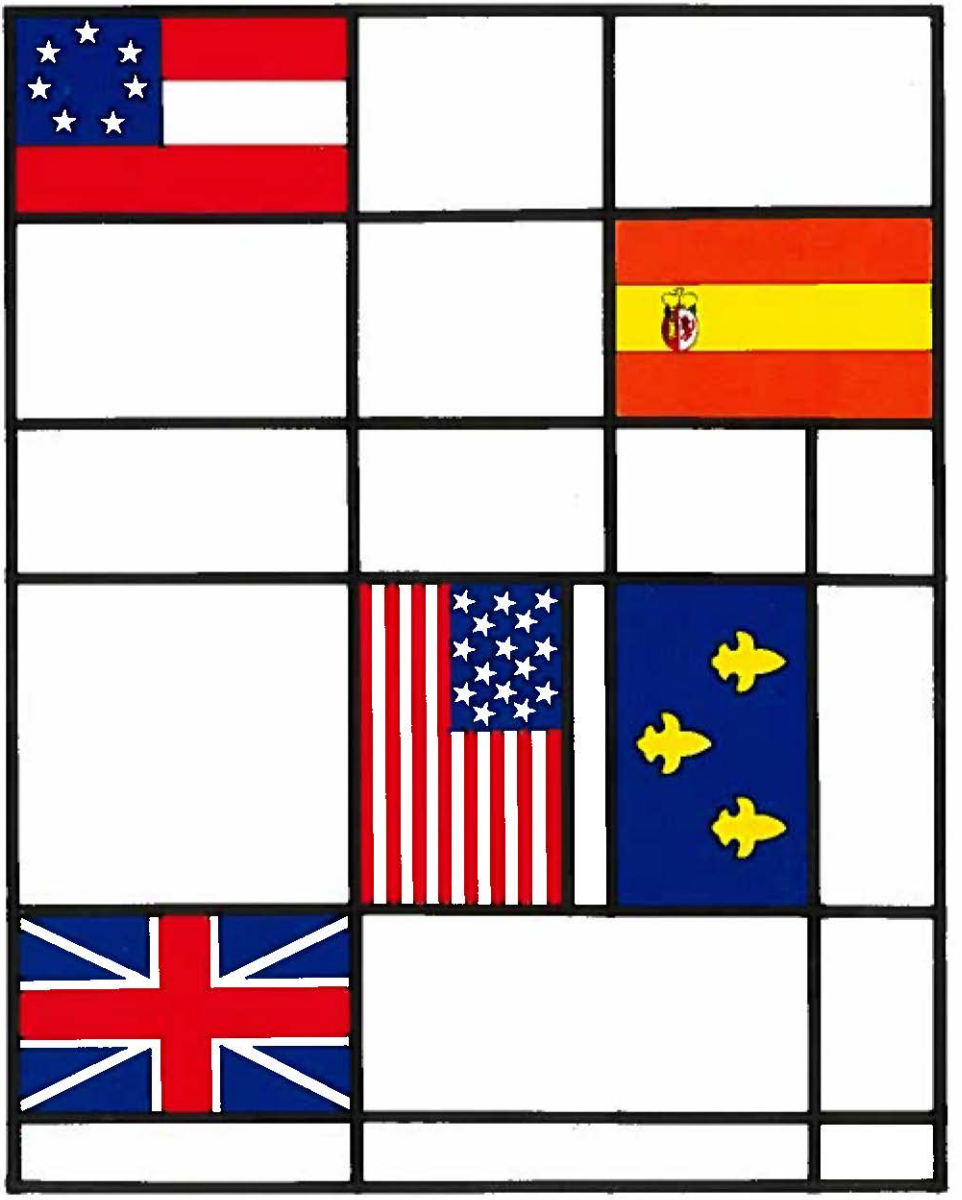
GCHR

Gulf Coast Historical Review

Vol. 6 No. 1



GCHR Gulf Coast Historical Review

Vol. 6 Fall 1990 No. 1

Cover design by
Marilyn Thomason

From the Editors. . . .

Although the tropics are quiet as we prepare this issue of the *Gulf Coast Historical Review* everyone along the Gulf Coast knows the dangers of hurricane season. In September 1965 Betsy hit New Orleans with devastating fury. That story, told well by Edward F. Haas, reminds us just how powerful Mother Nature can be. Haas' article also shows how resilient humans can be, too, even in the face of overwhelming calamity. If Professor Haas' story is dramatic, James Marten tells us of the frustrating and tedious Civil War experiences of a unionist judge in west Texas. It was hardly a glorious war for Thomas H. DuVal as he loyally supported the Union cause, opposed secession, and endured hard times for his convictions.

Of the great changes the Civil War eventually brought throughout our region, few were more dramatic than the decline of the antebellum cotton ports of Mobile and Apalachicola. The fate of the latter was sealed, according to Lynn Willoughby's article, before the guns ever fired, by the construction of railroads into the cotton rich Chattahoochee valley. Her story of the changes technology and enterprise, as represented by railroads, brought to that region is fascinating and suggests that change was coming to the South, war or no war. On the other hand, as if to counter that tradition is hardly foreign to our part of the world, John Sledge looks at the ubiquitous shotgun house as it reflects and preserves one aspect of Mobile's cultural legacy. A housing style once dismissed on account of its blue-collar connections now is enjoying a well-deserved, if limited, revival of interest. Few people have studied this architectural form more thoroughly than Sledge, and his article reflects that expertise.

Our issue begins with an account of the Old Mobile project by its director, Gregory A. Waselkov. No archaeological/historical project in years, perhaps decades, has excited so many people as the discovery of the undisturbed remains of Mobile's first site, occupied from 1702 to 1711. Professor Waselkov tells us how the exact location was found and what we are learning about life in the Jamestown of French North America.

There are many fine book reviews, and a visit to the Special Collections Department at the University of West Florida to round out the issue. We hope you find this diversity interesting. We feel its an accurate reflection of the quality of work being done by Gulf Coast scholars.

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Just as our last issue was going to press we were shocked and saddened by the sudden death of Dr. Howard Smith, chair of the History Department at Spring Hill College and one of the founding members of our Editorial Advisory Board. We will miss Professor Smith's quiet, good humored advice. While no one can replace him, we do welcome his successor Neil Hamilton, the new chair of History at Spring Hill to our Board. We are also fortunate to add Professor

Harvey Jackson of Jacksonville State University and Dr. Lewis Wynne of the Florida Historical Society to our Board. After five years of service the composition of the Board has changed in other ways. We thank all retiring members for their contributions and look forward to working with those who are continuing to serve and the new appointees.

Call For Proposals

Proposals are invited for the next History and Humanities Conference which will be held at the Pensacola Hilton Hotel October 3-5, 1991. The meeting's title is "Discovery and Exploration on the Gulf Coast." Proposals need not be limited to any time period so long as they reflect the discovery and exploration theme.

Please contact Dr. William S. Coker, Chairman, History Department, University of West Florida, Pensacola, FL 23514. Dr. Coker asks that a brief proposal abstract, approximately one page in length, be submitted to him as soon as possible. The conference is part of the celebration of the 500th anniversary of Columbus' discovery of the New World.

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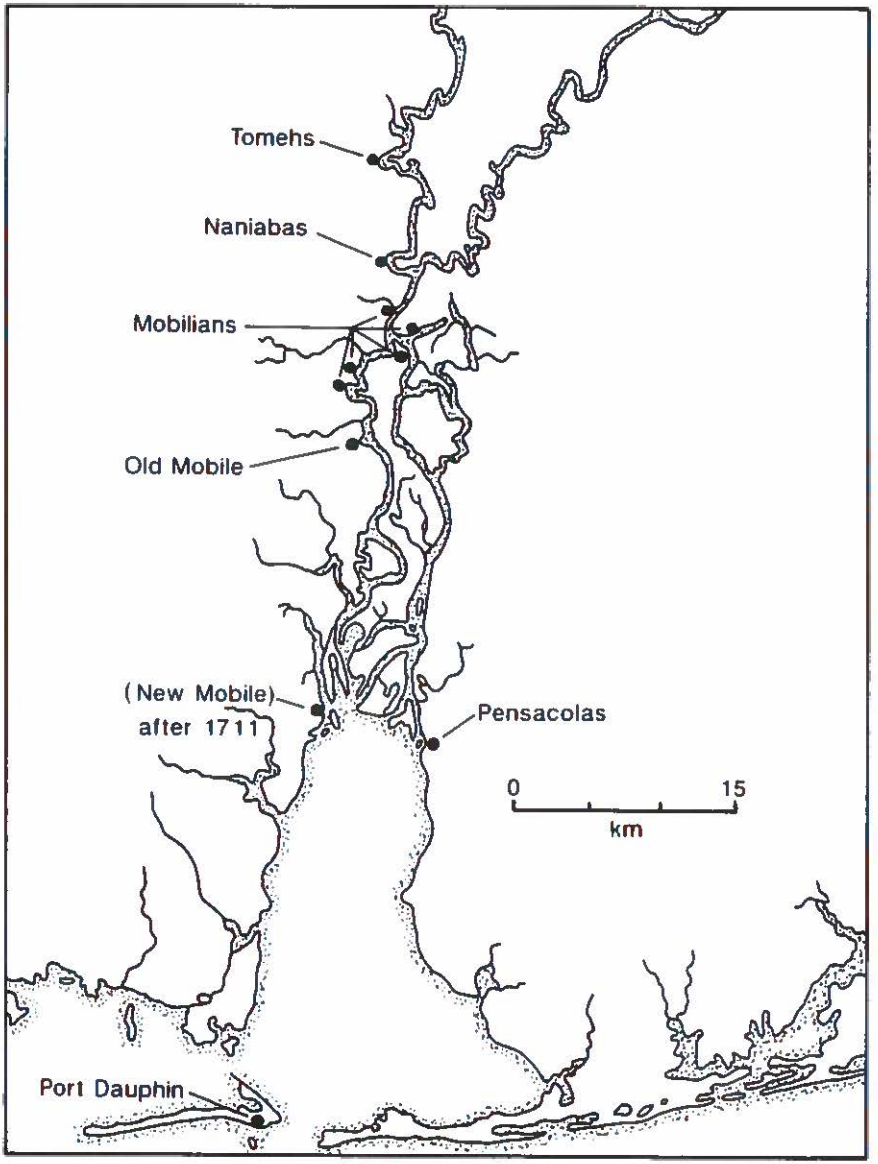
Table of Contents

Vol. 6 Fall 1990 No. 1



Colonial and aboriginal settlements near Mobile Bay, c. 1702

George Lankford Map

Archaeology of Old Mobile, 1702-1711

Gregory A. Waselkov

Following a long hiatus in exploration and colonization after the debacles of Hernando de Soto and Tristán de Luna in the mid-sixteenth century, Europeans began to show renewed interest in the northern Gulf Coast toward the end of the seventeenth century. La Salle attempted to establish a permanent French presence in the region, but his settlement on the Texas coast from 1685 to 1687 was short-lived. With news of a second French colonization effort underway, Spanish officials at last moved decisively in 1698 to claim a portion of the Florida Gulf Coast by establishing a settlement at Pensacola Bay. When the French, led by Pierre Le Moyne d'Iberville, arrived in 1699 for a second, ultimately successful, colonization attempt, they found the best anchorage on the Gulf in Spanish hands.

After briefly occupying Forts La Boulaye and Maurepas (on the lower Mississippi River and on Biloxi Bay, respectively), the French colonizing expedition finally settled at the location now called Twenty-seven Mile Bluff on the Mobile River in January, 1702. Here the town of Mobile and a new fort—Fort Louis de la Louisiane—would serve as the capital of French Louisiana until 1711, when settlement and fort were relocated to the head of Mobile Bay, the present site of the city. [1] During this critical period, under the leadership of Iberville's brother, Jean-Baptiste Le Moyne de Bienville, the French consolidated colonial control over the north-central Gulf Coast while gaining influence among the numerous (and populous) Indian societies inhabiting the vast area of the interior Southeast.

For nearly ten years, European French colonists, French Canadians, French Creoles from Haiti (then called Saint-Domingue), local and refugee groups of native American Indians, enslaved Indians, and enslaved Africans lived together in this multi-ethnic community on the northern Gulf Coast. The processes by which these diverse peoples adapted to the new social and biological conditions of the French colonial frontier are the subject of current research at this archaeological site.

At its peak, Old Mobile covered an area of about 120 acres and contained between 80 and 100 structures, most of which were simple homes for the approximately 350 inhabitants. Houses were widely dispersed, set on large lots laid out on a formal street grid, at the center of which was the fort, overlooking the river and containing most of the government structures: the church, warehouses, and residences of colonial officials. A market square with a public well was located at the southwest corner of town.

Old Mobile served as the economic and political center of the colony in dealings with Indians. Traders routinely visited neighboring Mobilian, Apalachee, Tomeh, Chato, and Tawasa villages, and the not-too-distant Choctaws. Delegations from these and more remote tribes attended annual conferences and gift distributions at the fort. Canadian voyageurs trading with Mississippi Valley tribes returned here intermittently to sell slaves, furs, skins, and foodstuffs and purchase European trade goods.

As French colonists consolidated their position on the north-central Gulf Coast at Old Mobile between 1702 and 1711, the Indian population of the region dropped from 5,000 to 2,000, due mainly to the impact of smallpox and other diseases introduced from Europe. Meanwhile, the number of whites (which included a few women from the beginning) rose slightly from about 100 to around 350, although they also suffered considerable mortality from disease. [2] Indian slavery increased in importance during the occupation of the site; by 1710 there were about ninety slaves and servants, some of whom were Indian women married to Frenchmen. [3] The combination of a reliance on Indian slave labor and constant economic and social contact with nearby Indian villages by a white minority meant that the French colony was substantially dependent on the Indians for its survival. French Old Mobile cannot be understood in isolation from its Indian component.

The archaeological site of Old Mobile can, in some ways, be considered a French colonial counterpart to the English settlement at Jamestown. At both sites colonists from two different European societies first adapted to the new environment and unfamiliar native peoples of southeastern North America. Just as the English during their early years in Virginia had drawn on hard lessons learned in the subjugation and colonization of Ireland and the failed attempt of the Raleigh colony, the French in Louisiana applied methods devised and tested in Canada and Haiti throughout the previous century. Historical and archaeological research at Old Mobile will eventually reveal how French-American colonial frontier society developed and evolved during this initial period of colonization, just as the two disciplines have contributed to our understanding of English colonial society in the Chesapeake.

Although the analogy should not be carried too far (since English settlements had an undeniably greater impact on the course of American history than did French colonization), one other similarity between Jamestown and Old Mobile can be fairly noted. Mistakes were made in situating both sites in the physical landscape, leading to contaminated drinking water at one and repeated flooding at the other. Jamestown was finally abandoned after 92 years, Old Mobile after not quite 10 years; neither site was reoccupied by an urban population. Consequently, Old Mobile, in particular, is an invaluable archaeological resource because it comprises the remains of a relatively brief occupation from the formative period of French colonization, essentially untouched by later habitation.

In contrast to that decade of intense activity at Old Mobile associated with the establishment of a French colonial foothold in the vast midcontinental region known as "Louisiana," the nearly three centuries that have passed since the town's abandonment have been quiet indeed. Two families, the Rochons in the late eighteenth century and the McGowins in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, farmed the land, while the old town site remained relatively undisturbed, though not forgotten.

Local oral tradition, confirmed by reference to eighteenth-century maps, has long associated the area of Twenty-seven Mile Bluff on the Mobile River with the location of the original French settlement of Old Mobile. But reliable

archaeological traces of this site have only recently been recognized. Over the years, tangible remains were occasionally reported by such careful observers as the historian Peter J. Hamilton, who noted that "a well under a hickory-tree still marks the spot, and bullets, canister, crockery, large-headed spikes, and a brass ornament were picked up by the present writer near the river edge of the level bluff as late as the summer of 1897." [4] In 1902, during bicentennial celebrations of the founding of Mobile, Hamilton and other city leaders erected a stone monument at Twenty-seven Mile Bluff to commemorate the event. Since that date, the location of this landmark has been assumed to correspond to the vicinity of Fort Louis. However, when the first professional archaeological investigation of the site took place in 1970, excavations at this presumed fort site revealed no definitive evidence of the fort at that spot. [5] Largely on the basis of historical documentation, the location was added to the National Register of Historic Places in 1974.

Beginning in 1977, an engineer employed at Courtaulds of North America, Inc., James C. (Buddy) Parnell became interested in locating the old town site, with the ultimate goal of identifying, securing, and remarking the town cemetery, in which were buried some prominent members of the original colony. His methods included intense scrutiny of aerial photographs of the site. Numerous unusual features were noted on the aerial photos, such as a possible fort image and several straight lines and right angles seemingly associated with the original street block grid. When searches were made on the ground early in 1989 to confirm the existence of the streets, Parnell (along with his wife, Woody, and Pat and Puggin Lomax) discovered several low mounds containing French bricks, burned wall clay, and other early eighteenth-century artifacts. These mounds, which are widely dispersed and barely perceptible on the flat terrain, were soon determined to be the locations of French structures in the town.

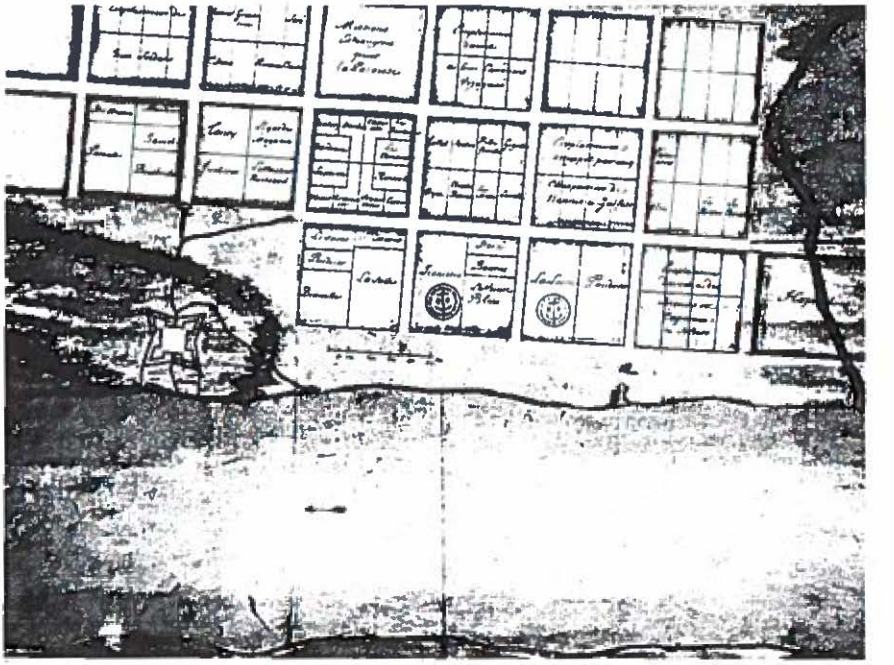
The Parnells and Lomaxes immediately recognized the considerable historical and archaeological significance of their discovery, and a research program was soon developed by archaeologists at the University of South Alabama. With

Dedication of the commemorative monument at Old Mobile in 1902 *Museum of the City of Mobile*

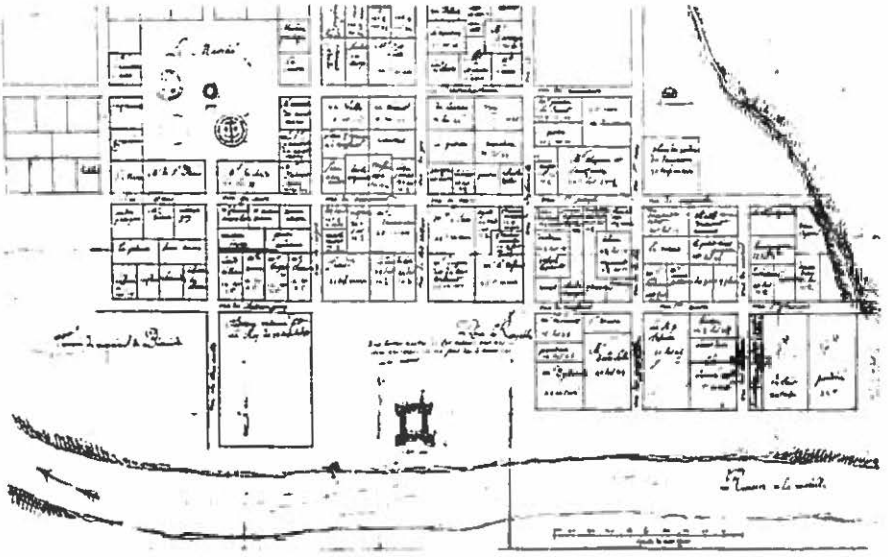
the permission and support of present landowners, an excavation team surveyed and mapped a portion of the townsite, and excavated a house and associated palisaded enclosure on the western edge of town. [6] These preliminary investigations during the summer of 1989, and Parnell's earlier discoveries, have demonstrated that natural features on two early town plats, dating to 1702 and about 1705, can be correlated with present-day landforms. When adjusted to scale, the old maps can be superimposed on modern maps of the site. This permits the matching of specific archaeological features and structures with particular lots, shown on the old maps as having been assigned to individuals of known economic and social status in the French community. For instance, the excavated house apparently belonged to a Canadian voyageur from 1702 until about 1705. Other identifiable lots were occupied by Jean-Baptiste Baudreau de Graveline and Jean-Baptiste Saucier, to whom thousands of modern-day Gulf Coast residents can trace their ancestry.

With archaeological research just beginning at Old Mobile, the site's potential to inform us about life in French colonial Louisiana remains largely unexplored. But future work will probably focus on several topics, discussed in the balance of this article.

Status differences within Old Mobile can be studied through historical records that document wealth and prestige in the community, and by independently examining differential distributions of scarce commodities in the archaeological record. Variables such as architectural style, distance from the town center,



Old Mobile in 1702 *French National Archives*



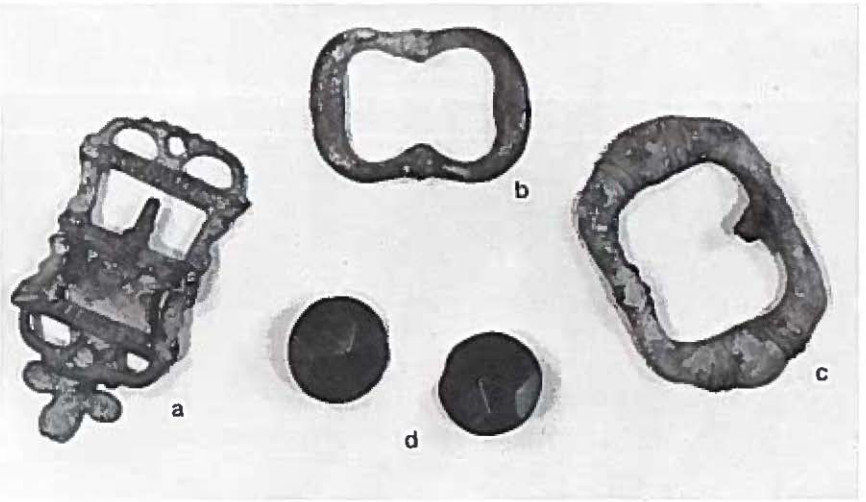
Old Mobile c. 1705 *French National Archives*

household size, proportions of wild and domestic foods, abundance and diversity and sources of ceramic and glass vessels, and the possession of highly-valued items of clothing and jewelry can all contribute to a multi-dimensional view of status differentiation. [7]

Archaeology has as yet contributed little to the study of Indian servitude during the colonial period, even though thousands of Indians were enslaved—and must have made a substantial contribution to the archaeological record—during the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries in eastern North America. [8] Large numbers of these slaves lived in towns such as New Orleans and Charleston. By 1707 over 20 percent of the population at Old Mobile consisted of Indian slaves and servants, most of whom were women. Many of these enslaved women were kept as concubines and housekeepers by single French men, a practice begun on a small scale in Canada and continued despite objections by religious and political leaders. [9]

Old Mobile provides an ideal setting to investigate archaeologically the lives of Indian slaves, how they retained their sense of ethnic identity and how they participated, from the depths of the status hierarchy, in the functioning of a multi-ethnic community. In many instances, the age, sex, and ethnic affiliation can be determined from historical records for slaves living in particular households, and these same households can be identified archaeologically.

Recent historical studies of American slavery have tended to focus on the differences in economic systems that utilized slave labor. The lives of black slaves on cotton plantations, for example, differed significantly from those working on rice plantations or as craft specialists in towns. The function of Indian slavery in the French colony has not been explored in depth. An ethnohistorical survey



Buckles and cufflinks from Structure 1, 1MB94 *USA Archeology Lab*

of the written records combined with distributional and functional artifact analyses of slave quarters in selected households in Old Mobile should reveal the types of production demanded of those slaves.

The same archaeological techniques that have been applied so effectively to the study of enslaved blacks should yield much information on housing, subsistence, and manufactures. [10] Did Indian slaves in the largest households retain their own architectural traditions? How did foodways differ between master and slave? What were the effects of slavery on health? The skeletons of those individuals who converted to Catholicism and died between 1702 and 1711 may be preserved in the town cemetery; their analysis could tell us much about health and diet. Non-Catholics probably were buried elsewhere, but where? No clues are found in the historical record. Finally, ceramic vessels were produced in quantity by Indians for use at Old Mobile. Were these primarily made by the slaves of each household to fulfill domestic needs or, as the diverse assemblage suggests, were neighboring free Indians manufacturing pottery to trade to the French? The nature of relations between French colonists and the surrounding Indian tribes is another important dimension of the Louisiana frontier.

The majority of Indians in frequent contact with the French colonists were not slaves, but were members of small, independent tribes that had fled to the Mobile Delta and Bay area to escape English-inspired slave raids. [11] As commandant, Bienville encouraged the resettlement of these groups, which he hoped would help protect the colony from attacks by Alabamas and Creeks, and provide the colony with food, as well as furs and skins for export to France. Principal among these small tribes were the Mobilians, who had moved south from their homeland on the Alabama River sometime during the late seventeenth century, and whose language was the basis of the Mobilian "trade jargon" or pidgin spoken throughout the region. [12] A large number of Apalachees relocated

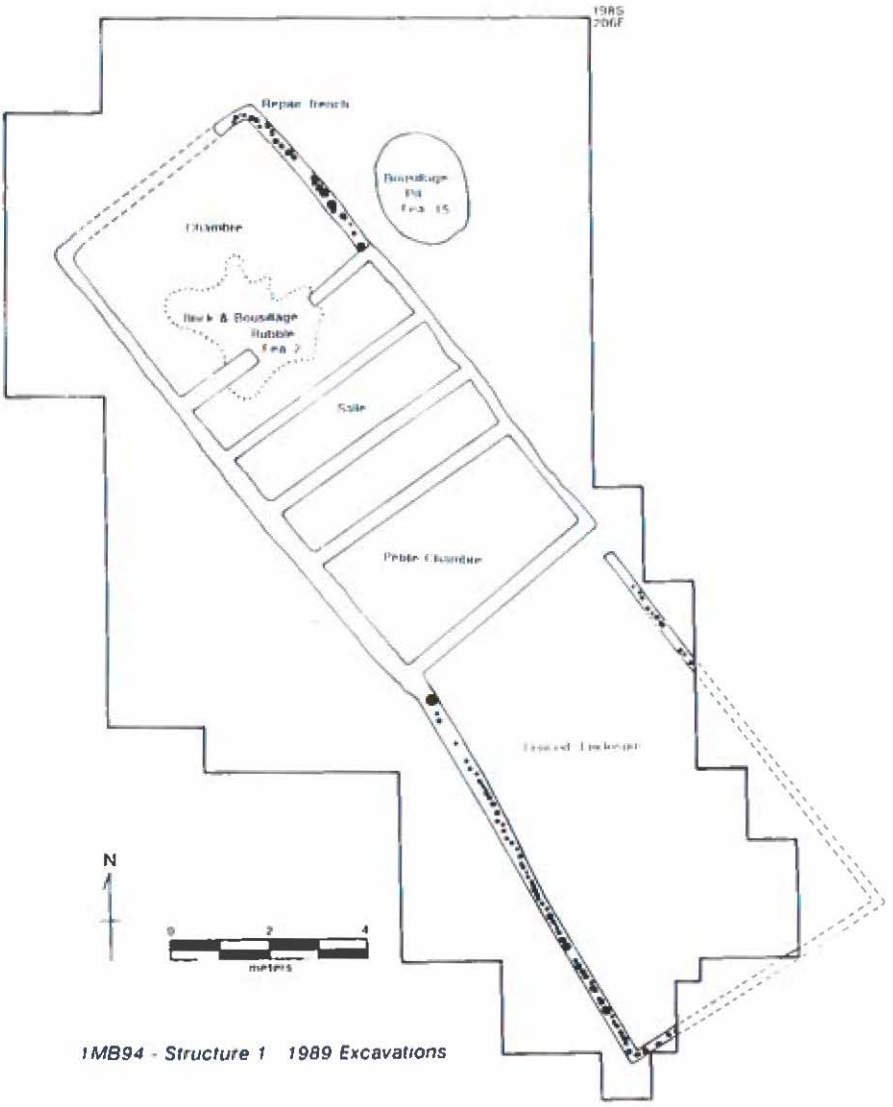
here in 1704 and 1705, forming the colony's longest-lasting and largest Indian mission, administered by the Capuchins. [13] Priests from the Seminary of the Foreign Missions proselytized among the other smaller tribes in the area.

Most of the ceramics found at the site are aboriginal pottery types. One form, tempered with sand or grit and characterized by complicated stamping and folded and pinched rim treatment, is associated with the Apalachees who moved from the Tallahassee area to the vicinity of Old Mobile in 1704. The relative scarcity of this ware suggests that the excavated household may not have been occupied long after that date. Another ware is tempered with mixed shell and grog, which indicates the presence of a non-local Indian group, perhaps the Bayogoulas or Taensas from the lower Mississippi Valley. [14] A third aboriginal ceramic ware has been attributed to southern Choctaw-related groups such as the Tomehs, Pensacolas, and Mobilians. [15] Locally-made copies of European styles, called "Colono" vessels, are made of this paste, frequently red filmed in imitation of European, lead glazed redware forms, and include plates with foot rings, tankards with loop handles, and pedestaled cups reminiscent of wine glasses.

Such a variety of native-made ceramic types holds considerable potential for identifying specific Indian ethnic groups, either residents of the town or occupants of nearby villages. While some identifications are certain, such as the types of ceramics produced by the Apalachees, others will require additional research. [16] For example, no one has yet located the historic village sites of (and identified the pottery made by) the Mobilians, Naniabas, Tomehs, Pensacolas, Tawasas, and Chatos that are shown on early French maps. [17]

During the ten-year occupation of Old Mobile, the French developed a unique relationship with their Indian neighbors, quite different from the patterns that evolved in English and Spanish colonies elsewhere in the Southeast. French attempts to organize and exploit Indian labor through enslavement were ultimately unsuccessful, and through conversion only slightly more so. Relations with populous groups such as the Choctaws (and, later, the Alabamas) were based primarily on what amounted to annual tribute payments, presents from the French given to Indian headmen and elders. In the face of English competition, trade relations were more reciprocal. [18] In such an environment Indian societies dynamically adapted by selectively incorporating or rejecting specific elements of European technology, while managing to retain their distinctively Indian cultural identities.

The development of architectural styles in French colonial Louisiana tangibly reflects the development of a new society from multiple ethnic origins. Folklorists, anthropologists, and architectural historians have compiled considerable data on traditional French Gulf Coast architecture. [19] One might expect that this style of vernacular architecture was derived from French, or perhaps Canadian, prototypes. It now seems, however, that the archetypal French Louisiana house form, the creole cottage, developed in northern Haiti from French and African antecedents, and was then transplanted to the Gulf Coast, where it evolved further. [20] (The shotgun house style later underwent a similar evolutionary sequence. [21]) The basic creole cottage originally consisted of three rooms: a central



1MB94 - Structure 1 1989 Excavations

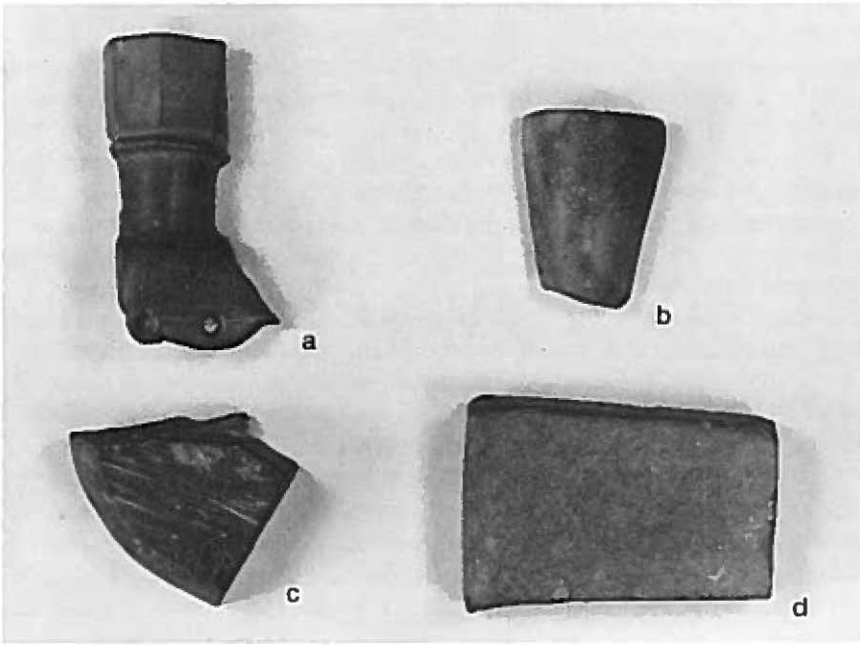
square parlor adjoining a narrow principal bedroom, and an even narrower second bedroom on the opposite side of the parlor. Back-to-back fireplaces heated the parlor and the principal bedroom. This idealized description, which is based on historical research and architectural studies of historic buildings, precisely characterizes and is confirmed by the floor plan of the house excavated last year at Old Mobile.

The occupants of the excavated house site were producing catlinite pipes used by the Indians in the calumet ceremony, a ritual form of greeting that

spread across the Southeast just prior to French colonization. [22] Catlinite pipes have been found at numerous sites in the middle and upper Mississippi Valley, but are rarely found in the Southeast. The discovery of unworked catlinite (which can only be obtained from a few areas in Minnesota, Iowa, and South Dakota) and partially completed pipes at Old Mobile suggests that the French-Canadian inhabitants—or their Indian slaves—were manufacturing these pipes for their own use or for trade to the southern tribes, thereby circumventing native trade networks. The mass-production and widespread distribution of what had previously been scarce ceremonial objects must have contributed to the devaluation that occurred in the calumet's sacredness during the next few decades.

Another unexpected aspect of the material culture assemblage found at the excavated household is the virtual absence of French ceramics. Apart from some green-glazed earthenware of French origin, German saltglazed stoneware, and Chinese porcelain, the majority of the European-style ceramics consists of majolica made at Puebla, Mexico, then in the province of New Spain. [23] The evident lack of access to French ceramic forms may have been partly due to the low status of this particular household. But whatever the cause, imports from Spanish colonies and locally-made ceramic copies of French forms in aboriginal paste helped fill this void.

The presence of Englishmen and Spaniards along the Gulf, and constantly shifting diplomatic relations among the colonial powers, added additional dimensions for cultural competition and interaction. Illicit trade with English vessels seems to have occurred occasionally, although so far archaeological evidence



Catlinite artifacts from Structure 1, 1MB94 *USA Archeology Lab*

for such a trade is very sparse. French-Spanish interaction appears to have been particularly intense, judging from the archaeological record. At the housesite excavated in 1989, those artifacts identified as Spanish colonial in origin include all of the tin glazed earthenware (from Puebla), all of the oriental porcelain (imported from Asia along Spanish trade routes), many of the glass beads and five jet rosary beads. Such dependence on Spanish artifacts may not characterize the entire town site, but it does dramatically exemplify the impact of inter-colonial trade on at least some of the site occupants, far beyond the level officially permitted. Mercantilist theory, evidently, could not be rigidly enforced in this colonial context.

