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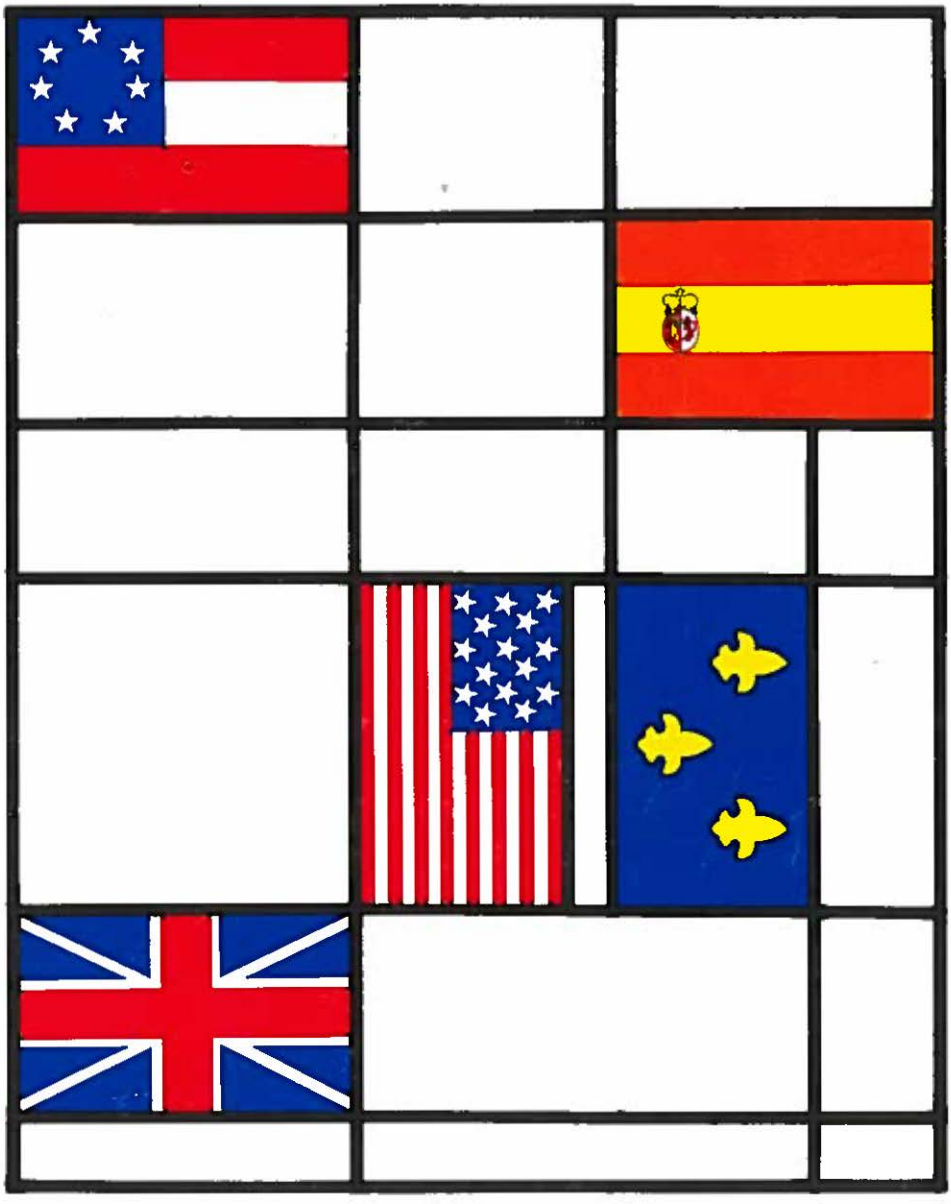

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The Mobile Brewery *USA Archives*

From the Editors. . . .

This issue of the *Gulf Coast Historical Review* brings articles on a variety of topics, some lighthearted and others deadly serious. Once again we are happy to publish works by authors from a variety of backgrounds. While most of our contributors are academic historians, they are joined by an anthropologist, an archivist, and an attorney. We feel that this issue reflects the divergence of topic and approach presently characteristic of Gulf Coast history. We hope you agree.

As many of our readers know by now the University of South Alabama has joined with Pensacola Junior College and the University of West Florida to sponsor the Gulf Coast History and Humanities Conference. The next meeting will be held at the Riverview hotel in Mobile March 9-11, 1989. Its topic is the Maritime History of the Gulf Coast. The proceedings of these conferences, beginning with the last one held in Pensacola on the Civil War on the Gulf Coast, will now be published in special issues of the *Gulf Coast Historical Review* beginning in the Spring of 1989. It will be sent to all of our *Gulf Coast Historical Review* subscribers at no extra charge, though we expect it will be twice as large an issue.

Since the Gulf Coast History and Humanities Conference has traditionally met every other year, expect to see a special *Gulf Coast Historical Review* on a regular biannual basis henceforth. We are very excited about the upcoming conference and hope that many of our readers can attend. But, if you cannot, you can "read all about it" right here in the *Gulf Coast Historical Review.*

Since our last issue the historical profession has lost two unusually talented members, one old and the other much too young. E. Lewis B. Curtis who retired from the University of South Alabama in the early 1970s had taught history, and seen it made, all over the world. He profoundly influenced generations of students and teachers during his long and distinguished career. At the other extreme, Stephanie Hardin, who had received her M.A. only last year, died recently after a long struggle with cancer. Stephanie wrote "Climate of Fear: Violence, Intimidation and Media Manipulation in Reconstruction Mobile, 1865-1876" which appeared in the Fall 1986 issue of the *Gulf Coast Historical Review.* It was a vital and controversial examination of Reconstruction and reflected Stephanie's vivacity and commitment to the study of history. We are happy for all the people Lewis touched in his long career and for the spark in Stephanie that made her a special person and a historian we will all miss.

Most of us have known historians whose contributions, both personal and professional, we will never forget. In that vein we hope you will join us in the dedication of this issue to our friends and colleagues Lewis Curtis and Stephanie Hardin.

Editorial Staff

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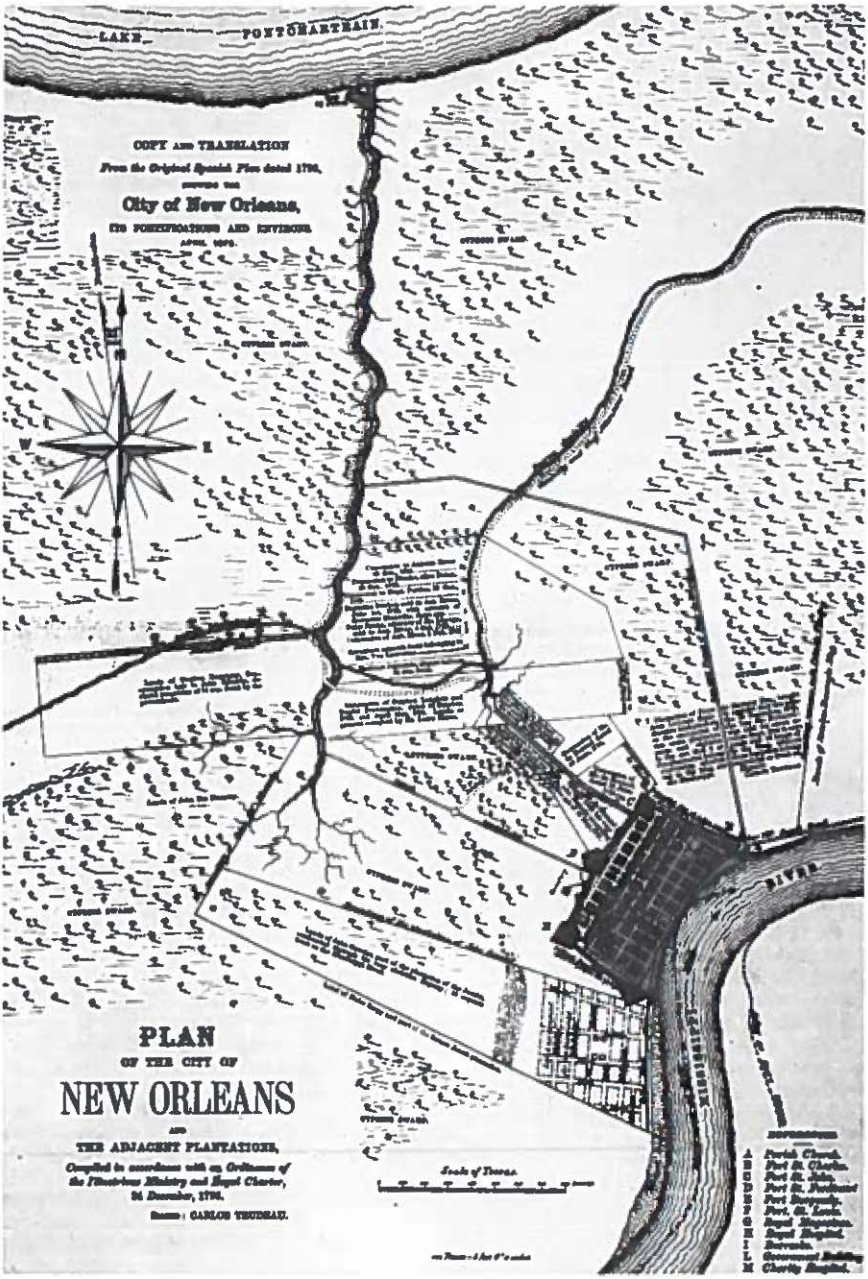

Map of New Orleans in 1798. The lands of Anglo merchant John B. McCarty are in the lower left quadrant on this map.

Historic New Orleans Collection, Museum/ Research Center, Acc. No. 1953.42

Anglo Merchants and Capital Migration in Spanish Colonial New Orleans, 1763-1803

Light T. Cummins

Historians have long recognized the importance of New Orleans as a commercial center. Founded by the French in 1718, it had become a significant port by 1803. In spite of the fact that it suffered from restrictive trade policies during the time it existed as a French and Spanish possession, these mercantilistic policies were powerless to keep the city from eventually fulfilling its destiny as the entrepot for a vast and rich hinterland which composed the entire middle section of the continent. [1] Although New Orleans experienced considerable economic difficulty during the late eighteenth century including shortages of circulating specie, a local Spanish government which required subsidization from New Spain and Cuba, a barter economy which retarded external trade, and commercial disruptions caused by war, the city underwent a sporadic net growth in external trade and commerce from the 1760s to the end of the century, with this expansion continuing well into the American period. [2]

The precise outlines of this general economic growth for colonial New Orleans have been difficult for historians to trace, with numerous scholars writing from different perspectives. All of these authors indicate that development took place, but they disagree on its rate, specific motivations, and causality. [3] Some of the reasons for this economic growth, however, are clear in retrospect. They include a liberalization of Spanish commercial restrictions as part of the imperial "Free Trade" policies of King Charles III and his ministers, the propagation in the lower Mississippi valley of staple crops such as indigo and tobacco, and the growth of extractive industries such as logging. As well, the Louisiana province witnessed a demographic movement which saw large numbers of settlers from the United States arrive in the lower Mississippi region to farm, thereby creating an increasingly stable economic base for the city's external trade with areas in the West Indies, the Atlantic coast, and various European ports.

A rarely considered aspect of New Orleans' mercantile economy during the Spanish period is the existence and steady growth of an Anglo merchant community in the city. [4] It was these merchants who opened colonial New Orleans to the larger trading network of the Atlantic basin. It had previously existed apart from the traditional, legal ports encompassed by the more geographically limited Spanish and French commercial systems. The Anglo merchants of New Orleans achieved this during the Spanish period by providing an important conduit for regular, on-going capital

migration in and out of New Orleans to ports in North America and the West Indies. This began in the 1760s and lasted for the rest of the century. Although some of this trade was technically smuggling, it fostered a capital migration which increasingly linked the formerly isolated Louisiana port with major commercial centers in Great Britain, the Atlantic coast, and the West Indies. [5] This article will offer some general comments about the individual backgrounds of significant members of the Anglo merchant community, present a short analysis of the type of trade activities in which they engaged, and — in so doing — note the capital migration function which they performed in motivating the growth of the general trade economy of Spanish colonial New Orleans.

Up to the present time historians have not studied the Anglo merchants in Spanish Louisiana in any organized fashion. The existing historical literature about colonial New Orleans also fails to address the phenomenon of capital migration. This is probably because there has been a basic problem regarding documentation for historians who wish to study the economic history of Spanish Louisiana: records of an economic nature are scattered, incomplete, and non-extant in many cases. [6] For example, few private business records from colonial New Orleans remain for the use of modern scholars. Moreover, the official documents contained in the Spanish archives must be used with care and circumspection by anyone who wishes to analyze New Orleans' economic growth since these records provide data only for legal commerce. Legal trade existed merely as one part of Louisiana's total economic activity because Spanish mercantile laws had a tendency to drive a significant amount of commerce underground into the realms of smuggling and contrabanding. The Spanish Judicial Records of colonial New Orleans do provide the historian with information on the nature of smuggling, but this important documentary source does not permit generalization because of selective enforcement of the contraband laws.

This study is based on two documentary sources which have been heretofore underutilized by historians of Spanish Louisiana: land records and Notary acts. The systematic use of these records makes possible the historical study of the Anglo merchant community in Spanish New Orleans. The land grants and conveyances for the region, although they have been widely scattered since the late eighteenth century, are still accessible. The Spanish land grants and sale transactions can be found either as part of the conveyances in various Louisiana Parishes or scattered among archival collections in the United States including the State of Louisiana Land Office, the Library of Congress, the Historic New Orleans Collection, Louisiana State University, and the University of Michigan. [7] Many of

these documents are easily consulted today because they came into the possession of either the government of the state of Louisiana or of the United States after 1803 when land owners pressed for American reconfirmation of British and Spanish land titles. Since some parts of Spanish territory were included in West Florida prior to the American Revolution, historians can also consult the British era land documents and grant maps at the Public Record Office in London. [8]

A second important source for the activities of Anglo merchants in New Orleans is the notarial acts of the city. There records have survived intact and provide the historian with a focused glimpse of the activities of all merchants in New Orleans regardless of a particular trader's citizenship or place of residence. Spanish law required that all transactions involving the transfer of real property (mostly land or slaves) or the execution of promissory notes be consummated before a Notary. The records of these Notaries contain land transactions, slave transfers, the creation of powers of attorney, mortgages, wills and testaments, and promises for future payment of debts executed by Anglo merchants during the Spanish period. Located today in the offices of the Civil District Court of Orleans Parish, the Spanish era Notary archives comprise some two hundred volumes of transactions which are rich for the study of economic history in colonial New Orleans. [9]

An examination of these materials indicates that, during the Spanish period, Anglo merchants generally came to New Orleans from three distinct trading backgrounds which were already linked to the major commercial networks of the British empire and the Atlantic economy. First, a group of Anglo traders arrived on the lower Mississippi in the 1760s as residents of British West Florida. Although English citizens, they travelled freely between Spanish and English territory, sometimes maintaining residences in both provinces. Second, a number of Anglo traders, many of them Irish and Scottish Catholics, came to New Orleans from Havana in the 1760s and 1770s. Third, in the 1780s and 1790s, numerous Anglo-American merchants came to the lower Mississippi as part of the influx of United States citizens settling the region under Spain's defensive colonization policy.

The first group of Anglo merchants to trade extensively in Spanish New Orleans thus came from areas in West Florida settled by the British in the early 1760s. British West Florida and Spanish Louisiana shared a common boundary in the years between the Peace of Paris in 1763 and the end of the American Revolution, when the holdings of Great Britain became Spanish territory. Prior to 1783, the east bank of the Mississippi north of the Iberville River (located between Baton Rouge and New Orleans) was part of British West Florida. The entire west bank

of the Mississippi and the Isle of Orleans, which included the city, along with land on the east bank south of the Iberville, belonged to Spain. The British authorities in the West Florida capital of Pensacola encouraged local merchants to trade with the Spanish. For example, West Florida's Governor George Johnstone sent the provincial sloop to Havana in September 1767 to advertise the availability of goods in Pensacola, a trade patently illegal under Spanish law. Nevertheless, a Spanish merchant vessel soon thereafter called at Pensacola and purchased merchandise valued at thirty thousand *pesos fuertes*. [10] The following months saw the arrival of five or six additional Spanish ships which illicitly traded their cargoes of buillion and logwood for British goods. [11]

This British desire for trade with the Spanish resulted in various individual merchants settling along the Mississippi, and if not in New Orleans itself, at the least in the British areas immediately to the north. These Anglo traders were not unmindful of the opportunity for quick profits, especially regarding the importation of slaves. For example, Robert Ross, who moved to New Orleans during this period, wrote the Spanish Governor of Louisiana in 1767:

> Some of the principal Merchants in the Slave trade in Jamaica having desired me to inquire whether my Negroes, and what number of them, would be wanted at New Orleans on the establishment of the Spanish Government, and expressing at the same time a desire to contract for the supplying of them, I take the liberty of applying to your Excellency on that subject.

Ross suggested that slaves could be shipped from Jamaica to Pensacola where potential buyers from Spanish Louisiana could take delivery. [12]

Although such a trade was illegal under Spanish commercial restrictions, an informal variation on Ross' proposal had developed by the late 1760s. The Treaty of Paris, 1763, gave England the right to navigate the Mississippi in order to reach British settlements above New Orleans. British vessels could therefore anchor in the river in the vicinity of the city as long as they were not tied to the levee. Some of these ships evolved into floating warehouses and stores well-known to historians of the province. These establishments insured ample opportunity for residents of Spanish Louisiana to purchase goods and slaves directly from the British. In addition, these floating trade centers permitted easy resupply for the Anglo merchants resident in New Orleans. [13]

Thus, it is not surprising that the arrival of British merchants in West Florida marked the start of efforts to maintain a regular British trade between West Florida and the West Indies and New Orleans. A

number of Anglo merchants established trading houses in the city, including William Barrow, Valens and Phillips Comyn, and Daniel Hickey. [14] Among these, the brothers Evan and James Jones were some of the first Anglo traders to open commerce between New Orleans and areas traditionally outside its established commercial patterns. Evan Jones had been born in New England about 1739 and moved to Mobile district of West Florida after the Peace of Paris. He transferred to New Orleans in 1765, where he remained for the rest of his life. His brother James, in partnership with Evan, maintained a branch of their trading house at Pensacola. They routinely exchanged cargoes between the two cities. Evan became a Spanish subject while both the brothers conducted an active trade with Anglo-American ports along the Atlantic coast, specializing in the importation of flour while they exported furs and agricultural products. [15]

Another typical merchant of this group was Robert Ross whose offer to sell slaves we have already noted. Along with his relation David, he arrived in the Mississippi Valley in the 1760s. Of Scottish ancestry, Ross' commercial interests and activities made little distinction between British and Spanish territory. He travelled freely between West Florida and Louisiana, buying land in both colonies, trading in slaves, and dealing in indigo, tobacco, rum, and dry goods. Although he represented Pensacola in the West Florida provincial legislature, he also maintained a residence at New Orleans. He traded extensively with English merchants at Jamaica, most notably Lewbridge Bright and David Duncomb. Siding with the royalists during the Revolution, he experienced difficulties with Spanish Governor Bernardo de Gálvez which eventually resulted in his leaving Louisiana. [16] Nevertheless, Ross can be seen as typical of many of these British merchants who came to New Orleans and maintained mercantile ties to the West Indies.

By the early 1770s, a growing number of Anglo merchants had established themselves either at New Orleans or in the upriver areas north of the city where they traded in merchandise and slaves. Perhaps the most important of these individuals was John Fitzpatrick, significant not only due to his extensive mercantile operations but also because the letterbooks which detail his activities have been among the very few to survive as a source for historians. [17] Fitzpatrick maintained numerous commercial contacts throughout the region, in addition to correspondents in the West Indies, along the Atlantic Coast, and in Europe. Weak enforcement of the Spanish commercial laws during the Governorship of Antonio de Ulloa permitted these Anglo merchants in the lower Mississippi to prosper. [18] Most of them stayed, even when General Alejandro O'Reilly made a short-lived and ineffective attempt to expel them.

Don Antonio de Ulloa, first Governor of Spanish Louisiana

Historic New Orleans Collection, Museum/Research Center, Acc. No. 73-40-L(31)

General O'Reilly's establishment of permanent Spanish government in Louisiana also marks the appearance of a second group of Anglo merchants in the lower Mississippi Valley. These individuals initially had little to do with their counterparts who had ties to British West Florida. Instead, they were part of an Irish and Scottish trading community which had been established at Havana in the years after the Seven Years' War. Spain had long tolerated Irish and Scottish Roman Catholics in her realm and some of them, including the family of Alejandro O'Reilly himself, had adopted Spanish citizenship and become culturally hispanic. This Irish and Scottish merchant community in Havana in the 1760s prospered further when the *asiento* trading contract went to an Italian firm which maintained extensive non-Spanish commercial contacts throughout the Americas and Europe. [19]

Historic New Orleans Collection, Museum/Research Center, Acc. No. 73-40-L(34)

The Irish merchants in Havana, in particular, traded extensively with the *asiento* while they profited from their Roman Catholic status which afforded them acceptance by the Spanish in Cuba. Irish priests maintained a school at Havana which, in addition to educating the Anglo-Irish children, served as a social center for these individuals, including Alexander Munro, Oliver Pollock, John Kelley, Bartholomew McNamarra, and Francis Murphy. General O'Reilly occasionally participated in events there and was a special friend of one of the priests, a Father Butler. It is therefore not surprising to learn that O'Reilly's mission to Louisiana in 1769 resulted in the expansion of Havana's Irish and Scottish merchant community into the lower Mississippi. These Anglo merchants also quickly forged commercial links between New Orleans and the traditional trading zones of the British system.

One of the most active of the new group was Bartolomew McNamarra. He regularly sold blacks imported into Louisiana to officials of the Spanish government, local residents, and other merchants. Between 1770 and 1775, he engaged in dozens of transactions before New Orleans notaries. Participating in similar trades as well were Irish merchants including Oliver Pollock, Thomas O'Keefe, Patrick Morgan, and John Waugh. All of them purchased a great deal of real estate and property with their profits, both in Spanish Louisiana and West Florida. Maurice Conway, for example, traded extensively in residential property in New Orleans. [20] James McCarty came to New Orleans from Cuba and operated as a corresponding agent for the New York firm of Nicholas Low and Company. During 1783 he instructed Low to place an advertisement in the New York gazettes which noted that: "J.B. McCarty, merchant of New Orleans, informs the merchants of the United States that he will receive new flour on commission." [21]

Oliver Pollock probably ranks as the best-known Anglo merchant of Havana who came to New Orleans. His historical reputation rests upon his support for the rebel cause during the American Revolution. He had been an active member of Havana's Roman Catholic merchant community which included Alexander Munro, Geronomo Enrile, and Geronomo LaChiapelli. All of these men were heavily involved in the slave trade. [22] In fact, Pollock's activities as a purveyor of slaves closely followed a general shift in such trade which came with the transfer to Louisiana from France to Spain. Traditional sources of slaves in the French West Indies were no longer available. Instead, Louisiana residents turned to Anglo merchants for new slave shipments. These merchants had strong trade ties to most ports in the British commercial system. Many of them, including McNamarra, Munro, and Pollock, quickly dominated the importation

of slaves into Louisiana. For this reason they and their counterparts were readily accepted, even by General O'Reilly who permitted many to stay in spite of his proclamation which legally expelled foreign merchants in 1770. [23]

Oliver Pollock's slave-trading transactions are typical of such commercial activities on the part of the Anglo merchants. For example, Pollock sold two house servants, Thomas and John, for the sum of 265 *pesos fuertes* in 1769. The purchaser of these two slaves from Pollock was none other than Alejandro O'Reilly himself. [24] Pollock also brokered slaves already in the colony. Members of the Spanish government and their families seemed to favor Pollock in these transactions. Bernardo de Otero, the colonial treasurer, bought three house servants from Pollock. Don Joseph de Pena, commander of Natchitoches post, sold Pollock a slave originally brought from the Red River post. In February, 1776, he purchased a thirty-two year old mulatto woman named Teresa from Dona Luisa Gromel for 500 *pesos*. After almost eighteen months, Pollock sold Teresa to Andreas Reynaud for the amount originally paid. [25]

On April 6 and 8, 1778 Pollock sponsored a slave auction at which the Americans disposed of the majority of the blacks taken during an earlier military raid on the British. The rebel colonial officer James Willing had led the raid down the Mississippi to attack settlements in British West Florida. Most of the leading citizens of New Orleans attended and bought freely. In all, seventy-four slaves crossed the auction block raising a total of 16,518 *pesos* for Pollock and Willing. Effort was made to keep slave families together during the sale. All slaves were blacks, except for a sixteen year old girl named Mariana, who was noted as being an Indian. Leading citizens of Spanish Louisiana, including Antonio de Marigny, Philipe de Mandeville, Gilbert Antonio St. Maxent, and Carlos Oliver, all purchased slaves, although in many cases cash money was not on hand to complete the sales. Pollock met this lack of specie by financing most of the transactions on promissary notes due the following first of January. [26]

The existence of these Anglo traders in New Orleans served as a catalyst for increasing the interest of additional merchants from the Atlantic coast and West Indies in the economic potential of the lower Mississippi valley. For example, Pollock motivated his business colleagues along the Atlantic coast to acquire land along the Mississippi. Robert Morris and Thomas Willing, the Philadelphia merchants for whom he served as corresponding agent, secured two grants on the Mississippi from authorities in Pensacola. Pollock organized these tracts as working plantations and hired a resident manager, Alexander Henderson, who operated the

properties for the firm of Willing and Morris. Henderson had thirty-four slaves on these two tracts and successfully grew rice during most of the 1770s and 1780s. Pollock served as financial manager for this venture, keeping Willing and Morris's accounts and making local payments on their behalf. [27] These properties continued operation when Spain took possession of the region during the American Revolution.

The activities of the traders from Havana, coupled to the efforts of the merchants already trading in Louisiana from bases in West Florida, made for a large Anglo commercial community in New Orleans by the time of the American Revolution. Although they came to New Orleans from diverse backgrounds, several factors tied these Anglo merchants together into a community, although most of them as individuals did not recognize these commonalities. They established themselves in Spanish Louisiana or British West Florida (sometimes both) to trade in slaves and staples; many became land-owners in the lower Mississippi Valley both in British and Spanish territory; New Orleans became their significant trade depot; and a number of them eventually became citizens of the United States after the Louisiana Purchase, if not before. This is not to imply, however, that these early Anglo merchants cooperated among themselves or made attempts to share their common destiny, for such was certainly not the case. Most of them saw each other as major competitors and rivals, a situation exacerbated by the fact that some were rebels and others were loyalists during the American Revolution. Some, including Oliver Pollock, John Fitzpatrick, and James Rumsey, supported the rebel cause. Others, among them Anthony Hutchins, Robert and David Ross, John Campbell, and Bartholomew McNamarra, became loyalists. Nevertheless the Anglo merchants formed a group apart from the Gallic and Hispanic residents of the colony.

