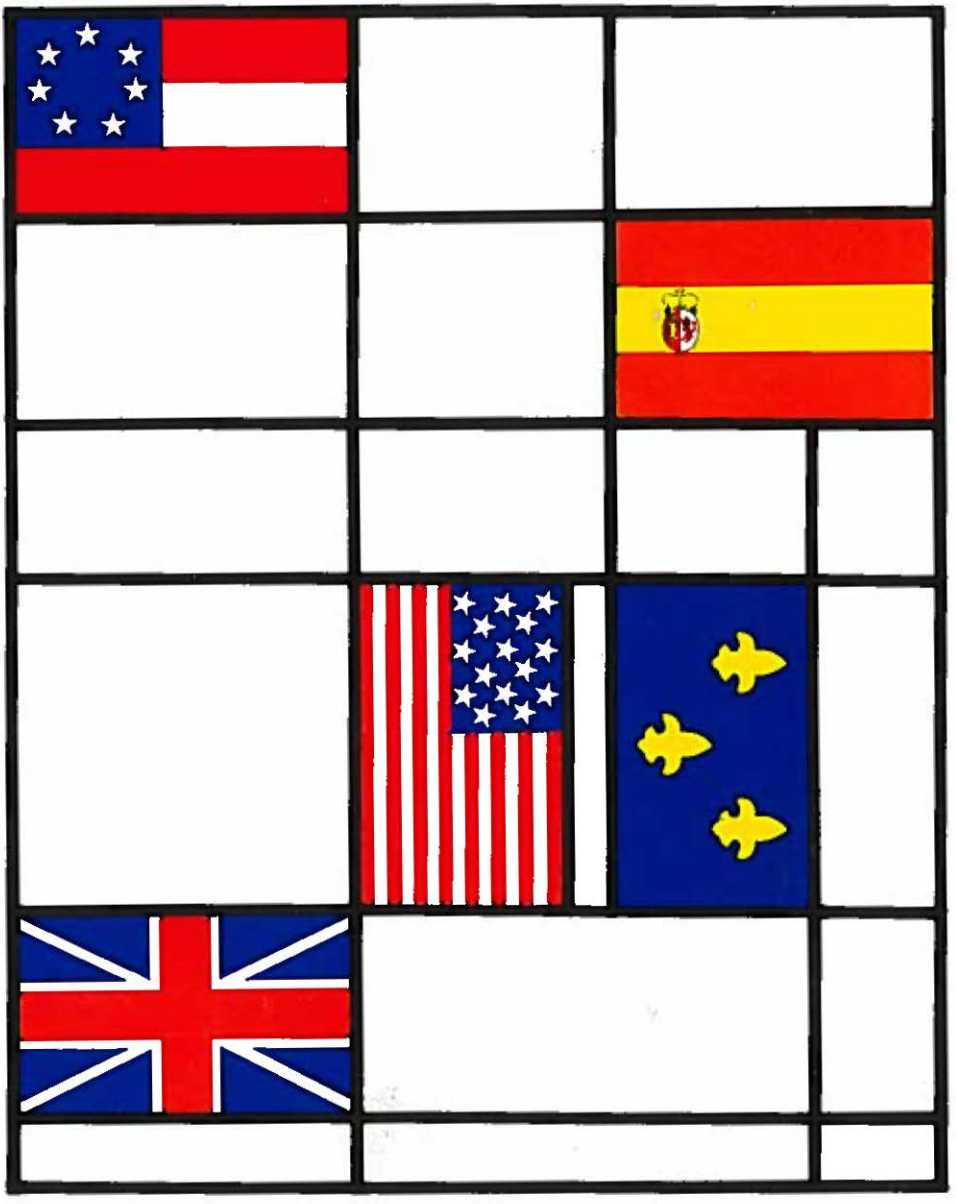
GCHR Gulf Coast Historical Review

Vol. 8 No. 2



GCHR Gulf Coast Historical Review

Vol. 8 Spring 1993 No. 2

Cover design by
Marilyn Thomason

From the Editors. . .