The archaeological research planned for the next several years at the Old Mobile site will include an intensive survey and testing of the entire town site, and the excavation of a representative sample of public buildings and households. The ultimate goal is to learn what life was like for the inhabitants of Old Mobile between 1702 and 1711. Specifically, how did they adapt to this new environment, as reflected in their architectural styles, foodways, and material culture? In what ways were social and economic status differences a reflection of European French culture or dynamic adaptations to a multi-ethnic frontier? What was the role of Indians, enslaved and free, in this new society? And, how did the French colonists compete and interact with other Europeans in the northern Gulf?

The interdisciplinary field of historical archaeology provides a framework for the study of French colonial origins. Although there is an abundance of documentary evidence regarding life at Old Mobile, written records reflect the biases of the literate French officials who produced them. A comparison of historical evidence with archaeological evidence obtained by survey and excavation typically reveals gaps and ambiguities in the historical record. When used concurrently, historical sources can provide information on specific individuals and events in social or political contexts, while archaeological analyses of artifact and feature distributions independently provide insights on social organization and patterns of behavior informed by anthropological theory. [24] Only an approach that combines the techniques and integrates the data of both disciplines can offer a comprehensive view of the past, including the roles of the illiterate as well as the literate, the impoverished as well as the wealthy, and the powerless as well as the empowered.

Many historical archaeologists have recently focused on the expansion of the global economic system—the "world system"—that has occurred since 1492. The establishment of French Louisiana was, in fact, one step in the spread of the world system. Old Mobile functioned as a coastal entrepôt where raw materials such as beaver pelts and deerskins could be extracted from the North American hinterland, which in turn served as a market for manufactured European goods. [25] However, the world system was imposed only partially and very imperfectly by the French in Louisiana. Constant interaction and confrontation between native and intrusive societies determined the reality of life in eighteenth-century Louisiana, and eventually led to the development of a separate and distinctive colonial society. [26]

Excavating site of Structure 1, 1MB94 August, 1989

Scott Cox
USA Public Relations Photo

The study of interaction between the French, Spaniards, and American Indians in American colonial history has been relatively neglected by scholars, in comparison to the prominent role bestowed on the English. However, recent work by historians, ethnohistorians, and historical archaeologists has begun to restore Spaniards and colonial-period American Indians to our historical consciousness. By explicitly rejecting an orientation toward the past that treats as historically insignificant those social or ethnic groups that competed unsuccessfully against the eventually victorious English, modern scholarship also can rediscover the roles of heretofore historically disfranchised French colonists. With the Columbus quincentenary rapidly approaching, public attention is increasingly drawn to the multi-cultural range of the American historical experience. Historical archaeology at Old Mobile offers an opportunity to broaden that appreciation to more fully include the role of the French in the history of American colonization.

Elements of the French cultural tradition which began at Old Mobile can still be found in the northern Gulf Coast and lower Mississippi Valley in the form of Mardi Gras, creole cooking, creole architecture, and bilingualism, quite apart from pride of ancestry claimed by thousands of people in the region. Those

of us who live along the Gulf Coast today can relate many aspects of our daily lives to the activities that occurred in a small French town on the Mobile River nearly three hundred years ago.

Notes

[1] Jay Higginbotham, *Old Mobile: Fort Louis de la Louisiane, 1702-1711* (Mobile, 1977) provides a thorough, well-researched narrative history of life at the town.

[2] Peter H. Wood, "The Changing Population of the Colonial South: An Overview by Race and Region, 1685-1790," in *Powhatan's Mantle: Indians in the Colonial Southeast*, ed. Peter H. Wood, Gregory A. Waselkov, and M. Thomas Hatley (Lincoln, NB, 1989), 75.

[3] Dunbar Rowland and Albert G. Sanders, eds., *Mississippi Provincial Archives, French Dominion* (Jackson, MS, 1929) vol. 2, *1701-1729*, 19, 32; Higginbotham, 541.

[4] Peter J. Hamilton, *Colonial Mobile*, revised ed. (Boston, 1910), 52-53.

[5] Donald A. Harris, *An Archaeological Survey of Fort Louis de la Mobile* (Mobile, 1970).

[6] Present landowners of the Old Mobile site, 1MB94, include Akzo Chemicals Inc., Alabama Power Company, Courtauld's Fibers Inc., Dupont De Nemours E. I. & Co., and Ideal Basic Industries. All have generously permitted access for archaeological research; Courtauld's and Dupont have also provided site security and financial assistance to the project.

Substantial support for the project has been provided by the University of South Alabama, the State of Alabama, federal funds from the National Park Service, Department of Interior (as administered through the Alabama Historical Commission), and private individuals. Individuals who wish to join the "Friends of Old Mobile," a public support group, and receive the project newsletter, should write to: The Old Mobile Project, Dr. Stephen Thomas, College of Arts and Sciences, University of South Alabama, Mobile, AL 36688.

[7] Some recent examples include Kenneth E. Lewis, *The American Frontier: An Archaeological Study of Settlement Pattern and Process* (Orlando, 1984), 195-200; John Solomon Otto, *Cannon's Point Plantation, 1794-1860: Living Conditions and Status Patterns in the Old South* (Orlando, 1984), 159-60; Jean-François Blanchette, "The Role of Artifacts in the Study of Foodways in New France, 1720-60," *Histoire et Archéologie/ History and Archaeology* 52 (1981): 5; Julia King, "Ceramic Variability in 17th Century St. Augustine, Florida," *Historical Archaeology* 18 (1984): 75-82.

[8] Almon W. Lauber, *Indian Slavery in Colonial Times Within the Present Limits of the United States* (New York, 1913); Marcel Trudel, *L'esclavage au Canada français: Histoire et conditions de l'esclavage* (Quebec, 1960); Daniel H. Usner, Jr., "Frontier Exchange in the Lower Mississippi Valley: Race Relations and Economic Life in Colonial Louisiana, 1699-1783" (Ph.D. diss., Duke University, 1981); Peter H. Wood, "Indian Servitude in the Southeast," *Handbook of North American Indians* (Washington, DC, 1988) vol. 4, *History of Indian-White Relations*, 407-9.

[9] Olive P. Dickason, "Louisbourg and the Indians: A Study in Imperial Race Relations, 1713-1760," *Histoire et Archéologie/ History and Archaeology* 6 (1976): 22; Rowland and Sanders, 31.

[10] Theresa A. Singleton, ed., *The Archaeology of Slavery and Plantation Life* (Orlando, 1985); Theresa A. Singleton, "An Archaeological Framework for Slavery and Emancipation, 1740-1880," in *The Recovery of Meaning: Historical Archaeology in the Eastern United States*, ed. Mark P. Leone and Parker B. Potter (Washington, DC, 1988), 345-70.

[11] John R. Swanton, "Early History of the Creek Indians and Their Neighbors," *Smithsonian Institution, Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin* 73 (1922); Gregory A. Waselkov, "Indian Maps of the Colonial Southeast," in *Powhatan's Mantle*, 313-20.

[12] James M. Crawford, *The Mobilian Trade Language* (Knoxville, 1978); Emanuel J. Drechsel, "Towards an Ethnohistory of Speaking: The Case of Mobilian Jargon, An American Indian Pidgin of the Lower Mississippi Valley," *Ethnohistory* 30 (1983): 165-76.

[13] Clifford M. Lewis, "Roman Catholic Missions in the Southeast and the Northeast," *Handbook of North American Indians* (Washington, DC, 1988), vol. 4, *History of Indian-White Relations*, 481-93.

[14] These sherds are most similar to Addis Plain, *var. St. Catherine* and Fatherland Incised, *vars. Nancy* and *Bayou Goula*. Some specimens appear to be combed and are classifiable as Chickachae Combed or Kemper Combed. Philip Phillips, "Archaeological Survey in the Lower Yazoo Basin, Mississippi, 1949-55," *Harvard University, Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Papers* 1 (1970), 48-49, 104-5, 65-66.

[15] This ware seems to be the terminal development of the local late protohistoric Doctor Lake complex. It has fine sand and shell temper and a compact homogeneous gray paste. Coarsely shell tempered utilitarian vessel sherds in this series can be classified as Mississippi Plain, *var. Pine Log*. This series has been recovered from several other early eighteenth-century components in the Mobile Bay area.

Noel R. Stowe, "Pot Sherds and a Brass Kettle: Continuity and Change at 1MB82," *Journal of Alabama Archaeology* 21 (1975), 69-78; Noel R. Stowe, "Archaeological Excavations at Port Dauphin," *University of South Alabama, Archaeological Research Series* 1 (1977); Richard S. Fuller and Noel R. Stowe, "A Proposed Typology for Late Shell Tempered Ceramics in the Mobile Bay/Mobile-Tensaw Delta Region," in *Archaeology in Southwestern Alabama*, ed. Cailup B. Curren (Camden, AL, 1982), 45-93; Richard S. Fuller, Diane E. Silvia, and Noel R. Stowe, *The Forks Project: An Investigation of the Late Prehistoric-Early Historic Transition in the Alabama-Tombigbee Confluence Basin* (Montgomery, 1984); Diane E. Silvia, "Archaeological Test Excavations at Bienville Square," *Journal of Alabama Archaeology* 35 (1989): 1-16.

[16] Gary Shapiro, "Archaeology at San Luis," *Florida Archaeology* 3 (1987); Richard Vernon, "17th Century Apalachee Colono-Ware as a Reflection of Demography, Economics, and Acculturation," *Historical Archaeology* 22 (1988): 76-82.

[17] George E. Lankford, "A Documentary Study of Native American Life in the Lower Tombigbee Valley," in *Cultural Resources Reconnaissance Study of the Black Warrior-Tombigbee System Corridor, Alabama*, ed. Eugene Wilson (Mobile, 1983).

[18] Ian W. Brown, "Early 18th Century French-Indian Culture Contact in the Yazoo Bluffs Region of the Lower Mississippi Valley" (Ph.D. diss., Brown University, 1979); Mason Wade, "French Indian Policies," *Handbook of North American Indians* (Washington, DC, 1988) vol. 4, *History of Indian-White Relations*, 20-28; Patricia K. Galloway, "'The Chief Who Is Your Father': Choctaw and French Views of the Diplomatic Relation," in *Powhatan's Mantle*, 254-78.

[19] Fred Kniffen, "The Outdoor Oven in Louisiana," *Louisiana History* 1 (1960): 25-35; Charles E. Peterson, "The Houses of French St. Louis," in *The French in the Mississippi Valley*, ed. John F. McDermott (Urbana, IL, 1965), 17-40; Samuel Wilson, Jr., "Colonial Fortifications and Military Architecture in the Mississippi Valley," in *The French in the Mississippi Valley*, 103-22; Samuel Wilson, Jr., "Gulf Coast Architecture," *Gulf Coast History and Humanities Conference Proceedings* 2 (1971): 78-126; Samuel Wilson, Jr., "Religious Architecture in French Colonial Louisiana," *Winterthur Portfolio* 8 (1973): 63-106; Ian W. Brown, "Excavations at Fort St. Pierre," *Conference on Historic Site Archaeology* 9 (1975): 60-85; Ian W. Brown, "A Reexamination of the Houses at the Bayou Goula Site, Iberville Parish, Louisiana," *Louisiana Archaeology* 3 (1976): 193-205; Yves Laframboise, *L'architecture traditionnelle au Québec* (Montreal, 1975); Lise Boily and Jean-François Blanchette, *The Bread Ovens of Quebec* (Ottawa, 1979); Melburn D. Thurman, *Building a House in 18th Century Ste. Genevieve* (Ste. Genevieve, MO, 1984).

[20] Philippe Oszuscik, "French Creole Housing on the Gulf Coast: The Early Years," *Pioneer America Society Transactions* 7 (1983): 49-58; Philippe Oszuscik, "The French Creole Cottage and Its Caribbean Connection," in *French and Germans in the Mississippi Valley*, ed. Michael Roark (Cape Girardeau, MO, 1988), 61-78; Jay D. Edwards, "The Origins of the Louisiana Creole Cottage," in *French and Germans*, 9-60.

[21] John M. Vlach, "Sources of the Shotgun House: African and Caribbean Antecedents for Afro-American Architecture" (Ph.D. diss., Indiana University, 1975).

[22] Ian W. Brown, "The Calumet Ceremony in the Southeast and Its Archaeological Manifestations," *American Antiquity* 54 (1989): 311-31.

[23] The brightly decorated types are referred to by archaeologists as San Luis Polychrome, Abó Polychrome, and Puebla Polychrome. John M. Goggin, "Spanish Majolica in the New World," *Yale University Publications in Anthropology* 72 (1968): 166-82; Kathleen Deagan, *Artifacts of the Spanish Colonies of Florida and the Caribbean, 1500-1800* (Washington, DC, 1987), vol. 1, *Ceramics, Glassware, and Beads*, 75-82.

[24] Charles L. Redman, *Qzar es-Seghir: An Archaeological View of Medieval Life* (Orlando, 1986); Mark P. Leone and Parker B. Potter, "Introduction: Issues in Historical Archaeology," in *The Recovery of Meaning*, 1-26.

[25] Immanuel Wallerstein, *The Modern World System* (New York, 1980) vol. 2, *Mercantilism and the Consolidation of the European World-Economy, 1600-1750*; Eric R. Wolf, *Europe and the People Without History* (Berkeley, 1982); Fernand Braudel, *Civilization and Capitalism, 15th-18th Century* (New York, 1984) vol. 3, *The*

The inscription on this presentation cup reads:

Awarded by the Apalachicola Chamber of Commerce to John H. Howard, Esq. Columbus Geo, as a premium for the best lot of 50 bales of cotton in Apalachicola in the Cotton Season of 1842-3.

The cup was made from coin silver by Gale, Wood, and Hughes, Sivlersmiths, New York.

Croom Collection

give the Georgia city the advantage of having rail connections to both the Gulf and the Atlantic, and her leaders hoped the plan would also thwart the construction of a rival road being planned to extend from Montgomery to Mobile. Since Montgomery had already completed a rail line to the Chattahoochee River at West Point, thirty miles above Columbus, the planned road from Montgomery to Mobile would by-pass Columbus on its extension from the Gulf to Atlanta, where several rail lines converged. [35]

Mobilians favored the line to Columbus because they now felt direct competition from Montgomery up the Alabama River. Montgomery merchants who once sent their cotton to Mobile had recently established direct steamboat communication between themselves and New Orleans on the Gulf thus bypassing the port city's merchants. Therefore Mobilians overwhelmingly supported the railroad known as the Mobile and Girard line to Columbus. [36]

Unfortunately Mobile and Columbus were slow to raise the money for the project, and in the meantime, Montgomery completed a rival line to Pensacola. In 1855 the Montgomery line added a spur to Columbus from Opelika, Alabama. Thus Columbus was connected by rail to Montgomery and Pensacola, and Montgomery superseded Columbus as the inland marketing center for the cotton of southeastern Alabama. [37]

The Mobile and Girard line was completed only to Union Springs, Alabama by 1860, a distance of about fifty miles. This did not necessarily hurt Columbus, though, because this short road was used almost exclusively for hauling cotton into the city. Receipts from the Mobile and Girard road dramatically rose as the construction progressed. Four to five hundred bales per day came in over this line in October 1858. Alabama growers dispatched to Columbus almost thirteen thousand bales during only two months that fall. [38] If the line had been completed to Mobile, farmers along this road could have opted to send their cotton southward to market at the Alabama port, thus cutting Columbus off from some of this trade.

The advent of the railroad into the Chattahoochee River valley clearly affected the course of the cotton trade. Columbus receipts fell from 1849 to 1853 as the rails to the east drew closer, and farmers east of town could as easily cart their cotton to the railroad terminus as to bring it west to the Chattahoochee. But in 1854, the first full cotton season since the railroad united Columbus and Savannah, cotton receipts in both Columbus and Savannah rose substantially. [39]

The railroads were not so kind to Apalachicola. Cotton receipts there had moved generally upward during the 1840s, as did the valley's total crop. In the two seasons before the railroad was complete, over 140,000 bales came downriver. Figures are unavailable for 1854 (the first railroad season), but 1855 Apalachicola receipts plunged to just over 83,000 bales, or a 41 percent decrease. Although up slightly the next year, Florida receipts continued their downward trend through the poor cotton season of 1858. [40]

In the last two years before the Civil War, the volume of cotton sent to Apalachicola rose again, but every cotton market showed improvement. The introduction of the railroad into the interior had encouraged planters to open

Another speaker emphasized the significance of the day when he said,

> [Today] is the day that unites the waters of the Gulf with the great Atlantic. It is the day which unites the commercial relations of Columbus with those of Savannah. It is the day that binds those cities together with iron bands. . . . [30]

The advent of the railroad disrupted the southern economic order and set formerly amicable communities in competition with each other in order to retain their market share of the cotton trade. Fierce rivalries developed among port cities for the trade of each other. Further inland, towns situated on different river systems conspired to steal the trade from one another. In 1848 the Columbus *Times* editor warned the public not to sleep over their interests.

> We are surrounded by enterprising, active, go-ahead rivals, and we shall have to struggle for the prize of prosperity and advancement, if not the existence, if we hope to win it from the *Athletoe* who are our competitors. [31]

Even before the railroad was completed in Columbus, Savannah merchants had begun advertising in that city's newspapers. Macon on the Ocmulgee River competed with Columbus and Albany on the Chattahoochee and Flint Rivers. Montgomery on the Alabama River contended with Columbus and Macon. Albany fought back by urging the improvement of the Flint River to keep open its Gulf of Mexico outlet while courting the Southwestern Railroad which eventually extended its road to this Flint River port in 1857. [32]

Even more curious was the competition for trade that emerged among the communities of the same river system. After Columbus was connected with the railroad to Savannah in 1853, she jealously guarded this advantage from Eufaula. If Eufaula were to lure a railroad connection which bypassed Columbus, some feared the latter's "prosperity would melt like the mists of the morning." [33]

Eufaula made early overtures to Columbus to link the two cities by rail, but Columbus realized Eufaula could siphon off some of its cotton trade in this way. Eufaula then set its sights on securing a more direct connection with the Atlantic. When it was finally successful in gaining the promise of an extension of the Southwestern Railroad to it, Columbusites suddenly became very generous toward their southern neighbors.

The supercilious sneers made before the former secured a commitment from the Southwestern Railroad evolved into magnanimous gestures of goodwill after Columbus's superiority was challenged. The city now urged Eufaula to build a railroad to Columbus which would link the Alabama town to the Atlantic. [34]

Columbus had been slow to realize the consequences of inaction, but once it shook its lethargy it worked faithfully, if somewhat fitfully, to retain its position as a major inland market. After the line to Macon was accomplished, city leaders turned their sights on the vast cotton lands of southern Alabama. In May 1853, the same month that the tracks were completed to Savannah, Columbus leaders approached Mobile about a joint railroad project between their cities. This would

the prosecution of public improvements, designed to divert trade from its natural channel—from Columbus—and to secure it for other points," wrote a Columbus editor in 1845. [26]

But if the railroad were to join the Chattahoochee River at another location, Columbus would be by-passed altogether. The Columbus *Times* warned its readers that if the road from Macon did not come to Columbus, Eufaula might replace it as the premier market town on the Chattahoochee "and every pull of the Locomotive will remind Columbus of her folly, and echo the laugh of our sister city of Macon, at our simple-minded gullibility." [27]

Reluctantly Columbus businessmen realized they would have to build the railroad to their city to prevent its being built elsewhere. Indeed, Milton Sydney Heath wrote that this road "may hold the unique distinction of being the only railroad ever to have been located with a view to avoiding traffic." [28]

Savannah was the driving force behind the Georgia railroad movement. With its location on the Atlantic Ocean it could offer a more direct route to market for west Georgia cotton than via the Chattahoochee or Flint to Apalachicola, thence around the Florida peninsula to its ultimate destination. Savannah's city corporation sponsored the Central of Georgia line which joined the state-owned Western and Atlantic road at Macon in 1843. From there Savannah badly wanted to tap the rich cotton lands lying between the Flint and Chattahoochee Rivers. For that purpose the city of Savannah in conjunction with the Central of Georgia company organized the Southwestern Railroad which intended to build two lines into southwest Georgia. One line from Macon would extend westward to Columbus on the Chattahoochee. In association with this project the city of Columbus sponsored the Muscogee Railroad Company in 1845 which was to simultaneously build eastward from Columbus to join the Southwestern line. The other Southwestern line would move southward from Macon to Albany on the Flint.

The roads between Columbus and Savannah finally met in 1853. On that day the economic structure of the Apalachicola/Chattahoochee River system was forever altered. To celebrate the completion of the line, a Jubilee was held. A special train brought a group of Savannah citizens from their port on the Atlantic to Columbus for the celebration. One speechmaker pointed out the incredible feat that had that day been accomplished:

> Sober minded men, who have been used to traveling thirty-five or forty miles a day, and who have not yet realized the fearful speed of this fast generation, will scarcely believe that our friends from Savannah were whizzed along by the iron horse, a distance of three hundred miles between the rising and setting sun. [29]

The many occupations associated with the cotton trade of the Apalachicola/Chattahoochee River valley formed a practical marketing network. The various tasks necessary to move the cotton to market were apportioned among those who grew it and those who bought and sold it. The federation of the southern planter with his merchant contributed to the order of this economic system whose boundaries paralleled the river's edge. The economic entity had its own complex credit network that followed each cotton transaction from farm to mill. It had a separate transportation network dependent on the river. The advent of the railroad into the valley disrupted the order of this economic entity.

Charleston was the first southern port city to sponsor a railroad. For many years the city had been suffering from a decline in income caused by the diminishing productivity of the old fields of its hinterland while the cotton farmers constantly abandoned them for new land to the west. As soon as news of the successful operation of railroads in England reached Charleston, the local citizenry built the first southern railroad to near Augusta, Georgia in 1833.

Augusta lay at the head of navigation of the Savannah River and its trade with neighboring farmers made it the pre-eminent inland Georgia market in the 1830s. By building a road from Charleston, the South Carolinians diverted Augusta's cotton trade from Savannah to Charleston. Now Savannah became alarmed. In self-defense the Georgia city built a railroad, completed in 1843, to tap the next river system whose inland market town at the head of navigation was Macon. [21] Eventually this Central of Georgia line connected with Georgia's state-owned railroad network which stretched across northern Georgia to Chattanooga.

With this extension of rail lines into the upper reaches of the Mississippi and Alabama River systems, the pre-eminent Gulf of Mexico ports of New Orleans and Mobile suddenly noticed their cotton receipts were diminishing. In response these Gulf ports began their own railroad projects which would connect them with other river systems. [22]

Columbus initially welcomed a railroad project that would have connected it with the road between Savannah and Chattanooga, but the depression following 1837 snuffed it out. [23] In the 1840s steamboat travel on the Chattahoochee/Apalachicola increased phenomenally with the advent of an improved shallow-draft hull design. Columbus became a bustling trade center that eclipsed Augusta as Georgia's premier inland trading town.

When a new wave of railroad construction washed over Georgia after 1845 Columbus met it with a "noticeable lack of enthusiasm." [24] Columbusites feared they would lose their wagon trade if the railroad extended from Savannah to them. All the cotton to the east which now was hauled by wagon into Columbus could move directly to the railroad and thence to Savannah, cutting off Columbus all together. Many thought of the railroad as an "iron boa" which would "eat up the wagon trade, and break down the business of the town." [25] The people took heed of the diminishing trade that Augusta and Macon witnessed after rail connection with Charleston and Savannah. Indecision gripped Columbus. "In every direction around us we perceive the utmost urgency and activity in

purchasing the necessary supplies for the planter which he then paid for when the factor sold his cotton crop.

The cotton factor or commission merchant (used interchangeably hereafter) wore many hats. The factor's primary job was to find a buyer for the planter's cotton, but in order to do that he first had to evaluate, repackage, and store it. Once it was in a warehouse the factor studied the returns of all the American and foreign markets to determine trends in the price of the staple and in which market he should sell the cotton. If the product was not sold locally, he had to engage a ship at a cost that would not devour the profits of the final sale.

Most importantly the factor had to arrange financing. The planter expected an advance equal to one-half to three-fourths of the value of his cotton. This money did not come directly from the factor, but from the buyer. The financial chain was a long and torturous one involving a series of advances, the number of which depending on the number of middlemen.

The factor spent the majority of his work day in keeping books. Not only did the future of each cotton bale have to be noted, but also the debits made on the planter's account. During the growing season the planter charged clothing, groceries, and tools and often borrowed money from the factor. The entire account was settled at the end of the cotton season when the year's harvest had finally been sold.

Commission merchants usually catered to the planters and larger farmers. Smaller growers dealt with smaller merchants in the interior of the country. Like the commission merchant in the larger towns, the country storekeeper extended credit in the form of supplies, food, or cash to the farmer who paid for it with his cotton at harvest time.

The farmer produced a smaller crop, therefore his credit needs were more modest, but he nevertheless needed long-term credit as much as the planter did. Country storeowners provided a much-needed service to the farmers whom the commission merchants perceived as being a less desirable investment risk. [18] In this way the many small producers in the valley found access to the commercial market, and the smaller merchants became preferred customers of the commission merchants. Since 60 percent of the growers of this region had farms of less than one hundred acres in 1860, the country storekeepers were a vital link in the cotton marketing chain. [19]

The firm of Copeland and Cannon in Eufaula held scores of accounts with local farmers that usually amounted to no more than one hundred dollars each. The merchants extended small amounts of credit and groceries to the farmers who paid for it with several bales of cotton at harvest time. The only cash that changed hands was paid to balance the account at the end of the year. [20]

In addition to commission merchants and country storeowners, many more occupations relied on the cotton trade. Cotton presses packaged the staple for its ocean voyage. Government weighers insured the honesty of both grower and merchant. Buyers purchased cotton for distant textile mills or New York middlemen. Insurance agents gambled with the substantial risk of fire or loss at sea. Finally, bankers were essential to the financing of the trade.

a day's ride to haul their cotton by wagon into the city where steamboats waited at the docks to carry the staple to the coast. Many local farmers found Columbus to be a convenient market for both selling their cotton and buying their supplies, and a brisk "wagon trade" developed there.

Columbus was initially a frontier town with all the trappings. The other side of the river was occupied by Indians as late as 1844 when one traveler learned the settlement across the river had been nicknamed "Sodom" for good reason. [11] Columbus itself was a bawdy town where liquor flowed and the druggist proudly displayed the latest models of stilettos. [12] It was a town of dichotomies; some travelers remarked on its dirty run-down hotels while others were taken with its beauty and refinement. [13]

Regardless of how it looked to outsiders, Columbus soon became one of the major commercial centers of Georgia. During the fall and winter months the crude roads that stretched out from the city in all directions conducted wagon after wagon loaded with cotton from the surrounding fields. By 1845 it had a population of almost five thousand with two hundred businesses including twenty-six dry goods stores, fifty-seven provisions stores, and five cotton warehouses. [14]

Columbus was primarily a cotton marketing center, but it was more diversified than its sibling city on the Gulf. By 1849 five textile factories used the water power provided by Columbus's breath-taking falls to spin local cotton into yarn and shirting. There was also a paper mill, a flour and grist mill, two foundries, a machine shop, and a cotton gin factory. By 1860 Columbus had a population of nine thousand. In textile production, it was second only to Richmond in the South. [15]

Columbus and Apalachicola owed their existence to the hinterland lying between them. The triangle of land between the Flint and Chattahoochee rivers in Georgia and the Chipola and Apalachicola rivers in Florida was prime cotton land, and the area was settled rapidly. By 1850 there were 185,000 people living in the river valley. [16]

As the population increased, lesser trading towns sprouted along the river system. Albany, Georgia, at the head of navigation of the Flint River, was an important trade center for forwarding cotton to the Gulf by barges and for the ancillary grocery trade. Eufaula, Alabama, located about forty-five miles below Columbus on the Chattahoochee, was another significant regional cotton market, as was Marianna, Florida, at the head of navigation of the Chipola River. Scores of minor markets were situated all along the river banks where warehouses adjoined steamboat landings. [17]

Many men made their living executing the various specialized tasks necessary to move cotton from field to mill. The most important of all the middlemen was the cotton factor or commission merchant. Technically these terms connote two different occupations. The factor was the agent employed to sell the planter's cotton; the commission merchant purchased the grower's supplies for a fee. In practice the grower's cotton factor was often his commission merchant as well,

Businesses closed. The streets became deserted. Those few who did remain in town "seemed to drag along as though each step were the effort of an involuntary struggle. . . . Everything was quiet, quiet, quiet, and but for 'dame fashion,' 'bustle' would have become an obsolete idea." [8]

The pulse of this community was quieted or quickened according to the state of its major artery, the river. The river was the highway that linked the port with the productive cotton fields of Georgia and Alabama and, beyond them, with the industrial and commercial city of Columbus, Georgia. Until the railroads came in from east and west to break up this unit in 1853, in a sense, the entire valley looked inward toward the river that would take the cotton to market or mill. It was not a perfect transportation network. In the dry summer months the streams dwindled to a thread carrying less than two feet of water in many places. Every summer commerce halted until the river returned to a usable state.

Fortunately for those involved in the cotton trade, the rise of the river generally coincided with the harvest of cotton. Planters usually began picking cotton in August. After the cotton was ginned to remove its seeds and packed into bales, growers could store the nonperishable staple on their farms indefinitely until the river was capable of transporting the crop to market. Generally the Apalachicola/Chattahoochee River system became boatable by Christmas and remained so until May or June.

Many bales of cotton passed through the port of Apalachicola during this short business season. Total cotton receipts there generally increased in the decade of the 1840s from a low of about 55,000 bales in 1840 to 150,000 in 1853. [9] Most of Apalachicola's cotton was destined for Liverpool, the sea-port of the great Manchester textile mills. Half of the cotton that eventually reached England was detoured through New York which needed southern cotton to fill the holds of its Europe-bound packets. Southern cotton dealers also needed New York to provide financial backing for their shipments to England. [10]

Apalachicola was not the only cotton market on the river. At the opposite end of the river lay Columbus, Georgia. This town had been laid out in 1827 near the site of a Creek Indian trading town. The new residents of the area also found this spot a perfect location for a commercial center. Located at the fall line, the town lay at the head of navigation of the Chattahoochee River. Paths cut into the forest in all directions allowed those farmers living within

Columbus

Harper's Weekly,
September 18, 1868,
Columbus College Archives

businessmen, thousands of seamen from all over the world also thronged the waterfront during the busy season which added to the congestion of the streets already obstructed with cotton bales. [5]

During the commercial season hundreds of bales of cotton spilled out of the warehouses and clogged the streets. The auction bell clanged as draymen rushed the bales from the wharves to the compresses to the warehouses and back again. Cotton factors, whose job it was to sell the cotton, held court in their counting rooms where samples were laid out for prospective buyers. Here they dashed off letters to their associates in New York and Europe notifying them of an ensuing shipment. They arranged for the bales to be mended or repacked, insured, and stored. They haggled over the lowest ocean freightage, and they arranged financing so that neither they nor their clients had to wait for the cotton to reach the English textile mill before they received their payment. They sent other letters upriver to the farmer who waited to hear what his year's labor would bring. All day long their clerks bent over the precious accounting books that brought order to the entire operation. Long into the night, lights glowed from the upstairs windows of the counting rooms.

These people were as obsessed with the staple as were their counterparts in Mobile, where one visitor claimed:

> People live in cotton houses and ride in cotton carriages. They buy cotton, sell cotton, think cotton, eat cotton, drink cotton, and dream cotton. They marry cotton wives, and unto them are born cotton children. . . . It is the great staple, the sum and substance of Alabama. [6]

Like Mobile, Apalachicola during its pre-eminence as a cotton port was a place where it was said, "[w]ater was scacer [*sic*] than champagne, and jolly good fellows were plentiful as blackberries." [7] At least that was the case during the business season. The summer off-season was another matter. The town virtually closed down. Steamboats no longer jockeyed for their place at the wharves.

Apalachicola, 1837 *Florida State Archives*

The Cotton Economy of the Apalachicola/ Chattahoochee River Valley

Lynn Willoughby

From the year that Apalachicola cotton first reached Liverpool in 1831 until the river system was pierced by railroads in 1853, the Apalachicola/ Chattahoochee River valley remained one whole and distinct economic subdivision within the southern cotton monoculture. The antebellum South was a patchwork of such mini-economies each of which centered on a separate river system that conducted the local cotton to market. The cotton ports of Charleston, Savannah, Mobile, New Orleans, and Apalachicola were all situated at the mouths of extensive river systems that penetrated the fruitful cotton lands of the Old South.

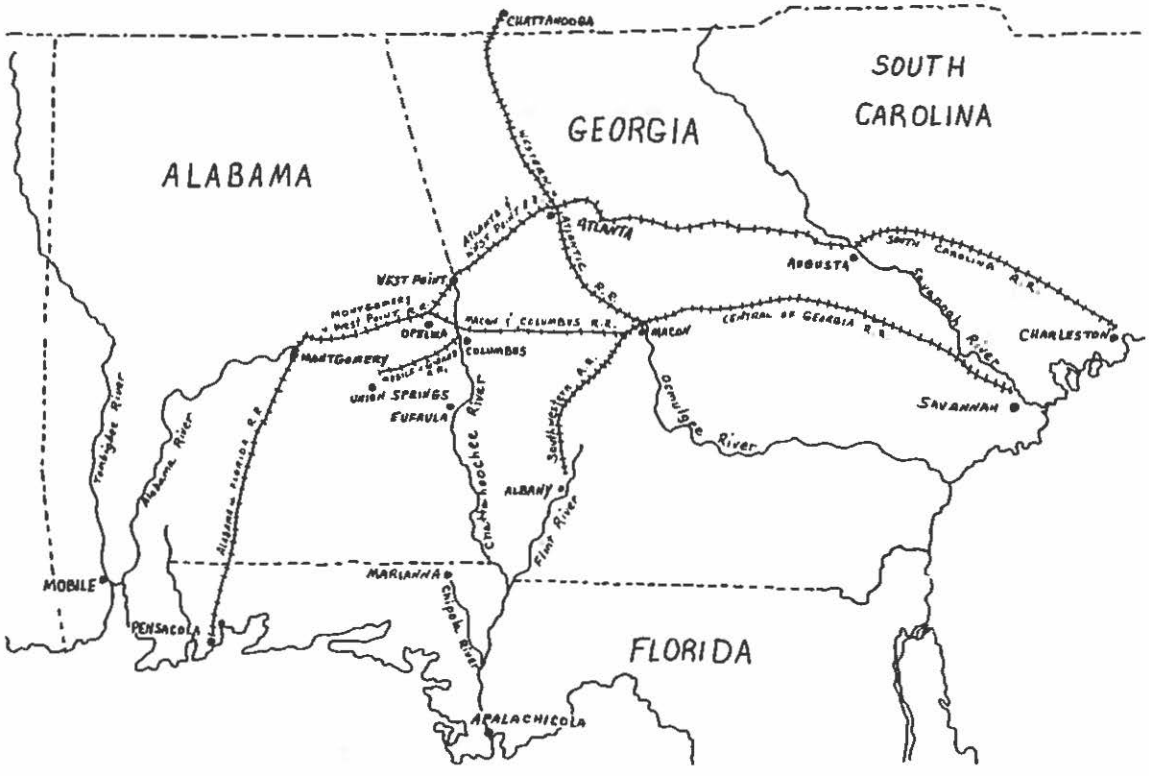
Above the port of Apalachicola, the four strands of water known as the Chattahoochee, the Flint, the Apalachicola, and the Chipola rivers composed the highway that joined all the necessary components of a cotton economy together. The waters linked cotton factors with cotton growers and wagon roads with steamboats. Eventually downstream the water, now tinted red from the run-off of a thousand cotton fields, mingled with the salt water at Apalachicola Bay that floated the ocean-going vessels laden with cotton to the European and northern markets.

The port city of Apalachicola, Florida, on the Gulf of Mexico exported its first bale of cotton in 1822. [1] The future of this small port held promise. The city lay at the mouth of "the largest and longest river system in the southeastern United States." [2] It dissected rich cotton lands only then being opened for white settlement as the Creek Indians were pushed out of their homelands.

