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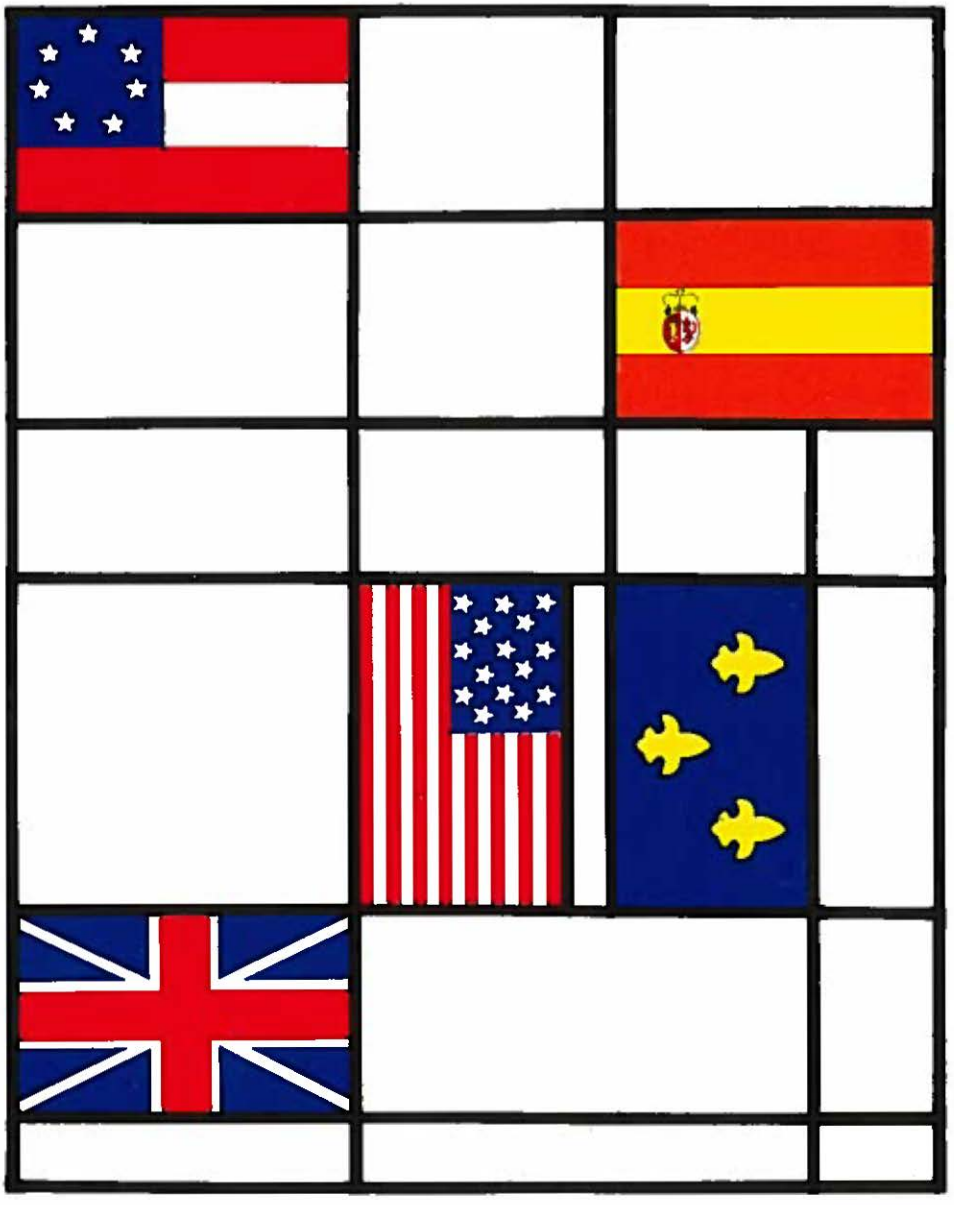
Civil War and Reconstruction on the Gulf Coast



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Gulf Coast History and Humanities Conference

Volume XI

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From the Editors. . . .

[The *Gulf Coast Historical Review* editorial staff wishes to thank Ms. Earnest for her good work assembling and editing the papers presented at the Eleventh Conference of the Gulf Coast History and Humanities Conference. In the interests of stylistic uniformity and due to limitations of space we did make some additional changes after she delivered the manuscripts to us. We hope our work meets with her approval and that of the authors of the articles presented here.] Michael Thomason

The Gulf Coast History and Humanities Conference was organized in the 1960s to encourage the study and research of the history and culture of the Gulf Coast. In 1969 the first conference was held with the theme, "In Search of Gulf Coast Colonial History." Since that time the Conference has indeed been involved in the "search" for various aspects of Gulf Coast history. Through the years it has explored diverse subjects. Among them have been politics, Indians, ethnic groups, the military presence, and the cultural legacy of the region.

For the Eleventh Conference, March 6-8, 1986 in Pensacola, the theme was "Civil War and Reconstruction." Outstanding scholars guided those attending in the study of the period.

A significant part of the Conference has been the publication of the proceedings which have been of value to students of the history of the area. The Eleventh Conference is happy to have the proceedings published in this special issue of the *Gulf Coast Historical Review.*

The Eleventh Conference focused on four major topics involving a panel of speakers for each: Military Life and Developments, Inside the Confederacy, Families and Other Participants, and Reconstruction.

Military life and developments were examined by Dr. Frank L. Owsley, Jr., Mr. Edwin C. Bearss, and Mr. Dean DeBolt as they focused on the blockade of Mobile, the events at Fort Pickens, and the lives of soldiers as revealed in their letters.

In the session "Inside the Confederacy," Dr. James F. Morgan discussed the monetary policy of New Orleans and Louisiana; Dr. Jack D.L. Holmes, Pensacola's Civil War art; and Dr. Clarence L. Mohr, slavery and class tensions in Georgia.

The session on families spotlighted the Wright-Harris Family of Florida, presented by Dr. James H. O'Donnell III; the illustrious Moreno Family of Pensacola, by Dr. William S. Coker; and the Barton Academy Principal of Mobile, Ann Quigley, by Dr. Russell E. Belous.

In the final session on Reconstruction, Dr. Jeffell H. Shofner and Dr. Harriet E. Amos concentrated on the Unionists on the Gulf Coast while Dr. Joe M. Richardson investigated the American Missionary Association and their work with the Blacks.

Presenting commentaries were Dr. Joe Gray Taylor, Dr. William N. Still, Jr., Dr. Charles R. Wilson, and Dr. William C. Harris. Chairmen for the sessions included Mr. J. Earle Bowden, vice-president and editor of *The Pensacola News-Journal*; Dr. Ted Carageorge, head, Department of History, Pensacola Junior College; and Dr. Glen Coston, head, Department of Liberal Arts, Milton Campus, Pensacola Junior College.

The Conference expresses its strong appreciation to these scholars who have so well added their excellent contributions to Gulf Coast history.

Certainly the study of history includes the reconstruction of famous events through reenactments in drama and the stirring of the heart and soul through the expresison of its feelings in music. And what could be more thought provoking than a visit to a place touched by history? To see those of today in the roles of those of yesterday is to draw us back to the events.

The Eleventh Conference offered these opportunities. *This Noble Cause*, an original drama based on the events at Fort Pickens and selected from a nationwide competition, was written by Mr. William S. Brown of Bergenfield, New Jersey and directed by Mr. Shaw Robinson of Pensacola Junior College. The music of the Civil War era played by a woodwinds ensemble directed by Dr. Joyce Sidorfsky of Pensacola Junior College was featured at the dinner. Members of the Civil War Reenactment Society, led by Mr. Peter Nash of Pensacola Junior College, appeared in the dress of the era and displayed the weapons of the time. A tour of Fort Pickens with Mr. Tom Mueller of the National Parks Service as guide proved to be an exciting revisiting of this past age. The many facets of Gulf Coast history truly came alive!

The Conferences wishes to express its appreciation to the Florida Endowment for the Humanities and the Gannett Foundation for financial support. Thanks are extended to Lynn Gould for the program brochure design. For providing fine accommodations and catering services, the Pensacola Hilton and Mr. Olin Thompson and Mrs. Natalie Williams of Pensacola Junior College receive commendation. Special thanks are expressed to all members of the Board of Directors of the Gulf Coast History and Humanities Conference and to the sponsoring institutions: the University of West Florida, Escambia County School Board, Historic Pensacola Preservation Board, Pensacola Junior College, and the University of South Alabama. To the large audience who so enthusiastically received the program must go a debt of appreciation. And to Dr. Michael Thomason of the University of South Alabama go special thanks for his patience and expertise in the publication of these proceedings in the *Gulf Coast Historical Review*.

Grace E. Earnest
Pensacola Junior College

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Civil War and Reconstruction on the Gulf Coast

Fort Pickens and the Secession Crisis: January-February 1861

Edwin C. Bearss

The secession crisis as it grew after Lincoln's election found bespectacled First Lieutenant Adam J. Slemmer in command of Company G, 1st U.S. Artillery, at Barrancas barracks and responsible for defense of the Pensacola forts. These were trying days for the thirty-one-year-old Slemmer, because of the daily alarms caused by rumors that the forts, navy yard, and barracks were to be seized by Florida State Troops on orders from Governor Madison S. Perry. On January 5, 1861, Slemmer learned that Alabamians had taken possession of Fort Morgan, one of the guardians of Mobile Bay. Although he received no instructions from Washington on the subject, he determined to prevent a similar coup by state authorities at Pensacola. [1]

On the morning of January 7, he called on Commodore James Armstrong, commandant of the Pensacola Navy Yard, to perfect plans for better securing the public property for which they were responsible. Slemmer was accompanied by Lieutenant Jeremiah H. Gilman, his second in command, and R.H. Watts and Daniel Saint, leaders of the pro-Union employees at the yard. Additional meetings were held by these officers that evening and early on January 8. Armstrong, in absence of orders from the Navy Department, deemed it expedient to cooperate with the Army, despite Watts and Saint volunteering to raise two hundred volunteers to assist in the defense of the yard. [2]

Before daybreak on the eighth, Slemmer's soldiers began removing powder from the exposed magazine in the Barrancas water battery into the Fort Barrancas magazines. Slemmer issued orders directing that all batteries be placed in working order and at nightfall he alerted the guard detail. As an added security measure the drawbridge leading into the fort was raised. About midnight a group of men (about twenty in all) approached the drawbridge with the intention of taking possession of the fort. The corporal of the guard called the alarm. The would-be assailants failed to answer when challenged to halt when ordered, and were fired upon by the guard, whereupon they fled in the direction of Warrington. Their footsteps resounded on the plank walk, as the roll of musketry ceased and the guard double-timed back into the fort. These were the first shots fired by United States forces in the Civil War. Slemmer ordered the guard doubled as a precautionary measure. [3]

In the Washington mail on January 9, Lieutenant Slemmer received an order from the War Department in Washington:

> The General-in-Chief directs that you take measures to do the utmost in your power to prevent the seizure of either of the forts in Pensacola Harbor by surprise or assault, consulting first with the commander of the navy-yard, who will probably have received instructions to cooperate with you. [4]

Upon receipt of these instructions, Slemmer, accompanied by Lieutenant Gilman, rushed to the navy yard to confer with Commodore Armstrong. The commodore meanwhile had called a staff meeting. Among those in attendance with Commander Ebenezer Farrand, Lieutenant Commander Henry Walke, and Lieutenants Otway H. Berryman and Francis B. Renshaw. Walke commanded the storeship *Supply* which had reached Pensacola Bay from Vera Cruz on December 7 to load provisions for the U.S. squadron operating off that harbor and Berryman was captain of the armed steamer *Wyandotte*. Farrand and Renshaw were assigned to the navy yard. Armstrong told the officers of his orders from the Navy Department, requiring their forces to cooperate with the Army in the emergency. [5]

Slemmer and Gilman arrived after the meeting had broken up. They found Commodore Armstrong apparently under the influence of Commander Farrand, a rabid secessionist. Swayed by Farrand, Armstrong hesitated to take the lead in providing for the defense of Pensacola Harbor. The recent turn of events had caused intense excitement among the employees of the navy yard and among the inhabitants of the villages of Warrington and Woolsey, and these had added to the consternation of the commodore. He was desirous of doing his duty, and apparently saw it clearly when in the presence of the Army officers. [6] At their insistence he agreed that only one of the forts could be held with the limited means available. Fort Pickens was chosen because of the advantages its possession imparted — command of the other forts, harbor, and naval yard, and its ease of reinforcement from the Gulf. To implement this decision the commodore promised to make *Wyandotte* and *Supply* available by 1:00 P.M. to convey the troops from the mainland to Fort Pickens. [7]

At 10:00 A.M. on January 9, Lieutenant Slemmer, with part of his command, boarded the storeship *Supply* which carried them to Fort Pickens, where the artillery began to mount guns and make necessary preparations for its defense. Lieutenant Gilman had remained with the rest of Company G at Barrancas barracks to complete preparations for its evacuation. At one o'clock he saw no signs of the promised assistance and called on the commodore to counteract the influence of the secession-minded Naval officers who surrounded him. Gilman was informed that the only aid the Navy could render would be provisions and the transportation of the troops to Fort Pickens. Upon being informed of this, Slemmer ordered his men to halt all work and return to Barrancas barracks.

Slemmer next visited Commodore Armstrong, whom he accused of breach of faith. He chided Armstrong for having promised him men and the cooperation of two ships. This, Slemmer continued, was in addition to "giving us provisions" and ferrying Company G over to Santa Rosa Island. With his command numbering only fifty-seven, he would never have dreamed of holding Fort Pickens, a work designed for a fifteen hundred man garrison. He had moved on the assumption that Armstrong would not renege on a promise, and "had lost a day's time in preparation of Fort Barrancas for

defense." After hearing what Slemmer had to say, Armstrong sent for his aides and told them to implement the original design. [8]

Lieutenant Berryman of *Wyandotte* promised to be ready to leave the dock at 5:00 P.M., by which time the regulars would be prepared to embark from the Barrancas wharf. As time was critical all hands turned to placing needed public property on the wharf to facilitate its removal to Fort Pickens. The troops and navy yard employees led by Navy Lieutenant John Erwin kept at these tasks until midnight, when a dense fog rolled in making it impossible for *Wyandotte* to dock. [9]

About 8:00 A.M. on the tenth, a large flatboat and several small craft pulled into the Barrancas wharf and the artillerymen and their gear went aboard. [10] By 10:00 A.M. the troops were across the bay and disembarked on Santa Rosa Island. In the meantime Lieutenant Berryman had detailed thirty seamen from the navy yard to join Lieutenant Slemmer and assist in making preparations for defense of Fort Pickens. During the remaining hours of daylight on January 10, most of the powder and all the fixed ammunition for the field batteries were transferred from the mainland to the island. As a final measure before abandoning the mainland forts, Lieutenant Slemmer had the cannon bearing on the bay spiked, because his redlegs had neither the means nor the time to dismount them. Provisions for the garrison were drawn from the steamer *Supply*. [11]

On January 10, by a vote of sixty-two to seven the state convention meeting in Tallahassee voted to secede. A letter from U.S. Senator David L. Yulee to a member of the convention, Joseph Finegan, had important repercussions. Yulee, a long-time friend of Maj. William H. Chase, pointed out:

> The immediate important thing to be done is the occupation of the forts and arsenal in Florida. The naval station and forts at Pensacola are first in consequence. . . . The occupation of the navy yard will give us a good supply of ordnance and make the capture of the forts easier. Major Chase built the forts and will know all about them. Lose no time, for my opinion is troops will be soon dispatched to reinforce and strengthen the Forts in Florida. [12]

Senator Yulee's letter had the anticipated consequences. The convention passed a resolution to

> authorize and empower the governor of the State to employ the militia of this State, and such forces as may be tendered to the State from the states of Alabama and Georgia to defend and protect the State, and especially the forts and public defenses of the State now in possession of the State, and that the governor be authorized to make all necessary arrangements for the support and maintenance of such troops and carrying on the public defense; That it is the sense of this convention that the governor should not direct any assault to be made on any fort or military post now occupied by Federal troops, unless the persons in occupation of such forts and posts

> shall commit overt acts of hostility against this State, its citizens or troops in its service, unless directed by a vote of this convention. [13]

On January 9, the day before Florida seceded, Governor A.B. Moore of Alabama had warned the convention assembled in Montgomery to determine his State's future, "that Governor Perry. . .has ordered the forts [around Pensacola] to be occupied by the troops of Florida and asks aid from Alabama. The force at his [Governor Perry's] command in West Florida is small and not sufficient to take. . .the forts. Troops from Alabama could reach that point before the troops of East and Middle Florida." [14] Two hundred and twenty-five Alabamians, under Colonel Tennent C. Lomax, were accordingly ordered to Pensacola to implement the governor's recommendations. [15]

On January 11, only hours after news had reached Pensacola that the convention had voted Florida out of the Union, Lieutenant Slemmer had an unpleasant conversation with Commander Walke of *Supply*. Walke explained that, on the previous day, he had been ordered by Commodore Armstrong to land at Fort Pickens such stores as were required by the Army, taking receipts for them. He would then return with his ship to the anchorage off the navy yard, and unload the rest of the cargo. When Walke showed Slemmer this order, the Army officer "threw down the gun-sights" he was holding, and declared that if Walke deserted him "in obedience to that order, he would not attempt to hold the fort any longer." Walke encouraged Slemmer to do so, "promising to support him with all his command." More bad news now arrived. Lieutenant Berryman sent word that he expected to sail "this evening or tomorrow for the south coast of Cuba." [16]

Lieutenant Slemmer then sat down and wrote Commodore Armstrong:

> I understand that it is your intention to withdraw from this fort the protection of the *USS Wyandotte* and the storeship *Supply*, contrary to the agreement between you and myself day before yesterday. I again have the honor to state, as I did to you in presence of several officers at our last interview, that without the aid of those vessels it will be utterly impossible in my opinion, for me to protect this harbor, and I shall therefore, in case this assistance is withdrawn, instantly relinquish all hopes of defending the place, and report the state of affairs immediately by a messenger to Washington. I most respectfully request an immediate answer as to whether the assistance above referred to is to be withdrawn or not. [17]

Commodore Armstrong replied

> that the U.S. storeship *Supply* was sent to Fort Pickens by my order merely to convey the provisions you required and to return to this navy yard. The *Supply* is not a vessel of war, . . . having been sent to this station on the special service of conveying stores and coal to Vera Cruz for the vessels of the Home Squadron stationed there. It is my duty to dispatch her to that port at the earliest moment practicable, in conformity with the orders I have received from the Navy Department, from which orders I can not

deviate further. The steamer *Wyandotte* may be retained for the purpose of cooperating with you until further orders. [18]

On the night of January 11-12, *Wyandotte* and *Supply* anchored in lee of the Fort Pickens batteries. Early on the twelfth Commander Walke received a note from Commodore Armstrong that the navy yard was besieged by Alabama and Florida State Troops. Walke showed the message to Lieutenant Slemmer. To verify this turn of events, Slemmer wrote Armstrong, "I am informed that the navy-yard is besieged. In case you determine to capitulate, please send me the marines to strengthen my command." No reply came. [19]

The force left to hold the navy yard numbered thirty-eight marines and thirty sailors. With evacuation of Fort Barrancas and the Redoubt, it had no defenses. No guns were mounted at the yard except those used to salute the colors. The investing force led by Colonel Lomax consisted of uniformed militia companies well armed with rifle-muskets. Their number was estimated at between three and eight hundred men. At 1:00 P.M., on January 12, Commodore Armstrong was informed that some gentlemen desired to see him. He was then introduced by Commander Farrand, his executive officer, to Richard L. Campbell and Capt. Victor M. Randolph, who informed Armstrong that they came with a large force in the name of the State of Florida to demand an immediate and unconditional surrender of the yard. They stated that if this demand were refused, they would take possession by force of arms, as they had a regiment eagerly awaiting the signal to attack. These statements were corroborated by Commander Farrand.

The issue presented to Armstrong was either a bloody and hopeless resistance or surrender. Armstrong accepted the latter alternative. The United States flag was hauled down and the Florida emblem hoisted in its place. [20] For his surrender of the navy yard, Commodore Armstrong was court martialed, convicted, and sentenced "to be suspended from duty for the term of five years, with loss of pay for the first half of said term and to be reprimanded by the Honorable Secretary of the Navy in general orders." [21]

Sentries on the parapets of Fort Pickens, upon seeing the United States flag lowered, informed Lieutenant Slemmer. With capture of the navy yard everything on the mainland and Foster's Bank fell into the secessionists' hands, including a large dry dock, the workshops, materials, and supplies of all sorts. Fortunately, *Supply* and *Wyandotte*, the only United States vessels in the harbor, were commanded by loyal men and were saved. *Wyandotte* took *Supply* in tow and moved out of the bay. That evening Lieutenant Berryman sent word to Slemmer that his orders of the previous evening were to cooperate with the Army, but he must not fire a shot unless his vessel was attacked. Thus, he could afford them no assistance in case they alone were assaulted. The Fort Pickens garrison — eighty-seven officers and men — was left to depend on its own means for defense. [22]

Adam J. Slemmer — *Mottelay and Campbell-Copeland, eds.,* The Soldier in Our Civil War *(New York, 1890), 1:48*

On the mainland the secessionists moved against known Union men. Lieutenant Erwin succeeded in reaching *Supply*; Saint was captured, sent out to the ships without a change of clothes, and his personal property seized by the Rebels; Watts escaped into the woods. When he emerged from hiding at the end of the month, he was allowed to return to his home on promising not to communicate with Fort Pickens or the fleet. [23]

Fort Pickens, the soldiers and sailors found, was in a dilapidated condition, as this was the first time it had been garrisoned in ten years. Many guns

were not mounted, and a tremendous amount of hard work would be necessary to prepare it for possible siege. Upon their arrival there was not an embrasure shutter in place. Orders were given for some to be built, while others were removed and brought over from Fort McRee on Foster's Bank. [24]

On January 12, just before sundown, four men (three in uniform) walked up to the sally port, and demanded admittance as "citizens of Florida and Alabama." They were informed that no unauthorized persons were permitted to enter the post. After receiving this information they asked to see the commanding officer. Lieutenants Slemmer and Gilman proceeded to the gate, where they recognized a Mr. Albert, an engineer from the navy yard, who introduced the three uniformed men as Captain Victor M. Randolph, late of the U.S. Navy, Major Samuel D. Marks, and a Lieutenant Rutledge.

After a pause, Captain Randolph commenced, "We have been sent to demand a peaceable surrender of this fort by the governors of Florida and Alabama." To which Lieutenant Slemmer replied, "I was here under the orders of the President of the United States, and by direction of the General-in-Chief of the Army; that I recognized no right of any governor to demand a surrender of United States property; that my orders were distinct and explicit." [25]

One of the state officers exclaimed sharply, "Do you say the governor of Florida is nobody, the governor of Alabama nobody?" Slemmer replied, "I know neither of them and I mean to say that they are nothing to me." The interview was ended and the visitors withdrew. [26]

At midnight the garrison was mustered and told to man the cannon in anticipation of an attack. The night was dark and rainy, but otherwise quiet. January 13 was spent by the artillerymen and sailors strengthening their positions, and with nightfall sentinels were posted in advance of the glacis. The night was again dark and rain poured down. Suddenly through the occasional flashes of lightning ten men were discovered outside the fort reconnoitering the Federal position. The intruders fired one shot which was returned by the sergeant-of-the-guard. All was then quiet. The fourteenth passed with nothing of interest transpiring. By this time the garrison was exhausted by the daily routine of mounting guns, preparing fire bases and hand grenades, and the one hundred percent watches maintained during the hours of darkness. [27]

On January 15, William H. Chase returned to Fort Pickens. The builder of the fort was now a colonel of Florida State Troops. He was accompanied by Commander Farrand, who had resigned his commission in the U.S. Navy. Chase asked for and was granted an interview by Lieutenant Slemmer.

Colonel Chase announced, "I have come on business which may occupy some time, and, if you have no objection, we had better go inside to your quarters." Slemmer interrupted, "I have objection, and it could hardly be expected that I would take you into the fort."

Chase countered, "As I built the fort and know all its weak and strong points, I would learn nothing new by going in, and had no such object in proposing it."

"I understand that perfectly," Slemmer acknowledged, "but it would be improper for me to take you in; and, however well you have known the fort before, you do not know what it now contains, nor what I have done inside."

"That is true," Chase admitted, "and I will state my business here. It is a most distressing duty to me. I have come to ask of you young officers, officers of the same army in which I have spent the best and happiest years of my life, the surrender of this fort. I would not ask it if I did not believe it right and necessary to save bloodshed; and fearing that I might not be able to say it as I ought, and in order, also, that you may have it in proper form, I have put it in writing and will read it." [28]

Chase took a manuscript from his pocket and began to read, but after reading a few lines his voice began to shake and his eyes filled with tears. He stamped his foot, and said, "I can't read it. Here Farrand, you read it." Commander Farrand took it, and remarking that he did not have his glasses passed the paper to Lieutenant Gilman. [29] Gilman took it and read aloud:

> I have full powers from the governor of Florida to take possession of the forts and navy-yard in his harbor. I desire to perform this duty without the effusion of blood. You can contribute toward this desirable result, and in my judgment, without sacrifice of the honor of yourself or your gallant officers and men. Now, as commissioner on the part of the governor of the State of Florida, I request the surrender of Fort Pickens and the public property it contains into my hands, to be held subject to any agreement that may be entered into between the commissioners of the State of Florida and the Federal Government at Washington. . . . If the Union now broken should be reconstructed Fort Pickens and all the public property passes peacefully under Federal authority. If a Southern Confederacy separates itself from the Union would it not be worse than folly to attempt the maintenance of Fort Pickens or any other fortified place within its limits? [30]

As the state officers prepared to depart for the mainland this conversation took place:

Slemmer:	"Colonel, how many men have you?"
Chase:	"Tonight I shall have between eight and nine hundred."
Slemmer:	"Do you imagine you could take this fort with that number?"
Chase:	"I certainly do. I could carry it by storm. I know every inch of this fort and its condition."
Slemmer:	"With your knowledge of the fort and of your troops, what proportion of them, do you imagine, would be killed in such an attack?"

Chase (shrugging his shoulders): "If you have made the best possible preparation, as I suppose you have, and should defend it, as I presume you would, I might lose one-half my men."

Slemmer: "At least, and I don't believe you are prepared to sacrifice that many men for such a purpose."

Chase: "You must know very well that, with your small force, you are not expected to, and cannot, hold this fort. Florida cannot permit it, and the troops here are determined to have it; and if not surrendered peaceably, an attack and the inauguration of Civil War cannot be prevented. If it is a question of numbers, and eight hundred is not enough, I can easily bring thousands more."

Slemmer: "I will give this letter due consideration, and as I wish to consult with the captains of the *Supply* and *Wyandotte* before replying, I will give you my answer tomorrow morning." [31]

There was a twofold reason for Slemmer's request: To gain time for his exhausted men to catch a second wind, and to consult with the naval officers on any subject affecting the common flag.

Next morning (the sixteenth), to the surprise of the garrison, *Supply* and *Wyandotte* hoisted anchor, and, getting underway, made for the bar enroute out into the Gulf. A boat with Lieutenant Gilman started in pursuit. Gilman's craft overhauled *Supply*, and he asked the reason for the Navy's precipitant withdrawal from Pensacola Bay. Commander Walke explained that he was obliged to leave for the North, and was taking advantage of the favorable wind. He agreed, however, that *Wyandotte* must remain with Lieutenant Berryman to lend the Army any assistance required. [32]

Lieutenant Slemmer then forwarded a letter to Colonel Chase. It read:

> Under the orders we now have from the War Department, we have decided, after consultation with the Government officers in the harbor, that it is our duty to hold our position until such a force is brought against us as to render it impossible to defend it, or until the political condition of the country is such as to induce us to surrender the public property in our keeping to such authorities as may be delegated *legally* to receive it.
>
> We deprecate as much as you or any individual can the present condition of affairs, or the shedding of the blood of our brethren. In regard to this matter, however, we must consider you the aggressors and if blood is shed that you are responsible therefore. [33]

Supply, having taken aboard sixty-one paroled officers and men from the navy yard, seven invalids, eleven employees, and seventeen dependents, including the wives and children of Lieutenants Slemmer and Gilman, now stood out of the harbor and sailed for New York. *Wyandotte* followed her across the bar and anchored off the Santa Rosa shore. [34]

On January 17 *Wyandotte* put up her sails and disappeared over the horizon. The weather was miserable, with a cold wind out of the northeast and rain in the afternoon. Ashore the soldiers and sailors mounted a 12-pounder and an 8-inch seacoast howitzer in the Northeast Bastion and sought to get a 10-inch columbiad into position. Previously three 32-pounders had been emplaced in the Southeast Bastion, the 24-pounder flank howitzers made effective, and the field battery unlimbered on the ramparts. [35]

The next day *Wyandotte* returned and anchored about two miles off Santa Rosa Island. At noon Commander Farrand arrived from the mainland with a letter from Colonel Chase. It read, "With additional re-enforcements to my forces, arrived and expected, I would again request the surrender of Fort Pickens, referring you to my first letter on the subject, and offering the same terms as contained therein." [36]

Slemmer acknowledged the message, but pointed out that a reply would not be forthcoming until he had an opportunity to communicate with Lieutenant Berryman. It was known that Chase had been reinforced on the seventeenth by some three hundred soldiers who had arrived from Mobile aboard *Oregon*. These troops had increased the force arrayed against the Fort Pickens garrison to between thirteen to fourteen hundred. A cannon was fired and a signal hoisted to attract *Wyandotte's* attention. She closed to within one-half mile and sent a boat ashore to pick up Lieutenants Slemmer and Gilman.

The night of January 18, like many of the preceding ten days, was dark and misty. A number of lights were seen passing from the navy yard toward Santa Rosa Island, and it was feared that an attack was imminent. Slemmer had the "long roll" beaten, and the soldiers and sailors stood a one hundred percent watch. The night passed quietly, however, except for shots from the navy yard as soldiers cleared their pieces.

On the morning of January 19 Lieutenant Slemmer, having discussed the situation with Berryman, informed Colonel Chase, "In reply to your communication of yesterday, I have the honor to state that as yet I know of no reason why my answer to your communication of the 16th should be changed, and I therefore very respectfully refer you to that reply for the answer to this." [37]

There was a cold northeast gale on the twentieth, with a drenching rain during the night. A shore party sent by Lieutenant Berryman assisted the regulars in mounting a 10-inch columbiad. The huge gun had to be moved a long distance, and with their "unperfect appliances" it was a difficult task getting it into position.

The foul weather continued. On January 22 the bay was too rough for crossing, and Slemmer allowed one-half of the command to sleep in their quarters. The Nor'easter was still blowing on the twenty-third. Lieutenant Gilman recorded, "Our men were having extremely hard duty, being wet to the skin most of the time, and many of them were without a change of clothes, having left their extra clothing at the barracks or navy yard."

About midnight on January 23 a small steamer was seen to come from the direction of Pensacola and tie-up at the Barrancas wharf. Lieutenant Slemmer, apprehensive that she had been sent to tow invasion barges across the bay, ordered his men to their battle stations. [38]

On January 24, not having had any mail since the ninth, Lieutenant Slemmer sent one of *Wyandotte's* small boats, flying a white flag, to the navy yard to obtain the garrison's mail. His request was refused by the postal officials.

Slemmer thereupon addressed a curt note to Colonel Chase:

> I have the honor to request that you will permit Captain Berryman to procure, or have procured for him the mail matter, letters, papers, etc., which may have accumulated for me and my command at the Warrington post office. My mail matter has been refused me from the office, and I therefore make this request of you as commander-in-chief of the forces, and from a knowledge of your personal character. [39]

Colonel Chase was absent, having been called to Montgomery to confer on possible steps to be taken to compel the United States forces to yield Fort Pickens. The fire-eaters' ardor had been chilled by a January 18 telegram from a powerful group of Southern senators. It read: "We think no assault should be made. The possession of the fort is not worth one drop of blood to us. Measures pending unite us in this opinion. Bloodshed may be fatal to our cause. Signed by Senators Mallory, Yulee, Slidell, Benjamin, Iverson, Hemphill, Wigfall, Clay, Fitzpatrick, and Davis." [40]

Chase accordingly returned from the Montgomery meeting in a conciliatory mood. The weather had finally cleared on January 26 when Colonel Chase moved to ease tensions. Writing Lieutenant Slemmer, he noted, "I will immediately inquire at the post-office about your mail matter, and attend to your request. I would also inform you that you may be supplied with fresh provisions daily if you desire." [41]

Later in the day, hoping to avoid an unfortunate collision between their opposing forces, Colonel Chase wrote Lieutenant Slemmer:

> I have given strict orders this morning that no citizen or soldier should be permitted to pass from this side towards Fort Pickens, or to land on Santa Rosa Island, and now I inform you of the fact, and also that I shall use every effort to have my orders executed. I have just been informed that some four or five men started on a fishing excursion on the island, and as they must have been ignorant of my orders just issued, I would request that if they have landed on the island they may be sent back.
>
> Any collision growing out of persons going over to the island or near Fort Pickens would be most unfortunate in the present state of affairs, and I would request you to join me in preventing it; and to this effect I would also request that persons in boats may be warned off, and if any should land, they should be ordered to re-embark. This should be done in a way to prevent angry feeling between the parties. [42]

Lieutenant Slemmer sent Lieutenant Gilman to the yard to make arrangements for procuring the mail and fresh beef. Before the day was over, Gilman had returned with the mail and a note from Colonel Chase, stating that in the future it would be delivered without delay. [43]

Replying to Colonel Chase's second communication, Slemmer observed:

> It gives me much pleasure to learn of your order with reference to the passage of boats and men to Fort Pickens and Santa Rosa Island from the yard and vicinity. I have given strict orders to allow no boats to land, and in all cases of boats approaching the island I am notified of the fact.
>
> This morning I was informed by my sentinels that a boat with four men was approaching the island above the fort and from the navy yard. I immediately sent and had them apprehended, saw the men myself, and directed that they be re-embarked for the navy-yard. [44]

Lieutenant Gilman was back on the mainland on official business on January 28. Visiting the barracks, he found the company's former quarters occupied by Alabama State Troops. He encountered considerable good will, and was told that efforts to solve the crisis might succeed and if so no "further hostilities would be attempted." He asked and received permission to secure Colonel Winder's and Lieutenant Eddy's private property and transfer it to the fort. He also was accompanied back to Santa Rosa Island by the company laundresses, who had been left behind on January 10. [45]

On January 24 Seaman William Doolan crossed over from the mainland in a small boat, landing some distance east of the fort. Reporting to Lieutenant Slemmer, he stated that he had been badly treated at the yard and he wanted to fight for the Union. He warned that they must be on the guard against bribery, as a large sum had been raised for that purpose. Suspecting that Doolan might be a spy, Slemmer assigned him to the kitchen, with orders that he be watched closely and not be allowed outside Fort Pickens.

Several days later, on a dark night, Private Owen McGair, while on picket, found himself surrounded by a small party from Warrington. They recognized McGair, and after some small talk told him that he could make himself a wealthy man. He seemed willing so they made known their plan. He was to see that the embrasures, where there were no guns, were left open at night. McGair would relay this information to them by a means agreed upon. As a reward for his treachery he was to receive money. As he was in their power, McGair seemingly entered into the scheme. Details were arranged and after giving him an advance, the intruders withdrew. Early next morning Private McGair reported what had transpired to Lieutenant Slemmer and turned over to him the money received. [46]

On January 21, 1861, nine days after surrender of the Pensacola Navy Yard, the U.S. War Department ordered preparation of an expedition for relief of Fort Pickens. Captain Israel Vodges was to embark Company A, 1st Artillery, on the powerful sloop-of-war *Brooklyn* at Fort Monroe, Virginia. [47] The same day Flag-Officer Garrett J. Pendergrast, commander

of the Home Squadron anchored off Vera Cruz, notified the Navy Department that he had ordered the sailing frigate *Sabine* and sailing sloop *St. Louis* to Pensacola. [48]

Brooklyn, having embarked Company A (two officers and eighty-six enlisted men), sailed from Hampton Roads under sealed orders on January 24. Captain Samuel Barron of the U.S. Navy reached Pensacola in advance of the reinforcements. He informed Lieutenant Slemmer that *Brooklyn* was enroute with Vodges' company and that *Macedonia, St. Louis,* and *Sabine* were expected. The warships were not to cross the bar lest they be fired on and thus precipitate a civil war. *Brooklyn*, however, was to land Vodges' company on Santa Rosa Island. [49]

On being informed that reinforcements were enroute to Fort Pickens, Stephen Mallory, who upon the secession of Florida had withdrawn from the U.S. Senate, telegraphed Senator John Slidell of Louisiana:

> We hear the *Brooklyn* is coming with re-enforcements for Fort Pickens. No attack on its garrison is contemplated, but, on the contrary, we desire to keep the peace, and if the present status be preserved we will guarantee that no attack will be made upon it, but if re-enforcements should be attempted, resistance and a bloody confict seem inevitable. Should the Government thus attempt to augment its force,. . . our whole force–1700 strong–will regard it as a hostile act. Impress this upon the President, and urge that the inevitable consequence of re-enforcement under present circumstances is instant war. [50]

Senator Slidell laid Mallory's message before President James Buchanan. The President, not wanting to precipitate a clash which would lead to war and snuff out the last chance for compromise, agreed to a *modus vivendi*, regarding reinforcement of Fort Pickens which was incorporated in an order to Captain Vodges dated January 29. It read:

> In consequence of the assurances received from Mr. Mallory in a telegram of yesterday to Messrs. Slidell, Hunter, and Bigler . . . that Fort Pickens would not be assaulted, and an offer of such assurance to the same effect from Colonel Chase, for the purpose of avoiding a hostile collision . . . you are instructed not to land the company on board the *Brooklyn* unless said fort shall be attacked . . . . The provisions necessary for the supply of the fort you will land. The *Brooklyn* and other vessels of war on the station will remain, and you will exercise the utmost vigilance and be prepared at a moment's warning to land the company at Fort Pickens. [51]

Lieutenant Haldimand S. Putnam, entrusted with delivery of this important message, reached Pensacola on February 5, the day before *Brooklyn* arrived off the bar. On February 1 Lieutenant Slemmer had received a communication from Colonel Chase, "prohibiting all intercourse with the town except to get" the mail and provisions. Later in the day Slemmer had trouble with one of the sailors, although there had been some "growling and dissatisfaction among them on account of their being used as soldiers."

At 5:00 P.M. the first sergeant reported that a number of the seamen refused to march to supper because they did not have enough bread. He ordered them locked in the guardhouse and reported they outnumbered the guard and refused to obey him. Lieutenants Slemmer and Gilman found themselves confronted by a mutiny. They reacted with alacrity. Company G was turned out under arms and confronted the sailors. They were asked whether they would obey orders hereinafter. Their reply was deemed unsatisfactory by Lieutenant Slemmer, and orders were given to "buck" them. This was done, and they were placed in a line seated on the ground, securely fastened. Those sailors on guard then mutined and said they wanted the same punishment, and Slemmer gave orders to lash them to the piazza columns. Seeing that their joining the uprising had no effect, and that they would be severely punished, the sailors promised to obey future orders. Of those "bucked" some gave up at 7:00 P.M., and others during the night. Two held out till nine the next morning. The sailors had learned a bitter lesson, and gave Slemmer no further trouble. [52]

February 2 "was a rainy day." At 8:00 P.M. six shipwrecked sailors were escorted into the fort by the guard. They were drenched, exhausted and famished and told Lieutenant Slemmer that their schooner *Maria Norton* out of Powderhorn, Texas, had been driven ashore on Santa Rosa Island, twenty- five miles to the east. They remained with the garrison until the fourth, when they boarded a boat which ran them across the bay to Pensacola. [53]

Brooklyn arrived off Santa Rosa Island on February 6, and Captain Vodges learned from Lieutenant Putnam of the order of January 29 preventing the landing of his command. Lieutenant Slemmer told Captain Vodges that at the time he had occupied Fort Pickens there had been only forty cannon in position, and now, after four weeks' hard work, there were fifty-four. There were in the fort fifty-seven enlisted men of Company G and thirty-one sailors. The latter, "untrained and insubordinate," would be of little use in event of attack. Fifty-seven gun casemates were unarmed and most of these embrasures covered with common wooden shutters, which presented scant obstacle to the foe. Captain Vodges directed Lieutenant Slemmer, although materials and tools were lacking, to barricade all the embrasures.

Ordnance stores and ammunition were in short supply. There was no ammunition for the columbiads, no cartridge bags, and no flannel. Had it been the policy to place a fort in a defenseless condition, it could hardly have been done more effectively. There was neither a surgeon nor bunks for the hospital or troops. Although there were plenty of provisions for the present, Captain Vodges urged that some desiccated vegetables be sent to Santa Rosa Island.

When he relayed this grim news to Washington, Captain Vodges complained that all the advantages of the *modus vivendi* were on the side of the secessionists. He urged that steps be taken to further reinforce Fort Pickens. [54] Captain Vodges selected Lieutenant Gilman to carry his dispatches to the War Department. Lieutenant Loomis Langdon, with the approval

of Colonel Chase, was landed from *Brooklyn* to fill Gilman's billet. Leaving Pensacola on February 9, Gilman reached Washington on the thirteenth and reported to General-in-Chief Winfield Scott. After Gilman had briefed him on the situation and conditions at Fort Pickens, Scott complimented the command, "Young man, you have both done nobly; you have been true to your country at a time when she has been false to herself; you shall not be forgotten, God bless you." On February 25 Gilman returned to Fort Pickens by sea, going by steamer to Havana, and there taking passage on a Pensacola-bound schooner. [55]

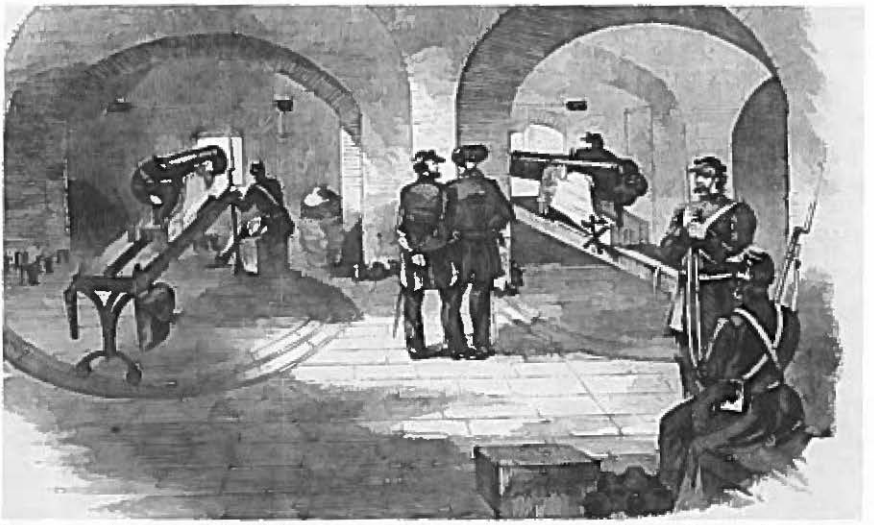
Lieutenant Slemmer, following his discussions with Captain Vodges, redoubled his efforts to place Fort Pickens in a defensible condition. The limited means available, however, continued to plague the Federals. Twenty-four more guns were mounted. While making the rounds on February 11, Slemmer observed Colonel Chase's men mounting a battery of 8-inch columbiads west of the lighthouse to rake the fort's two northern bastions and the connecting curtain. Slemmer protested to Colonel Chase, who replied, "I do not deem the erection of batteries on this side as aiming at an attack on Fort Pickens; but. . . I will give orders for the discontinuance of the erection of the battery." [56]

Outside the harbor the United States slowly built-up a formidable naval force under the command of Captain Henry A. Adams. By February 19 this fleet consisted of *Sabine, St. Louis,* and *Brooklyn.* In addition *Wyandotte* now anchored inside Pensacola Bay, and flying a flag of truce, was allowed by State authorities to transport coal and water from the navy yard to the ships outside the bar. If the Florida authorities curtailed this source of supply, these items would have to be obtained from either Key West or Havana — eight or ten days distant by sail.

Adams' ships remained at anchor or underway close enough to the bar to communicate by signal with *Wyandotte.* Whenever a south-easterly gale blew it was necessary to run offshore. A storm on February 10 dispersed the fleet, driving some of them as far west as Mobile Point. Adams feared that Colonel Chase would take advantage of one of these gales and attempt to storm Fort Pickens before he could land reinforcements. In case of necessity, Adams prepared to put ashore, in addition to Vodges' command, two hundred men from *Sabine,* one hundred forty from *Brooklyn,* and fifty from *St. Louis.* [57]

In mid-February a new government was organized that would share with the governors of Florida and Alabama responsibility for affairs in Pensacola Bay. During the first week of February a convention assembled in Montgomery, Alabama, to organize a southern government. However, the Montgomery meeting initially included representation from only six of the fifteen slave states (South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, Florida, and Louisiana).

The atmosphere in the Alabama capital was one of excitement and elation, accompanied by the bustle of office-seeking and the stir of restless men



Casemate batteries, Ft. Pickens Harper's, *April 13, 1861*

maneuvering for position. Three principal functions were performed by the convention: It made a constitution for the Confederate States; it chose a provisional president and vice president; and it acted as a provisional legislature for the new government pending the regular congressional elections. Jefferson Davis of Mississippi was elected president on February 9. He was inaugurated two days later, took the oath with high resolve, and selected his cabinet. The provisional congress passed an initial body of laws, which in many instances were but the reenacting of those passed at Washington; commissioners were appointed to treat with the government of the United States; negotiations were set afoot to bring other states within the fold; and in this manner the "new nation" became a going concern. [58]

The Confederate War Department moved promptly to place an officer in whom it had confidence in charge of the forces collecting in and around Pensacola. On March 1 Colonel Chase resigned his command to accept appointment as major general of Florida State Troops. [59] Colonel John H. Forney of Alabama assumed command until relieved on March 11 by Brigadier General Braxton Bragg. A West Point graduate and Mexican War hero, Bragg had been assigned to the command by his friend President Davis on March 7. [60] The new commander who was a stern disciplinarian, set to work with his customary vigor and attention to detail to organize an effective fighting force. Calls were made upon the governors of Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, Georgia, and Florida for more than five thousand additional troops. Forney was appointed inspector-general, and under his supervision a vigorous training program instituted. Captain Hypolite Oladowski, Bragg's chief of ordnance, perfected plans for more effective use of the cannon sighted on Fort Pickens. [61]

On March 12, eight days after Abraham Lincoln's inauguration as President, General-in-Chief Scott ordered Captain Vodges to land his command, "Re-enforce Fort Pickens, and hold the same till further orders."

Because of circumstances beyond Scott's control more than a month was to pass before this order was carried out. General Bragg meanwhile had ordered work resumed on the batteries, informing Lieutenant Slemmer that such action seemed fully justified as a means of defense, "especially so under the threats of the new administration." [62] Thus, the conditions of the *modus vivendi* were broken.

Despite these threats and counter-threats, relations between Confederate and Federal forces in the bay area remained amicable. On the morning of March 12 four runaway slaves appeared at Fort Pickens believing they would be granted asylum. That afternoon the fugitives were returned to Pensacola and had been turned over to the city marshal for return to their masters. Nonetheless, relations between the two sides were showing signs of strain as the supply of fresh beef for the Federals was curtailed. The contractor alleged that he was without funds for the purchase of cattle. [63] The real reason, however, was an order from Bragg, dated March 18:

> The commanding general learns with surprise and regret that some of our citizens are engaged in the business of furnishing supplies of fuel, water, and provisions to the armed vessels of the United States.
> That no misunderstanding may exist on this subject, it is announced to all concerned that this traffic is strictly forbidden, and all such supplies which may be captured in transit to such vessels, or to Fort Pickens, will be confiscated. To more effectually to enforce this prohibition, no boat or vessel will be allowed to visit Fort Pickens, or any United States navy vessel, without special sanction. [64]

Bragg was omnipresent. In cooperation with Colonel William J. Hardee, commander at Fort Morgan, a reconnaissance was undertaken preparatory to opening of a new line of communication between Mobile and Pensacola. It was hoped that an easier and less exposed route could be developed between these key points by utilizing water and land transportation, via Bon Secour, Bear Creek, and Perdido Bay, thus eliminating a long, slow overland trek from Blakely. [65]

By March 30 the eleven hundred officers and men of Bragg's command, most of whom had never been away from home, had assimilated many of the rudiments of soldiering and formed a cadre around which an expanding army could be organized. While the infantry learned the fundamentals, Captain Oladowski supervised the emplacement of a number of siege guns in Fort McRee. Two heavy batteries, each consisting of four 8-inch columbiads, were established, one near the lighthouse and the other in the neighborhood of the naval hospital.[66] Fort Barrancas was also armed and manned.

Bragg and his staff had moved heaven and earth in their efforts to strengthen the defense of Pensacola Bay. The forts would be very difficult for the Federals to reoccupy, and in the future would menace Fort Pickens. The Yankees protested against continuation of these efforts, but Bragg, unlike his predecessor, Colonel Chase, refused to halt efforts to fortify the area.

After each protest the Confederates seemingly redoubled their efforts, and the Federals expressed fears that the forts could only be repossessed at a fearful cost. [67]

Brooklyn, having been ordered to Key West on March 22 for provisions, returned on March 31 with orders from General Scott for Captain Vodges to land his company at Fort Pickens.[68] Vodges showed his instructions to Captain Adams, the senior United States officer present. Captain Adams noted the date of the orders (March 12) and concluded that they had been given without clear comprehension of the situation at Pensacola. He decided to ignore them. He felt their implementation would be viewed by Confederate authorities as a hostile act, and precipitate a collision against the wishes of the Lincoln administration. Adams told Vodges that "both sides are faithfully observing the agreement entered into by the U.S. Government with Mr. Mallory and Colonel Chase." [69]

As senior officer present, he had visited General Bragg the day before, and Bragg had assured him that the Confederates would not violate the conditions of the *modus vivendi*. Breaking off the discussion with Vodges, Adams stated, "I can not take on myself under such insufficient authority as General Scott's order the fearful responsibility of an act which seems to render civil war inevitable." [70]

Notes

[1] *The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies* (Washington, DC, 1880-1901), ser. 1, vol. 1, 334; cited hereafter as *OR*.

[2] Ibid.; Watts to Meigs, December 6, 1865, Consolidated Correspondence, File, RG 92, National Archives. Born in Maine, Gilman was graduated from the U.S. Military Academy in the class of 1856 as a brevet 2d lieutenant, 1st Artillery. Gilman was promoted to 2d lieutenant on October 31, 1856.

[3] *OR*, ser. 1, vol. 1, 334-35; Jeremiah H. Gilman, "With Slemmer in Pensacola harbor," *Battles and Leaders of the Civil War* (New York, 1884-87), 1:22.

[4] *OR*, ser. 1, vol. 1, 334.

[5] Henry Walke, *Naval Scenes and Reminiscences of the Civil War in the United States...* (New York, 1877), 1-2.

[6] Gilman, "With Slemmer...," *Battles and Leaders*, 1:27.

[7] *OR*, ser. 1, vol. 1, 335.

[8] Ibid.

[9] Ibid.; Watts to Meigs, December 6, 1865, Consolidated Correspondence File, RG 92, National Archives.

[10] Gilman, "With Slemmer...," *Battles and Leaders*, 1:28.

[11] *OR*, ser. 1, vol. 1, 336. In addition to the fifty-seven officers and men of Company G, 1st Artillery, and the thirty sailors, there were present at Fort Pickens on the evening of January 10, the three ordnance-sergeants from Forts Barrancas, Pickens, and McRee. Returns from U.S. Posts, 1800-1916, Microcopy M-617, National Archives.

[12] *OR*, ser. 1, vol. 1, 442; *Soldiers of Florida in the Seminole Indian — Civil and Spanish-American Wars*, compiled by the Board of State Institutions (Live Oak, FL, 1903), 35.

[13] J.J. Dickison, *Confederate Military History — Florida* (Atlanta, 1899), 10:8-20.

[14] *OR*, ser. 1, vol. 1, 44.

[15] Dickison, *Confederate Military History*, 10:15.

[16] Walke, *Naval Scenes*, 2-3; *OR*, ser. 1, vol. 1, 336.

[17] *Official Records of the Union and Confederate Navies in the War of the Rebellion* (Washington, DC, 1895-1929), ser. 1, vol. 4, 12; cited hereafter as *ORN*.

[18] Ibid., 13.

[19] *OR*, ser. 1, vol. 1, 326.

[20] *ORN*, ser. 1, vol. 4, 48-53.

[21] Ibid., 54-55.

[22] Gilman, "With Slemmer...," *Battles and Leaders*, 1:29; *OR*, ser. 1, vol. 1, 337; Returns from U.S. Posts, 1800-1916, Microcopy M-617, National Archives.

[23] Watts to Meigs, December 6, 1865, Consolidated Correspondence File, RG 92, National Archives.

[24] Gilman, "With Slemmer...," *Battles and Leaders*, 1:29.

[25] *OR*, ser. 1, vol. 1, 337.

[26] Gilman, "With Slemmer...," *Battles and Leaders*, 1:29.

[27] *OR*, ser. 1, vol. 1, 337.

[28] Gilman, "With Slemmer...," *Battles and Leaders*, 1:30. Chase had resigned from the Army in 1856 to become president of the Alabama & Florida Railroad Company.

[29] Ibid., 31.

[30] *OR*, ser. 1, vol. 1, 337-38.

[31] Gilman, "With Slemmer...," *Battles and Leaders*, 1:31.

[32] *OR*, ser. 1, vol. 1, 338.

[33] Ibid.

[34] Walke, *Naval Scenes*, 8-9, 14. Slemmer's and Gilman's families had boarded *Wyandotte* on January 10, the day the troops had evacuated Barrancas barracks and had been transferred to *Supply* on the eleventh. *Supply* reached New York on February 4.

