead dispensed with Señor deLome, the *Maine* exploded and he still refused to flinch. Subsequent investigation would trace the battleship's destruction to negligence on board the vessel. But when it blew up that afternoon in Havana Harbor many politicians and editors blamed Spain for the resultant loss of over 250 American lives and cried "*casus belli*!" [35] Not Craighead — at least not at first. On February 17 he admitted to the "calamity that has befallen the . . . *Maine*," suggesting that no city in America experienced its gloom more than Mobile did, for in the port town as "public guests" were many members of families with sons and husbands assigned to the battleship. On the same day, however, he also attacked the rumor that Cubans blew up the *Maine*: "We mention the theory in order to cover the whole ground, but we give it no great weight. People who are in a desperate position do not adopt such roundabout methods." [36] If he was weak on that point, the next day he was stronger:

> There are so far no evidences of teacherous conduct in connection with the loss of the *Maine*. We suppose that the news will have a calming effect upon those war-like spirits who have volunteered to help our country out of the peril in which they suppose it to be placed by the Maine incident. Their readiness to fight has never been questioned, but their readiness to volunteer suggests the idea that they are seeking cheap advertising for their valor.

The U.S.S. Maine *the morning after she sank in Havana harbor* — The Story of the Maine *Museum of the City of Mobile*

And the same day, February 18, he took on "Key West specialists" — "yellow journalists" — who had been reporting, contrary to fact, that Cubans *were* implicated because in the bottom of the vessel had been found a hole made by an eight-inch percussion shell, the type of shell that the *Maine* did not use. Craighead reminded readers that "there has been no diver sent down to examine the vessel" and that no one had any factual knowledge of "any hole in her bottom." [37]

On the other hand, that mid-February editorial represents Craighead's last clear effort on behalf of peace. Henceforth, as America moved closer

and closer to war with Spain, Craighead showed deep ambivalence about his nation and region's role in the world. In fact, the *Register* seemed to embrace a superpatriotism while simultaneously cautioning about the flaws of jingoism. With the initiation of a joint Spanish-American investigation into the *Maine* disaster, Craighead, in late February, wrote: "If [Spanish] treachery be proved, the act of treachery will be *casus belli.*" [38] Then one day later, February 27, he declared:

> The people of the South as represented by this truly typical Southern city are not anxious for war. . . . [Southerners] deprecate war, especially [war] that has no good cause behind it. . . .[In] case of war, commerce would be interfered with, if not stopped entirely for a time, and the present rapid development would receive a severe check. If we have to have war, we will bear our part in it with bravery, but we do not want war. *We know too well what war means.*[39]

And the following day, Craighead urged a national anti-war argument. With an insightful analysis of American expansionism, he wrote: "We [Americans] are filled with an immeasurable and boundless feeling of our own importance, of our possessions, of our capacity to conquer and maintain, or our irresistability. . . .A nation that is suffering from the bliss of over-estimation is simply preparing itself for a deep disappointment." [40]

Similar ambivalence appeared regarding economic implications of the crisis. Throughout March and early April, as the McKinley administration and Congress expanded the American military, Craighead joined Richard H. Edmonds at the Baltimore *Manufacturers Record* in noting with pleasure that there soon would be a Southern Division of the War Department. "This proper movement," Craighead wrote, ". . . will in time give [our] part of the United States the attention that it deserves." By "attention" Craighead meant military expenditures and the development of bases in the South. [41] He appeared particularly excited about potential Mobile port expansion from a $50 million war appropriation that came out of Congress in early March. Noting that Pensacola and New Orleans had the same idea, Craighead maintained a running account of why Mobile deserved the funds over her sister Gulf ports. When none of these ports won the wartime plums they anticipated, Craighead lamented the economic loss: "the South gets the hot end of the poker everytime." [42] Yet only two weeks before he had used economics to argue *against* open conflict with Spain. "We are about to engage in another war without paying for the last one. . . .Heaven knows what our debt will be." [43]

Even in the last week before war, the ambivalence persisted. As late as April 20, five days before the declaration of war, Craighead was one of many New South advocates, including politicians in Washington, who reasserted pacifist lessons from the Southern past. "The Southern people

know what war is, and they keep asking: What are we going to fight about? They do not as yet fully understand the necessity of spilling their blood for a lot of guerillas, bushwhakers, and barn burners." [44] And with his usual condescension about sensationalist journalists, he proposed that if we had to fight Spain "a batallion of war poets be turned loose" upon the enemy. America would have "an unfair advantage" in such a contest but at least no actual lives would be at stake. [45]

Nevertheless, during this same climactic time the *Register* also reflected the increasing war sentiment that began to appear throughout the South as well as the East. [46] Early in April Craighead wrote, "While we of the South deplore war. . . , and regret that the President finds he will not be able to settle the Cuban situation peacefully, we are for our country with a patriotism not excelled by that of any other part of Union." And one day later: "We are face to face with another irrepressible conflict." The economic perspective also appeared. A naval reserve base should be established at Mobile, he wrote, for "a volunteer force may be needed to keep our port open to the world's commerce." [47] By mid-April, however, the pro-war sentiment had exceeded these tones of resignation about the inevitability of conflict. "We hope the [enlistment] response will be by such numbers as to reflect credit upon our city," Craighead wrote on April 7. [48] And on April 21 and 22, as diplomatic relations between Spain and America were disintegrating, Craighead offered a series of patriotic statements reflecting the adventuresome, "Splendid Little War" outlook of the nation.

> Give our navy a chance and it will prove itself worthy of the great confidence we place in it. . . .There shall be no more such scenes as those which have disgraced civilization on this continent through Spanish bad government. The United States troops are coming in our back door. . . , and are not giving our people a chance to welcome them commensurate with the patriotic envoy which signalled their departure from the North. . . .But we are right heartily glad to have them not alone as defence but as a sign that the old [sectional] feeling is dead. . . .Our interests are one and the same. . . .The New Era has indeed begun and we rejoice in it. When you get your gun, Johnny, don't forget your mosquito net. [49]

Finally, by April 25 and 26 support for the war subsumed any lingering ambivalence. Against the background of American blockade of Cuba and pro-war votes among Southerners in Washington, Craighead appeared unalterably committed to what was happening in both the internal and external affairs of the nation. [50] "The sight of a Confederate soldier wearing the stripes of a major general of the United States army will certainly do something to 'close the bloody chasm.' " This was followed by an equally "modern" analysis of world conflict. A Spanish naval captain had

challenged the *Maine's* captain, Charles Dwight Sigsbee, to a duel because the latter continued to blame Spain openly for the explosion. To Craighead, this was symbolic of "ancient times when individual champions settled the quarrels of nations by personal encounter." However, he concluded, if "that method has its advantages, . . .we have outgrown it." [51]

In retrospect, what is important is not just Craighead's ultimate embrace of America as an expanding world power involved in war but the torment he experienced as he assumed this outlook. Between his lines, the same questions always appeared. How aggressive should the nation be in its outward surge? What should be sacrificed at home for the sake of expansion abroad? What aspects of other societies should give way to the march of American progress? What does Mobile stand to gain or lose through world power?

While chances of a Spanish-American war seemed slight, he and many fellow Southern editors felt comfortable with aggressive answers to these questions. Spain, according to the *Register*, should get out of the Western Hemisphere and leave Cuba's progress to America and the Monroe Doctrine. National factors help account for such an attitude. In the mid-1890s, from San Francisco to Boston, middle-class business interests urged an "open door" foreign policy, enabling American trade "to encircle the globe." This expansionism would provide raw materials and markets for an American economy seeking recovery from the Depression of 1893 and, simultaneously, infuse many parts of the world with Anglo-Saxon leadership, capitalism, Protestant Christianity, and other progressive characteristics of commercial-industrial America. [52] As new encouragement for industrial capitalism came South after the Civil War, this type of economic nationalism began to capture the imagination of the region's civic elite — people like Erwin Craighead and John Rapier. [53] If some of these middle-class leaders had rejected the American coup in Hawaii, later in the decade, with the deepening of the depression and heightened interests in foreign markets, they appeared far more supportive of American expansionism, especially with regard to the Caribbean. Indeed, it is no coincidence that throughout the mid-1890s the *Register*, along with the Baltimore *Manufacturer's Record*, the Charlotte *Daily Observer* and other New South papers became a stronger and stronger voice of open door expansionism — from expansion of railroads, the harbor, and the American navy to lower tariffs and the Nicaraguan canal. Thus Craighead's aggressiveness on Cuba during 1895 can be viewed as part of a national, middle-class response to world affairs during the Gilded Age. [54]

On the other hand, uniquely sectional forces were also at work. In the Gilded Age, Mobile and other old Southern commercial centers sought to recoup the "golden era" of antebellum days by rushing headlong into the new diversified economic life. No sooner had post-Civil War development permitted certain fragile achievements when the Depression

of 1893 returned such centers to the prostration of the late Civil War years. Thus Craighead and fellow New South editors such as Watterson and Tompkins saw economic expansionism not just as a key to the nation's recovery from the depression but as essential to their region's final return to the ranks of prosperous and happy life in America. [55]

Even so, when the Cuban issue heated to the point of threatening actual war, the *Register* suddenly opposed aggressiveness toward Cuba just as intensely as it had favored it. Again, certain national forces appear important. In late 1895 middle-class businessmen all across America began to reverse their positions on Cuba, fearful that an aggressive American policy would result in war. To them, conflict conjured up visions of interrupted trade, a silver-based currency, and a generally unstable stock market — all meaning slowed recovery from the depression. [56] The *Register* manifested this national outlook but also appeared quite Southern as it embraced a virtually pacifist position. Craighead and other Southern leaders — notably Georgia's senator Augustus O. Bacon — recalled what war could do to people, not just to Cubans or Spaniards but to Americans. Such earnest pacifism stemming from the Civil War experience was ironic considering the South's historic (and erroneous) image as a militarist section. [57] Equally ironic was the role of race in Craighead's type of inwardness. Anglo-Saxonism, which earlier encouraged aggressiveness toward the encroaching Latins from the Iberian peninsula, now prompted the Mobile editor to fear war. The timing of this racial threat is of critical significance. For a member of the Southern elite, an individual at last on the verge of "stabilizing" race relations through legalization of black segregation and disfranchisement, the new racial threat of Cubans must have been frustrating. And this was especially so in Mobile, a Gulf coast trading center easily accessible from the Caribbean. [58]

Then there was Craighead's early 1898 ambivalence, when he was locked into an attitude of inwardness while simultaneously enthralled with the possibilities for a Spanish-American war. Still arguing that conflict would hurt economic recovery, he and other middle-class leaders of the South nevertheless saw war as inevitable and soon praised the business opportunities attendant to mobilization. Still arguing that Southerners could not endorse open conflict having experienced more than other Americans the ravages of war, he nevertheless called on Southerners to prove that the age of Civil War and sectional discord had ended by donning the blue uniform and fighting for the nation. If, as Richard Hofstadter suggested, the Spanish-American War revealed Americans in a "psychic crisis" touched off by the Civil War and industrial revolution, the type of vacillation and contradiction Craighead manifested shows how New South advocates (with the notable exception of Senator Morgan's imperialist clique) had an especially tortuous experience with this crisis. [59] Of course for these Southerners resolution finally arrived much as it did for other Americans

on the cutting edge of modernization and world power. Ultimately the economic and patriotic advantages of expansionism were deemed more important than the drawbacks.

With the war over and America an imperial democracy, Craighead joined Watterson, Tompkins and Edmonds in exhibiting a critical adjustment to the foreign affairs issue of race: segregation, as Senator Morgan had urged all along, could simply be exported to Cuba, Puerto Rico, and other parts of the new American realm. [60] This adjustment probably still represented a minority position among Southern leaders in general. When the treaty was ratified by a 57 to 25 vote in an executive session of the Senate, it received eleven "yea" votes from Southerners and fifteen "nays." As usual Morgan lead a few other expansionists such as South Carolina's McLaurin while Tillmand and Bacon urged the anti-expansionist position with avid followers such as Virginia's John W. Daniel and the Floridian Stephen Mallory. [61] The adjustment, nevertheless, would increase among Southerners, especially those seeking a New South. In the near future many of the section would conclude, as Mobile's Craighead had, that the "New Era" of the South should include not just a closing of the "bloody chasm" but economic and social change as part of a national society moving progressively out into the world. In 1898 the Detroit *News Tribune* urged that "nothing short of an archaeological society will be able to locate the Mason-Dixon line." [62] In that year, and for sometime to come, this was an exaggeration. Yet Craighead and other New South advocates of 1898 indeed were involved in a critical change of thought about their section's relationship with the world, a change which accepted the need for world power and the attendant forces of expansionism and war.

Notes

[1] The experiences of the early New South journalists are synthesized in Thomas D. Clark, "Newspapers," in David C. Roller and Robert W. Twyman, eds., *Encyclopedia of Southern History* (Baton Rouge, 1979), 903-05, which includes a bibliography. The details of their lives are chronicled in noted biographical studies as well as in C. Vann Woodward, *Origins of the New South* (Baton Rouge, 1951), and in Paul M. Gaston, *The New South Creed* (New York, 1970). On the postbellum South and journalism I am especially indebted to my colleague E. Culpepper Clark, author of *Francis Warrington Dawson and the Politics of Restoration: South Carolina, 1874-1889* (University, AL, 1980).

[2] Conservative, anti-yellow press journals of the era are discussed in Marcus W. Wilkerson, *Public Opinion and the Spanish-American War* (Baton Rouge, 1932); Joseph E. Wisan, *The Cuban Crisis as Reflected in the New York Press* (New York, 1934); and Charles H. Brown, *The Correspondents' War* (New York, 1967). There is no effective synthesis of the Southern press and the Cuban issue. Piecemeal, one can see the national pattern

in the following general studies: "Newspapers and the Issue of Imperialism," *Literary Digest*, 17 (July 9, 1898): 32-38; Richard E. Wood, "The South and Reunion, 1898," *The Historian*, 31 (May 1969): 415-30; Tennant S. McWilliams, "The Lure of Empire," *Mississippi Quarterly*, 29 (1975-76): 43-63; and Martha Ashley Girling, "Southern Attitudes Towards the Cuban Craze" (M.A. thesis, Mississippi State University, 1960). The pattern also appears in state studies such as George H. Gipson, "Attitudes in North Carolina Regarding the Independence of Cuba," *North Carolina Historical Review* 43 (1966): 43-65; and Katheryn McConnell, "Alabama and the Spanish-American War" (M.A. thesis, Auburn University, 1955).

[3] Patrick J. Hearden, *Independence and Empire: The New South's Cotton Mill Campaign, 1865-1901* (Dekalb, IL, 1982); Christopher Lasch, "The Anti-Imperialists, The Philippines and the Inequality of Man," *Journal of Southern History*, 25 (1958): 319-31; Edwina C. Smith, "Southerners on Empire: Southern Senators and Imperialism, 1898-99," *Mississippi Quarterly*, 31 (1977-78): 89-109; Gregory Lawrence Garland, "Southern Congressional Opposition to Hawaiian Reciprocity and Annexation, 1876-1898" (M.A. thesis, University of North Carolina, 1983). Edward W. Chester traces Congressional voting patterns in *Sectionalism, Politics and American Diplomacy* (Metuchen, NJ, 1975), 140ff. On petitions from businessmen, consult McWilliams, ed., "Petition for Expansion: Mobile Businessmen and the Cuban Crisis, 1898," *Alabama Review*, 28 (1975): 58-63, which touches on documents not just from Mobile but from Savannah, New Orleans, Charleston, and Jacksonville (Florida). See also Gaines M. Foster, *Ghosts of the Confederacy: Defeat, The Lost Cause and the Emergence of the New South* (New York, 1987), 145-59, which emphasizes pacifism less than I do.

[4] See the biographical sketch "John Lawrence Rapier," in Marie Bankhead Owen, ed., *The Story of Alabama* (New York, 1949), 3:163. Rapier appears to have been the classic late nineteenth century entrepreneur. In addition to his long tenure as owner and publisher of the Mobile *Register* (1875-1904), he had considerable experience as an accountant and during the mid-1890s ran a small dairy with home delivery service. Occasionally capturing the city contract for port printing, he served as United States Postmaster at Mobile in the second Cleveland administration. This political appointment was seemingly uncomplicated by his 1891-92 Supreme Court challenge against the government's anti-lottery law. He lost the case and then won the federal appointment. See *Mobile City Directory*, 1867 through 1905; Tennant S. Mcwilliams, *Hannis Taylor: The New Southerner As An American* (University, AL, 1977), 13; and Records of Appointments of Postmasters — Alabama, 1889-1929, p. 384, in the National Archives.

[5] For biographical sketches, see "Erwin Craighead," in Owen, ed., *The Story of Alabama* 3:141-42; and "Erwin Craighead," *The South in the Building of the Nation* (Richmond, VA, 1909), 11:234. See also John Wilds, *Afternoon Story: A Century of the New Orleans States-Item* (Baton Rouge, 1976), 49-50; and an unidentified clipping, in Erwin Craighead File, Mobile Public Library.

[6] *Mobile City Directory*, 1883 through 1928; *New York Times*, February 5, 1932. Craighead's essay on Grant appeared first in the Mobile *Register*. It was reprinted in many national papers including the *New York Times*, July 24, 1885 and this piece, plus his other Civil War interests, remained identified with him for the rest of his life. See for example John C. O'Connell to the Editor, *New York Times*, December 9, 1927, a clipping included in John C. O'Connell to Craighead, December 9, 1927, in Erwin

Craighead Papers, in possession of Mrs. Frank Plummer, Mobile, Alabama; and Craighead to Overton Fullton, November 1, 1930, in Stephens Gaillard Croom Papers, in possession of Stephens Gaillard Croom, II, Mobile, Alabama.

[7] Mobile *Register*, February 4, 1932; Craighead to Emma Langdon Roache, April 15, 1931, in Erwin Craighead File; interview with Adelaide Marston Trigg, Mobile, Alabama, July 16, 1982.

[8] New Orleans *Daily States*, November 18, 1923; *New York Times*, December 9, 1927. Craighead maintained close contacts with well-known journalists and publishers. See for example William Gilmore Buemer (of Harper and Row) to Craighead, March 9, 1915, in Craighead Papers; and Craighead, "Lamon's Warning to Lincoln," *New York Times*, May 20, 1928.

[9] French Ensor Chadwick, *Relations Between the United States and Spain: Diplomacy* (New York, 1949), 419-23.

[10] Mobile *Register*, March 16, 1895. For the same reponse nationwide, see Wilkerson, *Public Opinion and the Spanish-American War*, 18-20.

[11] Mobile *Register*, March 17, 19, 20, 29, April 6, 29, 1895. An overview of this change of Spanish ministry is given in Ernest May, *Imperial Democracy: The Emergence of America or A Great Power* (New York, 1961), 94-99.

[12] On the Mora claim, see Tennant S. McWilliams, "Procrastination Diplomacy: Hannis Taylor and the Cuban Business Disputes, 1893-97," *Diplomatic History*, 3 (1977-78):63-79.

[13] Mobile *Register*, June 23, August 13, 25, 1895.

[14] McWilliams, *Hannis Taylor*, 9, 21, 21-33, 48-49.

[15] May, *Imperial Democracy*, 98-107.

[16] Mobile *Register*, May 25, 1896.

[17] May, *Imperial Democracy*, 84; Brown, *The Correspondents' War*, 38-40; Wisan, *The Cuban Crisis as Reflected in the New York Press*, 149-54, 220-21, 348, 456; Wilkerson, *Public Opinion and the Spanish-American War*, 20ff.