The region was a frontier in the truest sense. Florida did not become a United States possession until 1821 or a state until 1845. Indians remained scattered in the Georgia and Alabama hinterland until whites finally expelled the last of them in the mid-1840s. Eager white cotton farmers moved in quickly to claim the newly abandoned lands, to clear away the pine trees, and to plant the seeds that they believed would make them wealthy.

Apalachicola, first called "West Point," was incorporated in 1829. By 1836 it was exporting fifty thousand bales of cotton, and it had become the third largest cotton port on the Gulf of Mexico behind New Orleans and Mobile. By 1840 forty-three imposing brick and granite cotton warehouses guarded Apalachicola's river bank, each thirty feet wide and three stories tall. [3]

The city's year-round residents numbered only around two thousand, but in the cotton marketing season which was at its peak between December and April, the population doubled. [4] The winter populace was a cosmopolitan lot mostly composed of northerners and foreigners who came there for the sole purpose of making their fortunes in cotton, (although the opposite was likely the case). When the summer breezes brought the mosquitoes and the heat they were gone again to their homes in more healthful climes. In addition to the



Railroads and the Chattahoochee Valley

Jerry Dixon, from
Tunis' Rail Road Map, *1859*

Perspective of the World; Philip D. Curtin, *Cross-Cultural Trade in World History*, (Cambridge, UK, 1984); Stephen L. Dyson, ed., "Comparative Studies in the Archaeology of Colonialism," *BAR International Series* 233 (1985).

[26] Gregory A. Waselkov and R. Eli Paul, "Frontiers and Archaeology," *North American Archaeologist* 2 (1981): 309-29.

Gregory A. Waselkov is Assistant Professor of Anthropology at the University of South Alabama and Archaeological Director of the Old Mobile Project.

Twentieth century mural by Roderick D. MacKenzie of Bienville laying out new site of Mobile in 1711 *USA Archives*

new fields. There was simply more cotton produced in the late 1850s than ever before. To the unaware it would have appeared in 1860 that the Apalachicola market had recovered from the railroad's blow, but in fact, the increase in cotton receipts represented a marked decrease in Apalachicola's market share. The valley's cotton production almost doubled from 1850 to 1860, but Apalachicola's share of the trade had been slashed almost in half (from almost 80 percent in 1850 to just over 43 percent a decade later). [41]

Many Apalachicolans realized early the effect the railroad would have on their city. In 1848 a citizen warned his neighbors that the railroad then moving west toward the Flint and Chattahoochee Rivers would soon do them in.

> It is obvious that this town will soon be well nigh annihilated, unless we take means to avert, as far as lies in our power, impending ruin. I allude to the rail roads of Georgia. . . . [T]he circle of trade, that *once* centered at Columbus, Geo., has been circumscribed by the influence of the Macon and Western rail road: increase of production in the circumscribed circle has blinded our eyes to the true state of the case. . . . [42]

Apalachicolans' words spoke louder than their actions. In this age when internal improvements were generally thought to be the responsibility of private citizens, they seemed unwilling to put their money where their mouths were. They appeared to be content to do little more than reason with the upriver farmers that it was more economical for Georgians to send their cotton to Florida than to Savannah.

It is curious that Apalachicolans were so inert when it came to their livelihood. Perhaps this was because of the transient nature of most of the business community who lived there only during the cotton marketing season. Perhaps it was easier for these merchants to move to other markets than to reach into their pockets to pay for modernizing the languid port.

At the end of the 1850s Apalachicola merchants seem to have been lulled by rising cotton receipts into the mistaken belief that the port's prosperity was returning. In 1860 cotton again crowded Apalachicola's wharves, and some there believed "that the natural course of trade cannot be diverted from a place like ours. . . ." This smug logic continued:

> The trade and commerce of the Chattahoochee and Flint rivers, are naturally tributary to us, and no matter what amount of business may be diverted from us for a time by artificial channels, in the shape of Railroads, . . . still the trade will find its way back to the old channel as sure as water will seek its own level. [43]

On the eve of a war which would further disrupt the river trade, the old economic order which had focused on the river was strikingly modified. Columbus now looked east and west when once it had only gazed south. The location of railroads, not rivers, now dictated commercial superiority. One of the major changes in the Apalachicola/Chattahoochee River valley after the railroads

penetrated it was the reversal in the direction of trade above the Florida boundary. "What was deemed improbable and visionary by many a few years since . . ." had come to pass. The Chattahoochee and Flint rivers now "r[a]n up stream." [44]

Both Columbus and Albany at the head of navigation of these tributaries now courted the business of the cotton growers south of them. [45] In 1855 a Columbus attorney commented that the river was then in good boating order, but that had done little "toward relieving our warehouses of the immense quantity of Cotton in store—for the Boats bring up about as much as they carry down." [46]

This change in trade patterns created new avenues for commerce. It now became rather commonplace to read of Sea Island cotton being boated northward from Apalachicola to Albany for rail shipment to the Savannah market, or even of cotton being sent by rail from Montgomery or Macon to Columbus and then loaded onboard a steamer for Apalachicola. [47] A cotton farmer now had many more options as to where he sent his cotton to be sold.

This caused further alterations in the old marketing system. The old relationship between the planter and his factor was now less vital. With the railroads coming very near many farms, the grower could now sell his crop at home, without paying transportation costs to some distant market or commissions for forwarding and selling. [48] Telegraph lines now strung across the region enabled farmers and merchants alike to keep abreast of the latest price quotations and the going rates of freight and insurance in various markets.

Because of the railroads more lands were opened to cotton cultivation, and the production of the staple increased dramatically. U. B. Phillips has written that this increase in cotton production had the deleterious effect on the South of extending and intensifying the plantation system at a time when the region really needed crop diversification and economic self-sufficiency. [49]

Whatever effect the railroad had on the southern economy, its impact was real and immediate. Southerners never again relied exclusively on river transportation. With the introduction of alternative commercial highways, new means of marketing cotton supplanted the old. On the verge of a civil war that would decimate the very foundation of the southern economic structure, the railroads had already conducted the South into a new age.

Notes

[1] Harry P. Owens, "Apalachicola: The Beginning," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 47 (January 1969): 279.

[2] Florida Bureau of Land and Water Management, *The Apalachicola River and Bay System: A Florida Resource* (Tallahassee, 1970), 1.

[3] George L. Chapel, "Walking and Driving Tour of Historic Apalachicola," available from the Apalachicola Chamber of Commerce.

[4] From *Apalachicola Gazette*, June 21, 1838, reprinted in Rose Gibbons Lovett, "Excerpts and Articles Relating to Apalachicola and Area," 53, Lovett Family Papers, Florida State

Archives. The permanent residents of Apalachicola numbered about the same in 1840 as they did in 1860. See, *Eighth Census, 1860, Population* (Washington, 1860), Franklin County, 54.

[5] In the 1842-43 season, almost twenty-five hundred sailors arrived in Apalachicola. See, Dorothy Dodd, *Apalachicola: Ante-bellum Cotton Port* ([Tallahassee], n.d.), 7.

[6] Quoted in Weymouth T. Jordan, *Ante-bellum Alabama: Town and Country* (Tallahassee, 1957), 21.

[7] Raphael J. Moses, "Autobiography," 40, typescript, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill.

[8] Apalachicola *Commercial Advertiser*, November 30, 1844.

[9] Apalachicola *Gazette*, April 4, 1840, reprinted in Lovett, "Excerpts and Articles," 5; Harry P. Owens, "Apalachicola Before 1861" (Ph.D. diss., Florida State University, 1966), 221.

[10] In addition to these two destinations the majority of Apalachicola cotton went to Le Havre, France; Providence, Rhode Island; Boston; Baltimore; and New Orleans. See, Apalachicola *Commercial Advertiser*, June 13, 1846; *Commercial Advertiser Price-Current*, April 21, 1851, in Gray Family Papers, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina.

[11] George W. Featherstonhaugh, *Excursion Through the Slave States* (New York, 1844), 320. The traveler found the town filled with drunks and prostitutes.

[12] James S. Buckingham, *The Slave States of America* (London, 1842), 247.

[13] Frederick Law Olmsted, *The Cotton Kingdom. A Traveller's Observations on Cotton and Slavery in the American Slave States*, ed. Arthur Schlesinger (New York, 1953), 213; Buckingham, *The Slave States*, 244-46. Buckingham complained that he had arrived at the "*ne plus ultra* of disorder, neglect, and dirtiness," while Olmsted remarked he had seen no place but Washington where "so many gambling, intoxication, and cruel treatment of servants in public. . . ." could be found. Those who were favorably impressed include: Lillian Foster, *Wayside Glimpses, North and South* (1860; reprint, New York, 1969), 111-18; Gayle-Crawford Family Papers, vol. 6, July 17, 1853, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina.

[14] Columbus *Times*, December 25, 1844, quoted in *Inventory of County Archives of Georgia*, No. 106, Muscogee County (Atlanta, 1941), 11. John H. Martin, comp., *Columbus, Geo., From Its Selection as a 'Trading Town' in 1827 to its Partial Destruction by Wilson's Raid in 1865* (1874; reprint, Easley, SC, 1972), 1: 162. Cotton receipts in Columbus from 1840-1855 averaged about seventy thousand bales. After 1855 they averaged over one hundred thousand bales annually.

[15] George White, *Statistics of the State of Georgia* (1849; reprint, Spartanburg, SC, 1972), 446-48; Martin, *Columbus, Geo.*, 2: 119; John Lupold, *Columbus, Georgia, 1828-1928* (Columbus, 1978), 23.

[16] Owens, "Apalachicola Before 1861," 243.

[17] In Alabama there was a brisk wagon trade at Ortho, Abbeville, Columbia, Franklin, and Seale. See, Mrs. Marvin Scott, *History of Henry County, Alabama* (Pensacola, 1961), 23, 27, 34, 43, 91, 93; Anne Kendrick Walker, *Russell County in Retrospects* (Richmond, 1950), 176, 181. In Georgia there were markets at Fort Gaines on the Chattahoochee and Bainbridge on the lower Flint, but almost every boat landing had a warehouse and resident entrepreneur. See, W. Perry, comp., *Some Pioneer History of Early County*, 26-31. There were twenty-five landings on the Apalachicola and Chattahoochee Rivers between Apalachicola and Columbus. See, Apalachicola *Commercial Advertiser*, January 8, 1844.

[18] Lewis Atherton, *The Southern Country Store, 1800-1860* (1949; reprint, New York, 1968), 12-14. Lewis Atherton believed farmers were less desirable clients than planters, because planters required a larger volume of supplies throughout the year, and they were more restricted to raising cotton year after year. Farmers could more easily move to new lands or, during a depression, switch to producing foodstuffs than could planters who had to produce even more of a cash crop to offset declining prices.

[19] See, Owens, "Apalachicola Before 1861," 243. There were 7,436 farms of less than one hundred acres, 4,124 of from one hundred to five hundred, 745 of from five hundred to one thousand, and 222 of over one thousand acres.

[20] J. N. Copeland and Company, Invoice Book, Clayton, Alabama Court House.

[21] U. B. Phillips, *A History of Transportation in the Eastern Cotton Belt to 1860* (1908; reprint, New York, 1968), 17-18. Macon lay at the head of navigation of the Ocmulgee River which together with the Oconee River became the Altamaha River. This river's port city was Darien, Georgia.

[22] Ibid, 18.

[23] Milton Sydney Heath, *Constructive Liberalism: The Role of the State in Economic Development in Georgia to 1860* (Cambridge, 1954), 279.

[24] Ibid.

[25] Columbus *Times*, November 4, 1846.

[26] Heath, *Constructive Liberalism*, 279-80. The quote is from the *Columbus Enquirer*, May 14, 1845.

[27] Columbus *Times*, February 1, 1848.

[28] Heath, *Constructive Liberalism*, 280.

[29] *Columbus Enquirer*, May 24, 1853. Ironically, a river boat from Apalachicola brought up the last of the iron spikes to complete the road. *Columbus Enquirer*, September 21, 1852.

[30] *Columbus Enquirer*, May 24, 1853.

[31] Columbus *Times*, February 8, 1848.

[32] Albany *Patriot*, December 8, 1854; Columbus *Times*, February 22, 1848.

[33] Columbus *Times and Sentinel*, January 17, 1854.

[34] *Columbus Enquirer*, February 27, 1855.

[35] The Montgomery and West Point Railroad was completed in 1845. See T. D. Clark, "The Montgomery and West Point Railroad Company," *Georgia Historical Quarterly* 17, (March 1933): 297.

[36] Harriet E. Amos, *Cotton City: Urban Development in Antebellum Mobile* (Tuscaloosa, 1985), 204-5.

[37] Ibid., 205.

[38] *Columbus Enquirer*, October 19, 23, 1858. These receipts came in the months of September and October.

[39] Columbus *Times and Sentinel*, July 8, 1854; *DeBow's Review* 29 (November 1860): 670.

[40] For Apalachicola cotton receipts during the years 1840 to 1860, see, Lynn Willoughby Ware, "The Cotton Trade of the Apalachicola/Chattahoochee River Valley, 1840-1860" (Ph.D. diss., Florida State University, 1989), 235.

[41] Harry P. Owens, "Apalachicola Before 1861" (Ph.D. diss., Florida State University, 1966), 249.

[42] *Commercial Advertiser*, December 9, 1848; The Macon and Western was part of the Western and Atlantic line.

[43] Reprinted in the *Columbus Enquirer*, February 21, 1860 and found in Joe T. Peddy, comp., "Chattahoochee River Steamboats From Columbus, Georgia Newspapers," 74, typescript, W. C. Bradley Memorial Library, Columbus.

[44] *Columbus Enquirer*, November 14, 1854.

[45] Ibid.; Albany *Patriot*, March 11, 1858.

[46] Hines Holt to Farish Carter, December 27, 1855, Farish Carter Papers, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina.

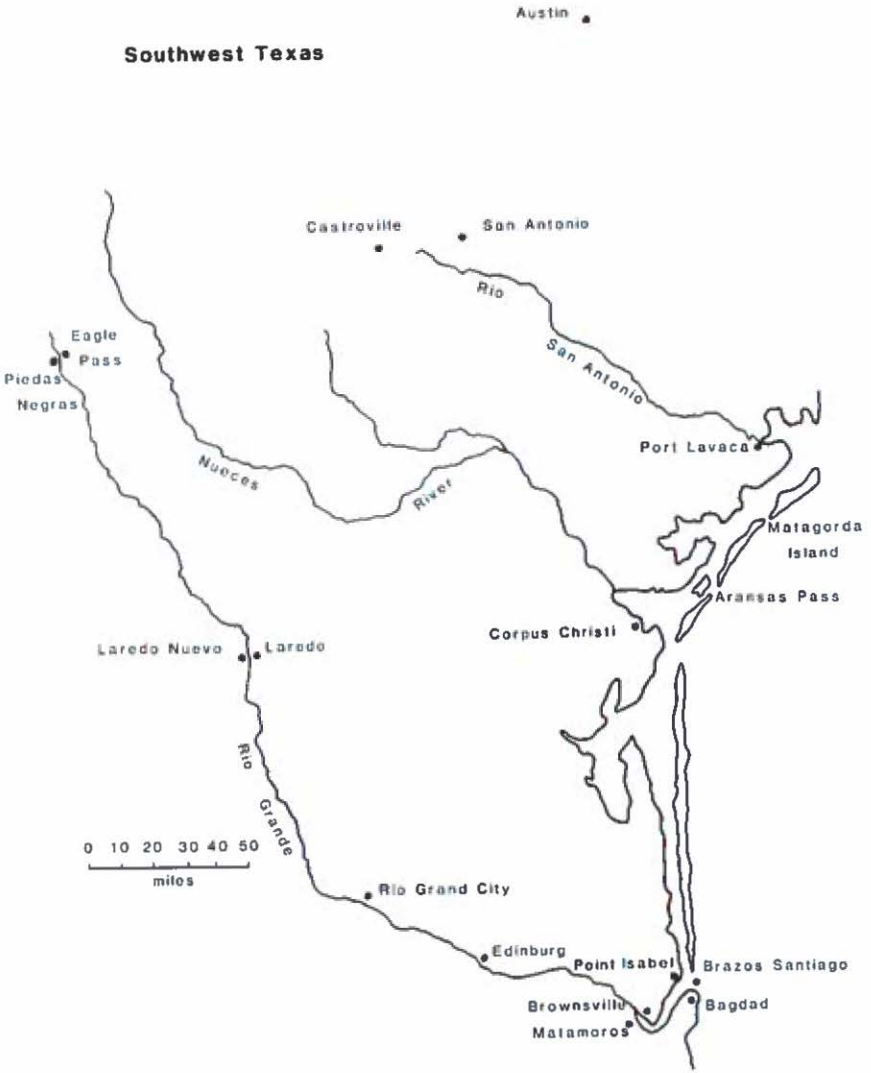
[47] *Albany Patriot*, February 25, 1858. *Columbus Enquirer*, February 5, 1856. Martin, *Columbus, Geo.*, 2: 120.

[48] James L. Watkins, *King Cotton: A Historical and Statistical Review, 1790-1908* (1908; reprint, New York, 1969), 32.

[49] Phillips, *History of Transportation*, 20.

Lynn Willoughby is Assistant Professor in the Department of History at Winthrop College.

Southwest Texas



John Vogel Map

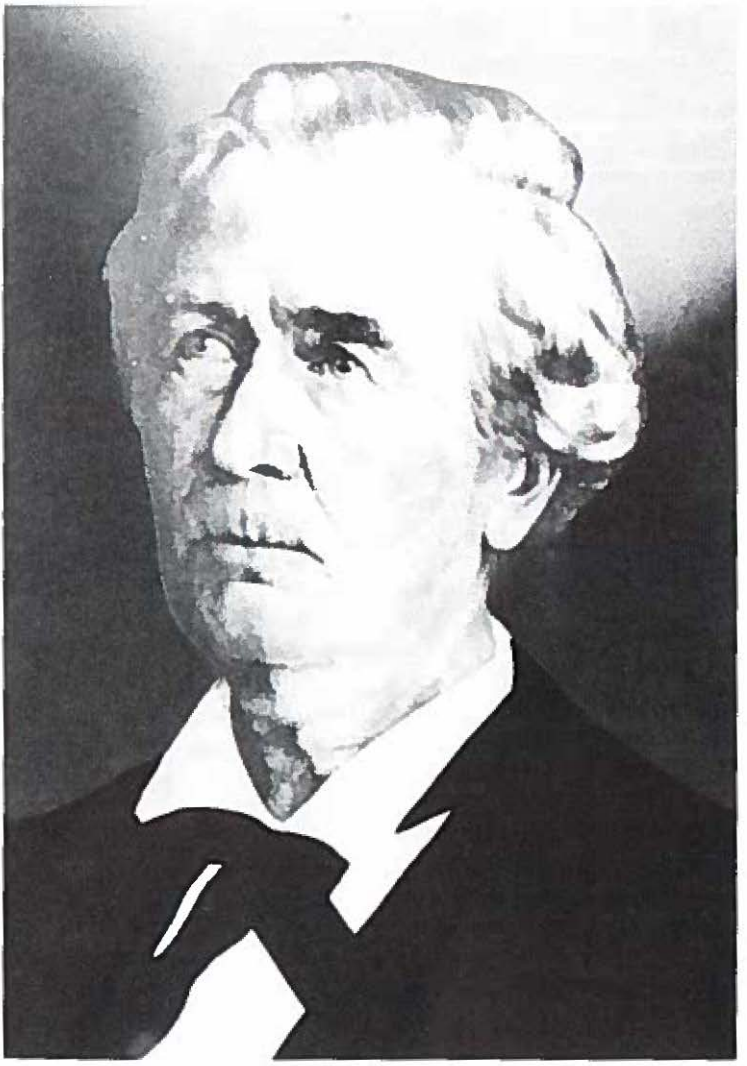
The Civil War on the Western Gulf: the Diary of Thomas H. DuVal of Texas

James Marten

The Confederate coast of the Gulf of Mexico witnessed several of the Civil War's most dramatic moments. They ranged from the Union's early capture of New Orleans to Admiral Farragut's storming of Mobile Bay late in the war and the stunning 1863 rout at Sabine Pass of a full corps of Yankees by young Lt. Dick Dowling and forty-five ragged Confederate gunners in 1863. Still another important element of the war on the Gulf was the economic battle waged along the border of rebel Texas and neutral Mexico. By mid-1863 the Mississippi River was closed to Confederate traffic and the Union blockade of eastern sea ports was also tightening. As a result there was a sense of urgency among Confederate officials and greedy speculators alike to get a huge backlog of precious cotton out of the Lone Star State and, "the western Gulf was alive with sleek little sloops, schooners, and sailing brigs." The sleepy fishing village of Bagdad, located at the Rio Grande River's entrance into the Gulf of Mexico, grew into a bustling, albeit temporary, city of 15,000. The Mexican town of Matamoros, sixty-five miles up the Rio Grande, also benefitted from the flow of Texas cotton, as did Brownsville, which in mid-1863 was "crowded with merchants and traders from all parts of the world" and where the sidewalks were "blocked up with goods." The Lincoln administration eyed this lucrative trade with interest, and in the autumn of 1863 an invasion force struck Brazos Santiago at the mouth of the Rio Grande. Brownsville quickly fell without a fight, and soon federal troops had driven the sparse defenders from points along the Texas coast as far north as Corpus Christi and up the Rio Grande as far as Rio Grande City. [1]

Shortly after the consolidation of the Yankee beachhead, Thomas H. DuVal (1813-1880) arrived in Brownsville and began recording in his diary the events transpiring in this suddenly important region of the Gulf Coast. DuVal, the United States District Judge for the Western District of Texas, was no stranger to the greater Gulf of Mexico. Although a native of Kentucky and a graduate of St. Joseph's College in Bardstown, DuVal had grown up in Florida, where his father, William Pope DuVal, had served as territorial governor for many years. Thomas himself acted as territorial secretary for Florida after graduating from college. Eventually the family migrated to Texas, where a brother, Burr, was killed in the Texas Revolution and another brother, John, became a well-known Texas Ranger and author. [2]

Thomas DuVal settled in Austin in 1845, and during the next decade he worked as a reporter for the state supreme court, as secretary of state, and as a state judge. He became a federal judge in 1857 and held that post until his death twenty-three years later. He also raised a family with his wife, Laura Howard DuVal; in 1863 their children were Florence, 23, married to a Confederate staff officer; Burr, 21, a captain in the Confederate Army; Nannie, 14; Mary, 12; and an infant son named Johnny. [3]



Thomas H. Duval *Barker Texas History Center*

Despite his close relations with Texas Confederates, DuVal, a Democrat, remained committed to the Union. He labelled secession "a sinful and suicidal act," when "madness ruled the hour, and treason triumphed," and steadfastly refused to resign his federal judgeship. [4] After an uneasy two years in Austin, the fifty-year-old judge finally left Texas in the fall of 1863 and headed for Washington, where he collected thousands of dollars in back pay and conferred with President Abraham Lincoln about affairs in Texas. By Christmas Day 1863 he was in New Orleans, and two days later he was aboard the *St. Mary*, crossing a stormy Gulf to Brownsville—headquarters of the Federal forces in Texas—where he hoped somehow to contribute to the Union war effort.

In Brownsville DuVal found few outlets for his patriotism, but he met numerous old and new friends and witnessed many of the important events in this theater of war. In his diary he wrote about the weather, his favorite hobby (fishing), and border life; he commented on the politics of Reconstruction in Louisiana and the tribulations of southern Unionists; he observed the tensions created by the necessity of distributing scarce military resources throughout the Gulf region; and he watched as Mexicans battled Mexicans across the Rio Grande in Matamoros. His diary provides a glimpse of an often-ignored corner of the Civil War. [5] This excerpt from that document begins with his departure from New Orleans. In the interests of continuity and space, entries not germane to the theme of this article have not been reprinted. Spelling and punctuation are reproduced as they appeared in the original diary.

December 27, 1863. After it got light and clear enough, got under weigh and soon crossed the bar—The weather was wild and stormy—it rained heavily too, and we soon found that the St. Mary was a terrible roller. It is now nearly 4 Oclk P.M. and there is a heavy sea, in the trough of which we are rolling tremendously. Everybody nearly seasick, and the poor horses are suffering terribly rolling about and breaking loose. [6] The St. Mary, I am sure could not weather a gale, or real heavy sea. I was introduced today to Gen'l Herron . . . Found him a very intelligent and pleasant unassuming man. Quite young to be a Maj. Genl.

December 29, 1863. Last night we had a good run and today at 4 O'clk we got inside Cavallo pass to Decrows Point. The wind has changed again to the Southward, and it looks like rain. We are now (9 PM) anchored near the shore at Decrows Point, landing horses &c. Quite a display of tents, troops &c. at Decrows, all under command of Gen. Washburne.

December 30, 1863. We had a still quiet night, our anchorage being well protected from the swell. . . . This morning Ogle told me there was a man who wanted to see me. It was Jim Armstrong, and truly glad I was to take him by the hand. He is Capt. of a Scouting company.

Having landed troops & batteries, we got off late in the evening and crossed the bar about 6 O'clk, for Brazos Santiago. Sorry to hear that we had passed Hamilton, Geo. Paschal [Jr.] & others going to New Orleans on Steamship Crescent City. We are now 8 O'clk P.M. in a rough sea and the ship rolling very heavily—Wind from S.S.E.

December 31, 1863. The old year is blowing itself out in a furious Norther—Last night when we had gotten off Corpus [Christi], the wind suddenly came out from N.W. and blew *great guns.* The Ship labored and rolled to such a degree, that she was put about and ran back for Matagorda bay.

We are now (10 1/2 A.M.) anchored outside the bar, in sight of the light house & vessels at DeCrows Point. The wind still blows hard from N.W. and it is clear and cold.

Last night our pitcher of water tumbled over and its rolling about waked me up. There was a terrible noise and uproar all over the vessel, and there was much alarm felt by some for our safety. De Normandie & myself are about

The Market House, Brownsville Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper, *February 1864, Barker Texas History Center*

the best sailors on board neither of us having been sea sick. My cough is very bad, and I am beginning to fear, I shall not soon if ever get over it. When I get to Brazos or Brownsville, I must put myself under medical treatment.

January 1, 1864. The New Year comes in with this furious Norther still blowing—There is plenty of ice on deck and as the wind gets up the foaming Gulf smokes as if its waters were boiling hot. There is more motion when we are anchored than on yesterday—No abatement yet in the gale. What great events are to be developed in the year which this day ushers in! And Alas, what ruin and destruction and what misery and wretchedness of heart is to fall on thousands. God have pity on my poor country, and grant us a peace and a restored Union, with freedom's flag (The Stars and Stripes) floating over it from Canada to the Rio Grande. It is now 10 1/2 A.M. and we are rolling heavily on the bar. About noon the weather moderated, and at 1 P.M. we got under weigh—The sea much smoother than I had expected, tho one cause of that is that we are keeping as close into land as possible.

Now at 5 P.M. we are getting along finally, the wind having gone down and the sea quite smooth. We are now not far from Aransas Pass.

January 2, 1864. Last night about 7 O'clk it commenced getting rough again and the ship rolled heavily all night. By breakfast time this morning we were off Brazos Santiago, and since then we have been rolling about on the bar. It seems probable we shall not be able to cross for want of water. The Norther has freshened up again this morning, and it is cloudy, bleak & wintry. It is now 10 Oclk A.M. and the prospect for us anything but pleasant. Beat off and on for several hours—finally about 1 Oclk P.M. a pilot came off from Brazos, and we succeeded in running in. Landed Got on board the James Hale, which carried us up to Point Isabel—Stayed there all night . . . Genl. Herron kindly offered me a seat in an ambulance, which goes to Brownsville tomorrow.

January 3, 1864. Left today for Brownsville some of the party on the ambulance

and some on horse back—Reached Brownsville about 4 Oclk and stopped at Miller's Hotel. [7]

January 4, 1864. Last night could not get a bed at Millers and stayed with John F. Allen in his tent. Besides him, met a number of friends & old acquaintances here—Judge [J.] B. McFarland, Turner, Wm & Robt. Alexander, Harnberger, Mr. Reid, Will Price, Thurman, Hammett, Reid & others. Allen, Bob Alex[ander]. & myself walked out to the camp of 1st Regt. Texas. [8] Saw to day Cols. Haynes and Davis. Slept to night at Turners.

January 5, 1864. Last night a Norther sprung up, and to day it is very cold. Ice is hanging from the coves of the houses. Judge McFarland & myself with the officers of his court, moved to day and went into a house by order of Genl. Herron. [9] I borrowed an old cot . . . and we are now trying to fix up a little—We are to keep house together, the Govn't furnishing us rations at cost.

Wm Alex[ande]r. & myself went to see Genl. Herron this evening. I am much pleased with him.

January 6, 1864. Slept very cold on my cot last night having only one blanket over me and one under. It is very cold to day—How must it be about Austin? My poor little wife & children I fear are having a hard time of it. Stayed in the house pretty much all day. Mr. Dye who has lived here 14 years, says he never saw such a cold time here before. Ice he said, was an inch thick this morning.

January 12, 1864. Last night took 2 of Wright's vegetable pills which I heard from this morning. [10]

January 13, 1864. About 8 Oclk last night firing commenced at Matamoros—Artillery & small arms—Went down to the bank of the river, and stayed 2 hours watching the flashes. Was sent for by Genl. Herron. He determined right, I think to send over some troops for protection of American Consulate & property—Sent 4 Companies. No collision occurred—They brought away the treasure of the Consulate, and left the contending parties to fight it out. [11] This morning the firing is still going on.

The sky is clear & bright to day and sun warm. . . . About 12 Olk to day firing ceased at Matamoros, and we soon learned that Cortina had been victorious—Many of Ruiz's men got across to this side by swimming. [12]

January 16, 1864. Thurman is going it alone. De Normandie loans him his repeating rifle. We have given it out that he has abandoned the trip, but is going upon a scout to day with [the 1st Texas] regiment. A compass and map was obtained for him by De Normandie.

I gave Thurman $25 in gold for himself—Also $110 in Confederates. Genl. Herron furnished him with $50 in specie and De Normandie with $15—Making in all $90 in gold and $110 in Confederates. I gave him in gold $110 for Laura, and De Normandie $100 for Mrs. [A. J.] Hamilton. Mr. Reid also sent some gold by him. Genl. Herron must pay me $28, which I am to keep for Thurman until his return. This is the amount he paid out of his own money in making his outfit. I am to send it to his family if he never gets back. A few of us here must raise some money and send on for a rifle for Thurman like De

Normandies. Thurman started about 12 Oclk. I flung my shoe after him for good luck. He carried under his saddle securely nailed in, a letter from me to Laura with a few lines to Judge Bell. . . . One from Turner to his wife—One from Reid to his wife and one from Genl. Herron to Judge Hancock. God grant he may get safely through. Wind from S.E. to day—Clear & warm.

January 20, 1864. This morning bright and warm—Dreamed last night about my wife and home more vividly than usual. My enemies were after me and I was hiding about for my life. The sort of existence I am leading here is very wearying.

January 21, 1864. Again bright and beautiful morning—warm enough to be pleasant. Stayed in the house all the morning, reading the Westminster—An article on the slave power pleased me much. [13]

After supper went with Alex[ande]r. to Miller's Hotel to call on a little fellow from N.Y. named Greene who had been to San Luis Potosi as an agent for procuring corn for the Jurez troops &c. Found him right shrewd but pompous withal. glorious night.

January 22, 1864. The sun rises bright again and we are promised another spring like day—Very dry and dusty.

January 23, 1864. Quite warm in the sun & begins to be cloudy. Men occasionally drop in here from the interior—One a German has arrived from Houston via San Antonio leaving the latter place 8 or 9 days ago. Reports that many of the soldiers were frozen near Houston in the late cold spell—No doubt there is a degree of military despotism existing beyond all that has gone before.

January 28, 1864. This morning warm & windy as usual—Judge Stribling and a party of 8 men came in from San Antonio—10 days out—I was truly glad to meet him. He brings the news of Judge [George W.] Paschal [Sr.'s] arrest in Austin, and his being sent off to Houston—From what he says, I fully expect to hear that the Judge was murdered before they took him far. Got a letter from Camp Chase Ohio—poor old John is there in prison. [14] Must send him some money. Went with Judge Stribling and introduced him to Genl. Herron.

January 30, 1864. Since we began fishing, we have had an abundance of fish on table—buffalo—This morning some of the boys went before breakfast, and caught two very large ones. I have never seen them so large and fat as they are here. Warm, with strong breeze from south. Dust horrible. [15]

February 3, 1864. Pleasant N.E. breeze this morning. Made application, with others, to become member of the Loyal League Club last night. [16] It will be acted on at their next meeting. Ki Hamilton, Frank H. Nolan & others got in to day, having left home on the 12th Decr., they bring no news.

February 4, 1864. This morning a slight sprinkle, but not enough to lay the dust. At night Judge McFarland & myself called on Genl. Herron to recommend that Stribling be authorized to raise regt. I was spokesman and gave him my views fully explaining how & why it was that Judge S[tribling] could be of so much service. He seemed fully satisfied with our representations, and suggested that the Judge go at once to New Orleans with a letter from him to Banks,

which would secure the appt. of Col. He requested that Stribling call on him tomorrow at 1 1/2 Oclk P.M.

The Genl. loaned me a book by Epes Sargent "Peculiar" a tale of the great transition. [17]

February 5, 1864. This is a real summer's morning. The air, heavy & cloudy as they should be in May. Have been reading "Peculiar." Hardly know what to make of it yet. Stribling saw the Genl. to day and leaves for Orleans in the morning.

February 9, 1864. Warmer and spring like again this morning. Our cook . . . gives us notice that he abandons the cuisine. So another artist must be provided. On consultation we have concluded to knock off from house keeping a few days. We have been getting provisions far too many from commissary.

In the evening Dr. Phillips, Geo Paschal & other friends came in town from Orleans. I got a letter from Hamilton, who will be here in next boat. The news they bring about an advance into the interior is not encouraging. Genl. Banks is attending to his political projects more than anything else. [18]

February 10, 1864. Genl. Ord., comdt. 13th Army Corps arrived yesterday on a tour of inspection. Grand review this morning of all the troops. It was a bright and warm morning, and the sight a very pretty one. [19] My cold at last is getting well. I cough but little now. Commenced taking meals to day at Mrs. Pendergast's the first being dinner. . . .

At request of Mr. Brackenridge aided him in writing protest to Genl. Herron against letting vessels come into Brazos Harbor without permits or clearance.

February 11, 1864. J. W. Talbot, of Williamson, agreed to go to Washington to day, and counteract, if possible any efforts made to supplant Hamilton. I wrote to L. W. Powell and Mr. Holt by him. At night we had a meeting of the league at which we passed resolutions complimenting . . . Hamilton, drawn by Dr. Phillips. Being called on Judge McFarland myself Dr. Phillips made a few remarks. Mr. Fenn made a very good speech on the occasion. Talbot carried with him a copy of the resolutions.

February 13, 1864. Warm as ever this morning fresh breeze from South with clouds of dust. Wayne went with me this morning he got breakfast. There will be no advance into Texas before May. Oh, how weary & restless I am. When Hamilton comes I must engage in something. Went to supper with Phillips at Mrs. Page's, while there, Capt. Lowe came up looking for a place to sleep at, saying that small pox had broken out at Mrs. Pendergast's. [20]

February 19, 1864. This morning broke bright clear & cold—the wind still blowing sharply. The top of the ground said to be frozen. In convers[at]ion with Fisk, formed the idea that he could get Benevides and all his men into Federal service. [21] Took him up to Genl. Herron's, after speaking with Mr. Brackenridge on the subject—Genl. H[erron] and M. B.—& myself on consultation, thought the thing could be done. So Fisk with full authority starts tomorrow or next day for Laredo. Mr. Brackenridge is going to Monterey to further the same matter. I feel much interest in the success of the mission by Fisk, inasmuch as it is brought about mainly by my advice.