[35] Gilman to Haskin, February 12, 1875, William L. Haskin, *History of the First Regiment of Artillery*... (Portland, ME, 1879), 496.

[36] *OR*, ser. 1, vol. 1, 339.

[37] Gilman, "With Slemmer...," *Battles and Leaders*, 1:32; Gilman to Haskin, February 12, 1875, *1st Regiment of Artillery*, 496-97.

[38] Gilman to Haskin, February 12, 1875, *1st Regiment of Artillery*, 498.

[39] *OR*, ser. 1, vol. 1, 339.

[40] Ibid., 444-45. In the 36th Congress these men represented the following states: Stephen R. Mallory and David L. Yulee, Florida; Judah P. Benjamin and John Slidell, Louisiana; Louis T. Wigfall and John Hemphill, Texas; Alfred Iverson, Georgia; Jefferson Davis, Mississippi; and Clement C. Clay and Benjamin Fitzpatrick, Alabama.

[41] Ibid., 340.

[42] Ibid.

[43] Ibid., 353; Gilman to Haskin, February 12, 1875, *1st Regiment of Artillery*, 500.

[44] *OR*, ser. 1, vol. 1, 340.

[45] Gilman to Haskin, February 23, 1875, *1st Regiment of Artillery*, 500.

[46] Ibid., 498-99. Another man who joined the garrison in January was Patrick Travers. Discharged in December on completion of his 5-year enlistment, Travers had gone to New Orleans to book passage home to Ireland. Learning of Company G's difficulties, he returned to Pensacola, slipped over to Santa Rosa Island, and re-enlisted in the company on February 2. Ibid., 499.

[47] *OR*, ser. 1, vol. 1, 353.

[48] *ORN*, ser. 1, vol. 1, 67-69.

[49] Gilman to Haskin, February 12, 1875, *1st Regiment of Artillery*, 500.

[50] Dickison, *Confederate Military History-Florida*, 10:20-23; *OR*, ser. 1, vol. 1, 354.

[51] John G. Nicolay, *The Outbreak of Rebellion* (New York, 1881), 55-62; *OR*, ser. 1, vol. 1, 355-56.

[52] Gilman to Haskin, February 12, 1875, *1st Regiment of Artillery*,, 501.

[53] Ibid.

[54] *OR*, ser. 1, vol. 1, 357-58.

[55] Gilman to Haskin, February 12, 1875, *1st Regiment of Artillery*, 502.

[56] *OR*, ser. 1, vol. 1, 359.

[57] *ORN*, ser. 1, vol. 4, 85; Cornelius Cronin, "Reminiscences of Cornelius Cronin, Gunner, U.S. Navy."

[58] J.G. Randall, *The Civil War and Reconstruction* (New York, 1953), 212-13.

[59] *ORN*, ser. 1, vol. 4, 215; *Soldiers of Florida*, 324.

[60] *OR*, ser. 1, vol. 1, 448-49; Grady McWhiney, *Braxton Bragg and Confederate Defeat: Field Command* (New York, 1969), 155.

[61] *OR*, ser. 1, vol. 1, 449.

[62] Ibid., 360, 362.

[63] Ibid., 361-62.

[64] Ibid., 451.

[65] Ibid., 453-54.

[66] Ibid., 365.

[67] Ibid.

[68] *ORN*, ser. 1, vol. 4, 125.

[69] Ibid., 110.

[70] Ibid.

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Life on the Front as Reflected in Soldiers' Letters

Dean DeBolt

It may be impossible to do justice to life on the front as reflected in soldiers' letters from West Florida. The Pensacola area alone was the site of continual confrontation throughout the war between two armies numbering hundreds and often thousands of men. Most of these men, it now appears, were busy writing letters. Southern forces drew men from Alabama, Mississippi, Georgia, and Florida while northern forces included troops from Illinois, Indiana, Ohio, Maine, Vermont, New Hampshire, New York, and probably a few other areas not mentioned. The story of the soldiers' life on the front is reflected in the letters they wrote home as well as their private diaries, journals, regimental histories, and newspaper dispatches. The author has also consulted published letters in the course of research for this paper.

Almost immediately upon secession from the Union the governors of Alabama, Mississippi, and Florida recognized the importance of Pensacola's forts in the event of war. Although they had no authority to send state troops into other states, the governors of Alabama and Mississippi both ordered men into Pensacola. On January 8, 1861 Governor Moore of Alabama ordered the 2nd Alabama Regiment to West Florida. On January 11 John Pettus of Mississippi ordered eight companies of Mississippi troops to join Alabama militia on the way to Pensacola. [1]

On January 10 Lieutenant Adam J. Slemmer removed those troops still loyal to the United States from the navy yard across the bay to Fort Pickens. Major General William H. Chase, an ex-Army officer and builder of Fort Pickens, was placed in command of the Florida militia forces. Their first action was to take possession of the navy yard and forts at Pensacola. Thus an assortment of units consisting of Pensacola Rifles, and Alabama and Mississippi regiments moved into Barrancas and the navy yard. [2] By mid-January, two opposing armies were staring at each other across the bay — United States Army regulars in Fort Pickens and state militia forces in Fort Barrancas, Fort McRee, and the navy yard. [3]

Excitement ran high in Pensacola. George Saunton Denison, a Texas lawyer who had married Mrs. Cordelia Forsyth of Pensacola, was in Pensacola in December of 1860. He reported:

> But speaking of excitement, there is nothing in N.O. to compare with Pensacola — People here are up in arms almost and talk seriously (& I might add) constantly about attacking the Navy Yard and taking possession of the Government property there. They are promised the assistance of Ten Thousand men from Alabama, if necessary. For all that Pensacola elected by a large majority, Union men to the State Convention. The balance of the State, I understand have mostly elected secessionists & the Union has gone to H—Hades. [4]

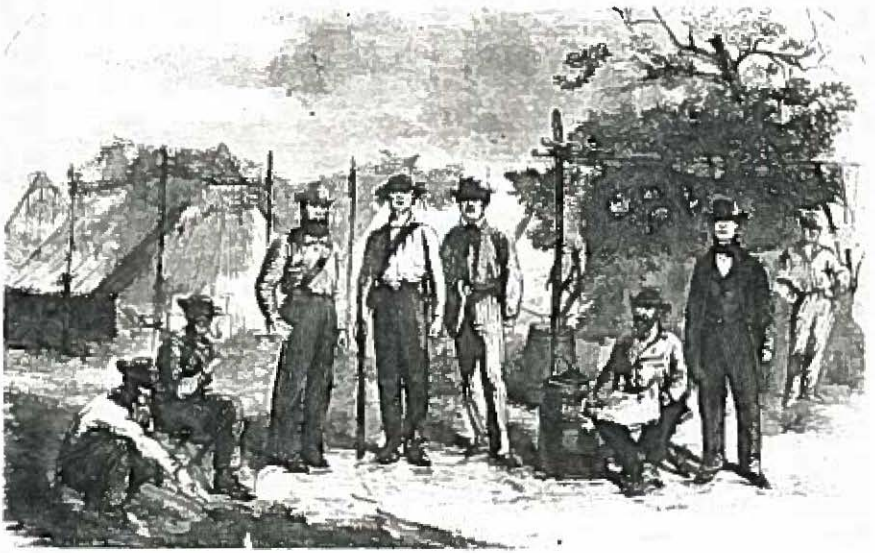
James Cooley has referred to these months between December 1860 and April 1861 as a strange, uneasy twilight. Little leadership came from the White House, and many military posts in seceding states were taken over or abandoned without struggle or protest. Those that remained in Federal hands often did so only at the initiative of the individual officers on the spot. [5]

On Santa Rosa Island, the Federals began work refurbishing Fort Pickens. Slemmer's small force of forty-seven men were joined by thirty navy men from the navy yard. They still received supplies from the mainland. On February 6 the *USS Brooklyn* arrived off Fort Pickens with supplies and reinforcements. However, a truce arranged between Stephen Mallory and the Buchanan administration prevented the reinforcement of the fort lest this might provoke military action. Stouten Hubert Dent of Eufaula, a lawyer and schoolteacher, joined the Eufaula Rifles of the First Alabama Infantry Regiment. After the Rifles attended the inauguration of President Jefferson Davis in Montgomery, they were sent to Pensacola. [6]

Writing from Barrancas barracks on February 23, 1861, Lieutenant Dent reported:

> I went this morning through the Navy Yard. It is a most delightful place. The officers quarters are very fine . . . . So far my experience here is more like a watering place than being on a Military Campaign . . . . The tales about mud and bad roads and bad treatment is all stuff. Some men you know are certain to grumble . . . . [7]

One of the best commentators on early war life at Barrancas was William Howard Russell, a correspondent for the London *Times*. As a neutral British



Bivouac of Rebel troops, Pensacola Harper's, *June 22, 1861*

observer he traveled through the South in early 1861 and wrote letters describing his visits. Russell visited the navy yard, met with General Bragg and then crossed the bay for Fort Pickens. Concerning Confederate soldiers in the navy yard, he reported that in terms of housing:

> Tents are pitched under the trees and the houses are all occupied by officers who are chatting, smoking, and drinking at the open windows. [8]

Lieutenant Dent echoed these observations; writing to his wife in June, he said there were

> tents from one hundred and fifty to Two hundred all covered over with brush arbors and various devices to keep out the sun. The men about in groups or engaged in cleaning up their grounds or arranging their tents. [9]

Russell took note of one major problem confronting the early Confederacy — lack of uniforms. He wrote:

> In a serious action or a close fighting or in night work, it would be very difficult to prevent . . . mistakes or . . . disasters . . . officers of the Confederate troops [are wearing] the same . . . marks of rank and similar uniforms [to those of Federal troops]. [10]

He also noted that the only troops with a semblance of military exactness were the Zouaves from New Orleans whose men were mostly Frenchmen and Creoles. Some had been in the Crimea, Italy, Sebastopol, and the "rest are German or Irish." [11]

Russell further noted that the Mississippi troops had "no particular uniforms." Their tents "are mostly small and laid on the ridge-pole pattern with side flys to keep off the sun." And "the men use green boughs and bowers. . . many had benches and seats before their doors . . . and the luxury of boarded floors to sleep upon." [12] On June 7 Lieutenant Dent wrote his wife:

> I like living in a tent pretty well. I have my office in the house and keep my clothes in there. I only do my sleeping in my tent. . .The weather is quite warm here and the dust intolerable. We have a drill every morning about 5 1/2 or 6 o'clock and even then the dust and heat are very severe. From every thing I can learn there is no prospect of a fight here unless we are attacked, and I do not think that at all likely. . . . [13]

Besides living quarters, food and clothes, and the associated chores to provide for these, the men had another problem to cope with — disease. Given the concentration of soldiers, even simple illnesses could spread like wildfire. Langdon Leslie Rumph, a member of the Perote Guards, part of the First Regiment Alabama Volunteers wrote to his father from Perote Battery, Barrancas barracks on May 25:

> We have had a good deal of sickness in our camp for the last few weeks. Dr. Billy Crossley has been very sick with chill & feaver [*sic*] nearly every man in the company that had any predisposition to them has had them. The Measles has surrounded our camp. We are looking for some of the younger boys to take them daily. If we should get them we will have a hard time with them, having no conveniences & exposed to all kinds of weather. Our tents not having covers form but poor protection to shelter us from the rain. [14]

Private Rumph wrote again to his father from Camp Alabama at Barrancas barracks on July 25:

> There are over 100 with them [measles] at the hospital. In all my life I never saw such a sickly time. Over 300 patients in the hospital, out of 90 men we never get out on parade more than 35 men, — so many sick in Camp & more will not go to hospital . . . All hands are monstrously tired of this hot climate, fleas flies & mosquitos. [15]

Unfortunately the private died in Pensacola; a letter written to his father reported that he had just recovered from the measles when he was taken with typhoid fever. The writer, M.B. Locke, also said:

> The quantity of sickness in our regiment has been attributed to the heavy guard duties we have to perform, but that has been decreased a good deal, and would be comparatively light now, were it not so many are sick. I have always thought that the prime causes were not only on account of the guard & fatigue duty, but the manner in which we are so crowded at this particular camp. [16]

The initial rush of troops to Pensacola brought many anxious to fight and of a passionate temper. As the weeks went by without military action, the officers coped with their frustrated enthusiasm by establishing a regular routine of drills, guard duty, and the digging of sand batteries.

Baxter McFarland, a member of the Chickasaw Guards, one of the first state militia units to reach Pensacola wrote that there was a "regimental dress parade in the evening" and "guard meetings in the morning" and that life became a "state of waiting . . . nothing save [the] dull routine of camp life." [17]

William Howard Russell, an English newspaper correspondent who visited the batteries reported:

> The men who ought to have been working were lying under the shade of trees, sleeping or smoking — long-limbed, long-bearded fellows in flannel shirts and slouched hats, uniformless in all, save bright well-kept arms and resolute purpose. [18]

Willis J. Milner of the 5th Georgia Regiment noted that wood squads "would be sent out on a flat car up the railroad to cut and bring in wood for camp."

He also reported that "the boys in camp became addicted to playing poker." [19]

Dr. Joseph Dill Alison, a medical doctor from Carlowville, Dallas County, joined the Alabama Mounted Rifles and in April or May of 1861 was sent to Pensacola. He kept a diary and noted the following:

> Pensacola — May 9th, 1861 — Camp life very monotonous. Horse drill in the morning, on foot in the evening. 12th — Sunday. For a wonder, no duty today . . . After roll call, Ed Youngblood and I went to the Bayou to get crabs for dinner. Caught as many as we could consume. 14th — Had a very long drill . . . This evening a foot drill with rifles. Theodore and I went to wash our clothes today. In the course of two hours got through and they were middling clean . . . Camp life dull. 28th — Went to Pensacola and dined at Dr. Lee's. Found the city under martial law, sentinels stationed at every corner demanding tickets of everyone who looked like a soldier. Keeps them out of all drinking houses; have to do considerable jockeying to get a julep. [20]

By summer, the lack of action accompanied by the increasing heat and humidity had begun to take its toll on the Confederate forces. Sun and heat caused at least five deaths reported by Dent, and Dent's letters in July, August, and early September, like those written earlier by Rumph, increasingly mention illness among the men.

Captain Edward Crenshaw, a member of the 9th Alabama Regiment, arrived in Pensacola on November 17. He noted in his diary that Colonel Watts requested of General Bragg that the regiment be allowed to remain near Pensacola where there was a healthy location and good water. Instead:

> We were ordered into camp in a low swampy place on a disagreeable bayou back from the Navy Yard and half a mile distant. Nearly one hundred of our regiment died in less than three months from diseases acquired at this camp — or at least their death was brought about by this unhealthy situation. We at last got permission to move our camp a short distance to a higher place. Companies "K" and "I" were so sickly that they were sent to the little village of Warrenton near the Navy Yard which had been deserted by its inhabitants during the first bombardment of the Navy Yard. [21]

Despite the rush to Pensacola in January, the first real action did not occur until October and November 1861. It then became clear to the Confederate commanders that Bragg's failure to attack Pickens before its reinforcement would permanently prevent its capture and their idle seige troops were badly needed in other parts of the Confederacy. Thus, in May 1862, the remaining Confederate troops evacuated Pensacola.

As noted above, Lieutenant Slemmer and his group of seventy men had moved to Fort Pickens in January of 1861. For most of that month Slemmer's force was busy reinforcing the fort and preparing for an assault which they believed could come at any moment.

In February, the relief ship *Brooklyn* arrived and anchored off Pickens but because of the "truce," it did not reinforce the fort or unload troops until April. The earliest description of life in these quarters comes from William Russell Howard, the English newspaper correspondent, in a letter from Mobile in May. He reported:

> The soldiers of the guard were United States regular troops of the artillery, wore blue uniforms, brass buttons . . . In the parade [of Pickens] were several tents of what is called Sibley's pattern, like . . . bell tents. [22]

He continued, inside the fort, were "airy, well-ventilated quarters" and the casemates were "crowded with men, most of whom were reading" and mosquito nets were frequent. [23]

One of the soldiers of the 83rd Ohio Volunteer Infantry which had arrived on the relief ship wrote:

> Our first thought was if we were now in Ohio, we would be shivering around a red hot stove or shoveling snow . . . and as our eyes fell on the stove . . . and saw the . . . white sand, we thought sure enough it was snow, and shivered in sympathy. [24]

With reinforcements, Pickens had a larger population and some crowding. Henry W. Closson, 1st Maine Artillery, referred to life in the casemates as life in "Long Hall" or "Hell Row." He reported the presence of army cots, barrels, drinks, and "shows put on by our worthy quartermaster . . . [who] attempted Micawber or Ophelia." Often at night, he reported:

> The music of John Brown or Benny Havens would loudly float through the Fort until the adjutant, buttoned up to the chin, presented himself at the door to state that the commanding officer [felt] there was too much noise for a beleaguered fortress. [25]

One of the most extraordinary chroniclers of the Civil War in Pensacola was Father Michael J. Nash. He was appointed as Catholic priest to the 6th Regiment New York Volunteers, otherwise known as Colonel Billy Wilson's Zouaves. In a remarkable series of letters from June 1861 through January 1862 to his Superior General, he told about life for the Zouaves at Fort Pickens and Pensacola.

It is important to know something about the kind of men in the Zouaves, especially in light of later events in Pensacola. Colonel William C. Holbrook of the 7th Regiment Vermont Volunteers stationed at Pensacola reported that the unit was "made up of thieves, plug-uglies, and other dangerous characters gathered from the slums of New York City." [26] Initially, Father Nash described them differently. He wrote in his first letter from Staten Island in June 1861 that "what has been said of these poor fellows is partially exaggeration, and partly gross calumny" and that "all are sons of Catholics . . . [but] their Christian education has been woefully neglected." [27]

However, Father Nash soon learned otherwise. While in New York, he sent word from his quarters, which were at some distance from the Regiment in camp, that any soldier who desired confession would be welcome on a certain Sunday at 9:00 A.M. But by noon none had showed up and at 5:00 in the afternoon a messenger arrived from Colonel Wilson requesting that the men return if the father was finished with them. It was not until about 10:00 P.M. in the evening that the men passed the priest's house from their sojourn in town where "they had freely indulged in strong drink." As Father Nash ruefully reported "my new flock is not to be trusted." [28]

In mid-June, the 6th New York Regiment was ordered to New York where they boarded the steamer *Vanderbilt* to carry them to Pensacola. Father Nash reported that on their march through the city the assistance of the Chief of Police had to be sought to round up the men and get them on board where they were "literally mad with liquor" and there was one continual fight after another. [29] At sea, Colonel Wilson opened the sealed orders and announced that "our destination is Fort Pickens, in the Gulf of Mexico." As Father Nash records, "not one of us had ever heard of such a place." [30]

In his third letter from Santa Rosa Island on July 10, Father Nash recorded the arrival of the troops. The *Vanderbilt* arrived on June 24 and began landing troops on June 25. Because of currents, the long slope of the shoreline, and the heavy draught of the ship loaded with soldiers, supplies, munitions, and mules, they anchored some two to three miles from the Island.

He reported that the mules were disembarked without problem. Despite their unpredictable nature, they were lowered by means of a halter into the water and towed to shore. Until a camp could be set up, they were simply turned loose to forage. As darkness fell, Father Nash wrote:

> By nightfall, 300 men disembarked. I do not know how many mules were landed. From deck we can, with the aid of our field glasses, see the poor animals racing over the island without stint or hindrance. [31]

In the rush to get troops ashore, the rough surf combined with the inexperience of the soldiers led to frequent dousing of the men and rations with salt water. Also, most of the provisions were still aboard ship so that establishment of formal quarters was held in abeyance. The soldiers who landed camped out as best they could.

The next day Colonel Wilson arrived on shore. Father Nash wrote that he found the men in bad condition; their rations and clothes were salt-water soaked and even worse, they had stayed awake in fear all night because

> they imagined . . . that the mules of whose liberty they were unaware, were southern cavalry scouring the island in quest of booty . . . for these poor animals . . . continued their mad course . . . over the sand hills all night. [32]

By July, the Zouaves had settled into a camp, with tents, company streets, and the formalities of regular encampments. Father Nash's letters continued to speak of some of the problems of life at the fort — the lack of fresh water sources, the heat, mosquitos, and barrenness of the island. In his fourth letter, he requested that his superiors be informed that the only clothing which could stand the climate was blue flannel (navy flannel). He also reported having turned down an offer of the *New York Herald* to be their correspondent on the Island for twenty dollars per letter. [33]

Father Nash noted in his July 24 letter that Braxton Bragg had missed his chance; with the reinforcements and the impregnability of Fort Pickens, its capture was now impossible for the South. When the Confederates eventually left the area they burned much of the navy yard and key buildings and businesses in Pensacola to make them useless to the Union forces.

Henry W. Closson wrote of the entry of the Federals into Pensacola that they paraded into town; in front were

> the 6th New Yorkers, preceded by the regimental goat, labeled in red paint; a battery of howitzers drawn by quartermaster mules, and the 75th New York in the rear; their audience was few. [34]

As Pensacola was abandoned, many of its citizenry also fled. For most of the period from mid-1862 until the war's end, the Union troops occupied Fort Barrancas and various facilities in the area. Their camps were similar to those of the Confederates. Captain David D. Hoag, of the 28th Regiment Connecticut Volunteers, noted that his unit lived in a "pitch-pine grove . . . a mile from Fort Barrancas: with a "splendid tent, a plank floor, a foot from the ground, a good bedstead and mattress." [35]

Between mid-1862 and mid-1863 Union troops occupied Pensacola, the navy yard, and Fort Barrancas as well as Fort Pickens. But during this time, there were frequent turnovers of troops and occasional skirmishes with Confederate cavalry on the outskirts of town. Pensacola was no longer the scene of major confrontation; instead it became a place of recuperation.

The 15th Marine Regiment arrived in September 1862. The regiment was nearly decimated by the summer in New Orleans; its men wrote of the "wilting influences of the midsummer Louisiana heat." They steamed into Pensacola Bay and disembarked at Pensacola where they reported their quarters were "unusually comfortable" most being housed in "the deserted private residences." Henry Shorey noted that "the commanding general . . . appropriated the residence . . . of an ex-U.S. Senator, now a member of the Cabinet of the Confederacy." Shorey also noted that the "salubrious climate . . . comfortable quarters, a cool and health-giving sea-breeze" improved their sick list. "Guard duty was the chief employment" and a "picket-line encircled the city, some 5 or 6 miles." [36]

Another activity was "fishing in the bay for oysters." [37] Some of the Union soldiers kept busy teaching. Captain Hoag reported that he went to

two prayer-meetings a week, one at his quarters, one at St. Mary's Hall and helped to teach reading at a colored Sabbath school. [38] The 83rd Ohio, settled at the navy yard, reported a pleasant camp.

Thomas Marshall wrote that "as we had never been on the sea shore before, the ocean . . . had a strong fascination for us." Writing like later tourists, he reported sea life such as crabs, "so seldom or never seen in the interior where our homes were." [39]

But life was less than idyllic. When the 7th Vermont Volunteers arrived in Pensacola in November 1862 after a grueling summer in Louisiana coping with swamps, hot sun, and heat they were anxious to receive their ration of whiskey upon arrival. But they discovered that the commander at Pensacola was "General Neal Dow, author of the Maine liquor law . . . who refused [their] request." [40]

During 1862 and 1863, there were roughly two groups in Pensacola; the Wilson Zouaves from New York and New England regiments from Maine, Vermont, and New Hampshire. Captain Hoag reported that "the camp is a hard place for morals, and the awful profanity and . . . drinking." [41] But if this was a problem, the New Englanders had the answer. The 15th Maine reported that "one of the pleasantest episodes . . . was the organization by the temperance element . . . of a Division of the Sons of Temperance." Further, "New England's manners and customs were duplicated as closely as possible by the Maine colony which had established itself at Pensacola." [42]

Between a life of picket duty, temperance meetings, drinking parties, or just keeping the peace, there was always the opportunity to gossip about the commanders. Colonel Holbrook, 7th Vermont Volunteers, reported that General Dow "had discovered a great fondness for pianos and miscellaneous articles of furniture" which were appropriated from various homes. Holbrook reported that in December 1862 an armed reconnaisance was made to Oakfield but "the enemy not being found there and no *furniture* having been discovered, the object of the expedition was declared to have been accomplished." It was also Holbrook who reported the story that when Dow was replaced and sent West, he was captured near Port Hudson where the Confederates offered to exchange him for six pianos. [43]

Camp life for both the Union and Confederate forces, with few exceptions, fell mostly into daily routines — drilling, washing, eating, etc. There is one last aspect of camp life which proved to be a major skirmish of the war on both sides at Pensacola, frequently mentioned in Union soldiers' letters, probably because the intensity of this pestilence was exacerbated by this climate: the Flea Wars.

Dr. Jospeh Dill Alison, Alabama Mounted Rifles, noted in his diary for June 11, 1861:

> Returned today. On the way down met some of the former scouts returning. They gave good accounts of the life and activity of the fleas and mosquitoes. Thought they were romancing, but found, to my sorrow, that the report

> was far short of the truth. I do not think that there were less than a hundred fleas on me anytime while I was there, except when I had my clothes off. The first night I spent in fighting the "varmints." Second night, after my watch was over, I joined R— who had gone to look for a place to sleep in comfort, found him on a sand hill 200 yards back of our camp, preparing to retire. He had made a fire and was hunting fleas, in which amusement I took a hand. In the course of half an hour we thought ourselves to be in fit condition to sleep. But alas to our anticipation! In less than five minutes we were as bad off as ever, so we trimmed our fire and returned to the attack. What a scene for an artist — two fine specimens of manhood arrayed in birthday apparel, standing by a large fire on a lone sand hill in a dreary country, catching fleas. The same tableau was acted six times in five hours, when we gave up as conquered and surrendered at discretion. We next turned our attention to mosquitoes and gnats that amused us until breakfast time which found us very much exhausted from our exertions. I began to think things not very pleasant. [44]

A Scotsman in Billy Wilson's Zouaves reported that they moved from Fort Pickens to Fort Barrancas after the evacuation of Pensacola by the Confederates. He said:

> When morning came . . . I found myself literally alive with fleas and other nameless insects. You could actually see the men's light-blue trowsers speckled with fleas of most respectable dimensions. If the Confederates had used [these houses] as dormitories, I can easily account for their being wakeful and vigilant.[45]

Colonel Holbrook, 7th Vermont Volunteers, wrote that "while on Santa Rosa Island, there was a continual skirmish with fleas." He summed it up this way:

> — — a flea
> Has smaller fleas on him that prey;
> And these have smaller still to bite 'em,
> And so increase ad infinitum. [46]

For soldiers on both sides, their lives would never be the same. Life in the military, roughing it in camp, comradeship, the horrors of war itself — all these would profoundly affect men whichever side or color they wore. In 1865 however, both sides used the same phrases in their final letters, "Thank God, the war is over" and "I'm coming home."

Notes

[1] Baxter McFarland, "A Forgotten Expedition to Pensacola in January 1861," *Minnesota Historical Society Publications* 9 (1906):17.

[2] Charles P. Summerall, "Soldiers connected with Florida History Since 1812," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 9 (April 1931):248.

[3] McFarland, 18-19. These state militia forces included: from Mississippi, the Chickasaw Guards (Chickasaw County), the Columbus Riflemen (Lowndes County), Lowndes Southrons, the Prairie Guards (Noxubee and Lowndes County), Noxubee Rifles, the Enterprise Guards (Clarke County), the Lauderdale Rifles, the Quitman Light Infantry (Clarke County). In Mobile, they were joined by the Alabama Light Dragoons and the South Alabama Rangers.

[4] James A. Padgett, ed. "Some Letters of George Stanton Denison, 1854-1866," *Louisiana Historical Quarterly* 23 (October 1940):1167. Letter from Pensacola, Florida, December 24, 1860.

[5] James Cooley, "The relief of Fort Pickens," *American Heritage* 25 (February 1974):73.

[6] Ray Mathis, *In the land of the living: Wartime Letters by Confederates from the Chattahoochee Valley of Alabama and Georgia* (Troy, AL, 1981), 2.

[7] Ibid., 3.

[8] William Howard Russell, *Pictures of Southern Life, Social, Political, and Military* (New York, 1861), 45.

[9] Mathis, 6.

[10] Russell, *Pictures*, 48.

[11] Ibid., 48.

[12] Ibid., 51-52.

[13] Mathis, 4.

[14] Henry Eugene Sterks and Brooks Thomas, eds. "Letters of a Teenage Confederate," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 38 (April 1960):341. These are letters of Langdon Leslie Rumph written from "Barrancas Barracks," March-June 1861. Private Rumph died on August 16, possibly from typhoid fever.

[15] Ibid., 343.

[16] Ibid., 345.

[17] McFarland, 20.

[18] Russell, 50.

[19] Willis J. Milner, *Biographical Sketch of Willis J. Milner by his youngest child, Willis J. Milner, II* (Birmingham, AL, 1909?), 23.

[20] Joseph Dill Alison, "I have been through my first battle and have had enough war to last me . . . " A first person account, by Dr. Joseph Dill Alison. *Civil War Times Illustrated* 5 (February 1967):41. Alison was a private in the Alabama Mounted Rifles and stationed in Pensacola in early 1861; these are excerpts from his diary, May 1861-February 1862.

[21] Edward Crenshaw, "Diary of Captain Edward Crenshaw of the Confederate States Army," *Alabama Historical Quarterly* 1 (Fall 1930): 265.

[22] Russell, 54.

[23] Ibid., 57.

[24] Thomas B. Marshall, *History of the Eighty-third Ohio Volunteer Infantry, the Greyhound Regiment* (Cincinnati, 1912), 134. This regiment arrived near Fort Pickens, January 1865.

[25] William Lawrence Haskin, *The History of the First Regiment of Artillery, from its Organization in 1821, to January 1st, 1876 . . .* (Fort Preble, Portland, 1878), 356-357. This regiment was transferred to Fort Pickens during the Mexican War in October 1845 and also served at Fort Pickens during the Civil War. The book includes numerous reminiscences of men in the unit during their period in Pensacola and vicinity.

[26] William C. Holbrook, *A Narrative of the Officers and Enlisted Men of the 7th Regiment of Vermont Volunteers (Veterans), from 1862 to 1866* (New York, 1882), 118.

[27] Michael Nash, S.J., "Letters From a Chaplain in the War of 1861," *Woodstock Letters* 16 (1887):21. Article was subtitled "first letter." Father Nash was a Jesuit priest at Fort Pickens; his series of letters were reprinted in the privately published editions of Jesuit correspondence, in eleven parts, 1887-1890.

[28] Ibid., 25.

[29] Ibid., 147. (Second Letter).

[30] Ibid., 149.

[31] Ibid., 242. (Third Letter).

[32] Ibid., 242.

[33] Nash, "Letters from a Chaplain," 17 (1888):14. (Fourth Letter).

[34]Haskin, 362.

[35] J.C. Hoag, comp. *Life and letters of Capt. David D. Hoag, Who Fell in the Siege of Port Hudson, June 14, 1863* (New York, 1866), 64, 68.

[36] Henry Augustus Shorey, *The Story of the Maine Fifteenth . . .* (Bridgton, ME, 1890), 26-29.

[37] Marshall, 158.

[38] Hoag, 46.

[39] Marshall, 155.

[40] Holbrook, 116.

[41] Hoag, 72.

[42] Shorey, 29.

[43] Holbrook, 117, 122.

[44] Dill, 43.

[45] *Recollections of a Checkered Life, by a Good Templar* (Napanee, Ontario, 1868), 61. Although the author is unidentified, it is accepted that it is S.T. Hammond, a Scotsman who emigrated to New York in 1850 and enlisted in the Captain Billy Zouaves. The book is mainly a temperance account of Hammond's battle with "demon rum" but has some good accounts of life in the Zouaves on Santa Rosa Island and later the Pensacola mainland.

[46] Holbrook, 127.

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Incidents on the Blockade at Mobile

Frank L. Owsley, Jr.

Almost as soon as the United States made the decision to prevent the secession of the southern states by force, the Lincoln government adopted the policy of naval blockade. A Union blockade of the Confederacy would stretch for more than thirty-five hundred miles from the Potomac River at Alexandria, Virginia, down the Atlantic seaboard and then west along the Gulf Coast to the mouth of the Rio Grande River in Texas. Entering into such an extensive operation was in itself an ambitious plan for a country which had a relatively small navy with only forty-two ships in commission. There were hundreds of inlets and bays all along the coast which might shelter a small ship, and these entry points were never successfully closed. It was, however, the main ports, those places which could accept large ships and which had either railroad or river connections with the interior, that were to be blockaded. It was, after all, only these installations which could be used to bring in or ship out commerce. [1]

The two most important ports on the Gulf Coast were New Orleans and Mobile. Mobile had been a major center of antebellum trade, ranking second only to the Crescent City as a cotton exporting port. It had very important river, rail, and telegraph links with the rest of the Confederacy and the city itself was an important manufacturing center. The Confederate submarine *Hunley* was built there although it was later used in Charleston. The strategic location of the city was of great significance because of its control of the mouth of the Alabama river system. Located on the Alabama River were major military facilities at Selma and Montgomery. As long as Mobile was in Confederate hands there was almost no way the Union Army could reach the interior of Alabama with all its facilities. So important was the city that the Confederates built extensive land fortifications around it making it one of the best defended positions in the Confederacy. Mobile was held long after the capture of the entrance to the bay and was one of the last cities in the Confederacy to be captured, three days after General Lee's surrender at Appomattox. It had a close relationship with its sister city Pensacola. Had the Confederacy been able to hold the Pensacola Navy Yard and Fort Pickens, it would have been very difficult for the Union to maintain a blockade of Mobile. [2]

As soon as the secession movement started there was great confusion in both the North and the South. In an effort to avoid a conflict both sides had made local arrangements not to attack each other. This was a time of waiting, waiting for Lincoln to assume his office and give direction to the country. Fort Sumter was not to be reinforced or resupplied, and the Southern representatives had agreed not to attack so long as reinforcements were not sent. Even when the Union ship *Star of the West* was fired upon there was still no war. No one seemed to want war and there was a great reluctance to fire the first shot.

The two most important posts involved in this standoff were Fort Sumter at Charleston and Fort Pickens at Pensacola. After the period of initial confusion had passed, Lincoln and his advisors determined that these forts must be reinforced and held if possible. There was still confusion and conflicting instructions which caused ships like *Powhatan*, one of the most powerful ships in the fleet, to be given orders to proceed to two different places at the same time. Nevertheless, expeditions were organized to relieve both Fort Sumter and Fort Pickens. The activities at Fort Sumter are well known and need not be repeated here. The significance of Fort Pickens, however, is not as familiar. [3]

In a very special way, Fort Pickens was the key to the Gulf Coast. Located on Santa Rosa Island, it controlled access to the Pensacola harbor and navy yard. If the United States could hold this position, it could soon control the navy yard, thus giving the country a base from which ships on blockade duty could be repaired, resupplied, and coaled. This facility was perhaps the only one accessible point on the entire Gulf Coast which might be used by Union forces at that time. Without a coaling station at Pensacola or some point nearby, the United States Navy would be forced to refuel its ships at Key West, and the trip to and from that place would have used most of the coal supply, making it nearly impossible to maintain a blockade.[4] Until Ship Island was captured on September 17, 1861, and New Orleans was taken by Union forces on April 25, 1862, there was, other than Pensacola, no Union base west of the tip of Florida. [5]

Yet another consideration was the value of Pensacola in Confederate hands. If the Confederates could have held the navy base, not only would it have furnished a place where most ships could have been constructed, but it would have given the South another port, forcing the Union navy to stretch its resources even more. Also Pensacola's proximity to Mobile made it a place of great value and nearly essential to the successful blockading of that vital port.

After the loss of New Orleans, Mobile became even more important than it had been, even in antebellum days. In 1860 $150,000,000 worth of cotton had been sent out of Alabama's port city. [6] In addition to its value as a port, the city, with a population of 41,000 in 1860, had numerous manufacturing establishments. Located at the mouth of the Alabama river system it had excellent communications with the interior. This connection was a double advantage. As a supply port, Mobile had either water or rail links with the entire Confederacy. On the other hand, unlike New Orleans, it was not vulnerable to an attack from the interior. The Union gunboats built on the Mississippi were a factor in closing that river and no doubt diverted some of the potential defenses of New Orleans. There was, however, no way for the United States to get naval forces into the Alabama river system so long as the Confederates held Mobile.

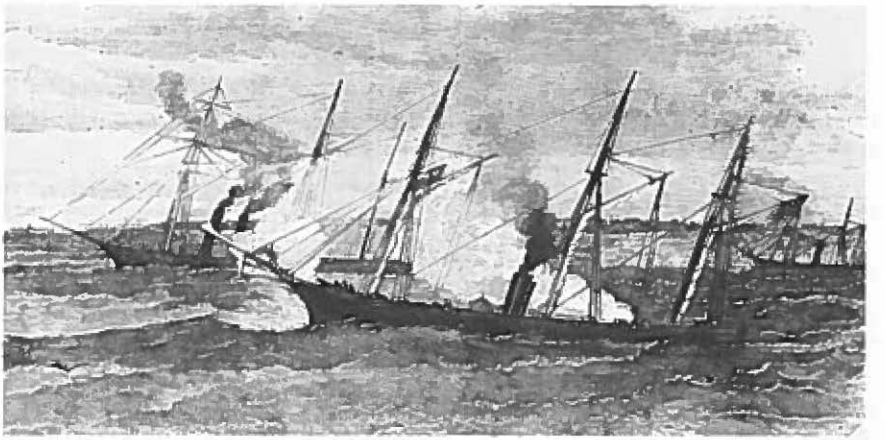
The city had rail connections to the rest of the Confederacy beyond the Alabama river system. Railroads could be used to move supplies easily,

but they were of little use to armies on the offensive unless those armies were sufficiently large that they could leave thousands of men in the rear to guard the railroad. The Union army, for example, had little success using railroads in the Confederacy as supply routes before the Atlanta campaign. Until that time the only successful Union advance deep into the Confederacy had been by sea or by river. Rivers could not be broken up or very successfully blocked, but railroads could be. [7]

If the Union forces had been able to capture Mobile, the U.S. Navy could have entered the Alabama river system and destroyed the Selma arsenal and a number of other important Confederate installations. Mobile was, therefore, of great value to the Confederacy and its defense essential. The Confederacy was able to hold Mobile largely because of the quick action of Governor A.B. Moore. Moore called out the Alabama militia and as soon as the state seceded, he ordered the occupation of Fort Morgan on Mobile Point, and Fort Gaines on Dauphin Island. These forts were located at the east and west of the entrance to Mobile Bay and thereby controlled the bay. Governor Moore's action prevented reinforcement of the forts and they were taken without a fight. The timing proved to be critical since the Alabama and Florida militia seized the Pensacola Navy Yard and Fort Barrancas only one week later, but they were unable to capture Fort Pickens. [8] Without Fort Pickens the Confederacy could not hold Pensacola. Mobile, however, was securely in southern hands.

Mobile was a difficult port for blockade runners. Wilmington and Charleston were both more accessible to the ships running the blockade than Mobile, no doubt a factor in the heavy traffic running the blockade in the Carolinas. The Alabama port had a single deep-water channel which could be used by ships of over twelve feet in draft. Unfortunately this channel was narrow, less than a mile wide in places, and it was necessary to enter it some five miles out into the Gulf, a point well out of the range of the protective guns of Fort Morgan. This alone would make it much easier for the naval vessels of the United States to blockade the deep water entrance.

There were, however, two other entrances to Mobile Bay which could be used by blockade runners of shallow or medium draft. One of these channels ran back to the east and entered the bay directly under the guns of Fort Morgan. This route was frequently used by the blockade runners because its better protection by the guns of Fort Morgan made it more difficult to close. The other channel was on the western side and passed into the bay through Grant's Pass. This channel, although having less depth than either of the others, was frequently used at high tide by shallow-draft blockade runners. Islands in the Mississippi Sound to the west of Mobile Bay screened this entrance, making it especially difficult for the blockaders to close. The Grant's Pass entrance was also used early in the war as part of Mobile's sea link to New Orleans. The difficulty of controlling this entrance is demonstrated by the fact that trade between New Orleans and Mobile was seldom interrupted until after the capture of the Louisiana city. Small schooners



CSS Florida *running out of Mobile* Harper's, *November 15, 1862*

could easily navigate Grant's Pass. Even though Mobile was never considered to be an easy port for blockade runners, it was much less difficult to enter during the first year of the war when there were few Union warships in the Gulf. [9] In fact, Mobile was not closed until several months after the war began. Lincoln's proclamation of a blockade, issued on April 19, 1861, and strengthened on April 27, and again on August 16 of that year, had little immediate effect on the port. In the first months of the war Confederate restrictions actually delayed the shipments in and out of Mobile more than any effort to blockade the port. During the summer of 1861, there were union warships posted off Mobile and the blockade became increasingly more effective, although during most of that year there was seldom more than one Union warship on duty. During 1862 the Union attempt to close Mobile became much more effective, and after that time passage through the blockade was virtually impossible for all except regular blockade runners.

To curtail the European supply of cotton and force British and perhaps French intervention in the war, the Confederate government tried to prevent the shipment of any cotton from southern ports during the first year of the war. This proved to be a mistake and eventually great amounts of cotton were exported through the blockade. The failure to export cotton during these early months when the blockade was ineffective lost a golden opportunity for the Confederacy to build up a large foreign credit which would have certainly helped its cause. Nevertheless, during the course of the war there was a vast amount of material run through the blockade. Both the Confederate government and the governments of the various individual states attempted to control the goods imported into the Confederacy. Despite their efforts many nonessential items were imported, and at Mobile as elsewhere constant complaints surfaced that valuable foreign exchange and shipping space was being used to import fancy clothing and expensive wine. While these claims were undoubtedly justified, great quantities of needed goods, both civilian and military, were also brought in through the blockade.

Confederate agents were sent to Cuba and other points where blockade runners were based. These agents' function was to demand that essential goods be shipped and establish priorities to insure that certain critical materials were given the first claim to space aboard the blockade runners. Included in these were such items as arms, ammunition, blankets, shoes, clothing, and medical supplies. Only after these goods were loaded could the blockade runner ship whatever he wished.

Although a considerable percentage of the blockade runners going into Mobile were captured, enough of them were successful to make the trade profitable and to bring in much useful war materiel. In addition to an assortment of arms, the machinery for the naval foundry and arsenal at Selma and for the navy yard on the Tombigbee River was run through the blockade at Mobile. This equipment came primarily from England by way of the West Indies and Cuba. Most of the cargos which were run into Mobile came by way of Havana, a port about six hundred miles distant which blockade runners could make in about two or three days.

The Confederacy paid for the goods it imported through the use of loans and by exporting cotton. In Alabama alone the Confederate Treasury Department, which was in charge of all cotton exports, purchased 134,252 bales to sell abroad to finance the war effort. Most of this cotton was shipped through Mobile. Although it is uncertain exactly how much of it successfully eluded the Union Navy, most of it probably got through. After all it was much easier to escape from Mobile than to enter it. This cotton trade continued until summer of 1864 when Admiral Farragut captured forts Morgan and Gaines. [10]

Perhaps one of the most interesting and daring of the successful efforts to run the blockade was the case of the Confederate cruiser *Florida* which ran into Mobile Bay on the afternoon of September 3, 1862. This event was unusual in a number of ways. It was originally intended that *Florida* should start her cruise against Union commerce directly from Green Cay, an uninhabited island near Nassau. Unfortunately for the Confederates, *Florida's* equipment was loaded quickly and a number of essential items such as gun sights, rammers, sponges, etc., were left at Nassau. Without this equipment the cruiser's guns were useless. The ship was also short of crew, having only twelve men and fourteen officers. To make matters worse there were six cases of yellow fever aboard. With these insurmountable odds Captain John N. Maffitt was forced to take *Florida* to Cardenas, Cuba. He had hoped to remain in Cardenas until the crew had recovered. Maffitt received the medical aid he needed while in the Cuban port and managed to recruit twelve more men for his crew. However, six of his original ship's company had died from the yellow fever and he was still unable to obtain the necessary supplies for his guns. Without more men and the needed equipment, he could not start his cruise. Maffitt, therefore, decided to take *Florida* into Mobile. [11]

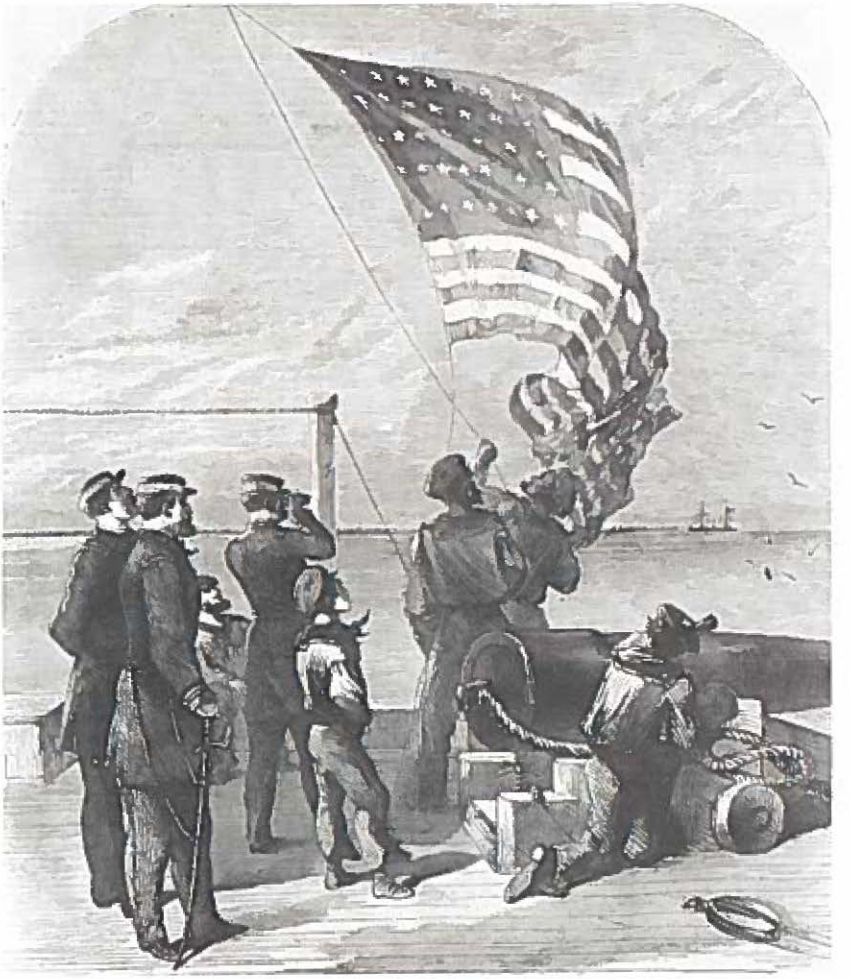
Florida left Cardenas on the evening of September 1 and the voyage to Mobile was conducted without incident. One United States warship was sighted but it was too slow to overtake *Florida.* At three o'clock on the afternoon of September 4, Fort Morgan at Mobile point was sighted. There were only two Union warships on station, the steamers *Oneida* and *Winona.* Maffitt's officers advised him not to attempt to run *Florida* through the blockade until after dark. Maffitt rejected this advice for a number of reasons. The lighthouse and channel buoys had been removed by the Confederates, making it very difficult for him to get *Florida* with her deep draft into Mobile Bay at night without a pilot. [12] However, Maffitt also realized that if he ran the blockade during daylight, it would be necessary to pass very near one or both of the blockading ships, since at least one of these ships was stationed directly in the channel. Without usable guns, *Florida* would have little chance of passing these warships should they open fire.

In the manner of an expert poker player, Maffitt concluded that the only way to get *Florida* through the blockade was to make the best use of surprise and sheer bluff. *Florida* was an exact copy of a British warship and it was not unusual for Her Majesty's vessels to approach the blockade and ask permission to pass through. It was, in fact, customary to allow neutral warships to go through the blockade. Maffitt chose this method of deception to disguise his ship. He believed that he could approach the Union ships closely before they realized his true nature. By the time they recognized that *Florida* was not English, he hoped to be past their position and in the confusion outrun them.

Maffitt was capitalizing on the recent difficulties the United States had had with Britain over the *Trent* affair. He believed that these events would cause the Union commander to deliberate very carefully before firing on what appeared to be a British ship. With this plan in mind, he steamed *Florida* directly toward *Oneida,* flagship of the squadron, as if to request permission to enter Mobile.

Maffitt's deception worked, *Oneida* held her fire and steered to cut off *Florida.* Maffitt did not change his course and George H. Preble, commander of *Oneida,* fearing a collision, backed his ship, giving Maffitt the momentary advantage he needed. Preble allowed *Florida* to come within eighty yards before he fired the first warning shot across her bow. The Confederate ship continued on her course and Preble fired a second warning shot, which was quickly followed by a broadside. At this close range *Oneida* could easily have sunk Maffitt's ship but her guns were not fully depressed and as a result the broadside passed through the rigging of the Confederate vessel. Preble's error cost him the opportunity to destroy *Florida.* At this time a third Federal ship, a sailing vessel, appeared on the scene, giving the cruiser three enemy ships to elude.

When Preble fired on *Florida* the other two blockaders simultaneously opened fire, but their shots were also high. The second barrage was, however, far more effective than the first. One 11-inch shell from *Oneida* passed through



Raising the flag off Mobile Harper's, *February 13, 1864*

the coal bunkers on the port side near the water line, grazed the forward boiler, killed a fireman, and wounded several other men. Had this shell exploded, it would probably have sunk *Florida* or wrecked at least one of her boilers. Still another shell passed through the cabin and the pantry, and another exploded close to the port gangway, causing some serious damage to the ship. Soon after the firing started, Maffitt attempted to set the sails, but the Federal ships fired shrapnel into the rigging preventing this.

Florida survived this clash with the blockading squadron largely because of Maffitt's effective strategy. He had avoided fire from the United States ships until he had actually passed them, and then the rattled gun crews had failed to inflict serious damage with their first broadside. The second broadside did much more damage to the Confederate vessel but missed her vitals. The third round was fired into *Florida's* rigging to prevent her from using her

sails. These shots succeeded in their purpose but failed to do serious damage to the ship. *Florida* was faster than any of the Union ships and with each round she increased her distance from her pursuers. Since *Florida* had already passed the blockading ships when the action started, they were forced to pursue her. Maffitt succeeded in maneuvering the Union ships into a line so that only the lead ship *Oneida* could fire. *Oneida* had to yaw out of line in order to bring her broadside guns to bear on *Florida* and after firing her guns, turn back into line to continue the pursuit. These maneuvers took time and the distance between *Florida* and her enemies increased rapidly with each successive broadside. *Florida* eventually pulled out of range and reached safety under the guns of Fort Morgan at dusk. [13]

Commander Preble's account of the action more than any of the others demonstrated the effectiveness of Maffitt's deception. Preble reported that even at the close distance of one hundred yards, *Florida* appeared to be an English warship. It was this concern that caused him to hesitate and that lost the opportunity to destroy the Confederate. The entire action lasted only twenty-four minutes; the first shots were fired at 6:03, the last at 6:27 p.m. Not only did darkness break off the action but *Oneida* almost grounded, running into shallow water close to the guns of Fort Morgan. [14]

In addition to his other excuses, Preble claimed that he had not been warned that a Confederate ship was in the area. This alone made him inclined to accept without suspicion the approach of a British warship. He also claimed that *Oneida* was slowed considerably because it was getting steam from only one boiler since the other was under repair. No matter his excuses, Preble was dismissed from the United States Navy and although he was later reinstated after his friends put pressure on the Navy Department, he was not again given a good command.[15]

At least one man who served on *Oneida* believed that Preble had not used good judgment in his efforts to stop *Florida*. H.W. Wilson confirmed that Preble was reluctant to fire on *Florida* and thus lost his chance to sink her. Actually Maffitt's belief that the United States Navy would be very cautious before firing on a British naval vessel was almost certainly correct. Preble was probably indecisive, but not without reason. [16]

Florida spent four months in Mobile Bay while repairs were made. The repairs progressed slowly because of the shortages in the Confederacy and because *Florida's* draft prevented her from anchoring closer than twenty-eight miles from Mobile. During this time the strength of the blockade at Mobile was increased. Admiral Farragut, determined to prevent the cruiser from returning to sea, increased the squadron at Mobile from three to six or more ships. He also sent *R.R. Culyer* to Mobile because this was the only United States naval vessel available which was rated as being faster than *Florida*. [17]

Even though the strength of the blockade was doubled, *Florida* was able to make her escape on the night of January 16, 1863. It was always easier to escape from a blockaded port than it was to enter it from the

open sea. This was true because the escaping ship could wait until weather conditions and darkness favored its attempt. Usually the escaping ship wanted a dark night with perhaps a bit of rain or fog. There was always some risk in this kind of escape because of the danger of grounding with poor visibility and with all of the navigational aids removed from the channel. Nevertheless, with a good pilot, ships running the blockade had an excellent chance of making their escape. The weather was so poor when *Florida* began her attempt that the ship actually had to wait for a time because the rain was so heavy that even the pilot considered the risk to be too great. After the rainstorm passed, visibility was still poor and there was some fog, but *Florida* made it. Several of the blockading vessels were actually anchored in the channel but *Florida* passed two of them without being seen. The third vessel did see the Confederate cruiser and, after signaling the rest of the squadron, gave chase. This ship was the much-feared *R.R. Culyer* which chased *Florida* all of the next day but did not come close enough to be seen by the Confederate vessel until nearly nightfall. *Florida* eventually escaped into the darkness. [18]

Commander Emmons of *Culyer* later reported that his ship was also having problems with one of her boilers and was not able to make her top speed. Boiler and engine difficulties were no doubt common among blockading vessels because of the necessity of maintaining steam pressure while waiting for an attempt by the Confederates to escape. When a blockade runner was sighted there was no time to get up steam for a chase. Although the excuse was used by both Emmons and Preble, it may very well have been genuine in both cases. Emmons had time to overtake *Florida* and his ship was rated as being faster. He had every reason to catch her if possible and it would have undoubtedly greatly aided his career had he been able to engage the Confederate ship. [19]

The episode of *Florida's* entry into Mobile illustrated the difficulty of blockading any port. Mobile was more easily blockaded than Charleston or Wilmington, and yet it was not impossible to enter even with one or more of the blockading ships anchored in the main channel. With a pilot or a shallow draft vessel it would have been easier and safer yet to enter the port at night. The specially designed blockade runners were low in the water and very fast. As a result they were very difficult to see and on a dark night were nearly invisible. If these ships were discovered, they could often outrun the U.S. Navy ships. Nevertheless, just prior to *Florida's* successful run into Mobile, many of the merchant captains who had considered engaging in the trade of blockade running had concluded that such runs were impossible or at best not worth the risk. One of the results of the success of *Florida* was that it set an example for the blockade runners. *Florida* had not only been chased by fast ships but she had escaped, an action which encouraged potential runners. If the cruiser could successfully run the blockade in daylight, they could surely run it with faster ships or at night. [20]

Blockade duty was often very boring but an occasional chase broke the monotony. In October 1862, the steamer *Caroline* was captured off Mobile

after a six hour chase. When the captain of *Caroline* protested to Admiral Farragut that he was not trying to run the blockade at Mobile, but instead was headed for Matamoras from Havana, Farragut replied that "I do not take you for running the blockade but for your damned poor navigation. Any man bound for Matamoras from Havana and coming within twelve miles of Mobile Light has no business to have a steamer."[21]

A combination of several European companies including Erlanger and Co., Schroeder and Co., and H.O. Brewer started a line of steamers to run the blockade from Havana to Mobile. This company had four steamers, *Crescent, Denbigh, Alabama,* and *Fanny*, which brought a considerable amount of cotton out of Mobile before they were captured. [22]

One of the most famous of the blockade runners which frequented Mobile was *Virgin.* This ship, built on the River Clyde in Scotland in 1864, was one of the fastest steamers that had ever been built up until that time. *Virgin* made several successful trips into and out of Mobile but was in that port when Farragut captured Fort Morgan and closed the entrance to the bay. *Virgin* was then used as a dispatch boat and transport between Mobile and Spanish Fort until the end of the war. The ship survived the war and was later used to aid the Cuban revolution. In 1873, the former *Virgin*, then known as *Virginius* and commanded by a former Confederate officer, Captain Joseph Fry, was captured and most of her officers and crew were shot by the Spanish. [23]

As the war went on there were more and more U.S. Navy ships assigned to the blockade. The Federals also armed and commissioned some of the fastest captured blockade runners and used them to chase the Confederates. This practice proved to be very successful and greatly strengthened the blockade. As more of these and other ships became available, the United States established an outer patrol of fast ships which could catch the Confederate supply ships at sea.