The military successes of Bernardo de Gálvez during the Revolution swept the British from the Gulf Coast and lower Mississippi, thereby extending Spanish rule to all areas of the former province of West Florida. Most of the Anglo merchants resident in the area remained and became Spanish subjects. They were joined during the 1780s and 1790s by a new group of merchants, Anglo-Americans who moved to the region as part of a general immigration from the United States into the region. This Anglo immigration into Spanish Louisiana has been the subject of a considerable amount of scholarly investigation. Most of these efforts have concentrated on analyzing the immigration policies or entrepreneurial schemes which attempted to bring Anglo settlers into the colony after the American Revolution. [28] Although the scholars who conducted these studies have added immeasurably to our knowledge of Spanish Louisiana,

they have been unable to agree on the number of Anglos who actually came to the province. For example Mattie Austin Hatcher, taking various contracts with immigration agents at face value, noted that the population of lower Spanish Louisiana grew tremendously between 1769 and 1798. "All authorities, agree," she wrote in 1921, "that this unquestionably represented, for the most part, a large immigration of Americans." According to Hatcher, Anglo immigrants had by 1803 clearly become the dominant group. Gilbert C. Din, however, estimated that Anglo-Americans came in a much smaller influx. "When the United States acquired Louisiana," he observed, "the colony still had not been overwhelmed by the Anglo-Americans, although their numbers were growing steadily." [29]

Nevertheless, the land records and Notary transactions do contain ample evidence of a large number of Anglo merchants new to the region, with most of them resident in New Orleans. James Mather, Daniel Clark the elder and his nephew Daniel the younger, James Jordan, Thomas Acklin, Thomas Patterson, Richard Clark, and others all founded successful New Orleans merchant houses in the decade after the American Revolution. Of these, Daniel Clark the younger ranks as an individual who amassed one of the greatest fortunes in colonial New Orleans. A native of Sligo, in Ireland, he had gone at an early age with his family to the Philadelphia area where he established himself with the merchant firm there led by Daniel Coxe. In 1786 young Clark journeyed to New Orleans where he joined his uncle of the same name in mercantile ventures. In addition to his import and export operations, he invested heavily in land along the Mississippi and, like other Anglo merchants, engaged in slave trading. He acquired massive amounts of land during the 1790s in the districts north of New Orleans, including a tract of some 200,000 acres along the Ouachita River. [30]

By the 1780s Anglo merchants were firmly established in New Orleans and they were propelling the trade of the city into new international trade patterns. The land records and notarial acts reveal several common sorts of transactions among the Anglo merchants which enable historians to judge their significance in the economic development of the port of New Orleans. On the surface, they certainly engaged in the normal sorts of exchanges that were routine for any non-specialized, port-city merchant. They imported and exported commodities and staples, traded in slaves, and brokered in land. At first glance, most of them did not appear to be overly successful when compared to their counterparts in the major port cities of the United States, especially since the economic system under which they operated in Spanish Louisiana was primitive by the standards of the times. As historian John Clark has noted:

> Specialization in business was rare in New Orleans through the Spanish period and into the early America era . . . . Moreover, brokerage, banking, and insurance services among others were unknown in New Orleans until the transfer to the United States. Insurance was obtained elsewhere. Credit was extended from one firm or individual to another as a personal service and on the basis of the borrower's reputation for business integrity, rather than on any objective measurement of his assets. Investment opportunities outside of the traditional sectors of trade and land were almost nonexistent. [31]

Although this simple economy at times worked hardships on the Anglo merchants of New Orleans, at least when compared to commercial practices on the Atlantic coast, its relatively primitive nature also provided those who had imagination and business creativity various additional opportunities for profit. For example, since colonial New Orleans usually suffered from a shortage of circulating specie, local merchants sometimes found themselves hampered by a lack of currency with which to complete their transactions. The Anglo merchants felt this impediment more acutely than the Hispanic and Gallic trading community since much of their commerce rested on business dealings with trading houses outside the credit structures of the Spanish and French colonial systems. So Anglo merchants developed a complex strategy by which they manipulated Bills of Exchange in order to create a localized artificial currency in Louisiana for use in financing their transactions. These Bills of Exchange, in providing local Anglo merchants with a means of currency, also had the unanticipated byproduct (which at the time went unrecognized by the Anglo merchants themselves) of providing a direct, continuous financial link between New Orleans and major credit centers in Great Britain and the United States for the first time. The Anglo merchants thus became the masters of the basic system of capital migration upon which the city's commercial economy would eventually rest.

The Notary records and land conveyances of New Orleans contain numerous instances of Anglo merchants engaged in transactions whose primary purpose was to create negotiable Bills of Exchange. The creation of Bills of Exchange by New Orleans' Anglo merchants on their corresponding merchant houses in Great Britain and along the Atlantic coast eventually provided rudimentary banking services in Louisiana for all local merchants engaged in foreign trade. [32] Spanish and French merchants did not need a similar system since they conducted their commerce with port cities in Europe and the West Indies customarily a part of the Spanish and French credit network.

The negotiation of Bills of Exchange for use as currency may be seen in many of the legitimate business transactions which were

Andres Almonaster y Rojas, Notary Public

Historic New Orleans Collection, Museum/ Research Center, Acc. No. 1974.25.27.5

consummated by Anglo merchants before the various Notaries Public of New Orleans. Many of these merchants favored the Notary Don Andres Almonaster Y Rojas for such purposes, apparently because he was a businessman who engaged in foreign trade in addition to his official duties. Oliver Pollock often appeared before Almonaster. Pollock especially favored the strategy of lending money by means of Bills of Exchange drawn for eventual payment on his accounts at Philadelphia merchant houses. In 1773 he loaned Francisco Mainard one thousand *pesos*, requiring in return collateral of a farm, the house on it, five horses, twenty-six cows, and the maize crop produced during the year. Pollock bought a house on present-day Royal Street during December 1777, paying for it with a Bill of Exchange. James Harris bought the property three months later with another Bill of Exchange which redeemed the first bill. [33] Pollock purchased a great deal of land during the 1770s in both British and Spanish territory. All of these transactions were financed with Bills of Exchange drawn on Philadelphia merchants. [34] In the face of limited circulation of specie in Louisiana, these Bills of Exchange became local currency which sometimes passed through many hands before being presented for final payment at maturity. [35] Local merchants dealing with Pollock thus profited by receiving negotiable instruments with which they financed other transactions. Pollock's Philadelphia partners Willing and Morris profited in two ways. First, they made profits by trading in goods. Second, Willing and Morris also profited in Pennsylvania from manipulating the exchange rates between Bills of Exchange negotiated in New Orleans and their discounted price on the Philadelphia credit market. Meanwhile in New Orleans Pollock again profited when the local Anglo merchants with whom he dealt reciprocated in similar trades with their respective roles reversed. [36]

All of these dealings and many others like them were based upon actual transactions, that is, they actually involved the notarized transfer of property from one owner to another. The Anglo merchants of New Orleans also developed negotiable instruments by means of what they called a "dry exchange." Such dry transactions were not the product of actual commerce or trading in goods or services. Instead they were fictional business dealings consummated by willing participants before Notaries Public under the guise of being actual commercial transactions. Their primary purpose was to circumvent the restrictive Spanish commercial laws by manipulating the unsuspecting Notary Public into creating a legally enforceable Bill of Exchange which could be used as a financial instrument in lieu of circulating specie. [37] These dry trades also had the additional advantage of enabling merchants to mask the payment of interest for money loaned. [38]

Philadelphia merchant Robert Morris, head of the firm Willing and Morris

National Portrait Gallery, Smithsonian Institution

Anglo merchants seem to have favored notarized slave trades as the most popular method of procuring a dry exchange. Like other transfers of titled property, the law required all slave sales to be notarized. Unlike real estate, a slave transaction involved a highly mobile commodity which made it difficult for a Notary suspecting a dry transaction to prove the transfer was one which the participating traders never really intended to be consummated. [39] Dry transactions worked in the following manner,

although there were numerous variations which involved third and fourth parties. Merchant "A" of New Orleans desired a loan of money to engage in commercial activities. He would approach local merchant "B" for the loan. The second merchant would agree to purchase a slave from "A," the price of which was equal to the desired amount of the loan plus interest payable to "B." Merchant "B" would thus draft a Bill of Exchange drawn on his foreign corresponding merchant house payable to "A's" foreign correspondents at a specified date in the future. Both merchants appeared before a New Orleans Notary to transact the slave sale in order to make their execution of the Bill of Exchange into a legal contract enforceable under Spanish law. Merchant "A" thereafter financed his other business dealings with the Bill of Exchange written by merchant "B" as payment for the slave. This bill might pass through the hands of numerous other traders in a chain of commerce traced back to "A." At the time stipulated for final payment noted in the bill, merchants "A" and "B" met once again before the Notary and performed the sale of the same slave in reverse, thus cancelling the Bill created in the first transaction. Merchant "A" had thus secured a loan of capital value. As an unwritten part of the process the two merchants agreed to repeat a similar cycle of transactions in the future with their roles reversed should merchant "B" ever desire a loan.

It may be that a major importance of Anglo merchants in Spanish New Orleans lay in their unique ability to create negotiable capital instruments, especially Bills of Exchange, which routinely found their way into the mainstream of the Atlantic commercial credit network. Unlike their Spanish and French counterparts in Louisiana who lacked such commercial connections, the Anglo merchants came to New Orleans as correspondents of trading firms in London, Halifax, New York, Baltimore, Philadelphia, Charles Town, Kingston, St. Eustacius, and other major trading centers outside the Spanish and French mercantile systems. In the course of their trade and commerce, these Anglo merchants established for the first time a regular channel for capital migration by means of negotiable financial instruments between Spanish New Orleans and important Atlantic ports, especially those of the United States. In so doing, the Anglo merchants of Spanish Louisiana made an important contribution to the development of New Orleans as a significant commercial center by the time of the Louisiana Purchase in 1803.

Notes

[1] John G. Clark, *New Orleans, 1718-1812: An Economic History* (Baton Rouge, 1970), 299.

[2] The barter economy has been recently analyzed by Danile H. Usner, Jr., "The Frontier Exchange Economy of the Lower Mississippi Valley in the Eighteenth Century," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd series, 44 (April 1987): 165-192. The best exposition of this city's early growth by a study using quantitative methods in assessing trade is Jesus Lorente Miguel, "Commercial Relations Between New Orleans and the United States, 1783-1803," in *The North American Role in the Spanish Imperial Economy, 1760-1819*, ed. Jacques Barbier and Allen Kuethe (Manchester, England, 1984), 177-191.

[3] For studies of New Orleans and its economy during the Spanish era, see: Light T. Cummins, "Spanish Louisiana," in *A Guide to the History of Louisiana*, ed. Light T. Cummins and Glen Jeansonne (New York, 1982), 17-26. The only recent study of the general colonial economy of the eighteenth century which considers the role of New Orleans is Peggy Liss, *Atlantic Empires: The Network of Trade and Revolution, 1713-1826* (Baltimore, 1983), 31, 79. The classical study of the New Orleans economy during the Spanish period is Jack D.L. Holmes, "Some Economic Problems of Spanish Governors in Louisiana," *Hispanic American Historical Review* 42 (November 1962): 521-543.

[4] The term Anglo as used in this essay is broadly employed to mean a person of non-hispanic extraction who appears to have been of British or British-American descent, whose native language is English, and who is culturally Irish, Scottish, or English.

[5] Leland Hamilton Jenks, *The Migration of British Capital to 1875* (1927; reprint, London, 1963), 11. The modern definition for capital migration is "The flight of capital as expressed primarily in shifting bank funds and credits resulting from international trade, as well as in net gold movements, from one country to another." Glenn C. Munn, *Encyclopedia of Banking and Finance*, 8th ed., rev. F.L. Garcia (Boston, 1983), 161. For standard works dealing with the phenomenon of capital migration, see: W. Stanley Jenons, *Money and the Mechanism of Exchange* (New York, 1965), especially the chapter "The Mechanism of Exchange," 186-189; William J. Scultz and M.R. Cairo, *Financial Development of the United States* (New York, 1937), especially the chapter "Mechanisms of Overseas Finance," 240-250; Roland I. Robinson, *Money and Capital Markets* (New York, 1964); and Simon Kuznets and Elizabeth Jenks, *Capital in the American Economy: Its Formation and Financing* (Princeton, 1961).

[6] The only published study which touches upon these merchants is Robin F.A. Fabel, "Anglo-Spanish Commerce in New Orleans During the American Revolutionary Era," in *Anglo-Spanish Confrontation on the Gulf Coast During the American Revolution*, ed. William C. Coker and Robert R. Rea (Pensacola, 1982), 25-53. This study is based almost entirely on the records in the P.R.O. For a discussion of archival materials available to historians interested in the economic history of colonial New Orleans, see: Paul Hoffman, "La documentacion colonial en Luisiana," *Archivo Hispalense* (1985): 333-352.

[7] Although there is no one guide to these diverse Spanish era land records, the following provide an introduction to the locations of significant collections: Glenn A. Conrad and Carl A. Brasseaux, *A Selected Bibliography of Colonial Louisiana and New France* (Lafayette, LA, 1982), 6-7; Winston De Ville, *Louisiana and Mississippi Lands: A Guide to Spanish Land Grants at the University of Michigan* (Ville Platte, LA, 1985); and Paul Hoffman, "La documentacion colonial en la Luisiana," 335-344. A set of Louisiana land records, popularly known as the Trudeau Papers, has been the recent

object of a replevin controversy during which various archival repositories disputed the present-day ownership of these documents, which include numerous Spanish era land surveys and related manuscripts. These papers are currently in the possession of the Historic New Orleans Collections in New Orleans. For both sides of the ownership controversy, and a description of the documents, see: Patricia A. Schmidt, "Spanish Land Documents at the Historic New Orleans Collection," *Manuscripts* 37 (Fall 1985): 275-282 and Edward F. Haas, "Odessey of a Manuscript Collection: Records of the Surveyor General of Ante Bellum Louisiana," *Louisiana History* 27 (Winter 1986): 5-26.

[8] For descriptions of these land purchases, see: State Land Office, Baton Rouge, *Greensburg Land Claims*, 2, pt. 2: 69, 94, 109-110 and *American State Papers, Public Lands*, 3:46, and 4:313. The British land grant ledgers and conveyances are contained in the Public Record Office, CO5/601-617. There are also detailed grantee maps in the PRO. The Library of Congress has copies of most of them in its Geography and Map Division. The State Land Office of Louisiana in Baton Rouge also has a random selection of copies made in the early nineteenth century.

[9] Guy Wootan, *A Manual of Every-Day Procedure in the Notarial Archives, 1867-1973* (New Orleans, 1973). For a listing of all Notaries Public who acted in New Orleans between 1735 and 1869, see: "Notaries Public," in *Gardner's New Orleans Directory* (New Orleans, 1969), 413-414.

[10] John B. Born, Jr., "Governor Johnstone and Trade in British West Florida, 1764-1767," *Bulletin of Wichita State University* 75 (May 1968): 8.

[11] Cecil Johnson, *British West Florida, 1763-1783* (New Haven, 1943), 63-64.

[12] Robert Ross to Antonio de Ulloa, April 29, 1767, Archivo General de Indias, Papeles Procedentes de Cuba, (hereafter referred to as AGI, Cuba) Legajo 187.

[13] John W. Caughey, "Bernardo de Galvez and the English Smugglers on the Mississippi, 1777," *Hispanic American Historical Review* 12 (1932): 46- 58.

[14] For these transactions of Anglo merchants and others, see: Actos de Andres Almonaster y Rojas, August 18, 1768 to April 1782, Books 1 to 16. Orleans Parish Notarial Archives, Civil District Courts Building, New Orleans, Louisiana (hereafter cited as Orleans Notary Archives).

[15] Margaret Fisher Dalrymple, ed., *The Merchant of Manchac: The Letterbooks of John Fitzpatrick, 1768-1790* (Baton Rouge, 1978), 121.

[16] This Sketch of Ross is based upon a discussion of him in Fabel, "Commerce in New Orleans," 40-41.

[17] Dalrymple, *Merchant of Manchac.*

[18] Holmes, "Economic Problems of Spanish Governors," 521-543.

[19] The Cuban *asiento* was a private business organization which enjoyed a government trade monopoly for the exclusive importation of slaves into Spanish colonies of the region. As well, it traded in foodstuffs, regularly sending ships to French and British colonial ports in the Americas. Some merchant houses, including Willing and Morris of Philadelphia, sent corresponding agents to Havana in order to deal with the *asiento*.

[20] For examples of slave sales, see: Orleans Notary Archives, Actos of Andres Almonaster y Rojas, 2: May 6, 1772 and August 20, 1772. For Conway's real estate transactions, see: Orleans Notary Archives, Actos of Andres Almonaster y Rojas, Books 1-4.

[21] Clark, *New Orleans*, 272.

[22] James, *Oliver Pollock* (Indianapolis, 1937), 4-6; Horace E. Hayden, *A Biographical Sketch of Oliver Pollock* (Harrisburg, PA, 1883), 6-19; William Henry Egle, *Notes and Queries, Historical and Genealogical, Chiefly Relating to Interior Pennsylvania* (Harrisburg, PA, 1894), 1:475- 481.

[23] Alejandro O'Reilly to Marquis de Grimaldi, October 17, 1769, AGI, Papeles de Cuba, Legajo 560.

[24] For Pollock's sale of slaves to O'Reilly, see Orleans Notary Archives, Actos of Andres Almonaster y Rojas, 1: February 9, 1770, f. 50.

[25] Orleans Notary Archives, Actos of Juan Baptista Garic, IV: March 10, 1773, f. 73; David Hodge to Oliver Pollock, February 14, 1775, Peter Force Collection, Library of Congress; Orleans Notary Archives, Actos of Andres Almonaster y Rojas, 3: September 1, 1773, f. 225 and 6: February 6, 1776; Actos of Juian Baptista Garic, 7: February 1, 1776, f. 32 and 8: November 25, 1777, f. 437.

[26] Orleans Notary Archives, Actos of Juan Baptista Garic, 9: April 6-8, 1778, ff. 202-224.

[27] "Proceedings instituted by Don Olivero Pollock for the purpose of settling certain accounts with his principals through an arbitration board," April 27, 1782 (1), Spanish Judicial Records. Louisiana Historical Center, Louisiana State Museum, New Orleans. A synopsis of this case is contained in the *Louisiana Historical Quarterly* 11 (1935): 230.

[28] For survey of this literature, see Mattie Austin Hatcher, *The Opening of Texas to Foreign Settlement, 1801-1821* (Austin, 1927); Hatcher, "The Louisiana Background of the Colonization of Texas, 1763-1803," *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* (Hereafter referred to as *SHQ*) 24 (January 1921): 169-195; Gilbert C. Din, "Colonizacion en la Luisana espanola; proyectos de emigracion en la Luisiana del siglo XVIII" (Ph.D. diss., University of Madrid, 1960); Gilbert C. Din, "The Immigration Policy of Governor Esteban Miro in Spanish Louisiana," *SHQ* 73 (October 1969): 155-175; Din, "Spain's Immigration Policy in Louisiana and the American Penetration," *SHQ* 76(January 1973): 255-276; William S. Coker, "The Bruins and the Formulation of Spanish Immigration Policy in the Old Southwest, 1787-88," in *The Spanish in the Mississippi Valley, 1762-1804*, ed. John Francis McDermott (Urbana and Chicago, 1974), 61-71; C. Richard Arena, "Land Settlement Policies and Practices in Spanish Louisiana," in Ibid., 51-60.

[29] Hatcher, "The Louisiana Background," 194. Din, "Spain's Immigration Policy," 275.

[30] Many of Clark's land acquisitions are contained in Actos de Francisco and Narciso Broutin, Vols. 1-23, Orleans Notary Archives. See also the Trudeau Survey Papers, Historic New Orleans Collection, New Orleans, Louisiana. The best recent study of Clark is Michael S. Wohl, "A Man in Shadow: The Life of Daniel Clark" (Ph.D. diss., Tulane University, 1984). For additional sketches of Clark, see: Grace King, *New Orleans: The Place and the People* (New York, 1904), 104-129; Daniel Clark, *Proofs of the Corruption of*

General James Wilkinson, and of his connexion with Aaron Burr. . . . (Philadelphia, 1809); and Nolan B. Harmon, Jr., *The Strange Case of Myra Clark Gaines* (Baton Rouge, 1946), 1-156.

[31] Clark, *New Orleans*, 273.

[32] The local practice in this regard at New Orleans was consistent with similar events throughout the Atlantic trading network of the late eighteenth century. See: Stanley Chapman, *The Rise of Merchant Banking* (London, 1965), 1-15.

[33] Orleans Notary Archives, Actos of Andres Almonaster y Rojas, 23: March 4, 1773, f. 45, 4: March 7, 1774, f. 68, 8: February 15, 1777, f. 130; Actos of Juan Baptista Garic, 5: July 30, 1774, f. 143, 8: July 8, 1777, f. 280.

[34] This was common practice on the part of merchants loaning money in countries with medieval-based usury laws. See: Sidney Homer, *A History of Interest Rates*, 2nd ed. (New Brunswick, NJ, 1977), 77.

[35] Such transactions were a form of converting debt into currency. See Charles Carroll, *Organization of Debt Into Currency and Other Essays*, ed. Edward C. Simmons (Princeton, 1964), 87.

[36] No hard data exists for the exchange rate between Philadelphia and New Orleans in the late Spanish period. John J. McCusker has provided general figures for Havana and continental Europe based on notations in the journals of Anglo merchants in Cuba. These indicate a ratio of 177.78 Cuban currency to 100 Pounds Sterling. Although McCusker does not address the question of hidden interest, it can be assumed that the 177.78/100 ratio of exchange (current in the early 1780s) comprehends both the discount rate and an amount of obscured interest. See: John J. McCusker, *Money and Exchange in Europe and America, 1600-1775* (Chapel Hill, 1978), 300.

[37] Such transactions seem to have been fairly common practice in many parts of the Spanish Indies, with enterprising merchants routinely engaging in variations according to local circumstances. For example, in colonial Mexico City, silver merchants manipulated the exchange rates of specie in order to mask the payment of interest for money loaned. See: Victoria Hennessey Cummins, "The Church and Business Practices in Late Sixteenth Century Mexico," *The Americas: A Quarterly Review of Inter-American Cultural History* 44 (April 1988). Indeed, some European merchants had routinely manipulated Bills of Exchange for the purpose of creating currency and masking the payment of interest as early as the late middle ages. This is noted in Raymond de Roover, *The Rise and Decline of the Medici Bank, 1397-1494* (Cambridge, England, 1963), 10-11; Richard Ehrenberg, *Capital and Finance in the Age of the Renaissance*, trans. A.N. Lucas (New York, 1928; reprint 1963); and Raymond de Roover, "New Interpretations of the History of Banking," *Cahiers d'histoire mondiale* 2 (1954-55): 48-50.

[38] Spanish law prohibited usury which was defined to include charging interest on money loaned. This is a variation of a method common to the eighteenth century. See the discussion of Bills of Exchange in Malachy Postlethwayt, *The Universal Dictionary of Trade and Commerce*, 4th ed. (London, 1774), 1:np.

[39] The Notary Acts of colonial New Orleans contain numerous examples of incomplete sale transactions which were never signed and promulgated. Nonetheless, Spanish law required the Notary Public to save these incomplete documents and file them along with those acts which had been consummated. It may be that at least some of these incomplete transactions represent attempts at dry trades which the Notary stopped in process because he suspected they did not involve real property and, hence, were ineligible for notarization.