In recent years Americans have heard a great deal about the need to understand and respect our nation's cultural diversity. Anyone who imagined that American history was solely the domain of DMWs (Dead White Males) must surely have received quite a reeducation by now. Indeed the contributions of different ethnic groups and both sexes to our nation's heritage are legion and deserve to be better known than they once were. Many historians have been advocating such recognition for years and we welcome broader public acceptance of their work.

No one has ever argued that Gulf Coast studies has been trend setting in this shift of corporate consciousness, but perhaps it has not needed the encouragement to diversity. This issue of the *GCHR* illustrates that pluralism and respect for diversity is fundamental to the study of this region's history. From articles on Bienville's relations with the Native Americans to Hathorn's study of the modern formation of a two-party system in Alabama, this issue reflects the long-standing diversity of our region and the willingness of scholars to examine it. John Sledge addresses the role of material culture in his article on Mobile's Government Street Presbyterian Church. Keith Nicholls introduces us to a key African-American civil rights group in the port city, the Non-Partisan Voters League. Finally, even the much maligned Confederates get their due in Professor Buker's examination of the East Gulf Blockading Squadron.

Simply put, the Gulf Coast is home to diversity and cannot be understood and appreciated except from a genuinely multi-cultural perspective. For historians of the Gulf Coast this is not a new discovery, and this issue's articles are testimony to our long-standing appreciation of cultural pluralism. Maybe we are a trend-setter after all....

In addition to the articles, we have quite a large number of excellent book reviews, and our "From the Archives" features the outstanding photographic collection of the Florida State Archives. Still more diversity....

Having tooted our own horn, your editors must now sound a humbler note. In our last issue we did not list Professor Jerry C. Oldshoe as a coauthor with Professor Kit Carter of the article "William Howland Robertson: His Early Years on the Gulf Coast, 1804-1808." We sincerely regret the error. Professor Oldshoe's name will appear in the next cumulative index, and we are glad to have this opportunity to acknowledge the error and apologize to him.

We have recently learned that the Pensacola Civil War Round Table has been revived after a long period of dormancy. It now meets the first Tuesday of every month, except July and August, at 7:00 P.M. at the Sacred Heart Children's Hospital auditorium. For more information about meetings and other activities contact Mr. Charles Boyce, 8509 Winding Lane, Pensacola, FL 32514.

Finally, next October 7-9 the Gulf Coast History and Humanities Conference will meet at the Admiral Semmes Hotel in Mobile. Our topic is "The Gulf Coast in the Gilded Age." We have scholars presenting papers on the social and economic life of our region some one hundred years ago. All our friends and subscribers are invited to attend. For further information write or call us at the address listed below. The best of the papers given will be published in the *Gulf Coast Historical Review* but there is no substitute for being there. For further information please write to Dr. Michael Thomason, Department of History, University of South Alabama, Mobile, AL 36688, (205) 460-6210.

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From the Archives:

USA Archives

Governor Bienville and the Fate of French Louisiana

Russell W. Strong

Jean-Baptiste Le Moyne de Bienville returned to the French colony of Louisiana in 1733 after an absence of eight years. Louis XV, concerned about the deterioration of French-Indian relations and increasing British influence among the tribes, had asked Bienville to become colonial governor. Charged in a royal memoir of February 2, 1732, Bienville was to reaffirm catholicism in the colony, provide for a consistency in jurisprudence, supervise and police maritime and agricultural endeavors, monitor and report military deficiencies, and, simply, solve the Indian problem.[1] This latter task absorbed most of Bienville's energies, and became the focus of his most consequential decision.

Categorically, Bienville was overqualified for the job. His introduction to the Louisiana Gulf Coast had occurred some thirty-four years earlier as a member of a 1699 expedition led by his brother, Pierre Le Moyne d'Iberville. It was Bienville who sounded channels and reconnoitered a myriad shoals and islets, and Bienville again who forged contact with Indians of the Mississippi River delta.[2] His assignment as a lieutenant in the garrison of newly established Fort Maurepas on present day Biloxi Bay, Mississippi further enhanced his knowledge and understanding of the territory and its inhabitants.[3]

While Iberville returned to France to lobby for a permanent French settlement on the Gulf, Bienville remained, actively soliciting allies from among the warring Chickasaw and Choctaw Indians, two of the most powerful tribes in Louisiana. His experiences with Indians in his native Canada forewarned that peaceful relations must be maintained with, and between, these two tribes. The colony needed the Indian to survive.