[18] Mobile *Register*, May 10, 1896.

[19] Ibid., May 14, 1896.

[20] Ibid., May 14, 1896.

[21] James D. Richardson, ed., *A Compilation of the Messages and Papers of the Presidents* (New York, 1897), 14:6149-54.

[22] Mobile *Register*, December 8, 1896.

[23] On Morgan's belligerency, consult Joseph Fry, "John Tyler Morgan's Southern Expansionism," *Diplomatic History*, 9 (1985):340-41.

[24] Mobile *Register*, January 6, 1897.

[25] Ibid., January 12, 1896. For more on Craighead's opposition to Morgan, see December 20, 1896, March 2, February 25, 26, April 20, May 18, 19, 1897. The anti-war, though pro-business expansion sentiment of many Mobile businessmen is presented in McWilliams, ed., "Petition for Expansion," 58- 63.

[26] Anti-war sentiment expressed in the New York *Journal of Commerce* and other conservative papers is examined in Julius W. Pratt, *Expansionists of 1898* (Baltimore, 1936), 242; Wisan, *The Cuban Crisis as Reflected in the New York Press*; and May, *Imperial Democracy*, 77.

[27] As Craighead wrote in February, "War is a bad thing at any time, but a war begun in the wrong and in which victory, when obtained, will not confer glory upon our flag, is little less than a crime." Mobile *Register*, February 26, 1897.

[28] May, *Imperial Democracy*, 125, 160.

[29] Mobile *Register*, August 10, 20, 1897.

[30] Ibid., October 10, 1897; Brown, *The Correspondents' War*, 106-07.

[31] Mobile *Register*, September 9, November 14, 1897. Sagasta's reforms are detailed in Tennant S. McWilliams, "United States Relations with Spain, 1893-97: A Study of the Ministry of Hannis Taylor" (M.A. thesis, University of Alabama, 1967), Appendix.

[32] Mobile *Register*, September 1, 1897. Several months later, the paper used the same approach in treating the case of Julio Sanguilly. Claiming to be an American citizen, Sanguilly was residing in Havana when hostilities broke out in 1895. He was jailed by Spanish authorities — which produced a rage of American jingoism in Congress and in the yellow press. But when Weyler freed Sanguilly in February 1897, Craighead offered the released man no sympathy: he explained that Sanguilly had misused American citizenship to aid the Cuban movement. And when Senator Morgan praised Sanguilly, the *Register* retorted: "So Morgan goes spouting on." The Mobile *Register*, February 27, March 2, December 15, 1897. On the Cisneros and Sanguilly cases, see May, *Imperial Democracy*, 134; Chadwick, *Relations Between the United States and Spain*, 428-29, 481-90.

[33] David F. Trask, *The War With Spain in 1898* (New York, 1981), 26-28; Brown, *The Correspondents' War*, 112-13.

[34] Mobile *Register*, February 12, 15, 1898.

[35] Trask, *The War With Spain in 1898*, 24-25, 35; May, *Imperial Democracy*, 39-40.

[36] Mobile *Register*, February 17, 1898.

[37] Ibid., February 18, 1898.

[38] Ibid., February 26, 1898.

[39] Mobile *Register*, February 27, 1898. A similiar opposition to war and the military existed in rural areas often isolated from the daily influence of the New South publicists. Some of this sentiment, as William A. Williams has suggested, can be traced to Populism; but it also appeared in less reform-oriented places due apparently to memories of the late Civil War and the unpleasantness of Yankee military occupation. Joseph C. Kiger,

"Social Thought as Voiced in Rural Tennessee Newspapers, 1878-1898," *Tennessee Historical Quarterly*, 11 (1950):13-154; Harvey H. Jackson, "The Spanish-American War As Reflected in the Clark County [Alabama] *Democrat*, 1895-99" (ms. in possession of Tennannt S. McWilliams), 15ff; William A. Williams, *The Roots of the Modern American Empire* (New York, 1969), 355ff; Ida Young, *et al.*, *History of Macon, Georgia* (Macon, GA, 1950), 363-64.

[40] Mobile *Register*, February 28, 1898.

[41] Ibid., March 12, 1898. On McKinley, Congress, and the military build-up, consult Trask, *The War With Spain in 1898*, 33-34ff. For examples of Edmonds' excitement, see the Baltimore *Manufacturers Record*, XXXIII (April 8, 1898), 182.

[42] Mobile *Register*, March 12, April 1, 3, 8, 1898. The quoted passage is from April 8.

[43] Ibid., March 25, 1898.

[44] Ibid., April 20, 1898. Three days earlier, Craighead had argued, "If we whip Spain, and we surely will, it will give us no credit." Ibid., April 17, 1898. On other examples of Southern anti-war sentiment based on the Southern experience with Civil War, see Smith, "Southerners on Empire," *Mississippi Quarterly*, 21 (1977-78): 98, 104-06 and Lala Carr Steelman, "The Public Career of Augustus Octavius Bacon" (Ph.D. diss., University of North Carolina, 1950), chapters 9 and 10. Consider also the views of Congressman Henry D. Clayton, of Alabama, who urged: "War is most deplorable and ought to be avoided. The people of Alabama . . . do not want war . . . I know the horrors of war and witnessed enough, God knows, to make me dread it." David E. Alsobrook, ed., "'Remember the *Maine*!': Congressman Henry D. Clayton Comments on the Impending Conflict With Spain, April, 1898," *Alabama Review*, 30 (1977): 229-31.

[45] Mobile *Register*, April 21, 1898.

[46] Charles S. Campbell, *The Transformation of American Foreign Relations* (New York, 1976), 266-67; Pratt, *The Expansionists of 1898*, 23-316; and Walter LaFeber, *The New Empire: An Interpretation of American Expansion, 1860-98* (Ithaca, 1963), 385-406.

[47] Mobile *Register*, April 1, 2, 1898.

[48] Ibid., April 7, 1898.

[49] Ibid., April 21, 22, 1898.

[50] Trask, *The War With Spain in 1898*, 108ff. A large majority of Southern representatives and senators in Washington, D.C. voted for the joint resolution which amounted to a declaration of war. See *Congressional Record*, 55th Cong., 2nd Sess., 4040-41, 4105.

[51] Mobile *Register*, April 25, 26, 1898.

[52] The classic description of this national sentiment is LaFeber's *The New Empire*. See also Campbell, *The Transformation of American Foreign Relations*, 111, 121, 160.

[53] Hearden, *Independence and Empire* and McWilliams, "The Lure of Empire" have extensive information on this topic.

[54] On transportation and harbor improvement, see for example the Mobile *Register*, April 24, 1894; August 7, 1895; January 26, 1896, July 27, 1897, April 8, 1898. For naval expansion, November 17, 1894, September 22, 1895, May 12, November 1, 1896, February 13, 1897, April 1, 1898. On lower tariffs, December 6, 1893, March 21, April 26, July 15-22, October 26, 1894, January 8, March 5, 1895, January 24, 1896, January 28, May 5, 1897, January 30, 1898. And on the Nicaraguan Canal, May 17, 1894, May 8, 1895, January 22, 1897. Articles demonstrating intense interest in foreign markets — especially outlets for iron, coal, pine timber, grain, and cotton textiles — appeared in virtually every issue; for examples, see November 18, 1893, January 20, September 14, December 13, 1894, February 17, May 11, December 20, 1895, January 16, December 5, 1896, February 14, December 25, 1897, February 1, 2, 1898. On the other New South papers, see Williams *Roots of the Modern American Empire*; Thomas J. McCormick, *China Market: America's Quest for Informal Empire, 1893-1901* (Chicago, 1967); Hearden, *Independence and Empire*.

[55] Hearden, *Independence and Empire*; McWilliams, "The Lure of Empire"; McWilliams, ed., "New Southerner Abroad: General Joe Wheeler Views the Pacific and Beyond," *Pacific Historical Review*, 47 (1978):123-27; McWilliams, "New South 'Functionals' Look Outward: The Brunswick Seven and the Cuban Crisis, 1897," *Georgia Historical Quarterly*, 44 (1979): 469-75. Craighead's sectional interest in expansionism also appeared in articles on commercial clubs, expositions, and competition with New Orleans. For examples, see Mobile *Register* October 3, November 18, 1891, November 27, December 3, 1892, January 27, 1893, February 15-16, July 29, 1894, January 31, April 7, November 21, 1895, September 1, November 4, 1896, February 9, May 15, December 29, 1897, January 13, 1876, March 2, April 12, 1898.

[56] Pratt, *Expansionists of 1898*, 233ff; LaFeber, *The New Empire*, 384. Pratt and LaFeber differ as to exactly when mid-level businessmen began to support an anti-war position.

[57] Cf. C. Vann Woodward, *The Burden of Southern History*, rev. ed. (Baton Rouge, 1970), 211. In another context Woodward cites, though quotes only briefly, the prescient words of Alabama congressman Willis Brewer: "This generation of Americans. . . , like the several which preceded it, must have the glitter and the dust which Hugo says constitute the twin elements of glory. We [of 1898] are Crusaders again, as we were in 1861 and 1846. . . .The mistake I am prone to fall into is that this country can avoid the destiny of other peoples and nations, and that we are wiser or better than they is a pardonable error, due to patriotism, which reflection corrects." See also Willis Brewer to Robert McKee, April 23, 1898, in Robert McKee Papers, Alabama Department of Archives and History, and Foster, *Ghosts of the Confederacy*, 150.

[58] The racial motivation behind Southern anti-imperialism at the turn of the century is discussed in Christopher Lasch, "The Anti-Imperialists, the Philippines, and the Inequality of Man," *Journal of Southern History*, 24 (1958):319-31 and in Reuben Francis Weston, *Racism in US Imperialism* (Columbia, SC, 1970), 91-95, 101-02. However, there is no careful delineation of the relationship between the crystallization of legalized segregation in the South and the Cuban issue. One may infer such a symbiotic relationship in Mobile from David E. Alsobrook, "Alabama's Port City: Mobile During the Progressive Era, 1896-1917" (Ph.D. diss., Auburn University, 1982), chapter 4. Also relevant is Joel Williamson's insight: "Imperialism united North and South, but it also separated Southern blacks from Northern whites. If the North accepted the South, it must accept more or less the whole South and . . . give the South *carte blanche* in matters of race." Joel

Williamson, *The Crucible of Race: Black and White Relations in the American South Since Emancipation* (Chapel Hill, 1984), 337.

[59] Richard Hofstadter, "Cuba, the Philippines, and Manifest Destiny," in Hofstadter, *The Paranoid Style in American Politics and Other Essays* (New York, 1966), 145-87. There is no study of Southerners and the psychic crisis; the confused inwardness/aggressiveness pattern of New South thought on Cuba and world affairs suggests the need for such a general study. However, Hofstadter did indeed place Watterson and Walter Hines Page in the context of this crisis (pp. 180-81). See also Robert Dallek, "Imperialism: A Crisis in National Self-Confidence," in Dallek, *The American Style of Foreign Policy: Cultural Politics and Foreign Affairs* (New York, 1983), 3-31.

[60] Craighead's support for the treaty is shown in the Mobile *Register*, July 14, August 15, September 6, 27, December 28, 1899. Other supportive New South papers included the Baltimore *Manufacturers Record*, the Louisville *Courier-Journal*, the Atlanta *Constitution*, the Atlanta *Journal*, the Charlotte *Daily Observer*, the Memphis *Commercial Appeal*, and the Richmond *Times*. See also Joseph Frazier Wall, *Henry Watterson: Reconstructed Rebel* (New York, 1956), 240.

[61] Of the eleven votes for ratification from the South, several probably do not represent a genuine expansionist position. Louisiana's McEnery — known as an anti-annexationist — voted for ratification when, it is alleged, Republicans promised him a federal judgeship. It is possible that three others, Mississippi's Sullivan, Georgia's Clay, and North Carolina's Butler, voted "yea" as part of the William Jennings Bryan strategy of seeking ratification to create a campaign issue for 1900. Some also have argued that South Carolina's McLaurin cast a spurious "yea" vote. I doubt this in view of McLaurin's strong advocacy of Hawaiian annexation and the China market. See *Journal of the Executive Proceedings of the Senate*, 55th Cong., 3rd Sess., 1284; Henry Cabot Lodge to Theodore Roosevelt, February 9, 1899, in *Selections from the Correspondence of Theodore Roosevelt and Henry Cabot Lodge* (New York, 1925), 1:391-92; John K. Cowan to William McKinley, January 25, 1899, and Mark Hanna to McKinley, February 7, 1899, in William McKinley Papers, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.; Paola Coletta, "Bryan, McKinley and the Treaty of Paris," *Pacific Historical Review* 26 (1957): 131-46; Osborn, *John Sharp Williams*, 352-54; and Evans C. Johnson, *Oscar W. Underwood: A Political Biography* (Baton Rouge, 1980), 58-62.

[62] Thomas A. Bailey, *The Man in the Street* (New York, 1948), 114n. For the earlier appearance of this viewpoint, see Paul H. Buck's classic, *The Road to Reunion* (New York, 1937), 318-320; and for its recent, more cautious usage, consult Foster, *Ghosts of the Confederacy*, 150ff.

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The Swiss and German Connection: The First Migration to the Gulf Coast Under French Colonial Rule

Ellen C. Merrill

Several detailed studies have been made of the German migration of 1721 to the Gulf Coast and lower Mississippi River, but little attention has been given to differentiating the Swiss nationals from those emigrants leaving the many German principalities for the colony of Louisiana. [1] Although the cantons of Switzerland had gained their independence from royal rule at the end of the Thirty Years War, "Germany" at the time of this migration remained a patchwork of hundreds of states ruled by a variety of princes and petty monarchs. Because the Swiss of the early eighteenth century already possessed a well-defined identity, they formed a distinct national group apart from the Germans. They also had a different organization, emigration experience, and role to play in colonial Louisiana which set them apart from their German-speaking brethren.

The story of the Swiss Connection begins with John Law's infamous Mississippi Bubble. [2] The Sun King, Louis XIV, had depleted the French royal coffers and the empire had fallen into grave financial straits. John Law, a Scotsman, sometime scoundrel, inveterate gambler, and financial genius arrived on the scene at this point, offering his services to remedy this regal distress. The Duke of Orleans, regent to the new boy-king, Louis XIV's great grandson, immediately recognized the possibilities of Law's proposals, and the two put together a wonderfully creative stock scheme. To accomplish their purposes they merged several existing trading companies into the Company of the Indies with a subsidiary, the Mississippi Company, which they formed in 1717 to exploit the great resources of French Louisiana. To give their scheme credibility they then merged this company with the Bank of France, which they had also newly created, and thus were able to float their stock and print paper money to pay for it. By 1719 the stock was selling at forty times its face value. It is said that Frenchmen waited in line for days at a time to invest their life-savings. But as often happens, the Mississippi Bubble, collasped under the weight of speculation in December of 1720, leaving thousands of Frenchmen penniless and obliging Law to flee France for his life. [3]

However, in the heady days before collapse, the Mississippi Company had started recruiting colonists to settle Louisiana. Illustrated broadsides, prints and books were circulated in both the German states and Swiss cantons describing the wonders of this new world. [4]

John Law caricature *David Culwell/ Ft. Condè, Mobile*

... The flood lands of the river do not extend too far; this most beautiful area is measured by pleasant hills and tall trees, and streams rich with fish. For about 200 miles the plains of this great land are filled with bullocks / bucks / does / bears / Indian chickens / quail / parrots / woodcocks / turtle-doves / wood pigeons / beaver / otters / weasels / along with many other birds and wild animals. Also a small animal is found here as big as a cat / with silver colored hair sprinkled with black. The tail is bald, and as thick as a large finger / one foot long / with which it hangs from the trees. Under its stomach it has a sack, within which it carries its young / when it is pursued. The trees are very tall / and the wild[men] make their

piroques or canoes from them / 40 to 50 feet long / and hollow them out with fire / thus a surfeit of wood for shipbuilding is available. The underbrush grows without limit / as do bean [plants] / which grow for a number of years and bear fruit. There is also tar / and likewise rich gum / which comes from a tree. The peach trees are like those in Europe. One sees whole forests full of mulberry trees / the fruit of which matures in May. The fruit of the plum trees smells like musk. No fewer are grapevines / pomegranates and chestnut trees. The Indian corn is harvested three or four times a year. One feels the winter very little / except when it rains. One finds coal / and unquarried marble; likewise copper and lead in such quantity / that an entire kingdom could be supplied. All these natives have little religion; it seems however, that they worship the sun; also all the natives have their own [common] language if they live not further than [within a] 10 mile [radius]. About 40 miles from the Tamaroa one finds southward the Quabach or Quadebache River, where the banks are so muddy that it is difficult to get to land. Further down is the Chicago tribe / whose sworn enemy is the Tintonba / or the plains tribe. The promotory is called Cape St. Antoine. On the West side is the Atansa; and further down the Mississippi River forms a small bay in the land where the Tensa live. Here the land is filled with trees, unknown in Europe / with wild palms, and laurels; like [the European varieties] plum, mulberry, pear, and apple trees and grapevines. Also there are about six varieties of nut trees / the nuts of which are of an unusually large size. These tribes are learned / friendly / upright and capable of reasoning. Ten miles further down is the village of the Coroa / in a very pleasant area / with Indian corn and pasture land. From here it is still a 6 or 7 day trip to the sea. Six miles before / the river divides into two channels / and forms a large island, about 60 miles in size. Below this the Quinipissa and Tangibao [tribes] live. Finally the river divides into three channels, the middle one of which is fairly deep. The water is brackish and half-salt / and only 3 or 4 miles further it is totally salty / here one already finds the sea / or Sinum Mexicanum [Gulf of Mexico] into which it [the river] flows at a lattitude of between 27 and 28 degrees / in the area / where the old maps [show] la Rio Escondido / about 30 miles from the Bravo River / 60 miles from Palmas / and 80 or 100 from the Panuca River. One estimates that this river / from its source / to the sea / throughout its course through the land / including the bends / in its entirety is 800 miles long. Where it flows into the sea is over 340 miles from the spot where the Illinois river junctures with it / where strangely crocodiles are to be found in great numbers / which make sudden attacks on the unsuspecting: they can be kept away easily with a stick of burning fox's brush / since they avoid fire [5]....[figure 1]