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Natchez Under-the-Hill showing upper road
c. 1825

Mississippi Department of
Archives and History (MDAH)

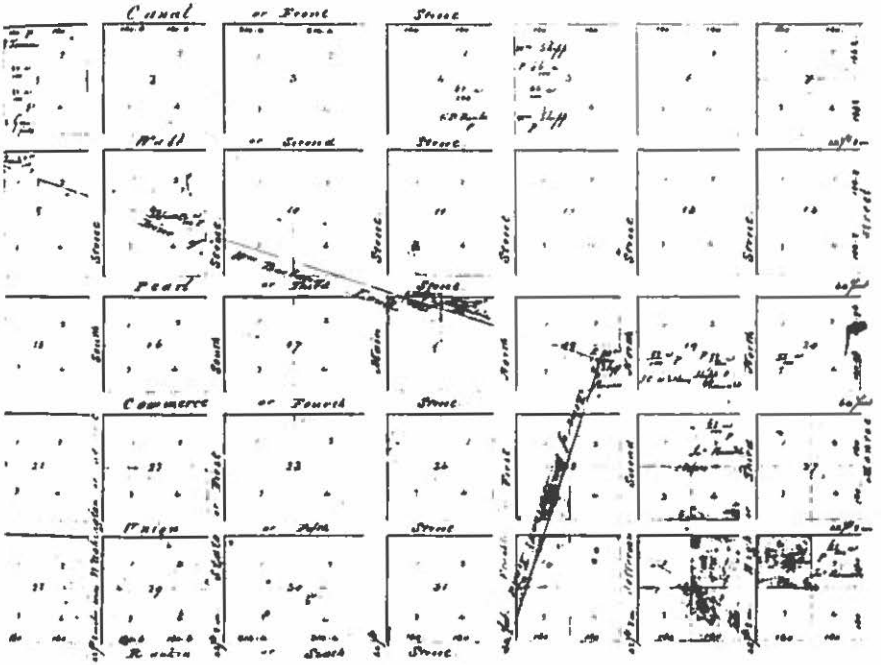
Natchez Under-the-Hill: Reform and Retribution in Early Natchez

Michael F. Beard

The rain clouds had broken at last that Saturday afternoon in the late summer of 1826. Anthony Campbell, formerly a Natchez magistrate, and now a planter in the Pine Ridge district, rode peaceably along the upper road leading to the landing. Far below was the busy river, the late summer sun glinting off its boat-laden waters. In dull contrast lay the grey, soaked roofs of the dwellings, stores and warehouses of the lower town, Natchez Under-the-Hill. [1]

Anthony could see that the landing was beginning to fill with cotton earlier than usual due to the heavy rainfall which had recently plagued the countryside round about Natchez. He may have mused that cotton rot had ruined many a planter before now and surely would again. A man could but try to cut his losses, hope for the best and trust in God. [2]

Whatever the weather's effects on the year's crop, the proud, young city of Natchez was rapidly becoming a commercial center. Laid out in squares to exact order from the wilderness, the city boasted a red brick, domed courthouse, a bank, a hospital, and three churches as well as many houses and mercantile establishments. [3]



Natchez, 1800 *MDAH*

One of the young town's leading citizens, Anthony was an upright, Godly man of some 62 years, no doubt intent on the pursuit of legitimate affairs of his own that Saturday afternoon. Quite probably he was determined to make an early deal on his own cotton with some such firm as Harris and Marsh or Robitaille and Tarbe or was on his way to oversee its shipment. Perhaps he wished to order lumber from Peter Little's steam sawmill or to visit the city's new steamboat wharf. [4] He could not have been aware that any danger threatened, save perhaps from the condition of the road, when he was brutally accosted by a burley stranger and knocked from his horse by repeated blows with a heavy whip. The stranger, who called himself John Irwin, beat the fallen man continually about his arms, head and body. Anthony, undoubtedly thinking of his young wife and children, must have seen his life slipping away for he exclaimed, "For God's sake, don't murder me!" [5]

"By God," returned Irwin instantly, "I'll murder and eat you, you ought to have been killed ten years ago!" The aging Anthony, thoroughly stunned by the repetition of the whip's blows, was completely helpless before Irwin, who bit off his left ear, then chewed and swallowed it! As Anthony lay horrified and bleeding in the sandy mud of the street, he must have wondered who could have been behind this atrocity. He knew that the ruffian Irwin was "partly a stranger to the country," as he later told the readers of *The Ariel*, and must have been "instigated by some person or persons unknown to commit the . . . deed." [6]

Who was responsible for the attack and what had happened ten years before which could have warranted it? These are the sort of questions which historians often ask as they examine faded, timeworn letters, diaries, newspapers, and other records from the past. In order to make sense of such a fragment from the past as the attack on Anthony, it is always essential to fit it into the pattern of the life of that past. To understand such an apparently isolated incident as Irwin's barbarous assault on Anthony Campbell, it is necessary to understand the context in which it occurred — not only on that particular day, but also for some years before. The first thing we must examine is the kind of people the young city attracted. Who would bite off a man's ear and eat it? Was this attack coincidence? In fact a number of "frontier types" engaged in this sort of fighting — called the "Rough and Tumble" — which often resulted in "eyes gouged out, [and] noses and ears bitten and torn off." [7] But one type in particular was famous for it and these were closely identified with the waterfront: the boatmen of the flat and keelboats of the Mississippi River.

But we know little about Irwin other than that he fought in the "Rough and Tumble" fashion and that he was a bully. Anthony had

Butting — *Walter Blair and Franklin J. Meine,* Mike Fink *(New York, 1922), 106*

described him as "partly a stranger to the country." These facts lead to the hypothesis that the man was one of the river boatmen. Anthony also believed that Irwin had been put up to it by someone else whose identity he did not know.

If we cannot learn more about Irwin, who was Anthony Campbell? One of the "United Irishmen of 1798," he had revolted against British rule and had immigrated to the United States between 1799 and 1803, and was 62 years old in 1826, married and had young children. In 1808

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he had been a member of the Natchez Mechanical Society for a number of years. In 1809 he was a schoolmaster, and in 1814 served on a committee responsible for one of Natchez's Fourth of July celebrations. By 1811 he had become the Clerk of Natchez and later in that year was removed from the office by Henry Daingerfield, the acting Governor of the Territory. In November 1813 Anthony was once again a magistrate in Natchez. In May of that year he lost an election for the Territorial Assembly. By December 1813, he had risen to the office of Secretary of the Mechanical Society. In November 1814, he was elected Secretary Pro Tempore of the Mississippi Bible Society. On December 31, 1814, he enlisted as a private in Captain Wilkin's Rifle Company and was elected Ensign the next day. He carried his shot gun and pouch to New Orleans to fight the British with Andy Jackson on January 8, 1815. By February he had become the First Lieutenant of the Company. In March 1815 he was chosen Clerk of the City of Natchez and in April became a Justice of the Peace of Adams County. By the war's end Anthony was a man of consequence in Natchez. Judging by Irwin's statement "you ought to have been killed ten years ago" something must have happened the following year. [8]

An important clue is revealed in the young city's newspapers. In May 1816, Anthony, then the tax collector and still a magistrate, personally issued a warning to all "vagrants, gamblers, and keepers of houses of ill fame in Natchez" that he would in future enforce all laws against "disorderly inns or ale houses, gaming houses, bawdy houses . . . unlicensed booths, and stages for rope dancers, mountebanks and the like . . . ." [9] This may explain the motive behind the 1826 attack.

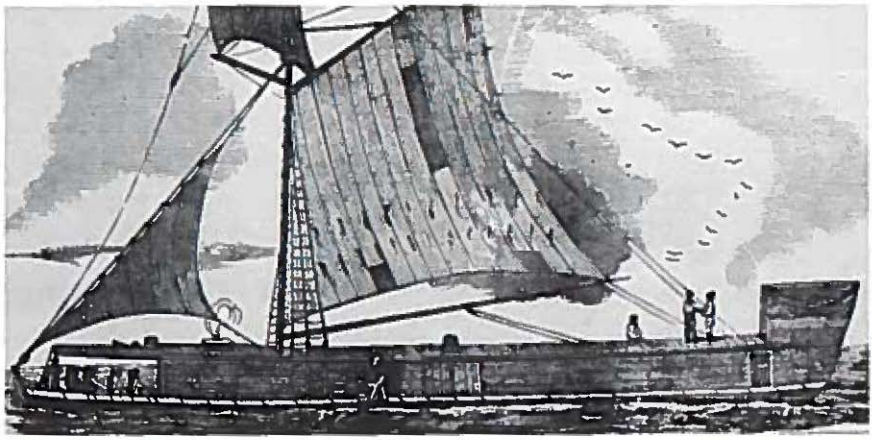
According to one anonymous writer, who corresponded to the *Mississippi Republican* in 1820, such houses were to be found in the town beneath the bluffs. [10] A Boston-born Puritan from England named Henry Ker wrote in 1808 that the landing at Natchez was "well-known

Natchez Under-the-Hill, c. 1825 — *Edward de Montule, Scharff Collection, Natchez Public Library*

to be the resort of dissipation." [11] In 1816 Anthony himself claimed that the itinerant vagrants and gamblers were floated to Natchez "by every *fresh* of the Mississippi . . . . " [12] Clearly these houses were at the landing and they were connected with the traffic of the Mississippi River.

Natchez Under-the-Hill was a river port. As such it was a major trading center of vast economic significance to the life not only of Natchez but also to that of the Mississippi Territory and all of the Mississippi Valley. It was important to Natchez and the Territory because it was the primary transhipment point for the new export staple of the region — cotton, and because it was the major entrepot of the imports — including basic food staples — upon which the inhabitants depended. It was important to all of the Mississippi Valley because it was for many years the only sizeable market between the falls of the Ohio and New Orleans. Therefore, it became one of the geographic points upon which the Mississippi trade and the economy of the new nation turned. [13]

The Mississippi trade developed into an important factor in frontier life after 1795 due to the migration of large numbers of settlers into Kentucky, Tennessee, and the Ohio Valley. Farmers often organized expeditions to sell their own and their neighbors' produce down river. Sometimes they sold their produce to commission merchants who sent their goods to Natchez or New Orleans on flat bottomed or keel boats to be sold in the markets there. Between 1800 and 1808 these river traders were attracted to the Natchez market by the thousands of people who



Mississippi Keelboats *Blair and Meine*, Mike Fink, *44, 54*

moved into the area to cultivate cotton, and by the money these people commanded as a result of the sale of this crop overseas and the Eastern United States. Due to the wealth provided by their cotton trade, Natchez offered these traders a ready market able to offer good prices for their produce even in bad years. After 1803 and the transfer of Louisiana and the Isle of Orleans to the United States this trade expanded steadily. Soon the Mississippi was teeming with boats, men and produce and hundreds — even thousands — of boatmen docked at Natchez every year. What sort of men did this burgeoning trade bring to Natchez?

Some were boat captains or retail or wholesale merchants who traded along the river on their own account. [14] However, most were propertyless

Mike Fink *Blair and Meine,* Mike Fink, *32*

men hired for the trip. According to a Presentment of the Adams County Grand Jury of 1800 they were "thoughtless as sailors or soldiers, and as fond of whiskey . . . . " [15] Among these were a large number best typified by the legendary King of the Rivermen, Mike Fink, who was described in 1829 by Cyrus Griffin, the editor of the Natchez *Southern Galaxy*, as a man "brave, even to recklessness . . . despising restraint,

. . . [who] was, after all but a common character among that lawless race, for whom a semi-barbarous life had charms, which the refinement of civilization could not dispel . . . . " [16] Among these also were such men as the Spaniard Antonio Tastet, who was advertised for having absconded from New Orleans with $10,000 and who was described as being a "small, thin grey haired man with sore eyes — dressed in the usual boatmen's dress, check shirt and striped trousers and a dark colored great coat." [17] Once ashore in Natchez the boatmen indulged "in all the luxuries and dissipations of [the landing and] returned home . . . unclean, or with the seeds of disorder and desease [*sic*] about them." [18] The "disorderly houses" Anthony described at the Natchez landing, there primarily to fill the demands of the boatmen of the Mississippi trade, had become a long established institution by 1816.

In 1808, Ker had seen, "bold faced strumpet[s], full of blasphemies, who look[ed] upon the virtuous part of her sex with contempt and hatred," and claimed that every house in the place was a grocery containing "fornicators" among its provisions. [19] During the same year, Christian Schultz provided this account of his encounter with some of Ker's strumpets:

> When I went on board . . . my boat, (which was very early . . .) I discovered that my visit was as unwelcome as it was unexpected. I was so unfortunate as to disturb the morning slumbers of exactly one quarter of a dozen of the copper-coloured votaries of the Cyprian Queen, who it seems had undertaken to enliven the idle hours of our Canadian crew. The *ladies* really seemed ashamed, but whether from a conviction of their being the intruders, or considering me as such, I am unable to say. [20]

Most of the bawdy houses were probably located along a road in Natchez Under-the-Hill, called "Maiden Lane," which stretched between Silver Street and the river. Most of the prostitutes were apparently either black, Indian or mulatto, though some may have been white. Some of the latter may have felt forced to the landing by economic hardships. For example, a woman named Molly who was a tenant on the property of one of planter John Bisland's associates, complained of being misused and left her place telling no one and "moved all in to the landing at Natchez" within two or three days time. [21] The blacks and mulattos there were almost certainly bought for the purpose of prostitution. In 1804 a businessman named Jeremiah Routh had this terse ad published in the *Mississippi Herald*: "For sale or hire. Eleven young Negro girls, all capable of business . . . . " [22] In 1820 the only year for which such detailed data is available on the Natchez population, the female slaves in the city outnumbered the male slaves by sixteen percent. In all other

groups in both the city and county, except the free blacks, males outnumbered the females by as much as forty-eight percent. [23]

The open display of this vice in Natchez Under-the-Hill must have exerted a pernicious influence upon the sexual mores of the upper town, though the extent of this effect is open to debate. For sexual immorality in Natchez and Adams County apparently had never been limited to the lower town. In 1800 one of Adams County's first judges pronounced to the Grand Jury that "there are a great many bad characters of both sexes in various parts of the county, who possess no visible property, nor follow any honest calling to gain their living . . . . " He also told his jurors that he had been informed that "there were several persons about Natchez itself who were then living in open adultery . . . [and] that there were those who kept temporary wives and get bastards." [24] In fact one of the most open of these cases may have been that of Tomsey Connelly, daughter of the late Patrick Connelly, a prominent resident of the upper town, who in October 1809 put all and sundry on notice that Richard Holly, her "reputed husband," was no husband at all. Though they had been living together as man and wife for some time, she said, their union was unlawful and the blackguard had no right whatsoever to sell her property; nor she, any responsibility for the rascal's debts. Christian Schultz noted this immorality in 1808 when he said of the gentlemen of Natchez: "All make love; most . . . play; and a few make money . . . . " [25]

The quest for money in Natchez society was reflected in the gaming houses of the landing as well as in the cottonfields, counting houses and stores of the town. Gentlemen of both high and low estate rubbed elbows in the gaming houses, often in a fever for quick and easy gain which sometimes led to violence. In 1806 a correspondent to the *Mississippi Herald*, calling himself "Z", complained of "the shameful . . . riots and disorders which have lately prevailed . . . near the landing" and linked these to the gamblers. Describing a scene of high drama which had occurred the day before, he informed the public that:

> one miscreant had the insolence to fix his table in the open . . . et . . . with a pair of loaded pistols to protect it — a fracas ensued between several of these vermin, in which musquets [*sic*] and pistols were fired across the street to the great danger of the lives of several citizens . . . one of whom was grazed with a ball . . . . [26]

This sort of blatant disregard for the public safety may have prompted some effort at reform for the next year the Territorial Assembly outlawed all "play at any taverns, inns, store[s] . . . or in any . . . public house, . . . street, [or] highway . . . . " Violation of the law was punishable

Andrew Marschalk *MDAH*

by a fine of ten dollars by the players and twenty dollars by the owners of such houses. It also banned billiards, rowley powley, rouge et noir and faro bank tables, declared their keepers vagrants, and authorized any justice to seize and destroy the tables at will. Passage of this law drew mild commendation in January 1807 from Andrew Marschalk, the editor of the *Mississippi Herald.* He informed his readers that he "earnestly . . . hoped that the provisions for carrying the law into effect will be found sufficiently efficient." [27]

The law itself was published on February 11, with an admonition from Marshcalk to the magistrates to enforce it. By the 17th William Ward, one of the first gamblers to be arrested under the new law, had broken jail. Ten dollars was offered on his recapture by the marshal,

who described the villain as being 5'7", dark, thick set, and as having a "downcast, uninviting look" and supposed he had taken his gaming table to New Orleans. No evidence was presented to explain why this table was neither confiscated nor destroyed. Enforcement of this law was apparently as sporadic and ineffectual as Marschalk had feared it would be. [28]

The city fathers were also unable to prevent the contagion from spreading to the upper town. In 1806 "Z" had remonstrated with the citizens of Natchez for the fact that gambling was not "confined to the lower town" but was "too general in your city, for its welfare." [29] And there is nothing in the evidence to suggest its subsequent abolition in Natchez proper. There seems to have been little change in the attitudes of either the rank and file citizens or their leaders throughout the period. In 1817, the elders of the Presbyterian Church, after trying for over a year to pay off their new building through sale of its pews, grew desperate and launched a campaign to encourage the sale of lottery tickets in which they offered: [30]

> To the adventurers in chances and votaries of fortune, this scheme holds forth great inducements. The sum of ten dollars only, may command the large sum of five thousand dollars — a prospect of great gain by the expenditure of a small sum.

These promoters believed that this lottery could rescue the church from "its embarrassments, thereby promoting the cause of religion, morality, and good government!" [31]

With at least twenty-five taverns and ale houses in Natchez alone by 1803, drinking was frequently and seriously abused in that young frontier society, especially by the boatmen who, James Hall noted in 1801 consumed "vast quantities of . . . Liquor" at the landing. [32] Jacob Young observed the results of this in 1807. When he arrived at the landing he saw the "Kaintucks" in great numbers lounging in their flats and about the wharf drinking, fighting, and swearing. [33]

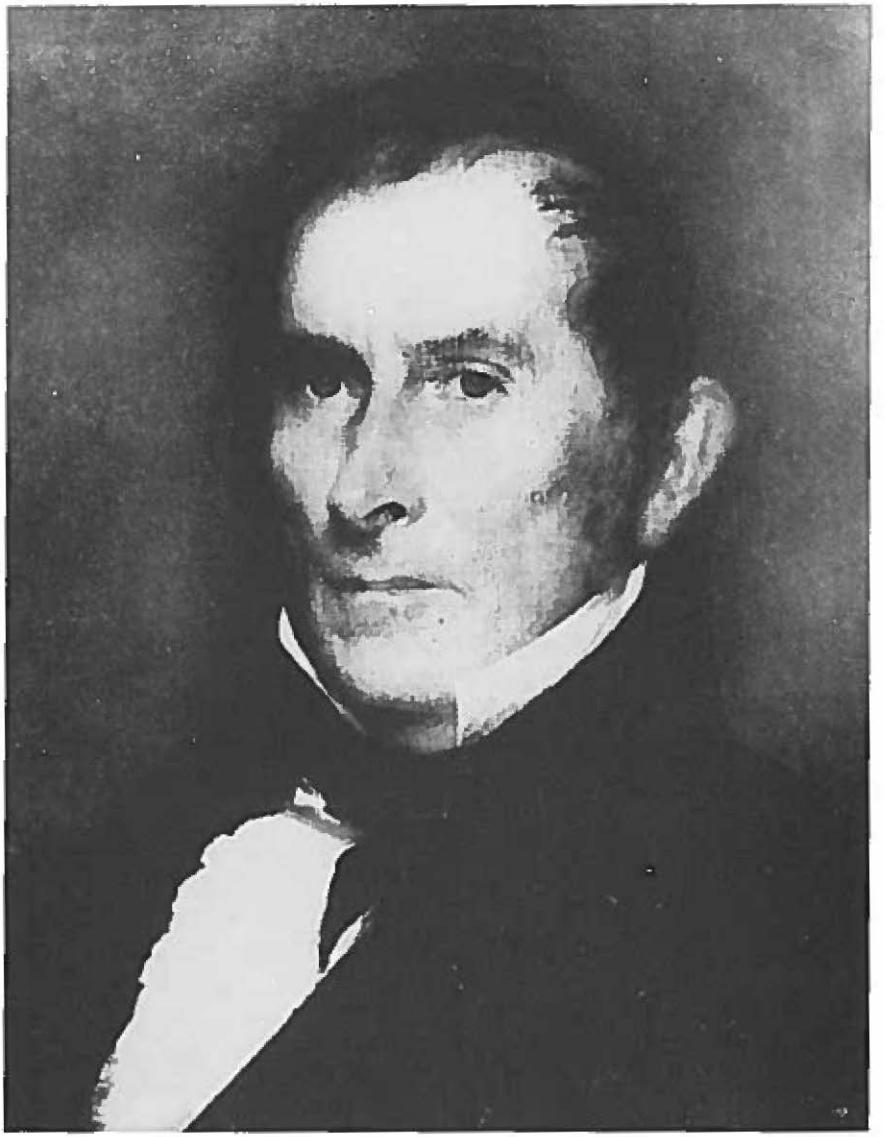
Drinking to excess also could not be contained in Natchez Under-the-Hill, though as with prostitution the cause and effect could be debated. James Hall observed that the problem was acute among the carters and mechanics of the town with results that were devastating personally, economically, and socially. It was not unusual to see notices in the local paper concerning people, including family men, who had died of alcoholism. One man died of it at only age twenty-eight; another was killed one night by falling from his horse while drunk. John Bisland, a planter and merchant from the Pine Ridge District and a strict Presbyterian, wrote his son

about a young "lawyer at emete [*sic*] [who] went out in the fields [and] hanged himself. It was said he was given to drink hard and spent all his living. A fine young wife died a little time before he hanged himself." The cost of the loss of life and productivity to the economy of the Territory can not be calculated, but it must have been immense. [34]

Far worse than the economic toll claimed by intemperance were its more obvious social ones. Though Anthony did not mention this aspect in his 1816 warning to vagrants, he may have had it in mind. Drunkeness was listed in an address to the Adams County Grand Jury of 1800 as a cause of riot, assaults, batteries, and murder. Most such incidents involved the boatmen. Brawling was common among these men partly due to drink, but also because they blew off steam now and again with a good "Rough and Tumble." This frontier style of fighting frequently resulted in the loss of eyes, noses, and ears. [35] The only redeeming grace of the savage practice was that it was always preceded with a bit of "half-horse, half-alligator" braggadocio. One evening in Natchez Under-the-Hill Schultz overheard these remarks passed back and forth between drunken sailors engaged in a dispute over a Choctaw lady:

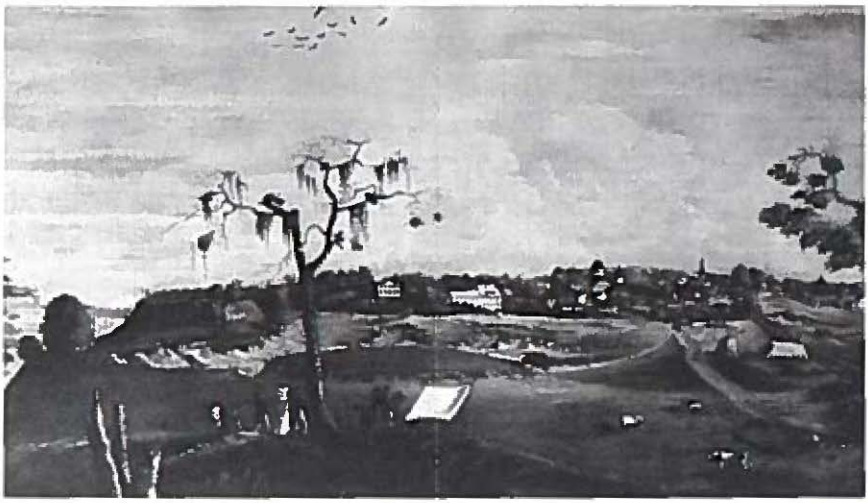
> One said, "I am a man; I am a horse; I am a team. I can whip any man *in all Kentucky*, by G–d." The other replied, "I am an alligator; half man, half horse; can whip any *on the Mississippi*, by G–d." The first one again, "I am a man; have the best horse, best dog, best gun, and handsomest wife in all Kentucky, by G–d." The other, "I am a Mississippi snapping turtle; have bear's claws, alligator's teeth, and the devil's tail can whip *any man*, by G–d." This was too much for the first, and at it they went like two bulls, and continued for half an hour, when the alligator was fairly vanquished by the horse. [36]

Though this fighting was worse at the landing than in the upper town, it was a problem there also. In 1807 the *Mississippi Herald* complained that rioting was all too frequent in Natchez and was becoming more of a problem all the time. Sometimes these involved permanent residents as when Judge Poindexter assaulted Editor Marschalk in 1815. Other times the rioting boiled up from the lower town onto the bluff as when a Spaniard was murdered by a mob on a Sunday night in 1807. [37] One of the most fateful riots involving residents of the upper town, however, occurred Under-the-Hill in July 1814, at a place called Steele's Spring. Many respectable citizens of Natchez assembled there to celebrate the Fourth with dinner and toasts, but the gate was crashed by a group of disgruntled gamblers angry at not having been invited to the party. These "dissolute characters" were "armed with clubs and poinards, and assailed



George Poindexter *MDAH*

the company with threats and insulting language . . . after attempting to assasinate several gentlemen . . . they were finally repulsed, and [had] several severe wounds inflicted upon them." Most were captured and jailed or bound over for trial at the next term "for this or other offenses." [38] Anthony Campbell, prominent as he then was in Natchez, almost certainly attended that dinner at Steele's Spring. He must have remembered this affray when he issued his warning to vagrants, gamblers and prostitutes two years later.