February 22, 1864. Clear and balmy—Judge McF[arland] and Frank Hamilton & Capt. Hebert left for Point Isabel at daylight this morning. After consultation with Genl. Herron & Dr. Phillips drew up a bill to have passed by Congress to raise 10,000 Texas troops to suppress rebellion in the State. Herron will write a communication recommending it & I will send it to Mr Holt.

Geo. Paschal came in from Hayne's camp—Loaned him $5. Ball tonight by officers. Was not invited—my invitation was sent to camp 1st Tex. by mistake.

February 23, 1864. Morning bright and beautiful. But I am heartsick & weary. There is no sign or hope of an advance into the interior—On the contrary 4 regiments have been taken back to La. from Indianola and one has gone from here North on furlough. Texas is evidently abandoned for months to come, except a point or two on the Coast. [22] Added to this cause of unhappiness, are the gloomy thought about those at home. I am afraid for Thurman to come back, for fear of a still heavier wring at my heart. To divert sad thoughts, I am deep in the mysteries of "Les Miserables." [23] Jean Valjean—Poor Fantine & poor little Cozette.

February 24, 1864. Another beautiful & spring like day. At daylight this morning sent over to Genl. Herron my letter to Mr. Holt, with a note requesting him to read the same, and then put it in with his mail, after enclosing herewith the bill I had drawn and the genl's. own communication in reference thereto. I hope the measure may succeed. But I am greatly cast down at the gloomy prospects before me. Clouds and darkness have been around me ever since I left Washington, but now they are thicker than ever. A feeling of despair and recklessness is creeping over me which can't shake off. I am so afraid to see Thurman or hear from home, that it keeps me wretched, and yet I am most anxious for his return.

Read "Les Miserables" all the evening. Sent also to Herron a letter to [U.S. Secretary of State William H.] Seward recommending Dr. Philips for U.S. Mar. and authority for me to hold Court anywhere.

February 25, 1864. Another glorious spring morning. Gave Dr. Philips this day $5 to send to market for Mrs. Paige. I am thinking about the possibility of [Texas being con]verted into a separate Military Dept, with Genl. Herron in Command. If Banks is really abandoning the invasion of the State, and sending the forces to Mobile or elsewhere, I think it can be done. In such an event I may go to Washington in order to aid it's being effected. But as to this, will take no action until I see Hamilton.

To day Gus Slaughter came in—He left on the 29th Jan'y. So far as he knew my family was well. . . .

February 26, 1864. Took Slaughter & Nolan out to see Genl. Herron. After they left had a frank talk with the Genl. about getting a separate Dep't of Texas. He said it ought to be done & that he would like to have the command, but at the same time he could do nothing more than to recommend the measure, leaving it to the Texans to use any influence they could exert in favor of whomsoever they pleased, or respected a Comd't Officer. When Hamilton comes and I can have a consultation with him on this subject, I think it probable D[r.] Philips

& myself will go to Washington and endeavor to have this matter effected. Philips paid *me* back the $5.

February 27, 1864. This morning bright and beautiful as usual. 32 new (refugees) have come in from Gillespie, Blanco &c 25 of whom have joined the army. . . . The dust is horrible today. Have broken my new specs all to pieces and now use the old ones. Have read "Les Miserables" all day, and nearly at the end. It is much of tragic interest, and some of the scenes are very powerfully drawn. A great deal of it is *too frenchy*, & then it is amusive. The loves & marriage of Marcus and Cosette are of that character—Poor Jean Valjean! The grand father, Crillenormand, is the most amusive fellow in the book. Went to see a wedding tonight—Didn't see it.

February 28, 1864. High wind & horrible dust all day. Brownsville, with its drought, its dust, its fleas, its small pox, measles, big pox and filth[y] mixed breeds, will never take a loving hold on my recollections. Stayed in the house nearly all day.

February 29, 1864. About one Oclk last night, a Norther came on. This morning it is cloudy, drizzling a little and cold as Chloe. The dust which had been putting out everybody's eyes is being laid however and that is one comfort. I am wretched & miserable, beyond any other period of my life. . . . If I had my wife and children with me I should go into Mexico with them and never return. At any rate I feel like doing this.

I am suffering mentally, the torments of the damned, and feel that death would be welcome in spite of all the darkness and mystery beyond it. How gladly would I take my place with a force marching towards Austin—and fight to get back home.

March 1, 1864. The Norther is still blowing heavily, tho it has cleared off. March has "come in like a lion," and according to the old adage ought to "go out like a lamb." All day yesterday, last night and today I have suffered from a deep dejection of feeling, such as I never before experienced. I don't see any hope of its removal except by a trip to Washington.

To night after supper went in company with Mr. Brackenridge & Dr. Philips to Genl. Chevara's—Saw all his daughters and heard some fine music. Capt. Vida B. interpreted for us. [24] Philips engaged for lessons in Spanish.

March 2, 1864. . . . A report prevails here (I know not how it started) that the families of all union men out of the State have been ordered to leave Texas. [25] I hope it may be true so far as my own is concerned, provided they will not be mal treated in getting out. Genl. Herron sent me over last night the N.O. Times of the 18th. alt. containing the resolutions adopted by the League here and the proceedings of a meeting of loyal Texans in New Orleans, endorsing the same. If Hamilton would only act prudently & discreetly he would come out "all right." [26] As it is, I greatly fear he will go under, and carry his friends down with him. For one, I have and shall sustain him, so long as I can do so with any hope of success. . . .

March 3, 1864. Bright and cool. Went to barber's near Mrs. Pendergast's old stand, and got shaved. Found that Mrs. P. left yesterday for mouth of the river

to keep boarding house, so did not pay what I owe her on account of myself & Wade.

About four ocl'k P.M. walked down town, feeling sad & gloomy. Met Nolan and we went on to the parade ground & saw the muster, having taken meanwhile a drink of whiskey. The wind is from the South again, but it is quite cool. Firing a cannon last night & again to day at Matamoros, for reported victory over French at Guadalajara. Nous Verrons [We shall see].

March 4, 1864. Bright and warm day. Took a walk with Rossy down to the garden which is being prepared by the military authorities . . . east of the town. It contains about 3 acres, and will be irrigated by machinery. Found the sun quite hot in coming back. Remained at my room nearly all the evening, reading Whiting on "The war powers of the President." It is very good, and, in the main, sound treatise on the subject. [27]

Read also a manifest of Cortina and his officers in regard to the action of Vidauru [*sic*] toward Juarez. They condemn the course of the former; acknowledge the latter as the lawful head of the Mexican Republic, and state that they will sustain him as such. If Cortina will prove faithful to his works, I shall have a better opinion of him than I supposed possible. [28]

March 5, 1864. Again a bright and balmy morning birds singing—(Mocking birds, black ditto & Jack daw) and flowers blooming—all this too in spite of the drought. After breakfast walked with Brackenridge to his room—Then sauntered back home. . . . I am sick at heart and weary of life. A sense of approaching ruin and misery is crushing me with the weight of a mountain. Gave Mrs. Paige one dollar in specie to spend in Matamoros. Walked down after dinner with Brackenridge to his room. Set awhile & smoked pipe. Then went to Jordon's and bought a blank note book for $1, and thence back home. Home! What a mockery of the name!! I fear that is a thing of the past, and that I shall never have a *home* in the future.

Longby has been over to Matamoros today, and brings the news of the election in La. As far as heard from the total vote cast is near 8000. When all the returns are recd. it is supposed it will be near 10,000. This carries the State back into the Union, under the Presidents Proclamation, if it was ever out, which I don't believe. Hahn the radical free soil candidate elected Gov. by a large majority. [29] Hurrah for this manifestation of loyalty. The example of La will have a powerful effect upon the other Southern States, especially on Texas & Arkansas. To day has come . . . the first No. of a paper . . . called the "Loyal National Union Journal" with G. G. Carman's name at its head. Who he is, or whence he came, I know not. But of all wretched and impotent attempts, in the form of a newspaper, that ever I saw, it takes the lead. It is to be hoped that this first No. will never reach the interior of the State. It is calculated to make loyal men desperate. It will give them the most erroneous impressions about the good sense and intelligence of the officers and soldiers composing the U.S. forces at this point. We must unite in a memorial to Genl. Herron to suppress Carman, and put somebody else forward as his exponents of public sentiment and sense in Brownsville. [30]

DuVal's surviving diary leaps from March 1864 to February 1865. By then, his wife and three of his children had joined him in New Orleans where he dabbled in business and in politics and waited to go home. Nothing much came of his war plans; Texas never became a separate military department, the United States government failed to recruit ten thousand Texans, and a northern army never marched deep into the heart of Texas—in fact, Texas irregulars chased the remaining Yankees out of Brownsville and all of mainland Texas in late July 1864. Federal troops would not re-enter the state until Reconstruction, and Texas Unionists, including military governor and Brig. Gen. A. J. Hamilton, saw their suggestions about reclaiming the Lone Star State for the Union fall on deaf ears in Washington and New Orleans. The massive campaigns in Virginia and Georgia in 1864 and 1865 diverted resources, energy, and leadership away from the Trans-Mississippi, and, as DuVal had feared during his stay at Brownsville, Texas once again became a Gulf Coast backwater without an important role in the sectional conflict. [31]

The DuVals finally reached Texas in July 1865, where they picked up the pieces of their lives. DuVal once again dispensed justice from his federal bench, became a moderate Republican, and survived an impeachment attempt by the Radical Republicans in 1872. He died during a vacation in Nebraska in October 1883. [32]

Biographies

Unless otherwise noted, biographical information was found in Patricia L. Faust, ed., *Historical Times Illustrated Encyclopedia of the Civil War* (New York, 1986), or Walter P. Webb, ed., *Handbook of Texas*, 2 vols. (Austin, 1952). Information on the age, birthplace, occupation, and wealth of Travis County men came from Alice Duggan Gracy and Emma Gene Seal Gentry, comps., *Travis County, Texas: The Five Schedules of the 1860 Federal Census* (Austin, 1967), and Schedule One of the 1860 manuscript consensus of Travis County, located on microfilm at the Texas State Archives in Austin. The Unionism of many characters was gleaned from a "Union Petition" signed by 261 Travis County residents early in 1861 that urged the county's delegates to the impending state convention to reject secession. The petition and the list of signers appears in Frank Brown, *Annals of Travis County and of the City of Austin (From the Earliest Times to the Close of 1875)*, Austin Travis County Collection, Austin Public Library.

ALEXANDER, ROBERT A., 30, and WILLIAM, 42, Kentucky-born lawyers and Union petitioners from Travis County.

ALLEN, JOHN T. (1828-1888), a Scottish-born lawyer from Austin, Union petitioner, and former justice of the peace. He was reported by the *Tri-Weekly State Gazette* of July 4, 1863, as a "deserted" conscript.

ARMSTRONG, J., 31, an Irish upholsterer from Travis County.

BANKS, NATHANIEL P. (1816-1894), the former Republican governor of Massachusetts and a major general of volunteers in the Union Army. He was civil commander of the Federal Department of the Gulf from December 1862 to September 1864, and again in the spring of 1865.

BELL, JAMES H. (1825-1892), a Texas-born lawyer and Unionist, served as a state district judge and as an associate justice on the state supreme court (1858-1864). In 1863, he issued a minority opinion declaring the Confederate conscription act unconstitutional.

BENAVIDES, SANTOS (1823-1891), a descendant of a prominent *Tejano* family who had ranched near Laredo for generations. During the Civil War, he raised and commanded a regiment of largely Hispanic Confederate troops. After the war he served as a Democrat in the Texas legislature.

BRACKENRIDGE, GEORGE W. (1832-1920), an Indianan, settled with his family in Jackson County, Texas, in the 1850s. After a lucrative stint trading cotton along the Rio Grande early in the war, Brackenridge left Texas in the summer of 1863. He soon found employment with the United States Treasury Department in New Orleans. After the war, Brackenridge became a prominent San Antonio businessman, philanthropist, and regent of the University of Texas.

DAVIS, EDMUND J., a Florida native and pre-war South Texas judge, fled Texas early in the war, commanded the 1st Texas Cavalry, and eventually rose to the rank of brigadier general in the Union Army. He served as Texas's only Radical Republican governor after the war.

DENORMANDIE, W. P., 38, a Pennsylvania-born lawyer and Unionist from Travis County. Upon DuVal's arrival in New Orleans, DeNormandie had helped arrange the judge's passage to Brownsville.

DYE, GEORGE, a Brownsville merchant and mayor in 1863, had cooperated fully with Confederate authorities, but disgusted with the destruction caused by the Confederate evacuation, took the oath of loyalty to the Union. His wife and daughters, ardent and vocal secessionists, were transported into Mexico by Federal troops during the Federal occupation. Benjamin Franklin McIntyre, *Federals on the Frontier: The Diary of Benjamin F. McIntyre, 1862-1865*, ed. Nannie M. Tilley (Austin, 1963), 336-37.

FENN, F. F., the alias of Gilbert D. Kingsbury (c. 1830-1877), a New Hampshire-born lawyer and teacher who arrived in Brownsville under that assumed name in 1855. He became postmaster, but left office after secession and went to Matamoros in December 1861.

HAMILTON, ANDREW JACKSON (1815-1875), an Austin lawyer and former Unionist congressman. After his flight from Texas in 1862, President Lincoln appointed him a brigadier general and military governor of Texas. He was the first Reconstruction governor of Texas.

HAMILTON, FRANK, A. J. Hamilton's oldest son, born in Alabama sometime before the family came to Texas in 1846. John L. Waller, *Colossal Hamilton of Texas: A Biography of Andrew Jackson Hamilton* (El Paso, 1968), 3.

HAMILTON, HEZEKIAH B. ("Ki"), A. J.'s brother, whom the military governor appointed wreckmaster of Cameron County. Waller, *Colossal Hamilton*, 51.

HAMMITT, WASH, 36, a Union petitioner and farmer from Travis County.

HANCOCK, JOHN (1824-1893), A. J. Hamilton's former law partner. A state judge, legislator, slaveowner, and Unionist, Hancock defended many conscript resisters in Texas before leaving Austin in the spring of 1864. He served as a Democrat in Congress after the war.

HAYNES, JOHN L. (1821-1885), a Virginia-born Starr County merchant and state legislator from 1857-1861. A proponent of Hispanic civil rights and of the Union, Haynes left Texas sometime in 1862. He became lieutenant colonel of the 1st Cavalry and later commanded the 2nd Texas Cavalry. After the war, he helped found the Republican Party in Texas.

HERRON, FRANCIS JAY (1837-1902), a militia captain from Iowa. He won the Medal of Honor at the Battle of Pea Ridge in 1862. He later became a major general and commanded a corps at Brownsville.

HOLT, JOSEPH (1807-1894), Lincoln's Judge Advocate General. Like DuVal, he was born in Kentucky and attended St. Joseph's College in Bardstown. Holt had been very helpful to DuVal while the latter was in Washington.

HORNBERGER, J., 34, a Bavarian-born tailor and Union petitioner from Travis County.

MCFARLAND, J. B., was appointed judge of the provisional court of the military government of Texas by Military Governor A. J. Hamilton.

ORD, EDWARD O. C. (1818-1883), a West Pointer, began the war as a brigadier and became a major general in the spring of 1862. He served in the western theater, taking command of the 13th Corps during the Vicksburg campaign. He later commanded troops during the final campaign in Virginia.

PASCHAL, GEORGE WASHINGTON, SR. (1812-1878), defended other Texas dissidents in court. Some of his property was impressed to pay overdue Confederate taxes. He was arrested by local Confederate authorities and jailed for several days without being charged with a crime.

PASCHAL, GEROGE WASHINGTON, JR., 23, DuVal's nephew and son of Marcia and George Paschal, Sr. He left Texas in September 1862, and eventually became lieutenant colonel of the Union's 2nd Texas Cavalry. *Austin State Gazette*, October 1, 1862; Index to Compiled Service Records of Volunteer Union Soldiers who Served in Organizations From the State of Texas, Record Group 94, National Archives Microfilm.

PHILIPS, WILLIAM D., of Missouri, established a medical practice in Austin sometime before 1854. He served as Secretary of State in 1857 and as Chief Clerk of the State Comptroller's Office in 1871.

POWELL, LAZARUS W. (1812-1867), a former Democratic governor of Kentucky and a United States Senator from 1859-1865. He was a classmate of DuVal's at St. Joseph's College in Bardstown, Kentucky, in 1833. *Biographical Directory of the American Congress, 1774-1971* (Washington, 1971), 1563.

PRICE, W. D., 26, George Paschal's law clerk and stepson; he, like his stepfather, signed the Unionist petition.

REID, S. B., the Marshal of the Provisional Court of the Military Government of Texas. *Loyal National Union Journal*, March 13, 1864.

SEWARD, WILLIAM H. (1801-1872), former governor of and senator from New York and Secretary of State from 1861 to 1869. Seward had helped DuVal in Washington, and the Texan thought very highly of the Yankee politician.

SLAUGHTER, AUGUSTUS B., 33, a Travis County stockraiser and slaveowner, became a captain in the 1st Texas Cavalry in March 1864, Marcus J. Wright, comp., *Texas in the War, 1861-1865* (Hillsboro, Texas, 1965), 67.

STRIBLING, THOMAS H., an ardent Bexar County Unionist and jurist. Charles Ramsdell, *Reconstruction in Texas* (New York, 1910), 161, 265.

THURMAN, H. G., 39, a Travis County farmer originally from Illinois.

TURNER, EZEKIEL B. (1825-1888), a Vermont-born attorney who had practiced law in Austin since 1854. He later served as United States Attorney, State District Judge, and United States District Judge.

WASHBURN, CADWALLADER COLDEN (1818-1882), a Wisconsin politician and major general, commanded the 13th Corps at Brownsville in 1863.

Notes

The author wishes to thank John Vogel for drawing the map that accompanies this article.

[1] Robert L. Kerby, *Kirby Smith's Confederacy: The Trans-Mississippi South, 1863-1865* (New York, 1972), 162, 181; *Austin Tri-Weekly State Gazette*, June 25, 1863; Kerby, 191-93. A valuable survey of the diplomatic, military, and political contexts of the cotton trade is James W. Daddyman's *The Matamoros Trade: Confederate Commerce, Diplomacy, and Intrigue* (Newark, 1984).

[2] Bessie Berry Grabowskii, *The DuVal Family of Virginia, 1701: Descendants of Daniel DuVal, Huguenot, and Allied Families* (Richmond, 1931), 229-34; J. Frank Dobie, *John C. DuVal; First Texas Man of Letters* (Dallas, 1939), 9-26.

[3] James D. Lynch, *The Bench and Bar of Texas* (St. Louis, 1885), 160-61; Grabowskii, *DuVals of Virginia*, 223-24.

[4] DuVal to James Guthrie, May 30, 1864, DuVal Papers, Barker Texas History Center, University of Texas at Austin.

[5] The diary, written in tiny, leather-bound account books, resides at the Barker Texas History Center at the University of Texas at Austin, which has generously granted the editor permission to prepare and publish this extract.

[6] The first wave of Union troops sailed from New Orleans on October 22 and landed at Brazos Santiago on November 2, 1863. Its voyage, like DuVal's was battered by storms most of the way; the seas grew so dangerous that baggage, mules, and horses were thrown overboard. Benjamin Franklin McIntyre, *Federals on the Frontier; The Diary of Benjamin F. McIntyre, 1862-1864*, ed. Nannie M. Tilley (Austin, 1963), 239-49.

[7] The Cameron House was renamed Miller's Hotel in 1858; it served Brownsville for a century. Officers of the invading force held formal dinners there. Ibid., 232.

[8] Texas refugees—including many Hispanics—eventually composed two Union regiments, the 1st and 2nd Texas Cavalry. Frank Smyrl, "Texans in the Federal Army, 1861-1865," *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* 65 (October 1961): 234-50.

[9] The court administered by McFarland met at the Brownsville Episcopal Church, and assumed "all the jurisdiction, civil and criminal, that was formerly distributed among all the courts of the State of Texas," including the justices of the peace and probate, district, and state supreme courts. *Loyal National Union Journal*, March 12 and May 21, 1864.

[10] Wright's Indian Vegetable Pills—a popular antebellum cure all—celebrated the natural healing practiced by native Americans and supposedly passed on to whites; its wrapper portrayed an Indian—holding a banner labelled "Wright's Pills"—gazing out over a river on which a side-wheeler steamed toward a modern city. James Harvey Young, *The Toadstool Millionaires: A Social History of Patent Medicines in America before Federal Regulation* (Princeton, 1961), 176.

[11] Lt. B. F. McIntyre crossed the river into Matamoros with two regiments and two artillery pieces. The expedition confirmed his disdain for the ill-disciplined Mexican soldiers. McIntyre, *Federals on the Frontier*, 292.

[12] The invasion of Mexico by French forces threw the nationalistic government of President Benito Juarez into disarray, and forced prominent Mexicans to choose sides. Manuel Ruiz, governor of Tamaulipas, lost his job when the conservative Gen. Jose Maria Cobos occupied Matamoros in November 1863. Soon, however, Juan N. Cortina, Juarez supporter, captured the city, executed Cobos, and released Ruiz. At the same time, however, Cortina appointed his own governor of Tamaulipas. Ruiz raised an army to take back his governorship and his capital, but was easily defeated by Cortina in early 1864. McIntyre reported that after Ruiz's escape, his supporters were hunted down and slaughtered. Ronnie C. Tyler, *Santiago Vidaurri and the Southern Confederacy* (Austin, 1973), 120-21; McIntyre, *Federals on the Frontier*, 292.

[13] The *Westminster Review* 154 (October 1862): 263-74, published a very positive review of J. E. Cairnes, *The Slave Power; its Character, Career, and Probable Designs: Being an Attempt to Explain the Real Issues Involved in the American Contest* (London, 1862). Cairnes, a British economist, characterized the slave power as an impediment to civilization and progress. The South, as well as the institution of slavery, needed territorial expansion to survive. Cairnes accepted the existence of a Slave Power Conspiracy and believed that the South would not give up slavery voluntarily. The North, he argued, was fighting for a Union free of the Slave Power's plans and needs.

[14] Apparently DuVal's brother John Crittenden DuVal, who had joined the Confederate Army as a private and served east of the Mississippi, where he was captured and sent to a northern prison camp. There is no other evidence that John communicated with his family during the war. Dobie, *John C. DuVal*, 14.

[15] McIntyre reported on March 21, 1864, that many of his fellow Yankees had complained to the regimental surgeon of sore eyes from the wind-blown dust. McIntyre, *Federals on the Frontier*, 314-15.

[16] The "Union League," a patriotic club organized to aid the Republican Party in the North, met every Saturday night in Brownsville's Market Hall. *Loyal National Union Journal*, May 21, 1864.

[17] Epes Sargent (1813-1880), a Massachusetts-born journalist, poet, novelist, playwright, editor, and author of a widely-used series of school readers. His novel, *Peculiar: A Tale of the Great Transition* was published in 1864. *Dictionary of American Biography* (New York, 1935), 16: 356-57.

[18] The Texan refugees obviously hoped for a push into the interior of Texas, toward their homes. Although Banks was indeed busy with New Orleans politics—he held an election for governor early in February and a constitutional convention early in April—he no doubt was also preoccupied with plans for his long-awaited and ill-fated campaign up the Red River, which lasted from March to May 1864. Joe Gray Taylor, *Louisiana Reconstructed, 1863-1877* (Baton Rouge, 1974), 25-29; Patricia L. Faust, ed., *Historical Times Illustrated Encyclopedia of the Civil War* (New York, 1986), 619-20.

[19] Lt. McIntyre pronounced the display "the finest review ever participated in by our troops." McIntyre, *Federals on the Frontier*, 302.

[20] Late in January, Lt. McIntyre recorded in his diary that "the Smallpox still rages through the place. It is among the inhabitance very many of which have contacted this loathsome disease And there are many cases among the soldiers." He, too, found life in occupied Texas quite boring: "the days are dull, indeed," he wrote after one month in Texas, "and we can find but little to do to beguile its tediousness." Ibid. 272.

[21] Col. Santos Benavides' regiment of Confederate cavalry, raised from the Hispanic population living in South Texas, conducted operations throughout the Rio Grande Valley. He apparently remained loyal to the Confederacy until the end of the war, although rumors occasionally circulated that he had deserted the Confederate cause. John Denny Riley, "Santos Benavides: His Influence on the Lower Rio Grande, 1823-1891" (Ph.D. diss., Texas Christian University, 1976); N. J. T. Dana to Leonard Pierce, December 1, 1863, *The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies* (Washington, 1888-1901), ser. 1, vol. 26, pt. 1, 830.

[22] At the instigation of the Union Army brass in Washington, Banks had to give up plans for further action in Texas and withdraw all but 2500 of the invasion force during the winter of 1863-1864 in order to build up his own army for the big push in Louisiana in the spring. Kerby, *Kirby Smith's Confederacy*, 194-95.

[23] Victor Hugo's massive—and massively popular—*Les Miserables* was published in 1862. Bell I. Wiley reports that it was a popular source of reading entertainment among Confederate soldiers in *The Life of Johnny Reb: The Common Soldier of the Confederacy* (Chapel Hill, 1943), 162.

[24] Perhaps Adrian J. Vidal, a young Tejano who first served as a captain in the Confederate army, only to desert with all of his men in October 1863. He surfaced as the captain of "Vidal's Partisan Rangers"—a Union scouting company—only to desert from the Yankee army in June 1864. Jerry Don Thompson, *Vasqueros in Blue and Gray* (Austin, 1976), 71-79.

[25] No such order was issued, although late in 1864 most of DuVal's family travelled to New Orleans with A. J. Hamilton's wife Mary. John Leroy Waller, *Colossal Hamilton of Texas: A Biography of Andrew Jackson Hamiliton, Militant Unionist and Reconstruction Governor* (El Paso, 1968), 57.

[26] In February Hamilton had given a toast at a dinner in Matamoros—hosted by Juan Cortina—in which he saluted Benito Juarez and expressed his hope that the French would soon be driven out of Mexico. His speech sparked a minor diplomatic crisis and a small uproar in the New Orleans papers. Hamilton had a penchant for making enemies. As early as January 1863, Gen. N. P. Banks, commanding at New Orleans, complained, "General Hamilton is not a bad man, but he does not manifest great force of character." He was "surrounded by men who came here . . . for base, speculative purposes." Banks later tried to get Hamilton's commission revoked. Waller, *Colossal Hamilton*, 52-53; Banks to Maj. Gen. Henry Halleck, January 7, 1863, and Edwin Stanton to Banks, January 18, 1863, both in *The War of the Rebellion*, ser. 1, vol. 15, 200-201, 656.

[27] William Whiting (1813-1873), a solicitor in the War Department from 1862-1865 and a congressman from Massachusetts for the last four months of his life. He argued throughout the war that a cabinet post should be established to deal with the problems of emancipating the slaves. *Biographical Directory of the American Congress*, 1916; Allan Nevins, *The War for the Union: The Organized War, 1863-1864* (New York, 1971), 420, 431.

[28] Santiago Vidaurri, governor of Nuevo Leon y Coahuila, a long-time power in the North of Mexico and a proponent of regionalism rather than centralization, supported the French rather than the Mexican nationalists under Benito Juarez, while Juan Cortina, a wealthy Tejano, had angered most Anglo Texans in 1859, when he and a motley army had raided the area around Brownsville, claiming that Anglo land speculators had been cheating Mexican landowners for decades. Tyler, *Santiago Vidaurri*, 141.

[29] Michael Hahn, a moderate Unionist, received 6171 votes for governor out of a total of 11,355. This accounted for over 20 percent of the votes cast in Louisiana in the 1860 election, which easily qualified the state for a reconstruction government under the terms of Lincoln's "ten percent plan." Taylor, *Louisiana Reconstructed*, 30.

[30] The *Loyal National Union Journal* began publishing on a weekly basis on March 5, 1864, and ran no later than July 13, 1864. Its editor, C. C. Carman, wrote in the first issue that "we are in favor of the Union, the Constitution and the War," and dedicated his paper to "the interests of the army, the people, and the election of ABRAHAM LINCOLN." Carman's breezy style, his Republican politics, and his less-than-sympathetic attitude toward Texas refugees—he frequently questioned their motives in fleeing their homes or deserting from the Confederate army—apparently angered DuVal. Lt. McIntyre reported that the newspaper was published by Federal soldiers. McIntyre, *Federals on the Frontier*, 312.

[31] Kerby, *Kirby Smith's Confederacy*, 369.

[32] Lynch, *Bench and Bar of Texas*, 163; *The Charges Against the Federal Court at Austin. Extracts from the* State Journal, Statesman, *and* Galveston News (Austin, 1872).

James Marten is Professor of History at Marquette University.

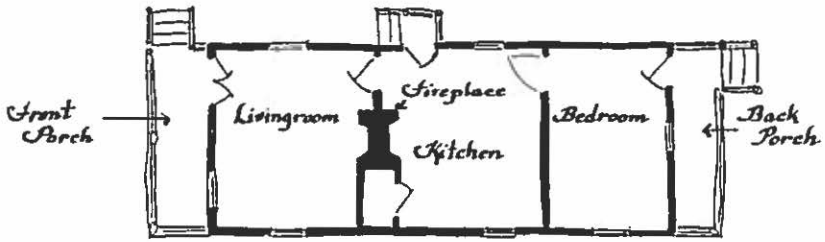
Shotgun houses in 1937 *Arthur Rothstein/FSA Photo, Library of Congress*

Shoulder to Shoulder . . . Mobile's Shotgun Houses

John S. Sledge

One of the most common house types of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century urban South was the shotgun. Distinguished by its plan, it consists of three to five rooms arranged directly front to back. This accounts for the derivation of the name, one could fire a shotgun through the front door and the buck-shot would pass through the aligned doorways and out the back. In addition, most of these houses feature recessed porches under the main roofline of the house and are set on brick piers two to three feet off the ground.

The origins of the shotgun house are still being debated by scholars. One of the most intriguing theories contends that the shotgun house is an African architectural legacy which filtered into the American South via Haiti. Over twenty years ago, the pioneering folklorist Henry Glassie suspected that because of its association with blacks, the shotgun house might have African roots. More recently, John Michael Vlach further developed this argument in a Ph.D. dissertation and subsequent scholarly articles. [1] Not all architectural historians agree with an African genesis however. Some argue that the shotgun is simply the rural hall and parlor plan house reoriented on a narrow urban lot. [2] Others have suggested either native American Indian antecedents or a logical evolution from small nineteenth century frame office buildings. [3]



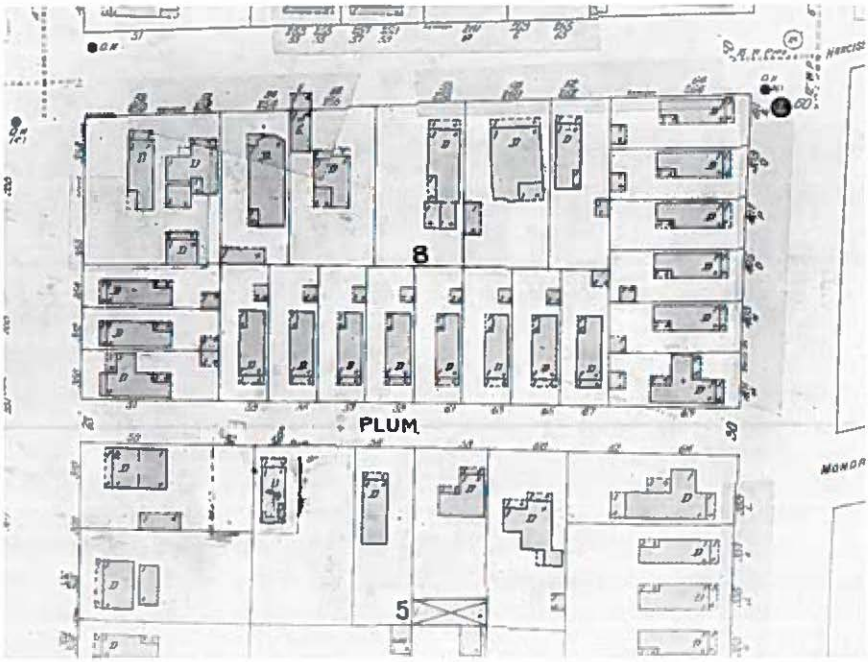
Typical Shotgun house floorplan *Mobile Historic Development Commission*

While questions of origins are interesting, the purpose of this article is to introduce the reader to the form and variety of shotgun houses in Mobile. Although shotgun houses may have appeared in New Orleans as early as 1850, they did not become popular in Mobile until well after the Civil War. [4] Into the 1870s, Mobile's working class, black and white, still lived in Creole Cottages along the Mobile River and north of downtown. The Creole Cottage, a Gulf Coast folk type common by 1860, consisted of four massed rooms with no interior hallways and a gable roof parallel to the street. The Civil War and subsequent economic stagnation limited new construction in Mobile and together with general human conservatism, insured the persistence of the Creole Cottage.

In 1873 Ehrgotte Kreb produced a "Bird's Eye View of Mobile" showing a busy riverfront and densely settled downtown. Kreb's map clearly indicates

Creole Cottage built c. 1835
101 Hamilton St. (now destroyed)

S. Blake McNeely
Collection, USA Archives



Typical Shotgun house block, 1904

Sanborn Insurance Co. Map, MHDC

hundreds of Creole Cottages with their distinctive recessed porches and gable roofs. Yet to the north and west of downtown are small numbers of shotgun houses as well. Grouped by twos and threes, these long, narrow, gable roof to the front houses are vastly outnumbered by the older cottages. Shotgun houses were built in limited numbers during the 1880s, as confirmed by the 1885 Sanborn Fire Insurance Map. In the last decade of the century, construction of these houses accelerated dramatically. The 1891 Bird's Eye Map of Mobile shows entire rows of newly constructed shotgun houses and the 1904 Sanborn Map confirms their presence in even greater numbers. Indeed, between 1890 and 1910, literally thousands were constructed and the Creole Cottage was usurped as the primary dwelling of the working class.

The reasons for this ascendence are economic. As Mobile recovered from the Civil War, the demand for cheap housing was most effectively met by the shotgun house. The renewed vigor of the port and expanding rail-yards greatly increased the working class population. [5] The shotgun house proved cheap and easy to build in great numbers. One could comfortably fit two of them on the old 50-by-120-foot lot, the standard antebellum parcel. This was a great advantage as land in the city was expensive, and houses had to be fitted more closely together. Indeed, by the turn of the century, twenty-five foot wide lots were not uncommon in working class neighborhoods. The shotgun house made efficient use of such narrow lots. Whereas the older Creole Cottage with its massed floorplan took up most of the width of a fifty foot lot, much of the rear of the lot remained unused. The shotgun house not only required less frontage on the street, but proved easy to add on to, rooms were simply attached to the rear. Little wonder that with renewed economic development and an expanding working class, the shotgun house became so common.

The shotgun house has historically been associated with the white and black working classes, millworkers, and common laborers. This generally holds true in Mobile. Surviving examples, and there are hundreds, are concentrated south of Canal Street along the river and north of downtown in what are today predominately black districts. Yet some can be found in every neighborhood seventy or more years old.

Who built these structures and why? The answers are as numerous as the varied housing needs of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Some shotgun houses were built as servant's quarters or rental property by the middle and upper classes. They could be erected in groups, as in September 1908 when a pair of brothers applied for a permit to "build six one story shacks," each measuring 15-by-43 feet, clearly shotguns. The brothers, one a grocer and one a bookkeeper, rented these houses to working people. [6] In some cases the middle class actually lived in these houses. Frank White, a lumberman, built two on Chatham Street just off fashionable Washington Square in 1899. He rented one out and lived in the other with his wife. [7] Shotgun houses were also built in large numbers for speculative purposes, such as those along Caroline Avenue, built c. 1903 by real estate man John B. Marshall as rental property. [8] Serviceable and cheap to build, shotguns were perfect for company and factory housing.

Shotgun house with Victorian trim and offset wing, 970 State St. *John Sledge Photo, MHDC*

Neo-Classical influence, 260 N. Dearborn St. *John Sledge Photo, MHDC*

One cotton mill in Mobile provided over twenty "small tenement houses of three to five rooms" for its employees in 1899. [9] Over subsequent years the company built more for its workers. There were eventually over fifty shotguns, lining a company street with the general store at the head. Today only two of these houses remain behind the large brick cotton mill.