Die Uberschwem-
mung des Flusses erstrecket sich nicht allzuweit; woauf das schönste Erdreich mit angenehmen Hügeln und
hohen Bäumen / und Fisch-reichen Bächen anzutreffen. Die Felder dieser bey 100. Meilen grosser Län-
der / sind mit Stieren / Hirschen / Rehen / Bären / Indianischen Hünern / Wachteln / Papagayen / Schnep-
fen / Turtel-Tauben / Holtz-Tauben / Bibern / Otern / Marters / nebst vielen andern Vogel- und Wildwerck
angefüllet. Auch findet man hier ein kleines Thier / so groß als eine Katze / mit silberfarben und schwartz-
gesprengten Haaren: Der Schwantz ist kahl / und so dick / als ein grosser Finger / eines Fusses lang / mit
welchem es sich an die Bäume hänget. Unter dem Bauch hat es wie einen Sack / darinnen es seine Jun-
ge träget / wenn es verfolget wird. Die Bäume sind sehr hoch / und machen die Wilden ihre Piroquen oder
Kähne daraus / 40. oder 50. Fuß lang / und hölen sie mit Feuer aus / daß also Holtz zum Schiff-Bau
überflüssig vorhanden. Der Hanff wächset ungesäet / ingleichen die Bohnen / deren Stengel etliche Jahre
stehet / und Frucht bringet. So findet sich auch Oel / ingleichen weltriechender Gummi / der aus einem
Baum fliesset. Die Pfirschen-Bäume gleichen den Europäischen. Ganze Wälder voll Maulbeer-Bäu-
me siehet man / deren Früchte im Majo zeitigen. Die Früchte von Pflaumen-Bäumen riechen wie Bisem.
Nicht weniger findet man Wein-Stöcke / Grand- und Castanien-Bäume. Das Indianische Korn wird
drey-oder viermal des Jahrs eingeerndet. Den Winter verspühret man wenig / ausser daß es regnet. Man
trifft Stein-Kohlen an / und Marmel-Brüche / ingleichen Kupfer und Bley so viel / daß man ein gan-
zes Königreich damit versorgen kan. Alle diese Völcker haben wenig Religion; es scheinet jedoch / daß sie
die Sonne verehren; so haben auch alle Völcker wenn sie gleich nicht über 10. Meilen von einander lie-
gen / ihre besondere Sprache. Bey 40. Meilen von denen Tamaroa empfänget er Süd-werts den Fluß
Ouabach oder Ouadebache / allwo das Gestade sehr morastig / daß schwerlich auf das Land zu kommen
ist. Weiter hinunter ist die Nation Chiemga / deren geschworne Feinde die Tinzonha / oder das Volck der
Wiesen sind. Diese Land-Spitze wird Cap. St. Antoine genennet. Auf der West-Seite kommet der
Akansa; und weiter unten machet der Fluß Mississipi einen kleinen See in das Land hinein / an welchem
die Taensa wohnen. Hier ist das Land / ohne die andern in Europa unbekannten Bäume / mit wilden
Palmen- und Lorbeer-Bäumen; ingleichen Pflaumen-Maulbeer-Pfirsing-Birn- und Apfel-Bäumen
und Wein-Stöcken angefüllet. Auch gibt es sechserley Gattung Nuß-Bäume / davon die Nüsse einer auf-
serordentlichen Gröse sind. Diese Völcker sind gelehrsam / freundlich / aufrichtig und fähig Raison anzu-
nehmen. Zehen Meilen weiter hinunter / ist ein Dorff der Corosa / in einem sehr angenehmen Lande / mit
Indianischen Korn und Wiesen. Von dar sind noch 6. oder 7. Tag-Reisen bis an das Meer. Sechs Mei-
len von dannen / theilet sich der Fluß in zwey Canäle / und machet eine sehr grosse Insul / bey 60. Mei-
len groß. Unterhalb derselben wohnen die Quinipissa und Tangibao. Endlich theilet sich der Fluß in drey
Canäle / davon der mittelste ziemlich tief. Das Wasser ist brack und halb gesaltzen / und nur drey oder vier
Meilen niedriger ist es ganz gesaltzen / da man sodann schon das Meer / oder Sinum Mexicanum entdecket /
wohinein er sich zwischen den 27. und 28. Grad latit. ergiesset / in der Gegend / wo die alten Land-Char-
ten la Rio Espondido / ohngefehr 30. Meilen von dem Fluß Bravo / 60. von Palmas / und 80. oder
100. von dem Fluß Panuco. Man hält dafür / daß dieser Fluß / von seiner Quelle an / bis an das Meer /
zwischen dem Lande / nach seinem ganzen Lauff / die Krummen mitgerechnet / in die 800. Meilen lang ist.
Seine Ergiessung in das Meer ist über 340. Meilen von dem Ort / da der Fluß der Illinois in denselben
fället / allwo sonderlich die Crocodillen in Menge sich befinden / die denen Unvorsichtigen geschwinde Scha-
den zufügen: Sie können aber mit einem Stück brennenden Lunten / indem sie das Feuer scheuen / leicht
abgehalten werden.

1. Geographische Beschreibung der Provinz Louisiana / in Canada von dem Fluss St. Lorenz bis an den Ausfluss des Flusses Missisipi; samt einem kurtzen Bericht von dem jetzt florirenden Actien-Handel. [Geographic description of the province Louisiana / in Canada from the St. Lawrence River to the mouth of the Mississippi River; including a short report on the currently flourishing stock trading.]
Broadside, Historic New Orleans Collection.

With enticements such as this thousands signed up to go to a new country where the land was free and fertile and life was untaxing and untaxed. [6] Sadly, however, probably not even half of these would-be immigrants got further than signing the recruiters' contracts.

The population of Europe in the first half of the seventeenth century had been greatly diminished by the Thirty Years War coupled with the incredible death toll caused earlier by the Black Plague. The War of the Spanish Succession (1701-1713) brought still more death and destruction in the early eighteenth century. Additional population loss was caused

by English recruiters for the new-world Pennsylvania and Carolina colonies, who since 1709 had been stripping the Rhine principalities and bordering Swiss cantons of their citizenry. [7] Seeing their most important resource, their people, floating away down the Rhine, the German princes and Swiss officials took a firm stand against emigration to Louisiana. [8]

Already in 1709 warnings against emigration began to appear in principalities along the Rhine River:

> Greetings to [Our] beloved and faithful.
>
> Since it has been most humbly reported to Us what large numbers of our subjects have abandoned their previous homes in Our principality together with their wives and children / and have decided to move to America because of a rumor spread in Our land / that they not only can acquire the means for whatever sustenance is needed without particular effort / but also can achieve great riches / We, however, must warn these same people against such improvident and very dangerous intentions / and deem it a necessity; so that it is furthermore Our order / you must impress upon those among you who have such intentions that things are not the way they would like to imagine them to be / but instead that they are actually entering desolate and barren country / and must build and plant for their necessities of life only with great effort and labor. In addition / before they can get there they must undertake a very difficult and long voyage of about 2,000 miles. Underway they may endure great suffering because of the lack of supplies and may even die of hunger also en route... . [9] [figure 2]

In October of 1720 the Chancellor of Neuchatel, Switzerland went a step further by forbidding the circulation of the enticing recruitment broadsides of the Mississippi Company. [10] In the same year, since his earlier directive had gone unheeded, Prince Eberhard Ludwig of Württemberg decreed an outright legal prohibition against emigration:

> By divine right Eberhard Ludwig, Prince of Württemberg, etc. etc. Dear beloved [ones]!
>
> Since we must learn with displeasure that some of our established subjects want to let themselves be pursued by an agent in our area to move to the Isle of the Mississippi, lying in North America, and since We are moved by patriarchal concern to keep such simple people from such thoughtless and, in time, harmful intentions; Thus it is hereby our most benevolent order to you: You should now extend that most benevolent general proclamation of September 2, 1717, applied to those emigrating subjects allowed then [to go] to Carolina

Von Gottes Gnaden/

Eberhard Ludwig/

Herzog zu Würtemberg/ ꝛc.

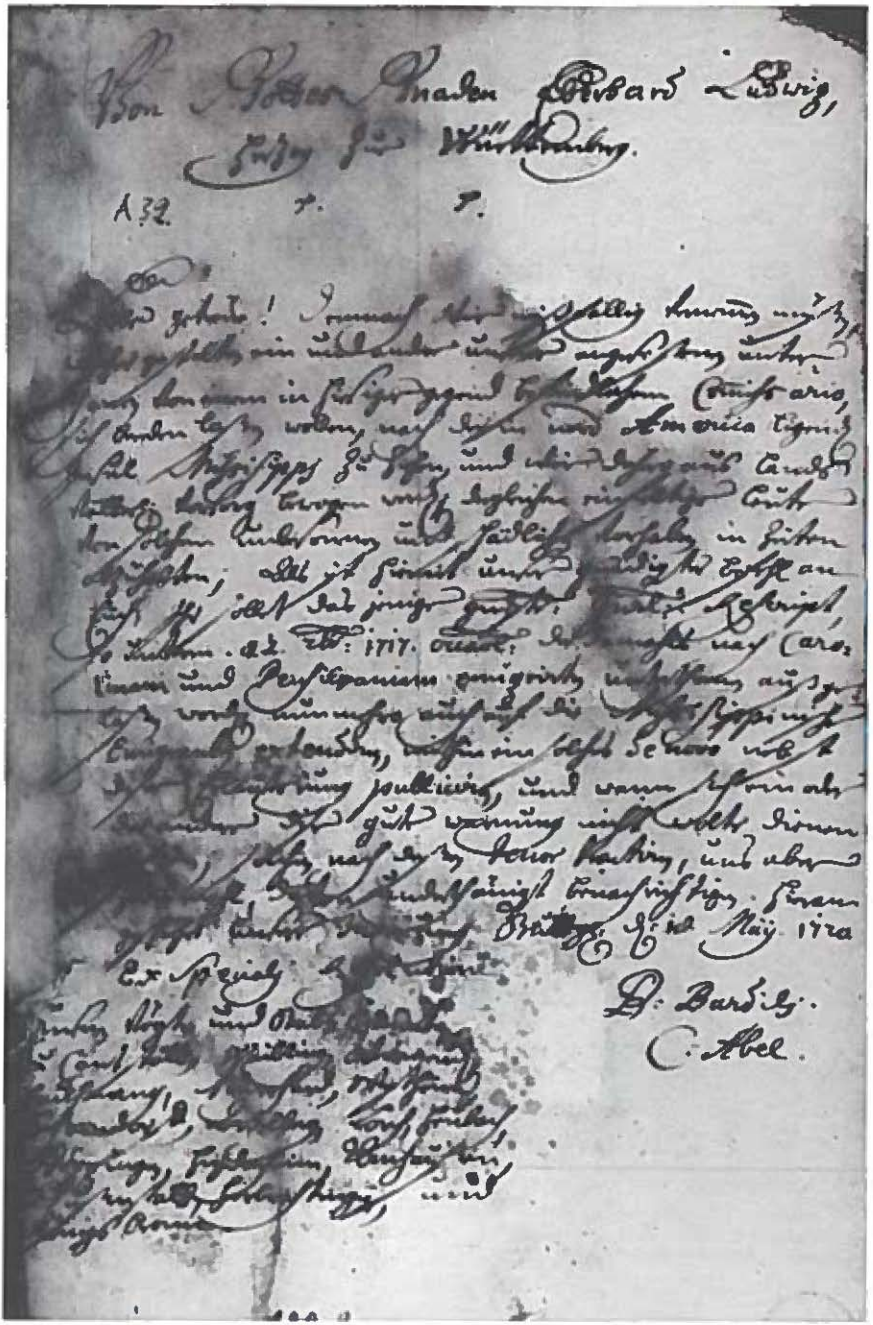
Der Römisch. Käyserl. Majestät/ und deß H. R. Reichs/ wie auch deß Löbl. Schwäbischen Creyses respective General-Feld-Marchall und General der Cavallerie, &c.

Unsern Gruß zuvor/ Liebe Getreue.

DEmnach Wir Unterthänigst berichtet werden/ was massen verschiedene von Unsern Unterthanen samt ihren Weib und Kindern ihre biß dahero in Unserm Hertzogthum gehabte Wohnungen zuverlassen/ und in Americam auf einen in das Land erschollenen Ruff/ als ob Sie daselbsten nicht nur ihre täglich benöthigte Sustentation ohne sonderbahre Mühe haben/ sondern auch zu grossen Reichthum gelangen können/ zuziehen gesinnt wären/ Wir aber dieselbe von solchen unbesonnenen und ihnen sehr schädlichen Vorhaben abwarnen zu lassen/ eine Nothdurfft zu seyn erachten; Als ist hiemit Unser Befehl/ ihr sollet denen jenigen bey Euch/ so etwan ein solches vorzunehmen gesinnet seynd/ nachdrucksamlich vorstellen/ daß sich die Sach nicht dergestalten/ als sie sich etwan einbilden möchten/ befinde/ sondern sie daselbsten öde und wüste Felder antretten/ und zu ihrem nöthigen Unterhalt ebenfalls mit grosser Müh und Arbeit bauen und pflantzen müsten/ zumahlen ehe und dann sie dahin kommen können eine sehr beschwehrliche und gegen 2000. Meil Wegs weite Reiß vorzunehmen hätten/ darbey sie auß Mangel der Lebens-Mittel unterwegs grosse Noth leiden und wohl gar Hungers sterben/ auch auf dem Wasser

2. Von Gottes Gnade / Eberhard Ludwig / Herzog zu Württemberg / u. Der Romisch. Kayserl. Majestat / und dess H.R. Reichs / wie auch dess Löbl. Schwabischen Kreyses respective General-Feld Marchall und General der Cavallerie, etc. [By divine right, Eberhard Ludwig / Prince of Würtemberg / and the Roman royal majesty / of the Holy Roman Empire / and also respectively General Field-Marshall and General of the Cavalry of the famed Swabian state.]

General Proclamation, Würtemberg State Archive, Stuttgart, West Germany.



3. Ex Speciali Resolutione. Von Gottes Gnaden Eberhard Ludwig, Herzog zue Württemberg, e. e. [Special resolution. By divine right Eberhard Ludwing, Prince of Württemberg et cetera et cetera.]

Württemberg State Archive, Stuttgart, West Germany.

> and Pennsylvania, also to the Mississippi emigrants, and publicize the previous [order] anew along with this edict, and if a few [subjects] do not want to avail themselves of this good warning [and] follow their [own] leanings, then we must most humbly be informed of each [infraction]. This is our resolution.
>
> Stuttgart, May 18, 1720. [11] [figure 3]

Even more direct were these orders of 1720 from the Bern Book of Mandates: "Do not permit the subjects to go with the Company of the Mississippi." [12]

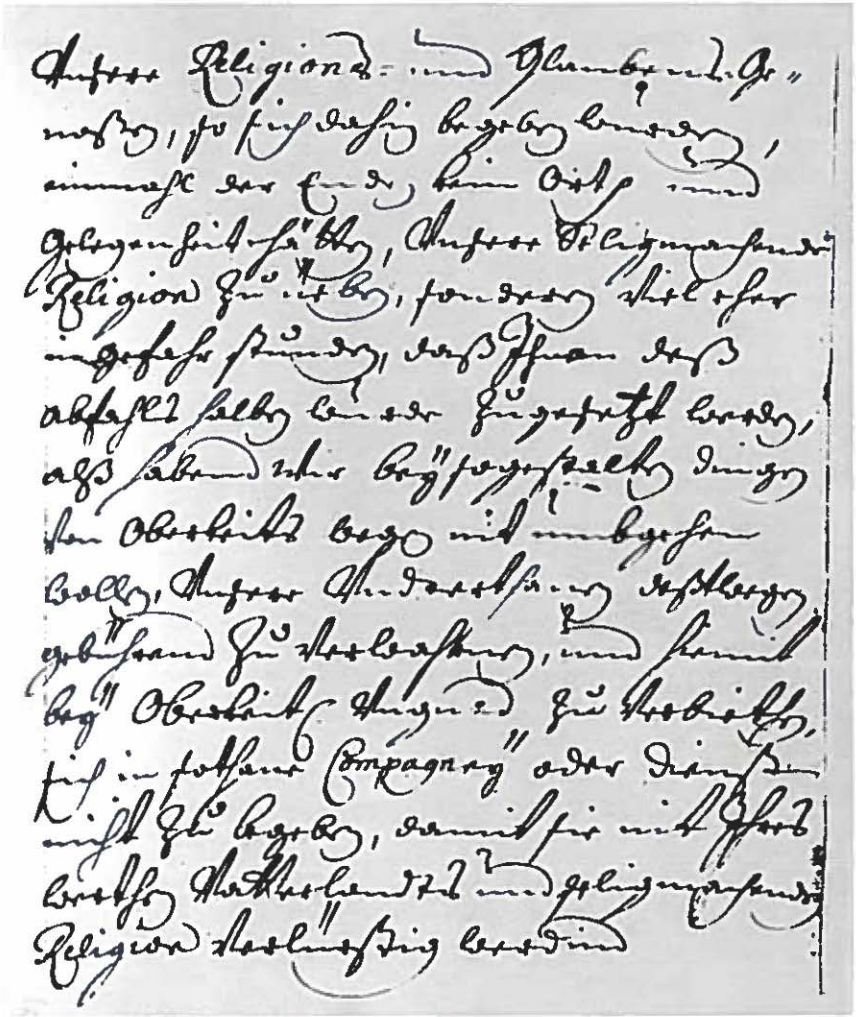
All manner of reasons and rationalizations were used to block emigration. Mayors and advisors in Switzerland were warned from on-high of the threat posed by emigration to the immortal souls of their subjects:

> ...and additionally [be] it known that our comrades in religion and faith who would go forth, finally would have no place and opportunity, to practice our purifying religion, but much sooner would stand in danger so that they would be subject to falling away, therefore, we want them not to deal with the matters so described by the officials, and duly warn our subjects, and herewith through official disapproval forbid [them] to join the Company or service, so that they will not be deprived of their worthy fatherland and purifying religion. [13] [figure 4]

The matter of tax liability to the state was also not ignored:

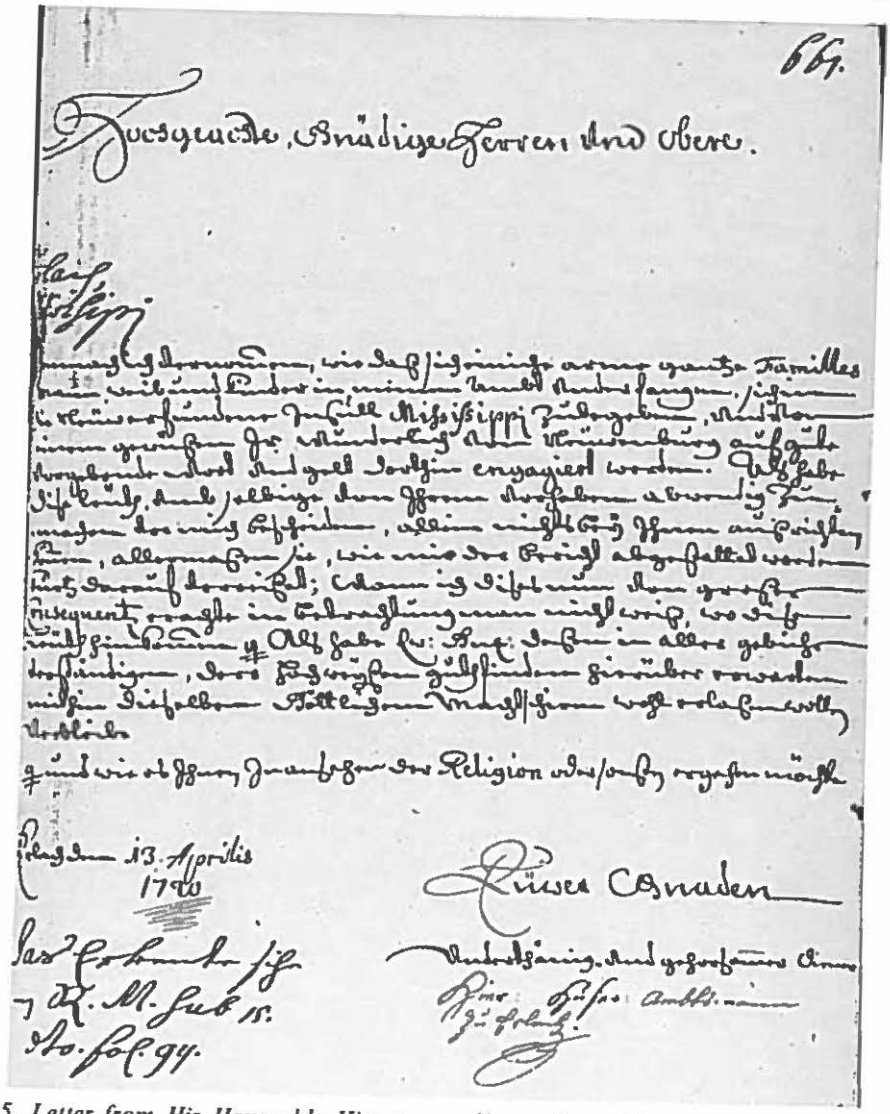
> [To] colleagues, men of position, and superiors.
>
> I have been informed that a few whole families are en route to the newly discovered island of Mississippi and have been engaged there by promises and money by a certain Mr. Wunderlich of Neuenberg. I have decided myself to prevent these people from carrying out their intentions although they have just left with their provisions. There are great consequences to be taken into consideration, as no one knows where these people will arrive and what religious practices are concerned. They may even be in debt for taxes to the state. I advise Your Holiness that the above is within your holy power and may be executed in the name of religion. [14] [figure 5]

To insure compliance the German princes and Swiss authorities went even further. Eberhard Ludwig cited the hardships recounted by subjects who had abandoned the New World and returned home. To prevent further emigration he forbad his subjects to buy the land or other property of those still wishing to depart:



4. Die Undterhanen zu verwahren, sich nit in die Mississippianische Compagney zu begeben. [To warn the subjects not to join the Mississippi Company.]
Official Mandate, State Archive, Bern, Switzerland.