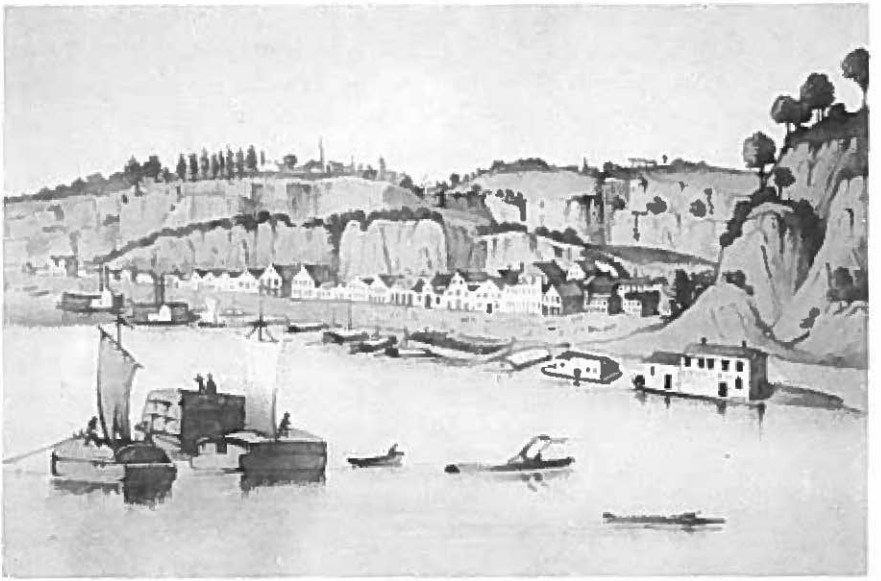


Aubudon Landscape of Natchez, c. 1820 *MDAH*

These vices gave Natchez a bad reputation throughout the United States and Europe. Many in Natchez blamed this on the landing town and on its many transients who reveled in the excesses the place afforded. But due in part to the absence of such traditional social restraints as parental and religious authority and to an excessive number of unattached males among its unsettled population — causes not attributable to conditions at the landing, the upper town was no stranger to crime and vice either. Nevertheless, the port and the presence of the boatmen for much of the year did have tremendous impact on the morals of the community. Aside from sheer numbers, which frequently and easily doubled or even trebled the bachelor population resident in the town, there was the matter of their status among their fellow Westerners. Boatmen were the heroes of the frontier river towns and others emulated them. As a result, their influence upon the young men and women of the upper town was powerful and irremedial. So a pattern was formed and once begun, such conduct became a habit, Joseph Holt Ingraham observed years later, which was hard to break. [39]

The fiery Methodist evangelist, John G. Jones, whose father bought a tavern there in 1816, came of age in Natchez Under-the-Hill. [40] Years later the Reverend Jones said of the landing:

> that celebrated school of every grade of licentiousness [was] . . . made up mostly . . . [in those years] of barrooms, gambling houses and brothels of the vilest class. These haunts of hydra-headed vice were inhabited by the most degraded and lawless men and women, whose sole object seemed to be to beguile, entrap and ruin their heedless



Natchez Under-the-Hill, c. 1825 *Scharff Collection, Natchez Public Library*

> victims . . . many a youth went [down there, he continued,] primarily to gratify "the lust of the eye," which led him by an easy and rapid process to the indulgence of "the lust of the flesh," and soon his honor was in the dust, his money in the hands of strangers, . . . "his feet went down to death, and his steps took hold on hell." [41]

Anthony Campbell, a resolute and courageous man, agreed with this assessment at a time when Jones himself was a sinner in the dust. Acting on his belief against considerable odds he launched the first moral reform movement in the history of Mississippi. In May 1816 he used his power as an officer of the city and county to throw the vagrant gamblers and prostitutes out of Natchez Under-the-Hill. A young poet and ex-Naval Midshipman from Philadelphia, Anthony Haslett, who could not have been less serious than the evangelical Jones, lamented this in a poem:

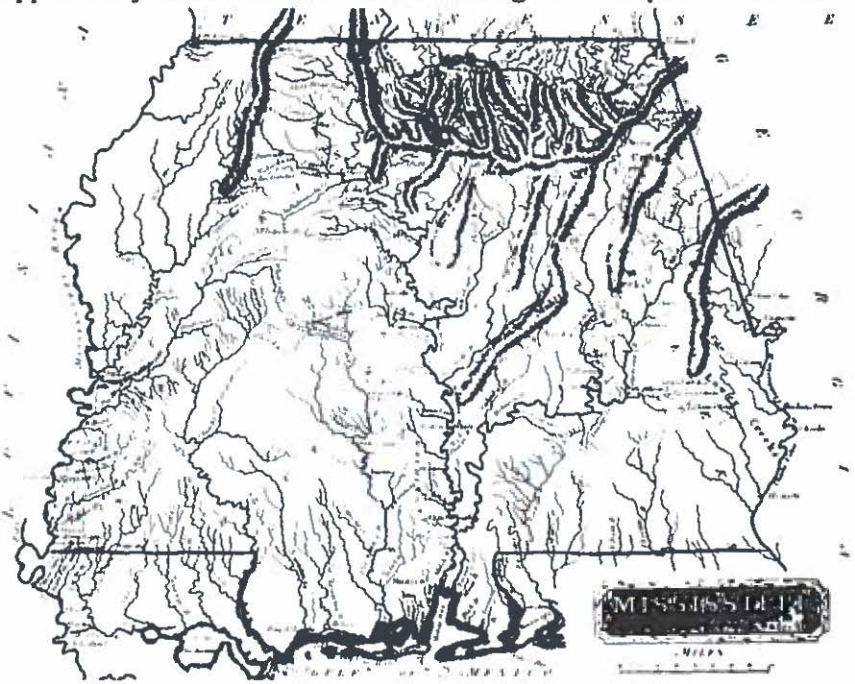
> Fair Poll adieu. With thee sweet Jenny goes, and Moll, and Bet, and Nell, and Rach, and Rose. Lost o'er the watry way compell'd to roam . . . . Concordia's banks receive their wand'ring feet, Concordia's crops supply them beds' of rest, Concordia's bachelors are supremely bless'd. [42]

The boatmen, however, took sterner measures. In May 1817, they took over the landing in a bloody melee which lasted three days. Finally an old cannon was trained on the river men from the bluff and troops

were marched to the landing. This show of force worked. The disturbance was quelled. But soon after, the stout hearts of Natchez failed. Anthony, who had been at the peak of his influence as a member of the Territorial Assembly in December of the previous year, rapidly lost political standing and faded into the background, retreating to the Pine Ridge District to live out the remainder of his life in relative peace. By 1822 The Landing returned to its old ways and was as vile as it had ever been, according to traveler Timothy Flint. [43]

Although a review of the history of Natchez politics and mores helps us to understand why Anthony Campbell was assaulted in 1826, it hardly narrows the list of suspects. John Irwin may have acted on his own. He could have been paid by some person or persons among the boatmen, gamblers or prostitutes who demanded the right to engage in their various pleasures or livelihoods. Or he could have been hired by some businessman headquartered at the landing. Chief among this latter group of suspects was one R.L. Smith who was accused in 1816 by other merchants of the landing of operating a "house of depravity and debauchery" which was accounted "by far the most irregular [such establishment] in the place." [44]

Whoever was behind it, the crime remained unsolved. Irwin apparently slipped away down the bluff to the landing and escaped on the river.



Mississippi Territory, 1816 *MDAH*

Anthony recovered from this assault, lived out the remainder of his life a respected resident in the district and died at the age of 73 years on September 26, 1837. [45] Though his reform movement was a failure, others which were more successful would follow. The Mississippi rivermen of the Fink variety would largely pass into history during the 1820s and 1830s. The prostitutes and gamblers of the Natchez Port would be cleaned out of the Landing in 1835, and though some may have returned afterwards, they no longer played such a dominant role in the life of the waterfront. By the 1850s Natchez would have become a quieter, more civilized city noted principally as the residence of more millionaires per capita than any other city in the nation. The significance of Anthony's stand against the vices of Natchez Under-the-Hill lies not in its degree of success but in the fact that he anticipated by more than a decade the moral reform movements of the Age of Jackson and was one of the first such movements in the Mississippi Valley. Though he failed in his attempt at reform, he showed the way for others who would later civilize the waterfront towns of the Mississippi — and the price they might pay for their principles.

Notes

[1] *The Ariel*, September 14, 1826; Data regarding the weather is from Henry Tooley, "Meterological Tables," Ibid., September 29, 1826; 1820 Census, Adams County; and Miscellaneous Collection, Z 1600, vol. 1, letter of Anthony Campbell to John Raffignac, February 3, 1823, Mississippi Department of Archives and History (hereafter cited as MDAH), Jackson, MS.

[2] *The Ariel*, September 1, 1826; Vicksburg *Eagle*, September 9 and 14, 1826; and Anthony Campbell, "A Historical Reminiscence," dated Pine Ridge, July 7, 1827, in Davis (Jefferson) Papers Z 777f, MDAH.

[3] *The Ariel*, January 6, 1828; and Natchez Landscape Painting, ca. 1820, by John James Audubon, PI Art A93.8, MDAH.

[4] *Mississippi Free Trader and Natchez Weekly Gazette*, September 29, 1837; *The Ariel*, July 21, October 13 and December 22, 1826; John Hebron Moore, *Andrew Brown and Cypress Lumbering in the Old Southwest* (Baton Rouge,1967), 18, 23; and *The Weekly Chronicle*, April 12, 1809.

[5] *The Ariel*, September 15, 1826 and 1830 Census, Adams County.

[6] *The Ariel*, September 15, 1826.

[7] Capt. James Edward Alexander, *Transatlantic Sketches Comprising Visits to the Most Interesting Scenes in North and South America, and the West Indies . . . . .* (London, 1833), 2:61.

[8] Campbell, "A Historical Reminiscence," in Davis Papers Z 777f, MADH; United States, Works Projects Administration, *Index to Records of Aliens Declarations of Intention and/or Oaths of Allegiance, 1789-1880. . . .* (Philadelphia, 1940), 22; Thomas D'Arcy McGee, *A History of the Irish Settlers in North America, from the Earliest Period to the Census of 1850* (Baltimore, 1980), *The Territory of Mississippi*, 89, 91; Clarence E. Carter, ed., *The Territorial Papers of the United States* (Washington, 1938), 5:258; RG 2, MF roll 12, *Register of County Appointments*, 7, 95, 96, 178, MDAH; *The Weekly Chronicle*, August 16, 1908 and July 2, 1810; *Washington Republican* May 25, 1813 and May 10, 1815; *Mississippi Republican*, November 24 and December 1, 1813, October 5 and November 9, 1814; and RG 58, MF M-678, roll 22, War of 1812, Service Records, Mississippi Militia, Captain Wilkin's Rifle Company, MDAH. RG is the abbreviation for Record Group.

[9] *Washington Republican and Natchez Intelligencer*, May 29, 1916.

[10] *Mississippi Republican*, February 22, 1820.

[11] Henry Ker, *Travels Through the Western Interior of the United States from the Year 1808 to the Year 1816 . . .* (Elizabethtown, NJ, 1816), 41.

[12] *Washington Republican and Natchez Intelligencer*, May 29, 1816.

[13] RG 5, vol. 14, Petition of Lewis Kerr, Recorder of the City of Natchez, to the Speaker of the House of Representatives, Mississippi Territorial Assembly, dated October 24, 1803, MDAH; *Mississippi Herald and Natchez Gazette*, November 25, 1806; *Mississippi Republican*, December 21, 1819; *The Louisiana and Mississippi Almanack for the Year of Our Lord, 1813* (Natchez, 1812), 49; Malcolm J. Rohrbough, *The Trans-Appalachian Frontier: People, Societies, and Institutions, 1775-1850* (New York, 1978), 107, 108. See also: Michael F. Beard, "Natchez Under-the-Hill 1790-1840: A Reinterpretation" (Honors Thesis, University of Southern Mississippi, 1971), 3-5.

[14] Leland D. Baldwin, *The Keelboat Age on Western Waters* (Pittsburg, 1941), 85, 180-182, 229-230; E.W. Gould, *Fifty Years on the Mississippi; or, Gould's History of River Navigation*, 2nd ed., (Columbus, 1951), 190, 204, 214; Lewis Cecil Gray, *History of Agriculture in the Southern United States to 1860* (Goucester, MA, 1958), 2:870; Erik F. Haites, James Mak, and Gary W. Walton, *Western River Transportation: The Era of Early Internal Development, 1810-1860* (Baltimore, 1975), 12-22; D. Clayton James, *Antebellum Natchez* (Baton Rouge, 1968), 43-44; and Dawson A. Phelps, "Travel on the Natchez Trace: A Study of Its Economic Aspects," *Journal of Mississippi History* 15 (1953):158.

[15] *Green's Impartial Observer*, May 19, 1800.

[16] *Southern Galaxy*, March 26, 1829.

[17] *Mississippi Herald and Natchez Gazette*, May 27, 1806.

[18] *Washington Republican and Natchez Intelligencer*, Dec. 11, 1816.

[19] Ker, *Travels*, 41.

[20] Christian Schultz, *Travels on an Inland Voyage Through the States of New York, Pennsylvania, Virginia, Ohio, Kentucky, and Tennessee, and Through the Territories of Indiana, Louisiana, Mississippi, and New Orleans; Performed in the Years 1807 and 1808; Including a Tour of Nearly Six Thousand Miles . . . .* (New York, 1810), 134-136.

[21] Bisland Family papers; Day Book, 1786-90, 1804, 1817, Manuscript Collections, LSU Archives, Baton Rouge.

[22] *Mississippi Herald and Natchez Gazette*, October 5, 1804.

[23] *Deed Book X*, 403, Adam's County Chancery Clerk's Office, Natchez; Joseph Holt Ingraham, *The Southwest by a Yankee* (New York, 1855), 2:61; 1820 Census, Adams County, MS.

[24] *Green's Impartial Observer*, May 19, 1800.

[25] See, for example, the *Mississippi Messenger*, October 1, 1805; and *The Weekly Chronicle*, June 10 and November 11, 1809. The Connelly ad is quoted from the latter issue; Schultz, *Travels*, 2:133.

[26] *Mississippi Herald and Natchez Gazette*, May 20, 1806.

[27] Ibid., February 11, January 27, 1807.

[28] Ibid., February 17, 1807.

[29] *Mississippi Herald and Natchez Gazette*, May 20, 1806.

[30] *Mississippi Republican*, January 18, 1815; *Washington Republican and Natchez Intelligencer*, January 18, 1815, January 24, April 3, 1816.

[31] Ibid., April 9, 1817.

[32] James Hall, "A Brief View of the Mississippi Territory, To Which Is Prefixed, A Summary View of the Country Between the Settlements on the Cumberland River, & the Territory, 1801," *Publications of the Mississippi Historical Society* 9(1906):556 (hereafter cited as PMHS).

[33] RG 5, vol. 14, Petition of Lewis Kerr, MDAH; Jacob Young, *Autobiography of a Pioneer: Or, The Nativity, Experience, Travels, and Ministerial Labors of Rev. Jacob Young, with Incidents, Observations, and Reflections* (Cincinnati, 1860), 241.

[34] Bisland Papers, Letter Copy Book, 1817, LSU Archives; Hall, "A Brief View of the Mississippi Territory," *PMHS* 9(1906):556; *The Weekly Chronicle*, December 21, 1808, September 30, 1809.

[35] *Green's Impartial Observer*, May 19, 1800; Alexander. *Transatlantic Sketches*, 2:61.

[36] Schultz, *Travels*, 145-146.

[37] *Mississippi Herald and Natchez Gazette*, March 25, 1807; *Washington Republican*, March 8, 1815.

[38] *Washington Republican*, July 13, 1814.

[39] Simon Gratz, ed., "Thomas Rodney Letters," *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 43(1919):55, 282, 346, 365; Ingraham, *Southwest By a Yankee* 2:47-48; Ker, *Travels*, 29-30; 1810 and 1820 Census, Adams County.

[40] *Washington Republican*, July 7, 1813; *Washington Republican and Natchez Intelligencer*, January 3, 1816; Rush G. Miller, "John G. Jones: Pioneer Circuit Rider and Historian," *Journal of Mississippi History*, 39(1977):19.

[41] John G. Jones, *A Concise History of the Introduction of Protestantism into Mississippi and the Southwest* (St. Louis, 1866), 252- 254.

[42] *Washington Republican and Natchez Intelligencer*, December 25, 1816. For biographical information on Haslett, see the July 26, 1817 issue of this newspaper.

[43] *Mississippi Republican*, May 28, 1817; Carter, *Territorial Papers*, 6:735; and Timothy Flint, *Recollections of the Last Ten Years, Passed in Occasional Journeyings in the Valley of the Mississippi, from Pittsburg and the Missouri to the Gulf of Mexico, and from Florida to the Spanish Frontier* (Boston, 1826), 213.

[44] Petition of Hugh Hogan, et al, Citizens of the Natchez Landing, to the Honorable Edward Turner, Mayor of the City of Natchez, not dated, Vertical File, "Adams County and Natchez Under-the-Hill," Judge George Armstrong Public Library, Natchez. This petition was probably submitted between 1813 and 1815 when Turner was a city magistrate and President of the Board of Selectmen. James D. Lynch, *The Bench and Bar of Mississippi* (New York, 1881), 85.

[45] *Mississippi Free Trader and Natchez Weekly Gazette*, September 29, 1837.

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The Distinctive Character of a Bayou Community: Continuity and Change in Bayou La Batre from Prehistoric to Recent Times

Diane E. Silvia

Bayou La Batre is a small coastal fishing community in Alabama which recently celebrated its bicentennial. At one point community leaders had talked of constructing a monument made of oyster shells to the seafood industry. Perhaps more than anything else this idea for a monument serves to symbolize the importance of marine resources from the past to the present.

The significance of Bayou La Batre as a fishing community extends far beyond the memories of the town's "old timers." Long before immigrant settlers appeared Native Americans were successfully utilizing the richness of this unique environment to subsist. Access to marine resources attracted them then and remains the main catalyst for settlement and development today. To understand the continuity of human reliance on maritime resources it is necessary to reconstruct aboriginal lifeways based on archaeological, historical, and ethnographic evidence, and compare them with those of present day inhabitants of the Bayou.

Life in Bayou La Batre today is influenced by a host of cultural and geological factors. The natural environment is rich and diverse and,

Dauphin Island, c. 1910 *Overbey Collection, USA Archives*

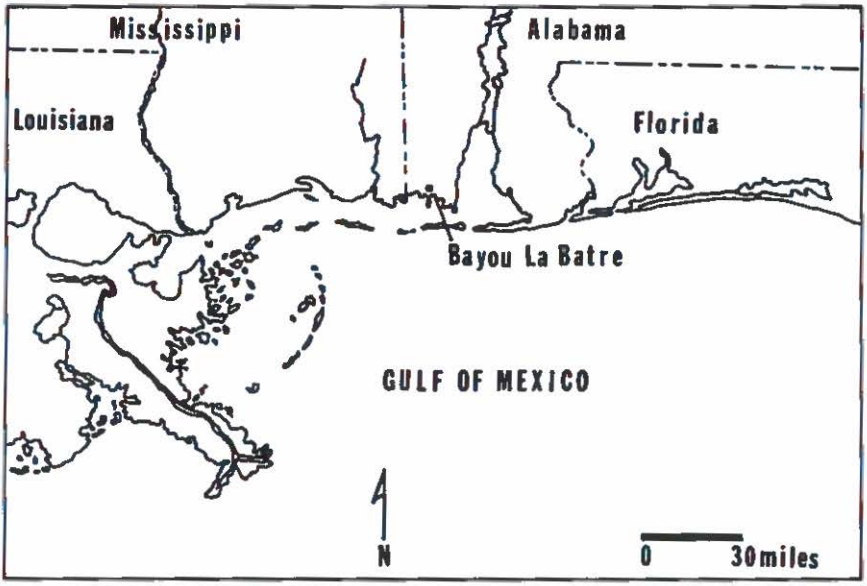
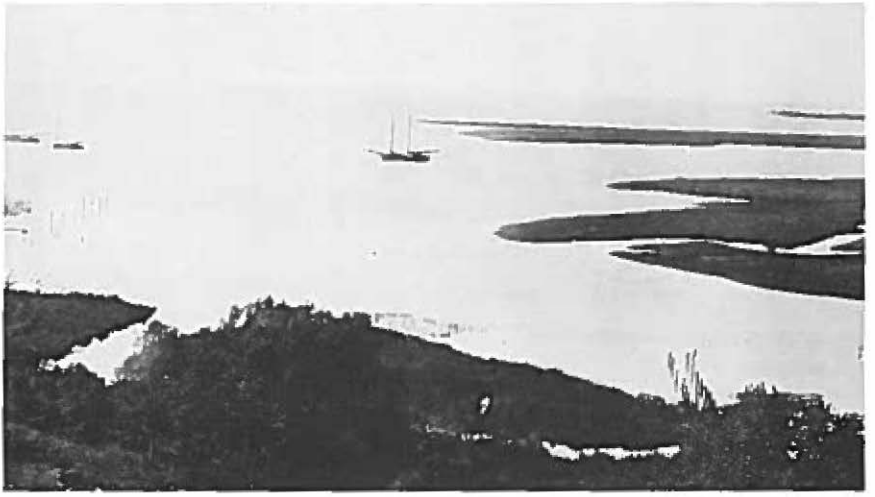


Figure 1: Bayou La Batre Map

therefore, attractive for human settlement and resource development. This portion of Alabama's Coastal Plain is associated with various types of environmental settings or ecozones which include: the coastal strip with its barrier features such as Dauphin Island and Fort Morgan Peninsula; large areas of tidal marsh in and around Bayou La Batre; and the Mobile-Tensaw delta and river system to the north (Figure 1). [1] Tidal marsh provides a fertile breeding area for marine life, as well as protection from wind and wave action. The Mobile-Tensaw delta and river system is also significant since it serves as a natural north-south corridor for trade and marketing and provides access to bottomland and upland forest resources. Such diversity was attractive to aboriginal groups. Numerous archaeological sites can be found throughout southwest Alabama and a number of these have been located and recorded in the proximity of Bayou La Batre.

Anthropologists have long recognized that "the potentialities of any environment for any society are a function of the interaction of the natural environment and the society's technique for exploiting it." [2] In southwest Alabama the most heavily utilized areas were the coastal strip, the banks of major rivers and bayous, and around a tidal marsh. Aquatic resources are believed to have formed a major component of a very successful, central-based, nomadic subsistence strategy as early as 6000 B.C. This pattern appears to have remained relatively unchanged until early historic times. It is not unlike America's northwest coast, another rich coastal region, where Indian groups exploited marine resources, along with terrestrial hunting and gathering, well into the Historic period. [3]



Tidal Marsh off Dauphin Island, c. 1920 *Overbey Collection, USA Archives*

The earliest aboriginal inhabitants in southeastern North America relied on hunting of large game which has since become extinct, such as the mastodon, supplemented by gathering of plant materials. By about 6000 B.C. accumulations of discarded shell began to appear. These shell middens attest to a new strategy of food procurement, one emphasizing the use of aquatic resources. This shift in subsistence coincides with the disappearance of large game, possibly caused by a warming climate. From 500-1000 A.D. (Late Woodland period) many riverine locations were abandoned. As knowledge of wild plants increased, horticulture began to develop and evolve. Settlement shifted to interior bottomland areas with rich soil located near forested uplands. [4] A strategy including the cultivation of maize, squash, and sunflower, along with the continuation of hunting and gathering, provided this second major shift in subsistence. This shift is reflected archaeologically by a change in site locations through time. However, in extreme southwest Alabama, it is interesting to note that use of this strategy was probably limited and aquatic resources remained important.

Prehistory leaves no written records describing past lifestyles and cultural behavior. Therefore prehistoric behavior must be inferred from physical remains. Indicators of human behavior are limited to artifacts; those things altered by use or manufactured by man which have survived in the soil. These remains include tools, pottery, and refuse such as discarded bone and shell. Also careful attention is given to the areas where people lived; habitation sites which are often characterized by soil stained by organic materials. However archaeologists glean most of their information from trash deposits. From such material direct evidence of dietary practices may

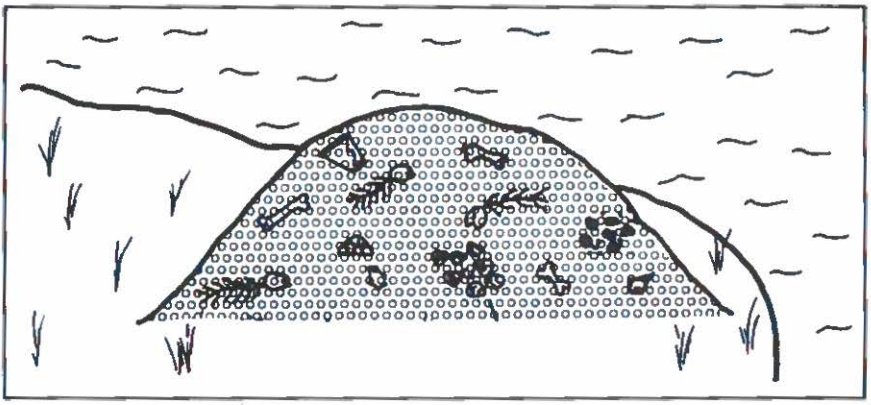
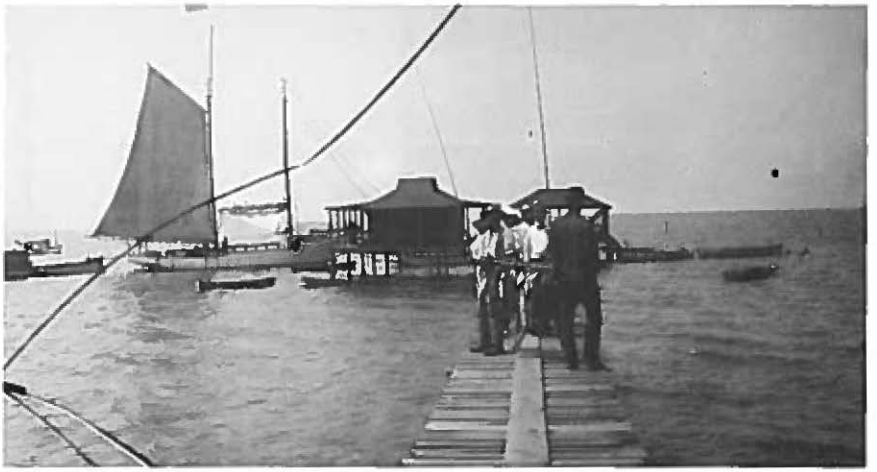


Figure 2: Diagram of an idealized shell midden: A refuse heap of oyster shells mixed with plant and animal remains and discarded artifacts. *Diane Silvia*

be derived. Once the diet is known a variety of general information can be obtained about food procurement and preparation. A broader picture of aboriginal lifeways can be inferred through careful recovery and study of trash.

Unlike the acidic soils present throughout many areas in the South, shell middens are very alkalinic, resulting in excellent preservation of organic materials. Thus, many floral and faunal remains have been recovered from such middens. Shellfish were the most widely utilized aquatic resources. In southwest Alabama singificant species include oysters (*Crassostrea virginica*) and marsh clams (*Polymesoda caroliniana* and *Rangia cuneata*). [5] Traces of other aquatic species such as blue shell crab, marine and freshwater catfish, drum, gar, mullet, sea trout, sheepshead, turtle, and alligator have been found. Remains of various types of drum and sheepshead are common, probably because these carnivorous fish feed on shellfish beds and could have been procured simultaneously. Shrimp were also undoubtedly utilized although no definite shrimp remains have as yet been recovered in this area. Their soft, fragile exoskeletons are usually not preserved. However, in Florida shrimp mandibles have been found using an archaeological technique known as flotation. Unfortunately little of this type of data recovery has yet been practiced in southwest Alabama.