Upon the death of Iberville in 1706, Bienville became de facto governor of Louisiana. Under his guidance, the French aligned themselves with the Choctaw nation against a suspected British inspired Chickasaw threat. His "linguistic skills, peacemaking efforts, and general knowledge of the wilderness encouraged a greater rapport between the French and the Indians."[4] Indian successes notwithstanding, when evidence surfaced linking Iberville to misappropriation of crown supplies, Bienville was accused of complicity. Vigorous denials failed to gain royal support, and in 1707 the French government ordered his recall. A new governor and new *commissaire ordonnateur* were appointed.[5]

Fate intervened. Bienville's departure was precluded by the untimely death of the new governor, then delayed indefinitely due to France's

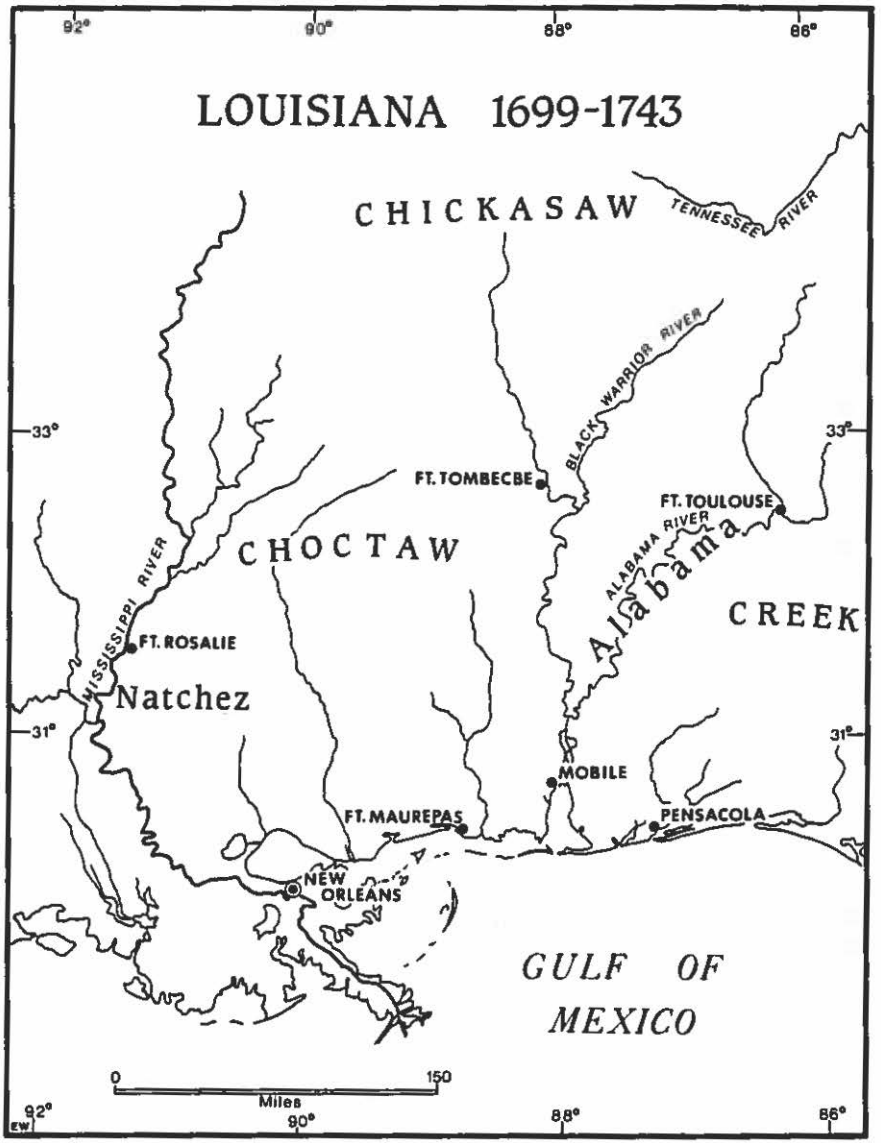
increasing commitment to the War of the Spanish Succession. He remained a potent force in Louisiana and must receive credit for the survival of the colony during the lean years of the war in Europe. The war interrupted the flow of men and material to Louisiana, and crops failed due to poor agricultural strategies. Bienville sustained the colony by means of a distasteful, but necessary trade arrangement with the Spanish in Mexico, and the support of Choctaw allies.[6]