Whether built by speculators or company owned, and despite some instances of owner occupation, the shotgun house served primarily as rental property for the city's working class. Both whites and blacks lived in these houses, sometimes along the same street. In the ward north of downtown, the population was 69 percent black in 1890 and 79 percent black in 1910. Whites worked as carpenters, railroad brakemen, painters, and baymen while blacks were laborers (most common), cooks, laundresses, stevedores, and carpenters. [10] One thing notable about these jobs is that white women dominated no category of employment, whereas all the cooks and laundresses were black women.

Even in the other wards, with a lower percentage of blacks, working class streets were relatively integrated. While this may seem surprising at first, there is a sensible explanation. Transportation was limited to trolleys and horses. The trolley lines ran along the major streets, such as Government and Dauphin, where the homes of the wealthy were concentrated. Since few among the working class had carriages or horses and most lived far from the trolley tracks, it was imperative that they live close to the river and rail-yards so they could walk to work. It was only with the introduction of the automobile and the westward expansion of Mobile that many inner city neighborhoods became almost completely black. After the 1960s the shotgun house was firmly associated in the popular mind with the urban poor.

Despite their simple form, and the modest means of those who occupied them, Mobile's builders found many ways to embellish and improve these structures. Though dictated by an expanding economy and the need to shelter workers cheaply, shotgun houses were very much influenced by contemporary architectural style and taste. Some surviving examples have Victorian turned posts, brackets, drop friezes and balustrades on the porch. Transoms over the doors and bullseye block molding around windows and doors are also common. All of these elements were widely available at the time from builders' catalogs. The proliferating railroad networks allowed lumber mills to ship this trim all over the country cheaply. Such Victorian ornament, known popularly as "gingerbread," is nicely displayed on the house at 970 State Street (1888). This house also boasts more room with its offset wing. [11] Other builders preferred a Neo-Classical expression, as seen at 260 N. Dearborn Street (1900). With its boxed columns and pedimented gable, this house looks like a miniature temple.

After the first decade of this century the shotgun house became much plainer. Door transoms and moldings disappeared and plain square posts replaced decorative porch work, as seen at 302 St. Charles Avenue. The reasons for this vary. Elaborate decoration had begun to pass from favor on all houses in a reaction to Victorian excess. Higher labor costs made such millwork expensive. In addition, the bungalow was coming into vogue for the middle class and even

Unadorned shotgun house, 302 St. Charles Ave. *John Sledge Photo, MHDC*

new rental housing was constructed in this style. As bungalows sprouted on city streets, some shotgun house owners attempted to emulate the newer style by changing out their porch supports from turned posts to tapered box columns on brick plinths. Indeed, shotgun houses built during the 1920s and 1930s included these porch elements, as well as exposed rafters and triangular braces in the gable. Despite this attempt to remain in the stylistic mainstream, the form and floorplan remained the same.

Shotgun houses continued to be built right up to World War II when material shortages curtailed all construction. In the postwar years, other house types, including the trailer, became popular. In the 1960s hundreds of shotgun houses were bulldozed for urban renewal and even today some people consider them little more than eyesores. Yet in recent years a number have been restored by young urban professionals moving into the city's historic districts. Small, easy to maintain, and quaint, they lend themselves perfectly to the single lifestyle. With fresh paint, neatly trimmed yards, and flowers on the porch, some have even been opened for historic house tours. Unfortunately the vast majority remain outside of the historic districts and are slowly deteriorating. Some have even been torn down by the city as suspected crack houses. Though shotguns do not fit the popular idea of a historic home, no one can hope to understand a working river town like Mobile without appreciating these humble houses, which once stood shoulder to shoulder along inner-city streets.

Shotgun houses on Lola St., 1988 *John Sledge Photo, MHDC*

Notes

[1] John Michael Vlach, "Sources of the Shotgun House: African and Caribbean Antecedents for Afro-American Architecture" (Ph.D. diss., Indiana University, 1975). See also John Michael Vlach, "The Shotgun House: African Architectural Legacy," *Pioneer America* (January 1976): 47.

[2] Virginia and Lee McAlester, *A Field Guide to American Houses* (New York, 1985), 90.

[3] Fred Kniffen, "The Physiognomy of Rural Louisiana," *Louisiana History* 4 (Fall 1963): 293. Eugene M. Wilson, *Alabama Folk Houses* (Montgomery, 1975), 50.

[4] Elizabeth Gould, *From Port to Port: An Architectural History of Mobile, Alabama 1711-1918* (Tuscaloosa, AL, 1988), 289.

[5] Mobile's population grew slowly during the postwar years, from 30,000 in 1860 to 39,000 in 1900. Between 1900 and 1910 however, growth accelerated and the city had over 51,000 residents. Most of Mobile's shotgun houses were constructed in these first ten years of the twentieth century.

[6] Records of Inspection Services Department, RG 20, Series 9, Box 1, Applications for Building permits, 1905-1928, September 1, 1908, Mobile Municiple Archives. See also 1909 Mobile *City Directory*, N. Hamilton Street which lists the occupations of residents in these six houses.

[7] Mobile Historic Development Commission Files, Oakleigh Garden Historic District, 307-309 Chatham Street.

[8] Mobile Historic Development Commission Files, Old Dauphin Way Historic District, 1104-1110 Caroline Avenue.

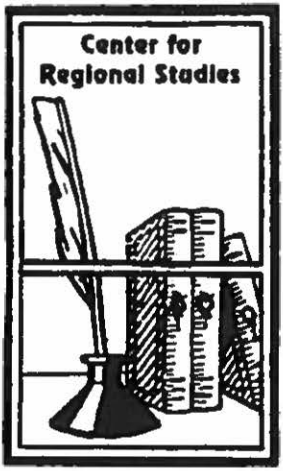
[9] Mobile *Daily Register*, September 1, 1899.

[10] Mobile *City Directory*, 1903.

Besides offset wings or rooms added to the rear, shotgun houses could be expanded by the addition of a half story at the rear. The resulting configuration was called a "camelback." While these are common in New Orleans, there are no examples in Mobile. Two shotgun houses in Mobile's Oakleigh Garden District have half story rear additions which were added within the last fifty years. This is evident from the differences in materials between the original houses and the additions. As such these two are not considered historic camelbacks.

John S. Sledge is an architectural historian with the Mobile Historic Development Commission.

Renovated shotgun houses on Caroline St., 1990 *Ann Crutcher photo, MHDC*



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Path of Hurricane Betsy

From Charles Sullivan,
Hurricanes of the Mississippi Gulf Coast

Victor H. Schiro, Hurricane Betsy, and the "Forgiveness Bill"

Edward F. Haas

New Orleanians, like Mexicans, have historically led a precarious existence. Residents of the Crescent City, of course, have not lived on the rims of active volcanoes nor have they suffered from serious food shortages. Since the founding of the city, however, they have experienced numerous deadly encounters with pestilence and natural disasters. For instance, in 1849 a cholera epidemic devastated the Crescent City. Four years later a yellow fever outbreak carried away over eleven thousand souls. Such epidemics indeed were annual occurrences that convinced the wealthy to depart the city during the unhealthy summer months. Floods also took their toll. In 1849 the collapse of a levee near Carrollton sent a torrent of water surging toward the metropolis that ultimately inundated 220 city blocks. For more than forty days, New Orleans was underwater. In 1927 the city narrowly escaped the wrath of the great flood that devastated the Lower Mississippi Valley. [1]

In the twentieth century, medical science and technology brought some relief from these calamities. Walter Reed's discovery that the mosquito was the vector for yellow fever led to the prevention and treatment of that disease. In 1905 New Orleans suffered its last yellow fever epidemic. Improved sanitation and inoculations, furthermore, spelled the end of other horrible illnesses. In 1928 Congress passed a flood control act that provided $325,000,000 for the construction of spillways and levees that would regulate the flow of the Mississippi River. [2]

Medical knowledge and federal dollars, however, could not subdue the elements; hurricanes still vexed the Crescent City. [3] Detection and tracking admittedly improved during the twentieth century, but modern meteorology could not control them. In September 1965 New Orleanians again learned this harsh scientific lesson. Their teacher was Hurricane Betsy.

The storm, like many hurricanes, developed in the Caribbean and posed no immediate danger to New Orleans. A Miami forecaster deemed it a "weak storm with little chance of intensifying significantly." On September 1, 1965, the New Orleans *Times-Picayune* reported that the storm was located 270 miles north of San Juan, Puerto Rico. The newspaper's weather map of the United States did not even show the hurricane. Later that day, however, the hurricane's winds increased to one hundred miles per hour and the storm started to move westward toward the Bahamas. At 10:00 P.M., Central Standard Time, the storm was 750 miles east-southeast of Miami. Gordon Dunn, head of the National Hurricane Center in the Florida city, indicated that Betsy would be a threat to the mainland if it continued its westward movement. [4]

The hurricane proved to be inconsistent. The storm with peak winds of 150 miles per hour, veered away from the Bahamas. Weather forecaster Raymond Kraft stated: "I wouldn't take bets on what it is going to do." He noted that the storm had changed direction "a half dozen times" since its formation. Kraft

maintained, "It's going to be another two or three days before we have any firm idea on whether any part of the east coast is going to be threatened." The hurricane was then 540 miles east of Miami and moving northwest at eight miles per hour. Two days later Hurricane Betsy came to a stop in the Atlantic Ocean 350 miles away from the Florida coast "without a hint on where she would aim her sledgehammer winds." The next day the *Times-Picayune* reported the "large and dangerous" storm as "stalled in the open Atlantic" and posing "no immediate threat to any land areas." It was 310 miles east of Cape Kennedy. [5]

On the night of September 6, Hurricane Betsy came alive and thrashed the Bahamas with gale force winds that swept an area six hundred miles in diameter. South Florida was again in danger. The storm ripped through Nassau before it reached the mainland. Reporter Reid Miller wrote that Hurricane Betsy, "a monstrous storm of enormous force, smashed into southeast Florida" on the evening of September 7. The storm came ashore at Fort Lauderdale and wreaked havoc along the coast "from Fort Pierce nearly 300 miles south to the tip of the Keys." Miami Beach endured wind gusts of eighty-one miles per hour and there "were unconfirmed reports of waves towering to 20 feet crashing across the beaches into roads, homes and businesses near Fort Lauderdale." The surging water demolished seventy oceanfront cabañas at the Roney Plaza, swept eels and other fish into the plush Fontainebleau Hotel and grounded a Panamanian freighter at Riviera Beach. The storm's highest winds "were estimated at 140 miles an hour." The death toll in Nassau and South Florida numbered four and estimates of property loss stood at $100 million. [6]

The storm then proceeded across the Florida peninsula into the Gulf of Mexico. On September 8 the United States Weather Bureau established a hurricane watch from the Mississippi coast westward to Matagorda Bay in Texas. Civil Defense officials in the Crescent City stated that their organization was "gearing for action if Betsy veers this way," but Charles W. Erdmann, head of New Orleans Civil Defense, announced that "the storm's current position and [westward] direction give no cause for alarm here." Milton E. Dupuy, president of the Orleans Parish Levee Board, reported that his agency was on alert and had "brought its stock of sandbags to a minimum of 10,000 and . . . stockpiled lumber and other emergency materials." Louisiana Civil Defense Director Marshall Cappel said simply, "We have been through this before." [7]

Hurricane Betsy continued its unpredictable path. On September 9 it moved northward to threaten the Mississippi coast. The storm next shifted its route toward the northwest and the western coast of Louisiana. Later in the day, however, the storm again altered its course, moved toward the north and came ashore in southeastern Louisiana. The hurricane then followed the Mississippi River northward and its eye passed directly over the Crescent City. At 11:00 P.M., power went out at the New Orleans Weather Bureau. [8]

The burden of coping with the storm and its consequences fell heaviest on the shoulders of New Orleans Mayor Victor H. Schiro. Schiro, an insurance executive who had mined gold in Nevada, worked in the motion picture industry in Hollywood, flown barnstorming flights in rickety airplanes and starred on

local radio before he entered politics in 1950 at age forty-five, became the focal point of activity. [9] He was everywhere. From New Orleans Civil Defense Control Center near Lake Pontchartrain to City Hall to areas of potential danger, Schiro was in perpetual motion. With him were Thomas J. Heier, Jr., the city's chief administrative officer, and Superintendent of Police Joseph I. Giarrusso. During the crisis, Schiro did not sleep for forty consecutive hours. He declared, "Our main concern right now is saving human lives." When someone asked the mayor for the location of his headquarters, Schiro replied quickly, "Headquarters is wherever I am." [10]

His most famous comment, however, came apparently during a television appearance on the night of the storm. The mayor felt obliged to inform the public that local officials were prepared to handle the crisis and to warn residents of low-lying areas to evacuate. Wearing a civil defense helmet, the sixty-year-old chief executive displayed a genuine concern for the people of his city, but the tension of the situation, by many accounts, brought forth Schiro's renowned proclivity for malapropisms—the mayor had once told a group of New Orleans businessmen that the people of the Crescent City "are sitting on some of the greatest assets in the world." [11] During an interview with newsman Alec Gifford on WDSU-TV, he evidently did it again. While dismissing the numerous spurious rumors that were spreading apprehension throughout the community, Schiro reputedly advised the public, "Don't believe any false rumors unless they come from me." [12] Although the mayor and his wife later denied vehemently that he had ever made the statement, many swore that he had. The alleged remark became legendary. Residents who had no television sets and others who had lost electrical power long before the interview aired would subsequently insist that they had heard the mayor make the comment. In the minds of many New Orleanians, Schiro would forever be the "hurricane mayor." [13]

The Crescent City chief executive merited the title for his efforts to rebuild his town in the aftermath of the storm, not for any verbal goof that he may have made on television. New Orleans was a shambles. No one knew the actual velocity of the winds that swept the city. The wind gauge at the Civil Defense Control Center broke when gusts reached a speed of 150 miles per hour. Some observers contended that accompanying gales exceeded 250 miles per hour.

Evidence of the storm's destruction was everywhere. Fallen trees, broken glass, and downed light standards littered the city's streets. Despite its motto, the United States Post Office in New Orleans closed. Eighty percent of the city had no electrical power. Two hundred thousand telephones in Orleans Parish were out of service. Tidal waves surged six or more feet over levees at several locations. In the Ninth Ward, a break in the restraining wall along the Industrial Canal sent hundreds of people fleeing to safety. Many were not successful. One man fell asleep at his television set as the storm struck. He remarked later that, upon awaking an hour afterward, he "felt something cold, looked down and there I was with water in my lap." He managed to scramble to his roof and reported an incredible view, "God, it was like one giant swimming pool as far as the eye could see. There were people I knew—women, children, screaming,

A National Guard "duck" emerging from a flooded section of the Ninth Ward

Louisiana Division, New Orleans Public Library

praying . . . . A woman who lives down the block floated past me, with her two children floating beside her." Two elderly people in wheelchairs were last seen with water rising to their chins. [14]

Evacuation centers housed thousands of flood victims. The death toll in the city climbed to sixty-five and Louisiana residents suffered more than one billion dollars in estimated property losses. One woman lamented, "Everything is gone. I don't even have a pair of shoes." Mayor Schiro declared: "This is the most serious thing that has ever happened to us. There has been nothing comparable in my lifetime." [15]

The mayor called for total public cooperation in "the greatest clean-up in the city's history" and immediately pressed the entire city government into service. Each municipal department head and city councilman received a specific assignment in the recovery effort. Schiro also asked people to stay off the streets and warned them to boil all drinking water. A power failure at the city's water purification plant had put a vital chlorinator out of commission. The mayor further indicated that those individuals "in trouble because of high water are being moved to higher ground" and that police were on the scene to prevent looting. On another occasion alert law officers arrested several men who were using scuba gear to rob submerged homes. [16]

Schiro and his aides labored under extreme difficulty. Two of the three channels in the New Orleans Police Department communications network were out of commission. [17] The Civil Defense Control Center lost all electrical power when a circuit breaker overloaded and shut down. At 10:25 on the evening of

September 9 the center's telephone system jammed and prevented officials from making outgoing calls. Don Lee Keith, a reporter for the New Orleans *Times-Picayune*, later contended that someone had leaked the center's unpublished confidential telephone number to family and friends who flooded the center switchboard with inquiries. At 7:30 on the morning of September 10 the center closed. [18]

Mayor Schiro shifted his operations first to the streets and then to City Hall, where conditions were only marginally better. One hundred and fifty refugees from the Ninth Ward and adjacent St. Bernard Parish packed the first and second floors of the building. The mayor, lacking telephone service, had to use radios to coordinate the efforts of the Red Cross, Salvation Army, National Guard, federal relief agencies, and municipal workers. He observed, "Thank God for the foresight to buy these [radios]. They've been all we've had since the telephones went out." On September 10 repairmen restored service to one telephone in the building. Schiro used it to call the White House. [19]

The New Orleans mayor enjoyed an amiable relationship with President Lyndon B. Johnson. The two had met on several occasions when Johnson, first as a United States Senator and later as a candidate for vice-president, was visiting the Crescent City. They met again during LBJ's tours of the National Aeronautics and Space Administration's facility at Michoud in New Orleans East. Schiro was also on hand during the presidential campaign of 1964 when Johnson flew to the Crescent City to meet the "Lady Bird Special" at the conclusion of his wife's whistle-stop tour of the South and then went on to issue his powerful statement on civil rights at the Jung Hotel. Schiro, unlike many Louisiana Democrats who remained neutral or opposed Johnson's presidential bid in 1964,

Mayor Schiro at Civil Defense Headquarters *Victor H. Schiro Collection*

Lady Bird Johnson, LBJ, and Mayor Schiro *Victor H. Schiro Collection*

openly supported the Texan. LBJ warmly acknowledged this endorsement and called the diminutive Schiro his "Little Mayor." [20]

Schiro requested federal assistance and implored the president to visit his stricken city. Johnson, considering his friendship with the mayor and the influence of Congressmen T. Hale Boggs and F. Edward Hebert and Senators Russell Long and Allen J. Ellender, readily agreed. On the evening of September 10 the president interrupted his busy schedule and flew to New Orleans with members of the Louisiana congressional delegation and various federal relief officials.

Original plans called for Johnson to hold a press conference at the airport and then to return to Washington. Mayor Schiro, however, beseeched him to visit the flooded sections of the city. LBJ, to the consternation of his security staff, assented to Schiro's plea. A motorcade sped the president and his party to a bridge that spanned the Industrial Canal, a location that afforded Johnson

a view of the flooded sections of the Ninth Ward. While nervous secret service agents and New Orleans police stood guard, LBJ looked over a landscape of flooded houses and spoke with several hurricane victims. Johnson next went to the George Washington Elementary School, one of the emergency shelters. An eerie scene followed. The president walked through the darkened school with a portable lantern shining on his face. The dim light and unusual shadows created a macabre spectacle. Johnson shouted to the refugees, "This is your president. I'm here to help you." Some were sleeping with their heads on school desks. One woman asked LBJ for a boat that would enable her to look for her two sons who were missing in the flooded areas. Others asked for food and water. The experience deeply moved Johnson. Schiro recalled the president saying, "Little Mayor, this is horrible. I've never seen anything like it in my life." [21]

When Johnson returned to the airport, he pledged full federal aid to the area. He declared, ". . . I am determined that we can help these people in every way that human compassion and effective aid can serve." The president promised to send food and medicine to Louisiana, provide federal equipment for clearing and rebuilding, establish emergency shelters for the homeless, suspend mortgage payments to the Veterans Administration, and make loans availble through the Small Business Administration (SBA). Johnson indicated that "all red tape [will] be cut." He additionally instructed Buford Ellington, director of the Office of Emergency Planning and the former governor of Tennessee, to remain in New Orleans to coordinate recovery operations with local agencies. [22] Johnson privately told Mayor Schiro that he would throw his support behind any effort to help the hurricane victims. During the trying weeks that followed, the Crescent City chief executive did not forget this pledge. On September 12 Johnson sent Schiro a sixteen-page telegram that outlined the extent of the federal aid to New Orleans. The president concluded, ". . . please know that my thoughts and my prayers are with you and the thousands of Louisiana citizens who have suffered so heavily." [23]

"Operation Clean-Up" continued in the city long after the president's departure. Schiro continued his daily meetings with municipal department heads and representatives of the Red Cross and Salvation Army. The mayor and Dr. Rodney C. Jung, the city health director, regularly toured the refugee centers "to be sure everyone was being properly cared for." As Johnson had vowed, federal support was immediately forthcoming. The United States Army and National Guard set up field kitchens to feed the refugees. The Federal Housing Administration (FHA) and the Veterans Administration (VA) gave extensions to their clients. Military airplanes flew in needed food and medical supplies. On September 12 stacks of emergency medical provisions filled the mayor's parlor in City Hall. [24]

For Schiro, the hurricane struck at the worst possible time; he was in the middle of a battle for reelection. The mayor properly agreed with New Orleans Congressman F. Edward Hebert who insisted, "This is no time for politics. Any politician who trades on tragedy should be quartered and hanged." [25] On September 14 Schiro stated, "In such a time of serious crisis and heart-break, it is my firm conviction that a political moratorium should be declared by all

candidates seeking public office." City Council President Fitzmorris, Schiro's principal opponent, concurred. He stated earlier that "partisan politics should be put aside. No one should be allowed to obtain personal or political advantage out of such human suffering and tragedy." Fitzmorris encouraged his political volunteers to devote their energies to the relief efforts. [26]

Recovery came slowly in the Crescent City. On September 15, Schiro, Governor John J. McKeithen, Superintendent Giarrusso, Councilmen James E. Fitzmorris, Jr., Joseph DiRosa, and Clarence O. Dupuy and military officials toured the flooded areas in an amphibious craft and found water four to eight feet deep in several sections. Many people were still living on the roofs of flooded buildings. These storm victims were often highly suspicious of intruders and protective of their remaining belongings. One newsman, for example, discovered a thirty-year-old black woman living in a tent perched atop the roof of a grocery-bar on Forstall Street. When the reporter climbed a ladder to the roof, he found himself simultaneously looking into the muzzle of an enormous German police dog, feeling the pressure of a knife at his throat and hearing the woman say, "If Spike don't get you[,] this will." The woman eventually relaxed and told the reporter that there once had been four families on the roof. They "salvaged food from the store" and used a garden hose for water. The woman boiled "the water on a stove we made from gasoline cans." She desperately wanted some cigarettes because she had been smoking only cigars for two days. Since she could not get her dog down from the roof, she stayed, saying, "I ain't leaving him up here to die." [27]

The concerted efforts of municipal, state, and federal relief agencies as well as an army of volunteers, nonetheless, did have an impact on local conditions. On September 11 water in Orleans Parish was again fit to drink. Three days later Mayor Schiro shifted the base of recovery operations to police headquarters on Tulane Avenue and City Hall assumed an atmosphere of near normality. By the next day 80 percent of the city again had electrical power. Pumps, furthermore, were reducing the water level in flooded neighborhoods. On September 17 Councilman Dupuy reported that many of the evacuees were leaving the emergency shelters and returning to their homes or to new, more permanent shelters. The same day Mayor Schiro indicated that garbage and trash collection would soon return to normal. On September 18 the New Orleans *States-Item* reported that 75 percent of the city had telephone service and 90 percent had electricity. All bus lines were in operation as was the Port of New Orleans. Department stores, restaurants, and groceries were again open for business. Thirty-nine parochial and eight public schools in Orleans Parish were holding classes less than ten days after the storm hit. [28]

As the residents haltingly returned to their customary activities and matters of life and death faded into the background, many New Orleanians who had suffered losses and exploitation in the storm and its aftermath began to level recriminations. Profiteering merchants were the targets of several well-placed accusations. On September 18 Glenn L. East wrote that many storm victims "had the misfortune of experiencing monetary rape by opportunistic 'citizens.'"

He noted some examples: "25 pounds of ice, the price $5; cigarettes, $1 per pack; exorbitant taxi fares and, also, even the staff of life: bread normally two loaves cost 29 cents, sold to me Saturday evening for 93 cents. . . ." East observed that "people who are kicked when they are down do not forget. . . ." [29]

Mayor Schiro was irate. He stated publicly, "It is hard to believe that anyone can be so cruel and callous as to want to profit from human misery and suffering. As mayor of this city, I demand that this contemptible practice be stopped immediately." Schiro instructed City Attorney Alvin J. Liska to prosecute all profiteering merchants as well as unscrupulous roofers and other building contractors who were also preying upon the unfortunate. This action soon won Schiro, Liska, and the district attorney's staff the praise of local citizens and insurance executives. On October 12 Edward F. LeBreton, Jr., of Martin-LeBreton Insurance congratulated the mayor for "'breaking up the racket' imposed by such unscrupulous people, attempting to make 'blood money' from the results of Hurricane Betsy, with reference to repairs, construction, and even down to obtaining a roof over one's head." [30]

Mayor Schiro and other governmental officials, however, did not always fare so well. On September 14 Dr. Edward Teller, the noted nuclear physicist, told members of the Louisiana-Arkansas Division of the Mid-Continent Oil and Gas Association, who were meeting at the Roosevelt Hotel, that better preparations would have reduced the loss of life and property during Hurricane Betsy. Teller argued that many people had only a twenty-minute warning before the flood waters were upon them. [31] Others quickly jumped on the bandwagon. On September 15 Mrs. Charles Cliffton Moses of Bluffton, South Carolina, wrote that preparations in New Orleans were ". . . appalling. Stupid, procrastinating and inefficient." Mrs. Moses had listened to New Orleans radio stations during the storm and could not understand why ". . . nothing was being done to evacuate that sure-to-be flooded section of New Orleans." She argued that the people were foolish to wait for "a politician or a bureaucrat" to tell them to evacuate. Mrs. John J. Finan, one of the storm victims, contended that "*no warning whatsoever* was ever received by the residents in our area." She stated that the "last thing we saw on TV was our mayor pointing his stick to an area bounded by Gentilly Blvd. to the Lakefront, and his warning the people in that area to please evacuate." Although Mrs. Finan and her family continued to listen to a transistor radio after the power failed, "never once were we warned of flooding in our area." [32]

These various charges invoked swift reaction from public officials. Civil Defense Director Erdmann denied the accusations of Dr. Teller. Governor McKeithen declared that the scientist was "talking completely out of his field now. Why he has probably never been in Louisiana before." [33] In a telegram to members of the Louisiana congressional delegation, Schiro called Teller's comments "irresponsible and unfounded" and argued that they had "done harm to the morale of our people." They constituted "an indictment of the people of Louisiana in a time of great trial and suffering." He asked that the congressmen help to refute these "thoughtless and senseless remarks." [34]

F. Edward Hebert swiftly rebutted the physicist's charges. The congressman, professing admiration for Teller's achievements, stated that "it is most unfortunate that he made the statements attributed to him." He told those who attended a meeting in the mayor's office that "scientists are strange breeds of people" who "live in an ivory tower on Cloud 9, untouched even by space ships" and "know little of human relations. . . ." He argued that the charges were "unfair, unjust and unfounded" and expressed his resentment of "anybody, intentionally or unintentionally, coming into our community at such a tragic time and disrupting the already low morale of a people we are attempting to solidify and build up." Hebert contended that the major problem with Civil Defense was a lack of federal funds. [35]

In letters to his constituents, the mayor was equally careful. He deemed the storm "an act of nature" and expressed his regret that "so many of our citizens suffered losses, both physical and material. . . ." He observed that the power failure prevented most radio stations from operating "and those which did could be heard only on battery-operated radios. . . ." Although Schiro said that he had "appeared on the communication media and requested that the people in low-lying areas evacuate," many did "not hear this warning, thus they lacked the knowledge to prepare to evacuate." The mayor also declared that the "tidal surge [which followed the storm] . . . was so tremendous the system of levee protection could not possibly contain this surge of water." [36]

Schiro had the difficult task of directing emergency operations and preserving his political viability. As David Snyder, political analyst for the *States-Item*, commented on September 18, "the mayor's political life in some degree depended on what voters thought of his handling of hurricane preparations and what was, and is, done to get the city back on its feet." Snyder indicated that Schiro "knows that misery must have someone to blame and he doesn't want to be that someone." The newsman contended that the main question was whether "the people of New Orleans" will "add up the score and find that he [Schiro] is the one who pulled them out of their tragic desolation, or will they vote for other leadership in the form of Fitzmorris." Snyder acknowledged, "The mayor, as would be expected, has been on the job almost continuously throughout the storm crisis." [37]

On September 19 Schiro requested reports from all public and private agencies that had participated in emergency operations during Hurricane Betsy. These included the United States Army Corps of Engineers, the weather bureau, the Orleans Parish Levee Board, the city council and all municipal departments, New Orleans Public Service, Inc., Louisiana Power and Light Company, and Southern Bell Telephone and Telegraph Company. The mayor indicated that the city council would review these reports. Schiro said that the reports would be "of constructive help in planning for the future" and later added that he wanted the reports because many people evidently believed "everybody sat around and watched the storm go by." The New Orleans *States-Item* quoted the mayor and noted that he was running for reelection. It was apparent that the political moratorium had ended. Councilman Fitzmorris, recognizing the political

implications of the allegations against his opponent, contended that a nonpartisan board such as the Bureau of Governmental Research should review the reports. [38]

Schiro's request created quite a stir with the *Times-Picayune*, the *States-Item* and Milton E. Dupuy, president of the levee board. On September 21 the morning newspaper suggested the appointment of a coordinator of all relief efforts in behalf of storm victims who would have no connection with the various candidates for public office. On September 22 the *States-Item* questioned "whether the mayor is the proper one to receive posthurricane reports" and suggested political implications in Schiro's request. The same day Councilman Fitzmorris promised to appoint a city disaster chief if he became mayor. [39]

President Dupuy also reacted adversely to the mayor's request. He stated that his agency was too busy with emergency operations to prepare the report for Schiro before October 9, the mayor's deadline for submission. After listing several improvements in flood control, he contended, "We . . . do not believe in going into a 'critique' with our 'guns half-cocked.'" Dupuy further predicted that the information which the mayor wanted would not be available for weeks. He also reminded Schiro that the levee board was a state agency and was not subject to municipal authority. Dupuy's organization was responsible for the maintenance of the Industrial Canal levees that overflowed and flooded much of the Ninth Ward. The mayor later stated that he would be pleased to accept Dupuy's report upon its completion. [40]

The review of governmental reaction to Hurricane Betsy also raised questions among civic organizations. On September 21 the New Orleans Junior Chamber of Commerce, by a seventeen to sixteen vote, passed a resolution that criticized city emergency planning. Noting "some very basic deficiencies" in local preparation, the group addressed a letter to the mayor, members of the New Orleans City Council, Civil Defense Director Erdmann, and Dupuy that asked "why the people in the hardest hit area were not evacuated." The Jaycees additionally observed that it was "alarming to awaken to the fact that Civil Defense shelters contained empty water storage cans, that there was no emergency generator at the vital city water supply chlorinator, that shelters were without vital and adequate police protection and that communications broke down following the city's power failure." They, like Fitzmorris, called for the establishment of a review board to study the matter and stated "that all the facts be made known to the public." The Jaycees' resolution also stated that "the fact that it [the hurricane] did occur at election time should not preclude a close evaluation of the problems." [41]

Schiro initially indicated that he would not respond to the Jaycees' resolution until he had received the reports from the various agencies. However, on September 22, the mayor, denouncing stories "that are hurting the image of New Orleans, locally and throughout the nation," asked the Jaycees to spearhead "a movement to search out and run down the validity of the many criticisms and rumors being leveled at the City following Hurricane Betsy. . . ." President Regis Trumps and the Junior Chamber of Commerce Board of Directors agreed. They assigned the task to the organization's civic affairs committee. Trumps informed Schiro,

"You may rest assured that our report will be non-partisan and completely factual with substantial documentation to support its conclusion." [42]

The day after Schiro had asked for the Jaycees' aid, he reiterated his need for the reports from the various agencies. The mayor added, "After having been in contact with officials of these agencies, I have determined that the purpose of my request for reports has been misinterpreted." In an effort to avert further misunderstandings, Schiro stated that his "sole intent was, and is now, to collect facts from these agencies upon which solid, constructive recommendations could be made to give the people of our city the degree of protection and performance within the means and capabilities of these groups." [43]

However, the mayor could not elude politics. When Aaron Mintz, a local furniture dealer, praised Schiro's "dedication and leadership," and called a meeting of community leaders "to make plans for a fitting method of showing the gratitude of the residents of this entire affected area," John F. Tims of the *Times-Picayune* expressed his dismay in a letter to Congressman T. Hale Boggs. Tims wrote that the Mintz letter "has had a tremendous unfavorable reaction among people who have received it." He continued, "Such men as Sam Israel, Leon Godchaux, III, and many others are quite upset that someone would attempt to politicalize this disaster." [44] The *Times-Picayune*, Tims's newspaper, endorsed Fitzmorris for mayor. Jack McGuire, Schiro's public relations consultant, later maintained that the mayor had no prior knowledge of this call for a meeting. [45]

The newspapers continued to charge Schiro with political manipulation of the disaster. Although the mayor was evidently innocent of these accusations, his supporters' actions gave credence to the press's claims. On September 22 Nat Gros, clerk of First City Court, for example, asked Lindsey Williams, chairman of the AFL-CIO's committee on political education, to endorse Schiro's candidacy for mayor. Gros noted the mayor's "dedication and the competent work that he performed to alleviate the suffering . . . of thousands of people" and his "record of constructive action during this critical period." The clerk additionally mentioned Schiro's effort keep the peace in new Orleans and "to bring new contracts to Michoud" [site of the NASA facility]. Gros concluded this plea with the observation that he, too, was seeking reelection and would appreciate support. [46]

On the same day the *States-Item* reported that the first official whom applicants for SBA disaster loans met when they entered the temporary loan office in City Hall was Howard Netterville, the deputy director of city finance. Netterville, who routinely wore a Schiro campaign button in his lapel, was assisting with the loans due to staff shortages in the SBA. When a *States-Item* reporter confronted Netterville with the implications of his "Keep Schiro" button, he replied, "I haven't given it a thought." He said, "We treat everyone—black or white, man, woman or child—the same" and argued, "We've had a number of Fitzmorris people through here, and treated them as nice as anybody else. We never mention the mayor or politics." Netterville said that he would be happy to remove the button.