...on the high seas they may have to endure great dangers and much sickness / as examples are those few who already have left this principality and have returned against because of the false presentations they found and the many difficulties along the way / They exort others against [such] intentions and rather through the grace of God forevermore to remain at home with the desired peace resulting / and again seek support from their own lands, and be mindful to the utmost possible that those who ignore [this] and nevertheless move away out of obstinance / and want to sell their lands to others [even] at a cheap price / those subjects remaining in the principality are



5. Letter from His Honorable Hieronymus Huser, Bern Advisor, relating to the prevention of recruitment of Swiss for Louisiana.

State Archive, Bern, Switzerland.

sternly forbidden to buy such [lands] from them. This is Our will and testimony. [15] [figure 6]

The Bern Advisors' Manual instructs officials to jail those attempting to leave:

> Concerning the instructions issued because Captain Merveilleux has recruited over two hundred people for the Mississippi. The letter has been received with the mandated prohibitions written last April 10th

Waſſer groſſe Gefährlichkeiten und viele Kranckheiten außſtehen dörfften/inſonderheit aber daß bereits einige von denen auſſerhalb diſes Hertzogthums abgereißt geweſte wegen dabey befundenen falſchen Angebens und vielen Beſchwehrlichkeiten auf dem Weg wiederum umgekehrt haben/ mithin ſie von ſolchem Vorhaben dehortiren / und hingegen bey nunmehro durch GOttes Gnad etwan hiernechſt erfolgenden lieben Frieden bey Hauß zuverbleiben / und ihre Nahrung auf ihren beſitzenden Gütern noch ferner zu ſuchen/ beſtmöglichſt anerinnern/dafern ſie aber deſſen ohngeachtet darnoch auß Widerſinnigkeit hinwegziehen / und ihre Güter um einen wohlfeilen Preiß andern verkauffen wollten/ denen in dem Land bleibenden Unterthanen ihnen ſolche abzukauffen ernſtlichen verbieten; Daran geſchiehet Unſer Will und Meinung. Stuttgart/ den 25. Junii 1709.

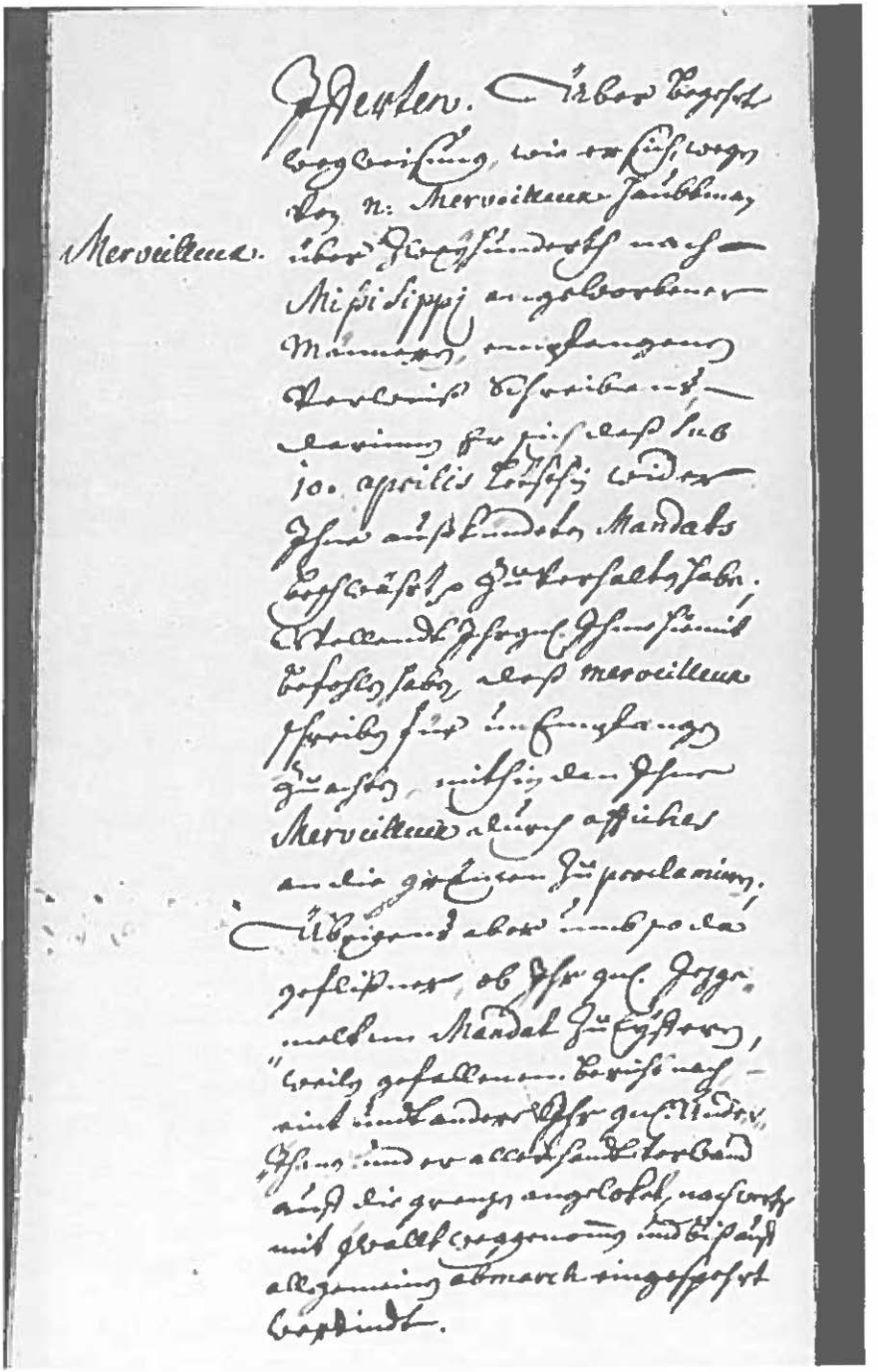
6. Continuation of Figure 2.

> against him. You are now to be instructed that Merveillieux is to be considered a man at large. Also notices are to be posted at the borders. This is to be done as soon as possible through the recently delivered mandate. According to current reports yours and other subjects are being enticed to the borders with all manner of excuses. They are to be brought back with force and put in jail to prevent any general exodus. [16] [figure 7]

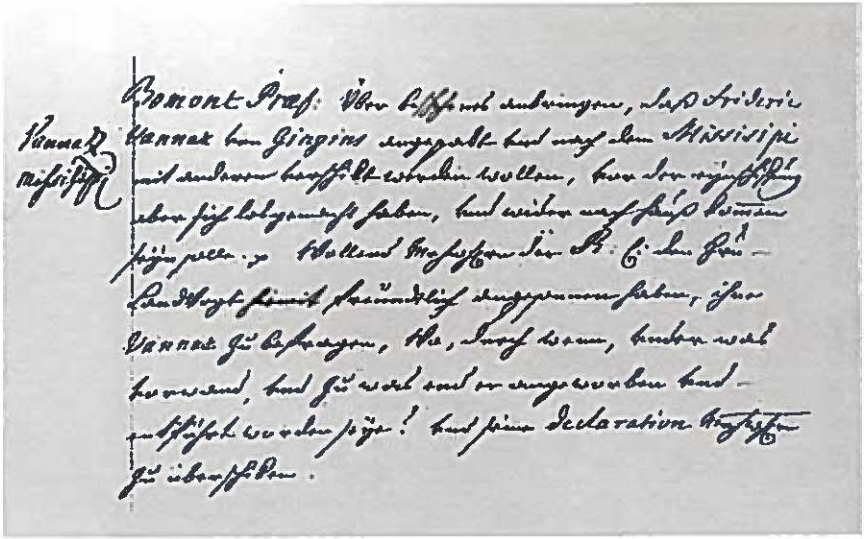
Suspension of citizenship and all land rights plus severe punishment for enticing others to migrate became common.

Apparently the agents of the Company of the Indies were meeting with much success. Most notorious among them was a certain charismatic Mr. Marvellous (Capitaine Charles-Frederic de Merveilleux of the Karrer regiment, also alias Kapitan Wunderlich). [17] He was a typical adventurer of that time, who had made a contract with Karrer to traffic in human beings in and around the Canton of Bern and Neuenberg (Neuchatel). [18] He seemed concerned neither with the quality of his recruits nor if his ends justified his means, only with quantity. The general notebook of the Bern Foreign Service describes his recruits for Louisiana as "criminals, sentenced to be sent there, volunteers, and the feeble-minded drafted by deception, treachery or force." A case cited was that of the Bernese citizen Daniel Muller, a cabinet-maker from Steffisburg, who, while stopping for business in Neuenberg, was enticed to Valangin and dragged away with his two minor sons by night to the Karrer service. [19] The case of Frideric Vannaz read:

> [from] Prefect Bomont: Concerning the event in which Frideric Vannaz from Gingins was carried off and sent with others to the Mississippi before boarding he escaped and is to have returned home. The honorable officials of the Recruitment Cabinet are hereby kindly asked



7. Advisor's recommendation to mandate jailing of would-be emigrants.
State Archive, Bern, Switzerland.



8. Directive concerning the case of Frideric Vannaz.
State Archive, Bern, Switzerland.

> to question this Vannaz as to where, through whom, under what excuses, and to what end he was recruited and carried off. Please send his statement to the officials concerned. [20] [figure 8]

Although the court threatened the poor man with prison as an example to others, he was finally judged quite simple-minded and therefore pardoned. [21] Pierre Sales of Louisiana was arrested at a prayer meeting in St. Laurent, along with the other members, while on a visit to relatives. All were imprisoned for several months, then put into chains and transported to Brittany to be sent to Louisiana. [22] Agents of Captain Merveilleux also enticed whole families, mostly poor people, to emigrate to Louisiana. [23] Among these agents a certain M. Steinegger made history for having recruited without permission for the Mississippi in America. He was convicted for his crime while all attempts to capture his wily boss, the Captain, met with continual frustration. [24] Merveilleux even had the affrontery to lodge a complaint with the authorities about the defamation of his character and his committment. [25] This adventurer, who alledgedly not only bribed his recruits but even those in the very government positions charged with arresting him, continued to lead the Bern authorities a merry chase. [26] Months passed with no arrest, whereupon the Bern government put a price of thirty Thalers on his head. [27]

Unable to apprehend their culprit the government next used Merveilleux's own methods against him. In response to his recruitment broadsides it printed "man wanted" notices which were put in circulation. With still no success the government then turned to the heart of Merveilleux's

trade, its own citizenry. Placards were posted at the borders declaring exodus from Bern illegal; citizens were to be forcibly returned to their homes. Despite all these governmental efforts Merveilleux and his agents were still able to recruit more than two hundred Swiss for Louisiana. [28]

While this number may seem small and localized, nevertheless it proved to be significant as the story of the German-Swiss migration of the early 1720s unfolds. About 145 Swiss soldier-workers plus a group of families set sail for Louisiana on the ship *La Mutine* in November of 1720, commanded by two of the younger brothers of Merveilleux. The rest departed on *Les Deux Frères* at about the same time, and on *La Vénus* about five months later. [29] Merveilleux had indeed delivered on his contract with Karrer.

By comparison to the Swiss the fate of those emigrants leaving Germany was tragic. Arriving in caravans [30] or by escort, these Germans streamed into Lorient, the French port of embarkation, until their numbers swelled to almost four thousand. [31] Unprepared for such a mass migration, the officials of the Company of the Indies threw up a "tent-city" on the outskirts of Lorient, itself only a borough. There overcrowding and lack of sanitation produced the inevitable, an unidentified type of plague (probably cholera). Not only did half of the would-be emigrants in Lorient die before they embarked for the New World but also the survivors took the plague along with them on shipboard. [32] Four of the nine ships which eventually arrived in Louisiana between February and November of 1721 were labeled "pest ships" because of the great death toll on board. [33] In contrast, *La Vénus* and *La Mutine*, which brought most of the Swiss, were miraculously pestilence-free. [34]

But further tragedy awaited the new arrivals once at their destination, tragedy which now befell the Swiss as well as the Germans. The failure of John Law's scheme in December of 1720, which had accounted for the disorder and disease in Lorient, now produced equally bad conditions in Louisiana. [35] Boatloads of colonists were dumped on Law's former holding camp in Biloxi, where no provisions had been made for their arrival. Biloxi remained totally barren, and was even infested with rats. [36] "A great number [of colonists] died, some from eating herbs they did not know, and which...produced death; others from eating oysters, which they went and gathered on the sea shore. Most of those found dead by the heaps of shells were Germans." [37]

Mercifully the survivors were relocated by the Superior Council on what became known as the German Coast by February of 1722, but only after a tragic death toll. The official census of May 13, 1722 listed by actual count only 258 persons, which, with other scattered Germans, made a total count of less than 300 by the summer of that year. Nevertheless

this was a very significant number, claimed by some sources to be equal to the population of New Orleans at that time. [38]

The fate of the Swiss in Biloxi was just as terrible. The alarming death rate coupled with desertions resulted in a count in August of 1721 of only 72 of the original 145 officers and soldiers of the Merveilleux Company. By the next summer only about 40 were still in service. That these soldier-workers in Biloxi were able to erect only three structures and a palisade shows the debilitating circumstances under which they lived. [39]

Thousands of Germans and hundreds of Swiss had been offered hope for a new and fruitful life in Louisiana. Many of these never got as far as their territorial borders, and many others were severely punished by the lords and the law just for wishing for a better life for themselves and their families. But these were the fortunate ones. Of those who were successful in leaving their homes for Louisiana, nine out of ten died. A summary of these figures is saddening: of the four thousand who actually reached the embarkation ports half died of pestilence. Only three-quarters of those who survived were actually embarked, the rest were abandoned sick and penniless in France. [40] On shipboard and in Biloxi the death toll was equally staggering. Half died en route, and again half of the remainder died on the barren shores of what had been promised to be a paradise. [41]

Nevertheless, the amazing part of the story is that the hardy survivors did go on to make a great contribution to the developing Louisiana colony. The industry and diligence of the small farmers on the German Coast produced such abundance that the area soon became the most important source of supply for the city of New Orleans. [42]

During the summer of 1722 the French engineer Leblond de La Tour moved the Swiss soldier-workers from Biloxi to New Orleans. A number of French plus about fifty Germans from the Coast were also drafted for service. [43] Evidence of their energy, despite the terrible conditions, was displayed by the four small barracks for these French, German and Swiss workers erected on Royal Street. They were among the first buildings to be built after the vicious hurricane of September 11, 1722 which swept away most of the settlement.

Swiss soldier-workers remained in New Orleans throughout the French period, and often settled after their tour of duty, sometimes joining the German-speaking population on the Coast. Early accounts of life in the colony describe official and religious events in which the Swiss took a prominent part. [44] In time both the German and Swiss colonies prospered, despite the tragic beginnings, and contributed greatly to the initial survival and continuing growth of the colony of Louisiana. [45]

Notes

[1] J. Hanno, *The Settlement of the German Coast and the Creoles of German Descent*, ed. Jack Belsom (Baltimore, 1975), vii. Deiler first published this study in German as *Die ersten Deutschen am unteren Mississippi und die Creolen deutscher Abstammung* (New Orleans, 1904). Alexander Franz, "Die erste deutsche Einwanderung in das Mississippital: Eine kritische Würdigung," *Jahrbuch der deutsch-amerikanischen historischen Gesellschaft von Illinois*, 12 (1912):190-282. Réne Le Conte, "Les Allemands à la Louisiane au XVIIIe Siècle," *Journal de la Société des Américanistes de Paris*, n.s., 16 (Paris, 1924):1-7. An edited translation of this article was published by Glenn R. Conrad,"The Germans in Louisiana in the Eighteenth Century," *Louisiana History* 7 (1967):67-84. Marcel Giraud, *Histoire de la Louisiane française*, vol. 3, *L'époque de John Law, 1717-1720* (Paris, 1966), 277-283; vol. 4, *La Louisiane après le Système de Law, 1721-1723* (Paris, 1974), 154-167. A translation of this chapter was published by Glenn R. Conrad, "German Immigration," *Louisiana Review*, 10 (1981):143-157. Conrad also did a count of Germans arriving in small numbers before the immigration of 1721: *Immigration and War, Louisiana: 1718-1721, from the Memoir of Charles Le Gac* (Lafayette, 1970), 36.

[2] Henrich Rattermann, "Die Mississippi Seifenblase, ein Blatt aus der Besiedlung des Mississippi Thales," *Gesammelte ausgewählte Werke* (Cincinnati, 1912), 147-153.

[3] Giraud, 3:283.

[4] Albert B. Faust, *Guide to Materials for American History in Swiss and Austrian Archives* (Washington, 1916), 33. Some examples are by F. Fried. Gleditchens, seel.Sohn, *Ausführlich historische und geographische Beschreibung des an dem grossen Flusse Mississipi in Nord-America gelegenen herzlichen Landes Louisiana; In welchem die neuaufgerichtete französische grosse Indianische Compagnie Colonien zu schicken angefangen; Worbey zugleich einige Reflexionen über die weithinaussehende Desseins gedachter Compagnie, Und des darüber enstandenen Actien-Handels eröffnet werden*, 3rd ed. (Leipzig, 1720); and by F. Gerald Jollain, "Le Commerce que les Indiens du Mexique font avec les Français au Port de Mississipi," (c. 1720), The Historic New Orleans Collection, 1953.3.

[5] Christophe Weigel, "Geographische Beschreibung der Provinz Louisiana/in Canada von dem Fluss St. Lorenz bis an den Ausfluss des Flusses Mississipi; samt einem kurtzen Bericht von dem jetzt florirenden Actien-Handel" (Leipzig, 1720), The Historic New Orleans Collection, 1978. 211a. [figure 1]. The author translated this and the other documents in this article.