Nevertheless, Mobile continued to be a useful port until Farragut's fleet captured Forts Morgan and Gaines after the Battle of Mobile Bay. It is a widely accepted view that the blockade, even though it was not entirely successful, had the effect of choking the Confederacy to death. Whether or not the South would have won its independence without the Union blockade will always be a matter for historical speculation, but there is little doubt that the disruption of southern commerce was a major blow to the Confederacy.

Notes

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[4] Anderson, *By Sea*, 23-24; Jones, *Civil War*, 1:80-82, 103-104.

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[6] Fleming, *Civil War in Alabama* (Gloucester, MA, 1949), 183; James R. Soley, *The Blockade and The Cruisers*, (New York, 1883), 132-134.

[7] S.F. DuPont, et al. "First Report of Conference for the Consideration of Measures for Effectually Blockading the Coast Bordering on the Gulf of Mexico," *Official Records of the Union and Confederate Navies in the War of the Rebellion* (Washington, 1903) ser. 1, vol. 1, 618-630; cited hereafter as *ORN*.

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[11] Frank L. Owsley, Jr., "The *CSS Florida's* Tour de Force at Mobile Bay," *Alabama Review* 15 (October 1962):262-265.

[12] Emma M. Maffitt, *The Life and Services of John Newland Maffitt* (New York, 1906), 252.

[13] "Log of the *Florida*," September 4, 1862. Manuscript Log covering the period August 17, 1862-January 9, 1863, in the files of the *Alabama* Claims Commission, RG 59, National Archives; Soley, *Blockade*, 137-139.

[14] George Preble to David G. Farragut, September 6, and September 10, 1862, *ORN*, ser. 1, vol. 1, 433-434, 436-440; Abstract of the Log of *USS Oneida*, September 4, 1862, *ORN*, ser. 1, vol. 1, 432-433.

[15] Preble to Farragut, September 6, 1862, *ORN*, ser. 1, vol. 1, 433-434; Gideon Welles to Preble, September 20, 1862, ser. 1, vol. 1, 434.

[16] W.H. Wilson, "Cruise of the *Oneida* — a Diary," September 4, 1862, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina.

[17] Farragut to Welles, January 4, 1863, *ORN*, ser. 1, vol. 19, 489.

[18] Frank L. Owsley, Jr., CSS Florida *Her Building and Operations*, (Philadelphia, 1865), 47-48.

[19] George F. Emmons to R.B. Hitchcock, March 12, 1864, *ORN*, ser. 1, vol. 2, 30-31.

[20] Robert Carse, *Blockade: The Civil War at Sea* (New York, 1958), 88-89.

[21] Anderson, *By Sea*, 234.

[22] Francis C. Bradlee, *Blockade Running During the Civil War* (Philadelphia, 1974), 142.

[23] Bradlee, *Blockade*, 114-115.

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Commentary

William H. Still, Jr.

In archives, historical societies, and repositories throughout the country there are literally millions of diaries, journals, letters, drawings, reports, etc. on the Civil War. The number grows constantly as more are found in dusty attics and other places. Absence from loved ones caused lowly folk who rarely took pen in hand during times of peace to write frequent and informative letters and keep diaries and thus to reveal themselves in rare fullness. This has been one reason why more has been written about the American Civil War than any period in our history. From Mr. DeBolt's paper emerges a picture of the fighting man as he was somewhat over a hundred years ago, at least in the Pensacola area. He was more naive then, more given to cheering and rallying around the flag than he is now. But the fresh-faced country boys and city clerks who fought the Civil War griped about living conditions, and played practical jokes, foraged for food and supplies, dreamed of going home, and waged desperate battle when they had to — very much as their descendents have done right up to the present. Bell Wiley mentioned in his preface to *Johnny Reb* the veteran of Robert E. Lee's army who remarked a few years after Appomattox that future historians "would hardly stop to tell how the hungry private fried his bacon, baked his biscuit, smoked his pipe."

Mr. Bearss' "Fort Pickens and the Secession Crisis," gives us a detailed and at times dramatic account of what happened to the fort. Its role during the critical period leading up to the firing on Fort Sumter in Charleston Harbor is generally well known, but what happened afterwards is not. This is particularly true of the Battle of Santa Rosa Island when the Confederates made an amphibious assault on the island with the objective of entering the fort and destroying the batteries there. Although a failure, it was the first and last attempt to dislodge Union forces from Fort Pickens.

Dr. Owsley's paper on the blockade clearly demonstrates that the Union blockade was not especially effective off Mobile until after the Battle of Mobile Bay in August 1864. Ironically, Confederates did not take advantage of this fact during the first year of the war because of the importance of New Orleans. Also, as Steve Wise in his recently completed dissertation points out, there were far fewer blockade runners in the Gulf than along the Atlantic. With the fall of New Orleans in the spring of 1862, the situation changed. Mobile and Galveston became the logical blockade running ports. Fortunately for the Confederates, Admiral David G. Farragut, in command of the West Gulf Blockading Squadron, neglected his blockade responsibilities. This neglect was not altogether his fault; the Navy Department made it clear that he was to concentrate his energies on the Mississippi River campaign. In April 1862, Farragut had deployed the bulk of his steam vessels on the Mississippi, leaving five steamers plus a dozen or so sailors to blockade the Gulf ports, including Mobile. When Farragut's forces entered Mobile Bay in August 1864, blockade running virtually ceased. As Professor Owsley points out at least one runner which had been involved in the Mobile blockade running, the *Denbigh*, shifted its activities to Galveston.

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Pensacola's Civil War Art: Benjamin LaBree and Thomas Nast

Sir Jack D. L. Holmes

Journalistic coverage of the Civil War was unprecedented. For example, Confederate Pensacola journalists from New Orleans congregated to witness a scene contemporary with the firing on Fort Sumter in South Carolina. At Sumter and Pickens — Charleston and Pensacola — photographers covered events as in no prior war, and artists rendered the action, forts and commanding officers. Of the many photographers working from New Orleans to cover Pensacola events, none blazed a greater path than New Hampshire-born Jay Dearborn Edwards.

Edwards arrived in New Orleans in 1859 and immediately gained fame with his twenty-three photographs made of the United States Custom House being constructed on Canal Street. He also photographed the United States Marine Hospital in St. Bernard Parish near Chalmette, and Major Pierre G.T. Beauregard, Superintendent of Army Engineers for the Southern States, sent several of his photos to Secretary of the Treasury Howell Cobb. [1] He also advertised six "beautiful views of the Park of New Orleans, the Metairie Ridge and the Metairie race course . . . from the gallery of photographic art which Mr. Edwards has on Royal street near Canal street." [2]

Edwards accompanied some of the various Louisiana military units sent to occupy the former-Federal positions around Pensacola Bay in January 1861. According to one authority, Edwards was actually a spy for the Confederate secret service, and his numerous photographs of Federal positions at the navy yard, Union ships in the harbor, and the approaches to various defenses seem to bear this out. When the Union forces occupied New Orleans in 1862 and discovered in the home of Stephen R. Mallory, Confederate secretary of the navy from Pensacola, a number of his photographs, the Federals were convinced. At any rate, Edwards advertised from his 23 Royal Street gallery in the summer of 1861 a magnificent collection of original photographs he had taken of the "seat of war" at Pensacola. There were such units as New Orleans Cadets at Big Bayou, the Clayton Guards and Louisville Blues, an encampment of Mississippi regiments, the 10th Mississippi Regiment, Jefferson Davis Rifles, Port Gibson Riflemen and Perote Guards.[3] Available from sixteen enumerated business establishments, these magnificent photographs of the Pensacola theatre of operations may rank among the earliest examples of that art. [4] They were reproduced, in part, in Francis Miller's monumental *Photographic History of the Civil War*, and three of them included in Norman Simons's and James R. McGovern's *Pensacola in Pictures and Prints*. [5]

It was not photographic art alone which established Pensacola in the annals of the Civil War. From time to time artists on both sides of the fray left evidence of their artistic talents, particularly during the exciting events

Thomas Nast *Parton,* Caricature and Other Comic Art *(1817; New York, 1969), 318*

there during 1861. Most of their sketches appeared in the two greatest pictorial journals of that age: *Harper's Weekly* and *Leslie's Illustrated.*

Four remarkable brothers, all sons of Joseph and Elizabeth Kolyer Harper, helped create one of America's outstanding publishing houses. The youngest, generally given credit for the most "vigor, dash, enterprise and speculative spirit," was Fletcher (1806-1877). His brothers were James (1795-1869), John (1797-1875), and Joseph Wesley (1801-1870). They served as printer apprentices until 1817 when they opened their own business and celebrated by printing a John Locke pamphlet, "On Human Understanding." In 1833 they founded

the firm of Harper and Brothers.[6] Perhaps their greatest contribution to the art of the Civil War was *Harper's Weekly*, the self-styled "Journal of Civilization," begun in 1857. Before its final issue on May 13, 1916, *Harper's Weekly* had published sixty-two volumes and literally hundreds of original illustrations drawn or photographed by the greatest artists of the day. [7]

During the Civil War *Harper's Weekly* lived up to its billing as the greatest picture paper in the field, "with an art department of considerable proportions." [8] The conflict was depicted as no war had ever been portrayed to so vast an audience. "The war as seen through the eyes of the Harper's artists became the closest approximation of the sight and sense of the conflict for hundreds of thousands of Northerners." [9]

A contemporary was *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper*, which issued its first pictorial number on December 15, 1855. English-born Frank Leslie (1821-1880) was baptized Henry by his parents, Joseph and Mary Elliston Carter Leslie. As a young man unsure of himself, he submitted various sketches and engravings to the *Illustrated London News* under the name Frank Leslie. His work satisfied the editors and he left for New York in 1848. [10] By the time of his unhappy death, which ended the years of litigation against his sons for publishing a journal with the same name, Leslie's work was known internationally. He was particularly successful during the Civil War, and his artists were reputed to be found "wherever the campaigns were hottest." [11]

Leslie's and *Harper's* were only as good as the quality of the art work printed on the poor paper of that day. A German-born artist who contributed to the success of both papers was Thomas Nast (1840-1902). Nast is considered as one of the greatest, if not the very ablest, caricaturist of all times. We owe so much of American folklore to his creative pen. It was Nast's Germanic version of jolly old St. Nick, or Father Christmas, which gave us Santa Claus, and he drew both the Democratic Party's donkey and the Republican elephant. Political historians claim it was his effective caricature campaign against the notorious Boss William Marcy Tweed (1823-1878) which resulted in the trial and conviction of Tammany Hall's crooked leader. In the final analysis, however, Nast's greatest contribution to his adopted country was in his steadfast advocacy of the Union cause during the Civil War. [12]

After his arrival in America he had studied with Theodore Kaufmann and, fortified with instruction from Alfred Fredericks and the Academy of Design in New York, felt sufficient youthful confidence to approach Frank Leslie and ask him for a job as illustrator for his pictorial newspaper. By way of a trial assignment, Leslie told Nast to sketch vacationers milling about the ferry landing for a jaunt to Elysian Fields, a popular resort in New Jersey. Nast and Leslie hit it off immediately, and the young artist won a staff appointment at four dollars per week.[13] Leslie and Nast spent a vacation at Long Branch, New Jersey, then one of the two most popular American ocean resorts, and Nast sketched the Union House, then owned by Warren Leland. [14]

Unfortunately, Leslie suffered financial difficulties, and by 1859 Nast had to think seriously about his future. In the summer of that year he was married to Sarah Edwards, and by November he had joined the staff of the New York *Illustrated News*. The following month he covered the funeral of John Brown at North Elba, New York, and his series of "Backgrounds of Civilization," which portrayed the misery and squalor of the New York tenements, won him critical acclaim. He was now earning forty dollars a week. [15]

In Italy, Garibaldi was leading his red-shirts toward unification of the country, and Nast sailed for the scene of action in February 1860. He submitted a number of sketches to the *Illustrated London News* and, after paying a visit to his hometown of Landau, he returned to America just in time to cover the first inauguration of Abraham Lincoln. The great president made a lasting impression on Nast who noted the sad smile on Lincoln's face. Nast would remain a staunch supporter of the Union, a foe of the Democratic Party, and a faithful Republican. [16] In 1861 he turned twenty-one and won a staff appointment with *Harper's Weekly*. Rather than experience the distractions of the journal's hectic art room, Nast had the privilege of drawing his sketches in his own home. Fletcher Harper liked Nast and encouraged the artist to try his hand at subjective pictures, rather than mere naturalistic illustrations. The combination was powerful, so much so that President Lincoln called Nast the Union's best recruiting sergeant, and it was President Ulysses S. Grant who credited Nast's emblematic pictures as doing more than any man "to preserve the Union and bring the war to an end." [17] Nast's biographer told of the Southern threats to lynch him, but the youth was unimpressed. "From a roving lad with a swift pencil for sale," he wrote, Nast developed into "a patriot artist, burning with the enthusiasm of the time." [18]

Although Nast did not publish any of his art work in *Harper's Weekly* concerning the Civil War in Pensacola, events in that Florida area were described in picture and text in the pages of *Harper's Weekly*, particularly during 1861. [19] Nast's contribution to Pensacola's Civil War art came at a later date, and portrays the boredom of soldiers stationed about Pensacola, perhaps in 1863. [20]

Nast's sketch of Pensacola Harbor which accompanies this article was published in LaBree's *The Pictorial Battles of the Civil War*. [21] Discovering information on LaBree was very difficult. He lived for a time in Louisville, and there is a portrait of him in his own *Notable Men of Kentucky*, where he is listed as "Ben. LaBREE. — Editor and Manager Sub. Book Dept.--Geo. G. Fetter Printing Co.; author 'Confederate Soldier'; 'Camp Fires of the Confederacy'; 'Notable Men of Ky.', etc., Louisville, Ky." [22] The only other reference to LaBree was his obituary in the *New York Times*. [23]

It is apparent that LaBree published *Pictorial Battles* before he left New York for Louisville. In addition to the star drawing of Pensacola harbor by Thomas Nast the "Bombardment and Burning of the Navy Yard at Pensacola," by "Charles Newton," and the same artist's "Working the Barbette

Thomas Nast, Pensacola Harbor at Night *LaBree,* Pictorial . . ., *1:352*

Guns at Fort Pickens, Nov. 22, 1861," appeared in that volume. Barbette guns were so mounted that they fired over a parapet, giving a larger field of view to the gun-layer, and a larger field of fire for the gun. Barbette systems were cheaper to install because there was no need for an embrasure. [24]

The identification of Newton by the name "Charles" in LaBree's volume is in error. However, the associate of J.D. Edwards, E.H. Newton, Jr., was an artist listed in the 1860 *City Directory* as living at 19 Royal Street — the same address as Edwards. [25] Newton also contributed to another of LaBree's works, one which he co-edited with two Civil War historians. "Battery Totten, Santa Rosa Island — Encampment of the Seventy-fifth New York Volunteers," is given as "Sketched by Charles Newton" in the *Official and Illustrated War Record,* edited by LaBree, James Penny Boyd and Brigadier-General Marcus Joseph Wright. [26] This unusual 1898 publication came as the Spanish-American War attracted the attention of American readers, and was a hodge-podge of text and pictures on the Civil War, the War of 1812, the Mexican War, the Articles of Confederation, and the Constitution. A timely entry was the "Destruction of the Battleship *Maine* in Havana Harbor, February 15, 1898," shown in a vivid, explosive frontespiece. The view so enchanted the editors, it seems, that they repeated the full-page illustration! Plates of the volume included the outstanding artists of the era: Frank Beard, A.R. Waud, R. Newbold, T. Perrine, James Queen, W.K. Russell, A.W. Grippen, H. Sartorious and Thomas Nast. Among Nast's best sketches are the "Fight at Bolivar's Hill Near Harper's Ferry," "Interior of Fort Walker, at Hilton Head, Immediately After Its Bombardment and Evacuation," and the magnificent "Battle of Gettysburg . . . ." [27]

LaBree's fellow-editors of the *Official and Illustrated War Record* were James Penny Boyd (1836-1910) and Marcus Joseph Wright (1831- 1922).

The former wrote biographies of Grant and General Philip Sheridan, neither of which attracted the attention of compilers of a critical bibliography of the Civil War.[28] As for Wright, judged "one of the most painstaking of Confederate historians," and "one of the Confederacy's remarkable generals and postwar statisticians," his bibliography was impressive. He published on Arkansas, Tennessee, and Texas during the Civil War and wrote biographical sketches of events and commanders.[29] Secretary of War Elihu Root wrote of Wright's importance as follows:

> In view of the distrust with which the Southern people for a while naturally regarded the movements made by the government with a view to the procurement of the records of the Confederacy, it is not surprising that the efforts of the Department to complete its Confederate files met at first with slight success or assistance. However, Marcus J. Wright, formerly a brigadier-general in the Confederate army, was appointed July 1, 1878, Agent for the Collection of Confederate Records and in this capacity he continued employed until the completion of the work. Through his efforts and tact the attitude of the Southern people towards the compilation became more cordial and as their confidence increased records were brought out from their places of concealment and forwarded to the Department as gifts or deposited as loans. [30]

Following the Civil War the reading public supported the publication of lavish "picture books," what later generations would call "coffee-table books." *Harper's* came out with a two-volume work, and *Leslie's* issued two versions of the "American Soldier." [31] Not to be left behind, Benjamin LaBree compiled a pictorial volume which emphasized the South's role in the war not only to give balance to the *Harper's* and *Leslie's* volumes, but also to "be appreciated by the future historian and student of history . . . and take a prominent place among the valued historical literature of the universe." [32] Finally, LaBree put together what critics labelled "an almost endless collection of miscellany, most of it gleaned from other sources . . . ." [33]

Yet the extremely rare *Pictorial Battles of the Civil War*, his initial publishing venture, brought together some of the greatest artists and photographers of the Civil War, and it is the only place where the superb sketch of Pensacola Harbor appears. Nast shared a love of the American nation, and the tragedy of its Civil War with that poetic genius, Walt Whitman (1819- 1892). One of Nast's biographers suggested the following lines for the artist's tombstone: "Patriot and Moralist, a Partisan of the Right." [34] Yet, viewing his sketch of Pensacola Harbour during the Civil War, the words of Whitman seem to catch the essence, the very spirit of the brilliant artist: "Vigil strange I kept on the field one night; Passing the visions, passing the night . . . Covering the earth and filling the spread of the heaven." [35]

Ever haunting, Nast's art seems to cross the years, to evoke the tragedy which was America's greatest trauma: the Civil War. That he chose Pensacola as his location for depicting the lonely soldier pulling guard in the backwaters

of a furious conflict makes Thomas Nast one of the Civil War's memorable artists. That Benjamin LaBree selected the Nast view for his post-war volume is illustrative of his good taste and judgment.

Notes

[1] Margaret Denton Smith and Mary Louise Tucker, *Photography in New Orleans: The Early Years, 1840-1865* (Baton Rouge, 1982), 89-92, 99-102. According to Margaret Denton Smith, "Checklist of Photographers Working in New Orleans, 1840-1865," *Louisiana History* 20, no. 4 (Fall 1979): 414, Edwards was born in 1831. The 1860 census lists him as an Ambrotypist in New Orleans.

[2] *Daily Picayune*, April 9, 1861.

[3] "From the Seat of War: Truly Superb Photograhpic Views, a Picture Worth Framing," *Daily Crescent*, July 26, 1861.

[4] Ibid.

[5] There is a list of Pensacola photographs in Francis Trevelyan Miller, ed., *The Photographic History of the Civil War*, 10 vols. (Springfield, MA, 1911). Norman Simons and James R. McGovern, *Pensacola in Pictures and Prints*, Pensacola Series Commemorating the American Revolution Bicentennial (Pensacola, 1974), 4:27, 28, and 29, has three of Edwards's photographs.

[6] "James Harper," *Appleton's Cyclopaedia of American Biography*, James Grant Wilson and John Fiske, eds. (New York, 1900), 3:87; A. Everett Peterson, "Fletcher Harper," *Dictionary of American Biography*, Dumas Malone, ed. (New York, 1928-1936), 8:281.

[7] *Union List of Serials*, 3rd edition.

[8] Albert Bigelow Paine, *Thomas Nast, His Period and His Pictures* (New York, 1904), 82.

[9] Morton Keller, *The Art and Politics of Thomas Nast* (New York, 1968), 12.

[10] A. Everett Peterson, "Frank Leslie," *Dictionary of American Biography*, 11:186-187; "Frank Leslie," *Appleton's Cyclopaedia of American Biography*, 3:696-697.

[11] Peterson, "Frank Leslie," 186.

[12] The best study of Nast is Paine, *Nast*. See also, Allan Nevins, "Thomas Nast," *Dictionary of American Biography*, 13:391-393; and John Chalmers Vinson, *Thomas Nast: Political Cartoonist* (Athens, 1967).

[13] Paine, *Nast*, 17-20.

[14] Ibid., 23. A view of the two resorts was offered by Frederick Van Wyck, *Recollections of an Old New Yorker* (New York, 1932), 317.

[15] Ibid., 27-34.

[16] Ibid., 34-71.

[17] Keller, *Art and Politics of Nast*, 13.

[18] Paine, *Nast*, 83, quoting from James Parton, *Caricature and Other Comic Art in All Times and Many Lands* (1878; New York, 1969).

[19] There are twenty-three stories and/or illustrations covering Pensacola in issues of *Harper's Weekly* for 1861.

[20] The ennui of the soldiers stationed around Pensacola Bay can be gauged by an article in the Memphis *Daily Appeal* (published at Atlanta) July 23, 1863.

[21] Benjamin LaBree, ed., *The Pictorial Battles of the Civil War* (New York, 1884), 1:352.

[22] Benjamin LaBree, ed., *Notable Men of Kentucky at the Beginning of the 20th Century (1901-1902)* (Louisville, 1902), 4, 115.

[23] *Personal Name Index to the New York Times*, 1851-1974 (Succasunna, NJ, 1979). *New York Times*, July 8, 1935.

[24] LaBree, *Pictorial Battles*, 1:238; 2:292-30. It was also included in Marcus J. Wright, Benjamin LaBree and James P. Boyd, eds., *Official and Illustrated War Record . . . .* This engraving may be based on the photograph by Jay D. Edwards, "Inside a Confederate Water Battery, Pensacola Harbor, 1861," in Miller, *Photographic History*, 5:57, 59.

[25] *Gardner's New Orleans Directory for 1860* mentions E.H. Newton, Jr., Scenic and photographic gallery, at 19 Royal. See Smith, "Checklist of Photographers," 426.

[26] Wright, LaBree and Boyd, eds., *Official and Illustrated War Record*, 68.

[27] Ibid., 355, 362, 462.

[28] *Military and Civil Life of Gen. Ulysses S. Grant* (Philadelphia, 1885); *The Gallant Trooper: General Philip H. Sheridan* (Philadelphia, 1888); Allan Nevins, James I. Robertson, Jr., and Bell I. Wiley, eds., *Civil War Books: A Critical Bibliography*, 2 vols. (Baton Rouge, 1967); C.E. Dornbusch, comp., *Military Bibliography of the Civil War*, 3 vols. (New York, 1982).

[29] Nevins, et al., *Civil War Books*, 1:182; 2:177.A.C. McGinnis, ed., *Arkansas in the War, 1861-1865* (Batesville, AR, 1863). *Tennessee in the War, 1861-1865* (New York, 1908). Harold B. Simpson, ed., *Texas in the War, 1861-1865*, (Hillsboro, TX, 1965). Wright published several sketches in *Southern Bivouac* 2 (1883-1884): 433-440, 481-485, 485-499; *Southern Historical Society Papers* 16 (1888): 69-82. See also, Wright's *General Officers of the Confederate Army* (New York, 1911).

[30] "Diary of Brigadier-General Marcus Joseph Wright, C.S.A., From April 23, 1861, to February 26, 1863," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 2d ser., 15 (1935): 89-95.

[31] Alfred H. Guernsey and Henry M.Alden, *Harper's Pictorial History of the Great Rebellion*, (New York, 1868). Mottelay and T. Campbell-Copeland, eds., *The Soldier in Our Civil War* (New York and Atlanta, 1893); *The American Soldier in the Civil War* (New York, 1895).

[32] Benjamin LaBree, ed., *The Confederate Soldier in the Civil War, 1861-1865* (Louisville, 1895; Patterson, NJ; 1959).

[33] Nevins, et al., *Civil War Books*, 119.

[34] Paine, *Nast*, 583.

[35] Walter Lowenfels, comp. and ed., *Walt Whitman's Civil War* (New York, 1961), 333.

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Slavery and Class Tensions in Confederate Georgia

Clarence L. Mohr

Like pieces of a giant patchwork quilt stretching from the Atlantic to the Appalachians, Georgia's 130 antebellum counties gave tangible expression to the mixture of corporate identity and local distinctiveness which characterized the state's white population on the eve of secession. No less than the rest of mid-nineteenth century America, Georgia society seemed rife with paradox and contradiction. Differences in education, status, and power fostered both reciprocity and alienation between rich and poor, while contrasting patterns of wealth distribution, reliance upon slavery or household labor, involvement in or isolation from the commercial market — together with a host of related cultural traits including simple stubbornness — all served to divide white society along geographic and class lines, setting black belt planters apart from piney woods stock herders or upcountry yeomen and isolated mountaineers.

Yet all these groups, as well as urban businessmen, industrialists and wage labourers, would readily have proclaimed themselves "Georgians" during the 1850s and, up to a point, would also have been comfortable with the label "Southerners." Kinship ties, shared folkways and religious values, a superficially egalitarian political structure, economic opportunity based upon abundant western land, and, most of all, the dogma of white supremacy helped link the state's nonblack residents together in a loose federation of provincialism and perceived self-interest. There were, to be sure, numerous strains and ruptures in the antebellum social fabric, flaws which even the adroit needlework of state rights individualism could not conceal. The social outlook of an independent hill country farmer diverged at many points from that of a middle Georgia slaveholder or even, one suspects, from that of a landless squatter in the pine barren and wiregrass country to the south. Space does not permit a detailed exploration of the complex relationship between folk value systems and the imperatives of domestic economy, a subject that authors like Floyd and Hubert Watkins, William F. Holmes, and Steven Hahn have done so much to illuminate. [1] However, although class-based differences in culture and ideology existed among whites in preemancipation Georgia, physical isolation and the newness and nonelite origins of most slaveholders helped minimize class consciousness and avert social conflict. Widespread upward mobility during the half century following the American Revolution gave antebellum planters direct ties to other social groups, while as Paul D. Escott has cogently observed, the Old South's low population density insured that "social classes, as collective competing objects" would rarely be visible. [2] At the grass roots level, in other words, Georgia society often reduced itself to innumerable aggregations of similarly situated, like-minded individuals who interacted mainly with each other and stayed close to home.

Never were white Georgians more anxious to achieve unity and affirm their collective identity than during the first half of the 1860s. Once secession was accomplished, the act of nation building exerted a powerful galvanizing influence over most state residents. But in the long run, disunion and war proved to be a traumatic, even nightmarish, experience that magnified pre-existing class tensions and drew out the latent ideological contradictions of the old order. The remainder of this article will briefly describe the more significant kinds of internal conflict which surfaced between 1861 and 1865, and offer a tentative assessment of the meaning and importance of wartime social unrest.

For proponents of white solidarity across class lines, the struggle for southern independence began on a somber note. Although black belt versus upcountry rivalry was occasionally evident in antebellum state elections, few groups dissented openly, and none consistently, from planter rule. [3] Up to and during the 1860 Presidential contest the center would continue to hold in Georgia's elite-dominated party system, but with the election of delegates to the state secession convention in January 1861 a breach became visible. Forced to choose between a number of conflicting loyalties, nonslaveholders in the mountains, upcountry, and pine barrens drew back from the precipice and selected "cooperation" instead of immediate disunion. Like most Southerners, one suspects, Georgia's yeomen embraced the political alternative which seemed best calculated to protect local interests and preserve the cultural status quo. Without repudiating their deep attachments to race and region, voters in nonplantation areas served implicit notice that they were joining the Confederacy on their own terms. The possibility that they might also abandon the new nation if those terms were persistently violated was an unstated corollary to the nonslaveholders' subsequent endorsement of the Rebel cause. [4]

There were signs during 1861 that war might provide the necessary catalyst for fusing Georgia's diverse social elements into a stable nationalistic alloy. Amid the groundswell of patriotic fervor that followed Fort Sumter, past differences were temporarily set aside as rich and poor alike rallied to defend their homeland. Strictly speaking, Confederate recruitment policies were discriminatory, since units that provided their own arms could join the army for twelve months, while all other enlistments were for three years or the duration of the war. But to deduce from these premises that the "price of patriotism" was therefore "three times higher for the poor man than for the rich man" is to lose sight of the fact that most Georgians initially believed the war would end long before their enlistments expired. The principal complaint among would-be volunteers was not that terms of service were too long, but rather that delays in securing weapons might deprive local companies of the chance for military glory. [5]

Instead of dividing Georgians along class lines, the preponderant effect of early military mobilization was to bring whites together and reinforce existing social hierarchies. Throughout the state locally prominent individuals took

the lead in organizing their less affluent neighbors into Confederate companies, regiments, and legions. Both in and outside the cotton belt slaveholders and yeomen made common cause, as Georgia's plain folk elevated their social superiors to positions of command through a process of democratic elections. [6] The importance of planter influence even in subsistence farming regions is illustrated by the activities of James Cooper Nisbet, the nephew of state Supreme Court justice Eugenius A. Nisbet of Macon, and a substantial slaveholder. During the late 1850s James Nisbet purchased a large stock farm in the northwest Georgia mountains of Dade County, and in 1861 he proceeded to gather some eighty-five recruits from the surrounding countryside. All of the men were literate and only four of them owned slaves. They subsequently elected Nisbet as Captain and Charles Easley, whose father owned between forty and fifty slaves, as First Lieutenant. The six other lieutenants and sergeants included a merchant, a former sheriff, a blacksmith, a college student, a farmer, and a teacher. Nisbet's unit became Company H of the celebrated 21st Georgia Regiment, a cohort of mountain and upcountry folk who served with unparalleled gallantry through four bloody years in Virginia. Unschooled in military tactics, Nisbet employed a drill sergeant after reaching Richmond and temporarily joined his men in the ranks in order to learn essential combat skills. [7] There were, of course, a few self-consciously upper class military companies in Georgia, groups like the Oglethorpe Light Infantry of Savannah, the Banks County Guards and the Floyd Cavalry, allegedly representing "a monied property of $730,000 among 40 men." [8] For the most part, however, volunteer units represented a cross section of local society, and validated the recognized lines of authority within a planter dominated social order. The leadership roles that nonelite whites accorded slaveowners, together with the highly symbolic participation of planters' wives or daughters in military flag presentation ceremonies seemed to convey the message that white Georgians were one people, engaged in a unified struggle for nationhood. [9]

And in one important sense they were. What bound them together was not evanescent emotionalism but the far more durable bond of perceived self-interest, arguably the only true foundation of national loyalty. Planters and yeomen may have defined the southern way of life somewhat differently but so long as the Civil War entailed few homefront sacrifices both groups could logically conclude that their welfare would be advanced through supporting southern independence. For a year or more following secession average citizens prospered under the economic stimulus of wartime activity, while staying in close touch with male relatives who had joined the army. Georgia's volunteer troops often remained within the state for lengthy periods, routinely securing furloughs to attend to matters of domestic importance. The soldier who obtained a week's leave to repair his farm fences, purchase work animals for the next crop year, or attend a wife in child birth was unlikely to regard his new government as oppressive. [10]

As the fighting continued, however, new developments forced increasing numbers of Georgians to weigh immediate burdens against possible future

benefits, and to count their revolution's cost. Once the euphoria of secession had dissipated the central dilemma facing Confederate leaders was how to sustain a full scale military struggle without jeopardizing chattel bondage or alienating white nonslaveholders. At the national level planter interests usually took precedence over the needs of small farmers. Beginning with the first conscription act of April 1862, each new effort to strengthen Rebel armies involved disproportionate physical hardship for those with the least direct stake in preserving the old regime, namely, the wives and families of rural nonslaveholders and the growing ranks of white urban wage laborers.

Signs of suffering appeared first in the mountains and hill-country where the absence of males, bad weather, poor transportation, and relentless commercial profiteering caused domestic food shortages by 1862. Prewar surplusses of meat, grain and fodder had been consumed or sold to speculators before the year began, and late summer found many soldiers' families in dire need of assistance. [11] Planter reactions to the plight of upcountry yeomen ranged from sympathy to icy indifference. Godfrey Barnsley, who sat out the war on his palacial "Woodlands" estate in Bartow County with "never less than four dishes of vegetables" plus "fine mutton, poultry, pork, hams, etc." was quick to deplore lapses of civic virtue among his impoverished neighbors. "The character of the population here was never very good, but it is growing worse" Barnsley complained in 1862. Lying, cheating "and latterly thieving" seemed to be the rule among local whites who were pilfering Woodlands of its moveable property "in no small way." [12] Eventually such conduct would lead Barnsley to condemn Georgia's hill folks as "inferior to . . . the rural population of N[ew] England — having all of the avarice without the industry and cleanliness of the latter." [13]

Other wealthy Georgians took a decidedly different view of their relationship to less affluent state residents. As early as August 1861, Thomas County businessman F.H. Butler promised to do all in his power to ensure that families of absent soldiers would not go hungry. "I would consider it a privilege to furnish them with meal at my mill, free of charge, as long as I have any," he announced. [14] In November 1862, Richard F. Lyon donated one thousand bushels of corn from his plantation in Baker County "for the use of the destitute families of soldiers . . . from the Cherokee Country [i.e. the northwestern hill and mountain counties]." [15] A few months later Western & Atlantic Railroad superintendent John S. Rowland refused to sell some two thousand bushels of corn from his Bartow County plantation and decided instead "to give it away to the soldiers' families and the destitute in the country within a circle of eight or ten miles from his plantation." [16] In May 1863 the heads of five Georgia cotton mills agreed to sell one eighth of their weekly yarn production to the state at one half of current market prices. The yarn thus purchased would be turned over to county inferior courts for distribution to impoverished families who were dependent upon hand loom weaving for essential winter clothing. [17] Some upcountry firms like the Carroll Cotton Mills of Carroll County took a more direct approach, supplying yarn to

local residents at cheap prices or, when necessary, "without the payment of a cent." [18]

No one was more alive to the social consequences of human suffering than Governor Joseph E. Brown. An upcountry native himself, Brown understood the viewpoint of hill and mountain folk and worked energetically to preserve the ambiguous social consensus that linked planter and yeomen to the southern cause. At the time of secession Brown refused to use force against north Georgia Unionists, preferring instead to win them over through tact and preferential military treatment. [19] The results were impressive. Nearly every county of upper Georgia sent many hundreds, or thousands, of men into Confederate service. Carroll County alone sent twenty-four hundred soldiers into the field while some two thousand went from Floyd County. [20] The 21st, 24th, 34th, 36th, 43rd and other Georgia regiments were composed mainly of companies from the mountains and hill country. [21] Routinely sustaining casualty rates of twenty-five to forty percent, these resolute farmers have been aptly described as the "backbone" of Georgia's war effort. [22]

Their loyalty, however, was not something which the state's chief executive took for granted. When reports of disaffection and guerrilla activity began to filter out of the northeast Georgia mountains during the winter of 1862-63, Brown was quick to perceive the potential for similar trouble in the hill counties. The combined effects of drought, labor shortages, and Confederate impressment had driven corn prices to $3.00 per bushel in the upcountry, causing soldiers' families to suffer and leaving no surplus for distribution to needy civilians. "If this continues," Brown warned Jefferson Davis, "the rebellion in that section will grow, and soldiers in service will desert to go to the relief of their suffering families." [23]

Beginning in 1862 combatting hunger and privation among Georgia's common folk assumed a high place on Brown's political agenda. State sponsored relief activities eventually included the distribution of corn, salt, yarn and cotton cards, as well as direct cash grants to destitute families of southern soldiers, totaling $5,968,359. [24] Legislative appropriations for these unprecedented activities rose from $2,500,000 for 1863 to $6,000,000 the next year and $8,000,000 for 1865. With strong executive leadership, state lawmakers financed the program through what one scholar has characterized as a "Robin Hood pattern" of revenue measures — tax laws that had the effect of redistributing wealth downward. In a sharp reversal of prewar policy, poor soldiers and their families received generous exemptions from property and poll taxes while tax rates for the wealthy increased tenfold between 1859 and 1864. By the latter date more than half of Georgia's annual budget was earmarked for civilian welfare. [25]

By and large, expenditures were concentrated in areas where the potential for social instability seemed greatest. The pattern was largely a reflection of objective need but it also contained elements of deliberate calculation. In December 1862, for example, Brown ordered the distribution of one bushel of salt "to each family in each county in the North Eastern part of the State,

beginning at Rabun and including . . . Habersham, Towns, Union, Fannin, Gilmer, White, Lumpkin, Dawson and Pickens, and . . . Dade . . . in the order in which I have given their names . . . ." These mountain areas deserved priority, the governor explained, because they were poor, nonslaveholding counties which had "furnished large numbers of troops." [26] The same mixture of humanitarian and pragmatic motives was evident early in 1863 when ten upcountry counties became top recipients of direct aid from state coffers. [27] Brown himself reportedly gave some $4,000 worth of corn and fodder to the poor of Cherokee County, and struggled tirelessly to protect yeoman families from excessive loss of provisions through impressment or the exactions of the Confederacy's ten percent tax-in-kind on meat and food crops. [28] The governor unquestionably derived political advantage by championing the poor man's cause within a state rights framework, and when he proposed doubling the pay of Confederate privates from $11 to $22 per month the Savannah *Republican* accused Brown of trying to "get up a war of classes." [29]

In retrospect such an accusation appears almost preposterous. Had Brown and his legislative supporters failed to mobilize state resources for relief of the indigent, or had they neglected to invoke state rights in an effort to shield Georgia's common folk from the more unpalatable demands of Confederate authority, popular unrest would undoubtedly have been more militant and pervasive than was actually the case. Even with Brown's efforts, economically rooted discontent rose to serious levels during the war's last two years, as deserters, outlaws and contending armies reduced many hill and mountain counties to a state of quasi-anarchy. By the middle of 1863 deteriorating civil authority had combined with preexisting mountain Unionism to create what the governor described as "a growing reconstruction feeling" in the state's upper counties. [30]

Statistical evidence lends some support to the view that north Georgia yeomen were more actively hostile to the Confederacy than were their war-weary and impoverished counterparts elsewhere in the state. Of 317 white Georgians who served in the First Alabama Cavalry, U.S.A. and two companies of the First Battalion Georgia Infantry, another Federal unit, 127 or seventy-five percent were natives of the hill and mountain counties. [31] Many other white families sought refuge behind Union lines when the fighting reached their region, and by early 1864 it was estimated that fully one third of Fannin County's population had gone over to the Yankees. "I think they are driving their flock to a bad market" observed a local Confederate in language that underscored the economic foundation of civilian conduct. [32]

Recent scholarship has confirmed the link between poverty, desertion, and peace sentiment so evident to Joseph Brown and other contemporary observers. [33] Yet despite the careful scrutiny accorded to Jackson and Carroll counties, the social context of popular discontent in upper Georgia requires much additional study grounded in local archives and other manuscript records. Establishing the extent, and deciphering the meaning of rural violence and guerrilla warfare will be among the most important and challenging tasks

facing future students of Confederate social history. [34] At present only the outlines of the Georgia story are visible. During the course of the war, at least six identifiable bands or "gangs," alleged to contain at least some deserters, operated in the state's upper sections. Three of the groups have been described as nominally pro-Confederate, the others as vaguely Unionist.[35] Official correspondence abounds with references to "straggling bands" of deserters, "Tories", "independent scouts" and "disloyal persons" accused of various outrages against upcountry residents, but the precise meaning and accuracy of these group labels remains unclear. [36] The most elemental facts about shadowy partisan leaders like [Benjamin?] Jordan, John Gatewood, Benjamin F. McCollum, Jeff Anderson, John Long, "Doc" Morse and others have yet to be assembled and verified. Were they native Georgians or outsiders? Who supported and opposed them? Did their violent lawlessness begin during the war or earlier? How many were later prosecuted for their criminal conduct and to what extent were convictions obtained? These and a host of unrelated questions await answers. [37]

In the current state of the evidence, the policies pursued by Georgia's politically astute chief executive would seem to constitute the most reliable barometer of grass-roots sentiment among nonplantation whites. Judging from his conduct, Governor Brown apparently assumed that a majority of mountain and hill folk would remain loyal to the South unless led astray by local traitors who exploited prevailing economic distress for Yankee benefit. Had Brown believed otherwise it is difficult to see why he would repeatedly have insisted upon using local home guard and militia units to restore order in the mountains, while requesting the services of upcountry natives like Colonel William T. Wofford, whose personal influence among northeast Georgians derived from his vocal cooperationist stance in the state secession convention. The governor's prescription of "severity" for the "notorious leaders" of disloyal movements, together with "proper leniency" for "those who have been made their dupes," further suggests that he considered upcountry discontent a temporary and reversable phenomenon.[38] What Brown feared, and what seems eventually to have occurred, was not that yeomen and mountaineers would rebel against the slavocracy, but rather that economic necessity would compel small farmers to withhold their active support from the southern cause. Living in a region shaped by the traditions of frontier violence and intensely personal, often family oriented, blood feuds, many rural dwellers apparently coped with wartime hardship, lawlessness, and civil disorder by adopting a posture akin to armed neutrality. The degree to which their behavior reflected overt class awareness or political consciousness remains to be demonstrated.

Instead of scanning Georgia's red clay hills for signs of incipient agrarian radicalism, the scholar in search of class-based dissent would be well served by spending a few days in town, where Unionists were more devious and opponents of planter rule more outspoken than their tactiturn counterparts in the hinterlands. The excursion might begin in Atlanta or Augusta or Macon, or in any of several other interior towns like Milledgeville, Columbus, and

Thomasville where spiraling inflation touched off a series of bread or provision riots during April 1863. Undertaken in every instance by women, the disturbances varied in size, duration and specific objectives. Some involved armed force, male accomplices and the theft of nonfoodstuffs. At least one had anti-Semitic overtones. What linked them together (apart from chronology) was an underlying sense of frustration among urban workers' families who found basic physical necessities being priced beyond their reach. [39]

The April riots brought public condemnation of both mobs and speculators, as well as voluntary efforts to provide free or inexpensive food to the urban poor. In several towns, factories and industrial establishments assumed greater responsibility for feeding employees and their dependents. [40] But despite such efforts labor unrest continued to gather momentum under the dual impetus of racial and class antagonisms. Indeed, for most white artisans the issues of race and class were pragmatically and intellectually inseparable. Throughout the antebellum era white mechanics in Georgia's major industrial towns had grown increasingly hostile to slave competition. Their recurrent demands for racially exclusionist legislation blended hatred of blacks with economic grievances against wealthy slaveowners in a fashion reminiscent of northern Republican ideology's more reactionary themes. [41] As slaves joined the workforce in increasing numbers during the war, further conflict seemed inevitable. In Macon where a local Mechanics Society had actively opposed black artisans since the 1840s, months of simmering labor disputes in the town's Ordnance Bureau establishments were brought to a head in April 1863 by the Georgia legislature's consideration of a bill prohibiting trade unions. Introduced by State Senator Timothy M. Furlow, a wealthy planter and railroad promoter from Americus, and sponsored in the House by antebellum ironmaster and industrialist B.H. Bigham, the bill ostensibly protected the rights of employers and apprentices, but, in reality, outlawed any type of effective labor organization. [42] A group of seventeen white mechanics denounced the measure as class legislation and questioned its sponsors' motives: "We feel that you would have us gravle *[sic]* in the dust beneath your aristocratic tread," the workers charged adding that the Confederate Constitution had been "formed solely for the benefit (socially and pecuniarily) of the aristocrats," giving mechanics "no rights that are not guaranteed to the negro . . . ." [43] The racial and antiplanter dimensions of the dispute became more explicit a few days later. Spokesmen for the mechanics now charged flatly that after passing the bill, "the wealthier classes would attempt to apprentice a lot of negroes, and place them in the various machine and workshops (thus placing the negro on an equality with the white man). . . ." [44]

Responding to these charges in anticipation of his upcoming election campaign against Governor Joseph E. Brown, Senator Furlow tried to appease both his working class and his slaveholding constituencies with a classic piece of ideological fence-straddling. While acknowledging that he had presented the anti-union measure to the Senate, Furlow claimed that the mere act of

introducing a bill" did not "necessarily" imply personal support. What it did imply was even less clear. "I was absent from the Senate and at home, when the bill was reported . . . and did not therefore vote for or against its passage," Furlow observed blandly. Having rendered his position on union organizing as ambiguous as possible, the senator addressed the more volatile issues of racial and class antipathy. On these questions he sought to avoid even the appearance of equivocation. Disavowing any "prejudice against or quarrel with" the state's white mechanics, Furlow vindicated his past conduct in language resembling that of a loyalty oath: "I do not own nor have I ever owned, a negro mechanic, and have no intention or desire to have my negroes become mechanics, to supplant [white workmen] by low wages . . .," he affirmed. [45] Such assurances apparently left many nonslaveholders unmoved, and several months later Furlow ran third in the state's three-man gubernatorial contest.

In the end, urban artisans could do little to block slave employment in war industries, but within less than a year Georgia planters would face a more serious and direct challenge to their privileged status, namely the Confederacy's eleventh hour attempt to arm and emancipate southern slaves. Proposed by Jefferson Davis and supported by a number of prominent political and military figures, the movement for black troops came from the top down and was not a "class issue" in the conventional sense. However, it did represent the effort of a ruling elite to cope with critical military manpower problems that arose, in part, from economically rooted disaffection among the white masses. Thus, proponents of the measure in Georgia were ready to seek popular support by holding up slave enlistment as a means of equalizing the wartime sacrifices demanded of rich and poor. The Confederacy, according to one writer, had spent four years "driving into a slaughter pen about a million of our white men, the very flower and spirit of our population . . .," while leaving an equal number of blacks at home. The slaves ostensibly did little except pamper wealthy masters who were "ever ready to cry out 'kill the white men but these [blacks] are my property, let the negroes alone'." [46] Class exploitation received even greater emphasis from the newspaper correspondent "Sidney" who condemned Georgia slaveowners for their indifference to the state's average fighting men, those poor and middling whites who risked death with "nothing but their country to defend," leaving impoverished families to the "cold charities of the world." In contrast, Sidney noted, the "rich planter" remained at home undisturbed, raising greater objections to the arming of a single slave than to the death of one thousand free soldiers. "[I]n God's name," the writer pleaded, "do not sacrifice every white man in the Confederacy in preference to taking a few negroes from their fondling masters." [47]

As had been true during the labor disputes of 1864, racism and socioeconomic resentments reinforced each other in such demagogic appeals, making it difficult to say whether planters or slaves were the principal targets of attack. What then is one to make of the strident rhetoric that echoes down to enlightened southerners across the space of 120 years? The harsh

words confirm, if there was ever any doubt, that antebellum social cleavages were quite real, and that racism and popular democracy were closely intertwined. Yet it is important to keep in mind that what most of Georgia's common folk sought throughout the war was not the overthrow of an existing order, but rather a greater measure of justice for whites within that order. The Confederacy's inability to meet that demand, like the nonslaveholder's racially compartmentalized view of social equity, was ultimately traceable to the fusion of racial and class imperatives within the peculiar institution itself.

But if history is to be more than a game of intellectual gymnastics, if we are to know and convey the deeper human reality of the southern past, our principal concern must be with people rather than theoretical abstractions. The meaning of the war, the pain, ambiguity, and heroism it called forth, and the basis of its symbolic unifying power for later generations can only be comprehended when one listens to Georgians like those who gathered in January 1865 at Abbeville, principal town of poor and predominantly white Wilcox County in the state's wiregrass region. The purpose of the meeting was to petition the governor and legislature for a negotiated peace, but the petitioners' language gave little hint of either peasant revolution or proletarian insurgency. "We are Sorofully tyred of this most cruel and bloody war" they announced.

> We have been for the last four years Meaking Breastworks of our Bodies on a many hard fought Battle field . . . . [and] We are willing to fight if it would do any good towards bringing forth a lasting peace . . . .

"Starvation," however, appeared "certainly close at hand" owing to the fact of Wilcox County "not being Worked but very little by Slave labor." Under the circumstances, local residents were agreed that the best course would be "to settle this Bloody conflict at once by negotiations before the whole white male population is butchered up . . . ." In the meantime, however, Wilcox citizen's were "not Disposed to be runover by Raiding parties" and proceeded to organize a local volunteer company, vowing to "Defend our homes to the best of our ability till a final peace can be negotiated."[48] Scholars adept at ideological taxonomy may find an appropriate academic niche for the Abbeville petitioners. They may agree with Lawrence Powell and Michael Wayne that such conduct involved a choice of home over homeland and thus pointed up the weak cultural base of southern nationalism.[49] Or they may conclude, with at least equal plausibility that most common folk recognized no distinction between home and homeland, and entered the war like they began it — as loyal Georgians.

Notes

[1] Floyd C. Watkins and Charles Hubert Watkins, *Yesterday in the Hills.* Forward by Calvin S. Brown (Athens, 1963, 1973); William F. Holmes, "Moonshining and Collective Violence: Georgia, 1889-1895," *Journal of American History* 67 (December 1980): 589-611; Steven Hahn, *The Roots of Southern Populism, Yeoman Farmers and the Transformation of the Georgia Upcountry, 1850-1890* (New York, 1983).