Shrimp may have been obtained using nets or basket traps. The blue shell crab was probably similarly caught by net, trap, or perhaps by baited line. Implements such as nets, traps, baited lines, bows and arrows, and spears are thought to have been used to capture fish. [6] In several historic sources ground buckeye fruits or roots, and the roots of a plant called the devil's shoestring were reportedly used to poison fish in streams and pools. The poison stunned the fish which could then be easily collected. [7]

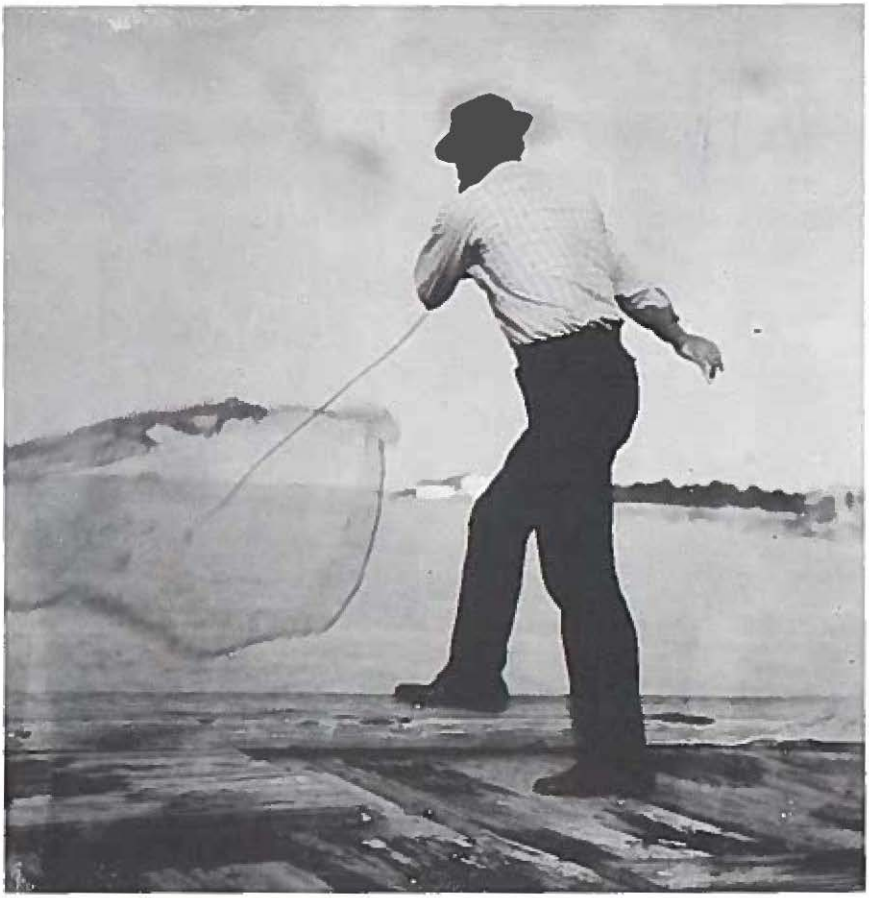


Fisherman with their catch near Coden, Alabama, c. 1916 *Overbey Collection, USA Archives*

C.B. Curren believes tidal traps were used to capture fish along the eastern shore of Mobile Bay where the tide ranges approximately one and a half feet. [8] While such techniques utilized were probably less efficient than their counterparts today, they would have provided an adequate means of catching fish.

In addition to the utilization of a variety of aquatic resources, hunting and plant gathering contributed a large part of the aboriginal diet. [9] Some of the more commonly exploited animals included white-tail deer, racoons, opossums, and rabbits. Plant materials such as acorns and hickory nuts were collected and ground into meal or boiled. Various fruits such as persimmons and wild grapes were also eaten. Some researchers feel that since agriculture was significant in the Mobile Bay region during historic times, it may have also played a major role in the late prehistoric diet. Historic sources attest to the productivity of Indian agriculture in the region. For example in 1700 Levasseur wrote that the local Mobile and Little Tomeh tribes were "very rich in maize, beans, and squash." [10] In addition, maize remains have been found archaeologically in pit features at the D'Olive Creek site, a portion of which is believed to date to the Historic period. [11] Knight suggests that agriculture was integrated into an "estuary-oriented mixed economy" during the late Prehistoric period. [12] Others argue that the Mobile and Tomeh may have been newcomers in the area and that the role of agriculture in the region's prehistory cannot be confidently inferred from the historic record. [13]

Since the late 1960s archaeologists have become increasingly interested in the seasonality of shellfish procurement on aboriginal sites and its role in the prehistoric diet. Some have questioned the assumption that the presence



Fishing with a cast net, c. 1895 *USA Archives*

of large shell middens is direct evidence that shellfish played a major role in the aboriginal diet. Many feel they were not nutritionally significant and played only a secondary role serving as a supplement.

While the importance of plants is difficult to assess based on archaeological visibility, faunal remains may be analyzed quantitatively. Kathleen Byrd examined material from the Morton Shell Mound on the Louisiana coast. [14] By comparing weight and valve length she determined that it would take 81 *Rangia* marsh clams to produce 2.4 ounces of meat. The discarded volume of material would equal nearly 65 cubic inches. A 100 pound deer would constitute about 50 pounds of edible meat. [15] It would take 25,300 clams, having a shell volume of 12 cubic feet to equal the same amount of meat. It is easy to see how distorted interpretations of subsistence can become if factors such as these discard volumes are not considered.

Oyster boats near Dauphin Island, c. 1910 *Overbey Collection, USA Archives*

Modern authorities recommend one's diet consist of 10%-15% proteins (U.S. Recommended Daily Allowance for protein is 45-65 grams depending on protein quality or efficiency), 30% fats, and 55-60% carbohydrates for adequate nutrition. [16] One hundred grams of raw clam meat contains an average of 76 calories, 12.6 grams of protein, 1.6 grams of fat, and 2 grams of carbohydrates. Similarly, 100 grams of oysters contain 66 calories, 8.4 grams of protein, 1.8 grams of fat, and 3.4 grams of carbohydrates. Compared to other food sources these figures are low. One hundred grams of venison contains 126 calories, 21 grams of protein, 4 grams of fat, and no carbohydrates. It would take 42,000 clams, leaving a pile of discarded shell measuring almost 20 cubic feet to equal the same calories procured from a single deer. The figures are even higher when compared to other sources of meat such as racoon. [17] Even though shellfish are nutritionally less valuable gram for gram in comparison to other meat sources, it should be noted that it would take only about three dozen oysters to reach the minimum recommended daily allowance for protein. In addition shellfish may have served as an important source of calcium, since three dozen oysters would supply more than 60% of the minimum recommended daily intake.

Despite the increased nutritional efficiency of many other food sources over that of shellfish, prehistoric people consumed them in great quantity. Humans tend to use a subsistence strategy which maximizes gains and

minimizes time and energy expenditure along with chances of failure. In the case of shellfish there is little risk involved and low energy expenditure is required for their procurement. They occur in shallow waters and are often present in densely populated beds. Since other food sources were also exploited, shellfish populations could be maintained so that a constant supply was available. [18]

Recently archaeologists have begun actively to research the seasonality of bivalve procurement. [19] Seasonality studies are important because they provide direct evidence of food resource scheduling. Although the number of well controlled studies is limited, new techniques of assessment and regional, specie-specific keys are being developed. The work is time consuming and tedious. For clams it involves macroscopic observations of cross-sections of the hinge and margin of the shell to determine if the animal was killed during a season of fast growth (when the shell margin appears white), or a season of slow growth (when the shell margin appears gray). For such studies shells would be taken from a column sample within an excavation unit. In order to successfully utilize this method, the archaeological specimens recovered would then be compared with modern specimens collected monthly for a period of 1 to 5 years. In addition water temperature profiles must be analyzed, since warmer temperatures increase bivalve metabolism and their growth. [20] This method does not apply to oysters since their growth rings are irregular.

Work with *Rangia* and other Gulf Coast shellfish suggests collections occurred most commonly over a period of about six months during the time of fast growth from spring to fall. It is interesting to note that during this time the amount of carbohydrates increases while the amount of protein decreases. Claassen suggests that the carbohydrate content may have made shellfish an integral part of the aboriginal diet. [21] It is likely that larger groups of people (macrobands) would gather shellfish during this season of fast growth and then divide into small groups (microbands) for the remainder of the year. Shellfish were probably gathered mainly by women while the men hunted. On several early historic period sites collection apparently occurred during the winter. This may reflect a change in subsistence activities due to disruption caused by European contact. [22] Among modern hunting-gathering groups in riverine and coastal environments shellfish are often utilized as a dietary supplement. It now appears that use of these resources over the course of time varied from serving as a seasonal staple to use as a year round supplement. [23] Human groups that depend on wild foods tend to exploit a variety of micro-environments over a wide area to maintain an adequate diet and prevent resource depletion. [24]

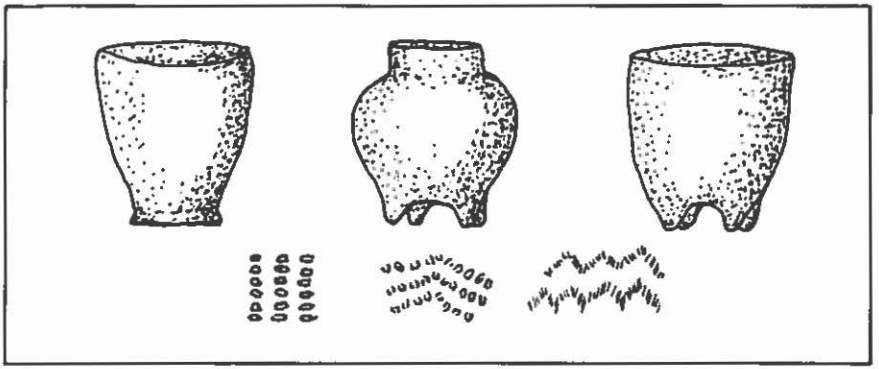


Figure 3: Typical Bayou La Batre phase ceramic pots and three examples of common shell stamped motifs used to decorate them. *Diane Silvia*

In southwest Alabama shell midden sites are often easily identified by observing the distinctive plant associations which occur on these higher alkali substrates. Sites range from very small, thin deposits to huge, thick accumulations. Some of the better known midden sites include: D'Olive Creek (1Bal96, Ba251); Vessel Point (1Ba37); and the Dauphin Island Shell Mound (1Ba72). [25] Aboriginal usage of the coast increased during the Mississippian period (about 100-1500 A.D.), at a time when agriculture was gaining in importance throughout many areas of southeastern North America.

Several large sites are present near the present day community of Bayou La Batre. They are located along both sides of the juncture of Powells Bayou and Bayou La Batre. Several were investigated from 1940 to 1941 during the WPA program. They include Powell Mound (1Mb9), Tates Hammock Shell Midden (1Mb11), Salt Marsh Mount (1Mb10), and the Bayou La Batre Shell Midden (1Mb12- 14). Burials have been recovered from the Salt Marsh Mound, Tates Hammock, and the Bayou La Batre Shell Midden. [26] This area was utilized over a long period of time, ranging from 2500 B.C. (the Early Gulf Formational), through the Historic period.

The Bayou La Batre Shell Midden is the type site for the Bayou La Batre culture or variant in southwest Alabama, since pottery from this site served to define this discrete unit of human occupation. [27] The pottery is distinguished by its coarse sand or grit inclusions which were added to the clay as tempering before vessel manufacture. The bottom or bases of the pots generally have four podal supports or have an annular ring base. Vessels are generally in the shape of beakers or globular pots. [28] Perhaps the most notable diagnostic attribute of this pottery is the form of exterior decoration or roughening. The vessels often show dentate or rocker stamping along the exterior surface. This was accomplished with the edge of a scallop shell which was rocked, stamped, or dragged along

the vessel surface. [29] This pottery type has been identified on sites extending from the coast northward some 70 miles into the Tombigbee and Alabama River valleys.

At the Bayou La Batre Shell Midden three test units excavated during the WPA Project yielded 2500 pottery fragments, or sherds, plus a few stone tools of Tallahatta Quartzite and jasper imported from Clarke and Washington Counties. Since stone tools were scarce, Walthall feels that shellfish provided most of the protein for those living here. [30]

In 1972 the University of South Alabama performed test excavations at this site. Faunal remains included mammal and fish bone, as well as shell. In addition to aboriginal artifacts, there were some early Euro-American artifacts, including faience (coarse earthenware and pearlware ceramics) dating from the 18th and 19th centuries. Through study of materials from the Bayou La Batre Shell Midden and radiocarbon dating of similar finds farther north in the delta, it appears that the Bayou La Batre culture dates to around 500 B.C. - 200 A.D.

In southwest Alabama aquatic resources, especially shellfish, were extremely important to aboriginal settlers from at least 2500 B.C. through to historic contact. It is interesting to note that while most Mississippi period groups throughout the Southeast were becoming increasingly agricultural, horticulture probably played a minor role in the diet of many groups in southwest Alabama. There was at least a seasonal dependence on shellfish and other aquatic resources. These resources along with mammals and wild plant foods, appear to have provided an adequate diet without requiring a major subsistence shift to agriculture. With this subsistence model in mind some inferences about prehistoric social and political behavior may be made using historic and ethnographic models based on people with similar hunting - gathering subsistence bases.

When most of the Native American population in the southeastern United States began to congregate in the major river valleys to practice agriculture, an elaborate political system evolved to manage economic activities. Such systems, usually referred to as chiefdoms, became regulated by a hereditary kingship and priesthood which provided structured religion and law in return for labor and goods in the form of tribute. It was a system based on interdependence. The prehistoric inhabitants around Bayou La Batre led a different life. Their land was less densely populated and somewhat isolated. Contact with large conglomerates in the valleys was probably limited to participation in a system of exchange of coastal resources such as salt, fish, and shell for inland products. The people were not ruled by a king-like figure, and were more likely to follow a "headman" or village leader with demonstrated knowledge and skills. Status differences based

Modern Bayou La Batre's shrimp boats *Diane Silvia photo*

on birth were unlikely. It was a system of informal control and the people were able to maintain their independence.

When comparing aboriginal lifeways from the area around Bayou La Batre with that of present day residents, some continuity over the centuries may be seen. Modern inhabitants remain largely dependent on aquatic resources either directly or indirectly. [31] Like their aboriginal counterparts they are survivors in an environment which is at times unpredictable. One common trait both groups share is their desire for, and ability to achieve, self-sufficiency and independence. Bayou people tend to be egalitarian in nature. They are impressed by the demonstrated merits of others, so that achieved status in the Bayou may be more important than that ascribed or inherited at birth. For example men who are exceptional shrimpers command respect and are often sought out for advice. In aboriginal times geographic isolation and uniqueness played a major role in the development and longevity of the local lifestyle. While these Coastal sites were outside of the political sphere of the large centers, such groups tended to actively participate in trade along water routes. Initial settlements were often small enclaves which had splintered off from larger groups. Coastal settlements, therefore, tended to be culturally diverse and distinctive. Throughout historic and modern times this trend has continued with small culturally distinct populations settling in the Bayou. In late historic times the hunting-gathering economy continued, and the Bayou remained largely isolated. In 1836 the

A Bayou captain cleaning nets *Diane Silvia photo*

Reverend M. Loras wrote that the community was "sheltered from the corruption of large cities affording a living based on hunting and gathering since the land is not suitable for cultivation." [32] Even with modern transportation Bayou La Batre is still somewhat isolated. But it is no longer a matter of its geography, so much as it is the uniqueness of a subsistence

Vietnamese fisherman unloading shrimp in Bayou La Batre — *Diane Silvia photo*

which depends on fishing. The Bayou La Batre Historical Association has described the community as one which combines the charm of a quaint fishing village with the economy of a modern seafood center. [33] This statement sums up both the continuity of resource exploitation and changes in methods which link the prehistoric and modern inhabitants of Bayou La Batre.

Notes

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Governor Frederick P. Cone *Florida State Archives*

In the Shadow of Scottsboro: The 1937 Robert Hinds Case

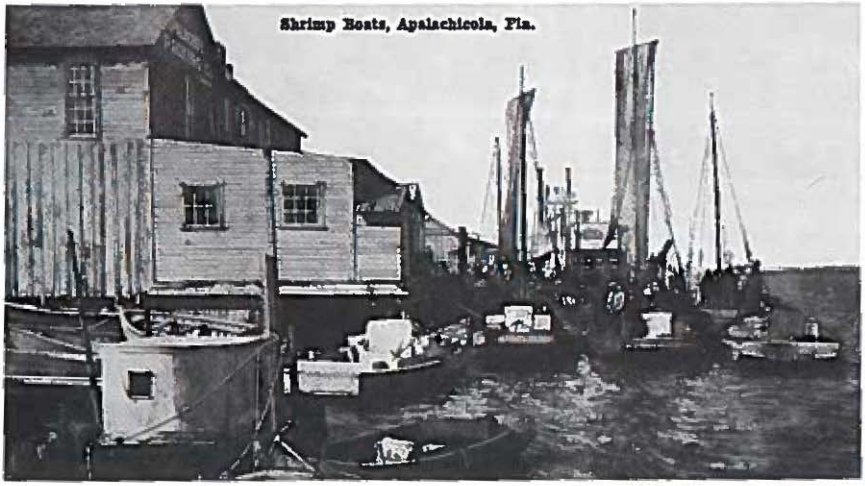
Walter T. Howard

The compelling drama of Scottsboro overshadows other similar, though less well known, occurrences of racial injustice in the South during the 1930s. [1] One such incident was the trial and execution of a black Apalachicola teenager named Robert Hinds in July of 1937. Like the Scottsboro boys, Hinds stood accused of violating the South's most sacred taboo: raping a white woman. In both instances a Southern governor sought to avert lynching by handing the youths over to parochial jurists who tried them in great haste, in the prejudicial atmosphere of a small town. The plight of Hinds and the Scottsboro defendants also attracted the attention of civil rights organizations and received widespread newspaper coverage in their respective states of Florida and Alabama. However, the crucial difference between the two tragedies was that only one governor presided over the legal execution of a black youth charged with a lynchable offense.

Florida officials acted so that chroniclers would not add Hinds' name to the long list of lynch victims murdered over the years by Floridians. Indeed between 1882 and 1945, the species of vigilantism known as lynching was a persistent problem in the state. [2] Lynching in Florida reached its peak in the 1890s and gradually declined over the next five decades. [3] As events surrounding the Hinds case would prove, one reason for this decline was the substitution of "official" for extra-legal justice.

Florida Governor Fred P. Cone signed Robert Hinds' death warrant and watched over proceedings leading to the young man's subsequent electrocution. Cone involved himself in the case from beginning to end. An elderly conservative Southern governor who came of age in the "Old South" region of north Florida in the 1880s and 1890s, he was undoubtedly not the most qualified chief executive to deal with crisis situations in which a black man was accused of a lynchable crime. His slave-owning father and grandfather had served with distinction in the army of the Confederate States of America; and the governor fell heir to their antiblack racial views as well as their frontier spirit of rugged individualism. In fact, young Fred Cone himself, in the late 1880s, committed a vigilante act when he shot and wounded a carpetbag Republican in an act of political vengeance. [4] In spite of all this he was not reckless enough to give public support to mob murder of blacks, no matter what his private feelings were on this issue.

Indeed Cone demonstrated a remarkable degree of sensitivity to the evils of lynching during his administration. [5] He clearly wished to avert



The waterfront at Apalachicola *Florida State Archives*

such tragedies whenever possible perhaps to avoid the adverse national criticism that invariably accompanied such crimes. In this regard he worked closely with the most influential antilynching organization in the state, the Florida Council of the Association of Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynching (ASWPL), and he gladly accepted its help in combating this abuse at the state level. [6] More than anything else, however, his first experience as governor in handling a lynching threat forced him to come to grips with this problem, and it set the pattern of how he would deal with these crises thereafter. [7]

Governor Cone confronted the lynching issue after only five months in office. On May 16, 1937, Sheriff Charles L. Robbins of Franklin County arrested Robert Hinds, a sixteen-year-old-black, for allegedly assaulting and raping Mae Polous, a white woman. A wary Sheriff Robbins temporarily lodged Hinds in the Apalachicola jail. He sensed a threat of mob violence, stating that "feeling is running high against the Negro." He was indeed correct, for within an hour of the suspect's arrest an angry white mob had gathered in front of the county courthouse. It loudly demanded that the black youth be turned over immediately. However the sheriff had already moved Hinds to the Panama City jail in Bay County on the Gulf Coast. [8]

Determined to capture and lynch Hinds when they heard that the prisoner had been moved, the vigilantes crowded into their automobiles and hurriedly drove the sixty-five miles to Panama City. However just before the motorized caravan arrived, Sheriff Robbins and his charge had escaped to Pensacola. Holding their ground, Panama City law enforcement officials refused to tell the mob where Hinds had been taken. Nonetheless, as a concession, authorities allowed four of its representatives to search

through the Bay County jail facility for the suspect. Finding nothing the frustrated whites reluctantly dispersed. [9]

Word of Hinds' arrest and the persisting threat of lynch violence stirred the Florida branch of the ASWPL and its leader, Jane Cornell, into action. She saw in the crisis an opportunity to use her organization's influence to prevent an extra-legal execution. In her book on Jesse Daniel Ames and the AWSPL, Jacquelyn Dowd Hall portrayed the Hinds case as "a vivid example of the AWSPL system at work." However she erred in some of the case's chronology. She dates the day of Hinds' alleged attack on the white girl as May 17, 1933 instead of May 16, 1937; and she suggests that he was executed in July 1935 instead of July 1937. Still, she was entirely accurate in detailing the steps that Jane Cornell took in the case. The ASWPL leader promptly contacted the governor, the sheriff of Franklin County, and Circuit Court Judge John Johnson, urging them all to protect their prisoner from the lynch mob. [10]

Other concerned groups also contacted the governor. The Women's Missionary Council of Florida and the Jacksonville Ministerial Alliance wired Cone exhorting him to take the steps to ensure Hinds' safety. The governor promptly responded to their telegrams. He wrote, "I have taken necessary precautions through proper authorities and feel sure that the law will be allowed to take its course in this case." [11]

Governer Cone had indeed taken precautionary steps. Although Sheriff Robbins had already moved Hinds to Pensacola where he was relatively safe, the governor wasted no time in writing an urgent letter to the lawman. In it he related, "I have been informed that there is an attempt to lynch a Negro prisoner and I am requesting you to use every precaution to prevent this unlawful act and let the law take its course." [12] Several weeks later, as the danger of mob violence persisted Cone promised two companies of National Guardsmen for Hinds' protection when he came to trial. In fact the Franklin County sheriff had travelled to Tallahassee to inform the governor that he had only two deputies in Apalachicola, the county seat, and they certainly could not adequately protect the young black man if he stood trial there. [13]

Sheriff Robbins acted decisively and courageously to prevent a tragedy that would have disgraced his county in the eyes of the state and nation. He wished to protect the reputation of Franklin County, a part of Florida which lies on the Gulf Coast around the mouth of the Apalachicola River. This waterway extends inland into southern Georgia. During the antebellum period it sustained a golden age of trade and commerce centered around cotton exports through the busy port of Apalachicola. By the fourth decade of the twentieth century, however, that era had long passed into history. [14]

On the eve of Hinds' trial, Franklin County could best be described as small, sparsely settled, poor, and isolated. Yet it was by no means a typical southern farming county of large planters, tenants, and sharecroppers. In fact federal census records show that in 1930 less than one percent of the population of 6,283 residents engaged in commercial farming. About half of the county's residents lived in or around Apalachicola where they worked in small enterprises in the port town. It was a county of fishermen, cannery laborers, dock hands, saw mill laborers, and workers in the forest products industry. This was also an area where few people owned cars, had electricity, telephones, or radios. Census data indicates a high illiteracy rate, and throughout the 1930s about one-third of the county's children between the ages of seven and thirteen did not even attend school. In addition the Depression brought unemployment and hard times to many of the county's citizens. [15] This may have increased racial tensions as whites and blacks competed for the few low paying jobs that were available in the local labor market.

Blacks comprised about forty percent of the county's population in the 1930s. They worked at the same kind of jobs as they had in the 1880s and 1890s; most of them lived in Apalachicola and worked on the docks, on fishing boats, in nearby turpentine camps and saw mills, or in white people's homes as domestic servants. [16]

There can be little doubt that this county was still influenced by values and traditions of the "Old South." In Franklin County, as throughout the South, whites enforced segregation and racial discrimination. The greatest taboo was for a black male to make any physical or sexual contact with a white woman. In light of this, few observers were surprised when Franklin County whites threatened extra-legal violence against Hinds. [17]

Surmising that it was not safe to deal with the accused in Apalachicola, judicial officers made the decision to seek a change of venue so that the young black man would be tried in Tallahassee. The averted lynching and change of venue pleased the ASWPL. Eager to cooperate with this group, the governor and other officials still worried about the possibility of a lynching and the damaging media publicity which would undoubtedly accompany such an incident. Naturally they anticipated a quick trial, a guilty verdict, and swift execution. State's Attorney Orion C. Parker, who was to be the prosecutor, openly speculated that the trial could be completed in one day. [18] Officials in this instance acted on the premise, widely accepted by southern leaders, that a fast trial and prompt legal execution of a black man in such a case would show white Southerners that lynching was unnecessary. Governor Cone undoubtedly hoped that speedy judicial action would tend to discourage mob action in similar cases in the future. Cone

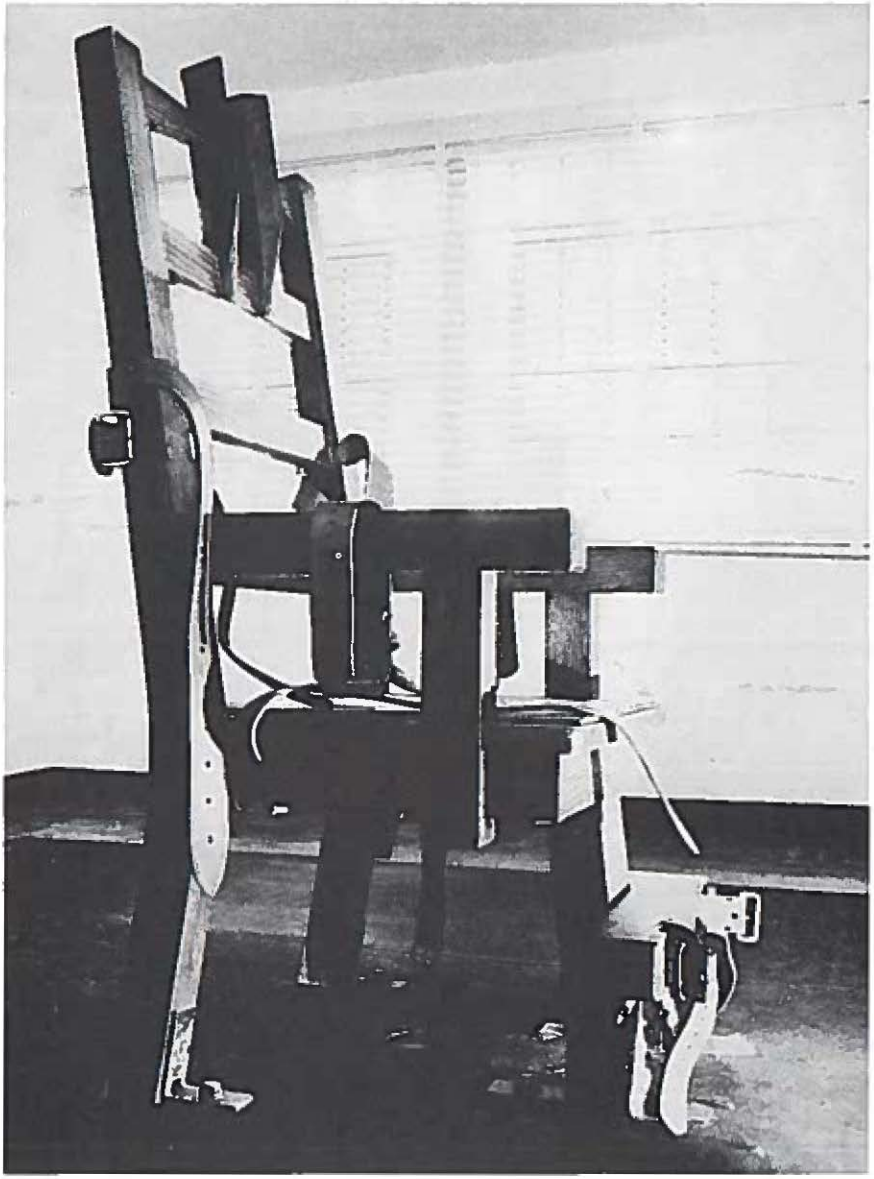
promised the ASWPL, "there will be no lynching in Florida if I can prevent it." [19]

In early June 1937 a Franklin County grand jury indicted Hinds; and soon afterwards, authorities made plans to transport him to Tallahassee in Leon County to stand trial. This county was a southern farming area in which almost half of the population lived in Tallahassee. As in Franklin county in the rural areas around the capital most people did without many of the trappings of modern life such as electricity, automobiles, telephones, or radios. The Great Depression had hit the county hard resulting in rural unemployment, mortgage foreclosures, and hard times for many. [20] These economic conditions, increased job competition in the lower-class labor market, exacerbating racial tensions.