[6] Charlevoix, in his contemporary account, speculated that nine thousand Germans had been recruited from the Palatinate alone. Pierre-Francois-Xavier de Charlevoix, *Journal historique d'un Voyage fait par Ordre du Roi dans l'Amérique septentrionale* (Paris, 1774) 6:164. This number was misquoted at 6000 ("Six mille Allemands qui avaient été levés dans le Palatinat") by M. Barbé-Marbois, *Histoire de la Louisiane et de la Cession de cette Colonie par la France aux Etats Unis de L'Amérique septentrionale* (Paris, 1829), 121. Another Jesuit missionary of the period, Père du Poisson, raised the count to twelve thousand. Reuben G. Thwaites, *Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents. Travels and Explorations of the Jesuit Missionaries in New France, 1616-1791*

(Cleveland, 1900) 67:258. These early speculations were perpetuated by later historians. Perhaps with Père du Poisson's number in mind Benjamin French falsely ascribed to André Pénigault the statement that "twelve thousand Germans [were] purchased by the Western Company from one of the princes of Germany to colonize Louisiana," *Historical Collections of Louisiana, embracing many Rare and Valuable Documents relating to the Natural, Civil and Political History of the State* (New York, 1846) 6:151. A later edition of French's *Historical Collections*, (New York, 1851) 3:126, quotes 9000 Palatinates. There is, however, no reference at all to 12,000 Germans purchased from a prince in the transcription of Penigault by Pierre Margry. *Découvertes et établissements des Francais dans L'Quest et dans le sud de l'Amérique septentrionale (1614-1754) Mémoires et Documents Originaux* (Paris, 1888) 5:375-586. This passage is also missing from the translation of Pénigault done by Richebourg McWilliams, *Fleur de Lys and Calumet* (Baton Rouge, 1952). Apparently the original manuscript, held by the Bibliotheque Nationale in Paris, does not contain the passage in question. Later writers made equally unsubstantiated estimates, ranging upward as high as seventeen thousand (Rattermann, 145). Alexander Franz was probably correct when he concluded that the actual number of German and Swiss recruits for the "Missisipi" colony could only be ascertained by a thorough search of the archives in the area concerned, if such records have survived (Franz, 196). We know from a document cited by Marcel Giraud that the number was far in excess of four thousand (3:280-1). Many thousands must have been enlisted by Law's agents. Precisely how many is a matter of conjecture. For a discussion of frequently cited estimates see Reinhart Kondert, "Les Allemands en Louisiane de 1721 à 1732," *Revue d'Histoire de l'Amérique française* 33 (June, 1979):56.

[7] Albert Faust and Gaius Brumbaugh, *Lists of Swiss Emigrants in the Eighteenth Century to the American Colonies* (Washington, 1925), 17.

[8] Norman Laybourn, correspondence, "Warnungen und Anordnungen sind zahlreich in den Archiven in Baden, Wurttemburg, in der Pfalz, in der Schweiz, und in Elsas-Lothringen vorzufinden, ja sogar am ganzen Rhein entlang bis nach Westphalen" (Strasbourg, 1981), Historic New Orleans Collection. See also Laybourn's *L'émigration des Alsaciens et des Lorrains du XVIIe siecle*, Vol. 1 (Strasbourg, 1986).

[9] General Rescript [General proclamation], Bestand A 39 II, bu. 19, June 25, 1709, Hauptstaatsarchiv, Stuttgart, West Germany [figure 2].

[10] Faust, 169.

[11] Special resolution issued by Prince Eberhard Ludwig on May 18, 1720 (to the provosts and city officials of Canstatt, Waiblingen, Winnenden, Backhnang, Murrhard, Westheim, Schorndorff, Adelberg, Lorch, Heubach, Göppingen, Heydenheim, Anhaussen, Gussenstatt, Herbrechtingen and Königsbronn), Bestand A 39 II, bu. 24, Hauptstaatarchiv Stuttgart, Germany [figure 3]. This resolution also refers to a general proclamation made by Eberhard Ludwig on September 2, 1717, included in this group of papers (Bestand A39 II, bu. 19).

[12] Bern Mandatenbuch 12:61, April 10, 1720, Staatsarchiv des Kantons Bern, Switzerland.

[13] Bern Mandatenbuch 12:574, April 10, 1720 [figure 4]. Mandate issued to mayors, advisors, etc. of Item, Erlach, St. Johansen, Büren and Nydauco.

[14] Ämterbuch Erlach C:661, April 13, 1720, Staatsarchiv des Kantons Bern, Switzerland [figure 5].

[15] General Rescript [figure 6, second page of figure 2].

[16] Bern Ratsmanual 84:378, May 28, 1720, Staatarchiv des Kantons Bern, Switzerland [figure 7].

[17] Franz Adam Karrer, a native of Solothurn, had undertaken on his own responsibility in 1719 the raising of a Swiss corps for the colonial service. Several battalions were to have been hired by him to serve in Louisiana, Martinique, and Santo Domingo (Faust and Brumbaugh, 15).The first Swiss soldier-workers did not reach the colony until February 1721, on *La Mutine* (Giraud, 4:393-4). It should also be noted that these soldier-workers were joined by about 20 Swiss families who probably had reached Lorient in early July 1720 (Giraud, 3:33). Confusion has been caused by the contemporary cronicler Duvergier, who referred to 210 Swiss "soldats-ouvriers" in his memoir of 1720 ("Mémoire pour Duvergier," see Margry, note 6). Further confusion about the identity of these workers was added by Gravier, who stated that they had been sent by John Law in January of 1720. He maintained that they joined the Swiss under Merveilleux after Law's fall. See Henri Gravier, *La Colonization de la Louisiane à l'époque de Law* (Paris, 1904), 9. Duvergier could only have meant the Germans on *La Marie* arriving about September 1719, for a temporary tour to fight the Spanish, then holding Pensacola. Dumont de Montigny, a second lieutenant on board, reported in his memoir that these "soldats allemands fort robustes" were transported by *Les deux Frères* from Dauphin Island to Old Biloxi to clear the land in the winter of 1719-20. *Mémoires historiques sur la Louisiane* (Paris, 1753)3:33.

[18] Faust and Brumbaugh, 15.

[19] Bern Manual der Recroutencamer (1720-4), Fremder Kriegsdienst, Generalia 8:7, September 1720, Staatarchiv des Kantons Bern, Switzerland.

[20] Manual der Recroutencamer, Generalia 8:25, December 1, 1721 [figure 8].

[21] Manual der Recroutencamer, 25.

[22] Faust and Brumbaugh, 16.

[23] Bern Ratsmanual 84:94, April 15, 1720.

[24] Faust and Brumbaugh, 15.

[25] Bern Ratsmanual, 84:311, May 20, 1720.

[26] Manual der Recroutencamer, 8.

[27] Bern Mandatenbuch 12:583-86, May 28, 1720.

[28] Bern Ratsmanuel, 84:378, May 20, 1720.

[29] Franz, 259; Giraud, 3:277-78, 283; 4:156, 164. The ship list for *La Mutine* read 119 men, 8 women and 14 children; for *Les Deux Frères* 7 men, 5 women and 9 children; for *La Vénus* 19 men, 5 women and 9 children.

[30] Franz, 197. Letter by Elisabeth Christine, Princess of Orleans, House of the Palatinate from Hagenau/Orleans citing an eye-witness account of her son-in-law, the Prince of Lorraine, May 3, 1720.

[31] Giraud 3:280.

[32] Giraud, 3:282; 4:155. Also see Reinhart Kondert, "German Immigration to French Colonial Louisiana: A Reevaluation," *Proceedings of the French Colonial Historical Society* 4 (April 6-8, 1978):70-81. While one source labeled the plague scurvy, Giraud would only describe it as a malady of epidemic proportions. See Stanley Faye, "The Arkansas Post of Louisiana; French Domination," *Louisiana Historical Quarterly* 26 (1943):663; Giraud, 3:282.

[33] Alice Forsyth and Earlene L. Zeringue, *German Pest Ships 1720—1721* (New Orleans, 1969). Forsyth and Zeringue omitted *La Charente*, which never sailed, but added the pestilence-free *Le St. André* and *La Durance*. They defined the term "pest ship" as indicating the great mortality rate suffered rather than actual epidemic. This they attributed to overcrowding, lack of fresh water, and inadequate or spoiled food (ii). Technically they were incorrect because neither *Le St. André* nor *La Durance* suffered the heavy casualties during the crossing which the other ships did. Passenger lists for all the ships discussed were first published by Albert L. Dart, "Ship Lists of Passengers Leaving France for Louisiana, 1718-1724," *Louisiana Historical Quarterly* 14 (1931):516-520.

[34] Giraud, 4:171.

[35] *Le Portefaix*, which left Lorient on March 7, 1721, was the first ship to bring the news to the colony of John Law's fall from power on December 10, 1720. Deiler made this point, citing La Harpe as his source, who, indeed, did attribute to *Le Portefaix* the first indication that Law had left France. Deiler, 36. Jean-Baptiste Benard de la Harpe, *Journal historique de l'établissement des Français* a la Louisiane (New Orleans, 1831), 251. Giraud also maintained that *Le Portefaix* brought this news (4:166). Jack Belsom, the editor of the 1975 reprint of Deiler's original book, disagreed with these scholars, suggesting that *La Mutine* brought the news in February (36, f. 14). Benjamin French also cited Pénigault's attributing the news of Law's fall to letters for Bienville brought on *La Mutine*, arriving on February 3 (*Historical Collections*, 6:159). This passage is not to be found in the original, however. French also quoted La Harpe as reporting that the news of Law's fall was brought by *Le Portefaix* (3:87). *La Mutine* left Lorient on November 11, a whole month before Law's fall, and thus, could not have brought the news. The four "pest" ships which Belsom also suggested may have brought the news did not depart from Lorient until about January 24, as Deiler stated. The only one of the four to reach Louisiana was *Les Deux Frères*, which sailed in November, at about the same time as *La Mutine*. Belsom then maintained that *Le St. André* and *La Durance* also arrived before *Le Portefaix*, and must have brought the news. This again is not true, as both were held in Lorient until after the epidemic had subsided, delaying their arrival until much later. Le Conte made the same error in assuming that the news came to Louisiana at the end of May on *Le St. André* and *La Durance* (6). *Le St. André*, however, reached Louisiana on September 20, followed by *La Durance* on October 4. The only other ships arriving in the colony after Law's fall and before *Le Portefaix* were slave ships which had not departed directly from France, but rather from the African Coast where they had taken on their cargo. *Le Portefaix* was, indeed, the first ship to bring the news of Law's fall.

[36] Le Page du Pratz, *Histoire de la Louisiane* (Paris, 1758):169- 171.

[37] Dumont, 2:42.

[38] Jay K. Ditchy, trans., "Early Census Tables of Louisiana," *Louisiana Historical Quarterly* 13 (1930):224. Charles R. Maduell, Jr., *The Census Tables for the Colony of Louisiana from 1699 through 1732* (Baltimore, 1972), 28; Giraud, 4:250. Jacqueline Young, *Germans in the Colonial Southeast* (Bonn-Godesberg, 1977), 10. Du Fossat thought that all except 100 of the Germans died from starvation and disease. Guy Soniat du Fossat, *Synopsis of the History of Louisiana, from the Founding of the Colony to the End of the Year 1791*, trans. Charles T. Soniat (New Orleans, 1903), 15. Barbé-Marbois commented that most died from the rigors of the climate. *Histoire de la Louisiane, et de la Cession de cette Colonie par la France aux Etats-Unis de l'Amérique septentrionale* (Paris, 1829), 119.

[39] Giraud, 4:394-5, 397.

[40] Giraud, 4:164.

[41] Faye, 664. Thwaites 67:248.

[42] M. Bossu, *Nouveaux Voyages aux Indes Occidentales, contenant une Relation des differens Peuples qui habitent les Environs du grand Fleuve Saint- Louis, apellé vulgairment le Mississippi, leur Religion, leur Governement, leurs Moeurs, leurs Guerres et leur Commerce* (Paris, 1768), 39.

[43] Giraud, 4:409-10.

[44] John Geiser III, unpublished manuscript, 13.

[45] Kondert gives a full account of the official accolades given to the German people during the colonial period ("German Immigration"). Helmut Blume gives a socio-economic history of the German Coast for the entire colonial period. *Die Entwicklung der Kulturlandschaft des Mississippi-deltas in Kolonialer Zeit; Unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der deutschen Siedlung* (Kiel, 1956).

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Acadian Village, Lafayette, Louisiana

Carl A. Brasseaux

French South Louisiana has experienced a century of change in the last two decades as a result of the oil boom of the 1960s, 1970s, and early 1980s. The region's distinctive architecture has been perhaps the most visible casualty of the state's mad rush toward modernity.

The economic stagnation that followed the Civil War and endured in French Louisiana until well into this century prevented many local residents from replacing their hundred to one hundred and fifty year old residences with more modern ones. These nineteenth-century buildings, built for the most part by descendants of the region's Acadian pioneers, had no counterparts elsewhere in the South, for they represented a melding of French (actually Norman), Canadian, and West Indian architectural styles. The resulting hybrid was usually a 16 x 20 foot structure, with *bousillage* (mud and Spanish moss) infill protected from the elements by weatherboards. The facade featured a small gallery and a stairway leading to the *garconniere* (cockloft) in the attic. The large homes of more affluent Acadians were usually "double-wide" versions of the original design.

These homes were common fixtures in the landscape of Acadiana — the Acadian region of Louisiana — as late as the 1950s, but with the oil boom and the widespread (but fleeting) affluence that it brought,

Narcisse Thibodeaux House *Center for Louisiana Studies*

Bayou Allemand and the Acadian Village *Acadian Village*

Louisianaians rushed to embrace the material comforts of the late twentieth century and inevitably destroyed the frame houses in which their families had resided for generations with ranch-style structures or, more frequently in the prairie parishes, mobile homes. The result has been the wholesale destruction of the architectural legacy of the region's once ubiquitous yeoman farmers. Indeed, it has become truly difficult to locate a home dating from the Victorian, much less the antebellum era, in most parts of rural French Louisiana.

Fortunately, just as the destruction peaked, a few individuals had the foresight to preserve some of these structures for posterity. Through the efforts of the Lafayette Association for Retarded Citizens, several authentic nineteenth-century Acadian houses were transported to an eleven-acre, open-prairie site just off of Ridge Road, near Lafayette, Louisiana. Subsequently placed along "Bayou" Allemand, a small man-made rivulet, the houses were opened to the public on July 4, 1976 as a tourist attraction called Acadian Village.

Among the more notable homes at Acadian Village are the Bernard, Billeaud, Castille, LeBlanc, St. John, and Thibodeaux houses. All of these structures date from the late antebellum period and all accurately reflect the house type and material culture of the local Acadian gentry. Each building is furnished with period antiques. The houses are complemented by Le Magasin General, a modern structure of *briquette-entre-poteaux* construction reminiscent of Acadiana's once commonplace country stores,

La Chapelle de Nouvel Espoir *Michael Thomason photo*

a blacksmith shop, and La Chapelle de Nouvel Espoir, a modern replica of an antebellum Catholic church

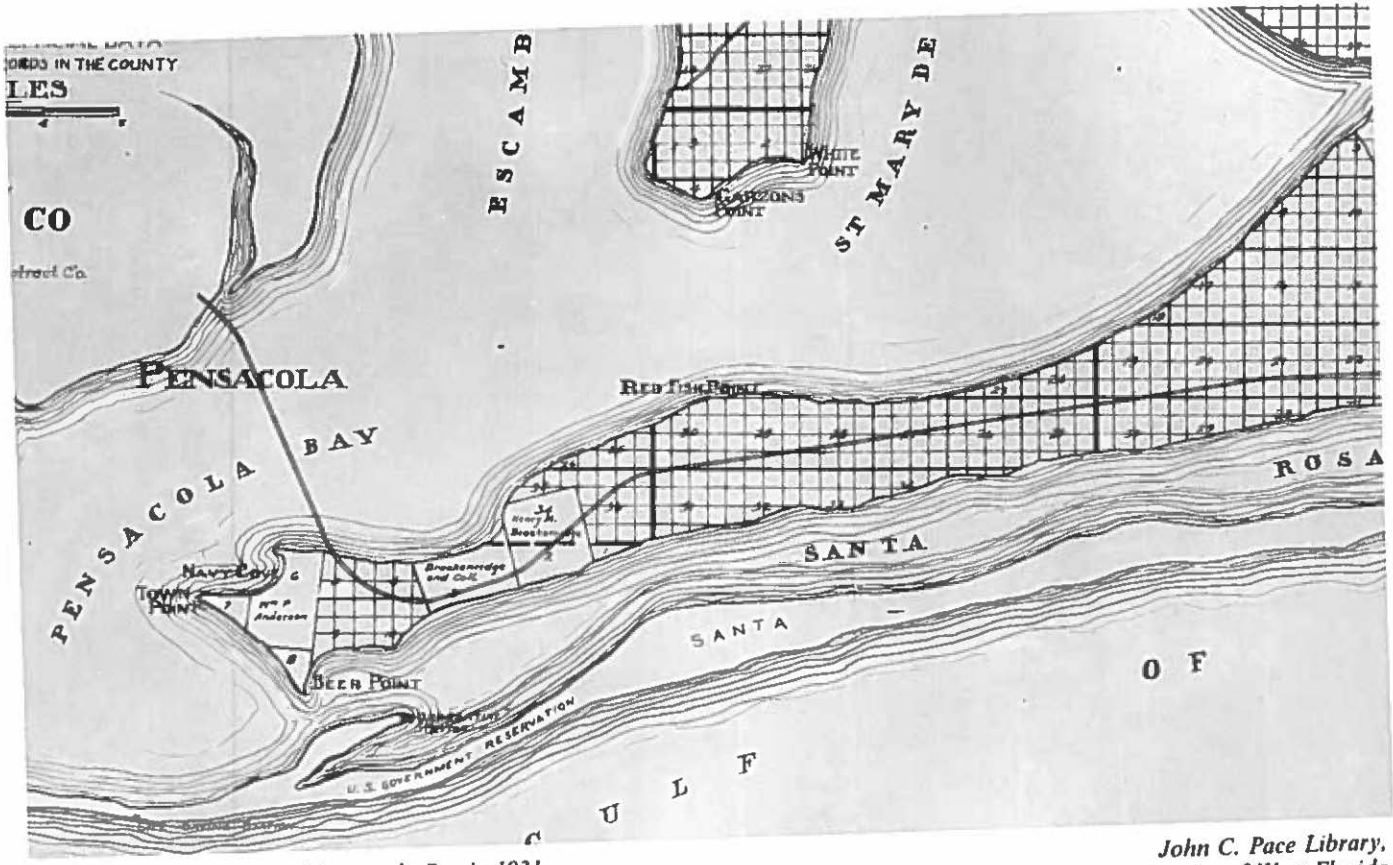
The Village's notable collection of buildings has been expanded in recent years to encompass non-Acadian house types. These buildings — including a shotgun house and an imposing frame residence — reflect

Acadian houses on Bayou Allemand *Michael Thomason photo*

the popularity of the Greek Revival style among South Louisiana's non-Acadian population during the nineteenth century.

Because of its attempt to preserve local architecture, Acadian Village has become a source of pride to Lafayette area residents, particularly those of Acadian descent, who help to bring the village to life each Mardi Gras. The Village administration now sponsors an annual revival of the Courir de Mardi Gras, the traditional country Mardi Gras observance in which masked revelers went from house to house begging for chickens to include in their communal gumbo and danced for their fare. This ritual has been modified by the Village to permit children to "chase the chicken" while their parents listen to the Cajun rhythms of local performers.