[2] For an excellent discussion of antebellum Georgia's complex class structure and ongoing process of social evolution see Numan V. Bartley, *The Creation of Modern Georgia* (Athens, 1983), 16-22. Hahn, *Roots of Southern Populism*, chapter 2 offers the best recent summary of economic and cultural differences between Georgia's physiographic subregions. The culture and political economy of Georgia's pine-barren and wire-grass region awaits detailed study. See, however, Frank L. Owsley, *Plain Folk of the Old South*, (1949; Chicago, 1965), 34-36, 154-157; John H. Goff, "Cow Punching in Old Georgia," *Georgia Review* 3 (Fall 1949): 341-348; and, more generally Forrest McDonald and Grady McWhiney, "The Antebellum Southern Herdsman: A Reinterpretation," *Journal of Southern History* 41 (May 1975): 147-166. Lee Soltow and Aubrey C. Land, "Housing and Social Standing in Georgia, 1798," *Georgia Historical Quarterly* 64 (Winter 1980): 448-459, offers an illuminating statistical investigation of social status, upward mobility and general levels of physical well being among whites of the postrevolutionary era. For the experiences of a reasonably typical frontiersman, an upwardly mobile yeoman family, and a pioneer merchant in the Georgia cotton belt see "Autobiography of Gideon Lincecum," *Publications of the Mississippi Historical Society*, no. 7 (Oxford, 1904), 443-521; F.N. Boney, "Thomas Sevens, Antebellum Georgian," *South Atlantic Quarterly* 72 (Spring 1973): 226-242; E. Merton Coulter, "Francis Meson, An Early Georgia Merchant and Philantropist," *Georgia Historical Quarterly* 42 (March 1958): 26-43. On the vexed question of antebellum socioeconomic mobility in the cotton belt, and the relationship between economic opportunity and cheap western land see Owsley, *Plain Folk*, 170-173; John Soloman Otto, "Slavery in a Coastal Community - Glynn County (1790-1860)," *Georgia Historical Quarterly* 64 (Winter 1979): 461-468, 466; Steven W. Engerrand, "The Evolution of Landholding Patterns on the Georgia Piedmont, 1805-1830," *Southeastern Geographer* 15 (November 1975): 73-80; James C. Bonner, "Profile of a Late Antebellum Community," *American Historical Review* 49 (July 1944): 633-680; John William Harris, Jr., "A Slaveholding Republic: Augusta's Hinterlands Before the Civil War" (Ph.D. diss., Johns Hopkins University, 1981), chapter 5, 222-244. The general importance of upward mobility and western expansion in shaping the outlook of slaveholders is stressed in James Oakes, *The Ruling Race, A History of American Slaveholders* (New York, 1982), while Idus A. Newby, *The South, A History* (New York, 1978), 152-153 contains a penetrating assessment of the dual character of the Old South's planting class. On the importance of physical isolation see Paul D. Escott, "The Failure of Confederate Nationalism: The Old South's Class System in the Crucible of War" in *The Old South in the Crucible of War*, ed. Harry P. Owens and James J. Cooke (Jackson, 1983), 23.

[3] Donald Arthur Debats, "Elites and Masses: Political Structure, Communication and Behavior in Ante-Bellum Georgia," (Ph.D. diss., University of Wisconsin, 1973), 215-273.

[4] Michael P. Johnson, *Toward a Patriarchal Republic [:] The Secession of Georgia* (Baton Rouge and London, 1977), chapters 3 and 4, 65-70, and "A New Look at the Popular Vote for Delegates to the Georgia Secession Convention," *Georgia Historical Quarterly* 56 (Summer 1972): 259-275. For a very different view of the role of class factors in the secession election see Debats, "Elites and Masses....," 400-407, 473.

[5] Paul D. Escott, "Southern Yeomen and the Confederacy," *South Atlantic Quarterly* 77 (Spring 1978): 146-158, 152. See also Joseph H. Parks, *Joseph E. Brown of Georgia* (Baton Rouge, 1977), 146-148; T. Conn Bryan, *Confederate Georgia* (Athens, 1953), 18.

[6] In May 1861 the Rome *Courier* observed that "no man should hesitate to join a volunteer company on the score of poverty, for if need be, his outfit will be [furnished] him." See Wade Banister Gassman, "A History of Rome and Floyd County in the Civil War" (Masters thesis, Emory University, 1966), 81. For descriptions of electioneering among Georgia troops see Parks, *Joseph E. Brown*, 138; Bell I. Wiley, *The Life of Johnny Reb* (Baton Rouge, 1943), 20.

[7] James Cooper Nisbet, *Four Years on the Firing Line*, Bell I. Wiley, ed. (Jackson, TN, 1963), x-xiii, 8-9, 16-17, 38. The statistics on literacy and slave ownership apply to the total of 185 men who eventually served in the company. The high number of replacements reflects the staggering casualty rate of the 21st Georgia — seventy-six percent in the battle of Second Manassas alone, the fourth highest figure for any Civil War regiment, North or South.

[8] Wiley, *Life of Johnny Reb*, 336; Alexander A. Lawrence, *A Present For Mr. Lincoln, The Story of Savannah From Secession to Sherman* (Macon, 1961), 16-17, 29; Gassman, "Rome and Floyd County in the Civil War," 26.

[9] For the similar military roles of prominent local citizens in various parts of Georgia, and for details of public flag ceremonies see Kenneth Coleman, *Confederate Athens* (Athens, 1967), 33-40; Lawrence, *Present for Lincoln*, chapters 3 and 4; William Warren Rogers, *Thomas County During the Civil War* (Tallahassee, 1964), 9-15.

[10] On the number of troops in Georgia at various times and Governor Brown's struggle to retain them see Bryan, *Confederate Georgia*, 22-23; Louise B. Hill, *Joseph C. Brown and the Confederacy* (Chapel Hill, 1939), 61-63, 162-163; Frank L. Owsley, *States Rights in the Confederacy* (Chicago, 1925, 1931), 91-94; Allen D. Candler, comp., *The Confederate Records of the State of Georgia* (Atlanta, 1909-1911), 3:96-97, 101-102, 107-108, 109-111, 114, 116-120. For typical approved furlough applications see E.M. Young to C.H. Way, April 1, 1862; Eli Hurst to C.H. Way, April 1, 1862; D.L. Wicker to C.H. Way, April 11, 1862, Telamon-Cuyler Collection, University of Georgia.

[11] Henry Lightfoot Sims to H.C. Wayne, December 9, 1861, Box 17, Telamon-Cuyler Collection, University of Georgia; Hahn, *Roots of Southern Populism*, 124.

[12] Godfrey Barnsley to Thomas C. Gilmour, January 26, 1862 (first quotation); Barnsley to Gilmour, December 31, 1862 (second quotation), Godfrey Barnsley Papers, University of Georgia.

[13] Godfrey Barnsley to R.S. Page, January 6, 1864, ibid.

[14] Quoted in Rogers, *Thomas County During the Civil War*, 58.

[15] Joseph E. Brown to R.F. Lyon, December 4, 1862, Joseph E. Brown to the Justices of the Inferior Court of Bartow and twenty-one other northwest Georgia counties, January 5, 1863, Governor's Letterbooks, Georgia Department of Archives and History, Atlanta; hereafter abbreviated GDAH.

[16] Augusta *Chronicle and Sentinel*, April 15, 1863.

[17] Milledgeville *Confederate Union*, May 26, 1863.

[18] Petition of Carroll County Inferior Court to Joseph E. Brown, July 27, 1864, Telamon-Cuyler Collection, University of Georgia.

[19] Bryan, *Confederate Georgia*, 140.

[20] James C. Bonner, *Georgia's Last Frontier, The Development of Carroll County* (Athens, 1971), 87; Gassman, "Rome and Floyd County in Civil War," 36, 129-130.

[21] For a listing of the county origins of all Georgia's Civil War infantry companies see Lillian Henderson, comp., *Roster of the Confederate Soldiers of Georgia 1861-1865, 5 vols. (Hapeville, GA, 1959-1964).*

[22] *Hahn, Roots of Southern Populism*, 132.

[23] Joseph E. Brown to Jefferson Davis, February 18, 1863, Governor's Letterbooks, GDAH (quotation). See also Brown to John Harris, November 27, 1862, ibid.

[24] Paul D. Escott, "Joseph E. Brown, Jefferson Davis, and the Problem of Poverty in the Confederacy," *Georgia Historical Quarterly* 61 (Spring 1977): 59-71; Hill, *Brown and the Confederacy*, 117-118; Bryan, *Confederate Georgia*, 62-63.

[25] Peter Wallenstein, "Rich Man's War, Rich Man's Fight: Civil War and the Transformation of Public Finance in Georgia," *Journal of Southern History* 50 (February 1853): 15-42.

[26] Joseph E. Brown to Jared I. Whitaker, December 16, 1862, Governor's Letterbooks, GDAH.

[27] Hahn, *Roots of Southern Populism*, 124.

[28] Hill, *Brown and the Confederacy*, 118; Parks, *Joseph E. Brown*, 256-258; Joseph E. Brown to Jefferson Davis, February 18, 1863, August 25, 1863, Brown to Howell Cobb, November 2, 1863, Brown to Joseph E. Johnston, June 1, 1864, all in Governor's Letterbooks, GDAH; see also General Orders No. 11 of state Adjutant General Henry C. Wayne, September 26, 1863, implementing Brown's proclamation of September 23, 1863 ordering the arrest of all persons making impressments without written authority, Telamon-Cuyler Collection, University of Georgia.

[29] Savannah *Republican*, April 30, 1863 quoted in Bryan, *Confederate Georgia*, 38.

[30] Joseph E. Brown to Jefferson Davis, August 29, 1863, Governor's Letterbooks, GDAH. See also Brown to James A. Seddon, January 13, 1863, Brown to G.W. Lee, January 19, 1863, H.C. Wayne to Jared I. Whitaker, April 2, 1863, Brown to Jefferson Davis, August 25, 29, 1863, Brown to William Phillips, December 19, 1864, Governor's Letterbooks, GDAH; D.M. West to H.C. Wayne, April 16, 1864, Telamon-Cuyler Collection, University of Georgia; Margaret Espey to her brother, September 6, November 12, 1864, Joseph Espey Papers, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina; Martha Battey to her husband, November 17, 1864, Robert Battey Papers, Emory University; Bryan, *Confederate Georgia*, 153-155.

[31] Compiled from the printed muster roll in William Stanley Hoole, *Alabama Tories, The First Alabama Cavalry, U.S.A., 1862-1865*, Confederate Centennial Studies no. 16 (Tuscaloosa, 1960), 53-135, and from Compiled Service Records, First Battalion Georgia Infantry, U.S.A., Adjutant General's Office, RG 94, National Archives. My count of 241 Georgia natives in the First Alabama Cavalry does not square with Hoole's figure of 271 (*Alabama Tories*, 16). Similarly, the total count of 317 Georgia Federals is at odds with the 160 estimate in Carl Degler, *The Other South, Southern Dissenters in the Nineteenth Century* (New York, Evanston, San Francisco and London, 1974), 175. Of the 317 Georgians in the two northern units 74 were natives of mountain counties, 163 were from the upcountry (as defined by Steven Hahn), 61 were from the cotton belt or coast, and the native counties of 19 were not recorded.

[32] Elbert Searcy to William Deboard, January 22, 1864, Box 20, Telamon-Cuyler Collection, University of Georgia.

[33] See Escott, "Southern Yeomen and the Confederacy," and Armstead L. Robinson, "Day of Jublio: Civil War and the Demise of Slavery in the Lower Mississippi Valley, 1861-1865"(Ph.D. diss., University of Rochester, 1976). The latter work contains useful statistical data and other evidence presented within an uncompromisingly Marxian framework.

[34] For an excellent example of how detailed local research can illuminate the cultural context and social meaning of Civil War violence see Phillip Shaw Paludan, *Victims: A True Story of the Civil War* (Knoxville, 1981). This study of an isolated settlement in the North Carolina mountains has intriguing implications for Georgia's northern counties.

[35] Bryan, *Confederate Georgia*, 145-155 documents six partisan groups, three prosouthern, two pronorthern, and one with unknown loyalty. Joseph E. Brown to Jefferson Davis, August 29, 1863, Governor's Letterbooks, GDAH describes "Bryson's Command" operating on the border of the South Carolina and Georgia, as "enthusiastic for Lincoln and the United States Government." Useful information on mountain guerrilla bands can also be found in the following works which incorporate personal reminiscences together with limited amounts of local primary research: Luke E. Tate, *History of Pickens County* (Atlanta, 1935), 200-214; Rev. Lloyd G. Marlin, *The History of Cherokee County* (Atlanta, 1932), 73-81; James Alfred Sartain, *History of Walker County Georgia* (Carrollton, GA, 1972), 120-125.

[36] G.W. Lee to Joseph E. Brown, June 12, 1863, Joseph E. Brown to Braxton Bragg, August 25, 1863, Joseph E. Brown to A.W. Reynolds, October 14, 1864, Joseph E. Brown to William Phillips, December 19, 1864, Governor's Letterbooks, GDAH; F.M. Hawkins to Joseph E. Brown, December 16, 1864, Joseph E. Brown Papers, Felix Hargrett Collection, University of Georgia; Mrs. H.A. Briant to M.C. Briant, January 25, 1865, quoted in Bryan, *Confederate Georgia*, 154.

[37] So far as the present writer is aware, only one study of an individual Georgia "Tory" has ever been undertaken. See James C. Bonner, "David R. Snelling: A Story of Desertion and Defection in the Civil War," *Georgia Review* 40 (Summer 1956): 275-282. On the importance of placing Civil War conflicts in a broad chronological framework see Holmes, "Moonshining and Collective Violence," 589-593.

[38] Joseph E. Brown to G.W. Lee, September 5, 1863, Governor's Letterbooks, GDAH. See also Brown to Col. W.A. Campbell, June 17, 1863, and Brown to G.W. Lee, June 13, 1863.

[39] The following sources provide details on the April 1863 disturbances in various Georgia towns. Atlanta: Augusta *Chronicle and Sentinel*, April 4, 1863; Athens *Southern Watchman*, April 8, 1863; Atlanta *Southern Confederacy*, April 16, 1863. Augusta: Augusta *Chronicle and Sentinel*, April 11, 1863. Milledgeville: H.C. Wayne to Commander of 33rd Regt. Georgia Militia, April 10, 1863, Minutes of the Executive Department, January 1860 - July 1866, GDAH; Augusta *Chronicle and Sentinel*, April 15, 1863. Columbus: Columbus *Enquirer*, April 12, 1863 quoted in Diffee William Standard, *Columbus, Georgia in the Confederacy* (New York, 1954), 48. Thomasville: Thomas County Grand Jury Presentments, December Term, 1863, cited in Rogers, *Thomas County in Civil War*, 58. For seizures of woven cloth by armed bands of women near Marietta and in Butts County see Atlanta *Southern Confederacy*, April 24, 1863.

[40] In addition to the sources cited in note 39 see Augusta *Chronicle and Sentinel*, April 5, 1863; Milledgeville *Confederate Union*, April 21, 1863; Coleman, *Confederate Athens*, 86; Gassman, "Rome and Floyd County in Civil War," 88-91.

[41] Betty Wood, *Slavery in Colonial Georgia, 1730-1775* (Athens, 1984), 131-133, 199; Ralph B. Flanders, *Plantation Slavery in Georgia* (Chapel Hill, 1933), 205-207; Ulrich B. Phillips, ed., *Plantation and Frontier*, 2 vols. (Cleveland, 1910); John R. Commons, ed., *A Documentary History of American Industrial Society* (Cleveland, 1910), 2:360-68.

[42] On white labor unrest at the Macon Arsenal see Walter C. Hodgkins to Richard M. Cuyler, June 16, June 18, 1862, vol. 36, RG 109, National Archives; Richard M. Cuyler to N.F. Cunningham, December 11, 1863, vol. 101. For problems at the Atlanta Arsenal see Marcus H. Wright to W.W. Mackall, June 24, 1863, vol. 10. Concerning workers' petitions at the Macon Armory see James H. Burton to Josiah Gorgas, May 1, 1863, vols. 20, 29, 31. For unrest by "female operatives" at the Confederate Central Laboratory see Macon *Daily Telegraph and Confederate*, October 19, 1864; Flanders, *Plantation Slavery*, 205; Bryan, *Confederate Georgia*, 251; Macon *Daily Telegraph*, April 14, 17, 21, 1863.

[43] Ibid., April 15, 1863.

[44] Ibid., April 20, 1863.

[45] Ibid., May 5, 1863.

[46] Macon *Daily Telegraph and Confederate*, January 23, 1865.

[47] Ibid., November 19, 1864.

[48] Resolutions adopted by G.R. Reig, D.A. McLeod, S.D. Fuller, Wright Tomberlin, D. Reid, Stephen Bowen, Thomas Gibbs, A.V. Man and other Wilcox County, Georgia citizens at a public meeting in Abbeville, January 11, 1865, Joseph E. Brown Papers, Felix Hargrett Collection, University of Georgia.

[49] Lawrence N. Powell and Michael S. Wayne, "Self-Interest and the Decline of Confederate Nationalism," in *The Old South in the Crucible of War*, ed. Owens and Cooke, 29-46.

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New Orleans and Confederate Louisiana's Monetary Policy: The Confederate Microcosm

James F. Morgan

As one of the few seceding states which had a chance of establishing financial independence on its own, Louisiana held an enviable position before it even joined the Confederacy. The main reasons for this fortunate situation were a strong banking law which provided for sound, stable banks and the trade and commerce that were produced by the strategically located city of New Orleans — an advantage it enjoyed long before the war began. During Louisiana's history as both an independent, and then a Confederate state, it drew upon the wealth of New Orleans — until its capture in 1862. Louisiana, straddling both sides of the Mississippi River, was both a trans-Mississippi and an eastern state. When it was independent, it followed the course of the early Confederate central government in continuing the ante-bellum situation. Upon joining the Confederacy, for the remainder of 1861, it pursued the policy of South Carolina as it collected taxes and relied on its banks. After the fall of New Orleans, its actions were those of both the eastern and trans-Mississippi states in that it printed currency to meet expenses which, after taxes were suspended, were not met by the depleted treasury funds. By mid-1864 Louisiana's fiscal policy was entirely that of a trans-Mississippi state, relying upon specie and the sale of commodities. Thus, it provides a microcosm of the entire Confederate monetary experience and shows the course of monetary history of the early central government and of the history of most of the states in the Confederacy.

Paper money was not the prerogative of the central United States government under the Constitution prior to the 1860s (with the exception of a small issue of non-legal tender notes during the War of 1812). This was the realm of the banks controlled by the authority of the several states. After 1838 the free banking acts, which permitted any group of men with a good reputation and moderate amount of cash to establish a bank, led to much abuse. So-called "wildcat" banks would obtain a charter, issue notes with little or no specie or securities to back them, receive other bank notes for their paper, and then either close their doors or repurchase their own notes at a discount. Louisiana tried a number of legislative remedies for this situation, but it was not until 1842 that the state passed a banking act with strong provisions and enforcement. [1]

This law, passed by the legislature on February 5, 1842, forced the banks in the state to resume specie payments for their notes (all of the banks had suspended payments at that time.) If they refused, the state's attorney general could sue them for the forfeiture of their charters. The notes of those banks that closed, along with their cash assets and any losses, would be distributed among the remaining banks, each according to the amount of its own circulation. The legislators showed their concern for the debtors of the closed

banks (and their realization that too much pressure would only worsen a bad situation) by allowing additional time for repayment of their mortgages and loans instead of forcing their immediate payment in full.

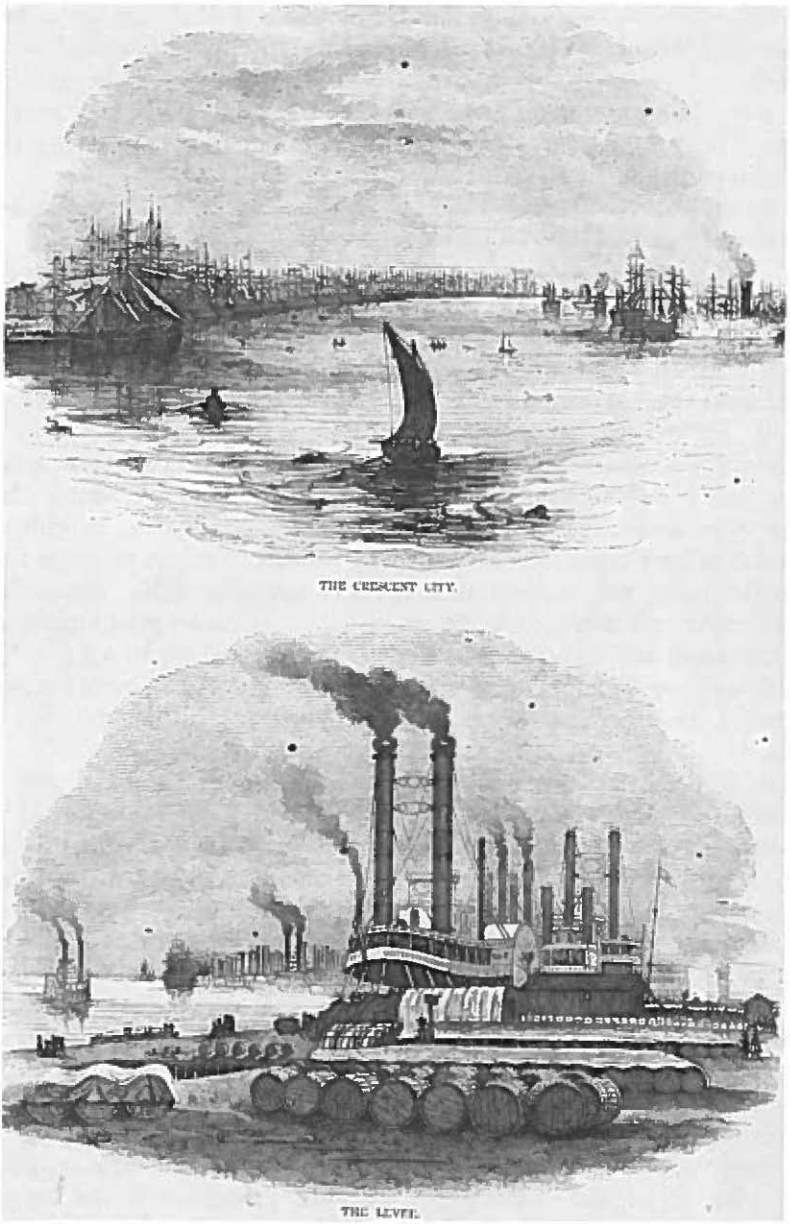
The Banking Act of 1842 had to deal with the vexing problem of the currency. Prior to this time, the notes of some banks were valued higher than those of other institutions, as reflected by their relative strength. Earlier in 1842, the Associated Banks of New Orleans agreed to maintain a circulation where the notes of all banks were of equal value. The result of this policy was to force the hoarding of the bills of strong banks; and it eventually pulled their value down to those issued by the weak ones. Banks then issued post notes, unsecured by any specie. On January 24, 1842 the legislature declared these issues illegal, and money grew scarcer within the state.

The Act of February 5, 1842 addressed these problems as well. Post notes, up to double the amount of specie, were authorized, but they were to be redeemed by September 30, 1842. This date was later extended to December 1, 1842, and the total amount of the bills increased to three times the specie reserve. However, it should be emphasized that these measures were only temporary.

In order to give value to the bank currency, the new Banking Act required one-third of all currency issue and deposits to be kept in reserve in specie, and the remainder in ninety day interest-bearing securities. This action by Louisiana amounted to the first law passed in the United States requiring banks to have a specie reserve on hand. [2]

The 1842 law also provided that each director of a bank would be fully liable for any illegal loan made by the bank, *unless* he could show by the minutes of the director's meeting that he had voted against the granting of the loan. In addition, no bank could pay out any note except its own although it could receive others for deposit. New Orleans' banks were required to exchange their respective notes with each other at the end of each day and settle their accounts once a week in specie. In order to assure compliance, the law established a Board of Currency.

The new board performed its duty with vigor. By 1850 there were six specie-paying banks in New Orleans (the Bank of Louisiana, the Canal and Banking Company, the City Bank of New Orleans, the Louisiana State Bank, the Mechanics and Traders' Bank, and the Union Bank of Louisiana) and two suspended banks, subject to closure (the Citizens' Bank of Louisiana and the Consolidated Association). On February 23, 1849 the board had moved to revoke the Louisiana State Bank's charter, charging it with having violated the law by declaring a dividend despite the fact that the books showed a loss instead of a profit. The state's attorney general ruled against the board in this matter by stating that the violation was not under the board's control because the infraction was against the original charter of 1818 and not the law of 1842. He felt further that the incident was not serious enough to warrant revocation of the charter under the 1818 act. A move against the



Two views of New Orleans Harper's, *March 20, 1861*

Canal Bank, which the board charged had acted illegally when it accepted its own stock in part payment of a debt by a cashier, also went to the courts. [3]

The result of the Bank Act of 1842 was but the first step in the creation of strong banks in Louisiana, for the total amount of currency in circulation was restricted enough to create commercial hardship. The banks complained

that they were too confined by the Constitution of 1845 (an amendment in that year forbade the creation of new banks) to afford adequate banking facilities to businesses. The state moved to correct this with the adoption of a new constitution in 1852 which laid the framework for a new banking system. The first legislature under this new constitution met in January 1853 and soon passed the free banking law.

By the terms of this new law, one or more individuals were permitted to perform banking functions and establish offices of discount, deposit, and circulation. However, incorporation of a bank required five or more people with a total capital of at least $100,000. All bank stock was to be paid in specie within twelve months of subscription, and no loan was to be made by any bank on the security of its own stock. The auditor of public accounts would then cause notes with face values of not less than five dollars to be printed. These would be distributed to the banks in amounts equal to the bonds of the United States, the state of Louisiana, or the consolidated debt of the city of New Orleans deposited with the auditor by the banks. These banks were again required to keep a specie reserve equal to one-third of the value of their notes, and the remaining two-thirds was to be in the form of specie funds, bills of exchange, or paper maturing within ninety days. Every banker or banking company out of the city of New Orleans and doing business under the terms of the act of 1853 was required to keep a New Orleans office or agent for the redemption of their notes. The Board of Currency supervised the execution of the act and required weekly reports from the banks. [4]

In 1855 the law was once more rewritten, but at this time, only the phraseology was changed. The laws of 1842, 1853, and 1855 became the framework of the Louisiana banking system. Some felt that these laws led to the large reserves of specie in the New Orleans banks that allowed them to weather the Panic of 1857. But to others, this specie and the large dividends and loans of the New Orleans' banks came from the concentration of capital from the South, West, and from abroad at New Orleans. It appears likely that the wealth of the South and West was attracted by the natural conduit of the Mississippi River. The strong banking laws with their specie requirement provided stability to the banks and enhanced their status abroad. It was this stability, the geographical location, and the availability of investment sources that attracted foreign capital. [5]

Long before 1861 New Orleans was a thriving commercial center. In 1838 a branch of the United States mint was established in the city and shared in its prosperity. On March 18, 1861 the New Orleans banks held $17,636,356 in specie and $22,751,000 in deposits, with a circulation of $8,175,000. [6] When this was added to the bullion of the mint, the customs receipts, and the value of the various government stores within the city, one has the impression of a healthy and vigorous economy.

On January 26 the state of Louisiana seceded from the United States. From that date until the formation of the Confederate States on February

8, the state acted as a sovereign government.

Independent Louisiana, like the Confederacy in the period before the outbreak of actual war, pursued a monetary course similar to the antebellum United States. Louisiana's authorities seized the United States mint, the customs receipts, and the forts. They further demanded the surrender of any government supplies within the state. They then allowed the banking system to operate while the state continued to perform the governmental role of coining specie. A total of 1,240,000 half-dollar coins were minted before the state joined the Confederacy and 962,633 more were struck under Confederate authority. [7] If Louisiana had faced war conditions during its month-long life of total sovereignty, it might have relied upon state paper money. However, its short, peaceful history made this unnecessary.

Confederate Louisiana existed from February until the end of the war. But, as the new central government needed time to set up its machinery, Louisiana remained effectively independent in many areas for a few months more. It is possible that this course of action was a natural outgrowth of the doctrine of states' rights and fear of any central government. In January 1861 Louisiana followed the example of other states by raising a regular army to face the might of the United States and supplement the militia. [8] The state's governor, Thomas O. Moore, joined with others in keeping a close eye on the later use of these forces by the Confederate States after the Provisional Army was created on February 28, but he did not seek to keep control as tightly as some of the other states, and his need for funds was consequently less. [9]

On February 28 the state continued its independent actions when the medical purveyor for the United States Army in New Orleans, Surgeon Samuel Preston Moore, surrendered the Federal medical supplies to Louisiana's authorities as part of the state's assumption of all Federal property. These were not turned over to the Confederate authorities until April 9.

March was a busy month for Louisiana. On March 7 the state instructed its depositor, Anthony J. Guirot, to transfer the bullion fund of the New Orleans mint and all customs receipts, a total of $536,787.72, to the Confederate government. It was not until March 25 that Louisiana authorized the transfer of all former United States government property within the state, including the mint and all unused medical supplies, to the control of the central authorities. This was accomplished the next day, but the superintendent of the mint, William A. Elmore, had been preparing for this since March 6. [10]

The business of money and banking continued in the normal manner during March and the beginning of April. On March 6 the Confederate Provisional Congress resolved to keep the mints open and prepare dies for a new coin. [11] Both the central government and the states turned to the banks for funds, and the banks responded. On March 9 the central government authorized an issue of $1,000,000 worth of interest-bearing treasury notes which it planned to sell to the banks and investors for bank notes and specie and then retire after one year. These first notes were engraved in New York,

and some were printed there, but the plates were shipped south and printing resumed in New Orleans after war began. [12]

On March 20 the state re-entered the financial picture when the legislature authorized the governor to borrow $300,000 in specie or bank notes from the banks, provided it could be done without interest. The money to repay this loan was to come from state revenues for 1861 (taxes were still being collected in this year). The banks soon lent the state the $300,000 with the Citizens' Bank of Opelousas and similar institutions joining in the effort. In what seemed to be a move to make future specie available to the state (or, perhaps, merely to pass through expected difficult times) the Louisiana secession convention passed an ordinance on March 27 requiring new banks to have two-thirds of their capital in coin before they could begin operations, and the rest was to be made up in the first year of operation. No bank notes lower than ten dollars could be issued, and the total issue outstanding could not exceed three-fourths of the bank's paid capital. [13]

The coming of war dashed all dreams of business as usual. Plans for coinage were shelved as Christopher Memminger, Secretary of the Confederate Treasury, directed the New Orleans mint, among others, to prepare to close its doors for the duration. On March 31 it had coins totaling $431,954.86 in its vaults, and Elmore begged Memminger to keep his staff together for a possible resumption of minting. No matter what Memminger's earlier views had been, he now considered coins "a waste of means and money" because he felt most would be exported and remelted outside of the nation. Memminger felt that there was little possibility of minting operations being resumed in the near future, and even if they were, he wanted only enough coins for the Confederacy's internal commercial needs. On May 14 Congress voted to close all mints as of June 1, 1861. Before the end of the year, a total of $457,559.48 was transferred to Assistant Confederate Treasurer Anthony J. Guirot in New Orleans. By December 1 there was $603,832.23 cash on hand, in coin and bullion at Guirot's office. [14]

Before the New Orleans mint closed its doors, the state of Louisiana called upon it one final time. It was not coins that the state wished but a supply of copper. In late April Governor Moore asked Memminger for permission to use the mint's copper for percussion caps for his soldiers' guns, and on May 3 Memminger telegraphed authority to both Moore and Elmore. The mint closed, as directed, on June 1. [15]

The central government began to print its own treasury notes, and Memminger was determined to make them a national currency. Many of the states and banks agreed with this policy, and did not print their own notes. Isham G. Harris, the governor of Tennessee, refused to print any currency until after his government was forced to flee Nashville in 1862. South Carolina continued to collect taxes and printed no currency during the entire war, but North Carolina and Georgia sought greater control over their internal affairs and quickly turned to their own currency issues. North Carolina was

so jealous of its authority that it even sought to have its troops in the Provisional Army paid in North Carolina and not Confederate scrip.[16]

During 1861 Louisiana continued to collect taxes, borrow from the banks, and, to an extent, bow to the will of the central government. Memminger felt that if his plan were to work, all banks in the Confederacy must accept the central government's notes as currency. Most banks quickly suspended specie payment and received the Treasury notes at par with coin; however, the Mobile and New Orleans banks did not. Because of this, some merchants accepted notes at par only from these banks and discounted all others. The Mobile banks, under pressure from Memminger, acquiesed after August. New Orleans took longer. [17]

Louisiana's banking laws prohibited the suspension of specie payment; but on September 11 Memminger asked the New Orleans banks and Governor Moore to do this immediately as a patriotic gesture. On September 16 Moore issued an official proclamation urging this course by the banks. They all did so shortly afterwards, and specie disappeared rapidly as people hoarded it. Many citizens feared the rapid return of private small denomination notes or shinplasters and urged New Orleans' municipal authorities to issue change notes, as bills below the denomination of five dollars were called. [18]

The City of New Orleans responded and soon issued its own small denomination bills, but not quickly enough. When they did appear, the result was that the depreciation of the Confederate and New Orleans issues, accompanied by the further withdrawal from circulation and hoarding of bank notes and specie, caused a shortage of specie by September 22. There was none in circulation by November 2, as omnibus tickets were pressed into service as change. Prices rose also and by the end of September people were complaining about the exorbitantly high costs of all items. [19]

Louisiana soon joined the ranks of many of the other eastern and trans-Mississippi states by issuing paper money. On January 23, 1862 the Louisiana legislature authorized $7,000,000 in eight percent bonds or non-interest-bearing treasury notes (for which bonds of the New Orleans banks of Confederate Treasury notes could be received), pledging the faith of the state for their redemption twelve months after a treaty of peace. The bonds were sold; however, their sale was discontinued when the notes were finally ready in April 1862. On January 20 the legislature legalized specie suspension, provided for the sale of coins only to governments, and allowed the state's banks to print bills under the denomination of five dollars. Three days later, the state suspended the collection of all taxes, and Confederate notes were made receivable for all amounts owed to the state and local governments. [20]

These measures worked for a while; but disaster struck when New Orleans fell to Union forces in April 1862. Before the city surrendered, Memminger saw to the removal of approximately $4,000,000 in specie from the banks, and Governor Moore removed the rest. By the time Union forces assumed control, only Confederate paper and the city's notes remained. On April 29 a notice appeared in the New Orleans papers urging all shops to remain

open and receive any ordinary currency. The advertisement further informed the people that Confederate notes could be exchanged for City of New Orleans bills at the Committee of Public Safety. Soon after, Union Major General Benjamin F. Butler assumed control of the city, seized the Confederate government's accounts, and sent the funds to Washington, D.C. New Orleans was thereafter removed from the story of Confederate Louisiana. [21]

Louisiana fell in line with most of the other Confederate states in issuing paper money backed by little more than faith, and it sided with the eastern states' practice of using treasury notes rather than the treasury warrants used by Arkansas, Texas, and the Choctaw Indians to obtain Confederate Treasury notes.[22] Like the eastern states, Louisiana's printing presses rolled on; but like the trans-Mississippi, the presses finally fell silent before the end of the war. [23]

On January 3, 1863 the legislature authorized $20,000,000 in noninterest-bearing treasury notes, redeemable twelve months after a treaty of peace. Shinplasters were outlawed on June 20, but the various parishes, cities and towns, and chartered banks could print change bills. The first state issue of change notes, and the last state money, received approval from the legislature on February 11, 1864. At that time the legislature permitted $300,000 in twenty-five and fifty cent notes and one dollar bills to be printed. However, the governor was empowered to halt printing before this total was reached if he deemed best. Perhaps this last requirement came from the fact that three days earlier a new issue of $10,000,000 worth of six percent bonds was also authorized. [24]

Louisiana's governor, Henry W. Allen, hoped to exchange the Louisiana bonds for Confederate Treasury notes in Richmond. In order to facilitate this exchange and obtain the new issue of notes authorized as an effort to reduce the currency in circulation by the Confederate Congress in February 1864, Allen sent a man to Richmond on February 22. Memminger declined the suggestion. [25]

As money fell in value, most of the eastern states, like the central government, simply printed more. Only North Carolina joined with the central government's alternative attempt to obtain supplies through the purchase and use of blockade runners. North Carolina, which had fewer real needs, appeared to be more successful than the Confederate government in this endeavor.

However, the trans-Mississippi, which included most of Louisiana, had a natural access to foreign markets through Mexico and early "treaties" between Confederate authorities, and the governors of the bordering Mexican states opened this route to all who could use it. Louisiana's Governor Allen came to rely on the sale of cotton for specie. Texas bought Louisiana cotton and tobacco, and it was here that Allen located the machinery to make cotton and wool cards, which were necessary for the processing of the raw product, to distribute to the needy. The poor received commodities, not money, to help them. In October 1864, as Confederate money was being shunned, the state intervened between citizens and merchants to obtain an arrangement

whereby Louisiana's people could obtain salt for Confederate paper money. By 1865 a citizen in Shreveport was selling coin to the Louisiana authorities for cotton. This situation continued through the end of the war. [26]

New Orleans was not a Confederate city after April 1862 and it struggled to exist. General Butler took possession of the city on May 1 and he forbade the use of Confederate money or bonds on the same day. However, he allowed their circulation to continue if any one would accept them until further orders. On May 16 he ordered all such circulation, including New Orleans scrip, to cease after May 27. [27]

General Butler then began his measures in earnest. On May 19 in spite of the fact that the banks' specie had been removed by the Confederate and state authorities, he issued Order Number 30. This required that only current bills of the city banks, U.S. Treasury notes, gold, or silver be paid out by the banks. This decree was followed on June 6 by Order Number 40 which called upon all people to report any holdings of Confederate property under penalty of imprisonment and confiscation of their property. It was as a result of this order that Butler learned of the existence of Confederate government property, as well as the sequestering by the Citizens' Bank, by order of the Confederate government, of the assets of the Bank of Kentucky. [28]

The Citizens' Bank soon received Butler's reply. The general refused to recognize the Confederate sequestering and demanded that all property be paid over and restored as if the action had never occurred. All government accounts, which included District Court receipts and deposits of various Confederate States Receivers, except those payable to the Confederate Treasurer himself (a total of $219,090.94), were to be paid immediately to Butler's order, for the United States, in gold, silver, or United States' Treasury notes. The amount owed the Confederate Treasurer would be held in Confederate notes, a like amount of bullion, awaiting the decision of Washington's authorities. [29] Butler believed small denominations could be supplied by allowing the savings banks and incorporated banks to issue bills below five dollars, but not less than one dollar. The banks were further authorized to receive any Confederate bill for one of theirs until May 27. [30]

The Union general forwarded money he received to Washington, further decreasing the funds of the banks. In August he struck once more against the banks by imposing an assessment equal to the amount they had invested in the peace bonds issued by the city of New Orleans. This fine, payable in four equal installments, was used to feed the many blacks who had taken refuge in New Orleans. Butler was replaced by Major General Nathaniel P. Banks on November 9, but the New Orleans banking houses never noticed the difference. [31]

The commerce of Union New Orleans declined during the war. Many of the merchants fled the city, and by 1865 foreigners conducted what little business there was. As early as February 1863, seven of New Orleans' thirteen banks had closed. By 1865 the military authorities were compelled to feed

a large part of the city's population. The war had been hard on New Orleans and its banking houses. [32]

Louisiana entered the conflict with a vibrant commerce, strong banking system, abundant specie, and hope for a bright future. Like South Carolina, it possessed a vital port and commercial center, and, like that state and the early Confederate central government, it was content to let matters continue as they had before secession. Bank notes formed the early currency of the state, supplemented by gold and silver coins as they had in the old United States and the young Confederacy.

Early in the war both Louisiana and the central government eyed the specie reserve of the New Orleans banks, but the banks refused at first to reserve their coins for the government alone. Memminger brought pressure to bear on these hold-outs, and Governor Moore issued the proclamation necessary for suspension in September 1861. The state retained a business-as-usual attitude as regards the monetary question in 1861, with the exception that Confederate Treasury notes became the substitute specie for normal commercial dealings. But the state witnessed the disappearance of specie and bank notes as Confederate and New Orleans city issues came to dominate in the state's monetary life and decline in value.

By 1862 Louisiana joined with most of the states of the Confederacy in issuing its own currency. Backed by the faith of the state, these bills were used to obtain Confederate Treasury notes and some bank notes and specie. The suspension of taxes, coupled with the fall of New Orleans, forced the state to rely more and more on paper money. As its value fell, the government printed more.

Louisiana joined with the other trans-Mississippi states in selling commodities for specie to foreign merchants through the Texas-Mexico corridor. The state's authorities soon shunned the distribution of money even to the destitute and gave them cotton and wool cards to make them self-reliant. By 1865 the state government was dependent upon issuing specie and selling commodities. At the end of the war the city of New Orleans, under the control of Union military commanders for two and a half years, was only a shell of its former vibrant self.

Thus Louisiana, in the course of its own monetary history as both an independent and Confederate state, showed elements of the monetary policies of the Confederate central government, the eastern state governments, and the trans-Mississippi governments. It was truly a microcosm of the catastrophic Confederate experience.

Notes

[1] Stephan A. Caldwell, *A Banking History of Louisiana* (Baton Rouge, 1935), 11, 79.

[2] Ibid., 77-78, 78n.

[3] Congress, House, *Executive Documents*, No. 68, "Condition of the Banks in the United States," 31st Cong., 1st sess. (Washington, 1850), 253- 285.

[4] Caldwell, *Banking History of Louisiana*, 84-86.

[5] Ibid., 86-89.

[6] Ibid., 90.

[7] R.S. Yeoman, *A Guide Book of United States Coins*, 37th rev. ed. (Racine, WI, 1983), 138.

[8] War Department, *The War of the Rebellion, A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies* (Washington, 1880-1901), ser. 4, vol. 1, 172-73, cited hereafter as *OR*.

[9] For a study of the question of states rights and Confederate-state relations see Frank Lawrence Owsley, *States Rights in the Confederacy* (Chicago, 1925).

[10] *Proceedings of the Louisiana State Convention...Together with the Ordinances Passed* (New Orleans, 1861), 265, 281, 929; William A. Elmore to Thomas O. Moore, March 26, 1861, Letters Received, Executive Department, State of Louisiana, 1860-1865, Louisiana State Archives. Elmore to Christopher G. Memminger, March 6, 1861, Confederate Secretary of the Treasury, hereafter cited as CST, Letters Received, 1861-1865, RG 365, National Archives.

[11] James M. Mathews, ed., *Statutes at Large of the Provisional Government of the Confederate States of America...* (Richmond, 1864), 92. Memminger asked Elmore for designs for a half-dollar coin on April 1, 1861, Memminger to Elmore, April 1, 1861, CST, Letters Sent, March 1, 1861-October 12, 1861, RG 365, National Archives.

[12] Mathews, *Statutes at Large, Provisional*, 54-55; Memminger to C.B. Lamar, April 11, 1861, CST, Letters Sent.

[13] *Acts passed by the Fifth Legislature of the State of Louisiana at its Second Session* (Baton Rouge, 1861), 190; Citizens' Bank to Thomas O. Moore, July 1861, Letters Received, Executive Department, State of Louisiana, 1860-1865,Louisiana State Archives.

[14] Elmore to Memminger, March 30, April 17, April 19, 1861, CST, Letters Received, 1861-1865; Memminger to Robert W. Barnwell, August 7, 1861, Confederate States Congress, Legislative Papers, February 1862-March 1865, RG 109, National Archives; Mathews, *Statutes at Large, Provisional*, 110; Official Reports of the Mint Officers, CST, Letters Received, 1861-1865; Confederate States Treasurer, Miscellaneous Office Records, June 5, 1861-March 8, 1865, RG 365, National Archives.

[15] Memminger to Moore and Memminger to Elmore, May 3, 1861, CST, Telegrams Sent, February 3, 1861-July 30, 1864, RG 365, National Archives; Memminger to Elmore, May 16, 1861, CST, Letters Sent, March 1, 1861-October 12, 1861.

[16] James F. Morgan, *Graybacks and Gold: Confederate Monetary Policy*, (Pensacola, FL, 1985), 25, 48-50, 42-43, 56-63; North Carolina General Assembly, 1862-1863 Session, *Report of the Joint Committee...to Enquire into the Causes why Soldiers were Paid in Confederate Treasury Notes instead of North Carolina Notes* (Raleigh, 1863), 1-14.

[17] Memminger to L.W. O'Bannon, June 29, 1861, CST, Letters Sent. Notice from Bank of Mobile and Southern Bank of Alabama, Confederate Office of the Register, Letters Received, March 20, 1861-June 18, 1861, Confederate Museum, Richmond.

[18] Memminger to the Presidents and Directors of the Banks of the City of New Orleans, September 11, 1861, and Memminger to Moore, September 11, 1861, CST, Letters Sent, RG 109, National Archives; *Daily Picayune*, September 17, 1861; *New Orleans Bee*, September 17, 1861; *Daily Picayune*, afternoon issue September 17, 1861; Caldwell, *A Banking History of Louisiana*, 90.

[19] Ibid. Clara Solomon, "Diary of a New Orleans Girl, 1861-1862," Louisiana Room, Archives Division, Louisiana State University Library, 64, 125.

[20] *Acts passed by the Sixth Legislature of...Louisiana...First Session* (Baton Rouge, 1861), 84-86, 45-46, 79, 82.

[21] Memminger to Wood and Brothers, June 5, 1862, *Private and Official Correspondence of General Benjamin F. Butler* (n.p., 1906), 2:4; James D. Denegre to Moore, April-May 1862; Moore to State Treasurer, May 1862, Letters Received, Executive Department, State of Louisiana, 1860-1865, Louisiana State Archives; Caldwell, *A Banking History of Louisiana*, 91; James D. Denegre to Butler, June 11, 1862, *Corr. of Butler*, 1:617-18.

[22] Notes and warrants varied in the way they were issued. Warrants were issued by the treasury (and, in early times, bore interest) because there was not enough money in a particular fund to meet the obligations to any person, organization, or auditor's warrant (which was drawn in turn to certify the debt.) These were originally to be retired, as money became available, in the order issued. Notes were not drawn against any particular appropriation, could be issued for any obligation, and could be retired without regard to order.

[23] For a discussion of the differences between eastern and trans-Mississippi states see Morgan, *Greybacks and Gold*, 42-103.

[24] *Acts passed by the Twenty-Seventh Legislature of the State of Louisiana, in Extra Session at Opelousas, December 1862 and January 1863* (Natchitoches, 1864), 29-30; *Acts passed by the Sixth Legislature of the State of Louisiana, at the City of Shreveport on the Fourth of May, 1863* (Shreveport, 1863), 5; *Acts passed by the Seventh Legislature of the State of Louisiana, at its First Session, at the City of Shreveport on the Eighteenth Day of January, 1864* (Shreveport, 1864), 11-12, 22, 72.

[25] Allen to Memminger, February 22, 1864, CST, Letters Received, 1861-1865; Memminger to Allen, March 31, 1864, Letters Received, Executive Department, State of Louisiana, 1860-1865, Louisiana State Archives.

[26] Emory Clapp to Allen, various dates; John M. Sandidge to Allen, October 24, 1864; John J. Hodge to Allen, May 27, 1865, ibid.

[27] Caldwell, *A Banking History of Louisiana*, 91.

[28] *OR*, ser. 4, vol. 1, 437, 428.

[29] Ibid., 430.

[30] Ibid.

[31] Caldwell, *A Banking History of Louisiana*, 96.

[32] Ibid., 96-97.

Dr. Morgan is a free lance writer.

Commentary

Charles P. Wilson

In the last decade the geographical focus of Confederate military history has shifted. Thomas L. Connelly of the University of South Carolina is perhaps the most prominent of a group of historians who have complained that earlier Confederate military history focused too closely on Virginia and its armies and leaders to the exclusion of interest in other areas of the South. Revisionist historians are examining now other dimensions of the Confederate military story — as in Connelly's own histories of the Army of Tennessee.

These papers reflect a similar interest in exploring Confederate topics within the context of the experiences of the people of the Gulf Coast, a very different region from the upper South of Virginia but one vital to a full udnerstanding of the Confederate story. Cultural geographers and folklorists have long argued that the Gulf Coast is a distinct culture area, which partly reflects the overall southern experience but also has certain unique interests and concerns. As a distinct subregion of the South, the Gulf Coast's story can contribute to a fuller appreciation of the Confederate era.

James Morgan's paper, "New Orleans and Confederate Louisiana's Monetary Policy: The Confederate Microcosm," provides a distinct perspective on the rise and fall of the Confederacy, specifically in the context of Louisiana. The paper is particularly useful because previous discussions of southern monetary activity during the war have focused on the central government and on the experience of the Confederate capital of Richmond. Morgan admits that the central government and the Louisiana state government did not issue formal declarations on monetary policy, but he shows that one can still identify a monetary history. He carefully compares Louisiana's experiences with those of the eastern state governments, the state governments of the western Confederacy, and even the allied Indian nations.

Few topics show as clearly as this monetary history the overall story of the Confederacy itself. The paper is sharply focused on banking and the regulation of the currency supply, but a more detailed discussion of the impact of these develoments on the business community and the people of the city of New Orleans itself would have given the study a broader significance. For example, to what degree and when did the currency regulations translate into unrest among businessmen? Did it lead to an increasingly high rate of business failures, as happened in Richmond in 1862? How did monetary policy affect the food markets? Rising food prices were a main source of social ferment in many towns and cities, and monetary policies surely played a major role in this problem. A comparative perspective, relating the New Orleans experience to that of Richmond or other cities would deepen our understanding of the importance of monetary policy in the daily life of the Confederate people at war.

Clarence Mohr carefully deals with the issue of class tension in the Confederacy in his paper, "Slavery and Class Tensions in Confederate Georgia." It explores the conflicting tendencies toward unity and disunity within one southern state. On the one hand, there was the process of nation building, of working out a collective identity, but, on the other the process of secession served to magnify class tensions. The paper describes the kind of internal conflict that took place between 1861 and 1865, and gives an interpretation of the significance of this social unrest.

Mohr shows the early solidarity across class lines that existed among Goergia's white population and suggests that in 1861 it appeared the war might unite the state's

diverse elements into a unified whole. As long as Georgians thought the war would be short-lived, people of all classes joined in military mobilization. Mohr is very realistic in his assessment that white Georgians in all this were not bound together by "evanescent emotionalism" but by the "far more durable bond of perceived self-interest." That is a key to his interpretation, because as the self-interest of the planters and that of the plain farmers began to diverge, so the earlier unity declined.

The plain folk at first prospered because of the economic stimulus of wartime spending. Troops remained within the state early in the war, able to check in at home, so that the conflict was not the personal burden it later became. By 1862 the situation was changing. Planter interests were more and more protected, at the expense of those of the common farmer. The first conscription act appeared in April 1862, and each new attempt to recruit more soldiers alienated rural white farmers and urban workers. At the same time the slaves were continuing to work the plantations, many small farm families, with the numbers of their menfolk reduced, fell on hard times.

Mohr discusses the appearance of discontent among north Georgia mountain folk and hill country people and charts the efforts of Governor Joseph Brown to deal with the problem. He raises fascinating questions about the relationship between strong kinship ties, personalistic violence and social discontent in these areas, and the connection between poverty, desertion from military units, and peace sentiment. He points out, however, that the clearest evidence for class-based dissent may well be in the towns and cities of Georgia, where food shortages and inflation led to riots in April 1863. Among urban artisans one saw the clearest connections between race and class issues. Slaves increasingly joined the workforce during the war, leading to growing white resentment of slave competition.

Mohr's conclusion that most of Georgia's plain folk wanted greater justice within the existing order, rather than its overthrow, seems judicious. He portrays the plain folk as aware of their self-interests, yet willing to sacrifice for a common cause. As long as the sacrifices were shared equally, they were a part of the cause. The plain folk are thus a moving, self-aware group, not an abstraction, as so frequently in class analysis, nor an invisible, passive group, accepting whatever comes for the sake of romantic battle slogans.

Mohr's paper and his broader book is an important contribution to social history. Paul Escott in *After Secession* has explored the failure of "psychological nationalism," that is, the seemingly insufficient commitment of the common folk to the Confederate cause. Mohr's work is a much more detailed and thorough case study than Escott's as he uses primary sources at the local level. But one does long to know the reaction of the south Georgians to the issues Mohr outlines. What were the experiences of the landless squatters in the piney woods and the herdsmen in the wiregrass country? Did they duplicate that of the upcountry and mountain plain folk?

In their studies, Mohr and Hahn open up an intriguing aspect of the South's social class conflict — its relationship to the folk culture of the region. David Potter argued that the survival of the South's vital folk culture was the root of southern distinctiveness, but few historians have attempted to carefully relate the folk culture to specific historical issues. However, Mohr notes in his paper that the "kinship ties, shared folkways and religious values," were among the cultural bonds felt by Georgia's white citizens, providing much of the unity in wartime. W.J. Cash in his classic *The Mind of the South* argued that kinship ties between planters and the plain folk helped to minimize class conflict, and historians are finally beginning to look

seriously at this possibility. But it is important to remember that cultural values can and do vary from social class to social class, rather than always uniting the folk living in what sometimes seems like a unified, rural, personalistic, family-oriented society.

The story of southern cultural development during the Civil War is a fresh topic for modern historians to explore. To be sure there are some studies of the folk music of the Confederacy — the patriotic, sentimental, or melancholy songs that were popular at the time. Scholars have examined various aspects of the literature of the Confederacy. The Romantic movement shaped southern literary expression, leading especially to a romantic celebration of southern life. The consensus is that the highest literary achievement was not in such forms as the novel or poetry, but in the battlefield accounts of reporters, the vigorous newspaper editorials, and the letters and diaries of people such as Mary Chestnut, private writings not even meant for publication but reflecting honest and articulate emotions.

In general, though, as Emory Thomas has concluded in his recent study of *The Confederate Nation: 1861-1865*, "the war period itself seems to have been too brief, frenzied, and violent for much depth or innovation in southern cultural life."

Confederate art offers a new approach to the subject. The index of Thomas' overview of life in the Confederate period does not even have a listing for art or painting, reflecting the fact that historians have generally paid little attention to this aspect of cultural life. Art historians have only recently begun to pay serious attention to the relationship between art and the Civil War.

In a recent article on the "Southern Artist and the Civil War," in *Southern Quarterly*, Bruce Chambers sees the War, along with the American Revolution and the conquest of the West, as one of the three great "iconogenerative" events in American history. That is, these events had so much emotional power to them that they generated images helping to define national or regional identity and nurture it over generations.

There were two groups of artists who created images of the Civil War. One group had actually covered the battles as wartime illustrators for *Harper's, Leslie's Illustrated*, and other magazines and newspapers. Some of these individuals later illustrated books about the war that began appearing in the 1880s and afterwards. A second group of artists creating images of the Civil War was composed of professional illustrators, individuals without wartime combat or journalistic experience. But they were careful professionals, who researched their subjects and achieved a high degree of accuracy in the portrayal of costume, dress, and the details of battle.