Unlike Franklin, Leon County had a black majority. In fact about sixty percent of the county's population of 9,454 was black in 1930. Nonetheless, whites were determined to keep the black majority in a subordinate position by enforcing all the harsh restrictions of the racial caste system that had been fashioned in the South during the late nineteenth century. [21] Not surprisingly, the judicial system in this county served the interest of maintaining these racial arrangements.

On June 30 Governor Cone made good on his promise to provide armed protection at Hinds' trial by calling out the National Guard. [22] Branch Cone, the governor's brother and executive secretary, announced that Colonel Percy Coombs of Apalachicola would command one unit. He had previously commanded this same Guard outfit when it had been sent to riot-torn Marianna in the fall of 1934 in the aftermath of the Claude Neal lynching. Learning from the mistakes of his predecessor, Governor David Sholtze, who had been slow to deploy guardsmen in the Neal lynching case, Cone saw to it that troops were in place before anything could happen. Adjutant General Vivien B. Collins, another veteran of the Marianna disturbance, was chosen to command the Guard unit from Live Oak. In charge of the entire operation, General Collins reported to the governor that these two companies, numbering 132 men, would be stationed around the Leon County courthouse throughout the trial. He also informed Cone that both companies would be armed with sawed-off shot guns, tear gas, machine guns, and other riot-suppressing equipment. [23]

Authorities kept Hinds' whereabouts in Pensacola secret until time for his trial. On June 30, Judge Johnson wrote the Escambia County sheriff's office ordering it to transfer the prisoner to the legal custody of the Leon County Sheriff, Frank Stoutamire. [24] Authorities carefully arranged to move the black defendant, with a minimum of publicity, to his trial site. They flew him to Tallahassee in a privately chartered airplane.



Raiford Prison electric chair *Florida State Archives*

Hinds went on trial on July 6, 1937, and guardsmen surrounded the courthouse throughout the proceedings. This show of force may have thwarted any lynching plans but the tense atmosphere in Tallahassee was hardly conducive to a fair trial. [25] In Florida courts, a black male accused of raping a white woman had little chance of obtaining impartial justice

and by "letting the law take its course," the system could legally carry out the mob's demand for vengeance. [26]

Hinds' trial stands as a clear example of this. It began on a sweltering July morning with the selection of a jury of twelve white men. A court-appointed attorney, William Hopkins, represented the black teenager who lacked the money to retain a private lawyer. Hinds' attorney decided on the strategy of pleaing not guilty by reason of insanity for his hapless client. [27] This was a safe tact for everyone concerned except the defendant himself. Hopkins must have known that to plea not guilty and go into court aggressively refuting the testimony of a white woman who had accused a black man of rape would certainly stir passions in the community that perhaps even the guardsmen could not control. On the other hand, an insanity plea guaranteed the appearance of a fair trial while also assuring the outcome of a conviction. An all-white male jury in Tallahassee would undoubtedly view an insanity plea as a sham, and find the defendant guilty of the capital offense. [28]

State's Attorney Parker came prepared to refute the insanity plea. He indicated that the state would base its case on an admission of guilt by the defendant, and on the testimony of several key witnesses. Most important, he planned to offer psychiatric testimony that Hinds was not insane when he committed this crime.

The prosecution's star witness, however, was not its psychiatrist. It was the alleged victim, Mae Polous, a twenty-six-year-old Apalachicola woman, who gave the damning testimony. She claimed that Hinds had followed her and her sister-in-law down a highway to a berry patch. They ran, and the black teenager pursued them. She described in vivid detail how the defendant caught her, threw her to the ground, tore off her clothes, and raped her. The white woman also told the jury that Hinds had choked her while she desperately attempted to call for help. Finally, Miss Polous related to the court how she called on God to "save" her soul while the sister-in-law ran to a nearby house for aid.

Hopkin's cross-examination revealed some interesting details and he did so without being either aggressive or belligerent. Miss Polous admitted that no doctor examined her after the attack; and she shed more light on her encounter with the black youth. She stated that when they passed Hinds on the road to the berry patch he had asked them for directions to a nearby farm. After the women walked further down the road, they noticed that the black youth was following them. They hid in a swamp near the berry patch. Sometime later the two women were picking berries when he came up again, and after speaking a few words he started to run at them.

Leon County Court House *Florida State Archives*

Other prosecution witnesses called that morning also offered damaging testimony. A white man who lived in the area of the crime scene testified that Hinds had come to his house asking for food on the morning of the alleged assault. The next witness was the arresting officer who claimed that the defendant had admitted that he had indeed attacked and raped the white woman. He swore that Hinds had told him that he woke up that morning with the idea of sexually assaulting a white woman.

Hinds sat despondent during the day's proceedings. Several times during the testimony of the state's witnesses he would shake his head as if to deny their statements. However, he never uttered a sound and remained virtually motionless with a straight poker face. The only testimony that might have offered him a hint of encouragement was given by the arresting officer on cross-examination. He told the jury that when he took the defendant to Miss Polous's house and asked her if this was her attacker, she replied only that "he looks like the one, but I am not sure."

At noon the jury was excused for lunch. When court reconvened, Hopkins presented evidence in an effort to prove that Hinds was indeed mentally impaired at the time of the attack. He offered testimony from family members, and friends in a vain attempt to prove this claim. However, the critical flaw in the defense's case was that no psychiatrist gave expert testimony to substantiate the insanity plea. Neither the defendant nor his family could afford to hire a private physician for this purpose.

The prosecution, on the other hand, called in a psychiatrist at the state's expense. Dr. J.C. Robertson from the state mental hospital examined

Hinds in his Pensacola jail cell. Testifying as an expert witness he told the jury that he had detected no signs of insanity in the defendant. This testimony undermined the defense's case as the day ended just before final arguments were to be made.

The trial ended the day it started. Hopkins pled for mercy for Hinds, but the prosecutor demanded a guilty verdict and then recommended the death penalty. The jurors took the case into deliberation at 5:12 p.m. Only one hour and five minutes later, they returned to their box with the request that the judge read them his instructions a second time. Seven minutes later they trooped single file back into the jury box and took their chairs. To no one's surprise, they returned a verdict of guilty. Three jurors recommended mercy, four short of what was required for a sentence of life imprisonment. Thus, the court sentenced Hinds to death in Florida's electric chair. [29]

Authorities sent the convicted man to Raiford prison to await execution. His attorney routinely appealed the case "in order that the [appeals] court might review the trial in this capital case before punishment is meted out." The higher court turned down the appeal for a new trial, and on July 17, 1937 Governor Cone signed Hinds' death warrant. The governor set July 23, 1937 as the date of execution; and Sheriff Stoutamire was assigned to pull the switch. [30]

This case made history in Leon County. This was the first death sentence handed down there since 1901, and it was the first time in the county's history that a man was sentenced to die in the electric chair. The story behind Florida's electric chair is an interesting one; convicts built it in the Spring of 1924 in the prison carpentry shop at Raiford. Hinds would see this device only once, on the morning of July 23, 1937. It was bolted to the floor in a special room, a thick black rubber pad covered a broad seat, and leather straps dangled about the chair. It had but three legs, two back legs and a brace-styled front leg. [31]

On the appointed day, Hinds went through a kind of "ritual of death" that all condemned men must submit to. Prison officers placed him in the chair at 10:28 a.m. and quickly strapped his legs in place. Next, guards strapped in his chest and waist immobilizing his torso. They secured his hands in the same fashion; and the prison electrician attached an electrical jack to a metal plate fastened tightly to Hinds' right ankle by a leather strap. He then proceeded to scoop a sponge from a bucket of water, squeeze it, and set it inside the death cap. After his head was strapped in, he was totally helpless, able only to move his fingers a few inches. Someone asked the teenager if he had any last words. Hinds did not speak; onlookers said that he appeared to be resigned to his fate. About thirty witnesses

Sheriff Frank Stoutamire *Florida State Archives*

were present, most of them from Apalachicola, and all were white. A guard pulled the black leather mask over Hinds' face, which was as much for the witnesses' benefit as it was for the prisoner's. Someone nodded and the executioner, Sheriff Stoutamire, threw the switch. The surge of

electricity stopped the prisoner's heart, and after one or two minutes he died. The entire process took about five minutes. A doctor pronounced him dead at 10:32 a.m. [32]

Hinds died in Florida's electric chair without his case becoming a *cause célèbre*. Neither the NAACP nor the ASWPL offered any legal aid to this young man. Jane Cornell of the ASWPL was satisfied just to play a part in preventing a lynching prior to the trial. The time and resources of the NAACP were tied up in other activities, especially the fight for an antilynching bill in Congress. [33]

While this case would clearly not become another Scottsboro, it resembled the Alabama tragedy in several important respects. Local white juries convicted Hinds and the Scottsboro boys of sexual assaults on white women and then handed down the death sentence. The respective trials were conducted in haste in a tension-filled atmosphere. The legal drama surrounding both incidents was played out in a Southern small-town setting where the accused were at a distinct disadvantage. Finally, the persistant threat of mob violence was an element in both trials. [34]

In spite of these similiarities, however, there were important differences between the two cases. Hinds died in the electric chair, but none of the Scottsboro boys were executed. The Florida youth received no outside legal help from civil rights organizations, and his plight never attracted the national or international attention that focused on the Alabama incident. In addition, Hinds may have indeed been guilty of rape. By way of contrast, the facts surrounding the Scottsboro case strongly indicated the defendants' innocence.

Still Hinds deserved more competent legal representation than that offered by the lack-luster Hopkins. One can only imagine that had someone like Samuel S. Leibowitz (the overly-aggressive New York lawyer who defended the Scottsboro boys in 1936 and 1937) directed Hinds' defense, the Tallahassee trial would have been handled very differently. He would have undoubtedly exploited the weaknesses in the prosecution's case. He might have dwelled on the fact that the victim was unable to identify Hinds as the man who had raped her when she saw him in police custody only hours after the attack. Furthermore, he could have brought it to the jury's attention that, except for the two white women, there were no other eye-witnesses to the sexual assault. Finally, a competent and committed attorney like Leibowitz would have arranged for an independent psychiatrist to examine Hinds, and then testify on the black youth's behalf to rebut the state's expert witness. [35]

The criminal justice apparatus in this rural county made no allowances for the special circumstances of this case. In the first place, there was no

juvenile justice system or social welfare institution to handle this sixteen-year-old's problems. A professional psychological probe may have uncovered mental retardation or some other serious impairment. The court, however, did not consider Hinds' possible psychopathology as a mitigating circumstance. Possible medical factors were just not as important as racial considerations in deciding this black teenager's fate.

Most white Floridians at the time probably believed that Hinds and other blacks received adequate justice in the state's courts. They would have strongly objected to the contrary claim that the South's legal system, including Florida's, was operated in such a way to "keep blacks in their place." Yet, in this instance, and in many others during the 1930s, this was essentially what it did. [36]

Hinds' guilt was taken for granted. There was an obvious informality in the proceedings and the court's admitted goal was a speedy verdict. The strategy of Governor Cone and other Florida officials in the Hinds case was obvious: they wished to thwart lynchings by rushing through the legal formalities of trial, sentencing, and execution. [37] Authorities tried Hinds under adverse conditions, and in a hostile, prejudicial atmosphere. It was the most sensational trial in the twentieth century in Leon County. National Guardsmen armed with bayonets, tear gas, and machine guns surrounded the courthouse during its course, nothing in the proceedings hinted at enlightened racial views on the part of the court. A fair trial under these circumstances was highly unlikely and the outcome of the proceedings was the execution of a black victim. Just as in a lynching, community pressure dictated this final end.

It is important to consider the time frame of the Hinds case. In 1900 white mobsters would have, in all probability, taken this youth from authorities and promptly lynched him. This observation calls attention to the long history of lynching in this Southern state. In the period 1889 to 1918, peak lynching years in the United States, nearly two hundred blacks were executed in Florida. [38] During the decade 1890-1900, seventy-four blacks were victims to lynch-law in Florida, and in the first ten years of the twentieth century, fifty-one met death in the same fashion. Forty-nine blacks were lynched between 1910 and 1917, and thirty-four between 1922 and 1929. [39] Twelve blacks were executed during the decade of the 1930s, and three in the five-year period, 1940-45, before this violence finally ceased. [40] One recent study reveals several reasons for the particularly sharp decline of lynching in the 1930s: the fear of lynchers that their deeds and identity would be revealed to the public, more critical attitudes of Southerners toward extra-legal violence, and the beginnings of intervention in lynching incidents by the federal government. [41] In light of the Hinds affair in Florida

still another reason can be added to this list: the substitution of "official justice" for extra-legal means.

Notes

[1] Perhaps the most noted example of a racial injustice obscured by the drama of Scottsboro in the thirties was the grisly lynching of a black man named Claude Neal in October of 1934. See James R. McGovern and Walter T. Howard, "Private Justice and National Concern: The Lynching of Claude Neal," *The Historian* 43 (August 1981): 546-559; and McGovern, *Anatomy of a Lynching: The Killing of Claude Neal* (Baton Rouge, 1982). The best account of the Scottsboro case is Dan T. Carter, *Scottsboro: A Tragedy of the American South* (Baton Rouge, 1969).

[2] The subject of Florida lynchings and vigilantism directed against blacks, white, and ethnics, has attracked much scholarly attention. See McGovern, *Anatomy of a Lynching*; Robert P. Ingalls, "Lynching and Establishment Violence in Tampa, 1858-1935," *Journal of Southern History* 53 (November 1987): 613-644; "The Tampa Flogging Case, Urban Vigilantism," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 56 (July 1977): 13-27, and "General Joseph B. Wall and Lynch-Law in Tampa," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 63 (July 1984); Jerrell H. Shofner, "Murders at 'Kiss-me-Quick': The Underside of International Affairs," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 62 (January 1984); 332-338, and "Judge Herbert Rider and the Lynching at LaBelle," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 59 (January 1981): 292-306; McGovern and Howard, "The Lynching of Claude Neal," 546-559; Howard, " 'A Blot on Tampa's History': The 1934 Lynching of Robert Johnson," *Tampa Bay History* 6 (Fall 1984): 5-18, and "Vigilante Justice: Extra-Legal Executions in Florida, 1930-1940" (Ph.D. diss., Florida State University, 1987).

[3] National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, *Thirty Years of Lynching in the United States, 1889-1918* (New York, 1969), 41, 53- 56; Monroe Work, *Negro Year Book* (Tuskegee, 1942), 367; Jessie Daniel Ames, *The Changing Character of Lynching: Review of Lynching, 1931-1941* (Atlanta, 1942; reprint, New York, 1973), 36.

[4] For a brief account of this governor's character and administration, see James W. Dunn, "The New Deal and Florida Politics" (Ph.D. diss., Florida State University, 1971), 260-270. As a small-town banker and attorney from rural Columbia County, Cone sought to cultivate an image of himself as a man of the people. However, his critics, and they were many, scoffed at this idea. In the 1936 campaign, the southern drawl and colorful homespun mannerisms of "Old Swannee" had charmed many rural Florida voters. During his first year in office, however, the new governor showed he was a difficult man to work with; and his overbearing manner often made cabinet meetings unproductive scenes of bitter controversy and debate. *Ocala Banner*, February 11, 1937; author's interview with Carl Gray (Bay County, Florida's representative in the state legislature during the late 1930s), June 6, 1977. In one instance, the six-foot Cone actually shoved another official into a chair during a cabinet meeting. *Panama City News-Herald*, February 9, 1937; *Tallahassee Democrat*, February 9, 1937. There is a very thin biographical file on Governor Cone in the Florida State Archives, and no collection of personal papers. An interview with his widow, Mildred Holmes, revealed many interesting personal stories,

but little about substantive issues. *Tallahassee Democrat*, February 6, 1937; *Panama City News-Herald*, February 6, 1937. Jerrell H. Shofner, "The White Springs Post Office Caper," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 56 (January 1978): 339-347.

[5] Cone's antilynching stance did not prevent him from committing gaffes that clearly sanctioned a vigilante ethic. *New York Times*, October 22, 1937; *Daily Worker*, October 23, 1937; *New York Post*, October 23, 1937; *St. Petersburg Times*, October 25, 1937; and *Chicago Defender*, October 30, 1937.

[6] For an excellent account of how the ASWPL interacted with Southern governors, see Jacquelyn Dowd Hall, *Revolt Against Chivalry: Jesse Daniel Ames and the Women's Campaign Against Lynching* (New York, 1979). As an offshoot of the Commission on Interracial Cooperation, the ASWPL was founded by a pioneer feminist, Jesse Daniel Ames, in the early 1930s. By 1934, the Florida Council of the ASWPL boasted a membership of about 750 women and over 60 men in many of the state's cities and counties with strong chapters in Tallahassee, Orlando, Ocala, and Mineola. See ASWPL for the "Southern Women Look at Lynching," 34, Governor David Sholtz Records, 1932-1936, Administrative Correspondence, Lynching Files, Series 278, Box 278, Florida State Archives, Tallahassee. (Hereafter cited as Governor Sholtz Records, Lynching File.)

[7] Floridians lynched five blacks and one white during Cone's four years in office, from 1936 to 1940. For brief descriptions of these lynchings, see Jesse Daniel Ames, *The Changing Character of Lynching* (Atlanta, 1942), 56-58. Records of these and other lynchings of the decade can be found in the "Lynching Files" of the Administrative Correspondence Records of governors Doyle Carlton, David Sholtz, and Fred Cone in the Florida State Archives, Tallahassee. Twelve blacks and three whites were murdered by vigilantes in Florida in the 1930s. In 1939, the *Miami Daily-News*, a newspaper that closely followed lynchings at the time, concluded that "Florida is the (southern) state which seems to have the most difficulty in foregoing its annual outbreak of mob violence. During only one of the nine years from 1930 to 1939 was Florida totally free of lynching (1933). The next worst state, Mississippi, had two white years, Georgia and Louisiana three, and the remaining states at least four. In Virginia there was only one lynching in the entire period. Florida is third in number of individual victims, but first in chronological consistency." *Miami Daily-News*, April 2, 1939.

[8] *Tallahassee Democrat*, May 17, 1937.

[9] *Panama City News-Herald*, May 18, 1937.

[10] Hall, *Revolt Against Chivalry*, 228, 229, 324.

[11] Telegrams from Mrs. O.O. McCullom to Governor Cone, May 19, 1937; E.L. Vordermark to Governor Cone, May 19, 1937; Jacksonville Ministerial Alliance to Governor Cone, May 20, 1937. Governor Cone to Mrs. O.O. McCullom, May 21, 1937; Governor Cone to E.L. Vordermark, May 21, 1937; Governor Cone to Jacksonville Ministerial Alliance, May 21, 1937. Governor Fred Cone Records, 1936-1940, Administrative Correspondence, Lynching Files, Series 371, Box 40, Florida State Archives, (hereafter cited as Governor Cone Records, Lynching File). Jane Cornell's antilynching efforts were complimented by various religious groups. By 1937 they included the Florida Convention of the Women's Missionary Societies (Disciples of Christ), the Florida Conference of

the Women's Missionary Council (Methodist Episcopal Church), the Women's Auxiliary of the Diocese of Florida (Protestant Episcopal Church), and the Florida Baptist Convention (Southern Baptist Convention). The most active was the Women's Missionary Council, led by Mrs. O.O. McCullom of Jacksonville.

[12] Governor Cone to Sheriff Robbins, May 20, 1937, Governor Cone Records, Lynching File.

[13] *Tallahassee Democrat*, June 10, 1937.

[14] For summaries of this county's history, see Charlton W. Tebeau, *A History of Florida* (Coral Gables, 1971), 145, 211; Rowland H. Rerick, *Memoirs of Florida* (Atlanta, 1902), 2:336-337; J.E. Dovell, *Florida: Historic, Dramatic, Contemporary* (New York, 1952), 2:623-624; and H.G. Cutler, ed., *History of Florida: Past and Present* (Chicago, 1923), 1:566-567.

[15] U.S. Department of Commerce, *Fifteenth Census of the United States: 1930. Agricultural.* (Washington, D.C., 1932), 442, 667. For an interesting, if unflattering, description of Apalachicola, see Omar N. Bradley, *A Soldier's Story* (New York, 1951), 26. Florida State Planning Board, *Statistical Abstract of Florida Counties*, Franklin County (Jacksonville, 1944); for an account of the economic distresses and relief efforts in this county during the 1930s, see Emma Lundberg, *Social Welfare in Florida*, State Board of Public Welfare, Publication no. 4. Tallahassee, 1934, 45.

[16] U.S. Department of Commerce, *Fifteenth Census. Population*, 498.

[17] Wali Kharif, "The Refinement of Racial Segregation in Florida After the Civil War" (Ph.D. diss., Florida State University, 1983), 93. Jerrell H. Shofner, "Custom, Law, and History: The Enduring Influence of Florida's 'Black Code'," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 55 (January 1977): 277-298; John Dollard, *Caste and Class in a Southern Town* (New York, 1937), 315-316; Robert M. Brown, *Strain of Violence: Historical Studies of American Violence and Vigilantism* (New York, 1975), 205-218; Gunnar Myrdal, *An American Dilemma: The Negro Problem and Modern Democracy* (New York, 1944), 556-564; Arthur F. Raper, *The Tragedy of Lynching* (Chapel Hill, 1933), 48-51. McGovern, *Anatomy of a Lynching: The Killing of Claude Neal.* Recent literature has focused on the issue of "Southern honor." The inclination of Floridians to take the law into their own hands and dispense punishment to blacks or whites who violated the community's honor has been discussed in Ingalls, "Lynching and Establishment Violence in Tampa, 1858- 1935," 616-618; and "General Joseph B. Wall and Lynch-Law in Tampa," 51-70. For a broader discussion of the issues of violation of honor, vigilantism, and Southern violence, see Bertram Wyatt-Brown, *Southern Honor: Ethics and Behavior in the Old South* (New York and Oxford, 1982), and *Honor and Violence in the Old South* (New York and Oxford, 1986).

[18] *Tallahassee Democrat*, June 10, 1937.

[19] *Jacksonville Florida Times-Union*, June 11, 1937.

[20] U.S. Department of Commerce, *Fifteenth Census*, 421; Florida State Planning Board, *Statistical Abstract of Florida Counties*, Leon County, n.d.; Charles S. Johnson, *Statistical Atlas of Southern Counties: Listing and Analysis of Socio-Economic Indices of Southern Counties* (Chapel Hill, 1941); Lundberg, *Social Welfare in Florida*, 49.

[21] U.S. Department of Commerce, *Fifteenth Census*, 413; Polk's *Tallahassee City Directory* (Jacksonville, 1936); Kharif, "Refinement of Racial Segregation"; Shofner, "Custom, Law, and History."

[22] *Tallahassee Democrat*, June 31, 1937.

[23] *Tallahassee Democrat*, July 2, 1937.

[24] Judge John B. Johnson to Escambia County Sheriff's Office, June 30, 1937, Case No. 620, State of Florida vs. Robert Hinds, Circuit Court Records, Microfilm No. 562-712, Leon County Courthouse, Tallahassee, Florida.

[25] *Tallahassee Democrat*, July 6, 1937.

[26] This aspect of Southern jurisprudence is discussed by Carter, *Scottsboro*, 115; and much earlier by Ames, *The Changing Character of Lynching*; see also Myrdal, *An American Dilemma*, 179-180; Raper, *The Tragedy of Lynching*, 46.

[27] *Tallahassee Democrat*, July 6, 1937.

[28] An editorial in the *Pensacola Journal* on July 8, 1937, expressed this very viewpoint.

[29] *Tallahassee Democrat*, July 6, 1937. The *Democrat* contained a detailed account of the day's testimony.

[30] Ibid., July 7, 1937.

[31] Details of the history of Florida's electric chair can be found in Gene Miller, *Invitation to a Lynching* (New York, 1975), 13-16.

[32] *Tallahassee Democrat*, July 23, 1937.

[33] Hall, *Revolt Against Chivalry*, 324; Robert L. Zangrando, *The NAACP Crusade Against Lynching, 1909-1950* (Philadelphia, 1980), 139-165.

[34] Carter, *Scottsboro*, 11-50.

[35] For a discussion of how the aggressive Leibowitz handled the Scottsboro trials, see Carter, *Scottsboro*, 192-242, 281-302, 340, 342, 343, 369- 376.

[36] Myrdal, *An American Dilemma*, 179-180.

[37] The swift trial and execution of Hinds apparently had little influence on Florida lynchers. In fact, Florida led the nation with three lynchings in 1937. *Tallahassee Democrat*, July 20, 1937; Ames, *The Changing Character of Lynching*, 36-37; Frank Shay, *Judge Lynch: His First Hundred Years* (New York, 1938), 250; *Tallahassee Democrat*, July 24, 1937.

[38] Five other Southern states executed more blacks than Florida: Georgia (360), Mississippi (350), Texas (263), Louisiana (264) and Alabama (244). Arkansas, Tennessee, Kentucky, South Carolina, Virginia, and North Carolina lynched fewer blacks than Florida. NAACP, *Thirty Years of Lynching*, 41, 53-56.