Whether or not the country Mardi Gras is underway, the Village is well worth the effort to visit it. It is open seven days a week (closed major holidays), and the admission fee is $4.00/adults, $3.00/senior citizens, $1.50/students. Guides are available for groups of 10 or more. To reach the village from I-10 take exit 97 and go south on Louisiana highway 93 to Ridge Road or from exit 100 take Caffery Road south to Ridge Road.



Santa Rosa Pennisula and Pensacola Bay in 1931

John C. Pace Library, University of West Florida

A Description of Santa Rosa Peninsula in 1925

Brian Rucker

Santa Rosa Peninsula, located in the southern portion of Santa Rosa County, Florida, is a large coastal area which has been only recently developed. It is situated between Pensacola/East Bay on the north and Santa Rosa Island Sound on the south. Development of this strip of land was hampered for many years by a poor transportation network. Before 1931, access to the peninsula was normally by boat. Settlement was sparse, as were visitors, and descriptions of the area are relatively rare.[1]

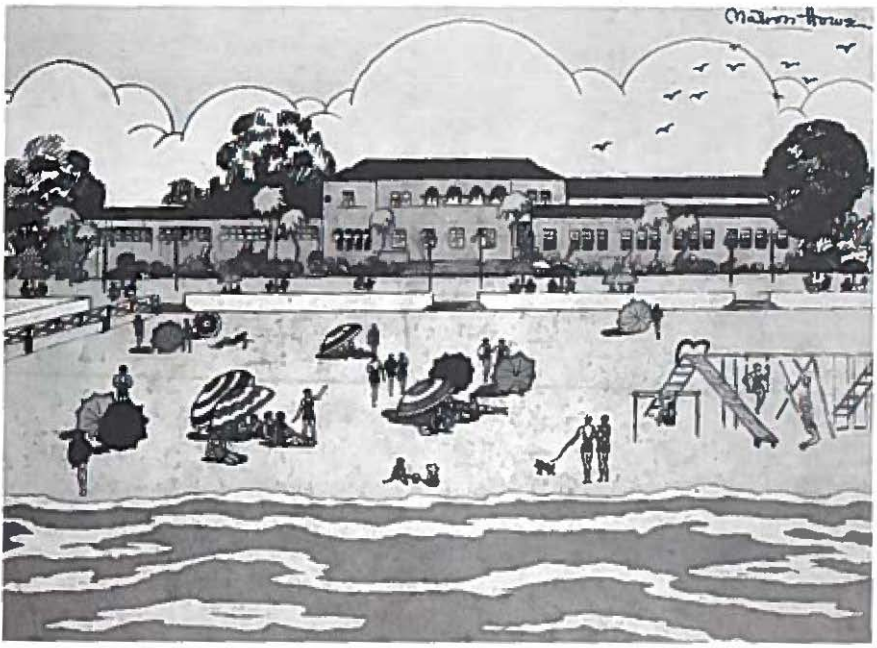
Santa Rosa Peninsula was finally linked to Pensacola thanks to an intensive road and bridge building program during the late 1920s. The Florida land boom spurred growth in northwest Florida, and the area's beaches became valuable assets which lured tourists and investors. The Pensacola Bay Bridge, linking Pensacola to Santa Rosa Peninsula, and the Santa Rosa Sound Bridge, linking Santa Rosa Peninsula to Santa Rosa Island, were finally completed in 1931.[2] For a variety of reasons development was still sluggish, and it was not until 1961 that the city of Gulf Breeze on the western end of the peninsula was incorporated. Since then enormous growth has occurred and real estate development currently continues at a fast pace. [3] The following letter, written in 1925, offers a valuable description of this area when it was still relatively isolated and undeveloped. It is also a prime example of the exuberant testimonials

Pensacola Bay Bridge *Pace Library, UWF*

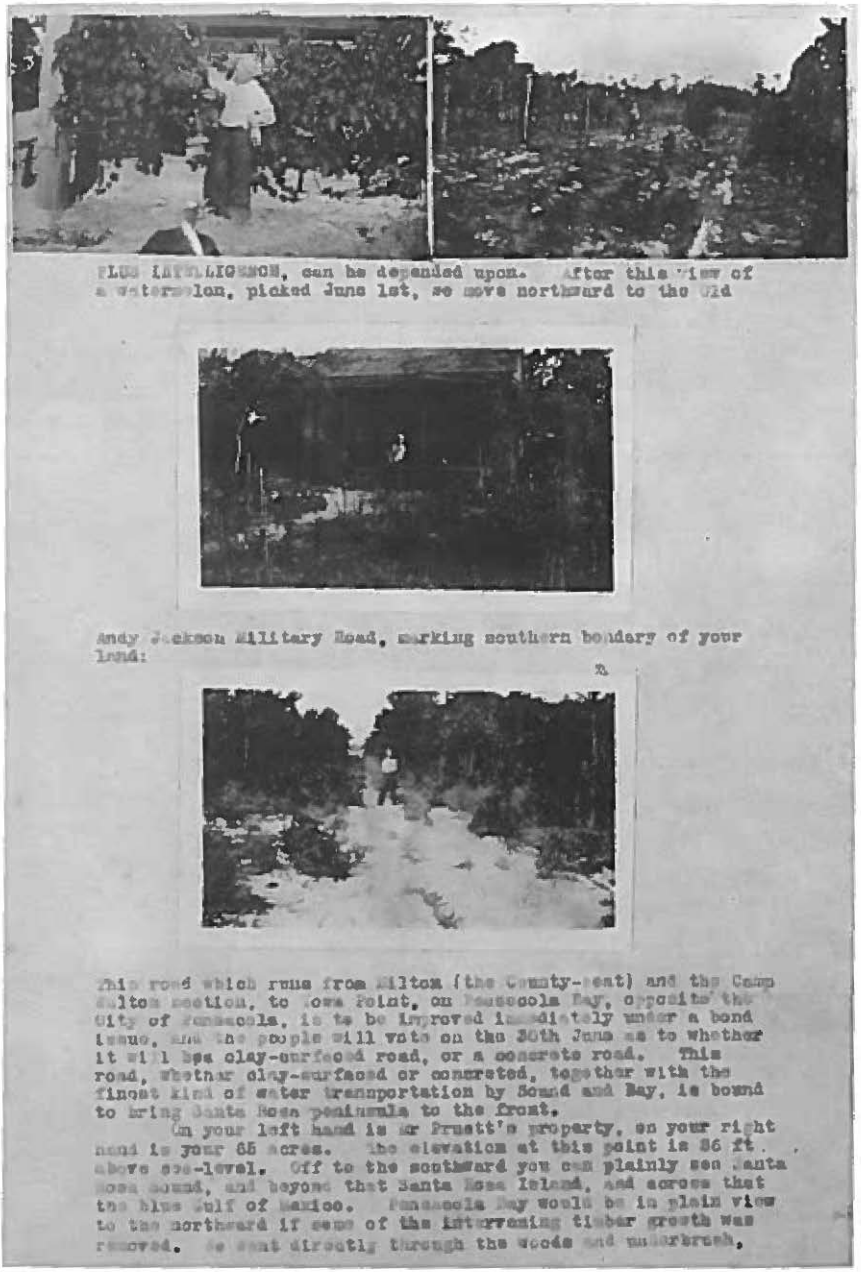
offered by Florida real estate promoters during the land boom of the 1920s.

Frasier F. Bingham, the author of the letter, was a prominent businessman in the Pensacola area. Aside from being vice-president of the Pensacola Finance Company and the assistant manager of the Southern States Lumber Company, Bingham was also very involved in the real estate business.[4] After selling sixty-five acres for John Pruett who lived on Santa Rosa Peninsula, Bingham made a personal inspection of the property. This letter is an enthusiastic report to the buyer, Mitchell Anthony Touart, Jr., complete with photographs taken during the inspection. Bingham's letter, written in the true style of a real estate promoter, is a glowing account of the potential of Touart's recently acquired property. Bingham's letter is historically valuable for it reveals what type of industry and agriculture were present, or anticipated, what the physical conditions of Santa Rosa Peninsula were, and how real estate was promoted during the Florida land boom.

Mitchell Anthony Touart, Jr., the new owner of the property, was also an influential Pensacola businessman and civic leader, and it appears that Bingham and Touart were also friends and business associates. Perhaps the most interesting aspect of this letter is the discovery that M.A. Touart was largely responsible for the construction of the Pensacola Bay Bridge and the Pensacola Beach Casino only four years later.[5] It is probable



Pensacola's Beach Casino, 1931 *Pace Library, UWF*



PLUS INTELLIGENCE, can be depended upon. After this view of a watermelon, picked June 1st, we move northward to the Old

Andy Jackson Military Road, marking southern boundary of your land:

This road which runs from Milton (the County-seat) and the Camp Walton section, to Rowe Point, on Pensacola Bay, opposite the City of Pensacola, is to be improved immediately under a bond issue, and the people will vote on the 30th June as to whether it will be a clay-surfaced road, or a concrete road. This road, whether clay-surfaced or concreted, together with the finest kind of water transportation by Sound and Bay, is bound to bring Santa Rosa peninsula to the front.

On your left hand is Mr Pruett's property, on your right hand is your 65 acres. The elevation at this point is 86 ft. above sea-level. Off to the southward you can plainly see Santa Rosa Sound, and beyond that Santa Rosa Island, and across that the blue Gulf of Mexico. Pensacola Bay would be in plain view to the northward if some of the intervening timber growth was removed. We went directly through the woods and undergrowth,

A page from the original letter *Pace Library, UWF*

that Touart purchased this property in anticipation of future development such a bridge would bring to Santa Rosa Peninsula. Though change was slow at first, the improved transportation system eventually allowed many Pensacola residents to move to the peninsula. Located between Pensacola

and Pensacola Beach, the strip of land became an ideal "commuter community." The city of Gulf Breeze, just west of Touart's land, has grown rapidly in the last two decades. Touart's own property is in the Oriole Beach area and is now covered with fashionable subdivisions and a number of businesses, ample evidence that F.F. Bingham's hopes for the peninsula were not that greatly exaggerated. However, it was affluence and tourism, not agriculture, that eventually induced growth along Santa Rosa Peninsula.

[The original manuscript included fourteen small photographs pasted at appropriate points in the text. We have reproduced most of the fourteen, leaving out those which were either very faded or unclear. The original photographs were certainly taken with a typical folding camera of the day and are not notable for their photographic or aesthetic qualities. However, they do contribute to the remarkable record here presented. The editors.]

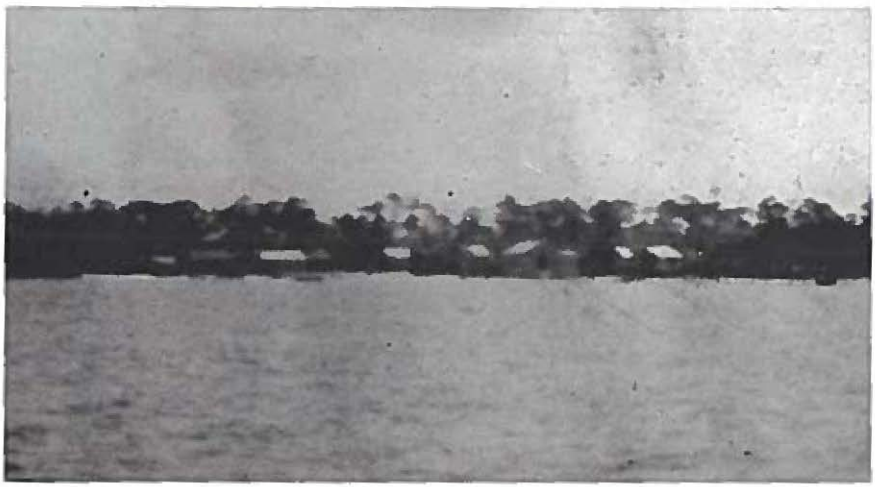
Pensacola, Fla. June 9 1925

M.A. Touart, Jr. Esq.

Pensacola

Friend Mitch:-

Agreeable to your request for a write-up of your recent 65- acre purchase from Mr. Pruett[6] in Lot 5 of Section 20, Santa Rosa peninsula, Tom — that is my youngest kid — and I set out in our family cruiser Saturday night at 9:30 for Johnson's Camp on Santa Rosa Sound, this being the nearest landing to your property, and this is a view of the settlement



Johnson's Camp from Santa Rosa Sound *Pace Library, UWF*

from about a quarter of a mile out in the Sound. Nothing very attractive about these turpentine & rosin 'still villages, and this will be the case until the Long Leaf Yellow Pine Belt goes in for permanent Pine Gum orchards, by the French System or some modification suited to our conditions, which will build up permanent towns, with schools, Churches and good roads.[7] Fortunately this time has just about arrived. The large areas of virgin pine have practically disappeared, and the second, or new pine growth on such lands as will not be needed for Satsumas, Grapes, Pears, Pecans, Blueberries, and general agriculture, will be worked by a sane method that will yield gum in the greatest abundance, without interfering with the growth of the timber. These second-growth pine lands offer good grazing, practically the year around, for hogs, sheep and cattle. I believe that it is this belated understanding that *all* our lands are good for something that is responsible, in a large measure, for the unprecedented demand for acreage, in any size tracts, that we are now enjoying. This little straying from the subject, has only a secondary bearing on your 65 acres, for the reason that same is not pine land, but it means a great deal in the eventual settlement and building up of this "Last Great West — West Florida." [8] We anchored at midnight.

By 5:45 Sunday morning Tom and I had had breakfast, washed the dishes, washed down the deck, and were ready for our explorations: We followed roads and trails (and directions) westerly and northerly, about a mile, until we reached Mr. Pruett's house, on quite a little ridge, near

Tom Bingham holding a June watermelon *Pace Library, UWF*

The "Old Andy Jackson Military Road" on Santa Rosa Peninsula *Pace Library, UWF*

the middle of the peninsula. [Several lines of the document are illegible at this point]. . . when I told him that several years ago I had picked up his daughter [now dead] who was struggling bravely, and with wonderful skill, to save a drowning man, why, he had only the kindliest feelings for me.

Mr. Pruett sold you the 65 acres north of the Old Federal Military Road, built across the State of Florida in one of his campaigns against the Spanish and English at Pensacola, over one hundred years ago by General Andy (Old Hickory) Jackson, and Mr. Pruett retains his property south of the Road where his improvements are.[9] He has some low, pine land, but his improvements are on the ridge, where the character of the land is the same as at least 55 of your 65 acres, namely a grayish sand. One of the local names for this type of soil is "Oak Hammock Land", [10] and it rates well for early truck and most of the trees and crops that we are developing so successfully in this section. I saw a turnip from Mr. Pruett's place last year that was about the biggest I have ever seen, and solid meat all the way through. The view below is of a section of his flower garden, between seasons just now: Next is a view of the edge of his large scuppernong arbor.[11] Up to five or six years ago people said that we could not raise bunch grapes in this section. Then some

Mr. Pruett's flower garden *Pace Library, UWF*

The scuppernong arbor *Pace Library, UWF*

Mr. Pruett's bunch grapes *Pace Library, UWF*

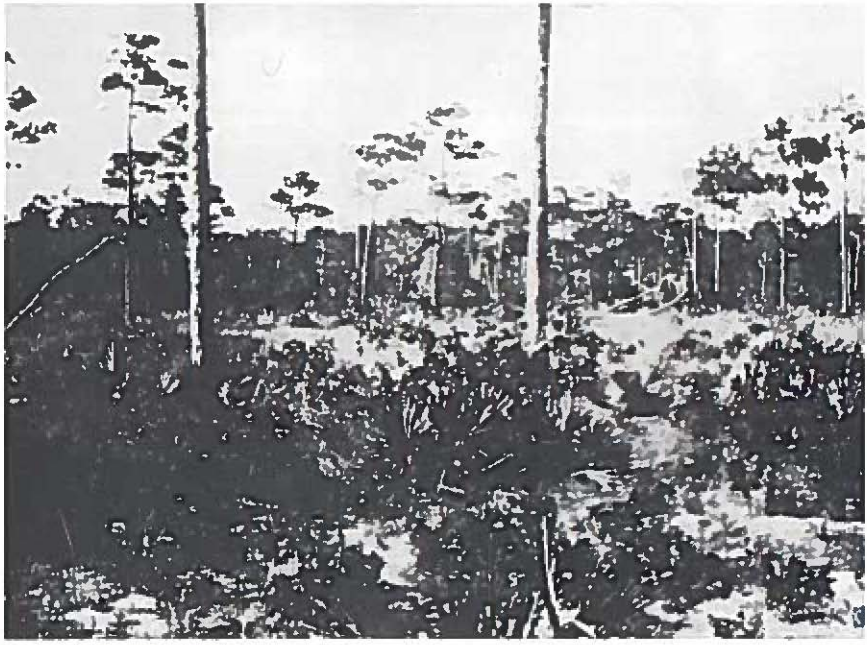
daring fellow tried it out, intelligently, and during the past two seasons I have seen large quantities of the finest bunch grapes in the Pensacola market, raised all around here, that I have ever seen, and of practically all varieties, including the best California varieties.[12] Furthermore it has been demonstrated that we can put the California varieties on the New York market *a month earlier* than California can. The first two views on the next page are of Mr. Pruett's bunch grapes. He has developed a cross between the Red California Malaga and the White Niagara that is superior to either and the largest nursery in the State has made him an offer for 1000 fourteen inch cuttings that is much greater than he thought his whole place was worth a year or two ago. Grape culture is one of our best bets. They bear well the second year. We have always had the scuppernong, which is a superior muscadine, and same has always grown well without spraying or other attention, so grapes, which are of the same general family, *plus intelligence* can be depended upon.[13] After this view of a watermelon, picked June 1st, we move northward to the Old Andy Jackson Military Road, marking southern boundary of your land: This road which runs from Milton (the County-seat) and the Camp Walton section, to Town Point, on Pensacola Bay, opposite the City of

Pensacola, is to be improved immediately under a bond issue, and the people will vote on the 30th June as to whether it will be a clay-surfaced road, or a concrete road. This road, whether clay-surfaced or concreted, together with the finest kind of water transportation by South and Bay, is bound to bring Santa Rosa peninsula to the front.[14]

On your left is Mr. Pruett's property, on your right hand is your 65 acres. The elevation at this point is 36 ft. above sea level. Off to the southward you can plainly see Santa Rosa Sound, and beyond that Santa Rosa Island, and across that the blue Gulf of Mexico. Pensacola Bay would be in plain view to the northward if some of the intervening timber growth was removed. We went directly through the woods and underbrush, across your land, to your northeast cornerpost, on which in the picture above, Mr. Pruett is resting his hand. The above is in about the middle of your north line, looking southerly on to your property. There is a little open Long Leaf Pine woods land here which is only a trifle lower than the ridge or "Hammock" land, but the greater part of your sixty-five acre tract has a dense hardwood and underbrush growth, as shown below.[15] These woods include Hickory, two or three kinds of Oak, including the stately Liveoak, Magnolia, Cedar, Holly, Dogwood, Short Leaf Pine and a little Long Leaf Yellow Pine, the tree that is used for turpentining.