Bruce Chamber's recent article is perhaps the most detailed overview of Confederate art, but he stresses areas other than the Gulf Coast. Battles in South Carolina and Virginia and artists such as Conrad Wise Chapman from Virginia are discussed at length, without mention of important work in the Gulf Coast.

Most of the study of Confederate art has stressed the work of illustrators, the realistic, representational painting of battle scenes. But it may be time to consider more carefully other forms of painting completed during and after the war. Interpretive landscapes, historical scenes, local color genre paintings, and political caricature may all reflect the influence of the war. It has been argued that the background of the war translated into scenes of general desolation in northern landscapes. Has the same been true of the South? The odds are certainly yes, given the destruction on southern soil. American painting in general emerged as a significant cultural expression in the Civil War era and after, and scholars should examine even more carefully than

they have the southern, and specifically the Gulf Coast, contributions to this achievement.

Cultures are organic creations; they are of a piece, so that events in one aspect of life influence other aspects of the culture as well. The attempt to build a Confederate nation touched many aspects of southern life as we have seen in these papers. The Gulf Coast was not at the periphery of the effort but an essential part of it. The experiences of the people in this region mirrored those of others in the South, but an increasing number of studies specifically focused on the home front in this region will also eventually produce an understanding of the unique and distinctive dimensions of the Gulf Coast experience in the Confederacy.

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COLONEL ELLSWORTH'S ZOUAVES.
SKETCHED BY THOS. NAST.

FIFTY-FIFTH REGIMENT ZOUAVES.
SKETCHED BY THOS. NAST.

LaBree, The Pictorial Battles of the Civil War *(New York, 1885), 1:385*

The Diary of Ann Quigley

Russell E. Belous

The diary of Ann E. Quigley (1818-1887) is not unlike many others which continue to add substance to our historical heritage. Miss Quigley's comments are also not unlike those of other women who have expressed nationalistic pride at the first signs of conflict but then, as the horrors of war come into view, have begun to question the efficacy of a military solution.

Ann E. Quigley was born and raised in Washington (Wilkes County), Georgia. She was one of five daughters and two sons of Charles and Mrs. Quigley. When her father died, she, her sisters, mother and two servants moved to Mobile, Alabama in 1852. When her diary begins on January 1, 1861, she is the Principal of Barton Academy, a secondary school at the old McMorries homestead on Claiborne Street, just north of St. Louis Street. After the war, Miss Quigley was the Principal of a private girl's school, Claiborne Street Academy, until she retired in the 1870s. A letter from a Mobile resident to one of her pupils reflects on her character:

> I regard her as a most extraordinary woman, combining many virtues. For a number of years she has had to support a large family, and she had done it nobly, uncomplainingly. As a teacher she is equalled by very few. With the tender heart of a woman she has the energy and ability of a man, commanding respect from everyone; and as a useful citizen is an example by which many men might profit. . . .

This is one of twenty-five letters to Miss Mary Robert, a student (1867-1873), in the collection of her granddaughter, Mrs. Leslie W. Gordon, Bay Minette, Alabama.

The diary of Ann E. Quigley was found in an old wooden box which had lain unopened for nearly fifty years in the collection of T.T. Wentworth, Jr., Pensacola, Florida. When his entire collection was given to the Historic Pensacola Preservation Board (1983), the staff began to examine and prepare the documents and artifacts for display in the Old City Hall and at various other exhibitions through the Historic Pensacola Village. It was thus that the diary was found, given long ago by a so-far unknown donor. It consists of ninety-three handwritten pages in a hard-cover lined book, 4-1/2 inches by 7-1/2 inches. The year 1861 has ten pages (two blank), 1862 has twenty-three pages, and there are twenty-four pages for 1863. Nothing is recorded for 1864, perhaps reflecting her stay in Georgia. The diary resumes April 3, 1865, and continues for twenty-three pages until May 4. One page is reserved for August 26, 1871, with the final four pages for two months in 1884. While every effort has been made to preserve the context, the diary has been edited primarily to relate to the theme of this conference. Space limitations preclude the mention of over eighty individuals and many of Miss Quigley's personal comments about her travels to Montgomery (Alabama) and Athens,

Washington and Madison (Georgia). Two other subjects are briefly included, education and the cost-of-living, to illustrate how the war affected her lifestyle. The spelling, punctuation, dates and emphasis have been preserved. Editorial notes in brackets are included to clarify Miss Quigley's comments as they relate to wartime events.

Tuesday, Jan 1 1861 Incessant rain — No calls, except F. Horton

Wednesday, Jan. 2 1861 Still raining — school duties resumed — many absent.

Thursday, Jan 3 . . . Alarming news from Charleston . . . [This could possibly have been the news that Major Anderson refused to surrender Fort Sumter.]

Saturday. Jan. 5 Deposited tuition money $165.00.

May 23 . . . A letter from Pensacola says "a letter from the British consul was received this morning, announcing through Lord Lyons that the Eng government would recognize the blockade of our ports, and granting two weeks to all Eng. vessels to settle their accounts after being notified of the blockade. [On April 19 Lincoln proclaimed a blockade on all southern ports.]

From Tribune May 24. Pres. Davis has issued a proclamation, appointing Thursday June 14 to be a day of fasting and prayer . . . preparations are being made for removing the Government from Montgomery to Richmond. [The Confederate Congress voted on May 20 to move the capital to Richmond.]

June 29th Saturday — Went early to the Academy for the purporse of collecting scattered papers, books etc. Applicants for situations as teachers were assembled in the rooms of Boy's H. School. There could not have been less than fifty present — most of them ladies. Was sorry to see among them some whom I know to be unqualified — oh! how few realize the responsibility of a teacher!

June 30, 1861 . . . Observed an unusual appearance in the N.W. part of the heavens — It seemed a stream of light issuing from the horizon like the tail of a comet . . . Its tail extended almost west to the zenith . . . For weeks it has been predicted, night after night . . . Now in all its brilliancy it suddenly appears . . . Does this sudden appearance portend some signal calamity! Is it a messenger from the realms of light to our poor distracted, disturbed country? [This was the meteor stream Pons-Winnecke in the constellation Draco.]

Oct. 29, 1861 Walked . . . to see the gunboat now in process of building. What a change in the occupations of our people! [The diary probably refers to either *CSS Morgan* or *CSS Gaines*.] 'Tis not the very poor who suffer most . . . They are cared for by the various charitable societies of the city. The "Free Market" supplies them with provision, fuel, etc — the "Aid Society" gives them work, & some are, doubtless better off than ever before. 'Tis those who have been accustomed to comfort & ease, who now find themselves out of employment, having, perhaps, some property which proves rather than

expense than otherwise. This is the class which suffer — Butter 50 cents per pound — Coffee .75 — ham .30 — lard .30 & everything else in proportion. These are times that will ever be remembered by those now living.

Nov. 9 Port Royal in possession of the Federalists! This is the commencement of the Invasion of our Coast. [On November 7 Federal forces captured Port Royal which placed their forces between Charleston and Savannah.]

Nov. 13 Rumor of the appearance of Federal vessels near our coast! More troops ordered to Forts Morgan and Gaines. Truly, truly, we live in troublelous times. Emphatically *hard* times — provisions scarce and enormously high. Just to think — coffee $1.00 pr lb — butter .75 — tea $2.00 Winter has but begun — what will it be before the season close.

Feb. 19, 1862 . . . During several days, the rain has fallen without intermission — the skies are dark . . . the streets flooded. As in the natural so in the civil world. How dark — how gloomy our political sky! After months of successful conflicts — months crowned with the smiles of Heaven on our people . . . on our crops — lo! a change. The cloud of disaster and defeat hangs heavy over our Confederacy! . . . the capture of Roanoke Island — the taking of Ft. Donelson and now the probable capture of Nashville. [On February 7 fifteen thousand Confederates under General Buckner unconditionally surrendered Fort Donelson to General Grant. By the 24th Nashville was under Federal control.] What a series of calamities for one short week! Dearly was the taking of Ft. D. purchased . . . They won laurels in the conflict and taught the foe at what a heavy price the subjugation of the S. must be purchased. The disturbance of the telegraph has put a stop to all communication — flying rumors are rife — what truth they contain is yet to be sifted out. Our citizens are excited and alarmed. How soon the booming cannons roar may reverberate from the walls of Fts Morgan and Gaines, none can tell — Perplexed I am — what to do? The safest course seems to be "trust in the Lord."

Friday Feb. 21st — The clouds still darkening overhead — no cheering news brought along our telegraphic wires. Ah! the way angels bending from seats around the shinning throne must weep — if angels ever weep — o'er the sad spectacle spread over our land. A nation trampled upon — its homes invaded — helpless women and children driven from their friends. Husbands, fathers, sons, brothers, friends, are perhaps now exposed to the deadly fire of a heartless foe. Perhaps now the expiring breath invokes God's protecting care for helpless wives and babes. The history of wars enacted in distant lands — the faint booming of the cannon heard afar offer the graphic deliniations of desolated homes — of gory fields of slain thousands — have in former times, been laid before us. A sympathetic emotion was awakened as we read of stories of bravery, of glorious achievements, of noble self-sacrificing spirits — but ah! These were not home scenes. The brave hearts that were stilled on the Crimean plains — the fearless warriors that fell on Lombardy's fields, were not our own kindred. All the horrors of war are

now brought to our very doors. Will not the God of battles be with us! Our arms are weak — but we feel that our cause is just, and a just God will not forsake us. Ellen D & Salee R bade me good bye to-day. They go to seek a refuge from the threatening foe. Soon others will go & I shall follow — where? Oh! where can *I* go? With mother, sisters, servants to take care of, what can I do? Oh! that my heart may be filled with that faith & trust in a righteous God, which alone is able to sustain in these trying times. With a sad heart, I have commenced packing my books — the best part of my possessions. If lost, they can never be replaced — yet where to store them is the question. Oh! for help & direction from on High!

Feb. 22 The anniversary of the birth of the great, the immortal Washington — the day, too, of the inauguration of *our* first President. [On February 18 Jefferson Davis was inaugurated in Montgomery.] May the same spirit be in him that was in the "father of his country" — may he achieve for this New Confederacy, what Washington achieved for the United States — Freedom & Independence.

Feb. 28th, 1862 In accordance with the proclamation of the President this has been observed as a day of fasting and prayer. Throughout the Confederate States, the voice of Prayer has sounded from hearts bowed in sorrow — the earnest petitions of an oppressed people have gone up to the God of Battles . . . To see a whole nation imploring help from on High is an impressive sight — one on which the Angels gaze with pleasure . . . As a nation we have sinned — In prosperity, we forgot God; & He may have chosen the sword of battle to teach us that He is the Lord. May we look upon the chastisement as just . . . .

March 1, 1862 . . . The streets presented to-day a scene of excitement never before witnessed. Soldiers preparing to follow their leaders to "victory or death" women filled with anxiety, but firm in heart, preparing those necessities for the departing loved ones, which only a woman can think of in such times.

March 22 The newspapers tell us that a battle at Corinth is imminent & we are waiting with painful anxiety. Oh! That the victory may be ours. I cannot think that defeat will again attend our effort — surely our cause cannot be *wrong*.

March 23, 1862 Sunday. Cold, windy, disagreeable . . . No news from the scene of battle. The stillness that pervades our streets at night is painful — not a sound of human foot or voice — The streets once so hilarious with merry voices — with song & shout, now, how still! The ticking of my watch, the low hissing of the burning coal in my grate are the only sounds that fall on my ear . . . .Two years ago, aye, one year I may say — did I anticipate such a time of gloom . . . One soldier came into the house this morning & asked for *food*! We gave him the best our scanty hoard furnished. It seems hard that those who are fighting for our independence cannot be supplied . . . .

April 6 Battle near Corinth commence to-day. 21st Ala. Reg. engaged. Announced in the churches by Mr. Miller who adopted that way of spreading the information that nurses — provisions etc. must be ready for the morning cars . . . .

Apr. 7 Monday "News of Victory" Alas! Gen. Sidney Johnston killed . . . and many of our Mobile boys. The city wild with apprehension and excitement. This victory is purchased with much precious blood. Maggie Marshall's brother among the killed. [The two day Battle of Shiloh began on April 6. The Confederates were successful the first day despite the loss of commanding General Albert Sidney Johnston. A reinforced Union Army recaptured the lost ground on April 7 forcing the Confederates to retreat. The North lost 13,047 men to the South's 10,694.]

Apr. 9th 1862 Wednesday Almost impossible to do anything in school — all are so much excited. The war begins to come very near to us now . . . No thought of anything but the battles. Worse than storm — worse than pestilence — are the devastations of bloody war. So many of our young men of promise have fallen — so many disabled perhaps for life. At a distance, the *glory* of war seems dazzling, but as it approaches near it becomes dimmed by a dark cloud of gloom & sorrow. Yet our country must be rescued from the tread of the oppressor. Of all the wars that have ever occurred, this is the most cruel, the most unjust. I cannot think our cause hopeless.

April 10 . . . Tremendous rain last night — Rumor to-day of the capture of Island 10 hope it is not true. [On April 8, Island No. 10 surrendered to Union forces. Over 5,000 Confederates and 150 heavy guns were captured.]

May 1, 1862 No more room for hope — New Orleans is gone to us! [On April 29 the City of New Orleans officially surrendered.] The forts surrendered yesterday, & the Federal Flag now floats over the city — the proud Crescent City. 'Tis the turn of Mobile next — Shall I be driven from my home? Oh! I feel that my parting from my mother & sisters will be forever in this world — They go up to Garlandsville, I go to Ga. — If we could remain together the trials could be better borne, but to be separated — to be debarred the comfort of mutual consolation, adds a bitter drop to the cup. Pink goes to-morrow! My books are all packed ready for transportation *somewhere.* This invasion of our happy homes — this cruel, unjust war against an unoffending people! Oh! I cannot think of it!

June 12, 1862 . . . Two weeks and my school will close — mother & Fanny gone. Perfectly at a loss what to do . . . There is little to encourage me to stay in Mobile — friends all gone — No definite news from distant points. My heart is sad, sad, my way seems dark.

Oct. 11th 1862 The summer with its joys & pleasures — its fears & hopes — its hours of calm & its moments of excitement — has passed. The winter labors have commenced in just the same state of uncertainty & apprehension that attended our last year's commencement. Contrary to expectation, our schools continued until the close of the session tho' the exercises

were much interupted by occasional panics which followed each reverse of arms . . . My school this day numbers Eighty-three (83).

Oct. 20, 1862 . . . Why oh! why this terrible calamity? The nations of Europe that possess the power to check this murderous tide of warfare, look on without emotion — they see thousands of their fellow beings sacrificed — they hear the wailing of thousands of helpless women & children, & yet no word of entreaty or expostulation . . . To say what I shall do on the morrow is impossible . . . Fly from Mobile? Give up my situation here, & what shall I do with mother & sisters dependent upon me! Oh! that I could feel satisfied to leave all in the hands of my Heavenly Father.

Dec. 1862 . . . I have just paid $30.00 for shoes; for coffee $8.00; & tea $15.00.

Feb. 5, 1863 Cold & windy — very cold, water frozen — A very unusual season this has been. Sacred Concert at Cathedral — too cold for enjoyment. Music too scientific for such an uncultivated ear as mine.

Feb. 20th 1863. Spring approaching . . . In my afternoon walk, strolled as far as the "Six Sisters" — my first home in this city. Ten years have passed since then, & change has left visible finger prints on many objects around that home on the water side . . . ten years of sorrow & trouble . . . but there is no part of my life that I would live over again — not even the bright & sunny days of youth. I am on the last half of Life's journey & the last half is said to be the *shortest*! Met an old acquaintance on the Cars . . . He looked old and as we were children together, *I* must be looking old too. *Looking* old is nothing — 'tis the *feeling* old, the feeble limbs & imparied faculties that I dread — the helplessness of old age.

Feb. 27 1863 . . . Prices still advancing — common calico $2.50; flannel 5 to $8.00; & provisions: flour $62.00 per barrel; butter 1.75.

May 11th 1863 Dr. Petrie called at Academy. "Stonewall" Jackson dead!! The whole Confederacy overwhelmed with grief; for the loss of so great & good a man. Wounded in the fight at Chancellorsville, his left arm was amputated; but it was pneumonia that took him off. [Jackson died on May 10, 1863.] Does not God intend to teach us that by Him alone & not the might of man we are to prevail! Dr. P. took tea with us. With all my reading & study of history of wars & revolutions, how little did I know of the horrors of war — of civil war?

Saturday 23d But little news this week from Vicksburg. Last rumor that the enemy has been repulsed in his attack on the town. [General Grant launched a second assault on Vicksburg on May 22. The Union forces were repulsed with heavy losses.] Refugees arriving from N.O. Can it be so? All these people driven from their homes, robbed of their property by those who speak the same language & profess to worship the same God that we do? if this be a free government, then what is an absolute? These Refugees too are the first families in N.O. — wealthy families. To think that their houses, furniture etc has been taken & appropriated by these vile Yankees! Not content with driving them from their homes, the tyrant landed them

at Pascagoula, a desolate, uninhabited place where, but for the soldiers stationed there, the poor creatures must have perished. Thence they were brought up to Mobile where I hope they will meet with kindness & sympathy. How must our speculators feel when they behold the sacrifices these people have made! And our planters who live at home "on the fat of the Land" & hire substitutes for their sons? [On April 11, 1862 the Confederate Congress voted conscription of able-bodied men between eighteen and thirty-five; subsequent acts provided exemptions for owners of twenty or more slaves, for those who hired a substitute or made a payment of $500.]

June 29th 1863 Monday Examination day — classes did well.

Tuesday June 20th Examination continued — room crowded with visitors, many of them, however, apparently little interested in the exercises . . . The *eleventh* examination I have conducted in that *same* room — will it be the last? In these times of uncertainty, who can count on the morrow!

Wednesday July 1st A day of *rest* — & oh! my wearied mind & body both need rest. 'Tis long since I have known the enjoyment of rest. Constant anxiety & excitement precludes every thing like *rest*. Oh! for peace over our distracted land!

Bread or Peace Riot, Mobile, September 4, 1863 — *LaBree*, Pictorial . . ., *2:264*

Tuesday, July 7th This morning an "extra" announced "Vicksburg Safe" Hundreds of dimes were given out for the little bit of paper announcing what was *false*! Even while the news boys were crying "Extra", an official telegram came confirming the sad news of yesterday. Vicksburg, after holding out *so* long, has fallen . . . What a glorious celebration to the *Yankees*. What a disastrous one to *us*! The *dark* day is upon us. Man flying from his fellow man! Helpless women & children driven from their homes by those who profess to be *civilized*! Who can understand these things? [Vicksburg surrendered on July 4, 1863. Thirty thousand Confederate troops were captured.]

July 28 . . . I found myself again in my native home, old Washington . . . . [Ann Quigley left Mobile on July 21 to return to her birthplace of Washington, Georgia.] No prospect of refugees being accommodated with board in this part of Ga. Much complaint of hard times yet it seems to me there is an abundance of soup, ham, fried chicken, okra, rice, cabbage, beans, potatoes, tomatoes, pickles, wheat bread, corn bread, brown bread, peach pie, apple pie, milk, butter. Such is our daily bill of fare & yet hard times! These Ga. people do not realize the state of the poor people who are driven from their homes . . . Too late to make any arrangements for school this year — have the promise of it next yr. Ah! many changes may take place ere then!

Jan. 1865. Prices. Flour, $225.00 per barrel, coffee $60.00; tea, 100.00 per lb. Butter, $16, eggs, $8.00 spool thread $10.00; Calico, $25 pr. yd. Shoes, $175-250.

April 11th, 1865. Tuesday. 'Tis over. The last gun has been fired — the last soldier has marched out [of Mobile]. Ere another sun shall have set, the flag of the enemy will be floating over this city — a hostile band be playing the airs most distasteful to our ears — and a file of soldiers exaulting in our defeat, be marching up our beautiful street. And our own brave ones — where are they? Hundreds lie sleeping in the damp tangled marshes of the Eastern Shore — hundreds are suffering in hospitals while the rest, exhausted by two weeks unavailing efforts to defend our city, are making their way to other fields of carnage & slaughter . . . .

Wednesday, April 12, 1865 This week — the *Saddest* — I have ever experienced, has closed. But four days since the enemy took possession of our city, & it seems almost so many months. Nothing seen in the streets save the blue coated foe — nothing heard but the tramp of their cavalry. Two Yankee ladies promenaded Govt. St. this afternoon & attracted all eyes — such dressing! Many of our own ladies in their plain dress were on the streets & formed quite an agreeable contrast. Fifty of pupils present to-day, many deterred from attending because "parents have no greenbacks." No one has money *now* — all rich & poor alike in this respect. We must proceed on the *Credit* System, we may have money some of these days.

April 15, 1865 . . . I ventured out this morning for the purpose of ascertaining something relative to the re-opening of my school.

Monday, April 17 Attempted to resume school to-day — very few pupils ventured out. A city occupied by a proud enemy! Can any scene be more sad? Stores & every house of business closed — residences shut up as if the angel of Death was hovering over each one. Ladies & even children afraid to venture out . . . Eliza took Julia away. It was distressing to see the grief of poor little Annie. "Her Julia" was every thing in her estimation. There seems to be in the African race no gratitude — no spark of human affection. I cannot think that slavery is wrong, if so *we* of the South are not to blame for its introduction among us. The very ones who are now waging this war are responsible — if there be in sin in it . . . The insolence of servants is intolerable & those who have been treated with the greatest kindness, are the most insolent & ungrateful.

Sunday, Apr. 16. 1865 One of our lovliest days — clear, bright & beautiful . . . The holy calm of the early morn was disturbed by the rattling of artillery, & the tramp of cavalry. Such heavy forces are not necessary for the security of Mobile, surely. They must be designed for the interior — oh! my country — my country! An "extra" this afternoon, gives an account of the *Surrender* of Lee & his *whole army* to Grant. [On April 9, 1865 General Lee met General Grant at Appamattox. Three days later Mobile surrendered.] Although the whole correspondence was before me I *cannot* believe it to be so. Lee, with his *invincible* army that for four years has been victorious in every battle! has he at last been conquered? Then, our cause is over & we are in the hands of our foe. Perhaps, we trusted too much to Lee — we relied too much upon the arm of *man.* God would teach us that it is *He* who delivereth us. He would have us an humble people — not boastful or proud. Notwithstanding all these reverses, I am not despondant — God will not forsake us. The news of Lee's surrender is now generally believed. Fighting is over. But on what terms peace will be made is all conjecture. Oh! that it may be on the basis of separation. Can we ever again live under the same flag with the North & West? No, no, never. With peculiar feelings I went to church this morning. Federal guards placed in front of several houses, among them Mr. Wheeler's. Officers in their uniform & many privates were in the church — Strange to see such enemies worshipping with us! Mr. B— seemed somewhat contained, but performed his duties as usual. The petition in his second prayer, for "our rulers & those who have authority over us" might be satisfactory to both parties . . . .

Tuesday, Apr. 18th, 1865 Another day under Yankee rule. Every family presents a scene of excitement & confusion. Servants all leaving their owners — ladies obliged to perform the household work, yet they do it cheerfully. To many the departure of servants is a happy riddance — for they have become so worthless, so demoralized. Some of the scenes are truly ludicrous. Old decrepit slaves who for years have been incumbrances — who have been fed, clothed & cared for by kind masters, have left their comfortable homes for *freedom*! They lounge about the streets — sleep in the market — pick up a little food wherever they can. "Massa Lincoln grwine take care o'dem.

No more work for poor darkie — white folks take care of dey selves — negros grwine rest now some." Poor mistaken creatures! Their bondage has just begun. A few months hence & they will think their "year of Jubilee" the most unfortunate of all years to them. Although the surrender of Lee is credited, the loyalty of most of our people — the ladies particularly — is more ardent than ever. They *will not* believe in the surrender . . . .

May 2, 1865 . . . The boys of the 3rd Ala. which formed part of Lee's army that surrendered to Grant, reached Mobile to-day on parole. Four years ago that proud regiment left home for Va. In many battles they have fought under "Stonewall Jackson" & Lee — alas! how few of them return . . . Johnson's surrender & that of Taylor are confirmed. [On April 18, 1865 General Johnson surrendered his army to Sherman in North Carolina. On May 4 Confederate General Richard Taylor, commander of troops in Alabama, Mississippi, and East Louisiana, surrendered to General Edward Canby at Citronelle, Alabama.] Where now is our Confederate Army? What is the basis of our hopes? Our President remains, but what can he do? [Jefferson Davis was captured by Union cavalry on May 10 near Irwinville, Georgia.] Oh! it is the darkest night that ever a nation had to pass through. My heart is sick — my soul appalled at the prospect of the future. How hard to feel that "all is right." The attack on Fort Sumter began on Apr. 14, 1861; on the same day of 1865, *L* was murdered. The Federal Editors note this coincidence, & pronounce the latter to be the "culmination of the course of wickedness & cruelty begun by the former." It was on "*Good Friday*" too — another circumstance which is seized upon in justification of the comparison between L & Christ. Oh! Man — what a creature thou are — what a history is Thine! On Saturday last, a negro company composed of those men who formerly served their kind masters in the city, paraded down Gov. St. It was a sight calculated to strike horror into every Southern heart. What is to become of all these liberated blacks! I can see nothing but nisery before them. Often will they sigh for the cheerful plantation home. The "negro pen" too as it is called by the Yankees — is a place shocking to humanity. Hundreds of half-clad, half-fed women & children huddled together in the Gaines House — their husbands & sons placed in the army to fight against their own homes. No blacker page will ever be recorded in history than that which records the events of this war. The Federal officers dash about our streets in grand style, on their splendid steeds or in open carriages. Such a parade! There is something dashing in their appearance, but less of the true military bearing than among our own grey-clad men. Their privates, too, have a *common* look. By *numbers*, not by bravery, they have overpowered us.

Their army is composed of foreigners & negroes. Ours made up entirely of our own brave men — the husbands, sons & brothers in our best families. Will the contest end in our defeat, our subjugation? Forbid it, kind Heaven!

Thursday, May 4th, 1865 Have just examined a number of "Frank Leslie's Illustrated News," & am filled with emotions of any kind but *pleasant*. An engraving of the "Assassination of Lincoln," one of his death bed scene; several

views of the occupation & destruction of Richmond etc. Speaking of the murder of L. — the editor says "Christ died to save men; Lincoln died to free men." This comparison of such a man to the Redeemer of mankind is *blasphemy*; & this rough newspaper exhibition of such scenes evince a want of true delicacy . . . But anything to make the papers sell, is eagerly seized upon by the money-loving publisher. Each new scene of carnage & slaughter brings additional sums to his purse. Burning buildings, flying women & children, half savage, ungrateful slaves, are so many subjects of interest to him who draws wealth therefrom. [This is the last diary entry until August 26, 1871.]

Saturday Aug 26th 1871 Arranging my books & papers this morning, this little red book peeped forth amid old record books, bills, accounts etc. Last date May 1865 — six years ago! What changes since! Am I the *same* — or do I dream? The world seems to have lost its beauty & brightness. Hope, like our own "Confederate flag" seems to have gone down in darkness & gloom. Yet I live — & while I live, there is *work* for me to *do*.

August 19 1884 Death is at *all times* sad . . . It is the funeral of a *fireman* — a *prominent* fireman . . . The church was crowded & the day very warm. Mary started for Pensacola to-day.

Sept. 12, 1884 Only one month since I wrote in my *long-forgotten* journal, the thoughts suggested by a fireman's funeral. How little did I think ere another month had fled, I should be called to mourn for my dear, my *darling sister*, the youngest of *us four*. Pink, she was affectionately called by the family & friends . . . Oh! how suddenly the sweet flower was called! Poor Mary was summoned by telegram from Pensacola, arrived just in time to see the last of *dear* Pink. From extracts left in her desk, note books, etc. she *often* complained of feeling *so tired* — so tired.

She was unfitted for the struggle with the world. Yet feeling that it was her *duty* to *work*, nobly & zealously she went to the work of *Teaching* & when Providence saw fit to afflict me with *lameness* she felt it more sensibly her duty to assist *me*; for was not I the eldest & main support of the family! She was amply provided for by her husband, who often remarked previous to his death, "I shall leave Pink a rich widow," but owing to something in the Law & losses by the war etc. she lost *everything*. Well, it does not matter now — she is rich in that which can never be taken away. She rests now, no longer obliged to work. Rest sweet sister, rest in the bosom of thy Saviour. She was *conscientious* in the performance of duty — at times almost too much so. [This is the last line of Ann Quigley's diary. She died on February 27, 1887.]

Notes

Much of the general information in brackets was taken from James M. McPhearson, *Ordeal by Fire* (New York, 1985) and John S. Bowman, ed., *The Civil War Alamanac* (New York, 1985).

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The Moreno Family of Pensacola and the Civil War

William S. Coker

This is the story of the Moreno family: sons, sons-in-law, grandsons and Don Francisco Moreno, the father and grandfather, and the roles they played in the Civil War. Occasionally, when the information is available and deemed desirable, some biographical and genealogical data is included, but the addition of such information varies from person to person. Thus this is not a history of the Moreno family, nor is it a history of the Civil War. No effort has been made to detail the battles, events, etc. of the war in which some of the family participated.

The amount of information discovered about each individual varied from only a few brief references in some cases to lengthy biographies in others. This forced a slightly different approach to the "sketches" of those about whom much has been written. Instead of following a chronological and geographical approach in the latter cases, as in most of the other sketches, the author chose quite arbitrarily to mention only a few specific events or subjects. Those interested in knowing more about those persons are referred to the notes. Finally, this author followed a chronological approach in the preparation of the study, beginning with the eldest son and continuing to the youngest. The sons-in-law follow. The grandsons follow their fathers. A few paragraphs about Don Francisco and his experiences during the Civil War in Pensacola conclude the study.[1]

Francisco Moreno, Jr. (1817-1862)

Francisco moved to New Orleans from Pensacola about 1841. He became a partner in several merchants firms there as recorded in the city directories from 1841 to 1861. Two of his brothers, Benito and Charles, joined him in the firm of the Moreno Brothers, commission merchants.[2]

As for his military service, Francisco first appeared on a report of the Louisiana Legion, First Division, in October 1861. He next appeared as a second lieutenant in Captain Charles Roman's (3rd) Company, Orleans Guards, and was ordered into the service of the State of Louisiana on February 24, 1862.[3] Nothing more is heard about him until the battle of Shiloh on April 6-7, 1862, where he was wounded in both legs. One report stated that he fell to the ground "as the leaden hail storm passed over him." Francisco credited a Kentuckian with stopping long enough to place a knapsack under his head and in giving him some provisions before passing on.[4] Unaware that Francisco had been wounded, General P.G.T. Beauregard reported him as missing in action on April 15, and requested information from General D.C. Buell, commanding the Union forces. But Buell had no information about Francisco and so advised Beauregard.[5]

At Shiloh Francisco was taken prisoner and sent to Louisville, Kentucky. Cuthbert Bullitt, an ardently pro-Union grocer and commission merchant

of New Orleans, visited the Louisville hospital where Francisco was a patient and rendered a detailed report about the Confederate wounded:

> With few exceptions the wounded are doing well. Those of the South lie alongside those of the North — all treated equally well — and whatever differences of opinion or feeling there may have been, all is hushed here. The kind attention which the Government is so careful to provide is bestowed upon all alike. The most skillful surgeons and the very best of nursing is secured. The ladies of the city generally and the Sisters of Charity vie with each other as to which shall do the most good.

About Lt. Francisco Moreno, whom Bullitt undoubtedly knew because both had been commission merchants in New Orleans, Bullitt wrote, "he has flesh wounds in both legs, but is doing well."

Such good tidings undoubtedly buoyed the spirits of Laura Bouny Moreno, Francisco's wife. Later, however, she must have been crushed to learn that Francisco had died on May 4, five days before the New Orleans *Daily Delta* printed the good news.[6] But news of Francisco's death traveled slowly. On June 16 General Braxton Bragg requested that Lieutenant Moreno be exchanged whenever any of the officers were restored to the Confederate side.[7]

Francisco was buried in Cave Hill Cemetery in Louisville, where the graves were all numbered so that they could easily be identified for later removal.[8] Indeed in 1866 Francisco's body was returned to New Orleans. On March 7 a ceremony was held at his widow's residence, 290 St. Peter Street and he was buried in St. Louis Cemetery No. 2.[9] Fifty-six years later on January 7, 1913, his ninety-one year old widow joined him there.[10]

Fernando Joaquin Moreno (1822-1905)

Although Fernando Joaquin did not serve in the Confederate service — it would have been difficult if not impossible for him to have done so as we shall see — there is no doubt about his sentiments. He followed his sister Angela to Key West after she married Stephen R. Mallory in Pensacola in 1838.[11] Fernando entered the mercantile business in Key West as manager of Wall and Company's store on Front Street. He also served as agent for many prominent absentee property owners. In addition, from 1853 to 1861, Fernando served as United States Marshal for the Island.[12] Captain Jeremiah M. Scarritt, the husband of Irene Moreno, Fernando's sister, superintended the construction of Fort Zachary Taylor and the Navy Coal Depot at Key West, 1853-1854, and died there of yellow fever on June 22, 1854.[13] Fernando, like many of the other cultivated and wealthy citizens of Key West, was strongly pro-Southern.[14]

Although we have no details of his military service before the war, on May 7, 1860, the citizens of Monroe County elected Fernando Colonel of the 21st Regiment. He received forty-eight out of fifty-eight votes cast.[15] What preparations Colonel Moreno may have made in the event of war are unknown.

A year after his election as colonel, on January 13, 1861, and following Florida's decision to secede from the Union, U.S. forces secured control of Fort Taylor. Anticipating that Confederate troops might try to take the fort, the Army officers there called for and received reenforcements. Although the sentiment of many persons living in Key West was strongly pro-Southern, Federal troops controlled the island and the Southerners were unable to do anything about it. Thus Key West, considered one of the most strategic points in the Southern Confederacy, remained in Federal hands throughout the entire war. It served as a U.S. naval base and, according to one source, Federal possession of the island proved to be one of the determining factors in the outcome of the war.[16]

Obviously some southern sympathizers wanted to leave the island to join their kin and friends in the war, but were, for the most part, prevented from doing so by the Union occupation. In order to leave Key West, permits signed by the Army officer in charge were required. But only those who would sign an oath of allegiance could secure a permit. In addition the island was divided in pro-Union and pro-Southern factions and much ill-will existed between the two sides. It was no secret that persons such as Fernando and his family had relatives serving the southern cause. In order to strike a blow at such families, the Union general commanding the Department of the South in January 1863 issued an order to the officer in charge at Key West which stated:

> Colonel: You will immediately send to this post the families (white) of all persons who have husbands, brothers or sons in Rebel employment, and all other persons who have at any time declined to take the oath of allegiance, or who have uttered a single disloyal word, in order that they may be all placed within the Rebel lines. The officer who will hand you this, will take such persons on board the steamer which carries him down to your post.[17]

As a result of the order, six hundred citizens including Fernando Moreno and his family were instructed to be prepared to depart for some Confederate outpost, only the Lord knew where. These instructions created havoc as people tried to sell their property and otherwise made preparations for the journey. Since the order affected both Unionists and Southerners alike, the Union men sent a protest to Washington. On the very day that the transport was due to leave with the families and their baggage on board, an order was received which gave the local commanding officer authority to stop it, if he saw fit. He elected to do so, and the Moreno family was able to return to its home.[18] Fernando's "war-time" experience could hardly be related to that of some of the other members of his family, but the war had touched him in that island so remote from the fighting front.

Benito Julian Moreno (1824-1866)

Benito's service for the Confederacy differed some from that of his brothers who actually donned uniforms, for he worked as a civilian employee. Before

the war Benito followed Francisco, Jr. to New Orleans, where he worked as an accountant in 1854. From 1855 to 1861, he joined his brothers in the firm of the Moreno Brothers, commission merchants.[19] In January 1862 he was residing in the home of the Greenwoods, in Baldwin County, Alabama, where he wrote his last will and testament. In his will he noted that he was not well and had suffered from hemorrhages of the lungs.[20] He undoubtedly had tuberculosis. But this did not prevent him from serving the southern cause.

By October 1862, he had joined his brother, Captain Theodore Moreno, at Columbus, Georgia. Benito worked as a clerk in Theodore's office which was engaged in preparing the obstructions on the Chattahoochee and Apalachicola rivers and later in the construction of the defensive works for the city of Columbus. Pay records indicate that he received $100.00 per month for his services. The records show that he was in Columbus from October 1862 to September 1864. Where he went after Theodore's office closed there in 1864 is unknown, but he may have followed Theodore to Andersonville, Georgia.[21]

After the war, Benito returned to Baldwin County where he died early in 1866. The inventory of his estate in April 1866 revealed that he owned five lots in Pensacola, a number of shares of oil, railroad and bank stock and held nearly $8,000.00 in promissory notes. Thus he died possessed of some worldly goods and in spite of his illness, he had rendered valuable service to the South.[22]

Theodore J. Moreno (1829-1904)

Like his brothers, little is known of Theodore's early life in Pensacola, where he was born on April 9, 1829. We do know that Theodore left the city on July 5, 1849, for Virginia to study engineering under Colonel Charles F.M. Garnett, brother-in-law of Theodore's sister, Florentine Isidora Moreno Garnett.[23] He attended the University of Virginia where he apparently earned a degree in civil engineering about 1855.[24] He then spent two and one-half years as an engineer on the Dom Pedro II Railroad in Brazil. He also worked for the Virginia and Tennessee Railroad before the Civil War.[25]

Theodore began his military service as a private in the Pensacola Guards. This organization became Company K, First Florida Volunteers, when it entered the Confederate service on January 10, 1861. Two days later, Theodore and the members of his company marched to the U.S. Navy Yard to demand its surrender. The Union commander, Commodore James Armstrong, complied with their order. Theodore and his company then marched to Fort Barrancas which had already been abandoned by Lieutenant Adam J. Slemmer. Slemmer had moved across the bay to Fort Pickens and Theodore recorded that Slemmer now "was secure from a Confederate attack, as it [Fort Pickens] could be approached only by water, and we had not the means of crossing the bay that lay between us." [26]

Landing of Union Troops on Santa Rosa Island — *Mottelay and Campbell-Copeland,* Soldier . . ., *1:48*

Theodore applied for a commission in the Confederate Engineer, or Ordnance Corps on April 26, 1861. He wrote "I am familiar with the use of instruments and am a theoretical and practical Engineer with some knowledge of field works." [27] On April 27 he received a commission as first lieutenant in the Artillery Corps.[28] Theodore later recounted:

> I then gave up my musket, and reported for duty to Gen'l. Gladden, who was in charge of the troops at Fort Barrancas. I was now assigned to the duty of drilling our soldiers at the heavy guns, and was engaged in this work one morning when Fort Pickens opened fire on us. It was my duty to direct the line of fire from all of our 10 inch mortars, which extended for a distance of three miles, and all day I rode up and down the line on horseback, keeping the guns aimed correctly, with the help of my transit. It was my first experience of being under fire, and the whistle and the shriek of the shells, as they flew over and about us, I shall never forget.[29]

Theodore also participated in the Confederate attack upon Santa Rosa Island:

> Soon after this [the artillery duel] the Yankees made an unsuccessful attempt to burn a small steamer we were using at the navy yard, and Gen. Bragg determined to retaliate by burning their camp and stores, which were located on Santa Rosa Island. This camp was composed of convicts released from northern prisons on the condition they would come south and fight the Confederacy, and it was commanded by the notorious Billy Wilson. For this daring expedition Bragg called for six volunteers from each company around the navy yard; our company, and I am told every other company in the command, volunteered to a man. We proceeded to Santa Rosa Island under cover of the night, in lighters, and landed, after wading waist deep

> in water. The camp was taken by surprise, and bloody encounter ensued. After sharp fighting the camp was burned, although we suffered considerable loss. It was an intensely dark night, made more so by the camp being on fire, the winds howled, and the angry waves broke on the shore, but all was drowned by the roar of musketry, as we shot down Billy Wilson's convict soldiers, as they attempted to escape in their night attire. At light we left. Walker Anderson, my wife's brother, being the last man to leave the Island, and he had to wade shoulder deep to reach the last boat. The big guns of Fort Pickens opened fire on us as the barges were being towed away by the little steamer, but without effect.[30]

Following his service as an artillery officer, Theodore worked as an engineering officer and then as an ordnance officer. His base pay was $90.00, but as an ordnance officer he received an additional $10.00 per month.[31] By March 1, 1862 he had moved to Pollard, Alabama.[32] On September 25 he was promoted to the temporary rank of captain and ordered to report to the Engineer Bureau.[33] Two days later he applied for the position of instructor of artillery and infantry at Talladega.[34] But his engineering skills were far more important to the South, and he soon embarked on the job that would occupy most of his time for the next two years; the defense of the Chattahoochee, Flint and Apalachicola rivers.

This waterway was extremely important for many reasons. Before the war it had served as a major transportation route for cotton and other goods being shipped from Alabama, Georgia and Florida. Railroad lines connecting with towns such as Columbus, Georgia, provided important inland routes to other cities and areas. Chattahoochee, about 100 miles north of the town of Apalachicola and just below the junction of the Flint and Chattahoochee rivers, was an important stopover point for steamers going up or down the rivers. Confederate forces seized the U.S. Arsenal at Chattahoochee in 1861, and the town became a Confederate post and ordnance station. More important, Columbus, at the fall line on the Chattahoochee, emerged as a very important industrial center with cotton and flour mills, shoe factories, iron works, and other plants which produced a wide variety of material for the Confederacy. A major quartermaster depot and later a Confederate hospital were also located there. Since Columbus was a strategic point on the river system, Union forces very very much wanted to penetrate the region.[35] It was Captain Theodore Moreno's mission to prevent them from doing so. Although he made Columbus his headquarters and moved his family there, Theodore spent much time examining the rivers, locating sites for the obstructions and the artillery batteries which would protect them and in the actual construction of the defense works.[36]

By December 3, 1862 Theodore had completed his inspection of all three rivers and Brigadier General Howell Cobb sent him to Charleston to discuss plans for the contemplated obstructions with General Beauregard. Theodore returned with detailed instructions on the locations for the obstructions and batteries.[37] For the next eight months or so he stayed busy

on the construction sites and in making reconnaissance missions to various locations in Middle Florida to investigate the need for additional defensive posts. Much of the work was accomplished by slaves, either voluntarily furnished by their owners, or impressed into Confederate work gangs.[38]

In September 1863 Theodore's attention was partially diverted to constructing the defenses of the city of Columbus. While there was no immediate expectation that the Union army would attack the city, there was fear of the possibility of occasional cavalry raids. Until the summer of 1864 Theodore worked hard both on the defensive works for Columbus, on the river defenses, and on similar projects in places like St. Marks, Florida.[39] To get some sense of the cost, one account for the period May 28, 1863 to January 6, 1864 survives. It shows Moreno spent more than $90,000 on his defense projects.[40]

In July 1864 Captain Moreno was transferred to Camp Sumter, Andersonville, Georgia, where he was placed in charge of construction.[41] He anticipated returning to Columbus, but the fall of Atlanta in early September ended those plans.[42] Since the infamous prisoner of war camp at Andersonville predated Theodore's arrival there, his main concern appeared to be with construction at Camp Sumter and in its defenses. However, while he was there a report on the prison population indicated that the number of POWs had grown from ten thousand in March to thirty thousand in August 1864. The death rate had also increased from 37.4 per 1,000 in March to 62.7 per 1,000 in July. In other words nearly nineteen hundred POW's were dying each month, many of them from smallpox and others from a lack of medical attention. Although Francisco Moreno, Jr. had died in a military hospital in Louisville, the reports of the Louisville hospital contrasted markedly with those coming from Andersonville.[43]

Theodore's next assignment came on December 7, 1864. He received orders to impress slave labor and to erect the prisoner of war inclosure at Thomasville, Georgia.[44] From there he was ordered to report to Colonel F.W. Robinson, Chief Engineer of Florida. He was to locate and construct a road from Quincy, Florida, to the Chattahoochee River. Theodore took his wife and infant son with him on the difficult journey. They suffered from the cold and a lack of food and Theodore noted that:

> We stopped once at twilight at a little country house, and asked to be allowed to spend the night, and to get something to eat. The woman at first positively refused, but when she caught sight of our baby she relented, saying 'I can't refuse to take a little baby in on such a night as this is, — come right in.' We could not help being amused after we were housed and seated by the fire, when she exclaimed 'that she did wish Capt. Sherman would quit a parading his company all over the state of Georgy — for she was just about to be plum eat out of house and home, by people and soldiers a gettin' away from him.' And yet she was so kindhearted and hospitable we with difficulty persuaded her to let us pay her for our accommodations.[45]

On January 4, 1865 Theodore was once again employed on the defenses of the Chattahoochee. When the war ended he was with Colonel Robinson in Florida. Apparently he received promotion to the rank of major before the end of the war, but no record to that effect has yet been found.[46]

James Nicholas Moreno (1836-1898)

We know virtually nothing about James' Civil War career. He enlisted at Mobile, Alabama in May 1862 as a private in the Mobile Cadets Company, 3rd Alabama Infantry Regiment commanded by Captain R.M. Sands.[47] How long he remained with this unit is unknown. After the war, his brother Theodore left a brief note entitled "War Record Moreno Family," in which he wrote "Jas. N. Moreno, Capt. Qr. Masters Department." [48] There is no reference to James in the *War of the Rebellion Records*, nor have we found any documents about him in the War Department Collection of Confederate Records in the National Archives.

James Moreno married Clara Dorr on February 15, 1860.[49] She has been confused with her sister-in-law, Clara Barkley Dorr, after whom the Dorr House was named.[50]

Stephen Anastasium Moreno (1839-1900)

Stephen, familiarly known as "Stabe," was born in Pensacola on April 15, 1839. Nothing is known of his childhood, but undoubtedly he attended school in Pensacola. On July 1, 1858 he received appointment to the United States Military Academy at West Point at which time the records indicate that he was nineteen years and two months old.

At the end of his first year at West Point, Stephen ranked forty- fourth in a class of fifty-six members. He rated forty-seventh in mathematics and forty-first in English. He also received forty demerits that year. At the conclusion of his second year, Stephen had moved up to twenty-seventh in his class which now numbered fifty-four cadets. He had improved his standing in mathematics — he was now forty-first — had dropped in English to forty-fifth but ranked ninth in French. His number of demerits had increased to fifty-three that year. Examples of reasons for the demerits awarded Stephen ranged from not sweeping his floor to lying in bed at 3:30 P.M.[51]

On March 13, 1861 Stephen resigned from West Point due to the impending Civil War. His resignation had obviously been planned for some time, because on March 6 his brother-in-law, Stephen R. Mallory, about whom more will be heard later, wrote the Confederate Secretary of War that as soon as Florida had seceded [January 11, 1861] Stephen had offered his services to Governor Edward A. Perry. Mallory wrote that Stephen was "a fine soldier, and a young man of rare moral value" and recommended his appointment in the Confederate Army. Mallory followed this up with a second letter of similar vein on March 18 in which he stated that Stephen was expected in Montgomery the next day.[52] Indeed, on March 19, Stephen, now in that city, wrote Secretary of War L.P. Walker and tendered his services

to the cause.[53] On April 19 Stephen received his commission as a second lieutenant in the Confederate Infantry to rank from March 16, 1861. His pay was $80.00 per month.[54] Within a few weeks orders detailed him to report to General Braxton Bragg at Pensacola.[55]

While we can trace Stephen's Civil War service in general, we have little detailed information about exactly what he did. He remained at Pensacola until early in 1862 during which time the Union batteries at Fort Pickens bombarded Pensacola on several occasions. By April 1862 a month before Pensacola surrendered to Federal forces, Stephen had moved to Corinth, Mississippi, where he was listed as an ordnance officer in the 3rd Brigade of General Jones M. Withers' Division.[56] On April 22 he appears in the records as an acting major in the 17th Alabama Infantry, in Brigadier General John K. Jackson's command. With few exceptions he remained with Jackson, serving for the most part as Assistant Adjutant General throughout the war.[57]

Stephen's temporary appointment as acting major ended on June 16, 1862, and in spite of General Jackson's efforts to secure Stephen's promotion, he remained a second lieutenant until the following April 23, when he finally received promotion to temporary captain and Assistant Adjutant General on Jackson's staff. In the interim, he had participated in the battles at Shiloh and Farmington and in the Kentucky campaign. In the battles before Murfreesboro he served as Acting Inspector General in Jackson's brigade and received particular mention for his gallant and meritorious conduct there.[58] On August 15, 1863 Stephen was at Chattanooga, the records indicating that he had requisitioned forage for his horses and three bottles of ink, and was now Acting Assistant Adjutant General with Jackson.[59] The quantity of ink ordered suggests that keeping records was an important part of Moreno's duties. In fact, in September, Stephen took part in the battle at Chickamauga (September 19-20) and assisted in the preparation of the report of that encounter in which it was noted that Jackson's brigade had suffered 34.87 percent casualties.[60] Two months later, November 23-25, Stephen participated in the battle at Chattanooga (Lookout Mountain).[61]

By February 1864 Stephen had moved to Dalton, Georgia, where his name appeared on the roster of the General Staff Commands of the Army of Tennessee.[62] In July of that year, Stephen joined Jackson at Lake City, Florida, again as Acting Assistant Adjutant General.[63] On August 26, 1864 Stephen announced the Confederate victory at Gainesville, Florida, where troops of the greatly outnumbered Second Florida Cavalry, commanded by Captain J.J. Dickison, routed the enemy. Moreno reported 221 Union soldiers killed, wounded, or taken prisoner, while Confederate losses totaled only two killed and four wounded. "This unparalleled success," he wrote, "merits for the gallant little band in South Florida the everlasting gratitude of their countrymen, whose homes and honor they had saved from a brutal soldiery.[64] In October Stephen received the report of the Confederate victory at Black Creek-Magnolia. Again, Florida forces routed the enemy while suffering only two horses killed and two wounded, but not a man was hurt. Union losses,

on the other hand, included twenty-three prisoners, eight wounded, and thirty-two horses captured and ten killed.[65]

From the end of September until mid-November 1864, Stephen served under General William Miller, who had assumed command of the District of Florida. On November 12, however, Stephen was relieved from duty with General Miller and returned to General Jackson's staff at Savannah, Georgia. Once again he served as Assistant Adjutant General for Jackson.[66] Nothing is known of his service to the end of the war.

Under the terms of the Military Convention of April 26, 1865, between Confederate General Joseph E. Johnston and Union Major General W.T. Sherman, Moreno was paroled at Greensboro, North Carolina, on April 27.[67] He soon returned to Pensacola. Interestingly, Stephen was often referred to as "General" Moreno after the war. Since we know that he was not a general during the war and can discover no appointment to that rank after the war, we must presume that the title "General" came from his position as Assistant Adjutant General and his war-time service as such.

Celestino Scarritt Moreno (1846-1864)

Celestino was born in Pensacola on January 2, 1846. The only details about his Civil War serivce are brief. He served as a lieutenant perhaps in the 17th Alabama. Mr. J. McHenry Jones, a distinguished Pensacola attorney, whose father was named for Celestino, wrote: "My father told me my grandfather [Colonel Joseph Pickett Jones], who at that time may have commanded the 17th Alabama or a brigade, saw him shortly before his death, changing a shirt sent to him by his sister, Victoria." Victoria was Colonel Jones's wife. Later James Mercer Garnett, son of Celestino's sister Florentina, and a veteran of the Civil War, recorded that Celestino was killed on November 29, 1864, while leading a charge at Columbia, Tennessee.[68]

Stephen Russell Mallory, Sr. (1812-1873)

Mallory first met his future wife, Angela Sylvania Moreno (1815- 1901), when she stopped briefly at Key West in the spring of 1830 on her way to a boarding school in Connecticut. Later she recalled: "I remember that he was the only well dressed young gentleman I saw, and he was very handsome. But no thought of him and the future entered my mind then."[69] Nine years after this chance encounter, on July 21, 1838 the two were married in Pensacola.[70] They soon moved to Key West where Mallory served as customs inspector (1833-1840), county Judge (1840-1845) and port collector (1845-1851). In 1851 the Florida legislature elected him to the U.S. Senate where he remained until he resigned on January 21, 1861.[71] Although he had had some experience with the sea, boats, and ships at Key West, he gained considerably more knowledge about such matters in his service on the Senate Naval Affairs Committee.[72]

Early in 1861 before he left Washington for Pensacola, he helped negotiate the so-called Fort Pickens or Buchanan Truce for which he was praised by

some and damned by others. Shortly after Florida seceded from the Union on January 11, 1861, the Confederate forces quickly took control of Forts Barrancas and McRee and the Pensacola Navy Yard. On the other hand, Union forces secured Fort Pickens on Santa Rosa Island. Recognizing that trying to take Fort Pickens would be very difficult and perhaps disastrous, Major William H. Chase, in command of the state troops at Pensacola, notified Mallory of the problem. Mallory, after consultation with several other southern senators, advised Chase that the capture of Fort Pickens was not worth the cost. Thus the responsibility for the decision not to attack the fort is laid at Mallory's door. But immediately the Senator began negotiations with President James Buchanan and naval officials in Washington to prevent the reinforcement of Fort Pickens by sea. Such action, Mallory charged, would result in war. Finally the President agreed that if Confederate forces would not attack the fort the Union would not land reinforcements. Thus Mallory must be credited by winning through diplomacy what could not have been accomplished by force, the neutralization, at least for a time, of Fort Pickens.[73]

Mallory soon made the journey to Pensacola which he now called home. He was appointed chief justice of the admiralty court for Florida, but before he could assume the position, President Jefferson Davis named him the Confederate Secretary of the Navy.[74] Obviously space does not permit even a brief review of his role as head of the Confederate Navy, and this paper will focus on only a few topics.