In an editorial the newspaper stated that "receipt of . . . assistance implies absolutely no partisan political obligation" and maintained that any "candidate

or supporter of any candidate who seeks to make political capital of the misfortunes of his fellow men, in our opinion, deserves nothing but censure." [47] On September 23 the *Times-Picayune* repeated the objections of its sister newspaper in an editorial entitled, "Strong Political Odor." The editorial stated that Netterville had not allowed Hurricane Betsy to interrupt "his campaigning in behalf of the man who put him in a city position. . . ." The *Times-Picayune* considered his behavior to be "indefensible" and recommended that the emergency loans offices be moved to a federal building. [48]

Mayor Schiro replied to these editorials with the statement that he had requested all city employees who assisted the relief agencies not to wear campaign buttons and did not condone the "wearing of the 'Keep Schiro' button." The mayor further asked why the newspapers had not consulted with him before they published their stories. He argued, "Had the reporter done this, the matter would have been resolved immediately without its unwarranted implications of politics." The mayor additionally relieved Netterville from his responsibilities in the loan office. The SBA subsequently replaced all other municipal aides with federal workers and promised to vacate the City Hall office. Schiro contended that the *States-Item* was "viewing many of my official actions as ones over which the shadow of politics hovers." He added that, despite the pending election, "I will not permit the fear of being misunderstood by anyone to interfere with my official actions for providing every phase of assistance possible to the people of this community." The *States-Item* responded to these remarks in another editorial which asserted that the mayor evidently "doesn't know things are going on at City Hall when these things are obvious to our reporters" and added that "his 'requests' to city employees don't carry much weight." [49]

On September 27 Schiro announced plans to create a large committee to improve the city's image. He further contended that Dr. Teller may have been misquoted and that the city was returning to normal. The mayor said, "We have to tell the story of a city which has fought back, of a city where there is no shortage of power, no shortage of food, no disease." Two days later, Schiro told the Young Men's Business Club that "the tremendous upsurge of New Orleans business over the past 12 months will continue to accelerate in spite of Betsy." [50]

On September 30, in a letter to the editor of the *States-Item*, Schiro again stated the reasons behind his request for posthurricane reports and repeated his original declaration that the city council, acting as a committee of the whole, would receive and evaluate the reports. The afternoon daily answered with still another editorial which argued that the "mayor is not the best qualified official to make arrangements at this time for reviewing reports by essential agencies . . . principally because he is in the middle of a campaign for reelection." The *States-Item* further insisted that a "nonpolitical board containing no members who are campaigning for public office" should conduct the review and that the review should be "a broad inquiry" which "should not be limited to parish lines." [51]

Schiro may have suffered in the press, but he did not lack avid defenders among the local citizenry. On September 16 Mrs. A. J. Guma, Jr., wrote, "I feel compelled to write to tell you how unfair I think the criticism from the

newspaper and WDSU of your handling of the hurricane." She believed that "these people are using this disaster to further their candidate." Mrs. A. J. Frey agreed, ". . . I want to let you know I was one who heard your warning Friday morning and can remember almost your exact words telling the people to get out if they were able, it was your warning that enabled my husband and I [*sic*] to be able to get the necessary belongings together before evacuating." Mrs. J. W. Arguedes also backed the mayor. She wrote, "I want to congratulate you on the way you protected us on the night of the storm and several days later." Mrs. Arguedes wondered when the mayor rested "because I see you in various parts of the city every time I put on T.V. There you were doing your best to help to advise people to evacuate as the storm was increasing in its fury." She contended that Edward Teller's reputed comments were "unfair" and stated that the people of New Orleans "will vote for you in [the] next election. You have been the best mayor we ever had." [52]

Andrew George Kerth also congratulated the mayor "for a thankless job well done" and condemned the Teller remarks as "hindsight forecasting." Kerth noted that Hurricane Betsy was especially unpredictable and that responsibility for the prediction of the storm's "area of entrance" belonged to the weather bureau, not the mayor. He added, "Mayor Schiro *did not* build or engineer the new seaway channel nor did he specify the height and strength of those protection levees." The mayor "*did do* what he conscientiously thought right, just and beneficial for the majority of the citizens of New Orleans." Kerth further observed that "rescue efforts were conducted by both Colored and White volunteers. Victims were aided regardless of color." [53]

Others focused on reporters and Schiro's political foes. Mrs. James Mills wrote sarcastically, "The people of New Orleans have much to be grateful for insomuch as John Corporon [a television newscaster with WDSU-TV] and Mr. Fitzmorris were *not* in your place—despite the fact they can solve all problems." Edward H. Wagner believed that "if some of your opponents were called upon to do the job that you are doing they would find some excuse to get out of town and leave it to someone else because they are not capable of doing the job." Lois E. Smey, praising Schiro's bravery, wrote simply, "You are a shining example of a Mayor who really cares for his people." [54]

The mayor's concern was evident in his testimony before a special House of Representatives subcommittee to investigate the devastation of Hurricane Betsy that met in New Orleans on September 25. Schiro praised the federal government and particularly President Johnson for their cooperation and noted the efforts of private citizens who helped "neighbor and stranger alike." He also called for better flood protection, but the main thrust of his testimony was his feeling for those storm victims who had "worked years to acquire the homes and other possessions, and in just one night, they were completely wiped out, ruined." In his mind, the tragedy was that many of "these losses were not covered by insurance." Schiro emphasized that these people "have no furniture, no homes, and in most cases they still have a mortgage." He contended that the federal government established a $10,000 guarantee to protect banks in times of crisis and wondered

why it could not do the same thing for "the most important possessions we have, our homes. . . ." Schiro argued, "We must find a way to help these people" and vowed that he would "not rest until every area of possible relief has been explored to help them. . . ." [55]

On the same day that Schiro addressed the legislative subcommittee, Max J. Derbes, Jr., a local real estate man, in a letter to the editor of the *Times-Picayune*, suggested that FHA and VA make outright grants to its borrowers who had suffered damage to their homes in the hurricane. Without these grants many people could not repair their homes and also pay their mortgages. The FHA would eventually have to foreclose, sell the houses "as is" and take a net loss. Derbes argued that grants would not only be humanitarian, they would be good business. [56]

On September 26 F. Edward Hebert strongly rejected Schiro's guarantees and Derbes's outright grants. He condemned those "public officials no matter on what level of government who traffic on the misery and suffering of hurricane victims" and placed them "in the same category as looters who prey on helpless homeowners and businessmen and profiteers who charge unconscionable prices for food and like commodities." Many, he charged, had misled the public regarding the kind of aid individuals could expect from the federal government. He stressed that the only avenue for individual relief was through the SBA, which provided long term loans at three percent interest. Hebert continued that the main responsibility in time of disaster rested upon the individual, not the federal government. Washington, he said, was not going to pick up the check for personal losses. [57]

Many of Hebert's constituents in the Ninth Ward and St. Bernard Parish disagreed. Albert O'Connell decried Hebert's earlier remarks that "there will be no handouts for these poor, but proud and self-relient [*sic*] people of this area" and asked if the congressman did "not once take into consideration the fact that he has voted time and time again to give billions in foreign aid to people who hate our guts. O'Connell, a former resident of Arabi who had found temporary quarters in an unflooded section of the Ninth Ward, asked, "If Mr. Hebert had to stand in water up to his neck for eight or ten hours and see his whole lifes' [*sic*] work flooded and ruined, I wonder what his reaction whould [*sic*] be?" [58]

William H. Niklaus wanted to know who was "going to help these people climb out of their misery and get on their feet?" He particularly denounced those politicians who contended that aid to the flood victims would add to the federal debt and lead to financial slavery. He noted that the federal government "helps the farmer by supporting food prices" and the "shipping industry by subsidies." He also cited the antipoverty program and observed that the government "asks nothing of the receiving nations when it gives them financial assistance." Niklaus questioned, "Why can't the government sidetrack foreign aid funds to help the people who paid the money in the first place get back on their feet?" Mrs. Joseph M. Parker also wanted "to know how we in this country can afford to give money to other countries but we can not take care of our own?" [59]

For these citizens who believed that that government which governs least does not always govern best, Victor H. Schiro became a champion. On September 30 he went to Washington with plans for a loan program that included an outright grant of $5,000 for hurricane victims. Schiro called on Congressmen Hebert and Boggs. Although the hurricane had done the most damage in their respective districts, both men rejected the mayor's plan. Hebert, true to his public stand, would not introduce a bill that included federal handouts. Boggs did not think that the bill had a chance. After these rebuffs, Schiro met with Senator Russell B. Long. Long, too, was skeptical, but the mayor persisted. Schiro told Long that there would be no question if Huey P. Long, the senator's father, were in office. The mayor insisted that the Kingfish, under similar circumstances, would not hesitate to help the people of his state. When Senator Long relented slightly, Schiro played his trump card. He asked Long to call the White House. When the senator did, Lyndon Johnson told Long to cooperate with the "Little Mayor" and promised that Schiro's plan would have full presidential support. That sealed the bargain. [60]

On October 1 Long told the United States Senate that Mayor Schiro had "spent many hours with me recounting the seriousness of the plight of many people of the New Orleans area who had lost so much as a result of flood damage which was not insurable." He and Schiro agreed "that the Federal Government has an obligation to these people to do something more than make long-term loans at a reasonable interest rate." Long then proposed a bill (S. 2591) that, through the SBA loan apparatus, would allow homeowners, businessmen, and farmers "a forgiveness equal to the cost of repairs to their domicile or place of business in an amount not to exceed $5,000." To qualify, the property must be in a federal disaster area, "the damage for which the loan was made must be uninsurable" and the cost of repairs "must not exceed $5,000." Long, like the people in the Ninth Ward, argued that the storm victims were taxpayers and that the government aided needy people in Europe and other parts of the world and used federal funds to replace slums in the United States. Senator Allen Ellender also met with the mayor and endorsed the plan. Saying that Schiro had just left his office, Ellender asked that "such legislation be enacted without delay." [61]

When opponents charged that Schiro's trip to the nation's capital had been politically motivated, the mayor replied that his prime concern was for the people of his city. On October 5 the mayor, vowing to return to Washington to help with the passage of the legislation, stated that he did not care what some people thought. He argued, "I'd rather do this and get the money for them than be reelected." [62]

Of course the political implications of his legislative proposal did not elude the mayor. The so-called "Betsy Bill" helped Schiro to counteract some unscrupulous attacks that his foes had aimed at his character and his performance during the hurricane crisis. Councilman Fitzmorris was personally above the use of dirty tricks, but some of his more exuberant backers were not. Circulars and a telephone campaign spread numerous vicious rumors about Schiro. One story,

which circulated in many black neighborhoods, charged that the mayor had ordered the cutting of the Industrial Canal levees because he wanted "to drown the colored people so that they would not vote in the coming election. . . ." [63] Another contended that Schiro had reversed city drainage pumps to draw water from the Lake Vista subdivision, where the mayor lived, and force it into the Ninth Ward. The worst trick, however, was the distribution of "supposed relief supplies," bags of spoiled food and "soiled, torn, unusable clothes," among the storm victims. Those who dispensed this trash claimed to be Schiro campaign workers and occasionally insinuated that the good food and clothes had gone to City Hall. [64]

City Hall analyst David Snyder of the *States-Item*, asserting that the hurricane had seriously weakened the mayor's previously formidable political strongholds in downtown New Orleans, thought that Schiro's legislative plan was little short of political genius. On October 9 Snyder wrote that the mayor was running the "greatest noncampaign in the city's history." Schiro, the columnist argued, could "place himself almost above local politics, becoming instead the city's link with Washington." The reporter further stated that the bill's success in Congress was not essential for Schiro's campaign. If the bill fails, the mayor, nonetheless, "will have tried and if he succeeds in selling the legislation as being above politics, he will have gained." [65]

The bill was indeed in danger of not passing. Congressman Hebert warned that Congress did not usually pass "the kind of retroactive legislation needed to be of any use to those who lost everything in Hurricane Betsy." He added that the current congressional session was growing short and gave the bill little chance of passage. Mayor Schiro, however, remained optimistic. He said that the hurricane victims "have to look to the federal government for help. They have no place else to go." Schiro added, "We have been more generous with aid to foreign countries. It is about time we say 'Charity begins at home.'" Schiro's opponent agreed. James Fitzmorris stated that "the mayor and I stand shoulder to shoulder. I am 1,000 per cent behind help for these people." [66]

On October 8 Schiro asked "everyone to petition their congressmen and senators for passage of this bill and I am asking the governor to seek the support of the governors of Mississippi, Florida and Texas on this measure." He further contended that he hoped to have "good news" for the storm victims before the end of the year. Schiro also observed that Hebert had pledged to back any measure which would help the people of his district. The same day, a large advertisement appeared in the *States-Item* that called for local residents to petition their representatives in Washington. It included a clip-out form for signatures and noted Schiro's initial proposal of the bill that Senators Long and Ellender had introduced. [67]

Hebert's warning, however, was valid. The measure had little chance of passage in the Senate. The SBA had already received 4,931 loan applications from individuals who had suffered property damage in Hurricane Betsy. If each of those people were to receive an outright grant of $5,000, the cost would have exceeded $24,000,000. That was evidently more than many congressmen were willing to swallow. [68]

The torrent of petitions, the dire circumstances of many storm victims and President Johnson's pledge to his "Little Mayor" would not allow the idea to die. On October 9-10 a series of meetings took place that brought together Buford Ellington of the Office of Emergency Planning, representatives of the Bureau of the Budget, Congressmen Boggs and Robert E. Jones, Jr., of Alabama, chairman of the special subcommittee on Hurricane Betsy and a ranking member of the House Public Works Committee. The result was the Southeast Hurricane Disaster Relief Act (H.R. 11539), a new bill that allowed the cancellation of up to $1,800 on SBA loans to all persons who suffered uninsurable losses. The borrowers, however, had to pay the first $500 of the loans. In conferences with Senator Long and Representative Boggs, President Johnson "expressed a keen interest in the proposed legislation." [69]

On October 12 Representative George H. Fallon of Maryland, chairman of the House Public Works Committee, and the entire Louisiana congressional delegation simultaneously introduced the measure. The previous day Hebert had written to one of his constituents, "The only realistic approach will be taken with the introduction on Tuesday of the type of legislation which I have advocated." The congressman promised to "do everything I humanly can to see that this is done. But, there is many a slip between the cup and the lip." [70] The following day Hebert noted his cosponsorship of the legislation and indicated "there is indeed reasonable hope that this legislation can be passed." Mayor Schiro said that he did not think that the new legislation went far enough, but that members of the Louisiana congressional delegation had informed him this bill had the best chance for passage. He feared "that if this matter is allowed to lie over until the next session of Congress, chances for passage of an aid bill for flood victims will be greatly lessened." Councilman Fitzmorris said, "I only regret that more is not in the offing." [71]

Mayor Schiro continued to push for the passage of the new bill and remained optimistic when some reports indicated that the measure would not pass. As the bill made its way through the legislative process, the men in Washington occupied center stage. Congressmen Hebert said, "This legislation is perhaps some of the most important that has come before this body in many years." Senator Long and Congressman Boggs indicated that the bill would benefit the "little fellow who was completely wiped out. . . ." [72]

The support of House Majority Whip Boggs, Senate Majority Whip Long and President Johnson was evident in the bill's progress through Congress. On October 18 members of the House of Representatives suspended rules and passed the hurricane relief bill by a voice vote. Boggs stated, "The House has taken a long step forward in helping our people who suffered so grievously from Hurricane Betsy." He thanked his colleagues for their support. [73] The following day the bill arrived in the Senate Public Works Committee. On October 20 the committee reported the measure to the Senate.

On the same day the upper house approved in unusual fashion an appropriation of $70 million without first authorizing the appropriation and without holding hearings on the appropriation itself. Senator Long added the appropriation

Mayor Schiro leaving Mercy Hospital *Victor H. Schiro Collection*

for the hurricane relief bill to another fiscal measure that was pending in the Senate and, recognizing that authorization was still lacking, stated, "I doubt very much that the Senate would appropriate the money for our people and the other victims of Hurricane Betsy if it did not intend to authorize the expenditure." He then paraphrased his uncle, Earl K. Long, "Bet your money on the Hurricane Betsy bill." [74]

It was a good bet. On October 21 Congress approved the measure although a conference committee reduced the appropriation to $35 million with the understanding that Congress could appropriate an additional $35 million the following year if those funds would prove to be necessary. In a joint statement, Boggs and Long declared, "There were some persons who said this legislation could not be passed because of the lateness of the session and the fact that no bill like this had ever been approved before." Thanking their colleagues, they noted, "But the bill has been passed and we believe we have established a record for getting legislation of this type through the Congress." [75]

Aside from noting that Mayor Schiro had thanked Senator Long for his efforts, the mayor's name was absent from the press coverage of the bill's final passage. The *States-Item* particularly praised President Johnson who "set the pace for the government's whole program." The afternoon newspaper also thanked "Louisiana's delegation to Washington." The focus was definitely on Representative Boggs and Senator Long. The measure was now, according to the press, always the "Long-Boggs-Jones bill." [76]

When Schiro's involvement in the hurricane relief measure did receive mention in local newspapers, the reference was not flattering. On October 23 for example, David Snyder, reporting on the mayor's race in the *States-Item*, predicted that New Orleanians would "be hearing a lot from Schiro about congressional approval of a measure that allows hurricane-battered home owners $1,800 free on Small Business Administration loans." The columnist, however, argued that the "1,800 is less than the $5,000 'forgiveness' on loans the mayor had hoped for and actually the bill finally enacted was altogether different from the one proposed by Schiro at the outset." [77]

The voters thought differently. Alberta P. Collins, a Schiro backer in the Ninth Ward, reported "that the people down there are very gr[a]teful for the way they have rec[e]ived so much help and so quick." She argued, "Most of them that i [*sic*] talked with is [*sic*] going to vote for MAYOR Schiro." Although on October 23, the day that Snyder's column appeared, the mayor suffered a severe attack of appendicitis that hospitalized him and kept him out of commission during the final two weeks of the campaign, he still managed to defeat Councilman Fitzmorris. On November 6 Schiro garnered 81,821 votes to 78,258 ballots for Fitzmorris and 2,808 votes for assorted minor candidates. The victory margin—665 votes—was the narrowest of Schiro's career, but it was enough. [78]

Two days later, President Johnson signed the Southeast Hurricane Disaster Relief Act into law. The final measure included the outright grant of $1,800 after the payment of the initial $500 of a loan, allowed persons who had lost furniture and other personal items and were not homeowners to receive loans, deferred repayments on flood damage loans to private schools and colleges, permitted the easy purchase of house trailers and called for the FHA to study the feasibility of federal flood insurance—a provision that later led to the federal flood insurance program. Many New Orleanians undoubtedly agreed with Maxine Wachenheim who wrote, "Your outstanding job for this community will be remembered as long as anyone remembers Hurricane Betsy." [79]

Notes

[1] Harry [Henry] Kmen, "New Orleans' Forty Days in '49," *Louisiana Historical Quarterly* 40 (January 1957): 23, 28, 37; John Duffy, *Sword of Pestilence: The New Orleans Yellow Fever Epidemic of 1853* (Baton Rouge, 1966), 167; Pete Daniel, *Deep'n As They Come: The 1927 Mississippi River Flood* (New York, 1977), 49-51.

[2] Jo Ann Carrigan, "Yellow Fever," in *The Encyclopedia of Southern History*, ed. David C. Roller and Robert W. Twyman, (Baton Rouge, 1979), 1367; John H. Ellis, "Public Health," in ibid., 585; Daniel, *Deep'n As They Come*, 149-50.

[3] For example see, Edwin A. Davis, *Louisiana: A Narrative History* (Baton Rouge, 1961), 56.

[4] "Bouncing Betsy," *Newsweek* 66 (September 20, 1965): 25; New Orleans *Times-Picayune*, September 1, 2, 1965.

[5] Ibid., September 3, 5, 6, 1965.

[6] Ibid., September 7, 8, 10, 1965; "After Betsy: A Cluster of Hurricanes?" *U. S. News and World Report* 59 (September 20, 1965): 11; "Bouncing Betsy," 25.

[7] *Times-Picayune*, September 9, 1965.

[8] Ibid., September 10, 1965.

[9] Jim Amoss, "Victor H. Schiro: The Once and Always Mayor," Lagniappe Section, *Times-Picayune*, January 10, 1976; Victor H. Schiro interview, August 20, 1986, Victor H. Schiro Interview Collection, Louisiana Historical Center, Louisiana State Museum, New Orleans, hereafter cited as VHS Collection, LSM.

[10] George Gurtner, "The Hurricane Mayor Still Answers His Phone," *New Orleans* 12 (October 1977): 23; *States-Item*, September 10, 11, 1965; Louis de la Foret, Bob Krieger and Ross Yockey, "The Sayings of Chairman Vic," *New Orleans* 4 (October 1969): 36.

[11] Ibid., 37; Jack McGuire interview, September 1, 1987, VHS Collection, LSM.

[12] "Chairman Vic," 36.

[13] Mary Margaret Schiro interview, December 3, 1986, VHS Collection, LSM; McGuire interview, September 1, 1987; Gurtner, "The Hurricane Mayor," 23. Schiro later maintained that he had told the people: "Don't listen to anybody or any rumors. Mine is the only voice you should listen to. I'll give you the exact facts. When it's dangerous, I'll tell you to move. But don't listen to anybody or any rumors." "TV Address," undated, Victor H. Schiro Papers, Louisiana Division, New Orleans Public Library, hereafter cited as VHS Papers, NOPL.

[14] *Times-Picayune*, September 10, 11, 1965; "The Elements: Still Untamed and Deadly," *U. S. News and World Report* 59 (September 27, 1965): 48; "Betsy's Toll," *Newsweek* 66 (September 27, 1965): 29; "A Hellion Hell-Bent," *Time* 86 (September 17, 1965): 37. For the cause of the flooding, see *States-Item*, September 13, 1965.

[15] Ibid., 29; "A Hellion Hell-Bent," 37; "The Elements: Still Untamed and Deadly," 48; *Times-Picayune* September 11, 1965.

[16] *States-Item*, September 10, 1965; "Betsy's Toll," 29.

[17] *Times-Picayune*, September 10, 1965.

[18] Don Lee Keith, "Civil Defense Department Gains Useful Experience in New Orleans," ibid., January 20, 1966.

[19] *States-Item*,September 11, 1965; McGuire interview, September 1, 1987; VHS interview, August 20, 1986, March 19, 1987, VHS Collection, LSM.

[20] McGuire interview, September 1, 1987; Roman Heleniak, "Lyndon Johnson in New Orleans," *Louisiana History* 21 (Summer 1980): 263-75.

[21] *States-Item*, September 11, 1965; *Times-Picayune*, September 11, 1965; VHS interview, August 20, 1986, March 19, 1987; McGuire interview, March 19, 1987.

[22] *States-Item*, September 11, 1965; *Times-Picayune*, September 11, 1965.

[23] VHS interview, August 20, 1986, March 19, 1987; For the text of the telegram see, Lyndon B. Johnson to VHS, September 12, 1965, VHS Papers, NOPL.

[24] *Times-Picayune*, September 11-15, 1965; *States-Item*, September 11-15, 1965. For the daily meetings at City Hall, see, for example, *Meeting—Civil Defense*, September 14, 1965, VHS Papers, NOPL.

[25] Statement of F. Edward Hebert, September 15, 1965, Victor H. Schiro Papers, New Orleans, hereafter cited as VHS Papers, NO. This collection consists of personal papers that have remained in Schiro's possession.

[26] *States-Item*, September 13, 14, 1965.

[27] *Times-Picayune*, September 14, 16, 1965.

[28] Ibid., September 14, 15, 18, 20, 21, 1965; *States-Item*, September 11, 14, 18, 1965.

[29] *Times-Picayune*, September 18, 1965.

[30] Ibid., September 12, 1965. Jim Barr to VHS, September 22, 1965, Lee G. Lowe to John J. Petre, September 23, 1965, Alvin J. Liska to VHS, October 1, 1965, VHS to Liska, October 6, 1965, Edward F. LeBreton, Jr. to VHS, October 12, 1965, VHS Papers, NO.

[31] *States-Item*, September 15, 1965.

[32] Mrs. Charles Ciffton Moses to Charles Erdmann, September 15, 1965, VHS Papers, NOPL; Mrs. John J. Finan to Alex [Alec] Gifford, October 1, 1965, VHS Papers, NO.

[33] *States-Item*, September 15, 16, 1965.

[34] VHS to Allen J. Ellender, Russell Long, F. Edward Hebert, Hale Boggs, Edwin E. Willis, Joe D. Waggoner, Otto E. Passman, James H. Morrison, Speedy O. Long, September 15, 1965, VHS Papers, NOPL.

[35] Hebert statement, September 15, 1965, VHS Papers, NO.

[36] VHS to Clothide Mack, September 30, 1965, VHS to John Cuccia, October 5, 1965, VHS Papers, NOPL; On another occasion Schiro said that the flooding "just couldn't be helped." *States-Item*, September 30, 1965.

[37] *States-Item*, September 18, 1965.

[38] Ibid., September 21, 1965.

[39] *Times-Picayune*, September 21, 23, 1965; *States-Item*, September 22, 1965.

[40] *States-Item*, September 21, 23, 1965.

[41] Ibid., September 22, 1965; George Adde to VHS, September 21, 1965, VHS Papers, NO.

[42] Regis Trumps to VHS, September 23, 1965, VHS Papers, NO; *States-Item*, September 23, 1965.

[43] *States-Item*, September 23, 1965.

[44] Aaron Mintz to [John F. Tims ?], n.d., Tims to T. Hale Boggs, September 21, 1965, T. Hale Boggs Papers, Tulane University, New Orleans.

[45] See *Times-Picayune*, November 6, 1965; McGuire interview, September 1, 1987.

[46] Nat Gros to Lindsey Williams, September 22, 1965, VHS Papers, NOPL.

[47] *States-Item*, September 22, 1965.

[48] *Times-Picayune*, September 23, 1965.

[49] *States-Item*, September 23, 1965; *Times-Picayune*, September 23, 1965.

[50] *Times-Picayune*, September 27, 1965; *States-Item*, September 30, 1965.

[51] Ibid., September 30, 1965.

[52] Mrs. A. J. Guma, Jr., September 16, 1965; Mrs. A. J. Frey to VHS, September 15, 1965; Mrs. J. W. Arguedes to VHS, September 14, 1965, VHS Papers, NOPL.

[53] Andrew George Kerth to Editor, *Times-Picayune*, September 18, 1965, F. Edward Hebert papers, Tulane University, New Orleans.

[54] Mrs. James Miller to VHS, October 24, 1965; Edward H. Wagner to VHS, September 21, 1965; Lois E. Smey to VHS, September 11, 1965, VHS Papers, NOPL.

[55] House Committee on Public Works, *Hearings Before the Special Subcommittees to Investigate Areas of Destruction of Hurricane Betsy* (New Orleans, September 25, 1965; Baton Rouge, September 26, 1965), 89th Cong., 1st sess. (Washington, 1965), 79-80.

[56] *Times-Picayune*, September 25, 1965.

[57] Ibid., September 27, 1965.

[58] Albert O'Connell to Roy Roberts and Jeff Hug, September 15, 1965, VHS Papers, NOPL.

[59] *Times-Picayune*, September 27, 29, 1965.

[60] VHS interview, August 20, 1986, March 19, 1987; McGuire interview, September 1, 1987; *States-Item*, October 6, 1965.

[61] *Congressional Record*, 89th Cong., 1st sess., 1965, 3, pt. 19: 25817, 25828, 25863-65. See also Boggs to Rogert L. Sarrat, October 7, 1965, Boggs Papers, Tulane.

[62] *States-Item*, October 6, 1965.

[63] Marguerite Guette to VHS, September 21, 1965, VHS Papers, NOPL.

[64] *States-Item*, March 25, 1971; McGuire interview, September 1, 1987.

[65] *States-Item*, October 2, 9, 1965.

[66] Ibid., October 5, 9, 1965.

[67] Ibid,. October 8, 1965; VHS to John J. McKeithen, October 7, 1965, VHS Papers, NOPL.

[68] *States-Item*, October 12, 1965.

[69] Press release, October 12, 1965, Boggs Papers, Tulane; *States-Item*, October 12, 1965.

[70] *Congressional Record*, 89th Cong., 1st sess., 1965, 3, pt. 20: 26810-11; F. Edward Hebert to Caroline Petrich, October 11, 1965, Hebert Papers, Tulane.

[71] *States-Item*, October 12, 1965.

[72] Ibid., October 15, 1965; Hebert quote, *Congressional Record*, 89th Cong., 1st sess., 1965, 3, pt. 20: 27183; Boggs quote, House Committee on Public Works, *Hearing on H.R. 11539 and Similar Bills* (Washington, October 13, 1965), 89th Cong., 1st sess. (Washington, 1965), copy in the Boggs Papers, Tulane.

[73] *Times-Picayune*, October 19, 1965; *States-Item*, October 19, 1965.

[74] *Times-Picayune*, October 21, 1965.

[75] Ibid., October 22, 1965.

[76] Ibid., October 21, 1965; *States-Item*, October 22, 1965.

[77] Ibid., October 23, 1965.

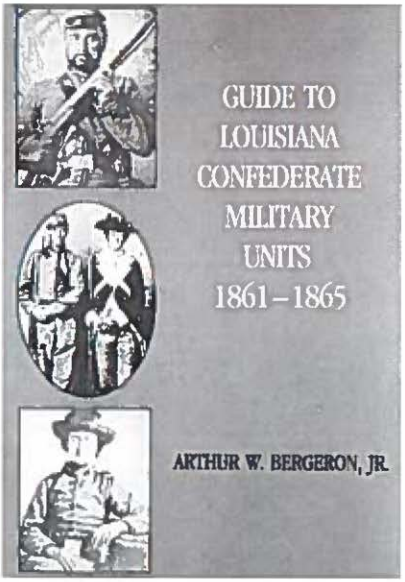
[78] Alberta P. Collins to VHS, October 15, 1965, VHS Papers, NOPL; *States-Item*, March 25, 1971.

[79] *Times-Picayune*, November 9, 1965; *States-Item*, October 22, 1965; Maxine Wachenheim to VHS, n.d., VHS Papers, NOPL.

Edward F. Haas is Associate Professor of History and Director of the Graduate Program in Historical and Archival Administration at Wright State University.

Book Reviews

Arthur W. Bergeron, Jr. *Guide to Louisiana Confederate Military Units, 1861-1865.* Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1989, pp. 229. $24.95. ISBN 0-8071-1496-0



Anyone who has spent time researching Confederate military history knows the frustration caused by missing records, conflicting information, and the lack of documentation for many southern units. Awareness of these pitfalls makes Arthur W. Bergeron's *Guide to Louisiana Confederate Military Units, 1861-1865* impressive. Since the turn of the century, other historians have attempted to compile definitive guides to Louisiana military organizations, but because of missing data none was totally successful. Having gained considerable knowledge of Louisiana Confederate troops while an archivist at the Louisiana State Archives, Bergeron has brought order to the chaotic records and compiled the most complete guide yet produced. Now, for the first time, there is one source that not only lists all of the 111 artillery, cavalry, and infantry units from the Pelican State, but also contains the companies, officers, and service records of each.

The *Guide to Louisiana Military Units* is arranged in three major sections, each dealing with units of artillery, cavalry, or infantry. Organizations in the militia, home guards, reserve corps, and irregulars are not presented because of a lack of records concerning them and their very limited wartime service. In each section the units are arranged in a manner that makes them easy to find whether they are known by a numerical designation or a popular name. The guide lists numbered units, like the 28th Regiment of infantry, before such named organizations as the Catahoula Battalion of infantry—these two categories being in numerical or alphabetical order. Units that have both designations, such as the 3rd (Pargoud's) Regiment of cavalry, are arranged in numerical order. With each organization are listed the field officers, company officers, and companies (with the companies' letter designations and, when possible, their popular names and parish or origin). The author then gives a brief account of each unit's war activities, including battles, losses, and dates of important events. The historical sketches are particularly useful in noting the many consolidations and transfers of organizations and in clarifying the identification of outfits that were sometimes given the same numerical designation. Two appendices include what little information is known about Louisiana's independent companies and volunteer

state troops. Bergeron does a fine job in cross-referencing all of the units, and he provides a comprehensive index to make it easy to locate the hundreds of individual officers, companies, battalions, and regiments.

The author also offers useful information concerning sources on Louisiana Confederate units. A bibliographic essay at the book's conclusion discusses the major government documents, archival material, and published sources used to compile most of the guide. In addition, less frequently used sources are cited at the end of some of the unit's historical sketches. This alone makes the work valuable, for many of the sources are from articles found in journals that might not be familiar to non-professionals.

In reading this guide, one is immediately struck by the fact that Louisiana troops were involved in virtually every major campaign and battle of the Civil War. Those readers who particularly are interested in the Civil War along the Gulf Coast will be pleased to see many Louisianians associated with Confederate activities at Pensacola, Mobile, and forts Jackson and St. Philip.

The *Guide to Louisiana Confederate Military Units, 1861-1865* will be welcomed by all historians of Confederate military history. General readers and genealogists also should find the book invaluable in identifying obscure units and officers, as well as chronicling the activities of great grandpa's regiment. One hopes that historians in southern states still lacking such a guide will follow Bergeron's example and compile similar works on their Confederate troops.

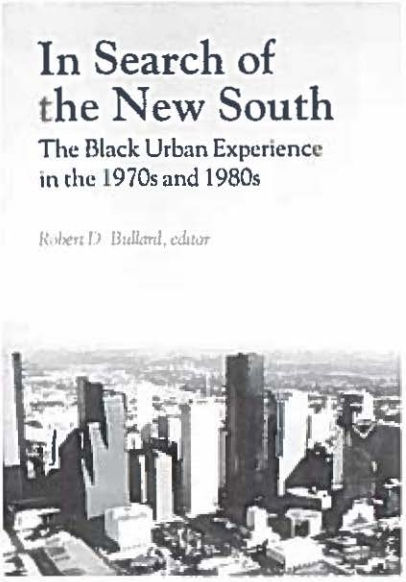
Terry L. Jones Louisiana School for Math, Science and the Arts

Robert D. Bullard, ed. *In Search of the New South: The Black Urban Experience in the 1970s and 1980s.* Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1989, *xi*, pp. 203. $26.95. ISBN 0-8173-0425-8

In the wake of the urban riots which scorched America in the second half of the 1960s, historians of the African-American experience produced a number of studies tracing the development of black ghettos. Building upon a tradition initiated by the classic sociological studies of W. E. B. Du Bois (Philadelphia) and Horace Cayton (Chicago), historians such as Allan Spear and David Katzman contributed to our understanding of the black communities in New York, Chicago, and Detroit. Despite the proliferation of black urban scholarship in the past twenty-five years, however, rarely have scholars examined the urban experience of blacks in Dixie or carried the story beyond the 1920s. *In Search of the New South* does both.

The essays in this volume focus upon the black communities in Houston, New Orleans, Atlanta, Memphis, Birmingham, and Tampa during the 1970s and 1980s. The most effective contributions are Beverly Hendrix Wright's study of New Orleans and Robert A. Catlin's piece on Tampa, the latter of which is particularly illuminating because of the author's attention to the Afro-Cuban population in that Florida city. Robert Bullard's study of Houston is little more than a summary of his *Invisible Houston* (1987).

The studies have several common threads. First, as Delores Aldridge points out in the forward, the contributors "share the common background of growing up black in America. Moreover, all . . . have chosen to live and work in the New South" (p. *ix*). Second, the essays present materials under seven headings: "Historical Background," "Population and Metropolitan Growth," "Housing and Residential Patterns," "Economic Change," "School Desegregation," "Black Politics," and "Conclusion." Third, the essays share a common thesis that blacks in their respective cities did not share in the growth and prosperity of the "New South." "To many blacks," writes Bullard, "the New South was nothing more than an extension of the Old South with only minor modifications" (p. 173).



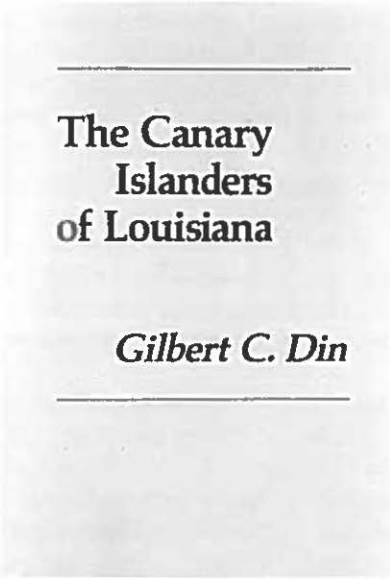
The essays argue that ghetto life in the central city produced by "white flight" to the suburbs, the debilitating effects of economic recession, and the persistence of racism, institutional and otherwise, has limited the life chances of urban blacks in the South. Unfortunately, however, the authors, by failing to examine the black urban experience over a period from the 1890s to the 1950s or later, ignore the obvious improvements in the lives of black Southerners over the course of the twentieth century. The statistical evidence for the 1970s and 1980s presented by the contributors points to important strides for black urban residents in housing, business ownership, and political power. The alacrity with which increased black political power is dismissed as inconsequential suggests the degree to which the authors have become prisoners of their thesis.

Further, these essays are less "case studies" than statistical reports. Some historians will question Bullard's definition of the "New South," which includes the former states of the Confederacy, plus Kentucky. Urban historians will be surprised by the way in which "New South" is casually and incorrectly interchanged with the term "Sunbelt," a region that extends westward from Texas to include New Mexico, Arizona and, particularly, California.

These criticisms, notwithstanding, *In Search of a New South*, by focusing our attention on twentieth-century southern cities, suggests a useful direction for scholars seeking to present a broader account of the black urban experience. Despite its weaknesses, the book demonstrates how much more we need to know about the impact of urbanization on African-Americans.