Mr. Pruett points out the northeast cornerpost of the property

Pace Library, UWF

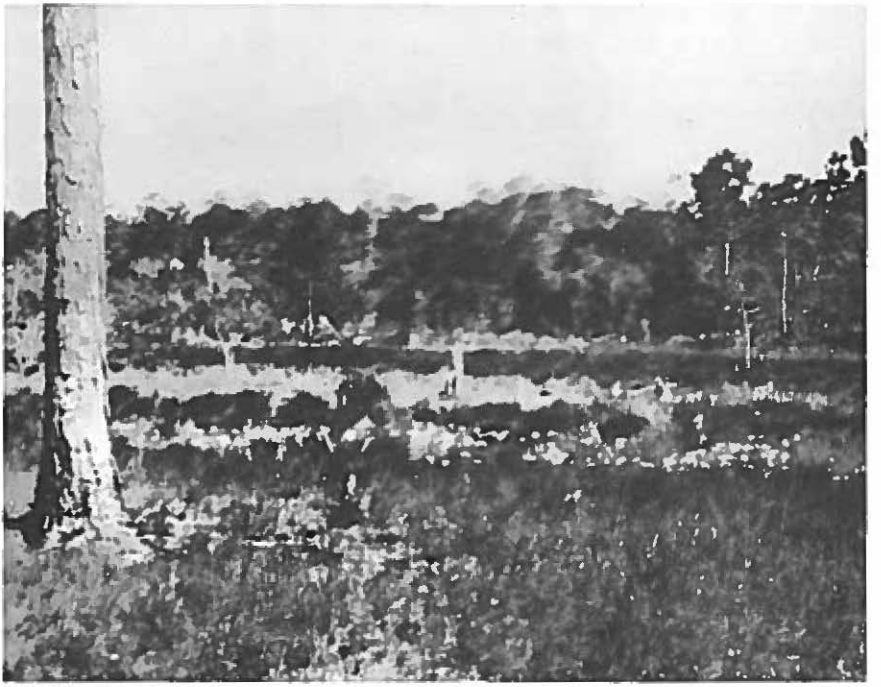


View of the woodlands *Pace Library, UWF*

Now, Friend Mitch, knowing you have a little gambling blood in your veins, that came there honestly through your Spanish ancestors, I am going to call your attention to the little round pond in the picture below. This is in about the center of your 65 acres. It has neither inlet or outlet; it is simply a peculiar depression, *a sink*, along with equally as well marked knobs, or knolls, were the first indications that attracted oil prospectors to the Texas and Louisiana oil fields twenty-five years ago. With the further remark that we have a good many of these blind ponds in this section of West Florida, and that a real search for oil has up to this time not been made in West Florida, I will pass on to actualities.[16]

We zig-zagged around on your 65 acres sufficiently to satisfy me that in addition to this two or three acre pond, there is not over six or eight acres of low land in your purchase; this latter is on your northwestern corner, and is a creek or branch "head" that runs northerly into Pensacola Bay, near Red Fish Point. If it was my land I would examine that "head" with the certainty, almost, that I would find a fine spring there.

For grape-culture, flower and truck growing, Mr. Pruett's place is an absolutely convincing demonstration for your land. Mr. Pruett has not done anything with Satsuma oranges, but with wide stretches of salt water, both north and south of you, I should say that the risk of damage by frost is reduced by at least 50% as against lands in this section not so protected.[17]



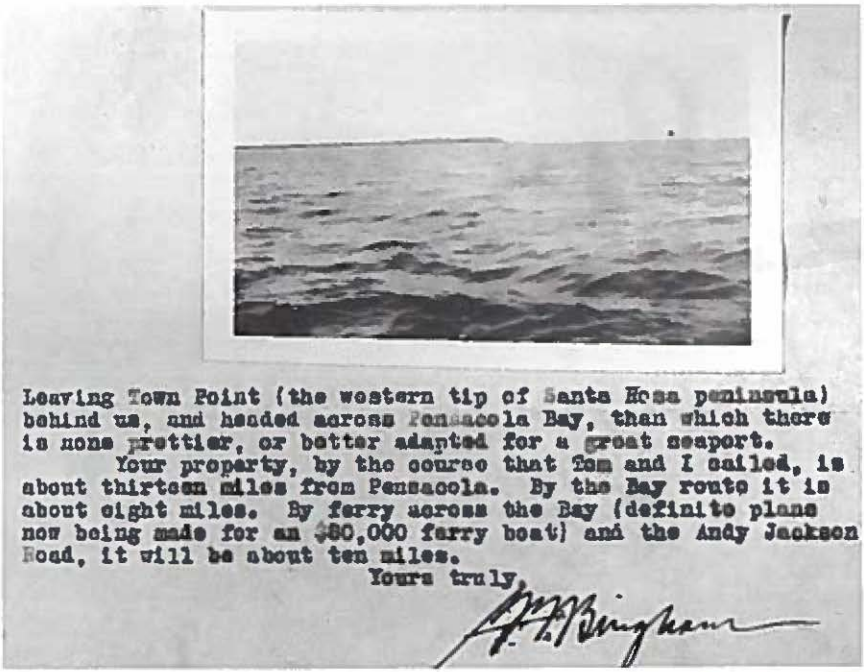
Small pond on the land *Pace Library, UWF*

Bald Bluff from the Santa Rosa Sound *Pace Library, UWF*

We now reembark in the good ship Peep O'Day, for Pensacola: A view of your Bald Bluff property from the east: A view of the high wooded hill about a mile and a half west of Bald Bluff. The high shores of these waters, and the high rolling lands of West Florida, are a constant marvel to Northern people that only know of Florida by ancient reputation, or from a trip down the East Coast. Leaving Town Point (the western tip of Santa Rosa peninsula) behind us, and headed across Pensacola Bay, than where there is none prettier, or better adapted for a great seaport.

Your property, by the course that Tom and I sailed, is about thirteen miles from Pensacola. By the Bay route it is about eight miles. By ferry across the Bay (definite plans now being made for an $80,000 ferry boat) and the Andy Jackson Road, it will be about ten miles.[18]

Yours truly,
F. F. Bingham



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F. F. Bingham

The letter's end *Pace Library, UWF*

Notes

[1] William James Wells, *Pioneering in the Panhandle* (Fort Walton Beach, 1976), 124-33. In the 1820s, Judge Henry Marie Brackenridge became one of the first American settlers on this peninsula. Brackenridge was the caretaker of the United States Naval Live Oak Plantation located at this site. Quality wood was furnished for the U.S. Navy from this strip of land, including timber that was used to repair the U.S.S. *Constitution* in the 1920s.

[2] James R. McGovern, *The Emergence of a City in the Modern South: Pensacola 1900-1945* (Pensacola, 1976), 81-95.

[3] *Gulf Breeze Sentinel*, September 25, 1986.

[4] Theodore Thomas Wentworth, Jr., *They Were Here* (Pensacola, 1967), 2.

[5] Ibid., 28.

[6] Conversations with Mrs. Coy Henderson, Mrs. Annie Broxson, and Mr. Lonnie Broxson of Gulf Breeze, Florida, December 1986. John Pruett, often known locally as "Pa Pruett," was an early settler on the peninsula. He and his family lived on the site of what is now the Oriole Beach Elementary School. Pruett was engaged primarily in agriculture.

[7] Conversation with Mrs. Allen Davis of Gulf Breeze, Florida, October 11, 1986; conversations with Mrs. Coy Henderson, Mrs. Annie Broxson, and Mr. Lonnie Broxson of Gulf Breeze, Florida, December 1986. Johnson's Camp was the site of a turpentine still in the 1920s. This turpentine still was located on Santa Rosa Sound at what is now the southern terminus of Oriole Beach Road. Sumpter Johnson operated this enterprise, and remains of the camp can be found along the shore today. Bald Bluff, also mentioned in this letter, was located at this site. Northwest Florida's major industry in the 1920s was the production of lumber and naval stores. Many communities in Santa Rosa County developed around such operations (e.g., Bagdad, Pace, Munson, and Harold). The vast expanses of virgin pine were practically depleted by the 1920s, and the turpentine industry, which used smaller pines, was experiencing a boom.

[8] Bingham's letter is typical of many real estate promotions used during the Florida land boom. Northwest Florida in the 1920s was marked by an increased interest in fruit cultivation. The lands cleared through deforestation were put to agricultural use. Early promotional literature extolled the agricultural and horticultural potential of this area. Glowing descriptions and innumerable advantages were presented to lure investors to undeveloped land within the state. For further material on early northwest Florida promotional efforts see Brian Rucker, "West Florida Tourism, 1865-1889"; George A. Castle, "Themes in the Promotional Literature of Pensacola, Florida (1889-1931)" (Unpublished manuscripts in the author's possession).

[9] Mark F. Boyd, "The First American Road in Florida: Papers Relating to the Survey and Construction of the Pensacola — St. Augustine Highway," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 14 (October 1935): 72-106. During the 1820s, the United States Army constructed a primitive road from Pensacola to St. Augustine. This was the first federal road in Florida. It began at Deer Point (present-day Gulf Breeze) and extended eastward along Santa Rosa Peninsula. The road was eventually abandoned for a northern route, but it continued to be used by the local population. U.S. Highway 98, constructed in 1931, follows the same path as the earlier road. It is mistakenly thought that Andrew Jackson constructed this road. Jackson's military route is much farther north in the county.

[10] *Webster's New Colegiate Dictionary*, s.v. "hammock." Hammock land is usually defined as a fertile area in the southern U.S. and especially Florida that is usually higher than its surroundings and that is characterized by hardwood vegetation and deep humus-rich soil.

[11] Ibid. A scuppernong is a popular native grape in the Southeast. More specifically, it is a cultivated muscadine with yellowish green plum- flavored fruit.

[12] This may be a reference to James Ozunian, a vineyardist from California, who came to Santa Rosa County in the 1920s and purchased 2400 acres on which to grow grapes. Brian Rucker, "Citrus Culture in northwest Florida" (Unpublished manuscript in author's possession).

[13] Note the qualifying statement. Prodigious results are guaranteed — as long as the buyer employs intelligence. Thus, if investors fail in an endeavor, it is implied that it is their own fault.

[14] Camp Walton is Fort Walton Beach, thirty miles to the east. Town Point is present-day Gulf Breeze. (Both Deer Point and Town Point are located in what is now Gulf Breeze.) The Pensacola-St. Augustine Road was not adequately improved until 1931, six years later.

[15] A photograph appears to be missing in this section of the letter.

[16] Bingham's enticing words about oil are not completely fanciful. The Jay oil field, in the northern portion of Santa Rosa County, was successfully developed in the early 1970s, and currently there is exploration for natural gas in East Bay only a few miles from this tract of property. There may actually be fuel deposits beneath this land.

[17] The Satsuma orange was cultivated extensively during the 1920s. Northwest Florida was often referred to as "Satsumaland." Santa Rosa Peninsula was especially protected from cold weather and already had a history of orange cultivation dating to the 1820s. In 1925, northwest Florida could boast of over half a million orange trees. The citrus industry, however, soon deteriorated because of several severe freezes and the coming of the Great Depression. For further information see Rucker, "Citrus Culture in Northwest Florida."

[18] The ferry became obsolete when the Pensacola Bay Bridge was built. Construction on this bridge began in 1929 and was completed in 1931. The Bridge and Casino were officially opened in June 1931.

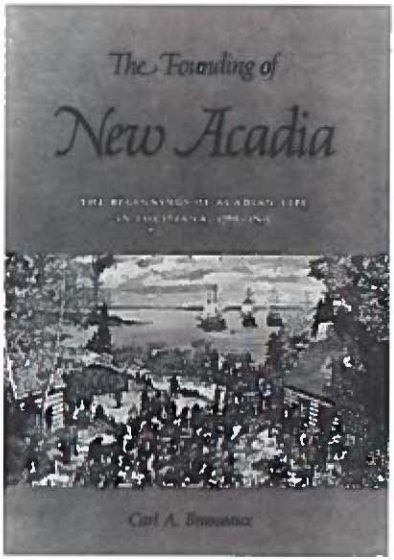
Brian Rucker is a doctoral student in History at Florida State University, Tallahassee. He received his B.A. and M.A. in History from the University of West Florida, Pensacola, and is active in the Santa Rosa Historical Society, Milton, Florida.

Santa Rosa Beach in the 1930s *Pace Library, UWF*

Book Reviews

Carl A. Brasseaux. *The Founding of New Acadia: The Beginning of Acadian Life in Louisiana, 1765-1803.* Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1987, xiv, pp. 229. $24.95.

Whether known by the ethnic term *Acadians* or by the popular term *Cajuns* the Louisiana descendants of Acadia's French eixles are a much misunderstood and overly romanticized people. Expelled from their native land by the English they became a homeless people searching for a haven to begin anew. They, or at least those who survived the years of tribulation in strange lands, found their New Acadia in Louisiana after the cession of that colony to Spain by France.



Brasseaux's story is more than a recitation of romantic tragedies of the ilk of Longfellow's "Evangeline." It is an attempt to take an objective look at the history of a small group of people who suddenly became "large" in the revival of ethnic pride in the 1960s and 1970s, a movement that most people see as an exclusively black phenomenon. This resurgence of ethnic identity has been so strong that Cajuns who have denied their heritage are now reclaiming it. In fact, people of French descent in Louisiana who are not Cajuns and who previously avoided such a "stigma" by calling themselves by the colonial term *Creole*, have begun to identify with their distant cultural cousins and in many cases to capitalize financially on their newly found "identity." Suddenly, everything different or unique in Louisiana is attributed to a small minority of its population. If such tinkering with cultures continues, it will become impossible to distinguish between the various ethnic and cultural groups in Louisiana, a situation which neither the author nor the Cajuns would condone.

Although of Cajun descent, Professor Brasseaux is temperate in his discussion of the tragic "Cajun Epic." Although this is a chapter of history which stands as a prime example of cruelty toward civilized people by

a supposedly civilized nation, he does not absolve the Acadians of blame for their own conduct which brought about their expulsion by the English. Brasseaux tracks their wanderings in Maryland, France, and elsewhere, until they found a home in Louisiana; and he shows, but does not belabor, how they suffered from their dislocation as well as from the suspicion and disdain of the people among whom they were forced to reside. While recounting their travail, he also gives the impression (without precisely stating it) that these conflicts may have been magnified by their own clannishness, suspicion, and hostility — which were, at the same time, the byproducts of their misfortunes.

In large measure, the experiences that the Acadians suffered in exile may account for many of the cultural characteristics that Brasseaux attributes to them. Extended families and group solidarity probably arose from their minority status and the necessity of banding together for survival. In order to protect themselves, they appear to have developed a belligerent attitude in conflicts with outsiders. As with most small groups they also tended to marry cousins, for there were no others of compatible culture available. It is noticeable in the diocesean records available for Louisiana that most of the matrimonial dispensations granted for consanguinity were granted to Cajuns.

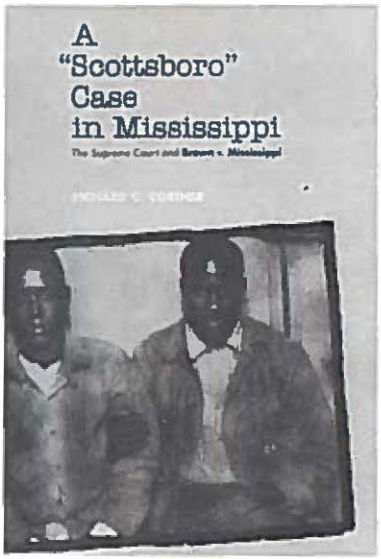
What is lacking in *New Acadia* is any real basis for comparison between the Acadian population and its contemporary societies. Extended families are a characteristic of most Louisianians and most Southerners in general. Such characteristics as industriousness and religiosity are really relative ones, and group solidarity is exhibited strongly among other communities in the South. In fact, many of these same traits are found among Cane River's Creoles of Color near Natchitoches, far removed from "Cajun Country." Even as the author attempts to reconcile how the oppressed became the oppressors by adopting slavery, he fails to recognize that this is a familiar story among other persecuted groups. Perhaps as new studies of other ethnic groups are produced such comparisons will be feasible.

Professor Brasseaux is to be commended for producing a study that is both informative and enjoyable. His scholarly account of a much romanticized story will surely become a standard in Louisiana history.

Gary B. Mills The University of Alabama

Richard C. Cortner. *A "Scottsboro" Case in Mississippi: The Supreme Court and Brown v. Mississippi.* Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 1986, xiv, pp. 174. $19.50.

During the Depression eight poor young blacks were convicted capitally of the rape of two white women in Scottsboro, Alabama, in an absolute travesty of justice which has come to symbolize the ways in which the "rule of law" has been bent to the imperatives of Southern racism.



The "Scottsboro" case reached the United States Supreme Court twice. In each instance the Court, though dodging the ultimate issues of racial and regional justice, nevertheless made landmark expansions of "the federal constitutional standards applicable in state criminal proceedings," thereby laying "the groundwork for the subsequent development of criminal-procedure protections under the Due Process Clause" (p. ix). The first Court decision from "Scottsboro," *Powell v. Alabama* (1932), held that the Due Process Clause of the Fourteenth Amendment required the appointment of counsel for indigent defendants in all capital cases and in those non-capital cases where the lack of counsel would result in unfairness. "Scottsboro" has recently found its historian, Dan Carter, whose monumental and massive study dealt with the case in its legal, social, and political context.

A nearly contemporary, similarly racially-based miscarriage of justice in Mississippi, reaching the Court as *Brown v. Mississippi* in 1936, produced another landmark ruling. It was the first instance in which a confession browbeaten from an accused person was ruled inadmissible, based on the United States Constitution. However, the Mississippi case (until now) has found no Dan Carter to tell its full tale of justice perverted by racial prejudice.

Unfortunately, Richard C. Cortner's clearly-written but thin study of *Brown* cannot take its place alongside Carter's triumph. Cortner's interest is primarily legalistic; what he wants to do is to place the constitutional holding of *Brown* into the cordon of cases which prefigured and led

up to the Warren Court's massive constitutionalization of criminal justice in the 1960s. Cortner is chiefly interested in rules, not in legal history. His world is static, stark, mired in minutiae, made of words and not people.

Further, what "context" Cortner has interjected is that of the "liberal" white community. He has done no interviews with members of the affected black community. (Indeed, he has done no field research of any kind.) He seems almost uninterested in the social and political aspects of the case from the standpoint of the oppressed black population.

Cortner's heroes are the white (male) lawyers who risked their reputations in defending three Mississippi black men brutalized by Mississippi police during the course of a murder investigation — not the three blacks who risked their lives, but play a minor role in the book. Racial prejudice, while certainly not praised, is assumed to be a given. Outrage and hope are both absent. There is no input of black sentiment or remembrance; nothing is looked at from the standpoint of the accused. One leaves the book misled, full of erroneous impressions that very little change is possible in "the system of race relations in the South" (p. 96), that whites are more interesting than blacks, and that constitutional interpretations made by the Supreme Court are more important than racial tragedies.

If society is so stagnant and oppressive, why would anyone find Supreme Court decisions about people's rights to be important?

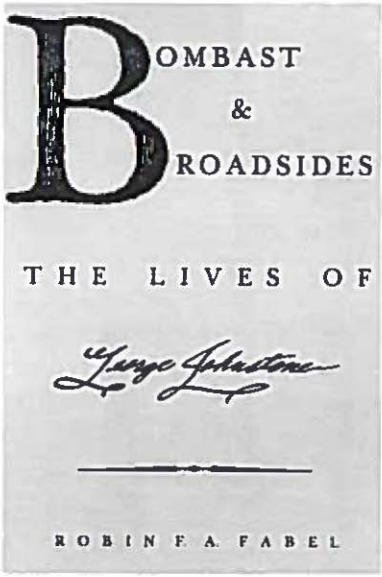
Wythe Holt — The University of Alabama

Robin F.A. Fabel. *Bombast and Broadsides: The Lives of George Johnstone.* Tuscaloosa: The University of Alabama Press, 1987, pp. 249. $20.50.