Given the great differences in the size of the Confederate versus the Union Navy, Mallory had to devise a strategy by which his small force could be most effective. Among other possibilities, Mallory elected to destroy Northern sea-borne commerce, her unprotected merchant marine, through the use of Confederate raiding cruisers. Significant losses would lessen confidence in the government and might well encourage that group of Northerners who had not been in favor of the war from its inception. It was a sound decision. One account listed a total of 138 ships of all classes lost to Confederate cruisers during the war.[75]

Mallory is also praised for his genius in the creation of ironclad ships of war which revolutionized naval science. It is no discredit to Mallory to explain where he may have picked up the idea for ironclad vessels. John Williamson Crary, Sr., a Pensacola brickmaker and inventor, whose daughter, Seana Barkley, married Cameron Anderson Moreno, claimed to have given Mallory the idea. After the Fort Pickens truce was broken and Confederate efforts to take the fort failed, Crary proposed the construction of a gun and an ironclad vessel which, he was convinced, could reduce the fort. The vessel which sat low in the water was to be propelled by steam. It was to be "covered with rail road iron in the form of the roof of a house, or the back of a turtle, and having a port hole to be opened and closed in the bow, through which to fire the gun. The subject was discussed extensively in Pensacola and even General Braxton Bragg knew of Crary's ideas. On one of Mallory's

visits to the city Crary talked with him about the shot and the ironclad vessel, and Mallory informed Crary that "he would try to make it available." The Confederate evacuation of Pensacola in May 1862 prevented Crary from carrying out his design and in obtaining a patent for it. After the war, Crary wrote: "Commander John Mercer Brooke of the Confederate Navy converted the *Merrimack* into the celebrated *Virginia* and thus the fruit of my thoughts was gathered by others and history records a mistake in naming the real inventor of the ironclad." [76] Even if Crary deserved full credit for the idea, Mallory also deserved credit for the actual construction of this new weapon and for the use of other developments in naval technology such as submarines and torpedoes.[77]

Contrary to the problems of presidential interference which plagued the Confederate Secretary of the Army, President Davis left Mallory pretty well alone to run the Navy as he saw fit. At war's end Mallory left Richmond to join his family at La Grange, Georgia. Union troops arrested him there on May 20, 1865. During his imprisonment there was talk of trying and executing him for piracy, because some Northerners considered the operations of the Confederate Navy nothing short of that. President Andrew Johnson, however, signed Mallory's pardon and on March 10, 1866, Mallory began his return to Pensacola.[78]

Stephen Russell Mallory, Jr. (1848-1907)

Stephen was only twelve years old when his father left Pensacola for Montgomery in March of 1861. Stephen very much wanted to fight the Yankees, and in a series of letters to his father that summer ardently expressed his desire to do so. In one he wrote: "I wish you would let me go as a drummer, or something else in one of the volunteer companies, in Virginia. . . . Mr. Same is here [and] can take care of the family, while I can be serving my country, although on a small scale. I wish I could go. I would take my rifle and kill an abolitionist or die." A week later he informed his father that "Mother has still a great deal of courage, and she says that, if the abolitionists come here, she will blow herself up with the house, and I think she will make good her threat, for she has the spirit of a Jackson and will lionize our family." Pensacola was organizing a home guard that summer and Stephen very much wanted to become a member. "All of the young men over fourteen years can belong, and they will patroll [*sic*] around the city every night, I hope I will be able to join." In another letter he pleaded: "I wish Pa, that you would let me go to Virginia, and fight, I could do as much good as some men, for I can kill a man with ease every time at a hundred yards, and by so doing I might pick off some of Abe's men, and be helping my country, I want to fight on my own hook, and go on scouting parties." [79] And so it went throughout that summer.[80]

Three years later young Mallory finally got his wish. In the fall of 1864 he enlisted as a private in the Confederate Army in Virginia. The following year he received an appointment as a midshipman in the Confederate States

Naval Academy. Sixteen-year-old Stephen served aboard the Confederate steamship *Patrick Henry*, which the Academy used as a school ship and quarters for the midshipmen. While we have no specific information about Stephen's actual role, we do know the part played by the midshipmen during the last months of the war and assume that Stephen was with them until the end.[81]

The *Patrick Henry* was stationed near Drewry's Bluff on the James River about eight miles below Richmond. Normally, the midshipmen studied aboard ship until 2:00 P.M., and spent the rest of the day on school exercises and dress parades. However, as the war pressed close, the midshipmen moved ashore, lived in huts and manned the Drewry's Bluff batteries. In March 1865, the midshipmen, now back aboard the *Patrick Henry*, moved to Richmond, where they soon left the ship and lived in a warehouse until April 2. On April 4 the *Patrick Henry* was burned. When the Confederate government departed Richmond, the cadets left too. They guarded the government's papers and funds, until they finally deposited them at Abbeville, South Carolina, on April 30.

Captain William Harwar Parker disbanded the Academy at Abbeville on May 2. None of the midshipmen were surrendered or paroled. They each received the following order: "You are hereby detached from the Naval school and leave is granted you to visit your home. You will report by letter to the Hon. Secretary of the Navy as soon as possible." Captain Parker gave each cadet $40.00 in gold for their faithful service.[82]

After the war Stephen attended Georgetown College, Washington, D.C., where he graduated in 1869. He served there as an instructor in Latin and Greek for two years. He then studied law and was admitted to the bar in Louisiana (1872) and finally returned to Pensacola in 1874. He was elected in turn to the Florida House and Senate (1876-1884) and later to the United States House and Senate (1891-1895, 1897-1907). He continued to serve in the U.S. Senate until his death in Pensacola on December 23, 1907.[83]

Joseph Pickett Jones (1833-1895)

A native of North Carolina, Jones entered the U.S. Military Academy at West Point on July 1, 1849. He resigned six months later, January 10, 1850, with the blessings of the Academy.[84] He then attended the University of North Carolina and received an AB degree in 1852.[85] Despite his experience at West Point, Jones eventually opted for a military career and was commissioned a second lieutenant, Second Artillery, on June 27, 1856.[86] After a tour of duty in the West, he was transferred to Fort Barrancas at Pensacola. While stationed there he married Victoria Moreno (1841-1883) on October 10, 1860.[87]

Following secession Lieutenant Jones, now stationed at the Augusta Arsenal, Georgia, resigned from the U.S. Army on January 28, 1861.[88] On February 1 he assumed command of the Arsenal at the request of the Governor of Georgia, and on March 4, received his commission as a captain in the

Confederate States Army.[89] General P.G.T. Beauregard transferred Captain Jones to ordnance duty at Charleston, South Carolina on March 15, and Jones participated in the Confederate victory at Fort Sumter in April.[90] Later that month, he was commissioned lieutenant colonel and assigned to the Fifth North Carolina Infantry.[91] He commanded a regiment at the first battle of Bull Run in July 1861, and reported the "enemy completed routed." [92] A few months later, Jones resigned his North Carolina commission and reverted to his former rank of captain.[93]

Jones returned to Pensacola that fall and served briefly at Pensacola and Mobile before moving to South Carolina as adjutant of the Second Brigade at Coosawhatchie. In April 1852 Jones assumed command of the 17th Alabama Volunteers at Corinth, Mississippi, and may have participated in the bloody battle at Shiloh. On July 17, 1852, Captain Jones was assigned as Assistant Inspector General on General Braxton Bragg's staff. A few weeks later he impressed Bragg with his inspection of General Earl Van Dorn's command. Bragg commended Jones for his comprehensive and thorough report which showed, Bragg wrote, "great industry, zeal, and professional ability, and proves the author worthy of higher position in the service." [94] Indeed, within six months Jones had advanced to the rank of colonel and Acting Inspector General of the Army of Tennessee, still with Bragg.[95]

In March 1863 Bragg recommended Jones for promotion to brigadier general. "This officer has served under me for nearly eighteen months, and in staff and line positions," he wrote. "As Colonel of a regiment he has no superior, and as an Inspector — Where the highest qualities of the soldier are exhibited, I do not know his equal." [96] Rather surprisingly, when Jones received notification of his promotion to general officer, he politely turned it down stating that he preferred to remain on General Bragg's staff.[97] Thus he undoubtedly served with Bragg in his victories and defeats throughout 1863: Murfreesboro, Tullahoma, Chickamauga and Chattanooga, but no specific information about Jones in any of these campaigns has been discovered. When President Davis appointed Bragg his military adviser in 1864, Jones accompanied him to Richmond.[98]

On February 26, 1864 Colonel Jones received orders assigning him to inspection duty in the Department of South Carolina, Georgia, and Florida. A report of March 31 indicated that he had inspected the artillery and troops at Fort Johnson. In April Colonel Jones was noted as Assistant Adjutant General at Charleston.[99] It appears that General Bragg used Colonel Jones as a "trouble shooter," assigning him to the command of regiments and brigades when the commanders had to be replaced, or were wounded or killed, but always providing for his return to his staff as an Inspector General when the emergency was over. The last official reference to his Civil War activities concerned a report on the reduction of forces which he carried to General Samuel Cooper.[100]

At the end of the war, Jones and Victoria with their two children started for Mexico, where he and many other Confederate officers hoped to join

Emperor Maximillian's army. En route they used covered wagons called "ambuiances." While fording the Mississippi River in the vicinity of several Union gunboats, the two young children started crying, alerting the Yankees. Although Jones and his family managed to escape, he lost his sword, uniforms, and all of the family belongings, including a painting of himself as a lieutenant in the U.S. Army.[101] They continued on to San Antonio, where he left Victoria, who was pregnant. There on June 26, 1865 she gave birth to Celestino Moreno Jones. Victoria is believed to have joined her husband in Mexico. Within a few years they returned to Pensacola where Colonel Jones practiced law until his death in 1895.[102]

Theodore Stanford Garnett (1812-1885)

Theodore Garnett (Sr.) married Florentina Isidora Moreno at Pensacola on April 18, 1839. Of their three children, two boys and a girl, two are of interest to us here: James Mercer and Theodore, Jr.[103]

Theodore (Sr.), a civil engineer had worked on a number of railroads in the South for some years. In 1857 he served as chief engineer of the railroad from Tallahassee to Fernandina. Then in 1858 he retired and returned to his Virginia estate at Cedar Hill near Hanover Junction.[104] After the Confederate Cabinet moved to Richmond, Theodore and Florentina periodically visited their brother-in-law, Stephen R. Mallory, in nearby Richmond. Busy as he was as Navy Secretary, Stephen took time to record in his diary that "Pila's good looks were wonderfully preserved, she appears only about twenty four." [105] In reality, Pila, born April 4, 1822, was nearer forty years old.[106] Mallory noted in his diary a problem which Theodore had shared with him. It concerned a letter which Theodore was writing about the death of a man whose widow Theodore had once courted. This would have been a difficult task to be sure, and Mallory did not record what advice he gave Theodore.[107]

Theodore (Sr.) ardently supported the Confederacy but, according to his biographers including his son James Mercer, he was too old for active service. Nevertheless, he served on the field at Seven Pines (1862), but in what capacity is unknown.[108]

Theodore and Florentina continued to live at Cedar Hill until 1877. In that year they moved to Norfolk to be near their son Theodore, Jr. Theodore died May 28, 1885.[109]

James Mercer Garnett (1840-1916)

James Mercer Garnett was born at Aldie, Virginia, April 24, 1840. In 1859 he received a Master of Arts degree from the University of Virginia.[110] On July 17, 1861 James enlisted as a private in the famous "Rockbridge Battery." Promoted to second lieutenant of Infantry, he soon advanced to first leiutenant of Artillery, for Ordnance duty, and by 1862 had been promoted to captain. He was assigned as the officer in charge of the General Reserve Ordnance Train, Army of Northern Virginia, and served as Divisional

Ordnance Officer on the staff of General Robert Emmett Rodes. James kept a diary in which he recorded his activities during the Shenandoah Valley campaign from August 5 to November 30, 1864. Following Rodes' death in September 1864, James transferred to the staff of Major General Bryan Grimes and remained with him until the end of the war. He was paroled at Appomattox Court House on April 10, 1865.[111]

After the war he taught at several schools and colleges. In 1882, he moved to the University of Virginia as Professor of English and Literature and remained there until 1896. He wrote extensively and compiled a lengthy bibliography which included a volume on the *Genealogy of the Mercer-Garnett Family of Essex County, Virginia* (Richmond; Whittet and Shepperson, Printers, 1910). He died in Baltimore, Maryland, February 18, 1916.[112]

In 1894, James' wife, Kate Noland Garnett, played a key role in the creation of the first Virginia chapter of the United Daughters of the Confederacy, Albermarle Chapter, No. 1. She served as President of the chapter which was formed in her home, Pavilion III, East Lawn, University of Virginia. Later she was elected President and then Honorary State President of the Grand Division of Virginia. She held the latter office until her death on December 8, 1919.[113]

Theodore Stanford Garnett, Jr. (1844-1915)

Born in Richmond October 28, 1844, Theodore attended the Episcopal High School near Alexandria until the outbreak of war. At the news he hurried home to enlist as a private in the light battery, later renowed as the "Hanover Artillery." He was only sixteen and one-half years old at the time, and when he reached Richmond to be formally mustered into the Army, the enrolling officer refused to enlist him. He and several companions of the same age appealed directly to General Robert E. Lee, but he told them: "Go back to your homes, my boys, and wait a little. We shall need you later on."

Theodore turned to his Uncle Stephen R. Mallory and went to work as a clerk in the Navy Department for the next eighteen months. His facility with a pen eventually won him enlistment in the Army, and with his Uncle Stephen's recommendation, he was detailed by General J.E.B. Stuart as a clerk at Stuart's headquarters. Theodore subsequently wrote many of the General's "official reports." Showing his eagerness to fight as well as write, Theodore soon became one of the General's trusted couriers and received recognition for distinguished service as such during the Gettysburg campaign.[114] In fact Stuart considered Theodore's service so outstanding that in early 1864 he secured for him a commission as first lieutenant of cavalry and appointed Theodore his personal aide-de-camp.[115] Lieutenant Garnett served General Stuart with dedicated and worshipful devotion. During the defense of Richmond in May 1864 Stuart was mortally wounded, and Garnett helped carry his fallen leader into the city, where Stuart died on May 12. Until

his own death years later (1915), Theodore could not speak of Stuart's sad end without a sob in his voice.[116] Theodore next served on the staff of General William H.F. Lee. In 1865 following his promotion to captain, Theodore was appointed Assistant Adjutant General and transferred to the staff of General William P. Roberts, where he remained until Appomattox.

After the war he attended the University of Virginia and received his law degree in 1867. In 1870 he was elected Judge of the County Court of Nansemond County, but in 1873 he moved to Norfolk and practiced law there until his death on April 27, 1915.[117]

Don Francisco Moreno (1792-1883)

It is now time to meet the patriarch of this family which gave so much to the southern cause. Francisco Moreno was a native of Pensacola, the son of Fernando Moreno and Florentina Senac. By 1861 he had outlived two wives and was married to the third. The Moreno sons and daughters who either fought in the war, or whose husbands and sons did, were the children of Josefa Lopez (1793-1820), or her sister, Francisco's second wife, Margarita Lopez (1802?-1851). While his offspring engaged in the actual fighting, Don Francisco, sometimes called the "King of Pensacola," remained at home.[118]

Having been a Spanish subject until the transfer of the Floridas to the United States in 1821, and having served as Spanish vice-consul at Pensacola since 1836, Francisco claimed to be a subject of Spain during the Civil War. Whether he acknowledged it or not, Don Francisco had been made a citizen of the United States by Article 6 of the Adams-Onis Treaty. Nevertheless he had shown his true patriotic sentiments before the first shot was fired. In January 1861 Francisco, Sr., Benito, James and Theodore Moreno all subscribed to a fund to support the families of two companies of twelve month volunteers to be raised in Escambia County for the Confederate Army.[119] However in September of 1862, after Union forces had taken control of Pensacola, Francisco signed a certificate of parole in which he promised not to provide aid, comfort, information, or whatever, to the enemies of the United States.[120] He continued to serve as the Spanish vice-consul and flew the flag of Spain over his home on Zaragoza Street near Seville Square, which also served as the consulate.[121]

Much of the information about Francisco's Civil War experiences sounds apocryphal, but one story seems worth repeating. Francisco entertained Union and Confederate officers and men and in his home, but obviously not at the same time. On one occasion, while some Union officers were there, Francisco's parrot showed its master's real colors and startled his visitors by squawking: "damn Yankees, damn Yankees, damn Yankees![122] In spite of such outspoken partisanship, the visits of Union officers may have created some concern among Confederate officials about Francisco's loyalty. In April 1863 orders went out from the Confederate Secretary of War to General S.B. Buckner at Mobile, advising him that if he returned to Pensacola, he

should protect "the gentleman acting as Spanish consul, Francisco Moreno, as also all others of loyal feelings who through weakness may have been betrayed into concessions.[123]

On the other hand Union officers believed that Don Francisco maintained his office in Pensacola and lavishly entertained them in order to gather intelligence about Union plans, forces, and ship movements which he passed on to Confederate officers who clandestinely visited him. As a result a Union officer laid a trap for one party of Confederate visitors. Not anticipating the Union plan a squad of Confederate cavalry unsuspectingly rode into Pensacola and entered the vice-consul's home. Northern troops quickly surrounded the house and demanded their surrender. Don Francisco vehemently argued that the "consulate" was neutral ground and that Union soldiers had violated Spanish territory. The captors, however, contended otherwise and refused to release their prisoners. Francisco reportedly filed a grievance with the Spanish government, but, if so, nothing ever came of it.[124]

Whatever the feelings produced by this encounter, it did not inhibit Don Francisco from ordering five gallons of whiskey from the occupying United States forces. The commanding officer at Fort Barrancas could not fill the order but promised to do so as soon as possible. He also referred the request to the District Provost Marshal for a report on Moreno's loyalty.[125] Thus North and South had pondered the question of which side he supported. After the war, U.S. Secretary of State William H. Seward relieved Francisco as Spanish vice-consul at Pensacola "for causes only of 'expedience,' overlooking charges that Moreno had helped the Confederate cause." There is good reason to believe that it was because of Stephen Mallory's long-standing friendship with Seward, that Don Francisco escaped more serious charges.[126] Had Seward known the real contribution made by Don Francisco and his family on behalf of the Confederacy, he might have given the Don a one-way ticket to Spain.

Conclusion

How do you evaluate the Moreno family's contributions to the Southern War for Independence? The fact that the South lost the war makes it all the more difficult to make a meaningful assessment. Had the South won, there is no end to the accolades that could be made. But contributions, even to a losing cause, were made by this family.

Five sons, two sons-in-law, and at least three grandchildren donned uniforms and actively participated in the war. One son-in-law, Theodore Garnett, Sr., although not in the active service, still managed to participate in the war if only briefly. Several members of the family had some enlisted service, however, all but one eventually became commissioned officers ranging in rank from second lieutenant to colonel. Only one was not commissioned, but he received appointment as a midshipman before the war ended. Such attainment itself might set a one-family record. In addition Stephen R. Mallory held the fourth-ranking post in the Confederate cabinet. Benito, seriously

ill from his lung problems, served for several years as a civilian employee in the Confederate Army. Thus the family provided all but one of its able-bodied men, Fernando Joaquin in Key West, to the cause. Certainly Fernando's heart if not his body was with his brothers. The records show unmistakably that at least six, possibly seven, family members met the enemy in actual combat. Two, Francisco, Jr. and Celestino, made the ultimate sacrifice. They gave their lives. No man can do more.

Although very little has been said about the wives and children who could not fight, their sacrifices were great indeed. Angela even threatened to blow up her house should the Yankees try to take it. Nevertheless, the families had to carry on while their husbands and sons were away. The burdens created by the separation must have been difficult to bear.

And Don Francisco contributed financially, and perhaps in other ways, too. Specifically what information he may have passed on to visiting Confederate officers is unknown, but Union officers believed that he was guilty of providing valuable intelligence to the Rebs.

When the war was over the Moreno family of Pensacola could hold its head high. It was not for a want of its contributions that victory eluded the South.

Notes

[1] I am deeply indebted to Mrs. Regina Moreno Kirchoff Mandrell of Fairhope, Alabama, who stimulated my interest in her families, the Crarys and the Morenos, when my wife, Polly, and I assisted her in the preparation of several volumes relating to those families: John Williamson Crary, Sr., *Reminiscences of the Old South, 1834-1866*, vol. 1, Southern History and Genealogy Series (Pensacola, 1984), and Regina Moreno Kirchoff Mandrell, *Our Family: Facts and Fancies, The Moreno and Related Families*, vol. 3, Southern History and Genealogy Series (Pensacola, 1988). This study, "The Moreno Family of Pensacola and the Civil War," originally appeared in Mandrell, *The Moreno and Related Families*, 97-122. The edition published here contains some additional information especially pertaining to Theodore Moreno than that in the Mandrell volume. Others, particularly Ms. Rose Lambert, Louisiana Historical Center, Louisiana State Museum, New Orleans, and Dr. Sara Dunlap Jackson, National Historical Publications and Records Commission, Washington, D.C., located many additional documents which contributed much to this study. My thanks to them and to the others for their indispensable assistance.

[2] New Orleans city directories, 1841-1861, copies in Louisiana Historical Center, Louisiana State Museum, New Orleans. A letter from Mrs. Walter M. Johnston, Luling, Louisiana, a descendant of Francisco and Laura Moreno, to Mrs. Mandrell, December 12, 1895, provided vital information about Francisco and his family.

[3] Andrew B. Booth, comp., *Records of Louisiana Confederate Soldiers* . . . . (New Orleans, 1920), vol. 3, bk. 1, 1047.

[4] New Orleans *Daily Delta*, May 9, 1862.

[5] *The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies*, ser. 2, vol. 3, 456, 458-59. (Hereafter cited as *OR*).

[6] The Louisville *Daily Journal*, May 6, 1862, reported Lieutenant Francis Moreno's death at 4 P.M., May 4, 1862. The report noted that he was a member of Company A, Orleans Guards, from New Orleans; New Orleans *Daily Delta*, May 9, 1862. Cuthbert Bullitt was listed as a commission merchant in the New Orleans city directories of 1854 and 1861, Louisiana Historical Center, Louisiana State Museum, New Orleans. As a result of his pro-Union sympathies, Bullitt was appointed acting collector of customs for New Orleans in February 1863, James A. Padgett, ed., "Some Letters of George Stanton Denison, 1854-1866: Observations of a Yankee on Conditions in Louisiana and Texas," *Louisiana Historical Quarterly* 23 (January-October 1940): 1137, 1200; Laura B. Moreno, Widow's Application for Pension, Orleans Parish, No. 20, September 21, 1898; Ibid., Orleans Parish, No. 3451, October 30, 1906; Louisiana Archives and Records Service, Baton Rouge.

[7] *OR*, ser. 2, vol. 4, 26-27.

[8] New Orleans *Daily Delta*, May 9, 1862.

[9] New Orleans *Bee*, March 7, 1866.

[10] New Orleans *Times Democrat*, January 8, 1913.

[11] Jefferson B. Browne, *Key West: The Old and the New*, a facsimile reproduction of the 1912 edition with introduction and index by E. Ashby Hammond (Gainesville, 1973), 186-87.

[12] Ibid., 175, 211.

[13] Kenneth W. Rapp, Assistant Archivist, U.S. Military Academy, to W.S. Coker, September 24, 1985. Details of his military career are also in Major General George W. Cullum, *Biographical Register of the Officers and Graduates of the U.S. Military Academy* . . . . (New York, 1868), 14:699. For his marriage to Irene Moreno and their family see Regina Moreno Kirchoff Mandrell, *Our Family: Facts and Fancies, The Moreno and Related Families* (Pensacola, 1988), 33, 46, 48-50, 71, 99, 133, 300-05, 307, 309, 475.

[14] Browne, *Key West*, 90.

[15] Mandrell, *The Moreno and Related Families*, 292.

[16] Browne, *Key West*, 91-92.

[17] Ibid., 94-95.

[18] Ibid., 96.

[19] New Orleans city directories, 1854-1861.

[20] Last will and testament of Benito J. Moreno, January 16, 1862, Probate Court Records, file 0-701B, Escambia County Probate Court, Judicial Building, Pensacola.

[21] Statement from Captain Theodore Moreno, Corps of Engineers, certifying that he had paid B.J. Moreno $250.00 for two and one-half months work as a clerk at Columbus, Georgia, October-December 1862, War Department Collection of Confederate Records, Theodore Moreno, RG 109, National Archives; B.J. Moreno, Clerk, to W.H.S. Taylor, 2d Auditor, Richmond, Virginia, January 2, 1863, ibid. Abstract of Disbursements on account of the Columbus defenses during 2d and 3d quarters ending on September 30, 1864, ibid.

[22] Inventory of property belonging to the Estate of B.J. Moreno. . . , Pensacola, April 3, 1866, Probate Court Records, file 0-701B, Escambia County Probate Court, Judicial Building, Pensacola.

[23] Mandrell, *The Moreno and Related Families*, 136-37.

[24] *University of Virginia Catalogue, Thirty-Second Session, 1855-1856*, 14; [Maximilian Schele De Vere], *Students of the University of Virginia* (Baltimore, [1878]).

[25] Theodore J. Moreno to Honorable L.P. Walker, Secretary of War, Pensacola, April 26, 1861, War Department Collection of Confederate Records, Theodore Moreno, RG 109, National Archives.

[26] Narrative of his Civil War service by Major Theodore Moreno, Floyd County UDC Confederate Collection, Drawer 65, Box 54, Georgia Department of Archives and History, Atlanta.

[27] T. Moreno to Walker, April 26, 1861; see also letters of recommendation written by Stephen R. Mallory and William H. Chase on Theodore's behalf, RG 109, National Archives.

[28] For Theodore's appointment see Register, Confederate Archives, Chapter 1, File No. 88, p. 34, ibid.

[29] T. Moreno Civil War Narrative; The even described the Theodore may have been the artillery duel of November 22-23, 1861, George F. Pearce, *The U.S. Navy in Pensacola* (Gainesville, 1980), 75-76.

[30] T. Moreno Civil War Narrative; A brief account of this battle with Billy Wilson's Zouaves (Sixth Regiment New York Volunteers) is in Pearce, *The U.S. Navy in Pensacola*, 75.

[31] Pay document May 7, 1861, War Department Collection of Confederate Records, Theodore Moreno, RG 109, National Archives; for his "extra" pay as an ordnance officer see pay document for period March 1-April 30, 1862, ibid. For his service as an ordnance, officer see Application by Theodore Moreno, September 27, 1862, ibid.

[32] Apparently Theodore spent time at both Pollard and Pensacola during March and April 1862, according to several documents in War Department Collection of Confederate Records, Theodore Moreno, RG 109, National Archives.

[33] Special Order 224/4, September 25, ibid.

[34] Application by Theodore Moreno, September 27, 1862, ibid.

[35] Maxine Turner, "Naval Operations on the Apalachicola and Chattahoochee Rivers, 1861-1865," *Alabama Historical Quarterly* 36 (Fall & Winter 1974): 189-94. Turner's book on this subject has recently been printed: *Navy Gray: A Story of the Confederate Navy on the Chattahoochee and Apalachicola Rivers* (Tuscaloosa, 1988). These are excellent accounts and contain several references to Theodore Moreno.

[36] Ibid., 195-266; *OR*, ser. 1, vol. 52, pt. 2, 375; ser. 1, vol. 14, 682, 687, 695; for Captain Moreno's family at Columbus, Georgia, see certificate, September 6, 1863, War Department Collection of Confederate Records, Theodore Moreno, RG 109, National Archives.

[37] *OR*, ser. 1, vol. 14, 697-98, 707-09.

[38] Ibid., 710, 724, 727, 728-31 and 954; Special requisition, December 26, 1862; Accounts for 4th Quarter, 1862, dated January 28, 1863; Accounts for 1st Quarter, 1863, dated March 31, 1863; Engineer Account, May 22, 1863; Supplies for officers and others employed on the Chattahoochee, June 25, 1863; Travel expenses for Captain Moreno, August 1-29, 1863; War Department Collection of Confederate Records, Theodore Moreno, RG 109, National Archives. On Negro workers see also the following note.

[39] Request to impress hands and stores for defense of Columbus, Georgia, September 12, 1863; Impressment of Negroes and work on defenses of Columbus, October 8, 1863; Bill for expenses, December 5, 1863; Travel expenses, December 5, 1863; Account for hire of 2 carpenters, December 31, 1863; Requisition of wheelbarrows for Columbus defenses, February 1, 1864; Requisition for miscellaneous items, February 7, March 18, 1864; Letter, Theodore Moreno to W.H.S. Taylor, Columbus, Georgia, April 19, 1864; Hire of carpenters and servants, April 30, 1864; Requisition of 150 wheelbarrows for works in the District of Middle Florida, May 22, 1864; Travel expenses, June 129, 1864; all in War Department Collection of Confederate Records, Theodore Moreno, RG 109, National Archives. *OR*, ser. 1, vol. 28, pt. 2, 279, 423-25, 506-09, 553- 54, 581.

[40] Second Auditor's Report on Disbursements, 2d., 3d., and 4th Quarters, 1863, dated February 4, 1864, in War Department Collection of Confederate Records, Theodore Moreno, RG 109, National Archives. According to Mr. Bob Holcombe, Director of the Woodruff Confederate Naval Museum in Columbus, Georgia, some of the defensive works erected on the Apalachicola under Captain Moreno's direction are still in place.

[41] Miscellaneous requisitions, Captain Moreno, Andersonville, Georgia, July 18-31, August 1, August 1-31, September 1-7, 1864, ibid.

[42] Rent of office and store, Columbus, Georgia, May 1-September 10, 1864, dated September 29, 1864; Travel expenses, September 7-29, 1864, ibid; *OR*, ser. 2, vol. 7, 518-19.

[43] Ibid., 546-50. This letter of August 5, 1864, also referred to a sketch and a report by Captain Moreno on the defenses and stockades being erected at Andersonville, but the report is missing. See New Orleans *Daily Delta*, May 9, 1862 for the report on the Louisville hospital.

[44] *OR*, ser. 2, vol. 7, 1204. In the narrative of his Civil War service, Theodore recorded that he went from Columbus "in haste to build a new stockade for the Yankee prisoners at Camp Lawton, near Millen, Georgia. They were to be removed from Andersonville to get out of Sherman's way, who had then begun his march through Georgia, that march which will ever be a blot upon the pages of civilized history."

[45] T. Moreno Civil War Narrative.

[46] Ibid.; War Department Collection of Confederate Records, General and Staff Officers, File: Theodore Moreno, RG 109, National Archives.

[47] Confederate Military Record of James Moreno, Mandrell Collection.

[48] Record in Mandrell Collection.

[49] Family record, Mandrell Collection; Marriage record, etc. on file Old Christ Church, Pensacola Historical Society.

[50] Brochure of Clara Barkley Dorr House, Historic Pensacola Preservation Board, Pensacola, Florida.

[51] Garnett, *Mercer-Garnett Family*, 30; Kenneth W. Rapp, Assistant Archivist, USMA, to W.S. Coker, September 24, 1985.

[52] S.R. Mallory to Honorable Secretary of War, Montgomery, March 6, 18, 1861, War Department Collection of Confederate Records, Stephan A. Moreno, RG 109, National Archives.

[53] Stephen A. Moreno to Honorable L.P. Walker, Secretary of War, Montgomery, March 19, 1861, ibid.

[54] See pay vouchers for 2d. Lieutenant Stephen A. Moreno for March and April, 1861, ibid.

[55] Special Orders No. 41/3, May 2, 1861, ibid.

[56] Special requisition of ammunition by S.A. Moreno, Ordnance Officer, April 10, 1862 at Corinth, ibid.

[57] Special Orders No. 37-2, June 16, 1862. A letter from General Jackson to General Samuel Cooper, Chattanooga, April 20, 1863, stated that Moreno had served nearly two years as Acting Assistant Adjutant General, ibid.

[58] General John K. Jackson to General Samuel Cooper, Chattanooga, January 12, February 27, April 20, 1863. There are conflicting records regarding Stephen's promotion to captain. One record gave his appointment as April 23, 1863, to rank from February 2, 1863. Another record the promotion effective May 1, 1863, to rank from March 14, 1863, ibid. *OR*, ser. 1, vol. 20, pt. 1, 838-39.

[59] Requisitions for forage and ink by S.A. Moreno, August 1863, War Department Collection of Confederate Records, Stephen A. Moreno, RG 109, National Archives.

[60] *OR*, ser. 1, vol. 30, pt. 2, 83-85, 92-93.

[61] Ibid., ser. 1, vol. 31, pt. 2, 692-96, 704-06.

[62] Roster of February 1, 1864, War Department Collection of Confederate Records, Stephen A. Moreno, RG 109, National Archives.

[63] Special Orders No. 187(1), Hq. Dept. of S.C., Ga. and Fla., July 27, 1864, ibid.; *OR*, *OR*, ser. 1, vol. 35, pt. 2, 597.

[64] General Orders No. 41, *OR*, ser. 1, vol. 35, pt. 1, 440. For reports to Moreno see ibid., 436-39 and ser. 1, vol. 20-25, pt. 2, 616- 17.

[65] Ibid., ser. 1, vol. 35, pt. 1, 447.

[66] Special Orders, No. 276/1, November 12, 1864; S.A. Moreno to General S. Cooper, Georgetown, S.C., February 16, 1865, in War Department Collection of Confederate Records, Stephen A. Moreno, RG 109, National Archives.

[67] See copy of his parole, May 1, 1865, ibid.

[68] Garnett, *Mercer Garnett Family*, 31; J. McHenry Jones to Mrs. W.F. Mandrell, October 9, 1985. If, indeed, Celestino was an officer in the 17th Alabama, he was probably not killed until November 30, 1864. While no casualties were reported on November 29, six officers were killed on November 30, *OR*, ser. 1, vol. 45, pt. 1, 726.

[69] Joseph T. Durkin, S.J., *Stephen R. Mallory: Confederate Navy Chief* (Chapel Hill, 1954), 16, 133. I relied heavily upon this excellent study of Mallory by Fr. Durkin in this paper. "Angela Sylvania Moreno Lived in Stirring Times in History of Pensacola," quoting an 1897 [1898] newspaper clipping, Pensacola *News-Journal*, June 19, 1938, clipping in Mandrell Collection.

[70] Ibid., family record in Mandrell Collection.

[71] Jon L. Wakelyn, *Biographical Dictionary of the Confederacy* (Westport, CT, 1977), 307-08; *Biographical Directory of the American Congress, 1774-1971* (Washington, 1971) 1331.

[72] Durkin, *Mallory*, 19-35, 61-129.

[73] Ibid., 124-28.

[74] "Ervin Presents Mallory Plaque," Pensacola *News-Journal*, March 19, 1955, clipping in Mandrell Collection; Durkin, *Mallory*, 130-33.

[75] Ibid., 164n.

[76] John Williamson Crary, Sr., *Reminiscences of the Old South, 1834-1866* (Pensacola, 1984), 86-90.

[77] Durkin, *Mallory*, 189, 284.

[78] Ibid., 180, 343-44, 349, 379.

[79] S.R. Mallory, Jr. to his father, Pensacola, June 19, 27, and July 5, 1861. These letters are in the possession of Mrs. Sally Turner, Pensacola, Florida, who kindly consented to their use herein. I am indebted to Mr. Arnold Rosenbleeth for calling them to my attention.

[80] See also his letters of July 9, 24; August 1, 14, 1861.

[81] Occie Clubbs, "Stephen Russell Mallory, the Elder," (MA thesis, University of Florida, 1936), 342; John C. Stiles, "The Confederate States Naval Academy," *Confederate Veteran* 23 (September 1915):402.

[82] Ibid.; For a good account of the Confederate States Naval Academy see J. Thomas Scharf, *History of the Confederate States Navy* (New York, 1887), 773-81; and Thomas Henderson Wells, *The Confederate Navy: A Study in Organization* (University, AL, 1971), 67-73. There is a brief reference to young Mallory on page 69.

[83] *Biographical Directory of the American Congress, 1774-1971*, 1331; Clubbs, "Mallory," 342.

[84] Kenneth W. Rapp, Assistant Archivist, USMA, to William S. Coker, October 8, 1985.

[85] Mrs. Monte B. Roper, Alumni Record Office, University of North Carolina, to Mr. J. McHenry Jones, January 21, 1975. Mr. Jones kindly furnished the author with an overview of Colonel Jones' service and supporting documents.

[86] Francis B. Heitman, *Historical Register and Dictionary of the U.S. Army* (Washington, 1903), 1:581.

[87] Jones Family Bible. A church wedding followed on October 8, 1861, St. Michael's marriage records, 78, no. 29.

[88] Letter of acceptance, S. Cooper, Adjutant General, Washington, February 1, 1861; *OR*, ser. 1, vol.1, 322.

[89] J.P. Jones diary in possession of Mr. J. McHenry Jones.

[90] Ibid.; *OR*, ser. 1, vol. 1, 275, 298-99.

[91] Jones diary.

[92] Ibid.; *OR*, ser. 1, vol. 51, pt. 1, 32-33.

[93] Jones diary. A letter in the Jones family papers dated October 1, 1861, from the officers of the 5th regiment, expressed regret at his departure.

[94] Jones diary; Letter, J. McHenry Jones to William S. Coker, July 31, 1986, with accompanying memorandum concerning Colonel Jones' Civil War service; *OR*, ser. 1, vol. 17, pt. 2, 648, 675-76, 678. Don C. Seitz, *Braxton Bragg General of the Confederacy* (Hallandale, FL, 1971), 162-63. Jones commanded a regiment in General Jones M. Withers' command during this period. See letter of Withers to General S. Cooper, March 28, 1863, Jones family papers.

[95] *OR*, ser. 1, vol. 23, pt. 2, 653.

[96] General Braxton Bragg to General S. Cooper, March 26, 1863. See supporting letter of recommendation by General Withers, March 28, 1863, and newspaper clipping from the Atlanta *Intelligence*, undated, all in Jones family papers.

[97] Copy of letter from J.P. Jones, April 15, 1863, Jones family papers.

[98] No documents have been found to support this conclusion, but his service with Bragg during this period seems not unreasonable to assume. See also Memorandum by J. McHenry Jones concerning Colonel Jones' Civil War service (see note 93 above).

[99] *OR*, ser. 1, vol. 35, pt. 1, 172; Ibid., pt. 2, 475; Ibid., ser. 4, vol. 3, 1001; memorandum by J. McHenry Jones concerning Colonel Jones' Civil War service.

[100] Ibid., ser. 1, vol. 53, 338.

[101] Many years later a woman who had known Colonel Jones before the war, saw the lost picture in a second-hand store in New York, Recognizing him, she bought it, and eventually traced him down and returned the picture to him. It is still in the family's possession.

[102] Jones family tradition.

[103] Garnett, *Mercer-Garnett Family*, 29, 31.

[104] Paul Brandon Barringer, James Mercer Garnett and Rosewell Page, eds., *University of Virginia: Its History, Influence, Equipment and Characteristics* (New York, 1904), 1:386-87.

[105] Durkin, *Mallory*, 160.

[106] Garnett, *Mercer-Garnett Family*, 30.

[107] Durkin, *Mallory*, 160.

[108] Barringer, et al., *University of Virginia*, 1:387.

[109] Ibid.

[110] Garnett, *Mercer-Garnett Family*, 29.

[111] W. Gordon McCabe, "Annual Report of the President of the Virginia Historical Society for 1915," *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 24 (1916):xxiv; Barringer, et al., *University of Virginia*, 1:180-82; 2:22-24; "Diary of Captain James M. Garnett," *Southern Historical Society Papers* 27 (1899):1-16.

[112] *Who Was Who in America, 1897-1942* (Chicago, 1966), 1:441; Barringer, et al., *University of Virginia*, 2:23-24.

[113] *Confederate Veteran*, 27 (May 1920):194.

[114] Garnett, *Mercer-Garnett Family*, 31; Barringer, et al., *University*, 2:215-16; McCabe, "Annual Report," xviii-xxxii; *OR*, ser. 1, vol. 27, pt. 2, 718.

[115] McCabe, "Annual Report," xxi-xxii; *OR*, ser. 1, vol. 33, 1219.

[116] McCabe, "Annual Report," xxii.

[117] Ibid., xxiii-xxxii; *Who Was Who in America, 1897-1942*, 1:441; In 1907, he delivered an address at the unveiling of the equestrian statue of General Stuart in Richmond which was later published, *J.E.B. Stuart (major- general) Commander of the Cavalry Corps, Army of Northern Virginia, C.S.A.* (New York, 1907), 61.

[118] Family records in Mandrell Collection; Garnett, *Mercer-Garnett Family*, 30; Occie Clubbs, "Mallory," 328-30.

[119] For Art. 6 of the Adas-Onis Treaty see Philip Coolidge Brooks, *Diplomacy and the Borderlands* (New York, 1970), 208; [Julian C. Yonge], "Secession in Florida: Pensacola on its Own," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 26 (January 1948):283-85; On October 17, 1836, President Andrew Jackson acknowledged and recognized Francisco Moreno as Spanish Vice Consul for the Post of Pensacola. Captain George H. Maynard, Provost Marshal, District of West Florida, obtained a copy of the letter in August 1864, copy in War Department Collection of Confederate Records, "Citizens Files," Francisco Moreno, RG 109, National Archives.

[120] Certificate of parole signed by Francisco Moreno, September 24, 1862, ibid.

[121] Occie Clubbs, "Mallory," 333-34, is a brief survey of the vice-consul's activities to the outbreak of war.

[122] Don Francisco Moreno — Reminscences by his Great Grandson Will Coe," copy of unpublished manuscript, Mandrell Collection. Coe was the grandson of James Nicholas Moreno.

[123] *OR*, ser. 1, vol. 15, 1036.

[124]William C. Holbrook, *A Narrative of the Services of the Officers and Enlisted Men of the 7th Regiment of Vermont Volunteers (Veterans), From 1862 to 1866* (New York, 1882), 128-33.

[125] See documents of November 14, December 1, 10, 1864, in War Department Collection of Confederate Documents, "Citizens Files:" Francisco Moreno, RG 109, National Archives.

[126] Ernest F. Dibble, "War Averters: Seward, Mallory, and Fort Pickens, *Florida Historical Quarterly* 49 (January 1971):243-44.

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Dear Aunt Lydia: A Family's View of the Florida Gulf Coast During the Civil War

James H. O'Donnell III

A century and a half ago, farms began to dot the landscape of Florida as planters from the upper South and elsewhere sought the bounty of new lands on the Gulf Coast. The tilled fields and luxuriant crops were in a way merely the fulfillment of prophetic statements long made by naturalists and travellers who had praised the state's wonders and fertility. My previous papers have cited the example of William Bartram's infatuation with Florida's fecundity, and his unhappy attempt to farm some miles west of St. Augustine. Despite his dismal failure, he did not cease glorifying the possibilities of successful cultivating of numerous crops. He wrote:

> This soil and climate appear to be of a nature favourable for the production of almost all the fruits of the earth, as Corn, Rice, Indigo, Sugar-cane, Flax, Cotton, Silk, Cochineal and all the varieties of esculent vegetables; and I suppose no part of the earth affords such endless range and exuberant pasture for cattle, deer, sheep, etc. [1]

By the 1820s, and especially in the area which would become known as Middle Florida, adventurous farmers were seeking fresh lands for cotton and tobacco production. Since this general story is well known this paper will focus on the experiences of one extended family who came into Florida via St. Augustine in the 1820s. Eventually they would flourish in Middle Florida, not so much as planters, although they continued to try their hands at that, but as merchants. [2]

Students of Middle Florida antebellum history have been well informed about the economic framework in which these people lived by two important studies. [3] In both the reader catches fascinating glimpses of the Harris family through references to the head of the firm, J.R. Harris, whose business was located in Quincy, Florida. Harris, as both Smith and Shofner point out, was a respected merchant of Middle Florida, who conducted business with and for such prosperous planters as William E. Kilcrease and Oscar Fillyaw, both of whom profited from extensive sales (through Harris' firm) of Sea Island cotton, even during the Civil War. [4] This essay will complement Smith and Shofner by drawing on the manuscripts at Duke University to add information about the Harrises and their circle, especially in the years just before and during the Civil War.

One of the earliest members of the Harris family to arrive in Florida was Mrs. Lydia A. Wright. In 1822 she left behind her less productive lands near Centerville in Queen Anne's County, Maryland, to seek her fortune in East Florida. She paused only briefly at St. Augustine before taking the road west toward Tallahassee and Pensacola. Because her land in Maryland had begun to yield such poor crops, her annual income was less than $150

per year, an inadequate sum indeed for one hoping to make a fresh start in the new land of Florida. [5]

As a widow with children to support, Lydia Wright had done what many women of her generation were forced to do; she took up residence with her kinsman, Edward R. Gibson, who had left Philadelphia to live in East Florida. Letters to Mrs. Wright soon after her arrival in Florida reveal that her predicament worsened. [6] Crops from her rented lands in Maryland were so poor in 1826 and 1827 that her rents declined to $120, a decrease of twenty percent. She wanted to sell the land, but her agent could only obtain an offer of $550 for her property, a bid which he knew was unacceptable to her. Her income was unlikely to improve, since the tenants refused to pay, an impasse which was forcing her agent to recommend court action against them. [7] Ultimately, the predicament in Maryland became so severe that the unfortunate Mrs. Wright undertook the arduous return journey in an effort to resolve the crisis regarding her Maryland property and some residential buildings in Dover, Delaware. [8]

Upon her return to Florida in 1836, she located in St. Joseph's, one of the thriving communities in Middle Florida at the time. By then more members of her extended family had moved South. From J.L. Smallwood in Quincy she received letters addressed to "Dear Aunt Lydia," along with this lament: "I like this country as well as I expected although the land is not rich generally." [9] It did not help Smallwood's expectations much that he had found Quincy and vicinity in the midst of a drought.

What had drawn Lydia Wright, J.L. Smallwood, J.R. Isaac, and Charles Harris to Middle Florida was land. As Julia Floyd Smith pointed out more than a decade ago, the lands of Middle Florida were of a soil type very different from those of the rest of the state. As the newcomers from the Upper South saw it, the Tallahassee Hills (composed of Hawthorn type soils) were the areas most suited to plantation development because of the nature and familiarity of the soil type. A map of soil types in the United States shows that the Upper Coastal Plains belt stretches from Middle Florida all the way north to Maryland and Delaware. [10] The family which is the subject of this paper came from the upper, to settle in the lower end of this region.

As Julia Smith pointed out:

> The topsoil itself has a grayish and sometimes brownish or reddish color, resulting from its composition of lime and marl, two natural fertilizers which contribute to its richness. Solon Robinson, who traveled in Florida as correspondent for *The American Agriculturist* in 1850, described it as being 'a dark-red color, composed of sand, clay, lime, and iron, and having an unctuous feel as though it contained fatty matter.' Robinson thought it was 'the finest red land in America' and that 'the advantages of locating a cotton plantation in the area were probably greater than in any other state east of the Mississippi.' [11]

Despite some familiarity with soil types, the farmer, as well as his business associate, the commission merchant, faced difficulty in the uncertain world of producing and selling crops. Members of the Smallwood, Gibson, and Harris families were not only interrelated but also were in business together. By 1848, moreover, one of the Harrises, Charles M. Harris, had moved from Quincy to New Orleans, where he was a partner in the firm of Nourse and Harris, located at 32 Poydras Street.[12] On the surface it might seem that the Harrises merely wanted to have a representative in the city which was emerging as the trading center of the Gulf Coast. Just before Christmas 1848, Charles Harris shipped a barrel of flour and a barrel of hams for his mother, plus a box of toys for the children of the household. He apologized that unfortunately could not get the buggy he had promised into the hold of the vessel bound for Middle Florida. Since the captain would not permit it to be lashed on deck, he planned to have it crated for shipping via the ship *Louisa Sears* for Pensacola. [13]

On Christmas Eve Isaac Harris in Quincy replied to his brother in New Orleans in a manner hardly in keeping with the spirit of the season. Isaac Harris ignored the news of the goods about to arrive to ask his brother a more pressing question: why had he not paid his debts, especially those which he had made before leaving Quincy? It would appear that Charles Harris' relocation in New Orleans was as much a matter of personal and financial necessity as it was an expansion of the Harris trading network. [14] The letter further chided that one of the firm's customers named William Rogers had become irritated because the goods which he had ordered were not on board the ship *Creole* when it last arrived. [15] Consequently, Rogers wanted his tobacco turned over to another factor if it had not been sold. In Isaac Harris' view, he was so narrow minded and difficult to please that the firm should go ahead and turn over his tobacco to another firm and thus be done with it!

Despite Charles Harris' past difficulties and evident problem with hardheaded customers such as Rogers, he remained at his desk in New Orleans. By the fall of 1849, he was hearing a great deal of talk about tobacco. Since the Harris family originated, at least in part, in a tobacco producing region, it is not too surprising that they were in the business of producing and selling the crop in Florida. "Quincy remains as droll as you left it," a brother wrote to Charles Harris, "nothing stirring but tobacco, it raises a hell of a smell around Smallwood's Ware House. He's bought more than $10,000 worth." [16] As one might expect, there was rivalry in the marketing of tobacco. The most obvious and convenient market was New Orleans, but the enterprising Isaac Harris undertook the risky venture of shipping his tobacco via Macon and Savannah to New York, where he was able to obtain a premium price. Charles Harris was urged to keep this success a secret so no one else would attempt to duplicate it.

The advantages of the New York market and its higher profits were well known to both planters and merchants in Middle Florida. It was not

uncommon in the 1830s to find planters from Middle Florida taking the Georgia route (up the river to Columbus, overland to Augusta, downriver to Savannah, and by sea to New York) each year so they could take advantage of the better prices on the New York market. [17]

However quiet life might have seemed in Quincy and Gadsden County, the basic desire for profit pushed people to open new lands. Late in 1849 A.M. Harris was clearing land at "Pine Grove," a farm where the owner hoped to plant twelve acres of tobacco and thirty acres of cotton in 1850. In reporting his plans for the coming planting season, this member of the Harris family also gave lie to the notion that nothing exciting ever happened in Quincy. He reported that on November 11, 1849, someone had burned down the court house in town. [18] The loss was total, with nothing saved, not even any records from the clerk's office. Only a steady rain through the night kept the whole town from being consumed by the flames. Imagine the surprise of the judge the next morning when he drove up in his buggy, expecting to hold court that day! One might speculate that since there had been Locofocos active in the district's politics earlier in the decade, perhaps some of their leftover zeal may have resulted in the fire. [19]

For the most part, however, business affairs provided the only excitement for commission firms such as Smallwood, Gibson, and Harris, or its successor, J.R. Harris and Co. Since they tried to be all things to all people, there was variety, and perhaps an excitement in the work. Plantation owners not only charged supplies, but also they took cash advances against the merchant's books and their crop for the year. In account with Oscar Fillyaw, for example, Harris and Company purchased plantation supplies such as osnaburg, kersey, whiskey, gunny bagging, blankets, shoes, and castor oil; in addition the firm advanced cash to pay a doctor bill, plus $180 to satisfy a charge for bacon purchased in New Orleans for Fillyaw by Charles M. Harris of Hourse and Harris. It is interesting to note that the firm charged Fillyaw's account two percent for this transaction. For selling his cotton, moreover, the planter was debited six percent of the sale. In 1851, the year after Fillyaw's sudden death, his cotton was sold for $4,007, his debt to the company was $1,486, and his estate netted $2,521. [20]

Of even greater profit to the Harris firm was the business of William Kilcrease, who owned several thousand acres and more than 150 slaves in Gadsden county. The specialty of Kilcrease's lands was the silky Sea Island cotton, which he grew abundantly, to his commission merchants' great benefit. Because of the demand for this premium product, Kilcrease was able to sell it on the Liverpool market. [21]

So close did the partnership and personal bond become between Harris and Kilcrease, that in his will the planter directed that his crops be factored by Harris so the merchant would be certain to recover any and all advances which had been made to Kilcrease's accounts. [22] From the Gadsden County estate so thoroughly examined by Professor Smith, one can glimpse the multi-faceted role which the Harris company played for William Kilcrease.