James SoRelle Baylor University

Gilbert C. Din. *The Canary Islanders of Louisiana.* Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1988, *xiii,* pp. 256. $32.50. ISBN 0-8071-1383-2



Gilbert C. Din estimates there are about fifty thousand living descendants of two thousand or so Canary Islanders who arrived in Louisiana in the late eighteenth-century. The Islenos, or Canarians, were the single largest group of Spanish civilians to settle in Spanish Louisiana. Today, the names of Isleno descendants are commonplace in the metropolitan New Orleans area: Campo, Neuez, Fernandez, and the Gallicized Rodrigue and Domingue, to list a few. Covering a time span of two centuries, Din's book is the first full-scale treatment of this submerged and increasingly assimilated minority.

Located just east of North Africa, the archipelagic Canary Islands had been colonized by the Spanish in the fifteenth-century to service New World expeditions (Columbus had stopped here) as well as to supply wine and dyes to the European market. Three hundred years later, during the American Revolution, Spain brought Canarians to Louisiana as part of a military build-up against the British. England had come into possession of the Florida parishes at the same time that Spain had taken over the rest of Louisiana from Bourbon France. To guard Louisiana's flanks against English invasion, Spanish authorities established two settlements of Islenos in the vicinity of upper Bayou Lafourche and Pass Manchac (Valenzuela and Valveztown) and two settlements below New Orleans (St. Bernard and Barataria). Only the Canarian communities in St. Bernard parish and on the upper Lafourche survived much beyond the initial colonization period. The other settlements succumbed to disease, Indian attacks, and assorted natural disasters.

The author is not blessed with an abundance of primary source material on which to draw, and the little that has survived is found in Spanish archives. That may explain why, in a study that aspires to treat two-hundred years of Canarian culture in Louisiana, nearly 40 percent of Din's book concentrates on the two decades of Spanish dominion. Din milks this colonial material for all it's worth, reproducing selected estate inventories and official reports almost verbatim. Every squabble between colonists and officialdom over rations, religious privileges, and labor service obligations gets equal treatment. There is a narrative thread, largely spun from well-known secondary accounts, but its relevance to the subject of Canary Islanders is not always clear.

What does come through clearly, however, is that Islenos were generally small farmers. The hunters, trappers, and fishermen on Delacroix Island, in the

lower portion of St. Bernard, are admittedly better-known but they are not representative of Canarian culture in Louisiana. Whether they fished and trapped, or raised vegetables, grains, and livestock, the Islenos generally existed on the margins of the cash economy, selling their surpluses to the urban markets in New Orleans or to the sugar plantations on the upper Bayou Lafourche, after they were pushed away from the richer lands along the Mississippi River onto burnt-out settlements, called *brulées*, in the back of the swamps. Only in these isolated pockets, moreover, or in the similarly insular Delacroix Island—where Islenos married among themselves, kept up the Spanish language, and observed traditional folk practices—did Canarian culture survive without serious modification well into the twentieth-century. After World War II, the advent of the petrochemical industry, electronic media, and mass education eroded the material and cultural base of Islenos culture. This accelerated the assimilative tendencies that have all but obliterated the distinctive features of Spanish culture in the state.

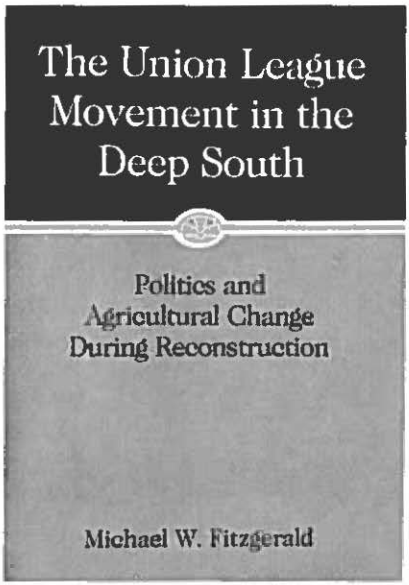
Unfortunately, the reader has to wade through a mind-numbing recitation of tedious facts and irrelevant digression to get to the nub of the book. The fundamental weakness in *The Canary Islanders in Louisiana* is that Din tries to narrate the story of an essentially inarticulate people through sources traditionally used for studying elites: manuscripts, memoirs, and newspaper. But there is not enough meat to fill the table. Over and over he tells the reader that little evidence has survived about the Islenos during important episodes in the state's history, and that it is impossible to determine how these Spanish-speaking people felt or acted at any given time. Fair enough. But why proceed to recount that history anyway? Din ends up digressing onto already well-worked ground: the Civil War, Bourbonism, Huey Long, Leander Perez (who probably descends from Isleno stock despite claiming French ancestry). When Din realizes he should return to the Canarians, and grows desperate for something fresh and new to say, he recites the military biographies of individuals plucked randomly from local newspapers. These individuals have seemingly been singled out for no other reason than their Spanish surnames. *The Canary Islanders in Louisiana* has a chatty quality that is more appropriate to genealogical studies.

It is a shame that Din failed to consult the methods of the new social history, which has done so much to recover the history of the heretofore submerged classes of society. He might have picked up some pointers about reconstructing the household and social structure of precapitalist folk. Social and cultural anthropology, moreover, might have suggested new ways of analyzing the folk beliefs and customs of these most interesting people. And folklorists and those who do oral history could have called Din's attention to other ways of approaching his subject. There is an interesting story to be told here. There is an equally interesting subject to be explored concerning the impact of sugar cultivation on the early Islenos and the incursions of capitalist social relations into the folkways of the fishermen and trappers in St. Bernard.

Din has done a commendable job of pulling together what is already generally known about Isleno culture and history. But he has not broken new ground. That must await a different sort of approach to the limited materials available.

Lawrence N. Powell — Tulane University

Michael W. Fitzgerald. *The Union League Movement in the Deep South: Politics and Agricultural Change During Reconstruction.* Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1989, *x*, pp. 283. $25.00. ISBN 0-807115266



The story of the secret Union League organization that existed in the South during Reconstruction has been a part of most political and social histories of the region. Assessments of the League's role have varied through time. Dunning scholars concluded that it was a means used by malicious carpetbaggers and scalawags to manipulate ignorant black voters and to secure black political support. Revisionists have dismissed charges that the League took advantage of black voters, but also generally have discounted its importance. Michael Fitzgerald's study, however, is the first work to examine League activities in detail. Focusing on operations in Alabama and Mississippi from the League's first appearance in 1865 to its frustration by the Ku Klux Klan in 1869 and 1870, Fitzgerald concludes that the League was the vehicle for a black social movement rather than the tool of white adventurers. As such, it was an important organization that achieved major political, economic, and social results.

Fitzgerald's examination of the indigenous roots of the League and the efforts to establish local groups offers important correctives to both Dunning and Revisionist versions of League history. He shows clearly that through churches, fraternal groups, and other social organizations, local blacks joined together before enfranchisement and League organizational efforts to express their concern with the course of events during Presidential Reconstruction. Efforts by whites to keep the freedmen in some form of bondage, not League agitation, politicized blacks. When the National Council of the League initiated efforts to organize in the South, local councils became the chief means through which this disaffection among blacks could be expressed.

This study also shows that at least at the local council level, the League was a black political institution. Whites did dominate state councils and initially controlled the local organizations, but in the case of the latter they lost control

quickly. Blacks proved to be apt students of politics, and black leaders rose to displace the whites. In such positions they did have an impact on the development of southern Republicanism. Blacks controlled nominations, influenced policy, and strengthened the Radical wing of the party. The author concludes that the League successfully established a tradition of support among blacks for the Republican party that lasted for decades.

With the coming to power of black leaders, local councils increasingly raised issues that interested the local community and, thus, became the means by which blacks attempted to change things. Fitzgerald believes that the primary concern within the black community was to block white efforts to limit their freedom in post-war society. On the plantation this involved resisting attempts to restore forms of coercion for agricultural labor. In urban areas black protest centered on stopping efforts to segregate blacks from whites. Fitzgerald gives the League primary credit for protecting blacks from a reestablishment of some limited form of slavery, especially in forcing planters to abandon all efforts at restoring a system of gang labor in favor of one of tenant farming by family units.

While the author proves that the League appealed rhetorically to black concerns, he is less successful in demonstrating that local blacks turned the organization into a sort of proto-Populist movement or even that its presence disrupted planter efforts at reestablishing the gang system. Much of the evidence concerning League-sponsored action actually is of alleged activity, and the evidence usually comes from planters, who had their own reasons for charging the League and the Republican party with disrupting the labor system. The logic of Fitzgerald's argument is also tenuous. The connection between the two depends upon the nearly simultaneous appearance of the League and the tenant system. Given the nature of the evidence and the fact that in at least one other state, Arkansas, the tenant system emerges at the same time without the presence of a well-organized League movement, an explanation for the emergence of farm tenantry requires other factors.

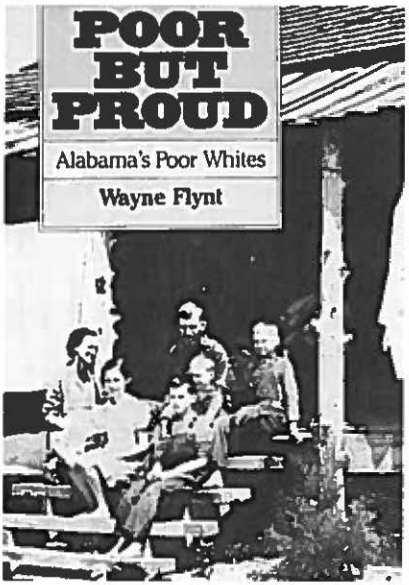
This study clearly shows that the Union League was an important agency in Mississippi and Alabama within which blacks learned politics, where black leaders emerged, and through which blacks secured political goals. The claim that the League effectively blocked the reimposition of gang labor on the freedmen or that the "League insurgency was one of the largest black social movements in American history" (p. 4) is exaggerated. Fitzgerald certainly points out the need for similar studies of League operations in other states to provide some basis for comparison.

Carl H. Moneyhon University of Arkansas at Little Rock

Wayne Flynt. *Poor But Proud: Alabama's Poor Whites.* Tuscaloosa: The University of Alabama Press, 1989, pp. 469. $27.50. ISBN 0-8173-0424-X

Wayne Flynt has significantly enriched the record of the South's poor whites in his new state study, *Poor But Proud*, which examines this neglected class

in Alabama from the early 1800s to recent times. As in his earlier regional study, *Dixie's Forgotten People: The South's Poor Whites* (1979), Flynt finds poor whites generally to have been strongly independent people who were victims of their circumstances and who preserved and valued their dignity while struggling to improve their lot in life. These people developed distinctive cultural and social patterns that were evident in their music, recreation, religion, and speech. This distinctiveness, Flynt believes, reflected a lack of education, isolation, and limited options, and served as a means of coping with the hopelessness of their situation.



As the author states in his preface, *Poor But Proud* is not an analysis of the poverty of a class but rather a descriptive picture of poor people and their lives. The vivid images and captivating personal stories that emerge from Flynt's skillful use of oral histories and extensive interviews are the greatest strength of the book. Refreshingly, the author relies heavily on the people themselves to tell their stories and to remind us that history is really an examination of past human hopes and struggles. His picture of the poor is sympathetic and caring. He views them as the hardworking ancestors of many of today's successful Alabamians. Among the sharecroppers, textile workers, herders, and miners, Flynt tells us, are his own forebears.

Flynt attacks the stereotype of the poor as degenerate, lazy refugees from the Protestant ethic. He found that most Alabama poor whites did not fit the stereotype. Beyond that, Flynt presents no new insights to account for the emergence of this lowest class of whites. While he is aware of recent scholarship such as the work of Grady McWhiney, Flynt affirms the traditional view that poor land, poor luck, poor health, and political powerlessness explain the existence of poor whites. Defining poor whites as people with no real estate and little personal property, he also accepts the standard explanation that the hope of upward mobility and the dominant specter of race kept class conflict to a minimum.

Flynt readily acknowledges that racism, violence, and unreliability characterized poor whites, but he downplays these qualities. He points out that politicians continually promoted racial solidarity to thwart the interests of the poor, but he offers little on the ways in which poor whites themselves savored their racial superiority. For example, their role in the Ku Klux Klan of the 1920s is practically ignored. Likewise, the reader gets little sense of race relations in Alabama's urban areas where poor blacks and whites mingled daily.

Further, Flynt makes frequent reference to the fierce independence and nonconformity inherent in poor white cultural values, and he has one short section

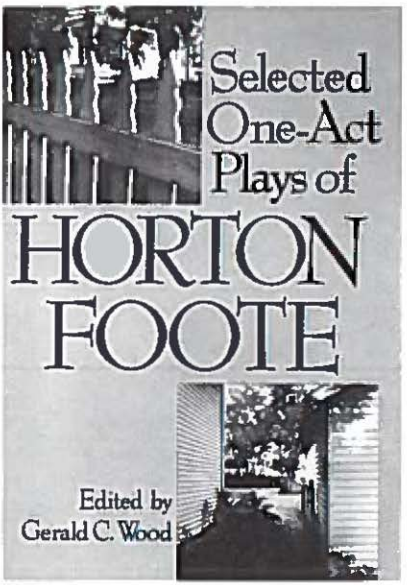
on work habits which, unlike the balance of his book, suggests that a distinct dislike of work, or at least regular work, may have significantly contributed to the numbers of impoverished people. Flynt's attempt to show how poor whites were "mainstreamed" into American life through Alabama football and country music is simply not convincing.

Flynt's organization is effective for covering his topic, and his writing style is lucid. His research and documentation are impressive, and he has done a superior job of locating materials on the subject. The text is laden with important facts and statistics, and as a result, the book cannot be read quickly or easily.

Overall, *Poor But Proud* exemplifies quality social history. It describes an often overlooked group without ideological pleading or romantic illusions. It does not become a chronicle of bleakness or victimization. Flynt has established himself as the preeminent historian of the South's and now, Alabama's, poor whites. At last an important, misunderstood, and neglected group, who had little political power and who left few sources for historians, is the subject of a comprehensive, scholarly, and lively study. Students of Gulf Coast and southern history are indebted to Professor Wayne Flynt for his first-rate work.

Robert T. Hawkes, Jr. George Mason University

Horton Foote. *The Selected One-Act Plays of Horton Foote*. Edited by Gerald C. Wood. Dallas: Southern Methodist University Press, 1989, pp. 507. $29.95. ISBN 0-87074-274-4



It took almost fifty years for Horton Foote, long a fixture on the New York stage, to achieve national recognition as playwright. Ironically, it was not through his plays that he became known to the American public but through motion pictures that he scripted. His screenplay of Harper Lee's *To Kill a Mockingbird* was his first success in the cinema, but in recent years his original screenplay for *Tender Mercies*, his dramatization of Faulkner's story "Tomorrow," and the film adaptations he wrote for his plays *The Trip to Bountiful*, *The Courtship*, *On Valentine's Day*, and *1918* have made him a major name in American drama.

To Kill a Mockingbird, and *Tender Mercies* won academy awards for their screenplays, and *The Trip to Bountiful* and *Tender Mercies* won academy awards for actors. Horton Foote's plays *The Courtship*, *On Valentine's*

Day, and *1918* have been put together as a trilogy and shown several times on PBS. But long before Foote's success with major motion pictures, he was a highly respected playwright in New York City and wrote plays for theatre groups, radio, and television. The seventeen one-act plays in this volume are typical of the kind of drama that Horton Foote does best—plays that are quiet, simple, and portray the life of ordinary people realistically.

The first eight plays in the volume were written between 1952 and 1954, a time, the editor tells us, when "a dozen of Foote's plays appeared on stage or on television." The other nine plays collected here were written after a hiatus of twenty-five years. All the plays, however, speak in the authentic voice that we have come to associate with Horton Foote.

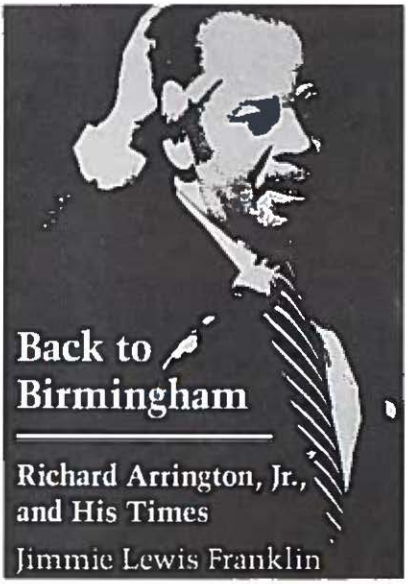
The plays in the collection, like much of Foote's writing, take place in the mythical Harrison, Texas, a small city patterned on Wharton, the Texas Gulf Coast town where Horton Foote was born in 1916. Wharton is the part of Texas that is most like the Gulf Coast South. The flavor of Mobile, Gulfport, Pascagoula, and Pass Christian can be seen and felt in the Texas of Horton Foote. The accents are the same; the idiom is the same; and so are the customs. Foote's Texas is pure Old South; in fact, Foote's own voice—even after more than fifty years in New York—sounds absolutely southern. Therefore, to read the seventeen short plays reprinted here is to revisit a South that is rapidly being lost—at least in Texas.

The plays in this collection show a small southern town that is slowly losing its identity and becoming a part of the Houston metropolitan area. What was once a country town firmly paying obeisance to King Cotton becomes a part of the gas-and-oil economy that made Houston the capital of the petroworld before the oil bust. In "The Oil Well," we see the ravages of the oil economy on Will Thornton. But it is not the economy and the changing world that inform most of these works, for Horton Foote's main concern is with the personal, those quiet moments of pure desperation and "those little nameless unremembered acts of kindness and love." In "The Dancers" the older generation tries to arrange marriages for the young; in "The Blind Date," we see a woman refusing to act the role prescribed for females in the world of courtship; in "The Dearest of Friends" the subject is marital infidelity. It is the last play in *The Selected One-Act Plays of Horton Foote* and brings us most closely to the social, rather than purely personal, realities of urban American America. The play, "The Land of the Astronauts," is a story of modern life's obsessions with wealth, television, and scientific discovery. But underneath it all is the same old human story: the search for identity. That is the theme that Horton Foote comes back to again and again in his plays and films.

Gerald C. Wood has written an excellent introduction and provided the reader with worthwhile commentaries on the individual plays. In addition, his chronology of the life and works of Texas's most important playwright is an aid to the student of American drama.

James Ward Lee The University of North Texas, Denton

Franklin, Jimmie Lewis. *Back to Birmingham: Richard Arrington, Jr., and His Times.* Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1989, pp. 363. $28.50. ISBN 0-8173-0435-5



This book is a well-written account of Richard Arrington's pilgrimage from being the son of a sharecropper in rural Livingston, Alabama, to his youth in Fairfield, Alabama and ultimately his years as a black city councilman in Birmingham and then mayor. Arrington grew up in the segregated pattern of life in the South during the 1940s and 50s. After attending Miles College in Birmingham, he obtained his Ph.D. degree in Zoology from the University of Oklahoma, in 1966, and then returned to Miles to teach.

While raising a family and teaching at Miles in the 1960s, Arrington was not actively involved in the civil rights movement. As an ambitious young middle class black he progressed in his academic profession and in 1970 became the director of the Alabama Center for Higher Education, an organization to promote the development of the eight black senior colleges in Alabama.

In 1971 this quiet, scholarly man ran for the city council of Birmingham. His election made him the first elected black in the city council since Arthur Shores, the other black on the council, had been appointed to that position. With the election of a liberal white mayor, David Vann in 1975, Arrington was able to promote black interests. During his council years Arrington was particularly concerned about police brutality towards blacks.

In 1979 Arrington defeated Vann and Frank Parsons in a mayoral election following disagreement over Vann's response to the shooting of a black woman by a policeman. The election of Arrington showed the changed racial composition of the city. By 1979 Birmingham's population was more black than white. By gaining over 95 percent of the black vote and 10 percent of the white vote, Arrington was elected.

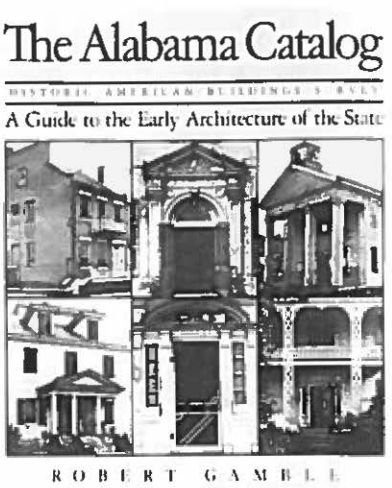
The author frankly describes criticism of Mayor Arrington by the white population of the city. They accused him of favoring blacks in city jobs and services. In particular, whites criticized Arrington's political action group, the Jefferson County Citizens Coalition. Problems concerning urban renewal projects are recounted as are the mixed results of economic development such as the new Birmingham Turf Club race track. Birmingham's efforts at annexation are described, including the controversial, "lasso" annexations where outlying areas are annexed to the city and connected to the city only by an annexed roadway.

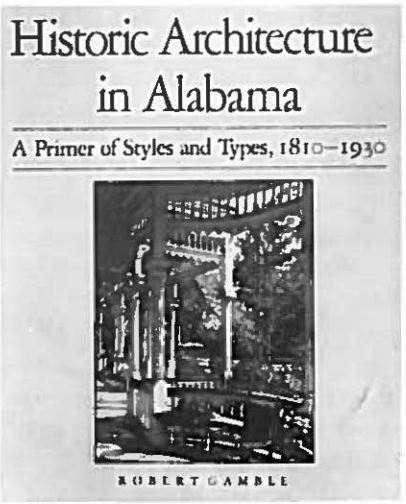
This book is largely based upon oral history interviews. In addition, since Franklin had known Arrington while in graduate school at the University of Oklahoma, he had access to personal records. Franklin also sat in on meetings of the city council and other agencies. He delved into city records of all types, including the papers of former mayors Seibels and Vann. City newspapers, both white and black, were used extensively, but somewhat greater use could have been made of the *New York Times* which regularly reports on Birmingham. The book does not contain footnotes, but has a bibliographical essay on sources at the end of each chapter. At times there is some repetition of events, but overall this is a well-written narrative account of a significant black political leader.

Alan S. Thompson Louisiana State University in Shreveport

Robert Gamble. *The Alabama Catalog, Historic American Buildings Survey: A Guide to the Early Architecture of the State.* Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1987, pp. 445. $55.00. ISBN 0-8173-0148-8

———. *Historic Architecture in Alabama: A Primer of Styles and Types, 1810-1930.* Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1990, *xi*, pp. 218. $30.00. ISBN 0-8173-0364-2





The Historic American Buildings Survey (HABS) ranks as one of the most far-sighted federal make-work programs of the Depression. Proposed in late 1933, HABS was designed to create a central archives on historic American architecture and provide jobs for out-of-work architects and draftsmen. The idea won quick approval. The National Park Service administered the program while the American Institute of Architects provided direction and expertise. The Library of Congress served as depository for the survey. By the time the project was deactivated in 1937, thousands of historic buildings nationwide had been inventoried and

hundreds of architects given meaningful employment. HABS was reactivated in 1957 and continues to this day, though on a much smaller scale. Most of the survey work is now done by students on summer internships. The total HABS achievement is impressive with more than nineteen thousand structures documented. Tens of thousands of drawings, sketches, and photographs have been placed in the Library of Congress, compiling a priceless record of the nation's historic architecture.

Despite the publication of a national HABS master guide in 1983 (replacing the old 1941 general catalog), many states have chosen to publish their individual collections in a more detailed format. *The Alabama Catalog* is the latest of these efforts. Author Robert Gamble, architectural historian for the Alabama Historical Commission, has divided his work into two parts. In the first part he introduces the reader to the form and variety of Alabama architecture from 1810 to 1930. The second part consists of the actual HABS catalog for Alabama.

Part I, or the primer, stands well on its own and is the finest architectural history of the state available. Because of the primer's usefulness and popularity with those who are not necessarily interested in the actual HABS Catalog, the University of Alabama Press has issued *Historic Architecture in Alabama: A Primer of Styles and Types, 1810-1930.* This book is an exact reprinting of part I of *The Alabama Catalog*, and has not been revised. Gamble honestly admits in his preface that "new information has emerged which would be included were a revised edition being prepared" (p. *xi*).

Nevertheless, his primer is a tour de force. He begins with an overview of the state's early economic and social development. He notes that as late as 1850, half the state's land area still remained in the public domain. Towns like Montgomery and Mobile were surrounded by vast, lonely expanses of wilderness. Thus most Alabamians lived in an environment "that fostered conservatism in architecture, as in religion, education, and social attitudes. It was an ambience that preserved folkways and enforced a day to day isolation" (p. 6).

Most of the early folk types of housing, including the dog-trot and I-house, were brought into the state by settlers from the eastern seaboard. Yet, at least one, the Creole Cottage, may have been indigenous to the Gulf Coast. Indeed, Alabama's early architecture developed most of its "regional nuances" (p. 16) as a response to the suffocating heat of the deep South. This architectural fine-tuning carried over into high-style buildings as well through the use of wide halls, tall ceilings, and full-length windows.

The coming of the railroads and better communications slowly brought Alabama architecture into the national mainstream, and by the 1930s regional distinctions were rare. Gamble briefly outlines post-1930 architectural trends, closing his primer with mention of the historic preservation movement in Alabama.

The primer is lavishly illustrated with black and white photographs and architectural drawings. In addition summary characteristics of each style are listed, making the volume a useful field guide. Though Gamble's coverage is wide, there is one surprising omission. Shotgun houses, so common in Mobile, Montgomery, and Birmingham are not even mentioned. Though too humble to be recorded

by HABS (as were many of the folk types), no architectural history of the state should ignore them.

The actual HABS Catalog is presented in Part II of *The Alabama Catalog*. It is no mean compendium. The Alabama collection includes 720 buildings, the largest number in the southeast aside from Virginia. Sadly, over 40 percent of this total has vanished from the landscape (as compared with 18 percent in Georgia). Though fire and storm account for some of the loss, man has been the principal offender. Of 177 structures recorded in Mobile, 138 have been destroyed, mostly for urban renewal. This is one of the highest HABS attrition rates in the United States.

Gamble introduces the catalog with a short history of the HABS effort in Alabama. In the beginning, mostly ante-bellum buildings were recorded, including houses, stores, churches, schools, covered bridges, and at least one privy. Measured drawings, photographs, and historical information were taken by the field teams. Gamble describes these tireless workers, "jostling along back roads that were alternately choked in dust or hip deep in mud; putting up at country hotels . . . where a steaming breakfast could be had next morning for a quarter; arriving one purple twilight at the front steps of Rosemount, deep in the Black Belt, unannounced except for a swirl of baying hounds" (p. 183).

The catalog is organized by county with subheadings by town or vicinity. The building's name is given (if it has one), followed by its survey number, address, architectural description, historical information (usually brief), and the number of photos and data pages on record. A glossary and several appendices (including a listing of Mobile HABS structures by street address and a Mobile ironwork survey) conclude the volume.

The Alabama Catalog is an important work. The Society of Architectural Historians has awarded Gamble the Antoinette Forrester Downing Award for excellence in published architectural surveys. Elegantly written and beautifully produced, *The Alabama Catalog* should be on the shelf of anyone seriously interested in the architectural history of the state. *Historic Architecture in Alabama*, unencumbered by the HABS listings, should appeal to a wider audience. Unfortunately, the priceless heritage these books document continues to slip away. Recently, Mobile's Fire Marshall recommended that a vacant frame house at 165 St. Emanuel Street be demolished as a fire hazard. This building, the Hall-Ford House (HABS number AL-46) was built in 1836 and is one of Mobile's most distinctive early houses. If it falls, the most complete record of this treasure will be in *The Alabama Catalog*.

John S. Sledge — Mobile Historic Development Commission

Jim Dan Hill. *The Texas Navy: In Forgotten Battles and Shirtsleeve Diplomacy*. Austin: State House Press, 1987, *xv*, pp. 224, illustrations. $12.95. ISBN 0-938349-18-X

This is a facsimile reprint of a 1937 University of Chicago Press volume. Reviewing a half-century-old book can pose a challenge. One may either belabor

the obvious by using academic pyrotechnics to demonstrate that the work is not quite up-to-date, or one may risk writing a dated review by evaluating the work solely in the context of its own time. Happily, however, *Texas Navy* resolves this dilemma by displaying considerable staying power. The book has aged gracefully. A few passages read awkwardly, especially those which evoke the quaint notion that WASPs are somehow more American than lesser breeds can ever hope to be. And the anachronistically contentious introductory pages whisper an antiquarian "Gone-With-the-Wind" view of Texas's most peculiar institution. But quibbles aside, Hill's account of the Texas Navy's adventures holds up well, and remains a good read to boot.

The Texas Navy was small enough to let Dr. Hill swashbuckle aboard every last vessel Texas ever commissioned, plus just about every privateer granted one of the Republic's few letters of marque. On the other hand, the little fleet was potent enough, now and then (depending on the vagaries of Texican financing, the shifts in diplomatic winds, the oscillations in the Republic's buckskin politics, Sam Houston's landlubber whims, and the voracious appetites of nineteenth-century maritime worms), to tilt the naval balance of power in the waters between New Orleans and Yucatan toward Texas's favor.

While Dr. Hill obviously enjoyed buckling swash aboard the Republic's sloop o'war (singular), brigs, steamers, and schooners, he also recognized that the Texas Navy supplied a miniature model for a sophisticated analysis of Alfred Thayer Mahan's seapower doctrines. The Texas Navy did everything any big-league navy was supposed to do, writ small. It stalked enemy commerce; it guarded and blockaded coastlines; it raided hostile beaches; it co-operated with maneuvers of the Republic's army; it flaunted the flag; it served as a salty chip in diplomatic games; it protected sea lanes; it traded ship-to-ship broadsides in the best Horatio Hornblower style; and, off Campeche, it more-or-less won a mini-Mahanian decisive battle. Its seamen even staged a mutiny or two, and its officers found time to bicker about rank.

Dr. Hill's work emphasized one fundamental point often overlooked: Mexican Tejas and the Republic were both beachhead societies dependent largely upon maritime communications, and hence bound to the Gulf by coastal and seaborne commerce. Except for the San Antonio Road, even Texas's interior highways were the rivers descending to the sea. The ports of Brazoria and Galveston—not the cattle, farming, and oil towns of later generations—were the Texicans' major entrepôts and markets. Given the Republic's economic geography, Dr. Hill's study underscored, rightly, both the role played by Mexico's erratic tariff

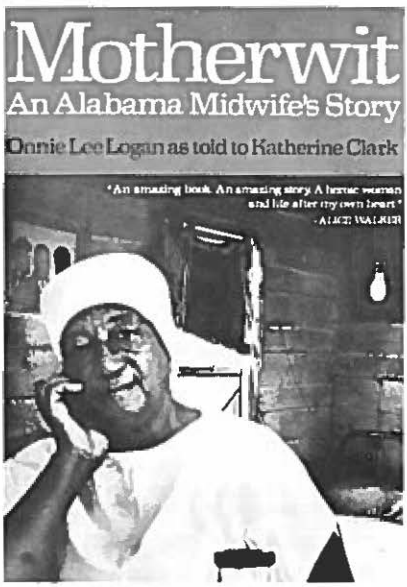
policies in provoking the Texas Revolution, and the ways in which Texas's seaward orientation defined much of the Republican era's military and naval strategy. It was no accident that Goliad was near the coast, and that both Anáhuac and San Jacinto were close to Galveston Bay.

People make history. The usual cast of bigger-than-life Texicans (and comparatively diminished other folks) populate Dr. Hill's pages, doing, for the most part, what is expected of them. Yet there are twists. President Sam Houston's bronzed memory loses some of its burnished patina, while President Mirdabeau Lamar's marble image gains some much-needed color. And the Texas Navy's last commodore, the young Edwin W. Moore, found an able defender in Dr. Hill, whose pen nobly parried the abiding vengeance of Houston, of the Lone Star State's Houstonite myth, and of the American Historical Association's collection of official Texican diplomatic correspondence.

No aspiring Ph.D. really needs to write a new book about the Texas Navy just yet. Anyone with open shelf space in a Texas history collection can make do quite nicely with a copy of this well-crafted and now reprinted volume.

Robert L. Kerby University of Notre Dame

Onnie Lee Logan, *Motherwit: An Alabama Midwife's Story*, as told to Katherine Clark. New York: E. P. Dutton, 1989, *xiv*, pp. 177. $16.95. ISBN 0-525-24751-3



Everyone interested in the black female experience is indebted to Katherine Clark, who interviewed Onnie Lee Logan in the summer of 1984, and thus preserved for posterity the authentic voice of one of the last of the black Alabama granny midwives. Her wisdom, humor, and the depth of her experience make it a pleasure and an inspiration for us to hear her life history.

The book begins with a quotation from the *Book of Exodus*, reminding us that the office of the midwife is one of the most ancient and honorable of all callings. Yet there are no more lay midwives in Alabama; they were prohibited by a 1976 law which legalized nurse-(that is registered) midwives. No new certificates have been issued since 1980, and the last of the lay midwives retired in 1985.

Yet in 1940, 73 percent of the white births in Alabama, and more than 90 percent of the non-white births took place out of a hospital. In 1960, 45

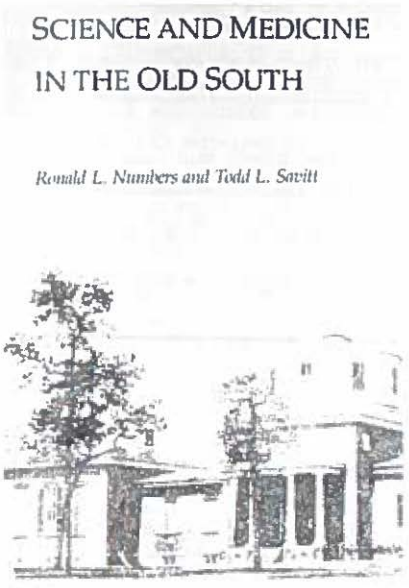
protection, low-income housing shortages, public health, water supply, sewage disposal, mass transportation and traffic congestion, as well as air pollution.

While well conceived and timely, the book is nevertheless flawed in two notable respects. Although social scientists and practitioners of quantitative history will glory in the statistical tables and graphs, humanists will be disappointed that the book is long on numerical analysis and short on an examination of the roles played by city leaders such as Robert L. Thornton of Dallas, Amon Carter of Forth Worth, and Jesse Jones of Houston. In other words, a little less concern with institutions and more with the men and women who made them would have produced a more satisfactory result. Just as important, the case studies presented in the volume treat the development of only four Texas cities—Houston, Galveston, Dallas, and San Antonio. Only passing mention is made of Fort Worth and Austin, and the West Texas urban centers of Lubbock, Amarillo, Wichita Falls, and El Paso are ignored.

Despite the imbalance, students of Texas and of urban history will find that the work is an important and much needed contribution to an area of Texana heretofore left to the devices of political scientists and sociologists. For that the editors and contributors must be commended.

Michael Collins Midwestern State University, Wichita Falls, Texas

Ronald L. Numbers and Todd L. Savitt, eds. *Science and Medicine in the Old South.* Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1989, *xii*, pp. 370. $37.50. ISBN 0-8071-1464-2



We have known very little about science and medicine in the Old South. With few exceptions, most studies of the history of American science and medicine have concentrated on northeastern events and institutions. Conversely, those historians who have written about the Old South have paid little attention to the history of science or medicine. This volume, therefore, is a significant addition to the literature. The fifteen essays were prepared for two Barnard-Millington symposia (named in honor of two prominent southern scientists) held in Oxford and Jackson, Mississippi, in 1982 and 1983. Most of the essays focus on the period 1830-1860 and compare the Old South with other regions.

The book is divided into two sections: the history of science and the history of medicine. Several themes run throughout the book: the impact of slavery on changes in science and medicine;

the unique nature of the southern environment (particularly important for medicine); and southern fears (perhaps warranted) about not being taken seriously by the North. As one Old South physican put it, "The medical world are not looking to the far distant Mississippi for any discovery in surgery" (p. 210).