[39] *Negro Year Book*, 367. "Southern Women Look at Lynching," 32, Governor Sholtz Records, Lynching file.

[40] For detailed accounts of the three lynchings of the 1940s see Howard, "Vigilante Justice," 300-320.

[41] McGovern and Howard, "The Lynching of Claude Neal," 556-558.

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Porcelain over metal corner sign for the Mobile Brewery

Kip Sharpe Collection

The Mobile Brewery

Kip Sharpe

In the summer of 1890 Albert Sidney Lyons determined that the time was ripe for the establishment of a brewery in Mobile. Having the greatest confidence in the future of Mobile he organized a meeting on September 5, 1890 with potential investors to explore the idea. At this meeting it was determined that a corporation should be formed to be known as The Mobile Brewery. [1] By incorporating A. S. Lyons was able to sell stock at $100.00 a share (25% due when subscribed, with the balance due when called for by the Board of Directors) to raise capital to begin construction. Those initial stockholders consisted of A. S. Lyons, Louis P. Hart, S. J. Whiteside, Samuel Lapham, P. D. Dafflin, Gaylord B. Clark (corporate attorney), Pat Lyons and Amelia Lyons (A. S. Lyons' mother.) A. S. Lyons paid for $10,000 of his stock subscription indebtedness by providing the real property for the brewery, i.e. the "Montgomery Warehouses." The initial sale of 785 shares of stock yielded approximately $20,000 of working capital.

On September 8, 1890, The Mobile Brewery officially filed its Articles of Incorporation. The stated purpose of the corporation was the "manufacture, bottling and sale of malt liquors, soda and other mineral

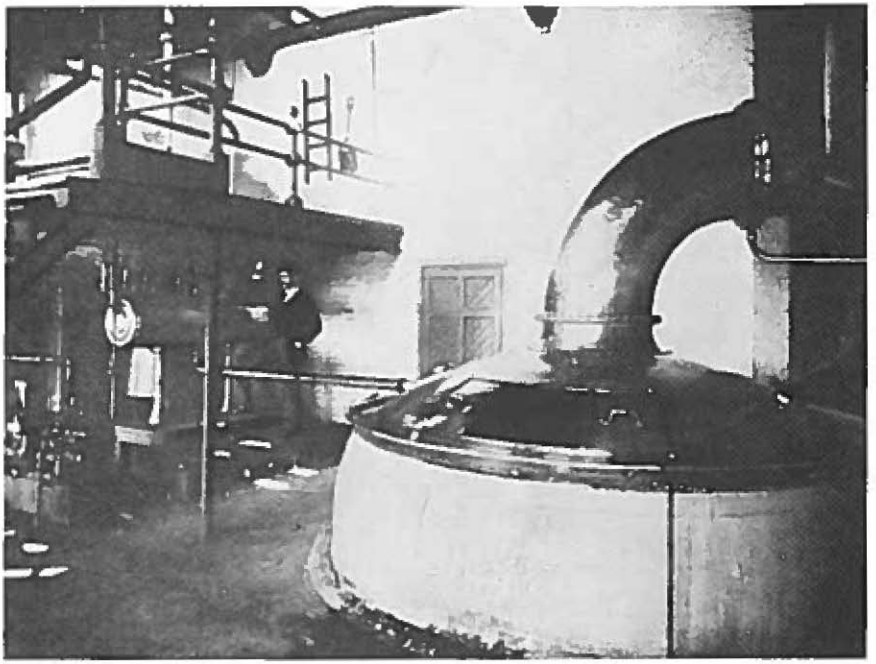
The Mobile Brewery

The illustrations for this article come from The Western Brewer *(1898) unless otherwise indicated*

Lewis P. Hart

waters, ginger ale and other beverages, and the manufacture and sale of ice and furnishing of cold storage." [2]

Over the next year and a half the brewery was erected with needed capital coming from the sale of stock. At the annual stockholders' meeting on March 15, 1892, the capital of the corporation was increased from $150,000 to $200,000, additional funds being needed to make the Brewery ready for its grand opening. [3] Finally on April 27, 1892 The Mobile Brewery officially opened.



Brew kettle and grant

The brewery was located on the southeast corner of Adams and old Water Street (now Old Delchamps Street); the street address was 330 North Water Street. The Strachan Shipping Company now occupies the site of the brewery. The area occupied consisted of approximately an acre and a half with buildings occupying two-thirds of the property. [4] Due to the close proximity of the land to Mobile Bay, the soil required a foundation of pilings to support the structures. A natural spring on the property, which was probably used in the brewing process, is still pumping today.

The main building, consisting of the brewhouse, stockhouse, and cellars, was a structure eight stories high constructed of brick and steel. The Mobile *Register* acclaimed that "the edifice is perhaps the best, as well as the most architectural and ornamental, in the city . . . . " [5] In addition to the main building the plant consisted of an ice machine house, boiler house, racking house, wash house, bottling works, offices, and stables. Designed by August Maritzen of Chicago the plant was completely equipped and modern for its time. [6]

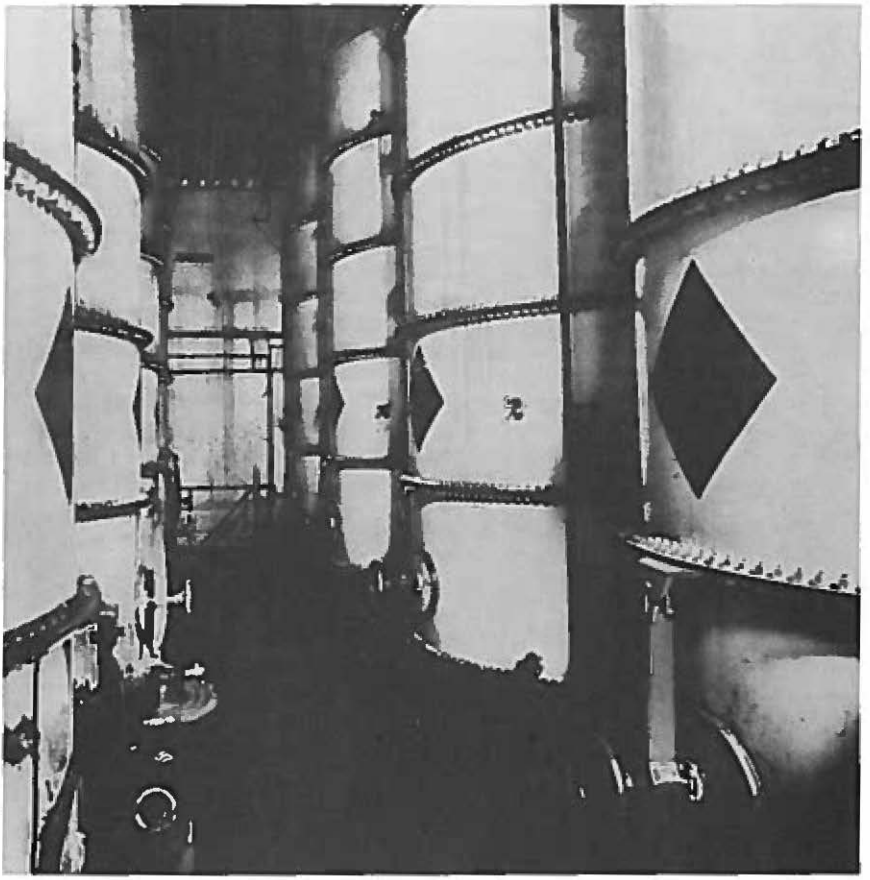
The actual brewing process utilized a gravity feed system in which the raw ingredients were hoisted by elevator to the large silo on the top floor and then lowered from floor to floor until reaching the ground to be aged. Malt, probably barley, was stored and milled on the fifth

Chip Cask cellar

floor. The malt would be lowered to the fourth floor, there combined with cooked rice, and then lowered to the great mash tub. This mixture was then cooked, transforming the starch in the grain into sugar. This boiled liquid was placed in a copper kettle of two hundred barrel capacity and lowered to the second floor where hops were added. The liquid, now called worts, was then lowered to a dust proof apartment for cooling. After cooling the worts were pumped to one of four wooden vats for fermenting and then pumped into glass enameled steel tanks for storage while aging under vacuum.

As an example of its use of the most advanced brewing techniques the Mobile Brewery was the first to apply the Casper Pfaudler vacuum process to the aging and fermentation stage. The 1898 edition of the *Western Brewer*, a national brewery publication, acknowledged the plant as being "one of the most progressive in the South" complete with all the "modern appliances and apparatus necessary in successful brewing today." Other firsts for Mobile included gas powered delivery wagons. [7]

The initial officers of the Mobile Brewery were Louis P. Hart, president; Albert S. Lyons, vice president and general manager; Samuel Lapham, secretary and treasurer; Glenn E. Aunspaugh, assistant secretary and cashier; and Joseph B. Webster, assistant manager. They held their positions for



Vacuum tanks

the brewery's first twenty years. Through foresight and a refusal to sacrifice quality these men were able to guide the firm to a prosperous future.

Louis P. Hart probably had very little to do with the actual running of the company, but he was instrumental in its formation by providing much needed capital and by persuading some of his business associates to invest in the project. Other business interests in the South often carried Mr. Hart to Savannah and New Orleans. In addition to being president of The Mobile Brewery through 1912, he served as president of the Mobile Ice Company. [8]

The credit for the formation and growth of The Mobile Brewery belongs to Colonel Albert Sidney Lyons. A. S. Lyons was born on February 22, 1864 in Pollard, Alabama and educated at Spring Hill College. At the age of nineteen he was in charge of and served as secretary to the Mobile Ice Factory. This background was surely responsible for the successful ice business he later ran in conjunction with the brewery. Mr.

A.S. Lyons

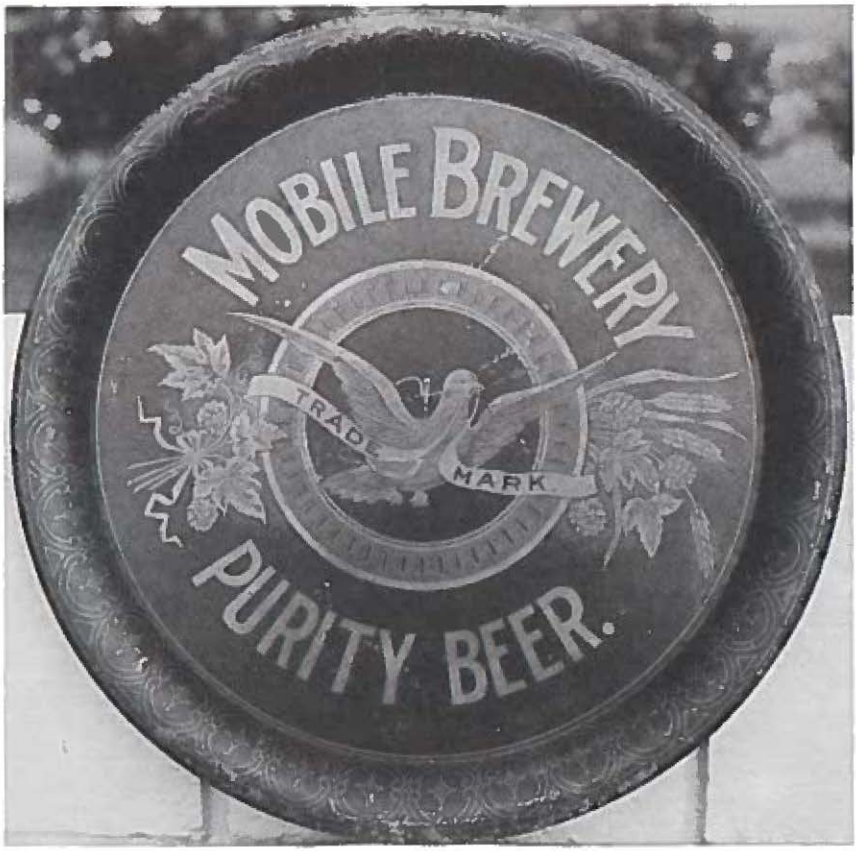
Lyons was actively involved in several other businesses. He was president of both the Home Telephone Company and the Mobile Delivery Company and was prominent in the social and political affairs of the city. During his political life, he served as councilman for the first ward, president of the city council, mayor pro tem, state senator from the thirty-third district, and colonel on the staff of Alabama Governor Joseph F. Johnston. [9] *One Hundred Years of Brewing*, (1903) noted that "as a capable and public-spirited citizen, Colonel Lyons won the esteem of his

The Brewery's general office: l. to r., G.E. Aunspaugh, A.S. Lyons, J.B. Webster, R. Remmers

fellow-townsmen, and his good cordial nature and his active interest in all social as well as business affairs have served to make him one of the most popular men not only in Mobile but throughout the state." [10]

Joseph B. Webster began his career with the brewery and worked his way up to being in charge of the city trade. Glenn E. Aunspaugh was also with The Mobile Brewery from the beginning occupying the dual role of assistant secretary and cashier. In 1902 the Bienville Brewery in Mobile opened and J. B. Webster undertook the management of the new enterprise, and Aunspaugh took over the secretarial affairs. LeBaron Lyons, A. S. Lyons' younger brother, assumed the office of vice president of the Bienville Brewery. Feelings must not have been too hard for in 1913 four years after the close of the Bienville Brewery, Mr. Aunspaugh returned to The Mobile Brewery and resumed his role as secretary/treasurer. After the Bienville Brewery failed Mr. Webster operated Webster's Drugs and later opened a saloon. Later he too returned to The Mobile Brewery; from 1928 to 1936 he managed the business after Mr. Lyons' death.

On April 27, 1892, The Mobile Brewery held a reception and invited all of Mobile to sample its lager beer. This initial product was called "Purity Beer." Of this beer Dr. J.M. Thompson, writing for the *American Journal of Health*, stated it "demonstrated the utmost purity under the most searching analytical tests known to chemical science. A critical



"Purity Beer" tray *Kip Sharpe Collection*

examination of the beer fails to show the slightest trace of adulteration or mixture of any substance which could possibly prove inimical to health." [11]

Family ties provided a solid foundation for the brewery. A. S. Lyons' brother, Joseph Henry Lyons, was a local customs agent who assisted him in establishing an export business. Large quantities of beer were shipped to Mexico and Central and South America by way of the fruit lines plying between Mobile and the tropical ports. [12] Another relative, Barry Lyons, owned the Alabama Corn Mill and supplied the brewery with grain.

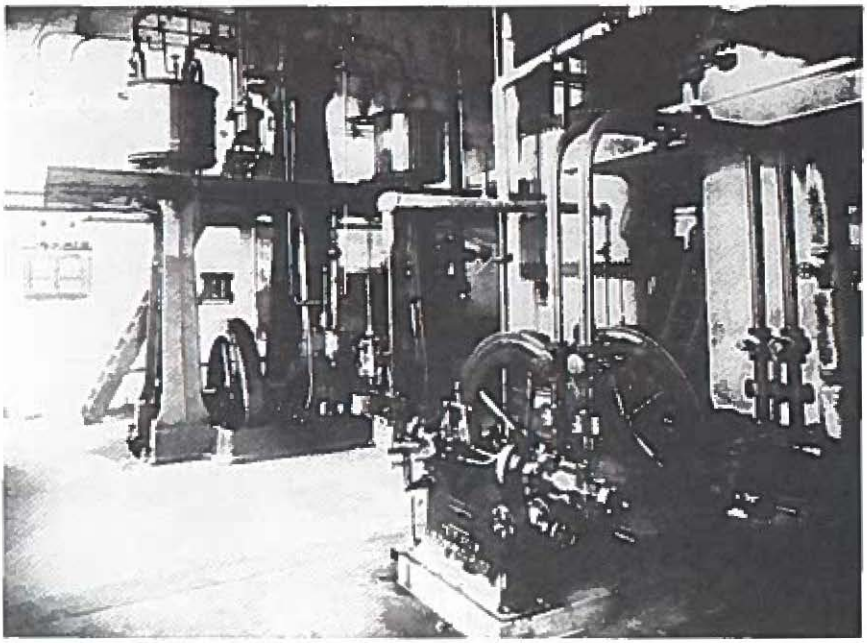
Although The Mobile Brewery had a capacity of 50,000 barrels annually, for the year ending April 30, 1893, only 12,000 to 14,000 barrels of lager beer were produced. For the year ending April 30, 1895, 10,000 to 12,000 barrels were produced; 1896, 16,000 to 18,000 barrels; 1897, 18,000 to 20,000 barrels. [13] The increased demand for the local brew necessitated an enlargement of the fermenting capacity of the brewery.

R. Remmers *Overbey Collection, USA Archives*

This phase of the brewing process was doubled in the spring of 1898 by the addition of four more five-ring vacuum tanks; the practice of fermenting beer in open wooden vats was thereafter abandoned. [14]

In February 1897 R. Remmers was hired as the brewmaster. Although one of the youngest brewmasters in the country, Mr. Remmers was "thoroughly acquainted with the brewing art." A graduate of the National Brewers Academy of New York, Mr. Remmers had received his initial instruction in Germany. [15]

The Board of Directors at the turn of the century consisted of Louis P. Hart, P. J. Lyons, A. S. Lyons, A. H. Spira (also vice-president between 1912-1915), George A. Poetz, D. P. Burns, Samuel Lapham, R.W. Hopkins and A. N. Hill. [16] S. J. Whiteside was brought in as consulting engineer in 1899 to make improvements to the brewery. Over the next three years a two story bottling house was erected at a cost of $25,000 and a fifty ton ice making plant and stock house were added. [17] Other improvements



Ice machine room

consisted of the addition of new Pfaudler glass-enameled steel tanks in 1902. [18] During this period The Mobile Brewery was pumping over $200,000 annually into the economy of Mobile. [19]

1902 saw another change — Carl F. Friedhoff took over the reigns as brewmaster. His brother, Joseph G., landed a job about the same time as the brewmaster of the Bienville Brewery. Carl continued with The Mobile Brewery until his death in 1913; thereafter Joseph joined the firm. Carl was probably responsible for the introduction of "Wiener Brew" which was placed on the market on June 21, 1902. [20]

The October 1902 edition of *The Brewers Journal* listed the "Mobile Brewing Company" as incorporating with a capital stock of $500,000; incorporators: Thomas M. Stevens (Mobile), William T. Carter (Newark, N.J.) and Frederick Lahlback (New York). [21] Apparently this new venture, which never got off the ground, was to rival The Mobile Brewery. The two corporations were obviously different, for after the passage of the new corporate laws in 1903, The Mobile Brewery reincorporated with a capital stock of $100,000. The only new names associated with The Mobile Brewery were Frank Zeiman and Joseph H. Lyons.

The city tax assessor's records for 1906 show that the total value of the brewery's taxable property was $125,300. On September 28, 1906, a West India Hurricane caused severe damage to Mobile and the brewery; thirty-one people in the city were killed. The next year was the beginning

Bottling works

of the end for all breweries in Alabama. On February 26, 1907, the Alabama Legislature passed a bill allowing counties the option of voting for county-wide prohibition. Later that year the Legislature began considering a state-wide prohibition bill. A delegation of Mobile businessmen led by Mobile Mayor Pat Lyons, Albert Bush and LeBaron Lyons travelled to the state capitol and argued that such a bill would have a ruinous effect on the City of Mobile; foreign ships would not come to a port where liquor could not be bought and public schools would have to be closed because a large part of their revenue was derived from liquor licenses. Feeling on the issue ran high in Mobile. On the eve of the state congressional vote, M. J. McDermott, president of the Bank of Mobile, wired Senator Max Hamburger that "[u]nless antiprohibitionist win today, please give notice that Mobile is prepared to secede from the State of Alabama and organize home government and cease to be dominated by our country cousins, whose efforts to paralyze Mobile will not be tolerated." [22] Despite a last minute fight by Senator A. S. Lyons, the state prohibition bill passed on November 19, 1907; the effective date of the bill was December 31, 1908.

Unwilling to simply go out of business, The Mobile Brewery prepared as best it could for prohibition. A 115 ton capacity ice plant was erected on the site of the former bottling department. A railroad spur was run to the ice plant where a huge crane could lift blocks of ice and place them on the railroad cars. The cost of this expansion was $100,000. [23]

The company also contemplated the manufacture of a beverage which would be acceptable under the prohibition law. [24] Between 1909 and 1911 The Mobile Brewery was listed in the City Directory under "ice manufacturers."

On April 6, 1911, the Legislature passed a bill reviving local county option. On July 6, 1911, Mobile voted to do away with prohibition and bring back the saloon. The brewery resumed the production of lager beer and continued to manufacture ice until a statewide prohibition bill was passed again, effective July 1, 1915. During the long period of prohibition to follow, The Mobile Brewery manufactured ice and distilled water and dealt in coal to survive. On April 29, 1924, the business was reincorporated as the "Mobile Brewery, Ice and Coal Company." The board of directors, A. S. Lyons, G. Mertz, James E. McDonnell, Samuel J. Hahn, J. B. Webster, and Joseph Lyons reduced the capital stock from $500,000 to $190,000. [25]

The founder of The Mobile Brewery, Colonel A. S. Lyons, passed away on September 22, 1928, only a few years before the repeal of prohibition. His brother, Herbert Lyons, took over leadership of the company. He also served as vice-president of the Alabama Corn Mills Company.

On February 21, 1933, the 21st Amendment to the United States Constitution was passed, but Alabama remained dry under the previous Alabama prohibition bill until March 10, 1937. As of March 1, 1934, The Mobile Brewery was not holding a federal permit to allow the manufacture of beer. [26] In 1937 the company was sold to William D. Martin (head of Mobile Construction Company) and Ray D. Bridges (head of Independent Ice Company.) Thereafter it was listed as an ice manufacturer and wholesaler. There is no reference in the City Directory to the Mobile Brewery, Ice and Coal Company after 1940 under any category. It is very doubtful that it produced any beer at all after 1915. The "great experiment" killed a noble business in Alabama which has never since been revived.

Notes

I wish to publicly thank the staff of the Local History division of the Mobile Public Library, especially Bob Zietz, the staff of the Mobile City Museum, especially Roy Tallon, and the staff of the University of South Alabama Photo Archives. Without their patience and guidance I would never have discovered the wonders of Mobile. And a special thanks to Randy Carlson for researching the old brewery publications and to Herb Edwards for the genealogical work. Finally, thanks to Augustine Meaher, Jr. and Marion Lyons for some personal family history.

[1] *The Western Brewer* 22(1898):2151.

[2] Mobile County Probate Court Records, Incorporation Book 2:162.

[3] Mobile County Probate Court Records, Incorporation Book 4:498-501.

[4] *The Western Brewer* 22(1898):2151.

[5] Mobile *Register*, September 1, 1899.

[6] *The Western Brewer* 22(1898):2151.

[7] Ibid. 22:2151, 2154; Interview with Marion Lyons.

[8] *Mobile City Directory*, 1895.

[9] Mobile *Register*, September 23, 1928.

[10] *One Hundred Years of Brewing* (Chicago, 1903), 525.

[11] Mobile *Register*, September 1, 1899.

[12] *The Western Brewer* 22(1898):2151.

[13] *Brewers' Handbook*, Supplement to *The Western Brewer* (Chicago, 1893, 1895, 1896, 1897), np.

[14] *The Western Brewer* 22(1898):2152.

[15] Mobile *Register*, September 1, 1899.

[16] *The Western Brewer* 22(1899):115; *The Brewers' Journal* 24(1900):274.

[17] *The Brewers' Journal* 24(1900):113, 160; (1901):519.

[18] *One Hundred Years of Brewing* 525.

[19] Mobile *Register*, September 1, 1899.

[20] *The Brewers' Journal* 38(1914):231.

[21] Ibid. 26(1902):560.

[22] James B. Sellers, *The Prohibition Movement in Alabama* (Chapel Hill, 1943), 121.

[23] *The American Brewers' Review* 22(1908):527.

[24] *The Western Brewer* 33(1908):77.

[25] Mobile County Probate Court Records, Incorporation Book 9:375.

[26] *Brewery Directory and Supplies Index* (New York, 1934).

Mr. Sharpe is an attorney practicing law in Mobile. Anyone wishing to contact him with information regarding breweries in Mobile should do so by writing him at 3249 Autumn Ridge Drive West, Mobile, AL 36695.

The Seafood Industry Museum *Michael Thomason photos*

The Seafood Industry Museum, Biloxi

Michael Thomason

Point Cadet is where the Back Bay joins the Mississippi Sound on Biloxi's eastern border. For many years the area's famed fishing schooner fleet raced past the point, either in competition or coming and going from rich oyster beds and shrimping grounds. The internal combustion engine finally did in the graceful and swift schooners half a century ago, and Biloxi no longer depends on its seafood industry as it once did. But the memories lingered on and now on Point Cadet there is a remarkable museum dedicated to preserving this heritage. The Seafood Industry Museum is accurately named, but its displays and exhibits are remarkably interesting and varied both in form and substance. Housed in a graceful structure built for the U.S. Coast Guard early in this century, the Museum was officially opened in 1986 with the support of the City of Biloxi. The exhibits chronicle the men and machines of the seafood industry and show visitors how both have influenced the life styles of the entire region. There are many artifacts on display and several interpretive exhibits including the pattern or template used for making a traditional Biloxi fishing boat, the *Thomas, Jr.* It resembles the skeleton of a giant prehistoric animal, but its graceful lines make you realize just how beautiful the wooden Biloxi schooners could be. There are exhibits of Lewis Hine photos showing

Pattern Display for the Thomas, Jr.

early twentieth century child labor in the canning factories along with excellent photographs documenting the modern seafood industry and its ships and men. Children can also have a good time because there are "hands-on" exhibits and activities for them throughout the museum. All the displays are professionally prepared and labeled.

The Seafood Industry Museum is not solely a repository for the relics of a long dead past. With the City of Biloxi, it has sponsored the

Biloxi Architectural Heritage Exhibit

construction of two "new" Biloxi schooners. Built with private contributions one is nearly finished and the other isn't far behind. Soon Point Cadet will see schooner races again, and visitors will have the chance to see one of America's distinctive ship designs up close in working examples to be berthed nearby.

The Seafood Industry Museum is easy to find. From Mississippi I-10 take the I-110 spur and turn east on Highway 90. Coming from Ocean Springs, it is just west of the foot of the Biloxi/Ocean Springs bridge on the north side of the point. Across U.S. 90 the J.L. Scott Marine Education Center, a fishing pier, park, and marina offer the chance to spend a delightful day learning more about the coastal environment and its influence on the people and animals who live in it. The Seafood Industry Museum charges a nominal admission of $2.00 for adults and $1.00 for children and senior citizens. It is open from 9:00 to 5:00 Tuesday through Saturday and 12:00 to 5:00 on Sunday. For more information call (601) 435-6320. A more pleasant, fascinating, and educational experience is hard to imagine. At the Seafood Industry Museum an important aspect of our region's history comes alive.