Representative entries include: "To commissions on advances, $250; cash handed you, $5.00; cash handed you, $150; cash paid bal. of int. to Telegraph, $50; to A.K. Allison for your draft on us, $5,238.57." [23]

Serving in such functions doubtless brought prosperity to Harris and his firm. Because of the stipulation of Kilcrease's will, profit continued to come to Harris even after the planter's death. In 1862, despite the war and the blockade, Kilcrease's executors managed to sell 62,299 pounds of cotton, mostly Sea Island variety, which brought from one dollar to one dollar and twenty-five cents per pound. Kilcrease's gross receipts for cotton from 1861 to 1863 were $49,454, which would have yielded his factors a sales commission of almost three thousand dollars.[24]

J.R. Harris and company was fortunate to be marketing the highly sought after Sea Island cotton from the Kilcrease plantations during the early years of the war. According to a Liverpool cotton analyst, there had been a rise in the price of cotton in 1861 which was greater than any in the previous twenty-five years, but the rise did not continue dramatically after that because the Liverpool "Speculators, Exporters, and Spinners" had miscalculated their stocks by more than 100,000 bales. Because of this unexpected overstock and the continued slackening in the overall demand for cotton cloth worldwide, prices in general had not climbed and the Manchester mills were still not running at capacity. [25]

This overstock is one of the reasons for the failure of the much vaunted cotton diplomacy which Southerners had expected to save them. Even in the Harris family network there was the confident assumption that "four million bales of cotton plus tobacco, sugar and rice . . . [would be] a great Peacemaker." Just before the outbreak of war in early 1861 one correspondent asserted that the northern government could not blockade the southern ports without a declaration of war, and since Lincoln refused to do that, there would be no blockade; if, however, a blockade should come, it would be resisted by England and France. Thus, believed the confident Southerner, "the South this day is complete master of her position." [26]

Nevertheless there was a blockade which did not challenge England and France. There was also a war, which many had believed would not come, that radically changed the lives of Southerners. Within the Harris family, for example, the long cherished correspondence between its members had to be curtailed. On one occasion family letters fell into the hands of a perfect stranger, who kindly offered advice on how to send them through a flag of truce at Norfolk though he added that mailing letters to either section was extremely difficult in time of war. [27] However hard the break in written communication was, division within families was a bitter pill to swallow. Josephine Harris in Quincy learned from her cousin in Mobile that one of their relations was "serving against us. . . ." [28]

Phinie, as Josephine Harris was called by her husband and friends, was assured by her brother in the army that the soldiers worried about their families and longed for the taste of food from home. But, he warned her

not to send anything because there was so much stealing. A.M. Harris assured his family members that he had not gone hungry. Indeed, he said that they were usually so hungry when mealtime came that whatever they received was good. Rice, beef, flour, and cornbread had been provided and he had been able to obtain twenty pounds of sugar and two gallons of New Orleans molasses. In his case at least, the southern troops were not having to live on cornbread and hope. [29]

Like many other Southerners, the Harris family did not accept the idea of defeat when the fighting stopped. Josephine Gibson Harris received a letter from her brother prophesying that "before the next presidential election the South will be in one great blaze of insurrection . . . (with) anarchy at the North. You are not and cannot be secure in the midst of a Negro population. Soon, very soon, will emissaries be among the Negroes, stirring them to rapine and murder." [30] Phinie was advised to prepare in time and plan to leave next winter for New Orleans or South Florida. Perhaps she should join others who were sending agents in search of land and homes in Mexico. These remarks give expression to the cold statistics drawn from the census records, which show that Gadsden County's population was fifty-seven percent slave in 1860, while that of neighboring Leon County to the east was seventy-four percent. [31]

The pro-southern fervor of Quincy was so evident that the well-known Florida military leader J.J. Dickison moved there at the end of the war. [32] That attitudes died hard is further shown in the correspondence of the Harris family six years after the war, as the writer reports on a trial in Tallahassee "before a Radical Judge and a Radical jury made up of nine Negroes and three Low Whites." [33] In this epistle clearly labelled a "Private Letter" the writer expresses displeasure at what he believed to be a predetermined case. About a dozen Quincy citizens had gone to Tallahassee for the trial which lasted all day and resulted in A.K. Allison being fined $250 and placed in the Tallahassee jail for six months.

The Harris family, like many others scorched by the fires of war, found the Reconstruction South very different from what they had known before the war. Even a year after the fighting stopped, the normal flow of mail had not resumed, so that family members in Arkansas could not correspond freely with loved ones in Quincy. To people long accustomed to frequent social interaction through letter writing, this was symptomatic of postwar society. Nothing seemed right nor would it ever be. Aunt Lydia's folk had survived and would survive, but somehow the world was not the same.

Notes

[1] William Bartram, *The Travels of William Bartram*, ed. Francis Harper (New Haven, 1958), 148.

[2] ——— to Lydia A. Wright, May 1, 1822, Wright-Harris Papers, Manuscripts Department, Duke University Library, Durham, North Carolina. All correspondence cited in this paper comes from this collection. I express my gratitude to Dr. Mattie Russell, long time curator

of manuscripts at Duke, and acknowledge the support of the Faculty Development Committee at Marietta College which granted me a small stipend to have this collection microfilmed.

[3] Jerrell H. Shofner, *Daniel Ladd: Merchant Prince of Frontier Florida* (Gainesville, 1978); Julia Floyd Smith, *Slavery and Plantation Growth in Antebellum Florida, 1821-1860* (Gainesville, 1973).

[4] Shofner, *Ladd*, 43; Smith, *Slavery*, 151.

[5] Peri Wilmer to Lydia A. Wright, February 28, 1826.

[6] Same to the same, February 16, 1827.

[7] Martin W. Bates to Lydia A. Wright, April 12, 1827.

[8] Same to the same, [1835].

[9] J.L. Smallwood to Lydia A. Wright, [1842].

[10] Smith, *Slavery*, 11-12.

[11] Ibid., 12.

[12] Charles M. Harris to Isaac R. Harris, December 16, 1848.

[13] Ibid.

[14] Isaac R. Harris to Charles M. Harris, December 24, 1848.

[15] Ibid.

[16] A.M. Harris to Charles Harris, October 26, 1849.

[17] Ibid.

[18] Same to the same, November 12, 1849.

[19] Chalres Harris to James Harris, [1845].

[20] Smith, *Slavery*, 161.

[21] Ibid., 151-152.

[22] Ibid.

[23] Ibid.

[24] Ibid.

[25] Maurice Williams, *The Cotton Trade of 1861 and 1862, With a Glance At the Course of Events For the First Two Months of 1863, And the Future Prospects for the Year*, The National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh. My thanks to Professor Fraser MacHaffie for allowing me to use a copy of this pamphlet.

[26] E.N. Gibson to Dear Sister, February 15, 1861.

[27] N. Greene to Juanita Gibson, [December 1861].

[28] J.W. Beurett to Josephine Harris, March 3, 1863.

[29] A.M. Harris to ———, November 5, 1863.

[30] E.A. Gibson to Dear Phinie, May 1, 1866.

[31] Smith, *Slavery*, 26.

[32] Mary Elizabeth Dickison, *Dickison and His Men, Reminiscences of the War in Florida. A Facsimile Reproduction of the 1890 Edition* (Gainesville, 1962), xix. Quincy had been in the forefront of Florida's secession spirit. As early as November 1860, a secession flag had flown there, emblazoned with the words "Secession, Florida, Sovereignty, and Independence." See William W. Davis, *The Civil War and Reconstruction in Florida. A Facsimile Reproduction of the 1913 Edition* (Gainesville, 1964), 55.

[33] ——— to ———, February 13, 1872.

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Commentary

Joe Gray Taylor

There has been a definite revival of interest in family history of late, but one suspects that in a larger sense this is the type of history that has interested more people than any other type since the family was invented. In fact the decline of the extended family may have been responsible for the "revival." So long as three generations shared the same house, or at least the same community, family history, usually oral rather than written, was alive and healthy. It may well be that more family history was transmitted from grandparent to grandchild than from parent to child, and that transmission is far more difficult today.

Obviously some families are more important than others economically, politically, culturally, or otherwise. These are the ones that "make history" in the accepted sense of that phrase, and these are the ones who usually receive attention from professional historians. We have papers about the Moreno family and the Wright-Harris Family in this volume, plus numerous excerpts from the diary of Ann Quigley.

Professor Coker's work here, as always, has been thorough and his documentation is impeccable. His investigation of the Moreno family has been close to exhaustive, and his knowledge enables him to put what he has found together. After reading his paper one wonders how many families of the South there were that made contributions to the Confederacy equal to that of the Morenos and Mallorys. There could not have been many, and there may have been none.

Professor O'Donnell's excellent paper does even more than the title promises, because he gives us a view of the Florida Gulf Coast as seen by the eyes of members of the Harris family from a generation before the Civil War well into the Reconstruction period. He tells us of the economic problems of the relatively well-to-do; he demonstrates once more the almost incredible naivete of the people of the South on the eve of secession, and he reflects the attitudes of the men and women whose courage and determination prolonged the struggle between North and South. Professor O'Donnell's greatest contribution was in demonstrating that the factorage system worked in a similar fashion along the Florida Gulf Coast, Charleston, or New Orleans.

Quigley's is a rather unremarkable Civil War diary, significant primarily because it has been preserved, but not to be compared with the record kept by Kate Cumming for example. We generally assume that the breakdown of Confederate morale began in mid-1863, but this woman had apparently had enough well before the end of 1862. Yet even she could not believe it when the last days of the independent southern republic came to pass. However, her record of life during the war will probably never become a major source for historians of the Civil War, even for those interested primarily in the "home front."

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Trials of a Unionist: Gustavus Horton, Military Mayor of Mobile during Reconstruction

Harriet E. Amos

Throughout the South Unionists found themselves at odds with their neighbors during the secession crisis, Civil War, and Reconstruction. However, there were relatively few Unionists along the Gulf Coast. In Mobile, Alabama, perhaps no more than a dozen men remained openly loyal to the Union through the secession crisis, formation of the Confederacy, and unsuccessful war for southern independence. One was Gustavus Horton. A respected businessman in the city, he suffered social and economic ostracism as well as a brief period of incarceration for his Unionist sympathies during the war. When federal troops occupied Mobile after the collapse of the Confederacy, Horton hoped to receive a patronage position as a recognition of his loyalty. It might also help him to make up for the virtual ruin of his business. But former Confederates initially received a number of these posts, thus dashing Horton's chances. More than two years after the end of the war, and only after the passage of Congressional Reconstruction Acts, military authorities appointed Gustavus Horton mayor of Mobile. This appointment intensified the troubles Horton and his family had with their neighbors, particularly when some of his actions as mayor provided the grounds for a federal court case against him. His public trial in the United States District Court in Mobile marked the zenith of his persecution, but it did not end his personal and professional trials as a Unionist.

A native of Massachusetts, Gustavus Horton had lived in the South long enough by the outbreak of the Civil War to be considered by some as a Southerner, or at least an adopted Southerner. Born in Boston in 1808, he spent his youth and young adulthood there. He received his education in the public schools of Boston, including the English classical school of George B. Emerson. His father, a master shipsmith who assisted in the construction of the *USS Constitution*, died in 1822, leaving fourteen year old Gustavus largely responsible for the support of his mother and sisters. He found jobs as a clerk, first in a dry goods importing business and later in the Boston Customs House. In 1832 he married Eliza Sargent, a teacher in the Girls High School of Boston. They became the parents of three children over the next five years. In 1837 the confinement of office work had impaired Horton's health so much that he made an extended tour of the southwestern states. On this tour he received and accepted an offer from a large mercantile firm in Mobile. Mobile then became home to him and his wife. There they had nine more children. [1]

Like many transplanted northern businessmen, Horton soon found ready acceptance in the busy cotton port of Mobile. As a cotton broker, he met many local merchants, bankers, and insurance agents. Within three years of his arrival in Mobile, Horton was nominated as a bank examiner to examine

Gustavus and Eliza Horton *Museum of the City of Mobile*

the books of the Planters and Merchants Bank. In recommending him to Governor Arthur P. Bagby, Thaddeus Sanford, a prominent Democrat who had moved to Mobile from Connecticut, observed about Horton, "He is a northern man with southern feelings, a first rate Loco of course, and a very respectable and intelligent Merchant." Horton accepted the governor's appointment and added his duties as a bank examiner to those of running his commission and factorage business. [2]

Besides winning the respect of fellow local merchants and Democrats, Horton also won the admiration of civic-minded residents for his religious, charitable, and educational service to the community. A member of the Congregational church in Boston, Horton found no church of his own denomination in Mobile. He and his wife, formerly a Baptist, joined Government Street Presbyterian Church, the first church of that denomination in the city. He served as a ruling elder of the church. When the Hortons moved west of the downtown area into a developing residential district, they joined the new Third Presbyterian Church in 1854. Horton was elected a ruling elder. [3] He also gave of his time to charitable associations. He served as the first treasurer of the Samaritan Society, a charitable organization founded in 1838 to provide medical aid for the indigent. He held that office almost continuously for over twenty years. [4] Believing strongly in the cause of temperance, Horton served as president of the Mobile Temperance Society in the 1840s. [5] He made his greatest public service contribution in the field of education. He won election to the Board of School Commissioners that in 1852 set up the Mobile public school system, the first in the state. He served as vice-president of the board, with his friend Thaddeus Sanford as president. Throughout the 1850s he continued to serve as a school commissioner, and beginning in 1857, as president of the board. [6]

By the eve of the Civil War, Gustavus Horton occupied places of leadership in the mercantile, religious, charitable, and educational life of Mobile. He

and his wife were raising their children to respect Christian values and education. The eldest Horton sons were following in their father's profession. Gustavus, Jr., who had served an apprenticeship in the merchant's counting house of George Martin, was engaged in the cotton trade and living on his own. Francis, who lived at home, worked as a clerk. [7]

As he raised his large family, Gustavus Horton had not amassed wealth. He did purchase at least two slaves while he lived in Mobile. Fanny, a beloved children's nurse, helped Eliza Horton to care for her six youngest children over a number of years. When Fanny had to be sold at auction in 1856 to satisfy Gustavus Horton's debt to a creditor, his children mourned their loss. In 1860 Horton owned one slave, a fifty year old man. [8] Whatever his attitudes about slaveholding might have been when he made his home in Mobile, Horton did have a stake in the peculiar institution by the time of secession.

Secession and civil war tested his Unionism. "I have always been a Union man," Horton maintained, "and opposed, so far as I could, all the secession movements that preceded the war of the Rebellion." [9] Stemming the tide for secession was impossible. Even in the Horton family some of the older children sympathized with secession. When the southern states formed the Confederacy, Gustavus and Eliza Horton "remained true to the [U.S.] government, and became at once the objects of much annoyance and abuse" outside their home. [10] Horton believed:

> During the war I was one, of perhaps a dozen others in this City, who was openly known and recognized, as Loyal to the U.S. Government, and of course opposed to the so called Confederacy. In consequence of my political opinions, my family and myself were ostracised and persecuted, in a manner, known only to those, whose lot it was to live in such surroundings. [11]

He and his wife found it uncomfortable to attend church because of other communicants' reactions to them. Their business dealings were seriously damaged. By behaving prudently and exhibiting a Christian spirit, Horton "succeeded, to a great extent, in disarming hostility and inspiring respect." [12]

Some of his early wartime success in reducing hostility toward himself as a Unionist no doubt came from the fact that two of his sons enlisted in the Confederate army, and his son-in-law and his daughter's fiance served as Confederate officers. Gustavus Horton, Jr., who had been a member of the Mobile Rifles military company before the war, joined Fenner's Louisiana Battery and served with the Army of Tennessee. Frank Horton served in the Twenty-fourth Alabama Infantry. In January 1861 Caroline Horton, the eldest daughter, married a local youth named William B. Dennett, who became a Confederate officer. In 1864 Mary Horton, the second eldest daughter, became engaged to John W. Comstock of Clinton, Mississippi, the executive officer on the *CSS Selma.* After Comstock was killed in the battle of Mobile Bay, Horton had him buried in the Horton family plot in Magnolia Cemetery.[13] Horton supported the Union, but he respected the decisions of his sons, one

daughter's husband, and another daughter's fiance to serve the Confederacy. And he permitted his third eldest son, George Warren Horton, who was only fourteen years old when the war began, to enroll in the Home Guards for the duration.

In the spring of 1862 rumors circulated that the provost marshal was raising suspicions about the loyalties of Mobilians who were not born in the South. He maintained, however, that he understood loyalty was not automatically correlated with place of birth. He considered it his duty "to request every citizen, native as well as foreign, to take the oath of allegiance" to the Confederate States of America. Names of those taking the oath were listed in a register at the provost marshal's office. [14] These men then might be enrolled in the Home Guards. When Gustavus Horton, then president of the school board, was asked to take the oath, he refused. The provost marshal then arrested Horton on charges of disloyalty to the Confederate States and refusal to take an oath of allegiance to the Confederate government. One of his companions in the provost prison was J.B. Studley, another older, respected merchant of Mobile. They were confined in the same building with about one hundred twenty East Tennesseans who were suspected of Unionist sentiments. Horton maintained that his detention by military authorities was illegal. He applied for a writ of habeas corpus to City Court Judge Henry Chamberlain, who denied the request. After two days and nights of incarceration, Horton's son-in-law who was a Confederate officer used his influence to get Horton and Studley released. Studley died a few months later, and the Hortons believed that his treatment in detention "with subsequent persecution, had much to do with causing his death." [15]

On the day after his release, Horton voluntarily went to the provost marshal's office and subscribed to the oath of allegiance to the Confederacy. When Horton attended his first meeting of the school board after his release, his associates welcomed him and his vindication from charges of disloyalty to the Confederacy. His fellow school commissioners then unanimously decided to proceed in a group to the provost marshal's office to take the oath of allegiance to the government of the Confederacy. Thus, as public officials, they would set a good example for the community. [16]

As the war continued, Horton's own situation grew more tense. He was, as his wife claimed, "ejected from the School Board and from all the offices he held in Religious and charitable societies, branded as a Traitor to the South and made odious to his fellow citizens." Eliza Horton somewhat exaggerated her husband's loss of offices. In 1859 Horton had been elected to a six-year term as a school commissioner, and he served out his term. Commissioners elected their own president annually, choosing Horton as president through the 1861-1862 term. In 1863 they elected A.H. Ryland, a native Virginian who had been Horton's vice-president, as president of the board of school commissioners. [17] Perhaps Horton did lose the presidency as a result of others' concerns about his Unionist views, but some turnover of officeholding on the board was routine.

At the end of the war, "when the Union army entered Mobile and the American flag waved over us," noted Eliza Horton, "it seemed like the return of freedom after four years of barbarism and tyranny such as had not been experienced since the days of Robespierre." Unionists lost hope quickly as official positions were given to former Confederates. Some left Mobile to seek employment elsewhere and others considered such a move while federal, state, and local offices were "given to those who have been active in the rebellion." Horton signed his oath of loyalty to the Union on May 18, 1865. As a resident loyal citizen, he hoped to receive a regular paying position from federal patronage. His cotton brokerage business was disrupted by the war and loss of some clients due to his Unionism. With the recommendations of the major Unionists of Mobile and merchants of Boston who had been associated with him in the Customs House there, Horton applied for the Collectorship of Mobile. Someone else received the appointment. [18]

As former Confederates secured governmental offices with the approval of President Andrew Johnson, Horton lamented, "I am sorry to say that, the way things are now being managed, unless checked, will ere long place power and influence in the very hands that have been the cause of our troubles. And if such should be the case, this will be no place for a Union man to live in." [19] George Horton tried to help his father by writing to Provisional Governor Lewis E. Parsons about the persecution suffered by his family. Under the circumstances of Confederate-style Reconstruction, he observed, "A Union man will be persecuted as much as ever, and the *civil authorities will be his persecutors* — he can have no redress." [20] Soon George became convinced that his father should "leave politics alone, as it will be impossible for any but a secessionist to live here in peace." [21]

Political opportunities for a Unionist like Horton developed after Congress passed its first Reconstruction Acts in the spring of 1867. Under the new Congressional plan for reorganizaton of former Confederate states, military authorities supervised the registration of loyal voters. They divided Alabama into 45 registration districts with each having a Board of Registrars composed of two whites and one black, all of whom had to take the iron-clad oath. Among southern white males, Unionists sought positions as registrars partly because they agreed with the Congressional plan for enrolling a new loyal electorate. In addition, the registrars could compensate themselves financially for the income that they had lost due to ostracism by former Confederates in their commercial and professional dealings. Gustavus Horton accepted an appointment as one of the registrars for the Mobile district, recognizing that his duties would "be peculiarly delicate, onerous and trying." [22]

Any explanation of Horton's reasons for affiliation with the Republican party must remain tentative because he, like many other southern Republicans, never revealed all of his motives for his decision. He may well have believed that his political association would determine whether he would succeed or fail financially during the time of Reconstruction. [23] During the war Horton's

business was ruined by a combination of factors: his Unionism had alienated clients, the Confederacy's ban on cotton exports had ended commerce in the main commodity that he brokered, and the Union blockade had disrupted trade in everything else. Some people believed that Horton had retired in 1865. His near cessation of commercial activity could actually have been more of an involuntary than a voluntary action. At the end of the war, Horton had seven children at home who depended on him for support. He needed some position that paid a regular income, and a political appointment provided one option.

Philosophically, Horton accepted many of the Republican notions for reconstructing the South. Even though he, like half of Alabama's prominent native Republicans, had been a Democrat before the war, he recognized that Democrats in the postwar era wished to preserve antebellum social, economic, and political patterns. Horton wanted to see changes, changes that he preferred to come at the hands of local Unionists rather than adventurers from outside the region. His Unionism might have predisposed him toward the Republican party, which seemed to be the wave of the future, but his support for the reforms it promised solidified his affiliation with a party that offered, in his view, progress both to him and to the South. [24]

Republicans soon began their efforts in earnest to organize their party in southern states. William D. "Pig Iron" Kelley of Pennsylvania made an appearance in Mobile on a speaking tour to recruit Republicans. Presiding over the public meeting on May 14, 1867, Gustavus Horton had the "privilege and honor" to present Kelley to a crowd estimated at 4,000 people by the *Nationalist*, a local Union paper. Horton made "a few appropriate and eloquent remarks" of introduction before Kelley began his address. Some hecklers took offense at Kelley's language, and a disturbance erupted when the police arrested a heckler. Someone in the crowd fired a pistol toward the speaker's stand. Horton, who was sitting immediately behind Kelley while he was speaking, reported "the bullet that passed over his shoulder, came near being fatal to me." Other guns were fired, sparking a riot as people scattered and ran toward their homes. During the melee one white man and one black man died of bullet wounds. The body of the black victim, who was killed in the vicinity of Gustavus Horton's home, was laid at the Horton home on Cedar Street where the coroner's jury examined it. A few days later Mobilians held a public meeting attended by both races to condemn the disturbance and disorder of the Kelley riot. [25]

Federal authorities wished to have in place local officials who were known for their continuous loyalty to the Union and for their ability to curb racial unrest. The Kelley riot convinced Brigadier General Wager Swayne, assistant commissioner of the Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen and Abandoned Lands for Alabama, that, at the very least, police authorities were timid and inefficient in dealing with the race riot. Some blame also fell to the mayor and municipal legislators on the Board of Aldermen and Common Council. To prevent further unrest along racial lines, Swayne recommended to Major General

John Pope, commander of the Third Military District, that the military maintain order and punish violators of military ordinances. He also recommended replacement of the mayor, chief of police, and some municipal legislators with Unionists. Knowing of Horton's Unionism, Swayne nominated Horton as the military mayor of Mobile. [26] He would replace Jones M. Withers, a former Confederate general who had been elected mayor in December 1865 even before his political rights had been restored by President Johnson. [27]

Formal transfer of authority to Mayor Horton and Chief of Police C.A.R. Dimon, a former Union officer, proceeded smoothly on May 23, 1867 under the supervision of Colonel O.L. Shepherd, commanding officer of the 15th U.S. Infantry in Mobile. The meeting between Horton and outgoing mayor Withers was "entirely friendly," according to the Democratic Mobile *Daily Advertiser and Register*. Horton explained that he had always been a friend of Withers and he did not seek to take his position. "Not the slightest ill feeling was manifested on the part of any one present — all seeming disposed to make a compliance with terms of the military order as little unpleasant as possible." Horton recognized the arduous nature of his position, as he explained in a published address to Mobilians:

> Called unexpectedly to occupy the position of Chief Magistrate of the city I deem it a duty to state publicly that, in accepting the trust confided in me, I am not insensible to the grave character of the responsibilities it involves. . . .the office to which I have been appointed is one which, at the present time, is surrounded with peculiar difficulties. Our community, in its political relations, is in a transition state, and it will require the utmost care and prudence to bring about a happy solution of the troubles that surround us. [28]

Recognizing that he could not win universal approval of his mayoralty, why did Horton accept the position? After all, he preferred a quiet life. "My inclination and habits," he observed, "incline me to private rather than public life." [29] His only previous experience with publicly elected office came as a school commissioner. He never directly stated his reason for accepting the appointment as mayor. One suggestion has been made that he accepted the appointment rather than let the position go to a "stranger," that is, a non Mobilian. As a respected local citizen known for his careful administration of public responsibility, he might be able to inspire confidence in civil governments. Perhaps he could also temper military rule and encourage business enterprise.

Initially Horton thought that his assumption of the mayoralty was having a calming effect on Mobile. "Our city is getting composed, and I trust our people will soon be relieved from anxiety," he wrote Swayne. [30] Horton's mayoralty did help to bring order to the city, but it also brought him much personal criticism. Persecution came when he took actions that disturbed former Confederates, particularly his assistance in the organization of the Republican party. After he assumed the mayoralty, the *Nationalist* praised

the new mayor: "he is more than loyal; he is Republican — *believes* in equal rights for all men." [31] While the *Nationalist* asked Mobilians to reduce "the embarassments and perplexities of his situation," Horton's political views were bound to lead him into confrontations with those who disagreed with him.

Replacement of numerous civil authorities by order of the military initially made it difficult to have a quorum of the Board of Aldermen and the Common Council available to conduct city business. In early June 1867 Mayor Horton announced that General Pope had issued an order to clear city government of Johnson-sanctioned former Confederate officials by declaring the offices of city tax collector, city treasurer, aldermen, and common councilmen vacated. Pope followed the recommendation of Swayne after the Kelley riot that only persons of unquestioned loyalty to the Union be permitted to hold important civil offices. Ousted board members, excluded from their meeting rooms in City Hall, assembled in a fire house to protest Pope's rationale for removing them. In a few days Swayne issued a special order reappointing seven of the ousted officials, two aldermen and five councilmen, to their old seats. When newly appointed or reappointed board members hesitated to take their seats under military appointment, a petition signed by almost 200 Mobilians encouraged them to do so for the good of the city. [32] In this confusion Horton worked to conduct city business.

Horton's changes in the police force provided one of the first controversies of his administration. Police ineffectiveness in the Kelley riot had been a key reason for Swayne's suggestion of the changes in civil authorities. Swayne had recommended to Pope the name of the new police chief who was installed along with the mayor. At the beginning of his second week in office, Mayor Horton informed Police Chief Dimon that he was discharging nineteen policemen. Swayne had suggested to Horton that he appoint black men to the police force. Horton heartily approved of the idea, writing Swayne, "I think it is but *right* as well as *politic* that they should have a fair showing, and the sooner it can be prudently done, the better." [33] Horton's appointment of black policemen angered some conservative whites, one of whom indignantly informed him at the time that it would be a big mistake. Local Democratic editors questioned Horton's judgment when five of the new black policemen, who were allegedly found asleep on their beats, came before the Mayor's Court. Horton handled the cases as he would for white policemen, fining three offenders and excusing two others, based on the circumstances. Whatever the sentences he meted out, some whites remained dissatisfied, thinking blacks should not serve on the police force. Horton later reportedly acknowledged to a fellow Republican that he had "committed a fatal blunder when he put the colored men on the police force." [34]

Horton also aroused the ire of his critics by his decision to replace eighteen white city laborers with blacks. The impetus for the change came, according to the Mobile *Register*, "at the request of two or three of the colored aristocracy." According to the *Register*, the white workers, one American

and seventeen Irishmen, were displaced "to make room for the annointed of Chase and Sumner." [35] Horton's political association with blacks helped him with Republicans but harmed him with conservative Democrats. The assertion, whether correct or not, that he made an official decision at the request of black leaders was something that his supporters and opponents interpreted quite differently.

One of Horton's duties was to preside over the Mayor's Court held each week day to deal with persons arrested for minor offenses, such as disturbing the peace. Horton tried to deal fairly with members of both races. Conservatives soon found fault with his judgments. The case of Charles Archie Johnson, a freedman, illustrated the troubles Horton faced as he administered his court. Johnson came before Horton in the Mayor's Court at least three times during the summer of 1867 charged with disorderly conduct. City ordinances permitted the mayor to fine offenders or to have them post bond to insure good behavior for six months. When in his opinion the welfare of the city required it, the mayor had the authority to send dangerous and suspicious characters from the city without their consent. Horton gave Johnson, who earned money by selling newspapers and blacking shoes, twenty-four hours to leave the city for his first offense of disorderly conduct. When Johnson did not leave Mobile, Horton had a policeman put him on a steamer to New Orleans. Johnson retured to Mobile on the same vessel. Another officer then escorted Johnson by train to Montgomery. When arrested again in Mobile, Johnson had to have a bond of $500 posted to insure good behavior for six months. In a few weeks policemen arrested Johnson again, charging him with disorderly conduct, drunkenness, and resistance to arrest. This time Horton sentenced him to pay a $50 fine or serve thirty days in jail, along with posting a peace bond of $300. [36]

Horton's sentences of Johnson achieved local notoriety as his critics charged that Horton was treating Johnson unfairly because he was black. Democratic newspaper editors in fact professed to take the side of Johnson. The Union paper, the *Nationalist*, maintained that the three pro- Confederate papers presistently misrepresented the facts of the case. According to the *Nationalist*, Johnson wore offensive placards and marched about the streets "haranguing the people." When a crowd collected about him disturbing the peace, he was arrested. Johnson worked as a newsboy for the Mobile *Tribune* wearing placards with the paper's headlines, which were often critical of the Horton administration. His employers considered his arrests and sentences as politically motivated. "Johnson was not punished for being a newsboy," countered the *Nationalist*, "nor for getting drunk, but for allowing himself to be tricked out by the *Tribune* buffoons and their allies in such a manner as to necessarily create an excitement upon the street, and endanger the public peace." [37] Since Johnson was generally known to be illiterate, Horton's supporters believed that the mayor's critics had manipulated the poor, one-legged freedman for their own ends — first to embarrass Horton by publicizing

the *Tribune*'s anti-Horton stories, and second to place Horton in the politically difficult position of meting out punishment to a disadvantaged black man.

Adverse publicity about Horton's handling of the Archie Johnson cases came during the campaign for the election of delegates to the state constitutional convention mandated by the military Reconstruction Acts. Any criticism of Horton, the most highly placed local Republican officeholder, might hurt the chances of his party's candidates. The *Nationalist* praised him as "one of the 'best abused' men in Mobile." While Democratic newspapers reviled him, he proceeded "in the even tenor of his way regardless of opposition." "All through the war he was known as a unswerving Union man," the *Nationalist* observed, "and ever since the war as an uncompromising Republican." As the Republican-appointed mayor, Horton "made hosts of friends as well as enemies." He had enough support to win election as one of five delegates to the constitutional convention from the Mobile district. His fellow delegates from Mobile were Alfred E. Buck, a native of Maine who moved to Mobile after the war; John Carraway, a freedman who served as assistant editor of the *Nationalist*; Ovide Gregory, a black Creole whom Horton had appointed assistant chief of police; and Albert Griffin, a newspaperman from Ohio and Illinois who edited the *Nationalist*. [38]

At the Alabama constitutional convention, which met in late 1867, Horton chaired the Committee on Education and the School Fund. In keeping with him antebellum commitment to the cause of public education, Horton helped to write the Article on Education providing for state supported public schools for children of both races. On the last day of the convention, his committee's report was presented and accepted almost as written. Not everyone in Mobile appreciated his work in Montgomery, as indicated by a satirical comment in the *Evening News*: "The *defacto* Mayor of Mobile, G. Horton, Esq., arrived in town yesterday, after concluding his arduous labors in the so-called Convention." [39]

His actions as a public official so distressed some members of his church that they drove Horton out of the congregation where he had been a presiding elder for thirteen years. Twelve men of the Third Presbyterian Church signed a request to Horton that he "cease to be an acting Elder of this church on the ground that he was unacceptable to a majority of the congregation." When Horton initially declined to resign as an elder, he consulted with the Presbytery of South Alabama. Later he, "having been informed by certain members of the church that for reasons not involving any charge of heresy or immorality he had become unacceptable to a majority of the congregation in his official character, expressed his unwillingness to stand in the way of the prosperity of the church." Horton resigned as a ruling elder. One week later he applied for letters of dismission from the church for himself, his wife Eliza, and their daughters Anna F. Horton, Mary L. Horton, Caroline M. Dennett, and Eliza H. Stone. They could then "join such religious organization, as in the Providence of God, shall be opened to them." [40] In granting Horton the letters, the moderator expressed his "sincere desire that

you and your family may under the guidance of Divine Providence, be able to form church relations in which you and they can be both comfortable and useful." [41]

Horton needed friends at this time, because he faced federal charges of violating the civil rights of Archie Johnson, as stipulated in the Civil Rights Bill of 1866. Horton, who had tried to mete out justice impartially, was charged with discriminating against a person on account of his race in rendering the sentences against Johnson. The Civil Rights Bill of 1866 gave persons of every race and color the right to enjoy equal benefit of all laws and proceedings for the security of person and property as enjoyed by white citizens. Anyone who deprived persons of equal rights came under the exclusive jurisdiction of federal courts and faced a fine and imprisonment upon conviction. Although Republicans designed the bill to protect blacks from injustices perpetrated against them by former Confederates, it was applied in Mobile against the Republican-appointed mayor. The irony of Horton's predicament did not escape the Democratic Mobile *Advertiser and Register*: "It is a fine example of poetic justice that Mr. Horton, the Radical Military Mayor of Mobile, who has cast his political fortunes with the enemies of the South, and who owes his office to a despotism of force that ejected his legally elected predecessor from his place, should be the first person to put his foot into the meshes of the Civil Rights bill." [42] Horton's trial in the United States District Court before Judge Richard Busteed, a Republican from New York who had moved to Alabama in 1865, served as a way of venting hostility against the military mayor and the circumstances of Reconstruction that placed him in office.

At the trial various witnesses recounted Archie Johnson's police record and Horton's sentences in Mayor's Court. Horton's attorney in the trial argued that both this mayor and his predecessors in office had handed down sentences like those for Johnson to similar offenders, white and black. [43] In effect, Horton had not treated Johnson more harshly because he was black.

When Judge Busteed gave his charge to the jury, he made his interpretation of the evidence quite clear. He described Johnson as "a poor, forlorn, ignorant human being of African descent — a mental, intellectual and physical cripple, with only one leg, and who can scarce distinguish between right and wrong, whose mind borders on idiocy, who is incapable of planning mischief . . . ." Busteed informed the jurors: "in this case of Archie Johnson, from first to last — the arrest, the trial, the punishment, the execution of the sentence — all the proceedings, were in gross violation of the rights of a citizen of the United States, and a contempt of the law of Congress expressly passed to protect those rights." After five minutes of deliberation, the jurors, as expected, returned a verdict of guilty against Horton. The verdict "caused an immediate sensation in town" as Mobilians realized, the *Register* maintained, "the extraordinary fact that the first victim of the Civil Rights Bill" was "a conspicuous Radical functionary." [44]

Mobilians packed Judge Busteed's courtroom to hear his sentence for the mayor. Horton's supporters feared that he would receive the maximum,

a fine of $2,000 and two years in prison. Two local clergymen had visited Judge Busteed after the verdict was announced to plead for a light sentence for Horton, but the judge "gave them no heed." At the time when Judge Busteed was to pass sentence, the Reverend A.T. Spalding, pastor of St. Francis Street Baptist Church, was praying with the Horton family. "O, Lord take the heart of the Judge into thine own hands, and cause him to be merciful to the prisoner, the head of this household, and remove the cloud that hovers over this afflicted family." In the courtroom Judge Busteed asked Horton if he had anything to say about why the sentence of the law should not be passed upon him. Horton then extemporaneously delivered what his wife called a "powerful speech" but what the *Register* labeled a "long, rambling, disconnected discourse." When he finished, the judge announced that the circumstances of the case did not require imprisonment to vindicate the law. He imposed a nominal fine of $250. [45] Horton paid the money.

Even Horton's enemies expressed some sympathy for him after the trial. The Mobile *Register* considered the vindication of the law as the main object of the trial. "In this matter Horton, the man, is nothing, but Horton, the magistrate who has violated a penal statute is something." Found guilty, Horton was "legally pilloried as a Radical infractor of a Radical law." For the sake of his family, humanitarians did not object to his light sentence. Eliza Horton observed after the trial "something like a sympathy for him [her husband] sprung up in the community." She thought that people recognized Horton more kindly than they had prior to his public humiliation on trial. [46]

In July 1868 Gustavus Horton won an election to become probate judge of Mobile County, thus permitting him to leave his highly visible and controversial position as military mayor. He finally received the opportunity to present his side of his most humiliating experience as mayor, his trial for violating the Civil Rights Act of 1866, when he gave testimony to members of Congress who were considering impeachment charges against U.S. District Court Judge Richard Busteed. Busteed contended that most of the accusations made against him came from former Confederates who resented his Republican affiliation. Gustavus Horton, a southern Republican, testified in support of charges regarding Busteed's misconduct of his own trial. Horton left Mobile for Washington in January 1869, carrying with him local newspapers about the trial that his wife had kept for him and several others loaned by Albert Griffin, editor of the *Nationalist*. Horton and other witnesses presented evidence sustaining the charge that Busteed had acted maliciously against Horton in having him indicted and convicted for a violation of the Civil Rights Act of 1866, namely discriminating against Archie Johnson on account of his race. Horton's friends believed that Busteed wanted revenge on him for opposing Busteed's efforts to win nomination to a Senate seat from Alabama. Busteed, they charged, engineered the conviction of Horton "to gratify personal spite and malice." This attempt to impeach Busteed failed. In 1874, presented with new articles of impeachment against Busteed, the

House Judiciary Committee voted for an investigation, prompting him to resign his judgeship. [47]

As a probate judge from 1868 to 1874 without a legal background, Horton doubtless faced some vexing problems as he ruled on cases pertaining to wills and estates. A good deal of his work, however, involved administrative matters, such as preparing voter registration lists and recording public records. Challenges could be made to registration lists at the time of election; so the judge or his clerk, his son-in-law, F. Graham Stone, had to handle problems as they arose. Horton's office also handled formal recording of back documents. Fees for such work helped to provide income for the Horton family. [48]

Horton maintained his interest in the cause of education. During the post-war military occupation of Mobile, when vacancies arose on the board of school commissioners, military authorities appointed new commissioners to fill the positions. On May 9, 1867 Horton was appointed to fill the first vacancy for a term expiring in 1871. As a school commissioner, he met with agents of the American Missionary Association in 1867 to discuss organizing schools for blacks. As probate judge, he transferred public funds entrusted to him for schools to the appropriate school authorities. Besides his support of public schools, Horton showed special interest in some local private schools. One was a select school for girls operated by his daughter Mary. Another was Emerson Institute, the American Missionary Association school for blacks. [49]

In 1874 Mobilians respected the Hortons enough that churches of various denominations honored their daughter Mary as she departed for service as a Southern Presbyterian foreign missionary. After her fiance was killed in 1864, Mary Horton had devoted herself to teaching. She saved what she could from her salary and decided to pay her own expenses as a missionary for the Southern Presbyterian church. While preparing for an assignment, she met a missionary who had served five years in China, the Reverend J.L. Stuart. They fell in love and married in the Horton home. On the Sunday before the Stuarts left Mobile en route to China, Presbyterians, Baptists, and Methodists held special union services for them at the Government Street Presbyterian Church. Along with lavish praise of Mary Horton Stuart and her husband, one observer described her father Gustavus Horton as "a man universally respected for his sterling piety and unflinching devotion to principle under the most trying circumstances." This description indicates that some Mobilians admitted respecting Horton even though they disagreed with him politically. [50]

Horton remained a loyal Republican. As one of the early Republicans in Mobile, he worried about the sincerity of latecomers to the party. He complained that "new converts to our cause are endeavoring to exert an undue share of influence, and favoring the application of persons to official positions, who have been and are still at heart inimical to the republican cause." [51] After Republicans maintained their ascendancy in 1868, numerous Democrats defected to the party. Sometimes conflicts arose between more

established Republicans and newcomers. One of the converts whom Horton disagreed with was Alexander McKinstry, a former Democrat who switched to the Republican party in 1869. A former attorney and city court judge, he had opposed secession but served in the Confederate army. After the war, as a representative from Mobile to the Alabama General Assembly, McKinstry proposed bills for reorganizing the Mobile County courts that Horton opposed. Horton contended that McKinstry "seems determined to break down every man who will not come under his yoke." Despite their disagreements, all Republicans, new and old, at times faced similar problems. One was social ostracism. McKinstry, who eventually was elected governor of Alabama, maintained that because of his politics he was considered a pariah. Many times that was also true for Horton. Another problem Republicans faced was the threat of violence against them. Horton once sheltered a fellow Republican when rumors circulated about impending attacks on white Radicals. Horton and some of his associates received threats of assassination. They nonetheless stayed with their party. In 1876 Horton served as a Republican presidential elector and considered it his privilege to preside over the meeting in Mobile that ratified the election of Rutherford B. Hayes as president. [52]

As a reward for his faithful service to the party, he held one more patronage position. He served as deputy collector of customs for the port of Mobile, working from 1877 to 1885, when at age seventy-seven he finally retired. [53]

Horton continued to make his home in Mobile for the rest of his life. He celebrated his golden anniversary with his life Eliza in 1882. She died five years later. On January 6, 1892, he died of heart failure. His obituary in the Mobile *Register*, which had bitterly criticized him during Radical Reconstruction, glossed over his term as military mayor, even reporting incorrectly that he was "elected" rather than appointed. His public service that received the most attention in the *Register* was his work for education. As the *Register* noted,

> Judge Horton took a most earnest interest in all matters pertaining to the education of youth, and was one of the members of the first board of school commissioners in 1852. He served in this capacity for a number of years, and the work he performed in this connection was with him a labor of love. [54]

In Horton's mind, his service as military mayor of Mobile must also have been a labor of love to some degree because nothing could have compensated him for the ostracism and humiliation he and his family members suffered while he held that appointment. He was fortunate in that he lived long enough to know that many of his neighbors indeed respected him, if not his Unionist and Republican politics.

Notes

[1] Thomas McAdory Owen, *History of Alabama and Dictionary of Alabama Biography*, 4 vols. (Chicago, 1921), 3:845-846; and Obituary, unsigned and undated, in Horton Family Papers. The Horton Family Papers are held in Mobile by Edith Richards and Ruth Dufee; Caldwell Delaney has some transcripts of the papers and newspaper clippings in Mobile. All Horton Family Papers will be cited here as one collection. Gustavus and Eliza Horton's children were Gustavus, Jr., Sarah Eliza, Caroline M., Franklin S., Mary L., Eliza J., Harriet A., George Warren, Anna F., Edward F., Julia P., and William C. Horton.

[2] Thaddeus Sanford to Arthur P. Bagby, September 10, 1840, Gustavus Horton to Arthur P. Bagby, September 30, 1840, Governor's Papers, Alabama Department of Archives and History, Montgomery (ADAH). "Loco" refers to a Locofoco Democrat. One of Horton's partnership agreements can be found in his agreement with Darius Clock, May 16, 1845, Horton Family Papers.

[3] "Mayor Horton of Mobile," Boston *Daily Evening Traveller*, February 21, 1868; Charles D. Bates, *The Archives Tell a Story of the Government Street Presbyterian Church, Mobile, Alabama* (Mobile, 1950), 75; Third Presbyterian Church Sunday School Books, Museum of the City of Mobile (MCM); Receipt for Pew Rent from Gustavus Horton, Jr. from Third Presbyterian Church, Horton Family Papers; and Third Presbyterian Church Session Records, 1854-1867, Central Presbyterian Church, Mobile.

[4] Caldwell Delaney, ed., *Craighead's Mobile, Being the Fugitive Writings of Erwin S. Craighead and Frank Craighead* (Mobile, 1968), 109; Mobile *Daily Commercial Register and Patriot*, June 25, 1840, May 18, 1841; Mobile *Register and Journal*, May 10, 1845; Mobile *Daily Advertiser*, July 8, 1851; *Alabama Planter*, July 10, 1854, Mobile *Daily Advertiser*, July 21, 1855; and Mobile *Daily Register*, August 1, 1856, July 7, 1857, June 30, 1858.

[5] R.P. Vail, *Mobile Directory, or Strangers' Guide for 1842* (Mobile, 1842) 68; and Edwin T. Wood, *Mobile Directory and Register for 1844* (Mobile, 1844), 36.

[6] Mobile *Mobile Daily Register*, March 21, 1858, August 4, 1853; and Mobile School Commissioners' Minutes, September 6, 1852, September 11, 1852, August 20, 1855, August 10, 1859, Mobile County School Board Offices, Barton Academy, Mobile (BA).

[7] Bureau of the Census, *Eighth Census of the United States: 1860*, and Indenture between Gustavus Horton, Sr. and George Martin for Gustavus Horton, Jr., April 22, 1850, Horton Family Papers.

[8] Untitled poem by Eliza Horton, April 4, 1856, Horton Family Papers; and Bureau of the Census, *Eighth Census of the United States: 1860*. He listed no property, real or personal, in the Free Inhabitants Schedule, but he did list one slave in the Slave Schedule. See also City Property Tax Book, 1858, Mobile Municipal Archives.

[9] Gustavus Horton to R.H. Smith, September 26, 1879, Horton Family Papers.

[10] Boston *Daily Evening Traveller*, February 21, 1868.

[11] Gustavus Horton to R.H. Smith, September 26, 1879, Horton Family Papers.

[12] Boston *Daily Evening Traveller*, February 21, 1868.

[13] Gustavus Horton to Eliza Horton, August 6, 1864, Horton Family Papers.

[14] Mobile *Register and Advertiser*, March 7, 1862.

[15] Gustavus Horton to R.T. Smith, September 26, 1879, Eliza Horton to James Wilson, n.d. [1865], Horton Family Papers; Mobile School Commissioners' Minutes, March 5 and 8, 1862, BA; and George W. Horton to Lewis E. Parsons, August 1, 1865, Governor's Papers, ADAH. The quotation comes from the last citation.

[16] Mobile School Commissioners' Minutes, March 8, 1862, BA; and Mobile *Register and Advertiser*, March 7, 1862.

[17] Eliza Horton to James Wilson, n.d. [1865], Horton Family Papers; and Mobile School Commissioners' Minutes, August 10, 1859, August 7, 1861, August 5, 1863, BA.

[18] Eliza Horton to James Wilson, n.d. [1865], Gustavus Horton's Loyalty Oath (no. 1189), May 18, 1865, photostat, and Gustavus Horton to Eliza Horton, June 28, 1865, Horton Family Papers.

[19] Gustavus Horton to Eliza Horton, June 28, 1865, typescript, Horton Family Papers.

[20] George W. Horton to Lewis Parsons, August 1, 1865, Governor's Papers, ADAH.

[21] George W. Horton to John N. Barbour, September 5, 1865, typescript, Horton Family Papers.

[22] Sarah Woolfolk Wiggins, *The Scalawag in Alabama Politics, 1865- 1881* (University, AL, 1977), 24; and Gustavus Horton to C. Cadle, Jr., May 16, 1867, Governor's Papers, ADAH. When he was appointed mayor and unable to serve as a registrar, Horton suggested a replacement when he wrote Wager Swayne, May 23, 1867, Governor's Papers, ADAH.

[23] Wiggins, *Scalawag in Alabama*, 135.

[24] Ibid., and Carl N. Degler, *The Other South: Southern Dissenters in the Nineteenth Century* (New York, 1974), 203, 207, 214, 217, 219.

[25] Mobile *Daily Advertiser and Register*, May 16, 17, 18, 1867; Sarah Woolfolk Wiggins, "The 'Pig Iron' Kelley Riot in Mobile, May 14, 1867," *Alabama Review* 23 (1970):48; Mobile *Nationalist*, May 16, 1867; and Gustavus Horton to R.H. Smith, September 26, 1879, Horton Family Papers. Walter L. Fleming's account of the riot is unsatisfactory in his *Civil War and Reconstruction in Alabama* (1905; Spartanburg, 1978), 509.

[26] Gustavus Horton to R.T. Smith, September 26, 1879, Horton Family Papers; Mobile *Daily Advertiser and Register*, May 25, 1867; and Fleming, *Civil War and Reconstruction in Alabama*, 481.

[27] Alderman's Minutes, December 1, 1865, January 3, 1866, Special Collections Division, Mobile Public Library, cited in Joseph E. Brent, "The Lost Cause: A Study of the Mobile City Government During Presidential Reconstruction, April 12, 1865 to May 23, 1867," Southern Urban History Seminar Paper, University of South Alabama, copy in possession of author. Withers made a trip to Washington to get a presidential pardon before his installation as mayor in January 1866.

[28] Mobile *Daily Advertiser and Register*, May 23, 1867. Horton and Withers had served together as ruling elders of the Third Presbyterian Church for six years.

[29] Mobile *Daily Advertiser and Register*, May 23, 1867.

[30] Gustavus Horton to Wager Swayne, May 23, 1867, Governor's Papers, ADAH.

[31] *Nationalist*, May 30, 1867.

[32] Mobile *Daily Advertiser and Register*, June 5, 7, 8, 1867; and Fleming, *Civil War and Reconstruction in Alabama*, 481-482.

[33] Mobile *Daily Advertiser and Register*, June 2, 1867; and Gustavus Horton to Wager Swayne, June 1, 1867, Governor's Papers, ADAH.

[34] Mobile *Daily Advertiser and Register*, July 23, 1867; and William G. Johnson to William H. Smith, August 8, 1868, Governor's Papers, ADAH.

[35] Mobile *Daily Advertiser and Register*, July 4, 1867.

[36] Mobile *Daily Tribune*, December 19, 1867. Evidence comes fron entries in the police docket that were presented in testimony at the Horton trial mentioned later.

[37] *Nationalist*, August 15, 1867.

[38] Ibid., September 26, 1867; and Fleming, *Civil War and Reconstruction in Alabama*, 517-518.

[39] *Official Journal of the Constitutional Convention of the State of Alabama* (Montgomery, AL, 1868), 3, 10, 237-238; Horace Mann Bond, *Negro Education in Alabama: A Study in Cotton and Steel* (1939; New York, 1969), 87-94; and Mobile *Daily Advertiser and Register*, December 3, 1867. Bond points out the similarities between the Iowa constitutional article of 1857 about public education and the Alabama article of 1867.

[40] Third Presbyterian Church Session Book, December 6, 7, 11, 18, 1867, Central Presbyterian Church, Mobile.

[41] Thomas H. Rice to Gustavus Horton, December 19, 1867, Horton Family Papers. This letter contains a statement certifying that Gustavus Horton and Eliza Horton were members in good standing who withdrew at their own request from their church.

[42] Mobile *Daily Advertiser and Register*, December 17, 1867.

[43] Ibid., December 19, 20, 1867.

[44] Ibid., December 21, 1867.

[45] Ibid., December 22, 1867; Eliza Horton to My dear son, January 8, 1868, Horton Family Papers; and Boston *Daily Evening Traveller*, February 21, 1868.

[46] Mobile *Daily Advertiser and Register*, December 22, 1867; and Eliza Horton to My dear son, January 8, 1868, Horton Family Papers.

[47] Appointment Certificate of Gustavus Horton as Judge of Probate for Mobile County, July 20, 1868, Eliza Horton to Frank L. Horton, January 25, 1869, Horton Family Papers; Robert H. Smith, *Review of the Evidence Taken on Charges Against Richard Busteed* (Mobile, 1869), 9; and Wiggins, *Scalawag in Alabama*, 90.

[48] F. Graham Stone to Gustavus Horton, August 5, 1869, and Gustavus Horton, Jr. to Gustavus Horton, August 7, 1869, Horton Family Papers.

[49] Congress, House, *Reports*, No. 262, "Affairs in Alabama," 43d Cong., 2d sess., 1096; Mobile School Commissioners' Minutes, June 19, 1867, June 10, 1868, August 13, 1868, BA; F.G. Stone to Gustavus Horton, July 9, 1968, Horton Family Papers; and Gustavus Horton to E.P. Smith, July 31, 1867, E.P. Lord to E.M. Cravath, May 30, 1874, E.P. Lord to E.M. Cravath, June 19, 1874, American Missionary Association Archives, Amistad Research Center, New Orleans.

[50] "Marriage and Departure of Missionaries from Alabama to China," "Mr. and Mrs. J.L. Stuart's Departure for China," unsigned typescripts, October 1874, Horton Family Papers. See also Mrs. Charles K. Hartwell, "Mobile to China: A Valiant Woman's Mission," *Alabama Review* 31 (1978):243- 255.

[51] Gustavus Horton to William H. Smith, July 31, 1868, Governor's Papers, ADAH.

[52] Wiggins, *Scalawag in Alabama*, 53, 64, 142; Gustavus Horton to William H. Smith, February 26, 1970, Governor's Papers, ADAH; Eliza Horton to George and Frank Horton, April 28, 1868, Gustavus Horton, Jr. to Gustavus Horton, September 26, 1879, Horton Family Papers.

[53] Owen, *History of Alabama and Dictionary of Alabama Biography*, 3:846.

[54] Mobile *Daily Register*, January 8, 1892.