The authors differ somewhat about the impact of slavery on science. Ronald L. Numbers and Janet S. Numbers use quantitative methodology to suggest that it was the absence of a strong urban culture, rather than the presence of slavery, that explains the absence of notable scientists from some parts of the South. Other authors drew different conclusions. William K. Scarborough claims that slavery had an indirect impact on scientific change in the Old South by focusing energies on an agricultural economy, thus leading to a rural society in which there was no way to communicate scientific information to the general public. Charles B. Dow looks at the iron industry and demonstrates how slavery presented insurmountable obstacles to keeping pace with changes in ironmaking. As a result, the iron works of the Old South were inadequate in 1861 to meet the needs of a nation at war. As Dow puts it, "The slave ironworkers, perhaps, had unwittingly helped to pave the way for their own freedom" (p. 126).

E. Brooks Holifield analyzes how ministers negotiated the complex relationship between science and religion and suggests that tensions began to show in the 1850s. Other essays in the section on science examine scientific societies in the Old South and challenge standard histories of higher education by showing how professors at the University of Georgia were as interested as their northern colleagues in introducing science.

While many of the issues raised by scientists in the Old South were of interest primarily to the educated elite, morbidity and death eventually touched every Southerner, free or slave. Diseases such as malaria, hookworm, and yellow fever were part of the day-to-day life of all Southerners, and thus ought to be of interest to all who write about southern history. Margaret H. Warner describes how yellow fever stood at the center of public health efforts. Disease patterns varied in different parts of the South, as K. David Patterson points out. Elizabeth B. Keeney is sensitive to issues of health care delivered by lay people in the mostly rural South, and Elliott J. Gorn and Todd L. Savitt tell us much about the needs and beliefs of the slave community. John Harley Warner discusses southern medical distinctiveness and concludes that southern physicians argued for the uniqueness of southern medicine based not only on the different diseases but also for political, social, and economic reasons.

In their introductions, the editors point out areas of the history of antebellum southern science and medicine that need further examination. Nonetheless, this book is required reading for any historian wishing to study the history of science and medicine in the Old South and recommended reading for anyone wishing to understand southern ideas or southern social history.

Joel D. Howell University of Michigan

Robert R. Rafferty. *Texas Coast.* Austin: Texas Monthly Press, 1986, *ix*, pp. 289. $9.95. ISBN 0-87719-005-4

Texans who live inland in Houston or San Antonio think they know their favorite playgrounds along the coast. Similarly, those who live beside the Gulf of Mexico are sure they know everything about their own backyard. This splendid guidebook will surprise both groups. It brings the coast into sharp focus and under painstaking scrutiny. Robert Rafferty has established no less than eighteen criteria to evaluate various coastal destinations: tour and guide services, guide books, points of interest, bird's-eye views, historic places, museums, galleries, music and theater, colleges and universities, shopping opportunities, outdoors and side trips, kids' stuff, sports and other activities, annual events (like Port Arthur's "Cav-Oil-Cade"), accommodations, restaurants, clubs and bars, and "offbeat" attractions. Rafferty also lists addresses, dates, populations, prices, hours of operation, telephone numbers, availability of credit and handicapped accessibility. He wraps up everything with a "get-acquainted driving tour" of six complex communities delivered in a no-nonsense vernacular style which is clear and easy to read. There is a minimum of hyperbole—surprising in view of the fact that much of the information came from chambers of commerce—and a lot of acclaim for prize finds. One hyperbolic exception is a reference to Galveston's tall ship, the *Elissa*, which is touted as the "third oldest ship afloat" (page 32). This may be correct if one is talking about maritime vessels only, but there are floating warships that are much older than *Elissa*'s date of 1877.

It is interesting to note that the places covered in the book are almost the same as those that existed in the earliest days of the Republic of Texas and, as such, are of special interest to historians. The following list of places are those that Rafferty considers "major" destinations if one tours the coast from east to west. The place names in parentheses are those listed as Texas ports of embarkation in New Orleans' ships lists from 1821 to 1838. They are: Port Arthur (Sabine River, Beaumont), Galveston (Galveston/Bolivar), Brazosport (Brazos River, Quintana, Velasco, Marion's, Bell's Landing), Port Lavaca (Matagorda, Colorado River, Passo Cavallo), Rockport and Fulton, Aransas Pass, Port Aransas (Copano and Aransas bays), Corpus Christi, Port Mansfield, South Padre Island/Port Isabel, and Brownsville/Matamoros (Rio Grande, St. Iago, Matamoros). Rafferty surveys a total of eleven large and twelve smaller places along 360 miles of coastline. An ideal companion volume would be a similar guide embracing U.S. highways

98 and 90 from Apalachee Bay, Florida, to Beaumont, Texas. The so-called "third coast" is in need of such meticulous documentation.

A minor drawback is that instructions for some of the driving tours are given so fast and furiously that one might become disoriented. Contrary to the introduction, maps are *not* compatible with the text. For example, driving instructions for Galveston refer to Sealy Street and Holiday Drive. Those for Corpus Christi refer to Power and North Chaparral Streets, Shoreline Drive and Navigation Boulevard. None of these streets are shown on the maps in the text. Separate maps illustrating each driving tour would have been welcomed. However, Rafferty is liberal with his tips on how to locate good maps at local sources.

The production values of the book are a source of disappointment. It is not a shoddy product, but ranks about six on a quality scale of one-to-ten. Rafferty's information is worth much more than the price of the book. The maps are second- or third-generation reproductions, and the typefaces have lost most of the thin strokes of the characters. Worse, the publishers did not split the maps to jump the gutters, and many key names and intersections have fallen into those pinched abysses. They cannot, for example, be photocopied and distributed to backseat navigators. Other publisher's decisions include the omission of photographs or artwork, the use of a cheap grade of wood-pulp paper, and inconsistent printing weights, or "color," of typography. Light impressions appear on some pages (e.g., page 45) and heavy ones on others (e.g., page 49). Users should heed all of Rafferty's admonitions to obtain better maps and, perhaps, to use a tape recorder nestled on the driver's seat.

All in all, *Texas Coast* is a treasure-house of information and fully lives up to its claim of presenting "delights along the Gulf Coast of Texas," with promises of "beaches, boating, fishing, fiestas, seafood, shopping, history, and hilarity."

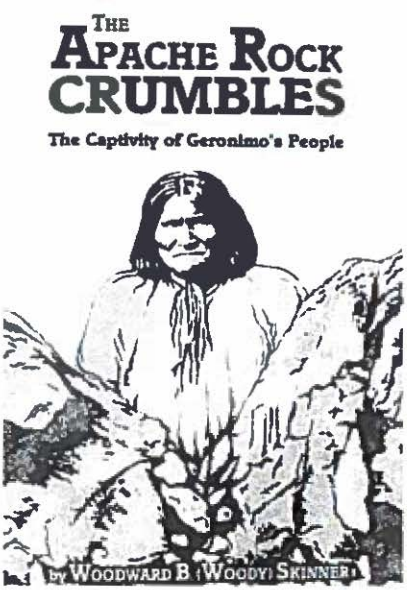
James L. Glass — Houston, Texas

Woodward B. (Woody) Skinner. *The Apache Rock Crumbles: The Captivity of Geronimo's People.* Pensacola: Skinner Publications, 1987, pp. 497. $21.95. ISBN 0-9618758-0-1

In August 1886 a part of western history closed when the medicine man Geronimo, along with a distinguished list of Chiricahua Apache Indians, including Naiche (the last chief and son of Cochise) surrendered for the final time to U.S. Army forces. With them were members of the Warm Springs Indians led by Nana, Loco, and Mangus, the last chief. In order to stop the constant breakouts from the hated reservation, the army put about five hundred Apache men, women, and children on trains and sent them east to Florida.

Following 77 Apaches already sent to St. Augustine, a total of 502 prisoners of war were eventually relocated to Fort Marion. Meanwhile at Fort Pickens in Pensacola, seventeen of the most notorious of the dreaded Apaches became a local tourist attraction. In addition one hundred young Indians were sent away

from their parents to the Carlisle School in Pennsylvania, thus removing all insurgents and their relatives from the Southwest. Also in the group of prisoners were scouts who had served the U.S. Army and had not been part of the breakouts.



While captive on the Gulf Coast, the Indian death toll from disease and illness was extremely high and was offset only by the high birthrate. The alarming mortality rate forced the authorities to move those at Fort Marion to the Mount Vernon Barracks in north Mobile County. Here they were reunited with the Pensacola prisoners who were transferred to Mount Vernon a short time later. From mid-1887 to the end of 1894 the Indians were Alabama residents. In an acculturation process, the army established all-Indian companies led by white officers. In Mount Vernon almost all of the physically fit Apache braves joined Company I of the 12th Infantry.

The damp air of Mount Vernon weakened the Indians and the death toll remained high. Accidents, violence, and sickness continued to decimate the prisoners and members of Company I; a dozen of the Indians, including Geronimo's son Chappo, are buried at the National Cemetery in Mobile. At the end of 1894, the Apaches again boarded a train and headed west. All of their possessions were loaded on the train with them, including the buildings from Mount Vernon which were disassembled for transport to Fort Sill, Oklahoma, the Indians' new prison. Unfortunately the train caught fire in New Orleans destroying the buildings, but the Indians continued their journey to another unfamiliar reservation. Geronimo died at Fort Sill on February 17, 1909. Four years later the Apache were set free and sent back to the reservation in the Southwest.

Mr. Skinner in *Apache Rock Crumbles*, tells the story of the Indians' capture, imprisonment, and eventual release in a personal manner. Retired from the Florida school system, Skinner is a noted local historian with a previous book and numerous articles to his credit. His use of primary sources is comprehensive, particularly the Wratten papers and contemporary newspaper accounts. Wratten was an army scout, translator, and friend to the Apache who remained with them throughout their captivity. Mr. Skinner's access to this private collection supplies a previously unavailable wealth of personal information and eye-witness testimony.

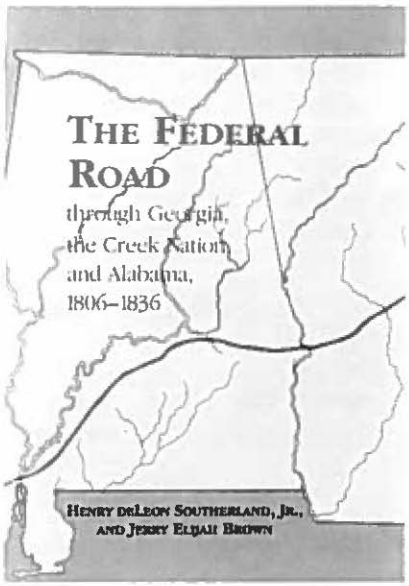
Footnotes appear at the end of each chapter with a bibliography and index concluding the book. There are also a number of photographs and statements by descendants of the Apache prisoners included. Despite these strengths, the text wanders and would have benefitted from a good editorial revision, unavailable since the book was privately published.

Believing that the Indians' story has not been told, Skinner acts as their advocate. He rarely casts blame on the Apache while criticizing a number of white officials. As a history of the captivity, a few more specifics would have been helpful. Information that Skinner obviously had, such as dates of important events, are not included or are buried so deeply within the story that they must be ferreted out. For example, I was unable to locate dates for the moves to or from Mount Vernon or the date of the final freeing of the prisoners of war. A notable exception is the date given for Geronimo's death; however it is rare that Skinner makes the statement that something occurred on a particular day.

Most people are unaware that five hundred Apaches, including the famed Geronimo, were ever near the Gulf Coast or how recently they were here. Skinner deserves full credit for researching and telling us such an important story.

Devereaux Bemis — Mobile Historic Development Commission

Henry deLeon Southerland, Jr., and Jerry Elijah Brown. *The Federal Road Through Georgia, the Creek Nation, and Alabama, 1806-1836.* Tuscaloosa: The University of Alabama Press, 1989, *xiv*, pp. 198. $24.50. ISBN 0-8173-0443-6



In 1993 historians will mark the centennial of Frederick Jackson Turner's seminal essay "The Significance of the Frontier in American History." As that date approaches Alabama citizens should consider what the frontier meant in the development of the state. As part of this exercise they should consult this book. It is one of the best available accounts of the settlement of the Old Southwest. Its focus is the Federal Road, which entered Alabama just below present-day Phenix City, crossed land belonging to the Creek nation, veered south at Montgomery, crossed the Tensaw River at Fort Stoddert, then forked, with one branch going to Mobile and the other to New Orleans. In addition it is the story of the soldiers, settlers, speculators, and slaves who came to Alabama on the road, and of the native Americans they displaced. Building the Federal Road was an engineering and political feat; its maintenance was a constant challenge and its importance should never be underestimated.

Begun in 1806 as a horse path to improve communication between Washington and newly acquired Louisiana, the Federal Road immediately became valuable as a post road despite difficulties using it. Traffic on the trail increased,

and as it did the Creeks grew uneasy. The mounting tension led to the Creek War, a phase of the War of 1812 that was as important to Alabamians as the late eighteenth-century war for independence. During the 1812 war the Federal Road changed the Indian way of life. The road was an indispensable supply route for the American army, and its improvement for war meant that it would be heavily used in peace time.

The Creek War and the Federal Road renewed interest in settling the Old Southwest. Many who had come to Alabama as soldiers found rich land and vowed to return by the road to settle the territory. Alabama's rapid rise to statehood was due, in large measure, to a surging population that entered by the Federal Road. Thus, the road that contributed to the defeat of the Creeks during the war, later brought in settlers who sealed the Indians' fate by taking their land.

The road also attracted a varied assortment of "professional travelers," who were drawn to the romance of the opening frontier and were quick to publish their impressions. From these accounts Brown and Southerland produce an enlightening and entertaining description of travel and travelers on the road. Tales of sojourners in uncomfortable stagecoaches fording creeks, floundering through swamps, and bouncing over ruts to reach taverns noted for dirty accommodations and inedible food give readers a new appreciation of the western movement. Accounts of the people—white, red and black, crude, hospitable, greedy, friendly, violent, exploiter and exploited—correct romantic illusions of the era. Southerland and Brown have an excellent command of details, but never lose sight of the broad picture. They use the Federal Road to tell the story of a young country, a receding frontier, and a state being born. Their perspective is unique and welcome.

The Federal Road does credit to its authors, to its sponsor (the Historic Chattahoochee Commission), and to the University of Alabama Press. Good research, documentation and excellent maps by Charles Jefferson Hiers make the book valuable for scholars and laymen. It should be on the bookshelf of all students of Alabama history.

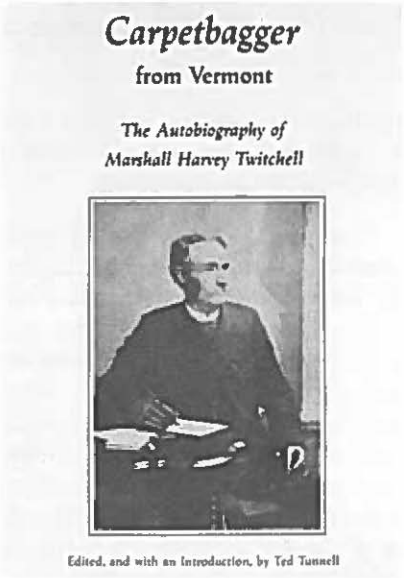
Harvey H. Jackson — Jacksonville State University

Ted Tunnell, ed., *Carpetbagger from Vermont: The Autobiography of Marshall Harvey Twitchell.* Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1989, *xi*, pp. 211. $29.95. ISBN 0-8071-1415-4

Among the states of the Gulf Coast, Louisiana has long been known for its colorful, corrupt, and sometimes violent politics. The roots of these political patterns run deep into the state's history, and the Reconstruction period especially was an era of conflict. Few sources bring the tension and outright warfare of Reconstruction alive more effectively than a memoir or autobiography, and among memoirs, *Carpetbagger from Vermont* is unusually interesting and valuable.

Marshall Harvey Twitchell came to Louisiana in 1865, a twenty-four-year-old Union army veteran. Raised on a farm in Vermont, Twitchell rose to the rank of captain in command of black troops facing Petersburg. In October 1865 he became provost marshal and agent of the Freedmen's Bureau for Bienville Parish, near the Red River in northern Louisiana. Immediately he encountered

"intense bitterness against the colored soldiers, once [the whites'] slaves but now, under my direction, their masters" (p. 90). By tolerating no nonsense from blacks or whites, Twitchell managed to maintain order and to arrange labor contracts in the few months before a civil government took office.



In 1866 Twitchell met Adele Coleman, the daughter of a planter of the parish who was teaching music in Sparta, where Twitchell resided. Evidently their early contacts were fairly modest, but Adele's family ordered her home to prevent a romance and thereby precipitated one. The strong-willed Adele insisted on seeing Twitchell, who refused to be intimidated by her sometimes menacing family, and in July 1866 the two were married.

Before long Adele's family had placed the management of its agricultural operations in Twitchell's hands, and his three sisters and their husbands moved to Louisiana to join him. Soon Twitchell embarked upon a prominent political career in the local and state Republican organizations. He became one of the chief Republican strategists in his part of the state and a prominent man in the legislature. In 1872 and 1874 he fought for the Republican party's interests through violent, disputed elections. In 1876, as leader of the Republican majority in the Louisiana Senate, he engineered the defeat of the Democratic party's effort to remove Governor William P. Kellogg from office.

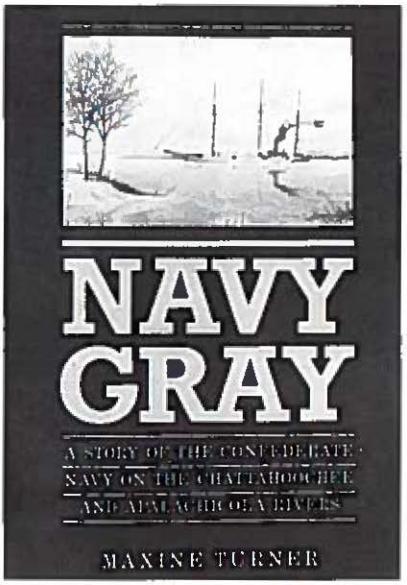
The position of the Republican party, however, was extremely tenuous. The party's strength rested on the votes of the despised freedmen, and white Democrats were determined to regain control with the help of two Klan-type organizations, the Knights of the White Camellia and the White League. Consequently, Twitchell paid a fearful price for his Republican loyalties. In 1874 the White League murdered Twitchell's brother and two of his brothers-in-law as part of the Coushatta Massacre. Two years later, after Twitchell blocked the impeachment of Governor Kellogg, an assassin killed his last surviving brother-in-law and pumped six bullets into Twitchell's body. He survived, but both of his arms had to be amputated. The Democrats triumphed in the state and soon manipulated local courts to rob Twitchell of his lands. He left Louisiana and from 1878 to the end of his life served as American consul in Kingston, Canada.

Twitchell's autobiography covers both his army experience and his involvement in Reconstruction. Two short chapters cover his post-Reconstruction career. The dramatic events of Twitchell's life make fascinating reading and offer insight into his motivations, in which youthful courage, stubbornness, and determination were prominent. Historians may wish that Twitchell had commented more fully upon the personalities and attitudes of his Democratic antagonists,

many of whom he knew personally and encountered frequently. This account, nevertheless, is a valuable "inside" story of some of the bloodiest conflicts of Reconstruction. The editing of Ted Tunnell is thorough, helpful, and unobtrusive and adds to the value of this interesting book.

Paul D. Escott Wake Forest University

Maxine Turner. *Navy Gray: A Story of the Confederate Navy on the Chattahoochee and Apalachicola Rivers.* Tuscaloosa, University of Alabama Press, 1988, *xv*, pp. 256, appendices, index. $24.95. ISBN 0-8173-0316-2



This book offers proof of John Thomas Scharf's thesis that the Confederate Navy Department produced too little too late. Shortages of labor and critical materials and a bureaucracy centered in Richmond, here called "tyrannical," mired construction projects under a flood of paper until Union raiders ravaged them. The vast resources of Columbus, Georgia, the "Last Stronghold of the Confederacy," included the Confederate Naval Yard and the Columbus Naval Iron Works. Although ably administered by Lieutenant Augustus McLaughlin and Chief Engineer James H. Warner, neither facility achieved full potential. Turner carefully chronicles how an early wooden gunboat, the *Chattahoochee* "became an example of all the ways Confederate planning failed" (p. 259).

The ship, 130 feet in length and 30 feet in beam, was contracted in October 1861. David S. Johnston, a planter-lawyer without construction experience, undertook to build the vessel in 120 days at a hastily improvised yard at Saffold between Columbus and Apalachicola. Although ninety slaves and numerous Columbus carpenters labored on the project, after a year Johnston lost his contract, and others, for failure to deliver. The *Chattahoochee*, with a draft too great to pass the bar at Apalachicola, was hauled to Columbus for completion. On her maiden voyage in January 1863, the ship ran aground, smashed the rudder, sprang a leak, and suffered engine failure. Extensive repairs followed. And then "finally, 424 days after the 1861 contract was signed, the gunboat *Chattahoochee* was underway as an armed, fully fitted-out ship of war" (p. 95). Shortly thereafter, in May 1863, the boilers exploded, killing over a dozen men and sinking the ship. Undaunted, the Confederates raised the *Chattahoochee* in December 1863, and made extensive repairs, but finally burned the vessel with the approach of General James H. Wilson's troopers in 1865.

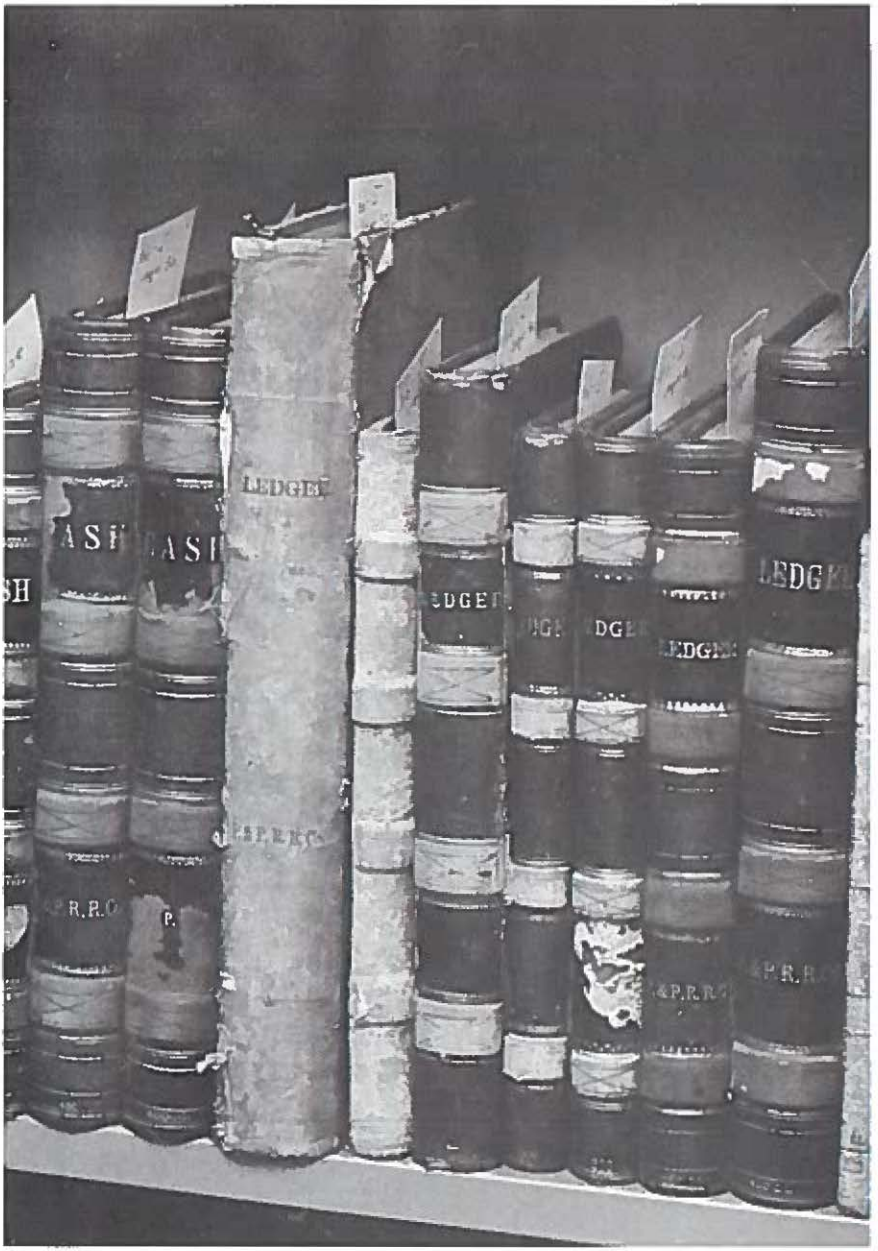
The *Jackson* (*Muscogee*) suffered an even more humiliating fate. Conceived as a part of Stephen Mallory's master plan for ridding the seas of wooden vessels, the *Merrimack* class ironclad was designed for six 7-inch rifles and a centered, protected paddle wheel. Work on the vessel, which was over 200 feet long and 50 feet wide, commenced in January 1863. McLaughlin designed the ship and Warner built the power train. Partially plated with railroad iron, the *Jackson* was near launching in the spring of 1864 when Confederate Naval Constructor John L. Porter of Richmond ordered extensive modifications. Porter lengthened the vessel by twenty-seven feet, shortened the iron shield by fifty-four feet, removed the center wheel, closed the well, placed the engines in the hold, and installed two eight-foot propellers. Finally launched a year later in December 1864, the ship was burned before a gun was fired.

Despite these failures Columbus and the Chattahoochee Valley rendered a substantial contribution to the Confederate war effort. After the successful Federal onslaught against Confederate ports in the spring of 1862, considerable naval work was performed at Prattville, Selma, and Columbus. Nelson and Asa Tift established an extensive naval supply facility at Albany. The constricted Confederacy especially relied on the engineering capacity of the Columbus Naval Iron Works. With four hundred white workers and many slaves, this yard "supplied machinery for the *Huntsville*, *Tuscaloosa*, the *Tennessee II*, and the two Bigbee Boats at Oven Bluff, Selma, and Mobile; the *Savannah* at Savannah; the *Columbia* at Charleston; the *Wilmington* at Wilmington; and the *Jackson* at the Columbus facility" (p. 261).

In a volume replete with such factual details as classified advertisements in newspapers, marriages, births of children, railroad schedules, and hog killings (and an appendix of fifty-seven pages), several larger issues might have been dealt with more completely. Confederate policy did not "shift" in 1862 towards the construction of ironclads (p. 260). Mallory, Forrest, Porter, and Williamson agreed on this approach immediately following the seizure of Gosport in April 1861. Federal blockade policy was likewise well thought out, despite the way it was implemented. With the possible exception of Brownsville, Texas, the Union blockade of the Gulf Coast was anything but "ineffective" (p. 256). The Flying Squadron, the inner and outer blockade vessels, and the ships watching Nassau and other island retreats made Confederate passage hazardous.

Nevertheless, Professor Turner has ably succeeded in writing a popular history based on an extensive use of the *Official Records*, the personnel files of Record Group 45 in the National Archives, and numerous collections of private correspondence. Her use of terms such as "agribusiness," "x number of nails," "white-water rafting," "specs," "impacted their work," and "would-be deserter" should in no way detract from her otherwise adroit technical English. From the minutia of vouchers and ledgers she has extracted a highly readable narrative. The map is essential and the pictures an embellishment to this fine book on the neglected but important naval history of the Chattahoochee River.

Harold Wilson Old Dominion University



Business Records

McLaughlin Papers,
Special Collection Department,
John C. Pace Library, UWF

From the Archives. . .
Special Collections Department, John C. Pace Library, University of West Florida

Dean DeBolt

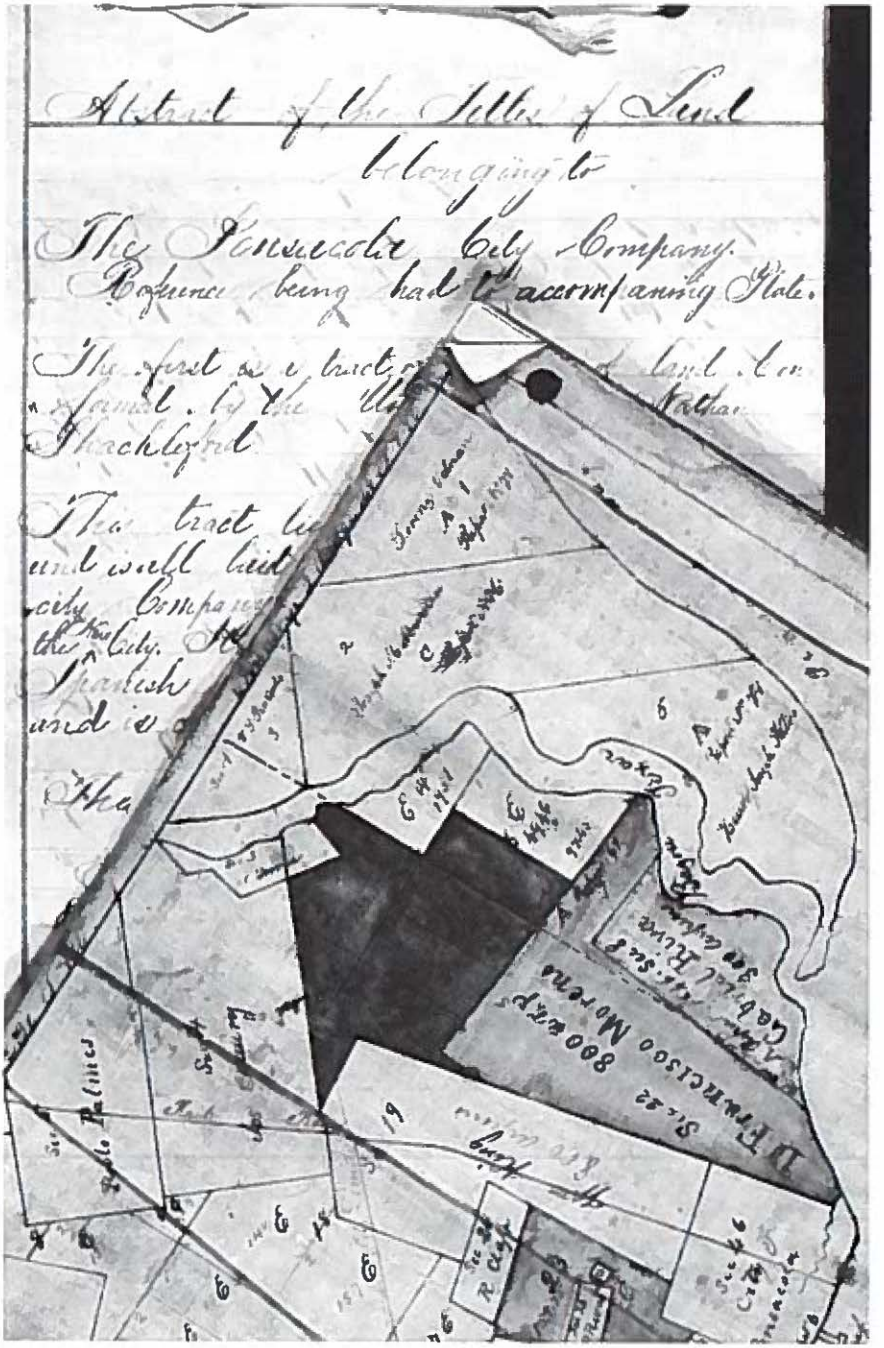
When the John C. Pace Library of the University of West Florida opened in September 1967, the Special Collections Department was already a year old. Designed to support the University's programs in local government, history, and regional research, a basic West Florida research collection had been formed by the identification and acquisition of published materials such as William Bartram's *Travels* (1791), the numerous Presidential and Congressional documents concerning the acquisition of the Floridas, runs of *Gentleman's Magazine*—a London monthly carrying articles about the British in Pensacola, 1763-1781, microfilms of manuscript collections from the Library of Congress and the National Archives, and many other West Florida research items.

From these modest beginnings the Special Collections Department has grown to become West Florida's history center, and one of the largest archival repositories in the state. Its goal to acquire, preserve, and make available research materials about the West Florida region is reflected in a collection of nearly 800,000 items including family papers, diaries, business and church records, governmental publications, photographs, maps, blueprints, newspapers, microfilm, and rare books.

There are nearly six hundred separate manuscript collections. Some collections consist of personal papers of individuals such as Florida Governor Sidney J. Catts or Henry Marie Brakenridge. Others are records of organizations such as St. John's Cemetery Association or the United Daughters of the Confederacy, businesses, including the Bay Point Mill Company, the Alger Sullivan Lumber Company, the Pensacola and Perdido Railroad, or the Panton Leslie & Company. The nearly three thousand maps cover the West Florida region from earliest settlement c. 1500 to the present. The collection includes originals as well as photoreproductions from other sources such as the British Museum and the Library of Congress.

The Department maintains a comprehensive newspaper collection for West Florida consisting of backfiles and current subscriptions to all newspapers published in the Florida panhandle. These are complemented by microfilm holdings and an ongoing microfilming program. The earliest West Florida newspaper is the *Pensacola Gazette* which began in 1821.

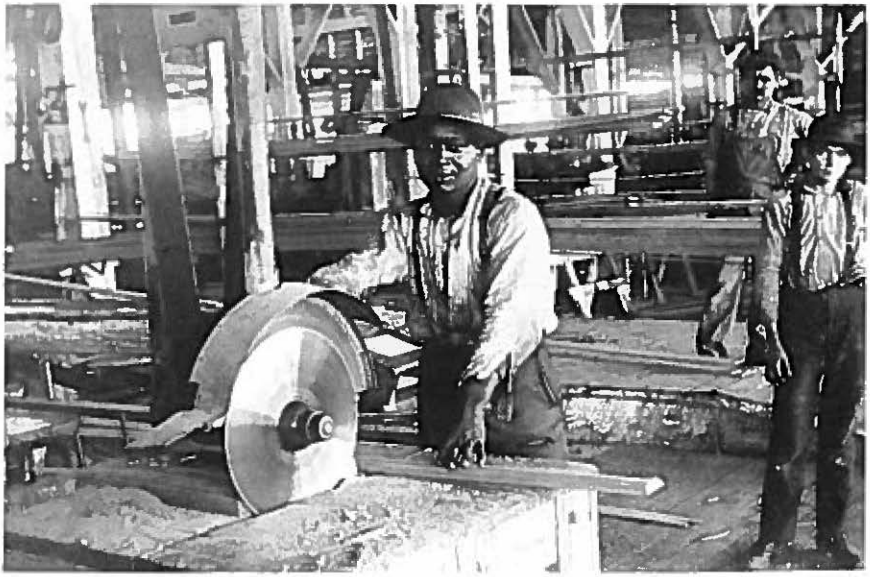
The Rare Book Collection includes scarce books, as well as items with fine bindings, autographs, and other materials needing special care. The earliest printed item is a leaf from the *Catholicon* (1460) and complete books begin with a publication of 1517. The collection is especially strong in West Florida materials including city directories, family genealogies, books by West Florida writers, historical society publications, and similar books.



Nineteenth Century Title Abstract and Map — *Special Collections Department, John C. Pace Library, UWF*

The department also maintains *The Bibliography of West Florida* project. Begun in 1967, it is an annotated bibliography describing every item published about West Florida including books, journal articles, government publications, and dissertations. Four volumes have been published, covering the years 1535 through 1981, and the Department has prepared a fifth volume covering 1981 through the present. Materials are entered by year of publication with comprehensive name and subject indexes. Materials described are available in the collection.

The collections are open to all researchers, and during the 1989-1990 academic year, nearly 1,800 people used them for various projects including History Fairs, genealogical research, historic building restoration, studies of plant life and pollution, mapping, and publication research. Special Collections is located in the basement of the John C. Pace Library on the University of West Florida campus and is open Monday through Friday, from 8:00 A.M. to 4:30 P.M. and on Saturdays, from 9 A.M to 1 P.M. These hours change occasionally depending on holidays and semester breaks, so researchers are encouraged to telephone the Department ahead of time at (904) 474-2213.



Florala Saw Mill, c. 1907

Beggs and Lane Collection, Special Collections Department, John C. Pace Library, UWF