Book Reviews

Elliot Ashkenazi. *The Business of Jews in Louisiana, 1840-1875.* Tuscaloosa: The University of Alabama Press, 1988, pp. 219. $22.95.

Jewish business activity in Louisiana between 1840 and 1875 and its relationship to the state's agricultural and commercial life are the subjects of this meticulously researched and skillfully organized monograph.

The author points out that while ample archival resources are available to study Jewish merchants and capitalists in Louisiana, and the South in general, such sources have not been used to do a study of their actions and interactions as a group. Ashkenazi, on the other hand, offers a new approach to the study of Jewish businessmen in a Southern state. He attempts through detailed analysis of their movements and business transactions to find common denominators for them as a body. In doing so he considers such questions as where did they come from, why did they choose small towns in Louisiana for their first bases of operations, what pattern of business activity did they pursue, how did they relate to the community around them, and what was their reaction to the Civil War and the difficult economic conditions which followed it.

The typical immigrant in the 1840s was a young male who came by himself or was accompanied by a brother or sister. He settled in a small Louisiana town, such as Clinton or Jackson, where he probably had relatives who had migrated earlier. Since he came from a rural village setting in Europe surrounded by agricultural pursuits, this New World rural environment gave him the confidence to pursue a living in his adopted country. The young male immigrant began his life in Louisiana as a peddler. This humble beginning was selected not merely because his resources were limited, but because it was a wonderful apprenticeship. He learned the facts of economic life around his small town. In the case of Clinton, this meant learning about the growing and harvesting of cotton and its

marketing, either through New Orleans factors for the planters, or country storekeepers for the small farmers. After a few years as a peddler, the hard-working, thrifty immigrant accumulated enough funds to set up a small country store in his new town. Often he received some funding from relatives or Jewish friends who were already established. Such country stores operated by Jewish merchants were usually general stores, although some might specialize in hardware or dry goods. Jewish wholesalers in New Orleans supplied the stock. After about ten years of operating a country store, the immigrant owner might be solvent enough to make the move to New Orleans himself where he would become a wholesaler for country stores and more Jewish newcomers who were working their way up the economic ladder.

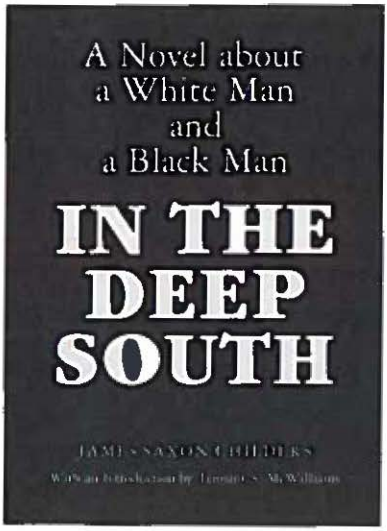
One point Ashkenazi makes again and again is that the Jews who came to Louisiana were "birds of passage." They formed no attachments to any particular place and moved as economic interest motivated them. As a rule they also tried to remain neutral during the Civil War, deploring it as bad for business. Jacob Lemann even moved his family to Paris to avoid taking sides. Some in the early 1860s traded in the lucrative but risky cotton trade across the Texas border to Mexico and thence to Europe. After Union forces took over the port of New Orleans, most Jewish merchants took the oath of allegiance to the United States and resumed regular business.

The majority of the New Orleans Jews were engaged in the wholesale and retail dry goods and clothing business. Some were also cotton or general commission merchants while others were purveyors of plantation necessities. They always made special efforts to care for the welfare of their Jewish customers in the countryside. While the Jews in mid-nineteenth century Louisiana formed a close community of interest, formal religious observance did not contribute greatly to their social fabric. Commercial ties and ethnic backgrounds in Europe bound them together. The two most prized qualities for a successful merchant were mobility and frugality in marked contrast to the values of many Southern land owners.

Ashkenazi presents a lucid and convincing portrait of the Jewish immigrant turned peddler and then store owner and wholesaler. He discusses the works of other scholars dealing with Jewish studies such as Leon Jick and Bertram Korn and acknowledges his indebtedness to Korn for pointing the way to the notarial records of New Orleans and the credit rating records R.G. Dun and Company, both of which he uses substantially. This is a solid and carefully thought out study which continues Korn's study of Jews in Louisiana and proves a worthy successor to that scholarly work.

Joy Jackson Southeastern Louisiana University

James Saxon Childers. *A Novel About a White Man and a Black Man.* 1936. Reprint, with introduction by Tennant S. McWilliams. Tuscaloosa: The University of Alabama Press, 1988, pp. 276. $10.95.



The story of Dave Parker, a black man, and Gordon Nicholson, a white man, is a provocative criticism of Southern race relations in the early thirties. While one recognizes that bigotry is still prevalent in America, reading such a book makes one appreciate the many improvements in race relations which have occurred in recent years.

Set in Birmingham, Alabama, this narrative with an unwieldy title is an account of the dire consequences which can result when black and white men dare to foster a friendship, begun years earlier in a northern college, in an intolerant society. The futility of pursuing such a friendship is poignantly recognized by Dave who ruefully comments: "I know that after all the obvious barriers are down, there still remains a curtain of some kind between a white man and a black man."

With his Southern aristocratic heritage, Gordon exhibits great courage in attempting to maintain a friendship with Dave. Likewise, in treating his theme Childers exhibits an unusual liberalism for one with an Old South heritage. In the book's informative introduction, Tennant S. McWilliams places Childers among the group of Southern writers of the depression era, including William Faulkner and Robert Penn Warren, who "reflected various degrees of liberalism as they attacked some of the most sacred Southern beliefs."

The novel's structure is interesting and unusual. In the opening pages a first person narrator, an unnamed newspaper man, introduces the characters, identifies the conflict, and reveals his unacknowledged love for Gordon's sister, Anne. We learn that the city's bigots, led by politically powerful state senator Joe Redmon, have concocted a plan, with ominous suggestions of castration, to punish Dave for daring to invade a prestigious white community as a visitor, not a servant. To make matters worse, Gordon's unmarried sister is threatened and made the cause of the vindictiveness directed toward the happily married Dave. Once the narrator makes us privy to these facts, he disappears from the novel permanently, and through flashbacks we are provided with the personal histories of Gordon and Dave.

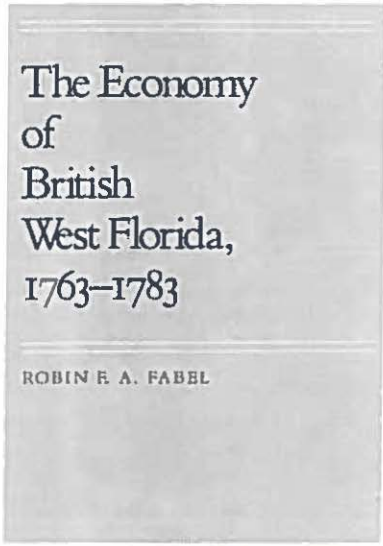
The two men obviously provide each other creative stimuli in this intellectually arid climate. A talented musician, Dave is inspired by Gordon to make substantial progress in composing a symphony, and conversely, Gordon is able to revive a dormant writing career.

The histories of the two men are introduced with fine lyrical poetry which is contemporary in structure. While both narratives are interesting, Dave's is especially appealing. Clean, terse, introductory poetry brings the American black from Africa to slavery in America, to freedom, to the violence of the Ku Klux Klan, to northward migration, to civil rights struggles. The moving story of Dave's grandfather, Shanko, seems reminiscent of the stories of the good ship *Clotilde's* chained passengers who settled in Plateau near Mobile, an area known as Africatown. Dave's New York experiences suggest that his characterization was inspired by the black intelligentsia who received wide recognition during the Harlem Renaissance of the twenties. Both men are Southerners who met when they tried out for their college's freshman football team. Gordon's inbred prejudice led him to viciously tackle Dave in a scrimmage in order to "prove his racial superiority and his individual disdain by putting the Negro in his place." Gordon's shame for his conduct, Dave's gentlemanly response, and brief advice from the coach lay the foundation for the strong friendship which developed between the two.

Childers paints a faithful sketch of the Birmingham landscape and provides an accurate account of the city's 1930s racial climate. He reminds us of an often overlooked fact — that Birmingham of the thirties was not devoid of white citizens with liberal inclinations. He ably handles a sensitive story without resorting to the violent melodrama which so often characterizes fiction confronting racial issues. While the novel is provocative, it does contain structural weaknesses and Dave is the only fully developed character. When the first person narrator disappears, the tale becomes too expository — we hear more and more from the omniscient narrator and less and less from the characters. While the poetry has merit, it creates a jarring interruption in the novel's flow. The individual histories of the protagonists are well done, but transitions among the work's four parts are nonexistent. Also, Anne's tragedy has a tenuous relationship to the main plot. Yet, the book's merits outweigh its faults. The University of Alabama Press used good judgment in including this publication in its series, "The Library of Alabama Classics."

Jean P. McIver University of South Alabama

Robin F.A. Fabel. *The Economy of British West Florida, 1763-1783.* Tuscaloosa and London: The University of Alabama Press, 1988, pp. 296. $26.95.



When Britain acquired Florida from Spain as one of the spoils of the Seven Years' War, it stretched from the Atlantic to the Mississippi — an immense territory that was soon divided into the colonies of East and West Florida. The Bute ministry came under attack for having exchanged captured Cuba and the Philippines, colonies of known worth, for what Pennsylvanian John Dickinson called "the scorching lands of Florida. . . , which will never return to us one farthing that we send them" (p. 3). This unfavorable view of the area's economic potential was reinforced and perpetuated when an unambiguously profit-seeking British government allowed it to fall back into Spanish hands during the American Revolution. The first chronologically comprehensive study of either of the colonies since Cecil Johnson's *British West Florida, 1763-1783* (1942), Charles L. Mowat's *East Florida as a British Province, 1763-1784* (1943), and Clinton N. Howard's *The British Development of West Florida, 1763-1769* (1947), Robin Fabel's examination of West Florida's economic development under British rule reassesses this contemporary view and, with J. Barton Starr's *Tories, Dons, and Rebels: The American Revolution in British West Florida* (1976), is likely to stand for the next forty years.

The volume treats a wide range of topics: the inequality and intricacy of the land granting system; the inducements offered to slaveholders; the draconian slave code; the attempts to develop trade relations with the Indians, the West Indies, and the Spanish empire; plantation life, including agricultural experimentation and the processes by which various successful commodities were produced; and the colony's considerable dependence upon maritime activity along both rivers and coast. The longest chapter tells the story of The Company of Military Adventurers from Connecticut, whose luckless venture on the banks of the Mississippi River was "the largest single organized scheme for settling in West Florida" (p. 196).

Throughout the history of the colony under the British, dreams of personal economic betterment rather than political or public purpose were largely responsible for drawing settlers to the colony, and Fabel argues that their efforts produced significant results. Indeed, his main thesis is that during the eighteen years of British West Florida's existence its economy

was developing at the normal rate for a new mainland colony, and may even have been on the verge of a boom at the time it was retaken by the Spanish. The revolutionary war brought unforeseen benefits to the colony, not so much from opportunities for privateering or supplying an influx of loyalist settlers, as from the increased demand for naval stores and exports of lumber and provisions to the sugar islands. Similarly, interruption of British trade with South Carolina and Georgia increased the demand for West Florida indigo and deerskins, some of the same exports that had helped to give Georgia economic viability.

Whether or not the author has employed the right framework for comparison is questionable. Measuring the achievements of West Florida against those of Georgia during that colony's first twenty years, he argues that the newer colony was on the verge of economic takeoff when it was abandoned by the British. But most historians agree that Georgia was an economic failure during its first two decades and that it became a success only between 1755 and 1775, following the introduction of slavery and the removal of prohibitions on large land grants under the Crown. A more appropriate comparison would therefore seem to be Georgia during its second twenty years, and by that measure West Florida came up short.

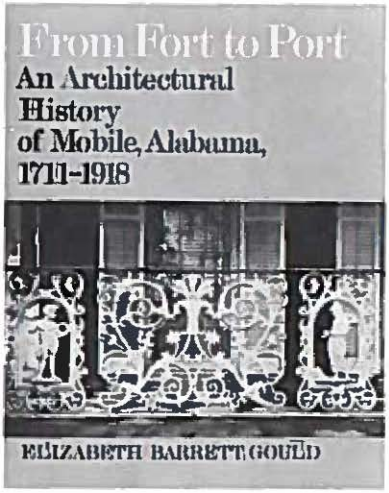
Nevertheless, Fabel has produced an impressive book. Whether describing the proper wood to burn for tar or the right official to delay a packetboat, he demonstrates a sure hand with his material. The book's value is compounded by a thorough index, an authoritative bibliographic essay, and a text that is admirably error-free. One wishes for a study of equal quality dealing with the parallel economy of British East Florida.

Amy Turner Bushnell University of South Alabama

Elizabeth Barrett Gould. *From Fort to Port, An Architectural History of Mobile, Alabama, 1711-1918*. Tuscaloosa: The University of Alabama Press, 1988, pp. 317. $39.95.

Alabama's oldest city has at last received a thorough, scholarly, and thoughtful treatment of its complex architectural history. Mobile in its evolution from a French military establishment in 1711 to its emergence after World War I as a major deep-water port city, has been the scene of unceasing building activity. Countless hundreds of structures ranging from cabins to elaborate public buildings were erected by the French, Spanish, English, and eventually the Americans, yet few of these early buildings survive today. No doubt most of them were of no great architectural merit, but others were well designed, and all were expressive of the lives and social aspirations of their builders. *From Fort to Port* is the first comprehensive study of the whole spectrum of Mobile architecture from high style structures to the vernacular, from French colonial cottages to

twentieth-century American "four- square" houses. In order to give a clear view of the development of Mobile's civic, religious, commercial, and residential architecture, Elizabeth Barrett Gould did not restrict her study to extant structures with a few photographs of "lost" buildings included for nostalgia. Such approaches unfortunately are all too common in the popular press, and they invariably obscure more than they reveal about a locality's architecture. Instead the writer chose a much more difficult and challenging format consisting of a chronological, historical interpretation of Mobile's built environment. The result is far more rewarding than a superficial survey, however, for it allows the reader to trace the development of building types and for the first time to place Mobile in the proper historical context of the development of American architecture.



Gould begins her study with the French colonial period — evidence of which exists primarily in the form of archival material and archaeological reports. In the first chapter she acquaints the reader with the various European architectural influences and demonstrates how they were adapted to meet the needs of settlers in the hot and humid climate of the Gulf Coast. No structures from this era exist today in Mobile, but Gould has done a remarkable job in recreating them for the reader through the use of contemporary descriptions, engravings, maps, plans, and modern diagrams.

The following eight chapters deal with "American" Mobile. With the exception of chapters two and eight, which cover seventeen and eighteen year periods respectively, these chapters investigate the development of the city decade by decade. Important local examples of significant period styles such as Federal, Greek Revival, etc. are examined in detail and placed in their proper social and historical context. Those readers familiar with modern day Mobile will find much to interest them in Professor Gould's fresh descriptions and interpretations of such well-known historic structures as Oakleigh, the Government Street Presbyterian Church, Barton Academy, and the Gulf, Mobile, and Ohio Railroad Station.

Of equal interest are the writer's descriptions of lesser known dwellings, churches, and other public buildings which once graced Mobile's streets. Years of careful study of the vast amount of archival material available

about the Port City has allowed the author to write with authority and to select a wealth of mostly unpublished material to illustrate and develop her narrative. Professor Gould has been particularly successful in interpreting old contracts, building specifications, court records, etc. These documents in themselves are often about as intersting to read as old telephone books, and most laymen would probably find them incomprehensible. Nevertheless, the writer has skillfully used such sources to recreate entire "lost" eras of Mobile's interesting architectural heritage.

The book is handsomely illustrated with 332 maps, archival photographs, and drawings from local collections and from the collections of the Historic American Buildings Survey. Recent, well-composed photographs and drawings are also used to illustrate many of the extant structures. *From Fort to Port* contains six appendices presenting selected primary source material in its entirety. These range from the "Text of the 1711 Chevillot Map and the 1734 Devin Map," to a "Building History of the Mobile County Court Houses." All chapters are fully documented in notes and the book is indexed.

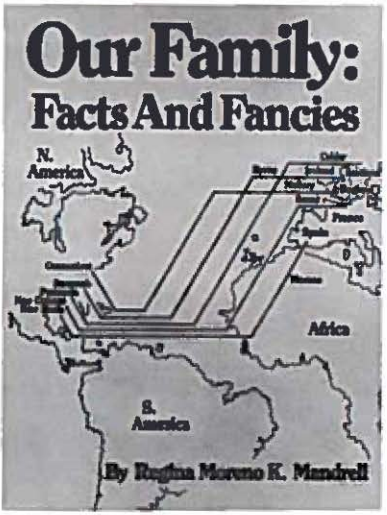
What is lacking in this otherwise thoroughly researched book is a separate section of biographies of the various architects and master builders who are mentioned throughout the book. Despite this minor shortcoming, *From Fort to Port, An Architectural History of Mobile, Alabama 1711-1918*, is the most important book yet published about the rich architectural heritage of this famous old city. As such it belongs in every reference library concerned with Alabama history. It has the added advantage, however, of being entertaining to read. No doubt it will appeal to laymen and scholars alike.

Robert O. Mellown — The University of Alabama

Regina Moreno Kirchoff Mandrell, in collaboration with William S. Coker and Hazel P. Coker. *Our Family: Facts and Fancies, The Moreno and Related Families.* Southern History and Genealogy Series, vol. 3. Pensacola: Perdido Bay Press, 1988, viii, pp. 653. $35.00.

Few family histories merit review in a serious historical journal. Their contents are too often limited to ancestral names and bone-dry vital statistics that could only appeal to those who share the compilers' ancestry. *The Moreno and Related Families* is a refreshing exception. It combines genealogy and history to present Mrs. Mandrell's forebears as real, flesh-and-blood human beings who played active roles in, and were affectedby,

the events and conditions of their times. The result is an unusually readable genealogy, which also offers intimate glimpses into two centuries of Gulf Coast history.



The Moreno's American heritage began in 1778, when Don Francisco Moreno, his wife, and their five children emigrated from Malaga, Spain and settled on Bayou Teche, near New Iberia, Louisiana. Don Francisco died soon after arriving in America, and his son, Fernando, a surgeon in the Spanish Army, moved to Pensacola, where he and his descendants became influential members of the community. Fernando's son, Francisco Moreno, who was born at Pensacola in 1792, contributed significantly to both the family's prominence and to its extraordinary size. He accumulated large real estate holdings, became Pensacola's first banker, built the town's first hotel, and was Spain's representative to the region. He also provided more than adequate progeny to carry on the family's tradition. With his three wives, he fathered twenty-seven children who married well and spread the Moreno's influence to Gulf Coast communities from Key West to New Orleans.

The Moreno and Related Families is primarily a history of that prominent Gulf Coast family, and of the many families with whom its members intermarried. Thanks to the scholarly efforts of Mrs. Mandrell and the Cokers, readers with no connections to the Moreno family will also find it an interesting account of life on the Gulf Coast. This broadened appeal is largely due to its compilers' unique use of documentary evidence.

The Moreno and Related Families is organized around the source documents that support its genealogical data and confirm its narrative. Instead of merely citing source material on file in distant repositories, the authors have inserted transcribed extracts of official records, newspaper items, personal correspondence, and data from Moreno family records. This unusual approach to genealogy broadens the book's appeal and sets it apart from other family histories, because those documents contain the book's insights into the Gulf Coast's history.

For example, extracts from Spanish records contain many references to that country's land policies in America, its efforts to colonize Spanish Louisiana, and the Gulf Coast's transitions from British to Spanish rule and from Spanish to American control. Other documents describe the

Moreno family's participation in the War of 1812, the Indian uprisings, the Civil War and its aftermath, the Westward expansion of the 1870s and 1880s, and in the great wars of this century. These documents confirm the public service of Mrs. Mandrell's ancestors and relatives, and often contain details about little-known aspects of those major events.

For many Gulf Coast historians the family's correspondence and personal journals may be the book's most interesting feature. They discuss many facets of life in the region and describe the impact of events and conditions on their families and their communities. Charles Albert Moreno travelled extensively in the eighteenth century. His journal contains many interesting details about contemporary modes of transportation, the time required to move between certain points, and the accommodations along the way. Other documents afford intimate glimpses into servant-master relationships, treatment of the ill and injured, household organization, food preparation, and related topics which will interest those who wish to learn more about the area's social history.

The Moreno and Related Families is an interesting story of a prominent family during two hundred years on the Gulf Coast. It exemplifies the benefits of placing the names and statistics of pure genealogy in their historical environment. The results can transform boring family charts into a readable narrative while broadening the book's appeal to include readers with no interest in the genealogist's ancestors and ancient relatives.

Glen R. Johnson — Certified Genealogist, Mobile

Grady McWhiney. *Cracker Culture: Celtic Ways in the Old South.* Tuscaloosa and London: The University of Alabama Press, 1988, pp. 290. $25.95

Professor McWhiney, continuing along a path of scholarship that he has been pursuing for several years, has written an informative and delightful social history of the Old South. Utilizing the various newspaper and travel accounts of visitors to the region during the colonial and antebellum periods, along with pertinent passages of private correspondence, he repeatedly drives home his contention that understanding the "Mind of the Old South" requires a full understanding of the Scots, Welsh, and Irish minds throughout the centuries. There is much to be said for this contention.

Clearly distinguishing between the Anglo-Saxon heritage of the English and the Celtic culture of the peoples of Wales, Scotland, and Ireland, Professor McWhiney translates these differences into the evolution of the cultures of the peoples of the United States. From patterns of settlement

to ideas on morality, he delineates the differences that existed in the "old" countries and details how these frequently conflicting lifestyles survived the trans-Atlantic voyage to the northern and southern regions of the United States. His analysis provides considerable insight into the larger questions — that is, issues other than slavery — which produced the Civil War.

Cracker Culture is a natural complement to W.J. Cash's *Mind of the South* and to Florence King's *Southern Ladies and Gentlemen.* To fully comprehend the diversity and perversity of the Southern mind, students of the American South will find *Cracker Culture* required reading. And while much of *Cracker Culture* can be found elsewhere in popular and scholarly literature, it is unlikely that such a comprehensive treatment of Southern culture can be found as Dr. McWhiney's.

Cracker Culture is unusual in the sense that it is a book for the general public and a book for scholars. McWhiney writes forcefully and well, and he integrates the varied styles of earlier commentators into the text in a smooth, flowing manner. Overall, *Cracker Culture* represents a significant *coup* for the University of Alabama Press, for Professor McWhiney, and for students of Southern history.

Lewis N. Wynne Executive Director, Florida Historical Society

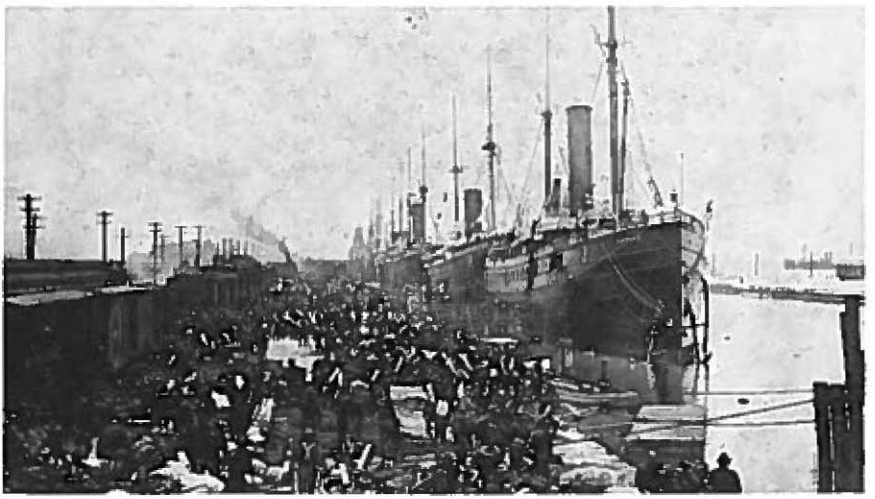
From the Archives . . .
The Florida Historical Society

Guy Porcher Harrison

The Florida Historical Society, established in 1856, is dedicated to preserving the state's rich history. The society today has two thousand members. In addition to its preservation duties, it is very active in promoting an interest in, and appreciation of Florida's historical heritage. It is currently headquartered at the University of South Florida in Tampa, where it continues to fill its role as the nucleus of state historical concerns, as well as the initiator of new research projects.

Housed in the University of South Florida Library the society's archives includes an extensive collection of WPA materials by the Federal Writers' Project with many unpublished slave narratives and works by Zora Neale Hurston. In addition there are also several complete manuscripts including "The Florida Negro." Current plans are to publish many of these materials through the University Presses of Florida in Gainesville. The archives also houses the Pleasant White Collection, the "Commissary General for the Confederacy," which includes detailed accounts of Florida's efforts to aid in supplying the Confederacy.

There are also biographical files of prominent individuals who have been part of Florida's evolving history. For example the unpublished diary of Governor R.K. Call is in the collection. It provides valuable information about Florida during the Early Statehood period. The Society has an



Loading Spanish-American War Transports in Tampa, 1898 — *Florida Historical Society*

extensive photo collection from which the accompanying picture comes. It was made in 1898 as American troops boarded transports bound for Cuba during the Spanish-American war. Tampa was the main port of embarkation for the war in Cuba. The Society also has a variety of art works donated by generous patrons including four prints from the 1860 Audubon North American Birds portfolio given by Marjorie Kennan Rawlins, the author of *The Yearling.*

The Florida Historical Society has always maintained an aggressive research and publishing program. Its latest offering will be the November 1988 release of *The Florida Portrait.* The text is by Dr. Jerrell H. Shofner of the University of Central Florida in Orlando. Milly St. Julien of The Florida Endowment for the Humanities has collected approximately four hundred rare photos to accompany the narrative.

Researchers interested in using materials in the collections of the Society and those wishing to join the organization should write to The Florida Historical Society, University of South Florida, LIB 409, Tampa, FL 33620. Annual membership dues are twenty dollars.