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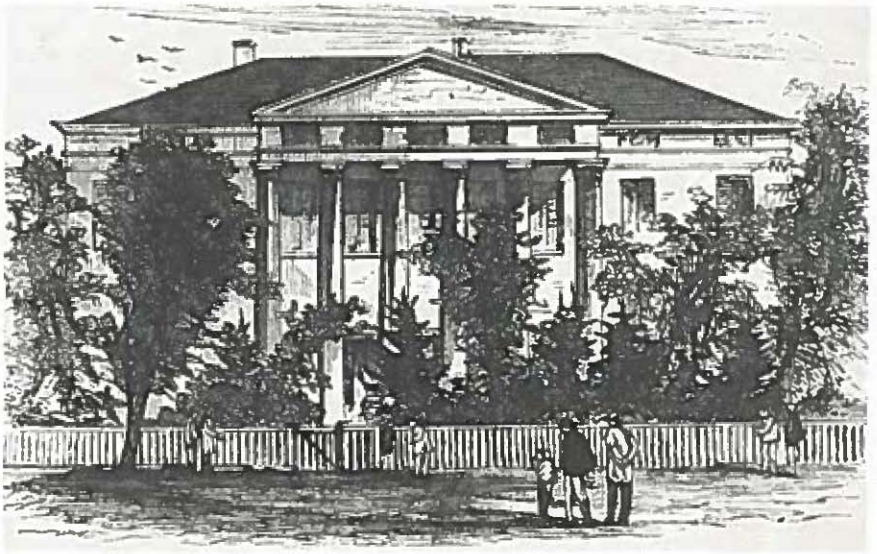

American Missionary Society's Emerson Institute, Mobile *USA Archives*

The American Missionary Association and Blacks on the Gulf Coast during Reconstruction

Joe M. Richardson

The roar of Confederate cannons bombarding Fort Sumter had scarcely faded when the American Missionary Association concluded that the war would open up "one of the grandest fields for missionary labor" the world had ever known. It was only natural that the AMA viewed the slaves who began fleeing to Union lines soon after hostilities commenced as obvious subjects for its missionary work. [1] The American Missionary Association was organized September 3, 1846, in protest against the silence of other missionary agencies regarding slavery. Prominent leaders, such as Lewis Tappan, Gerrit Smith, and George Whipple were evangelical abolitionists who believed that the Gospel was a useful weapon against the peculiar institution. [2]

The AMA began preaching the gospel "free from all complicity with slavery and caste." By the mid-1850s it had financed more than one hundred antislavery missionaries in the Northwest and the slave states of Missouri, North Carolina, and Kentucky. Since 1847 it had provided clothing for slave refugees who had fled to Canada, and later it sent teachers and preachers among the refugees to establish schools and churches and to administer relief. When the war began, the AMA was probably more an antislavery than a missionary society. Nevertheless, its experience, organization, and fund-raising capability enabled it to respond to the needs of destitute escaping slaves. [3]

The AMA sent its first missionary to Hampton, Virginia, in September 1861 and from that time its teachers tracked the Union Army so closely that they sometimes became casualties of the fighting. By March 1863 nine men and women were providing relief and teaching refugees at Corinth, Mississippi. In early 1864 the association sent agents to Port Hudson and New Orleans, Louisiana, and Jacksonville, Florida. As federal forces moved into the Gulf states teachers followed. Within a year after the war there were approximately one hundred AMA agents in Florida, Alabama, Mississippi, and Texas.[4] Soon afterwards additional teachers were sent to Louisiana. The AMA established scores of elementary and secondary schools in the Gulf states. Normal schools were organized in Jacksonville, Florida; Mobile, Montgomery, Marion, Athens, and Talladega, Alabama; New Orleans, Louisiana; and Tougaloo, Mississippi. The association founded Talladega College in Alabama, Straight University (now Dillard) in Louisiana, Tougaloo College in Mississippi, and Tillotson College in Texas. In addition it organized a number of churches. [5]

When the AMA sent teachers and missionaries into Union occupied areas in 1861 and 1862, its goal had been to assist contrabands by providing relief, protection, and education, and in the process to show northern doubters that slaves deserved to be free. From the beginning of the Civil War the association had hoped that the war would result in emancipation. In 1863

their dream was realized but emancipation signaled that the AMA's work had just begun. Its officers clearly saw that education was essential if "social emancipation" was to follow from the legal emancipation already achieved. The association's responsibility was no longer temporary relief and antislavery propaganda, but permanent transformation, reconstruction, and redemption. [6]

In its efforts for freedmen the AMA was motivated by religion and patriotism and its aim was full citizenship for blacks. Association leaders called themselves Christian abolitionists, and to them abolition meant not merely "striking off the fetters of the slave" but freeing him "of the shackles of ignorance, superstition, and sin." They viewed the war as a God-sent punishment for the sin of slavery. Both North and South were guilty — the latter because it had owned slaves and the former because it had acquiesced. Some Northerners had recognized their errors and opposed slavery. As a result God had "prospered" the Union Army, but he would guarantee complete victory for the North only when freedmen were recognized before the law as equal to whites. Moreover, blacks had suffered the hell of slavery and the country owed them for the wrongs it had inflicted. It was the nation's Christian duty to help pay this debt to freedmen by providing agencies for moral and intellectual development. The association was fully aware that a majority of white Americans, North and South, were yet to be convinced that blacks were worthy of equality, but it firmly, if naively, believed that equality could be gained through Christian education. As blacks gained in knowledge, temperance, and morals they could earn status equal to their merit. [7]

After emancipation the AMA assumed the dual responsibility of convincing whites to accept blacks as equals and of training blacks for citizenship. Good citizens, association officers believed, would likely think and behave as they did. That was what Lewis Tappan, the AMA's most prominent leader, meant when he said that all abolitionists wanted blacks freed, but that Christian abolitionists desired something more. They wished blacks "to be free citizens, and good men and women also . . . free from sin as well as free from slavery." Without Christian education, slaves could degenerate into a menace to the country. With such training they could become a valuable asset. The goals of the association were educational, religious, and political. They longed for a literate, thoughtful, temperate, godly society which, they believed, could be produced only through religious education. Therefore, the AMA missionaries went South with their book, the Bible, and their belief in the New England Way. [8]

Given the AMA's insistence upon equality, which included black suffrage and no color line, it is not surprising that its teachers were not always graciously received by Gulf states' whites. Probably conflict between northern teachers and southern whites was inevitable in the postwar South. Hatred, fueled by years of sectional discord and the war, was intense. Moreover, black education initially found little favor among southern whites. A Louisiana physician and planter confessed that there was "a bitter prejudice" against freedmen's schools,

and a former Mississippi slaveholder agreed that an unfortunate and deep seated opposition to educating former slaves would frustrate many attempts in that direction. [9]

Whites opposed black education for reasons that seemed logical to them. It had been forbidden to slaves, and most saw no need to change that policy with emancipation. "It is worse than throwing money away," wrote one Louisiana editor, "to give it to the education of niggers."[10] A more obvious reason for resisting black schools involved the issue of control. Blacks wished to assert their independence, while whites were determined to retain economic and social domination over them. The Southerners' view of AMA teachers as self-righteous fanatics, intent upon teaching social and political equality and distrust of whites, aggravated their rancor. When Yankee teachers committed to equality were combined with the black-white struggle for direction of black destiny, the stage was set for an explosive drama that "made the neighborhood school a political and cultural battlefield."[11]

White animosity toward black education and AMA teachers was manifest in numerous ways. Board with a private family was "utterly out of the question" in Gainesville, Florida in 1865. Housing for teachers was almost impossible to secure throughout Texas except with loyal German families. Mrs. Lizzie S. Dickinson rented a room with a white family in Hempstead, Texas, until the Rebel son returned home and drove her from the house.[12] Teachers were almost uniformly ostracized and subjected to sneers, taunts, insults, and slander. When rumor surfaced of dead infants found in a Florida river, a resident wrote that it was "probably the spawn of some . . . who have come here, under their pretended sanctimoniousness & philanthropy to teach negroes and, practice their infamy, where they are not known." Northern women migrating South presumably as teachers, an Alabama editor charged, were in fact seeking black sexual partners. "If the buck nigger will welcome them with ebony arms to African couches," he added, then the next generation of southern radicals would "smell only half as bad" as the present one. [13]

More serious than ostracism, threats, and slanders was violence aimed at teachers, students, and schools. Students were intimidated, beaten, and had their books stolen. Teacher Edmonia G. Highgate was shot at twice in her room at Vermillion, Louisiana. A Marianna, Florida instructor was confronted with revolvers and threatened with death, while another left Monticello after six shots were fired into her room late one night. In Grenada, Mississippi, Tom Sherman — backed by a mob — choked, struck, and then viciously beat AMA teacher J.P. Bardwell with a cane. The Freedmen's Bureau agent who rescued Bardwell was soon afterwards fatally wounded. As the agent lay dying, a citizens committee called upon another Bureau officer and demanded that all teachers of black schools leave town. [14]

As time passed southern whites seemed to be reluctantly accepting black education, that is, until Congressional Reconstruction which mandated black political participation. In response they launched a renewed and even more extensive attack upon freedmen and their schools. Several AMA properties

were burned, and its teachers were threatened by the Ku Klux Klan. Armed men burst into Sarah A. Allen's room near midnight and warned her to be gone from Monroe County, Mississippi, within three days. A Klan beating with a bull whip left inch-deep wounds "of a fearful nature" on the shoulders, back, and side of C.W. Washburn near Sequin, Texas, and William Luke was murdered in Alabama. The AMA responded to these and numerous other atrocities by petitioning Congress for protection for freedmen, lobbying for the Force Acts of 1870 and 1871, making greater efforts to avoid provoking southern opponents, and arming some of its workers. The association preferred side-stepping trouble, but had few reservations about arming in self-defense. [15]

Southern white antagonism toward northern teachers and freedmen's schools is now well known. Perhaps less familiar is the relationship between northern teachers and blacks, which was also characterized by considerable tension. Freedmen were contributing partners in the AMA's southern work from the beginning. Often when teachers arrived in the South they discovered that blacks had already organized educational societies and were operating schools. In several instances the AMA sent teachers only after freedmen had promised board for them. Montgomery freedmen had already arranged to construct a school building when they asked the AMA for teachers. In Marion, Alabama, freedmen led by a former slave barber, Alexander H. Curtis, formed a school corporation and elected a board which purchased a school lot. In 1867 the board deeded the property to the AMA. William Savery, an ex-slave, was a primary force in the founding of Talladega College.[16] Naturally most of the support for freedmen's schools came from the North since blacks had only limited resources, although they showed their gratitude in numerous ways. While Carrie Semple was on vacation from her small Florida school, freedmen dug ditches to drain the water-filled school lot, cleaned and refurbished the house, and planted trees in the yard. Unquestionably, the AMA made invaluable contributions to black education. It stimulated the freedmen's desire for schooling, encouraged black self-help, and established scores of schools, but in turn it was prompted to make greater efforts by enthusiastic freedmen who made extraordinary sacrifices to educate their children. [17]

The AMA also supported freedmen in their attempts to secure land. During the war the association wished to settle contrabands on abandoned lands to prove their industry and capability and to relieve physical suffering and dislocation. After the war it sought permanent ownership of land for freedmen. Land ownership would be beneficial to both blacks and the country the AMA thought. Landowners would be more independent, economically and politically, happier, more ambitious, and more stable than landless laborers. The association encouraged the government to provide land, lobbied for the Southern Homestead Act, and purchased several plantations to be divided among blacks. Eighty acres acquired in Marion, Alabama, became an "enterprising colony" with houses, fences, yards, thriving gardens, and fruit trees. Several other colonies were attempted, including at Lake Simmonette, Louisiana; McIntosh, Georgia; and Jefferson County, Florida. [18]

The AMA-black community relationship extended beyond cooperating in establishing schools and buying land. Though the association worked primarily with youth, education was not confined to the classroom. Teachers tried to influence the entire community. Blacks should be taught the rudiments of citizenship and the vices created and perpetuated by slavery should be replaced with the New England virtues of industry, economy, thrift, and temperance. Teachers attacked the use of snuff, tobacco, and alcohol. They lectured freedmen on maintenance of the proper home environment and marriage. Parents were advised on how to raise children, how to use their earnings, and how to treat each other. Missionaries told freedmen how to worship and occasionally how to vote. No doubt some former slaves believed they had exchanged one master simply for a more benevolent one. Although most teachers were sincere in their desire for black progress, their attitudes strongly suggested a fundamental belief in white superiority. While rendering valuable assistance to the freedmen, the AMA ignored an important problem. Teachers and missionaries were so certain of their superior knowledge and wisdom, so intent upon elevating freedmen and aiding them in their first steps of freedom that they sometimes neglected to allow them to stand on their own. [19]

Although some freedmen accepted northern teachers and missionaries' leadership without question, many did not. They appreciated AMA aid and looked to it for protection. Northern white teachers lived with freedmen, advocated full citizenship, taught their children, and reminded them that they were free and must learn the ways of freedom. The teachers' evident sympathy and concern compelled blacks to view whites in a different light. Yet, life-long habits and suspicions were not easily changed. Despite their gratitude, blacks still saw missionary teachers as white and scrutinized them closely for signs of prejudice and desire to dominate. Many blacks were skeptical of whites no matter what their origin. Freedmen also took umbrage at the superior air of some teachers and were often irritated by self-righteous interference into their personal lives. [20]

Freedmen especially resented any hint of color discrimination. Teachers generally professed to believe in equality, but many of them had not freed themselves from the racism which afflicted most nineteenth-century Americans. The AMA vowed to employ no one influenced by racial prejudice, but it found it easier to proclaim racial egalitarianism than to practice it. Even those who had little prejudice quickly learned that serious disagreements with blacks could bring charges of racial bias. Any concession to the white South was viewed as a betrayal. When the AMA principal at Natchez, Mississippi, concluded to house two black teachers separately from other teachers in order to appease local whites, freedmen were outraged and the AMA lost influence in the community. Blacks forced the removal of administrators at Talladega College and Straight University when they decided the administrators were making racial distinctions. [21]

Apparent absence of racial prejudice among teachers did not automatically guarantee that freedmen would unquestioningly accept their guidance. Numerous missionaries noted that many freedmen were racially exclusive. This did not necessarily mean that white direction was unwelcome but, rather, that blacks wished to retain some control over their own destiny. The longer they were free the more determined they became to define their own goals and methods of achieving them. Freedmen became adept at accepting aid and simultaneously rejecting unwanted advice. They gladly sent their children to AMA schools while resisting the teachers' interference in their personal lives. Association work was usually most prosperous in areas where the AMA formed coalitions with black leaders. New Orleans blacks warmly supported Straight University as long as the AMA made them an integral part of its work. When the association began to ignore black leaders it lost support. Failure to consider freedmen's wishes even led to violent confrontations. In 1875 school principal J.M. McPherron barely escaped from a black mob in Montgomery, Alabama. The mob's stated reason for wishing to punish McPherron was that he had been intimate with a female student. The rumor of sexual intimacy was false and evidence suggests that the vigilantes were motivated mostly by resentment. McPherron's habit of ignoring blacks and their plans had created a dislike so intense that they were ready to seize upon any pretext to get revenge. [22]

Although blacks welcomed AMA schools, many of them dreamed of schools they would direct and staff. The AMA never fully appreciated the freedmen's aspirations to achieve as much control over their lives and institutions as possible. A battle for control resulted in the association's Selma school being closed for a year, and Montgomery blacks contested with the AMA for direction of Swayne school for years. Association officers blamed black attempts to gain ascendancy over schools on ignorant black ministers afraid of losing their congregations and thereby their power, and on ill-trained black teachers who wished to avoid competition with whites. Some viewed it as a laudable, but premature ambition. Sometimes the AMA was correct. Black teachers and ministers often felt threatened by northern white-operated schools, and some blacks wanted to run the schools without either the necessary money or expertise. Nevertheless, the AMA's attitude of superiority, its insistence on Yankee efficiency, and its impatience with black leaders while they were learning through trial and error created serious resentment among those whom it was trying to serve. [23]

Most blacks did not wish to seize all AMA schools, but many preferred more black teachers. Northern whites noted with dismay that parents sometimes sent their children to pay schools taught by poorly educated blacks in preference to free schools instructed by well trained whites. The AMA sympathized with the freedmen's longing to have teachers of their own color and employed blacks whenever it considered them competent. Indeed by 1867 training black teachers was a primary goal of the AMA. But some freedmen wanted all black teachers, trained or untrained. "The 'color line' has been drawn at

Pensacola," an AMA teacher wrote from Florida, "and those fanatical colored men who belong to the so-called Equal Rights Club, oppose by every means in their power the employment of Northern teachers . . . ." In 1876 St. Augustine blacks managed to force all white teachers out of their schools.[24] Throughout the South local whites were encouraged in their attacks on northern teachers by the efforts of many blacks to have black teachers substituted for whites. While freedmen could attain useful knowledge from white teachers, with black instructors and administrators they could also foster race pride and gain practical power. In theory the AMA favored black-operated and black-supported schools, but it rarely relinquished control. In its view blacks in the 1870s were not yet capable of assuming that responsibility. Some blacks began to wonder if the AMA would ever perceive them as competent. The AMA could have muted black criticism if it had been willing to share control and less reluctant to place blacks in supervisory positions. Unfortunately, it too seldom allowed substantial black involvement in running its institutions. [25] Association personnel and freedmen were further separated by a cultural gulf that was rarely completely bridged. Abbie Howe spoke for many teachers when she said of freedmen in 1868: "What a study these people are! Ever pleasing, disappointing and puzzling us." As the years passed, some teachers seemed disappointed and puzzled more often than pleased. Even the most devoted and compassionate teachers suffered periods of despair over the cultural barriers which inhibited their work.[26] The encounter between northern whites and former slaves was between a rational nineteenth century middle class white and a premodern black culture with its beliefs in ghosts, spirits, and conjuring. AMA teachers taught piety, self-control, industriousness, and individualism. Blacks on the other hand had "created a folk culture that was expressively rich and essentially communitarian. . . ." They seized upon emancipation as an opportunity to consolidate their customs and institutions and secure them from outside interference. They cooperated with and accepted assistance from the AMA, but most preferred their own ways while the AMA was determined to impose its customs and values. When Freedmen tolerated the teachers' cultural biases, they paid a price in damaged sensitivities and infringement upon their freedom. When they refused to appease Northerners, the result was often disillusionment at the very least. [27]

The freedmen's personal habits also alienated northern teachers. Antislavery literature had taught them that slaves were indolent, immoral, deceptive, and thievish. Many northern whites were able to see beyond such broad generalizations. Indeed prolonged contact enhanced some teachers' evaluations of blacks. Unfortunately, others were so overwhelmed by what they perceived as negative characteristics that they tended to see blacks in stereotypical terms.[28] Many of the negative views of freedmen related to the teachers' religiosity and their rigid code of conduct. Many of them saw black churches as disgracefully immoral and degraded. They found card playing, smoking, drinking, dancing and recreational activity on the Sabbath repugnant. To many blacks these seemed reasonable methods of relaxation and

unconnected with morality. After eleven years in Athens, Alabama, Mary Wells was temporarily disheartened. Blacks, she said, were gossipy, and, "having all their lives been accustomed to an atmosphere of moral impurity, their ideas are so radically different from ours, that were we to judge them by our standards who shall be able to stand." Blacks had a clear concept of what was right and wrong, but their notions did not always coincide with those of the puritanical teachers. Many of the teachers' codes of behavior were too rigid to tolerate different conduct by freedmen. [29]

By the end of Reconstruction some AMA supporters had become disenchanted with blacks. A few even suggested that perhaps black suffrage had been a mistake. But they rarely became disillusioned with black youth, finding them eminently educable. It was the adults they despaired of changing, though many never lost their faith in blacks at all. Teachers continued to work, live, and suffer with freedmen in numerous communities. They exulted at black victories and resented white prejudice and abuse. They denounced southern violence and fraud designed to neutralize black voting strength, and consistently advocated black civil rights. The AMA continued to pour money into its schools, especially teacher training institutions and colleges. It firmly believed that blacks should receive education equal to whites. Yet, disillusionment, cultural differences, changing leadership, and a desire to accommodate southern whites changed the AMA's stance. By 1880 it was not the same vigorous advocate for blacks that it had been in 1865. It was more cautious — officials probably assumed more realistic, though paternalistic, attitudes, and an increasing inclination to pacify whites by avoiding social contact with blacks except in schools and churches. It retained great faith in black youth, but was badly disappointed with adults. The unenviable position of blacks in American society is poignantly pointed up by the recognition that the AMA, for all its shortcomings, was among the best and most progressive white friends that blacks had. [30]

Notes

[1] Augustus Field Beard, *A Crusade of Brotherhood: A History of the American Missionary Association* (Boston, 1909), 17-18; *American Missionary* 5 (July 1861):163.

[2] For a detailed study of the organization and prewar activities of the AMA see Clifton H. Johnson, "The American Missionary Association, 1846-1861: A Study of Christian Abolitionism" (Ph.D. diss., University of North Carolina, 1958).

[3] Robin W. Winks, *The Blacks in Canada* (New Haven, 1971), 224-27; S.S. Adair to S.S. Jocelyn, October 21, November 16, 1854, S. Blanchard to S.S. Jocelyn, April 23, June 6, 1860. American Missionary Association Archives, Amistad Research Center, New Orleans, Louisiana. (Cited hereafter as AMAA).

[4] *American Missionary* 8 (January 1864):101; J.R. Locky to AMA, January 5, 1864, A.D. Olds to S.S. Jocelyn, May 16, 21, 1863, E.R. Pierce to S.S. Jocelyn, April 9, 29, 1863, AMAA.

[5] C. Peter Ripley, *Slaves and Freedmen in Civil War Louisiana* (Baton Rouge, 1876), 139-40; *American Missionary* 11 (April 1867):73-78, *American Missionary* 14 (June 1870): 121-28.

[6] *American Missionary* 7 (February 1863):9; (July 1863):161.

[7] L. Tappan to W. Armistead, May 17, 1865, L. Tappan to M. White, June 18, 1864, L. Tappan to F.E.G. Stoddard, November 20, 1863, L. Tappan to M. Hamlin, March 10, 1864, Lewis Tappan Papers, Library of Congress.

[8] L. Tappan to J.P. Warren, December 23, 1864, L. Tappan to M. Hamlin, March 10, 1864, Lewis Tappan Papers; W.H. Woodbury to G. Whipple, January 28, 1865, AMAA; Jacqueline Jones, *Soldiers of Light and Love: Northern Teachers and Georgia Blacks, 1865-1873* (Chapel Hill, 1980), 4.

[9] A.J. Evans to J.L.M. Curry, October 7, 1865, J.L.M. Curry Papers, Library of Congress; T.E. Tate to O.O. Howard, July 16, 1866, O.O. Howard Papers, Bowdoin College, Brunswick, Maine; T.A. McMasters to G. Whipple, November 1, 1865, AMAA.

[10] Livingston *Herald*, February 16, 1870.

[11] Jones, *Soldiers of Light and Love*, 77; Myrta L. Avary, *Dixie After the War: An Exposition of Social Conditions Existing in the South During the Twelve Years Succeeding the Fall of Richmond* (New York, 1906), 312; L. Abbott to O.O. Howard, August 8, 1865, O.O. Howard Papers.

[12] H.H. Moore to T.W. Osborn, February 25, 1866, Bureau Records, Florida, letters received, National Archives; Congress, House *Executive Documents*, 29th Cong., 1st sess., no. 120, 30-31; A.C. Harwood to G. Whipple, December 1, 1865, AMAA.

[13] O.M. Dorman, "Diary and Notes, April 29, 1865, O.M. Dorman Diary and Notes, Library of Congress; Talladega *Sun* April 19, 1870; J. Warner, Mississippi School Report, November 15, 1865, Bureau Records, Educational Division, National Archives.

[14] *American Missionary* 11 (March 1867):51, 56-57; J.P. Bardwell to G. Whipple, April 26, 28, May 4, 1866, AMAA; Joe M. Richardson, "Christian Abolitionism: The American Missionary Association and the Florida Negro" *Journal of Negro Education* 40 (Winter 1971):38.

[15] Congress, House *Reports*, no. 22, 42d Cong., 2d sess., vol. 1, pt. 11, 282-83; C.W. Washburn to E.M. Cravath, July 24, 1874, A.G. Marment to E.M. Cravath, July 4, 1874, T.C. Steward to E.M. Cravath, February 8, April 5, 7, 1871, AMAA; Austin *State Gazette*, August 13, 1874; Marion *Commonwealth*, July 21, 1870; Gene L. Howard, *Death at Cross Plains: An Alabama Reconstruction Tragedy* (University, AL, 1984), 7-9, 92.

[16] *American Missionary* 10 (February 1866):28, 33; J. Silsby to G. Whipple, November 2, 1865, AMAA; Horace Mann Bond, *Black American Scholars: A Study of Their Beginnings* (Detroit, 1972), 39; Howard, *Death at Cross Plains*, 12.

[17] M.E. Lands to E.P. Smith, May 5, 1868, C.M. Semple to E.M. Cravath, October 6, 1871, AMAA; Bond, *Black American Scholars*, 39.

[18] Richard B. Drake, "The American Missionary Association and the Southern Negro, 1861-1888" (Ph.D. diss., Emory University, 1957), 118-19; C.M. Blood to E.M. Cravath, February 10, 1874, A. Blood to C.M. Blood, May 1872, AMAA; *American Missionary* 16 (September 1872):193.

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[23] Jones, *Soldiers of Light and Love*, 50; M.E. Strieby to G. Whipple, December 3, 1864, G.W. Andrews to M.E. Strieby, July 11, 1875, E.P. Smith to C.H. Howard, April 2, 1870, AMAA; Leon Litwack, *Been in the Storm So Long: The Aftermath of Slavery* (New York, 1979), 493.

[24] C.W. Washburn to E.M. Cravath, October 20, 1874, Mrs. M.O. Beals to M.E. Strieby, November 6, 1875, S.A. Mather to M.E. Strieby, December 7, 1875, May 23, 1876, C.O. Reynolds to G. Whipple, June 23, 1876, AMAA.

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[26] A.E. Howe to E.P. Smith, March 31, 1868, R.F. Markam to M.E. Strieby, December 7, 1875, AMAA.

[27] Jones, *Soldiers of Light and Love*, 67; Litwack, *Been in the Storm So Long*, 453, 455; Lawrence N. Powell, *New Masters: Northern Planters During the Civil War and Reconstruction* (New Haven, 1980), 119-20.

[28] Litwack, *Been in the Storm So Long*, 478; *American Missionary* 9 (September 1865):199; H.S. Beals to G. Whipple, February 28, March 31, 1865, AMAA.

[29] D.M. Walcott to Dear Sir, November 6, 1868, M.F. Wells to M.E. Strieby, December 28, 1876, AMAA; Jones, *Soldiers of Light and Love*, 142; James McPherson, *Abolitionist Legacy: From Reconstruction to the NAACP* (Princeton, 1975), 64.

[30] *American Missionary* 17 (May 1873):108; *American Missionary* 20 (June 1876):123; *American Missionary* 32 (June 1878):162; D.E. Emerson to M.E. Strieby, November 26, 1875, T.N. Chase to M.E. Strieby, November 26, 1877, AMAA; Horace Bumstead, "The Freedmen's Children at School," *Andover Review* 4 (December 1885):555; McPherson, *Abolitionist Legacy*, 118-19.

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Wartime Unionists, Unreconstructed Rebels and Andrew Johnson's Amnesty Program in the Reconstruction Debacle of Jackson County, Florida

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Historical explanation is a tentative undertaking at best, and it is especially so for someone such as this writer who, despite all the refinements of the behaviorial sciences in recent years, still has considerable respect for the role of chance in history. But, having dealt with the subject in a variety of contexts during the past twenty-five years, the author remains fascinated by the apparent contradiction between Jackson County — the "Gibraltar of Whiggery" and bastion of conservatism during the secession crisis — and the so-called "Jackson County War" which claimed some 160 lives during a turbulent period between February 1869 and the summer of 1871. The violence has usually been explained, at least by implication, as the reaction of exasperated former Confederates to the excesses of exurberant Freedmen's Bureau agents and a few carpetbagger and scalawag allies. That is undoubtedly true so far as it goes, but it begs the question as to why there were so few scalawags by the late 1860s. The course of events between 1860 and 1868 seems to have converted most of those wartime Unionists who had been willing to endure calumny for their loyalties to a group which was just as furious at the national government as were their former Confederate neighbors.[1]

In the continuing "revisiting" of events by historians seeking better explanations of what happened, those Unionists who ultimately supported the Confederacy have been given extensive attention and much of the blame for failing adequately to cooperate with President Andrew Johnson in the immediate post-war period. On the other hand, those who remained loyal to the United States have been generally overlooked by historians just as they were at the time by the United States government. Whether it was a general situation in the South merits investigation, but the role of loyal Unionists in Jackson County, Florida, was a tragic one which left them unwilling to have anything further to do with the national government by 1868.

Unionists had found Jackson County a difficult place before 1860 when their neighbor John Milton, a Democrat who favored secession, carried the county in an election which made him governor of Florida. Even so, three of the county's four delegates to the secession convention in January 1861 were opposed to leaving the Union. When Florida finally voted 62-7 to secede, one of the delegates — James L.G. Baker — joined the seven. Two others signed the ordinance but gave written explanations that they did so only to show unanimity toward their northern antagonists. After the decision was made many of the Unionists decided to go with their state into the Confederacy, but others still declined to give up their Union beliefs. Although some were more outspoken than others, Ethelred Philips, a medical doctor who showed

no reticence in denouncing John Milton and his secessionist allies, exulted that "our wisest and best men, . . . have . . . been the staunchest Unionists." He reluctantly added that their differences had caused much bitterness between them and their secessionist neighbors. The intensity of their disagreement was exemplified by the Jackson County grand jury in April 1861 when it declared that "we must impress upon our citizens that there is a law in force . . . which punishes the circulation or distribution of incendiary and treasonable publications, such a document we hold the newspaper *Brownlow's Whig* to be . . . and hereby warn all persons engaged in its circulation, or of similar documents, to desist therefrom."[2]

Not only were the Unionists subjected to the calumny of their neighbors, they soon became subject to the Confederate sequestration laws and many saw their families dividing. Philips had three sons who fought for the Confederacy and one who became odious to residents of Jackson County for aiding the Union army during a raid on Marianna. John T. Myrick and Thomas M. White, prominent Marianna merchants who voiced their Union sentiments, both had sons in the Confederate army. They and William Nickels, another local merchant, were also under constant suspicion of collaborating with the United States naval blockading squadron along the Gulf Coast. James L.G. Baker, who had refused to sign the secession ordinance, and S.S. Alderman, who had done so only reluctantly, also had sons in the Confederate army.[3]

As the war progressed and the likelihood of a Confederate victory faded, Union sentiment increased and became more open. Desertions from the army accelerated and disputes between Unionists and Confederates became more acrimonious. It also became almost impossible to travel in the area between Marianna and the Gulf Coast without being suspected by one side or the other. The situation led to numerous encounters and several arbitrary executions by military field forces. It also demonstrated the difficulty of determining the loyalty of individuals in an area where persons of conflicting affiliations frequently came into contact with each other. Thomas Orman, an Apalachicola merchant who had once had a store in Jackson County and still did business there, became embroiled with both sides. His difficulties began when Confederate troops apprehended two men selling supplies to the Union blockaders and summarily hanged them. Orman and his partner were then arrested by Union forces apparently as hostages. But when they were suddenly released, the Confederates arrested them for cooperating with the enemy. Fortunately for them Governor Milton believed them to be loyal Confederates and secured their release.[4]

By late 1862, Union sympathizers — including some army deserters from neighboring states — became so numerous in the territory west of the Apalachicola River as to alarm the Confederate government of Florida. Governor Milton warned Confederate authorities that the Conscript Act had produced widespread dissatisfaction and that "a few men, who opposed secession and favored the United States government . . . have taken advantage

Jackson County and environs

Watson's New County, Railroad and Distance Map of Florida *(1875)*

of circumstances to array a feeling of hostility against the Confederate government . . . . Traitors have fully informed the enemy of this . . . and he will doubtless take advantage." A few weeks later Milton again expressed concern. After several individuals were charged with treason for trading with the Union forces along the coast, he declared that "the safety of the CSA

requires the proper exercise of power in the part of the state where they were arrested." Shortly thereafter, he added that "a very large proportion, if not a majority of the citizens left in west Florida are represented to be disloyal — at all events advocate reconstruction and have threatened to raise the U.S. flag even in Marianna."[5]

The governor's prediction that United States forces would take advantage of the west Florida situation was prophetic. As reports circulated that General Alexander Asboth was planning an invasion from Pensacola to Marianna and that Washington County sheriff Abram M. Skipper had just gone over to the Union, Governor Milton called on the Confederate authorities to reassign General Edward A. Perry's brigade to Marianna. It was suggested to him that he suspend the writ of habeas corpus in the area. Milton then wrote General Beauregard, observing wryly that "I do not think suspension of Habeas Corpus would be beneficial. I do think Perry's Brigade would."[6]

Whether either would have mattered is moot, but Asboth's raid through Jackson County distressed Unionists almost as much as it did Confederates. With about seven hundred men, he set out for "the northern portion of west Florida" in September 1864. With headquarters at Marianna, Colonel A.B. Montgomery had about three hundred men, most of whom were on patrol between that town and St. Andrews Bay. With only a few men available for defense of the town, he heard that Asboth was on his way there from Campbellton in the northwestern corner of the county. He and a small home guard were easily defeated and the Union raiders sacked Marianna and arrested some eighty defenders, about thirty of whom were elderly members of the home guard. The youthful telegraph operator, Charles Philips, was observed handing over messages to Union officers and tactfully decided to leave with Asboth amid bitter denunciations from his former neighbors. Whether Unionists or Confederates, local citizens were angered by the destruction of their town and the carrying away of the elderly prisoners, some of whom were not released until the war ended several months later.[7]

As might be expected, Asboth's raiders had failed to distinguish between Confederates and Unionists in the destruction of property and several of the latter lost heavily. Martha Finlayson was one of them. The widow of Angus Finlayson, a staunch Unionist who had died in 1862, she had managed his estate since his death. Defending herself in a lawsuit in 1866, she argued that her husband's estate was depleted, not by her administration, but "at the instigation of the devil through his servants the Yankees" who had driven off her slaves and destroyed her fields and warehouses.[8]

As their relatives straggled home at the end of the war, Jackson Countians began planting their crops, complained about the occupation of their community by black soldiers, and waited to see what would happen. Already upset by the occupation forces and still smarting from the Asboth raid, Jackson County Unionsts were dismayed when President Andrew Johnson's Proclamation of Amnesty and Restoration was promulgated. A well-intentioned measure intended to implement the reconstruction of the South

as quickly and as painlessly as possible, it guaranteed security in all their property except slaves to former Confederates who would take oaths of future loyalty to the United States. His exemption from the general provision of all those owning $20,000 worth of property in 1860 was mitigated by his generosity in granting individual pardons to them. Johnson's plan was welcomed by those who had led the secession movement and those Unionists who had ultimately joined them in the Confederacy. It was a different matter for those who had remained loyal to the Union, suffering the criticisms and suspicions of their neighbors as well as the effects of the Confederate sequestration laws. Vowing never to salute the United States flag again, Ethelred Philips denounced Johnson's proclamation for treating all Southerners alike. Philips had a point. By guaranteeing title to their property, Johnson had given former Confederates an advantage over their Unionist neighbors who were obliged to seek restitution in the state courts which were generally staffed by men who had supported the Confederacy and who usually regarded the Unionists as "deserters."

Unionists who had lost property through United States military action fared no better. When Martha Finlayson asked the Southern Claims Commission years later to compensate her for her losses during the Asboth raid, her claim was denied because she could not prove that she had been consistently loyal to the Union. That one of her sons was shot down on the main street of Marianna while serving as a Freedmen's Bureau agent in 1867 had no bearing on the case. The marriage of two of her daughters to former Bureau agents in 1871 did much more to antagonize her former Confederate neighbors than to impress the Southern Claims Commission. She was ultimately obliged to leave the county and move to Washington where her son-in-law was serving in the Congress of the nation which had scorned her loyalty.[9]

Former Unionists and former Confederates agreed on much of President Johnson's program. There was general relief when provisional governor William Marvin told them that, if they would extend civil rights to the freedmen, they would not be asked to include them in the electorate. Unfortunately, Marvin could not speak for Congress. What Floridians regarded as civil rights for freedmen was not viewed as adequate by a growing number of congressmen. And when Congress overturned Johnson's program in early 1867 and replaced it with enactments requiring black suffrage, former Unionists were just as angry at what they considered a broken bargain as were former Confederates. Andrew Johnson had attempted to rebuild a loyal Florida government on the basis of an electorate composed of the white planting class. Congress disapproved, and attempted — albeit somewhat half-heartedly — to build a loyal Florida government on the basis of an electorate which included the freedmen. Together they had managed to infuriate both former Unionists and former Confederates who united in their opposition to the United States government and determined to resist its reconstruction policies. The series of events had also left Jackson County — once known for its conservativism

and restraint — ripe for a reign of violence unequaled anywhere else in the state. While few of the wartime Unionists took active part in the ensuing affray, most were unreconstructed rebels at least in thought and speech. Their outspoken denunciations of national policy echoed those of their former Confederate neighbors and fell on the receptive ears of the younger men who did act.

After an unusually disorderly constitutional convention in early 1868 and an election in May, a civilian government was launched in July with a new Republican party in control — or at least in office. Charles M. Hamilton, one of the controversial Freedmen's Bureau agents in Jackson County, was Florida's new congressman, and William J. Purman, who had assisted Hamilton in Bureau affairs, represented Jackson County in the state senate. There were black representatives in the lower house and others filled some county offices. The end of martial law provided the opportunity, and the inauguration of black suffrage the cause, for physical resistance. A group of regulators was soon active in the county and Senator Purman was one of its prime targets. In late February 1869 he stepped into Marianna's main street in the company of Dr. John Finlayson, his brother-in-law-to-be who was then providing medical services to the freedmen while also serving as clerk of the court. A shotgun blast wounded Purman and killed Finlayson. From his hospital bed, Purman was barely able to dissuade armed blacks from attacking the town. Marianna immediately became an armed camp. Several acts of violence, including at least two more murders, followed during the next few days. Throughout the summer of 1869, Marianna was in turmoil although an uneasy truce prevailed most of the time.[10]

Calvin Rogers, a freedman, was serving as town constable. As the only elected official under the 1868 Constitution — all others were appointed by the governor — he symbolized to white Jackson Countians the unwelcome changes in their lives. He was the subject of derision and insult until an attempt was made to kill him as he accompanied a group of freedmen to a picnic site in September. Tragically poor shots, the assassins missed Rogers and killed an elderly man and a small child he was carrying. While a black posse unsuccessfully pursued the assailants, two other freedmen were wounded from ambush the next day. Two days later eighteen-year-old Maggie McClellan was killed and her father seriously wounded on the main street of Marianna as they conversed with James Coker, the reputed leader of the local regulator group. Riders were dispatched to all parts of the county to sound the alarm. Marianna was soon filled with enraged vigilantes while Calvin Rogers was ostensibly leading a band of armed blacks in the countryside.[11]

Four days after Miss McClellan's death a party called on Samuel Fleischman, a merchant who had left Marianna during the war because of his strong Union beliefs. Back in business he had not only dealt extensively with freedmen but had also condemned the violence besetting the town. His visitors asked him to leave and when he failed to do so, they escorted him to the Georgia border. He was found dead on the road back to Marianna

a few days later. Fleischman had left affidavits explaining what was happening to him and named the people who were doing it. A grand jury read his posthumous testimony and found insufficient evidence for indictments.[12]

Had there been an indictment there would have been no official to enforce it. In late 1868 Sheriff John W. King had secured indictments against John T. Myrick, Jr., William Coker, and six others for assault with intent to kill. A mob drove him out of the county. While Senator Purman and others called on Governor Harrison Reed to declare martial law, the governor responded to a citizens' committee which suggested that he appoint a new sheriff and allow civil law to prevail. Reed appointed Thomas West, a Tallahassee resident but a native of the county, to the critical position and obtained a small detachment of U.S. soldiers to assist him. Little changed. The sheriff was unable to serve warrants outside of Marianna and the soldiers likewise were confined to town for fear of ambush. The violence continued. Calvin Rogers was eventually killed and shortly afterward John T. Myrick, Jr. and several of his companions left for Texas.[13]

The 1870 election was an unruly affair with James Coker leading white regulators in disturbing the polling places to prevent blacks from voting. Surprisingly enough there was no major violence and Coker was subsequently arrested (but not convicted) for violating national election laws. The intimidation was still effective enough that Republican majorities were substantially reduced. A white conservative won the House of Representatives seat formerly occupied by Emanuel Fortune, a former slave who had been obliged to move to Jacksonville to avoid almost certain assassination. Both of Jackson County's controversial former Bureau agents remained in office, however. Since state senators served four year terms, Purman was not obliged to stand for reelection in 1870 and Charles Hamilton's statewide majority enabled him to overcome his Jackson County losses. As might have been expected, neither campaigned in the county.[14]

An acceleration of violence coincided with severely depressed economic conditions in 1871. Sheriff West resigned after fifteen ineffective months in office culminating in a brutal beating by his former neighbors in March. His resignation came just as a forced sale of tax delinquent property was being announced. Jonathan Q. Dickinson, a white former Union army officer from New England, was the clerk of the court and the leading Republican official remaining in the county. He had frequently written Governor Reed that he believed he was marked for assassination. Although nothing had yet happened to him, Dickinson had good reason for concern. Not only did he symbolize the remnant of Republican hegemony based on black suffrage, but he had also bought a considerable amount of tax delinquent land at earlier forced sales. The tax collector was a black man named Homer Bryan. Another black, Richard Pooser, had succeeded Calvin Rogers as constable. The handling of tax sales was normally the duty of the sheriff, but West had avoided that responsibility by resigning. Constable Pooser took charge

of the tax sales. A more explosive situation than the one developing could scarcely be imagined.

One of the tax sale properties belonged to John R. Ely, a former Confederate officer who had been consistently associated with Coker's regulators and a man known for a quick temper. He remembered Pooser as a slave and he had not forgotten the course of events which had made him free. When he heard the constable announcing the sale of his land, he assaulted him and threatened to kill him unless he desisted. Finally realizing the gravity of his situation Pooser fled for the courthouse with Ely in pursuit. There, Ely threatened the lives of Dickinson and Bryan. Dickinson died about a week later, felled by a shotgun blast from ambush and a pistol shot at close range on the main street of Marianna. No witnesses to the killing could be found.[15]

Dickinson had written Emanuel Fortune shortly before his death that he believed the former representative could safely return to the county. When Fortune inquired if that meant it would be safe for him to resume his political activities, Dickinson replied in the negative. Whether Dickinson's assassination or his advice had anything to do with the decision, Fortune never returned to Jackson County. Both Bryan and Pooser fled immediately upon learning of Dickinson's death. That was the end of the Republican Party in the county for decades. Although Governor Reed had the power to appoint all officials in the county except the constable, he finally realized that that authority was useless. Succumbing to that realization, he asked Jackson Countians how he might restore order. He was given a list of residents whom they said would be acceptable as public officials. From that list Reed named Charles W. Davis as clerk of the court and F.M.G. Carter as sheriff. There were at least thirteen additional homicides in the county during the three months following their appointments, but no more county officials were killed. In 1874 Martha Finlayson's youngest son became sheriff and a black served on the county commission from 1875 to 1877. Neither was harmed.[16]

In May 1865 Brigadier General Israel Vogdes, whose voice was never heard in the chambers where matters of state were decided, had written Chief Justice Salmon P. Chase about his impressions of the people of Florida at the end of the war. Although he gave the loyal Unionists no more consideration than did President Johnson, his analysis of the situation and the range of possible alternatives was prophetic. He described four broad groups which made up the Florida population. There were the wealthy planters who had led antebellum society, the whites who had been less privileged (including some of the younger members of planting families), the poor whites, and he freedmen. The poor whites he dismissed as insignificant but went on o speculate on the others and the forthcoming problems of reconstruction. He noted that the formerly wealthy planters had lost much and feared that hey might lose everything through confiscation of their land. He thought hat if the government could assure these people of security in their property, would be possible to build a restored state government on the basis of

their support. President Andrew Johnson had tried to do just that and had failed.

The general further observed that, if the government was unwilling to work with the former leadership of the South, then it might suppress that class and build a new state government on the basis of black suffrage (although he personally opposed such a plan). After overturning President Johnson's program, Congress had tried that measure and also failed.

In describing his second group — the less-endowed whites and the younger members of planting families — Vogdes argued that "here is the hotbed in which treason will be forged and from which it may spread to others . . . . They are the real authors of the rebellion and would not hesitate if a future opportunity offers to renew it. . . . They are not and will not be good citizens and in any other country would be placed under surveillance." He thus accurately described the persons who had brought national policies to an unsuccessful conclusion in Jackson County.[17]

Many historians, including this one, have placed blame on conservative legislators and their racial policies for the failure of Andrew Johnson's efforts to rebuild the nation. Despite some recent revisionist writing, there is no reason to abandon that general interpretation. But Johnson's short-sightedness in dealing with the loyal Unionists, combined with Marvin's promises based on the tenuous prospect of the President's continued control of affairs, followed by Congressional laws requiring black enfranchisement which seemed (at least by the interpretation of Floridians) to be the breaking of a bargain, served to unite conservative white Jackson Countians of all past political persuasions in an opposition to national policies so determined that it led to the so-called Jackson County War. Such a conclusion seems reasonable. On the other hand, Daniel Gillis of nearby Orange Hill in Washington County had a simpler explanation when he wrote in 1871 that "it seems the people will kill about Marianna occasionally."[18]

Notes

[1] Portions of the material used herein have appeared in different form in my *Nor Is It Over Yet: Florida in the Era of Reconstruction, 1863-1877* (Gainesville, 1974) and my *Jackson County, Florida — A History* (Marianna, 1985).

[2] *Journal of the Proceedings of the Convention of the People of Florida at Tallahassee, January 3, 1861*, 5, 34-35, 38; Ethelred Philips to Dear Friend, January 15, 1861, J.J. Philips Papers, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina; Circuit Court Minute Book D, April 25, 1861, Jackson County.

[3] *Soldiers of Florida in the Seminole Indian, Civil and Spanish-American Wars* (Tallahassee, 1903).

[4] Ethelred Philips to Dear Friend, J.J. Philips Papers; J. Patton Anderson to John Milton, June 8, 1864, Milton to Anderson, June 9, 1864, Governor's Correspondence, RG 101, Series 32, Florida State Archives.

[5] John Milton to General J.H. Forney, October 11, 1862, Milton to George S. Hawkins, January 23, 1863, Milton to G.T. Beauregard, October 15, 1863, ibid.

[6] John Milton to G.T. Beauregard, February 4, 1864, Milton to J.A. Seddon, January 29, 1864, ibid.

[7] Ethelred Philips to Dear Friend, January 14, 1864, J.J. Philips Papers.

[8] John S. Bird v. Martha Finlayson, et al, Chancery Court Records and Estate Files of Angus Finlayson, Estate Books, Jackson County.

[9] Martha Finlayson Case File, Records of the Court of Claims, RG 123, National Archives; William J. Purman to Dear James, June 23, 1926, Box 51, Manuscript Collection, P.K. Yonge Library of Florida History, University of Florida.

[10] Congress, House, *Reports,* No. 22, vol. 13, 42nd Cong., 2nd sess., 155; William Watson Davis, *Civil War and Reconstruction in Florida* (Gainesville, 1964), 568.

[11] Davis, *Civil War and Reconstruction*, 572-573.

[12] Bainbridge (Georgia) *Southern Sun*, October 14, 1869; J. Randall Stanley, *History of Jackson County* (Marianna, 1950), 210-211; Davis, *Civil War and Reconstruction*, 576.

[13] Stanley, *Jackson County*, 213.

[14] U.S. Attorneys' Reports, March 18, 1874, Solicitor's Records, RG 206, National Archives; U.S. District Court Records, Northern District of Florida, RG 21, Federal Records Center, East Point, Georgia.

[15] Congress, House, *Reports*, No. 22, 148; Tallahassee *Weekly Floridian*, May 2, 6, 1871.

[16] Richard Pooser, et al, to U.S. Grant, November 18, 1871, Chronological Files, RG 206; Certificate of Appointment of James A. Finlayson as Sheriff, Jackson County, Manuscript Collection, Box 50, P.K. Yonge Library; Jackson County, Commissioners' Minutes, September 3, 1875.

[17] Israel Vogdes to Salmon P. Chase, June 7, 1865, Salmon P. Chase Papers, Library of Congress.

[18] Daniel Gillis to Uncle, December 10, 1871, James G. McLean Papers, P.K. Yonge Library.

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Commentary

William C. Harris

The essays of Amos, Richardson, and Shofner illuminate an era that still suffers from many popular misconceptions. In the common lore Reconstruction is viewed as a dark and regrettable period in southern history. Historians have challenged this interpretation, but revisionism has stopped short of examining the full range of postwar southern history. Reconstruction for many historians is still something that happened in Washington or in the interior of the South, that is, on plantations and small farms where racial adjustment, or the lack of it, was the central issue. In the general textbooks another version persists. According to this version, because of the problems of labor adjustment, Ku Klux Klan violence, and the destruction of southern assets and manpower by the war, an angry South languished in despair and political confusion during the Reconstruction era.

As revisionist historians of Reconstruction have demonstrated, most Northerners did not settle in the South to make a fast buck or play on the misery of defeated Southerners. Some came with high ideals, committed to the advancement of blacks in freedom. Professor Joe Richardson in his paper on the American Missionary Association provides us with an account of the most important group of this kind to enter the South. These "Christian abolitionists," as they called themselves, did not believe that true freedom for blacks could be achieved until they gained knowledge, practiced temperance, and possessed good moral habits. Whites bitterly resisted these missionaries, not so much because of their ideals, though they could see no need for black education, but because the Northerners threatened southern control of the former slaves. Blacks, although appreciative of the sacrifice and assistance of the missionaries, often found themselves at cross purposes with their new friends. Professor Richardson describes some of the reasons for this tension, the suspicions that blacks had of white teachers, and the blind spots that the missionaries possessed in their relations with the freedmen. He makes the important point that the missionaries "professed to believe in equality, but many of them had not freed themselves of the taint of racism which afflicted most nineteenth-century Americans." Furthermore, many teachers who seemed to believe in racial equality found it imperative to appease southern whites by not practicing it. This caused many blacks to doubt their commitment. The AMA, Richardson points out, was most successful in areas where the missionaries sought the support of local black leaders and hired black teachers. However, the AMA missionaries could never overcome the cultural division that separated them from blacks. Richardson does a good job in briefly describing these differences.

The only quibble I have with Professor Richardson's paper is his failure to relate the AMA's work to political Reconstruction. He speaks of black suffrage as a goal of the AMA, but he does not show how the missionary- teachers proposed to achieve it or what they did to advance black political rights. Did they encourage blacks to demand political rights, even before the organization of the Republican party in the South in 1867? Did they enter the political arena themselves? There is reason to believe that the goals of some northern teachers for the freedmen stopped short of political rights. Perhaps like most Northerners, including old abolitionists, these AMA teachers initially believed that legal equality and Christian education were all that blacks needed in freedom. Nevertheless, when presidential Reconstruction failed to guarantee the fundamental civil rights of blacks, the overwhelming majority

of the AMA teachers apparently advocated black political participation as essential to freedom.

Professors Amos and Shofner call our attention to the presence of Civil war Unionists in the Gulf Coast region. Professor Shofner focuses on wartime Florida Unionists who, in their bitterness toward federal reconstruction policies and contrary to what most historians have said about this class of citizens, refused to join the Republican party after the war. Professor Amos' paper deals with a prominent Mobile merchant, Gustavus Horton, whose prewar and wartime Unionism led him to affiliate with the so-called Radical party in Reconstruction and become one of its leaders.

In writing about southern Unionism historians have been inclined to focus on the sturdy, independent Unionists of the hill country who resented lowland or planter control in their states. Their resentment of the so-called planter aristocracy led them to resist the planter appeal to racial solidarity and support the Stars and Stripes in the secession crisis and during the war. Historians have failed to see that men loyal to the old republic, though a distinct minority in most communities, lived in all areas of the South and represented the full range of southern society. Some were wealthy slaveholding planters like John Pool of North Carolina, James L. Alcorn of Mississippi, and John Minor Botts of Virginia; others were professional men like Benjamin S. Hedrick, a North Carolina university professor; still others were ministers like John H. Caldwell of Georgia and James W. Hunnicut of Virginia; two served on the United States Supreme Court. (Justices Wayne and Catron); finally, some were successful merchants like Gustavus Horton.

Still most Unionists were yeoman whites. They could be found in all areas of the South, but most of them evidently lived in the piedmont and in the towns where they supplied the votes for the Unionist elite. After the war many of this class became scalawags or Republicans, as did their Unionist leaders. They supported the Republican party because it opposed the Democratic party, the old party of secession, war, and ruin, not because they opposed white supremacy, though many accepted black political participation as a safeguard against Democratic rule. It is striking that many, if not most, scalawag leaders lived in towns which afforded them some protection and also provided them with a more tolerant atmosphere for their political activities. Commercial interests might also have contributed to their political orientation. Gustavus Horton, the subject of Professor Amos' paper, was probably not unique among the port merchants, admittedly a small number, who retained their allegiance to the Union during the sectional crisis.

As in the case of the Unionists of Memphis, Natchez, Vicksburg, and New Orleans, Horton was born in the North, and like a number of other Unionists, by the time of the Civil War, had lived long enough in the South to be considered a Southerner. He was also a small urban slaveholder and had been involved in public affairs, though not in politics. As Professor Shofner demonstrates for Jackson County, it was not unusual for the Unionist patriarch in a family to cling to the old flag while his sons joined the Confederate army. Men who had been nurtured for decades on the virtues of the American republic were more reluctant to rebel than the young whose political education was warped by the clamor over southern rights and slavery. Horton seems to have fitted into this mold, which was not peculiar to "straitest sect" Unionists but also moderates of 1860-61 who resisted secession to the end. Professor Amos might have provided us with a more thorough explanation for Horton's unswerving Unionism and have probed deeper into the factional disputes

Professor Shofner describes the federal neglect of Unionists in Jackson County that, he argues, left them "by 1868 unwilling to have anything further to do with the national government." His argument that these Unionists felt betrayed by the federal government is plausible, but his contention that as a result of the ill-treatment and the imposition of black suffrage most of them became "at least unreconstructed rebels in thought and speech" is not altogether convincing. Both Andrew Johnson and congressional Republicans made serious errors in dealing with southern Unionists, but it is doubtful that the majority of them were so easily thrown into the arms of their old Confederate enemies as in Jackson County or, for that matter, elsewhere in the South. This writer remains unconvinced that a coalition of old Unionists and former Confederates made Jackson County ripe for terrorism, as Professor Shofner says. The fact that local Unionists were confused and dismayed by federal policies certainly weakened their leadershp and encouraged many whites to defy congressional Reconstruction. But Professor Shofner does not demonstrate a clear connection between the Unionists' conservatism and the Jackson County War during Reconstruction. The racial composition of Jackson County may provide a clue to the violence. Throughout the South Klan-like regulators were most active in counties where the proportion of whites to blacks was about equal at the polls. In these counties the political contests were most intense and threatening, inciting whites to more organized violence than elsewhere. Jackson County might fit this pattern. Study of the character of local political leadership in both parties may supply reasons why near anarchy gripped Jackson County during Reconstruction.

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