George Johnstone is a name that moves even eighteenth century specialists to a bit of mental rummaging. Naval officer, short-time govenor of West Florida, opposition parliamentarian, member of the Carlisle Peace Commission, and prominent East Indiaman, he is among those public figures in Georgian England, all well known to their contemporaries, who for one reason or another — lack of talent, or sustained connections, or proper timing, or luck — never gained the top level of power and influence.

Passed over by earlier generations of historians, many of these second-echelon types are now getting full biographical attention. Much of this attention, it is true, serves only to demonstrate the ability of university

"publish or perish" policies to expand our definition of what is important. Yet in some cases, such biographies illuminate facets of the period left obscure by studies of more dominating figures. Happily, this is such a case.



Two strengths of the author immediately become apparent. First, he successfully resists what Dumas Malone called the occupational hazard of biographers, the tendency to get so far inside the subject as to become a prisoner of his vision, sacrificing objectivity and perspective to a swollen sense of the figure's importance. Johnstone's body is clearly not one that Professor Fabel would care to inhabit for long stretches, and he conveys to the reader a healthy ambivalence. More important, having noted that the thin documentary record (which would have been thinner still had Johnstone, a choleric type, not regularly landed himself in courts-martial) demands a reliance upon guesswork and supposition, Fabel is not reluctant to engage in it. His familiarity with the political and social complexities of the period is so obviously thorough that his deductions — on why Johnstone pursued such a puzzingly counterproductive strategy during the peace initiative of 1778, for example, or on what may have been his real assignment in the Iberian countries later in the war — command respect.

For those interested primarily in American history, the study is particularly good at showing how uninformed — and unconcerned — officials could be about the deteriorating North American situation. If sound briefings were to be had on that subject, people like Johnstone would have had to supply them. Not many, after all, had actually *been* there. But Johnstone's mind as Fabel skillfully shows, was always thousands of miles away, usually in India, where the family money was being made. It is a measure of the magnitude of the problem that he, as the Carlisle Commission's "expert" on colonial affairs, seriously thought that manly apologies and a handshake would reunite the empire. When they did not, he became a savage advocate of solutions on the Irish model. Like so many others, Johnstone simply wasn't paying attention.

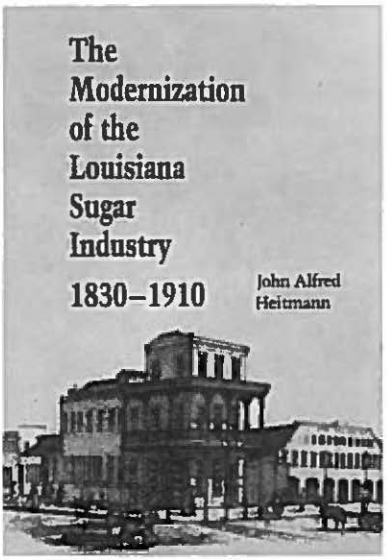
The book is not without weaknesses. Fabel's layered understanding

of the Georgian world does not extend to the Amerindian population. If he is familiar with the work of Francis Jennings, James Axtell, J. Leitch Wright, and others who have revolutionized the treatment of Amerindian diplomacy, it does not inform his work. References to the "Indian mind" do not inspire confidence; the discussion of Johnstone's policies is one-dimensional and not particularly convincing. The author falters, too, in his characterization of Charlotte Johnstone, the wife his subject acquired late in life. Fabel's style is generally to forego judgment for understanding, yet here he is not only judgmental but curiously misanthropic. She is a "tartar" and a "termagant," another dismal sign of "the flaw in his every achievement." Must one be so uncharitable? Considering what a young woman of the Lisbon diplomatic compound may have had to learn, and quickly, about the wider world from an aging seaman with a string of bastard children, perhaps a tendency to hysteria deserves some sympathy.

But these are minor problems. This is an informative, insightful book, well worth the reader's time.

David Sloan — University of Arkansas

John Alfred Heitmann. *The Modernization of the Louisiana Sugar Industry 1830-1910.* Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1987, xii, pp. 298. $35.00.



This book is about power, less the power of politics than the power of science and technology and organization. The author, an assistant professor at the University of Dayton, is well-versed in the history, not so much of science *per se*, as the application of science. He goes beyond a history of technology to examine how scientific knowledge was appropriated, refined, and advanced through institutional mechanisms. From this perspective, Heitmann is able to further illuminate a rather well worked subject, the history of the Louisiana sugar industry.

Heitmann concentrates on the modernization of the Louisiana sugar

industry. He defines modernization rather simply as coping effectively with change. He emphasizes the scientific and technological bases of an industry in transition and the institutional mechanisms its leaders used to promote competitiveness in an international market.

Heitmann devotes forty-nine pages to the years prior to the 1870s. His analysis begins with the antebellum sugar industry but concentrates on technology rather than upon capital and labor, which he mentions only in passing. He gives little attention to the Civil War years other than to comment on their effects upon Louisiana's position in international competition. He touches on a political issue of Reconstruction to note that leadership in the Louisiana sugar industry and the political and social influence that stemmed from it for the most part had antebellum roots, thus countering the thesis advanced by C. Vann Woodward in *Origins of the New South, 1877-1913.*

The bulk of Heitmann's analysis is devoted to the late nineteenth century. In this period, leaders of the Louisiana sugar industry created the Louisiana Sugar Planters' Association. The LSPA worked to transform the power of science and technology into the power of economics and education. The LSPA established an experiment station in 1885, staffed by German-trained scientists, and then the Audubon Park Sugar School in 1891. This school was transferred to Louisiana State University in Baton Rouge in 1897. With changing economic conditions, the specific needs of the sugar industry were transformed into a broader emphasis upon chemical engineering, which in turn became a base for Louisiana's twentieth century petroleum industry.

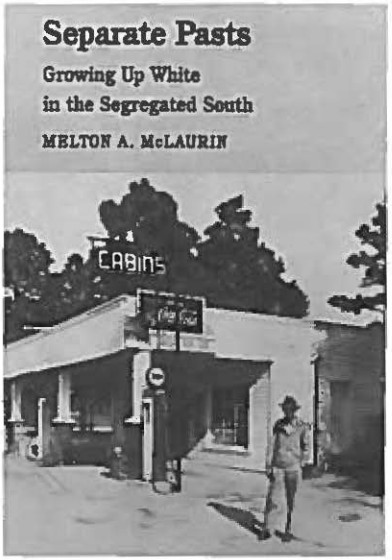
In telling this story, Heitmann's analysis of the *how* of power in chemical engineering and organizational development and their impacts upon engineering education is superior to his analysis of the *how* of power in political and economic developments. He is not unaware of the latter, however. His book is well worth the reading for a full story of the scientific and organizational aspects of the Louisiana sugar industry and as a companion reference to other works which treat political and economic developments in the state more fully. Heitmann provides relatively little information on race and labor relations in the industry.

True to the standard of its publisher, the book is attractive, well-presented and well-indexed.

Robert H. McKenzie The University of Alabama

Melton A. McLaurin. *Separate Pasts: Growing Up White in the Segregated South.* Athens: The University of Georgia Press, pp. 194. $13.95.

Separate Pasts has neither the resonant quality nor the factual insight of W.J. Cash's *Mind of the South,* yet it brings to mind that earlier excellent piece of journalistic work. *Separate Pasts* stands alone as a good example of personal journalism — a memoir of a young man looking back at his growing up in the segregated world of Wade, North Carolina, a village not unlike the hundreds of others across the South where so many of us came of age in that other world.



Melton A. McLaurin dissects his village with the fine objective scalpel of someone presently far removed from the source, yet now and then the feelings of someone terrifically affected by the circumstances of his youth. He tells us that he loved his grandfather, who by surviving the Depression became an "indomitable little man, taught by experience to stifle any expression of feeling, to be emotionally tough and to cloak his caring with blunt speech and a hard, cold demeanor calculated to keep everyone at a safe distance."

How many of us have know such a person? How many times have we been pulled into such a character by the skillful twist of a novelist's pen? So many times, perhaps, that the man or woman has become a cliché in our literature and lives. Yet the author transcends the cliché and makes his grandfather real and true to this very real and very true story.

In telling anecdotes, McLaurin moves us through the village geographically. He shows us the people: particularly the black people and his relationships with them. With a man named James Robert Fuller, Jr., called Bobo, he tells a gut-wrenching story about putting the needle into a basketball to blow it up, about his placing the needle into his own mouth only to realize it had just been in Bobo's mouth, and how all the "thirteen years of conditioning in a segregationist society squelched my confusion." He throws the filled ball extra hard into Bobo's stomach

only to find that "my vindication of white supremacy was incomplete." He then goes to the spigot next to the court, rinses out his mouth in a "rite of purification," seeing it as "baptism of plan tap water" to allow for rebirth, "my white selfhood restored."

It is with others that he grows up, faces the myth of black sexual dominance and becomes aware of the white community's belief that all black men want to rape a white Southern woman. The mythical bubble grows with his first sexual fantasy about a black woman who is only six years older than he. "Jesse Florence was the first adult, honest-to-God woman I ever wanted," he writes. It is from these youthful thrills and ultimate embarrassment that he is struck with sudden realization brought on by the young woman's honesty, and later by his own response to an abrupt sexual question.

McLaurin continues with other stories and other people of his past. All of these are interesting personalities, not unlike those most of us Southerners who grew up in small or medium-sized towns, knew passingly or intimately. He fits them together neatly into his own background. While reading *Separate Pasts* I kept wishing that a storyline would take me from beginning to end. It does at times read like a novel, only to bring the reader back to the truth that these are indeed facts, and that while the author is writing about the past, too much of it continues to be true today.

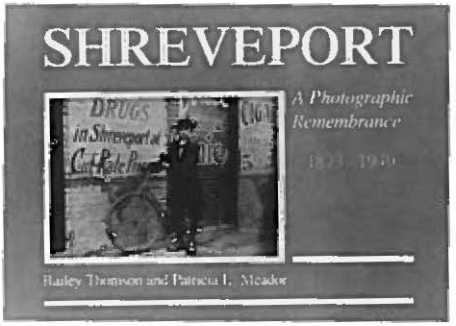
Wayne Greenshaw — Editor, *Alabama Magazine*

Bailey Thomson and Patricia L. Meador. Shreveport: A Photographic Remembrance, 1873-1949. Baton Rouge and London: Louisiana State University Press, 1987, ix, pp. 250, photographs. $24.95.

While historians have long relied on letters, diaries, and newspapers as primary souce materials, the use of photographs by the professional is a relatively new phenomenon. In recent years several books have appeared which chronicle through visual images the development of cities, states, periods of time, industries, corporations, and professions among other topics. They have encouraged others to collect and preserve their photographic heritage, and use it to reconstruct and interpret their past.

In 1980 the Archives of Louisiana State University at Shreveport (LSUS) secured a grant to establish a special photograph section. LSUS

subsequently cosponsored Community Photographic fairs and contacted major photographic depositories to secure outstanding photographs of the northwest region of Louisiana. Through donation, outright purchase, and reproduction LSUS built its photographic holdings to more than 10,000 prints.



This photographic remembrance of Shreveport begins with the oldest images in the collection, the hand-tinted albumen photographs taken by R.B. Talfor in 1893. Talfor accompanied the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers as it cut a channel through thirty miles of logjams in the Red River above Shreveport. The photographic overview extends to the late 1940s when conventional documentary styles gave way in Shreveport to photojournalism, and the emphasis shifted from documenting "how things looked and how people lived" to capturing the news for local papers.

Between these signposts there are 188 photographs reflecting an industry and architecture, labor and leisure, class and race, material and popular culture, and other crosscurrents. Bailey Thomson and Patricia Meador introduce the region with a concisely written text, and place the photographs in their historical context through descriptive captions. A Lewis Hine image of a delivery boy for a Shreveport drug company graces the dust jacket, and inside the covers there are other photographic treasures such as the 1891 image of hurdle racing and the 1912 shot of Eckhart, the hot-air balloon daredevil.

The authors lament the scarcity of photographs depicting the lives of blacks. Indeed, images of the underside and backstreets of many communities are hard to come by. Likewise, further information on the photographs that do appear — the name of the photographer, kind of equipment used, and rationale for the photograph — may not exist. These difficulties make us appreciate all the more the rich visual history which Thomson, Meador, and other people associated with LSUS have been able to collect, preserve, and disseminate.

Robert E. Snyder University of South Florida.

From the Archives . . .

"A Statesman and a Spudster": Senator Allen J. Ellender of Louisiana

Michael James Forêt

Rationing was a fact of life for all Americans during World War II, from the poor and the mean to the high and the mighty. Many consumer goods taken for granted today — gasoline, automobile tires, spare parts, and many other items — were controlled to enhance the war effort. But for many, especially in the cities, food was rationed as well. Those without their own gardens had to rely on the market and the corner grocery, each of which received an allocation of various foodstuffs. The most mundane farm products could become luxuries during periods of scarcity.

The nation's capital was not exempt from this rationing, and during Spring 1943 potatoes were in short supply in Washington. One senator who did his part to relieve this potato shortage was Allen J. Ellender of Louisiana. Ellender was the son of a sugar planter, and himself owned "Willowood" farm near Montegut, Louisiana. Like most other farms in the area, Willowood produced a large variety of vegetables and produce for local and personal consumption. The potatoes grown during Spring 1943, however, were shipped to Washington for distribution among Ellender's senate colleagues and White House friends. As seen below, Ellender's generosity caused quite a stir in many a Washington pot, and perhaps gave his colleagues a bit of much-needed diversion from the grim struggle going on around the world.

The following letters, and the accompanying photograph, were taken from the Allen J. Ellender Archives, which are located in Ellender Memorial Library, Nicholls State University, Thibodaux, Louisiana. The Ellender Archives contains over 851 linear feet of the senator's papers, over 900 photographs, almost 300 films and videotapes, and many volumes from the senator's reference library. The collection is open to the public 8:00 - 4:30 Monday through Friday except on state and national holidays, or when the university is otherwise closed. Prospective researchers are encouraged to contact the archivist when planning to visit the archives. The mailing address is Ellender Memorial Library, P.O. Box 2028, Thibodaux, LA 70310, phone (504) 448-4621.

Mr. Forêt is the University Archivist at Nicholls State University.

Maine's Brewster, Idaho's Clark and Nebraska's Butler and Uberry admiring Ellender's Louisiana grown triumphs.

Allen J. Ellender Archives, Nicholls State University

May 19, 1943

Mr. C.A. Duplantis
Houma, Louisiana

Dear Caliste,

The potatoes arrived last Thursday morning. They reached here in fine shape. Out of the whole shipment there were not more than five or six spoiled potatoes.

There were over a dozen photographers, including the photographer of *Life* Magazine, who took pictures of the potatoes Friday morning. A number of Senators were in the office and they took shots showing me distributing the potatoes among my colleagues. The pictures were very interesting and I understand they were sent all over the country.

You have no idea what an enthusiastic reception the potatoes received from the Senators. You would have thought I was distributing gold nuggets. Washington has been without potatoes for several months, and even now only a few cars are coming in weekly, which are snatched up almost immediately by the consumers.

I certainly do appreciate the time and effort you spent in getting the potatoes packed and shipped. You did a fine job and I am very grateful to you.

If I can get hold of some extra copies of the pictures that were taken, I will send them to you.

With kindest personal regards, I am
(signed) Allen J. Ellender

May 15, 1943

Dear Colleague:

When the sack of potatoes was delivered to my office yesterday, my daughter, Jane, received them and was inspired to write the enclosed verse. Since Mrs. Murdock has had such a difficult time getting potatoes from the grocery stores, I am sure that we all share Jane's sentiments.

We are looking forward to a real treat, and I want to express my gratitude for your kindness.

With Kind personal regards, I am
Sincerely yours,
(signed) Abe Murdock

ODE TO THE LOUISIANA POTATOE (the edible starchy tuber of an American solanaceous plant, in case anyone has forgotten)

These luscious "nuggets from Willowood"
Arrived just at the time they should
Now that we have these swell patoots,
We don't have to put up with substitutes.
Wave goodbye to macaroni,
Say adieu to mushy rice,
No more camouflaged baloney
My, ain't Senator Ellender nice!

[Mr. Murdock was a Democratic senator from Utah.]

May 15, 1943

Dear Senator Ellender,

I have the nuggets from "Willowood" and Mrs. Thomas has placed them in our strong-box. We do so much appreciate your remembering us in this substantial way.

With all good wishes, I am
Sincerely,
(signed) Elmer Thomas

[Mr. Thomas was a Democratic senator from Oklahoma.]

May 15, 1943

Dear Allen,

I am now about to bathe in perfume some of the spuds you sent along. My dear erring-brother-in-Puerto-Rican-sin I want to assure you that you have saved the life of the Bone family on account of because they can eat for a few days. I pick each spud tenderly in my hands and give it a dainty little buss before committing it to hot water or the oven. These are the first potatoes I have seen for a long time.

Thanks very much for your kindness,
Sincerely yours,
(signed) H. (Homer) T. Bone

[Mr. Bone was a Democratic senator from Washington.]

May 15, 1943

My dear Allen:

Thanks for the "spuds".

I should ordinarily decline to accept so *valuable* a gift from *anybody* because I cannot hope to reciprocate in equivalent value (unless I steal the keys to Fort Knox). I felt like asking one of the Capitol policemen to follow me home last evening to protect me from robbers who might not be able to withstand the presence of so much loot. I am sure the

potatoes will prove to be *almost* as good as if they were grown in Michigan. Thanks for your prodigal generosity. Mrs. Vandenberg particularly welcomes them because of her great affection for your wife.

With warm personal regards and best wishes,
Cordially and faithfully,
(signed) A. (Arthur) H. Vandenberg

[Mr. Vandenberg was a Republican senator from Michigan.]

May 18, 1943

Dear Senator Ellender,

Jimmy Byrnes has given me the potatoes which you were kind enough to send to me. Nothing could be more welcome, particularly at the present time, than a bag of potatoes. I am enjoying them immensely and want you to know how much I appreciate your thought of me.

With every best wish,
Always sincerely,
(signed) Franklin D. Roosevelt

May 22, 1943

My dear friend Ellender:

If your knowledge of potato culture is as good as your product which I received a few days ago, I pronounce you a fine and successful farmer.

While you have not the time to till and toil the soil, you furnish the necessary brain equipment for the undertaking. The alliteration stands in this case — "a statesman and a spudster".

I appreciate your thoughtful gift and with sentiments of esteem,
I am
(signed) Chas(Charles) L. McNary

[Mr. McNary was a Republican senator from Oregon.]

May 18, 1943

Dear Senator:

Allow me to extend my thanks for the sack of potatoes, and also my appreciation for the honor bestowed upon me when I had my picture taken beside a pile of nuggets.

Had I sampled your potatoes in the dark, I would have known they were grown from Nebraska seed. When I noted their uniformity of size, which is a characteristic of the Nebraska potato, I knew you had gotten your seed from Nebraska. It would have been necessary only for you to mention the name William Morrow of Alliance, and I would have had the whole story.

I am sure the people of Louisiana, who have the privilege of partaking of the products of your farm, are complimenting you upon the splendid judgment you display in your selection of potato seed.

Sincerely yours,
(signed) Hugh Butler

[Mr. Butler was a Republican senator from Nebraska.]

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