In 1710 Antoine La Mothe Cadillac was appointed governor. He had been empowered to re-initiate legal proceedings against Bienville, but by 1712 had taken no action. Thus, the affair was shelved—the French colonial version of the pocket veto.[7] By no means did this ensure smooth relations between Bienville and Cadillac. They were constantly at odds over Indian policy. The former had invested much time and effort into solving quarrels between the various Indian tribes, while the latter expressed a desire to pit one tribe against another; described as a thinning of the Indian population through inter-tribal war.[8] The Indians sensed arrogance and hostility from Cadillac and avoided contact with him as much as possible. Bienville remained the recognized point of liaison.

Cadillac respected Bienville's prowess in dealing with the tribes, but was not comfortable with his proximity. As a result, Bienville was soon fulfilling duties that kept him away from the colonial headquarters in Mobile for extended periods. Friction between the two men was ill-disguised and neither avoided an opportunity to irritate the other.[9] The years that followed were marked by chronic mishandling of Indian affairs and repeated failures to reap an economic reward from the colony. The most disastrous of these speculatory ventures was the Company of the West lead by John Law, architect of the South Sea Bubble.[10]

Into this amalgam of woes stepped Bienville. Cadillac had been replaced by Jean Michiele, Sieur de l'Epinay in 1716 and one year later, with his old antagonist gone, Bienville was asked to accept promotion to Commandant General. The petty jealousies and bickering that had characterized the Louisiana government since its inception had undermined two governors in seven years. Bienville took immediate steps to solidify French relations with the Choctaw, who had been drifting toward rapprochement with the English. His efforts, although successful, were tempered through trade restrictions imposed by the Company of the West. Bienville was tasked with monitoring and managing Indian concerns, but his authority was not complete.[11]

French-Chickasaw frontier confrontation flared into violence in 1720 with the death of a French officer. Bienville, aware that his colonial forces were too weak to exact retribution for the murder, adopted a tenet from


LOUISIANA 1699-1743
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90°
88°
86°
CHICKASAW
TENNESSEE RIVER
BLACK WARRIOR RIVER
33°
FT. TOMBECBE
FT. TOULOUSE
ALABAMA RIVER
Alabama
CHOCTAW
MISSISSIPPI RIVER
FT. ROSALIE
Natchez
CREEK
31°
MOBILE
FT. MAUREPAS
PENSACOLA
NEW ORLEANS
GULF OF MEXICO
0
150
Miles

Cadillac's original Indian proposal. He cajoled the Choctaw to strike back at their traditional enemies. Bienville's goal was three-fold: (1) cement a lasting coalition with the Choctaw, (2) inflict a decisive defeat upon the Chickasaw and their British confederates, and (3) prevent attrition of his colonial forces.

The Choctaw attack was answered with a series of Chickasaw raids on French shipping along the Mississippi River. Bienville, in bold escalation, followed with action designed to apply maximum pressure on the Chickasaw while risking a minimum of French assets. He provided Choctaw warriors with sufficient powder and bullets to take the offensive, and called on the Council of Commerce to authorize a bounty on Chickasaw scalps and prisoners.[12]

Bienville's mercenary alliance proved successful, but for reasons other than military victory. The French-Choctaw effort had slight effect on the Chickasaw, but a heavy impact on the Carolina trade routes. As a result the impetus for seeking peace came from English traders. Sponsored by the English, the Chickasaw sought a diplomatic peace with the Choctaw independent of the French. Choctaw appeals to French officials for an end to the war were at first refused. However, fearing a total defection of the Choctaw into the English-Chickasaw sphere, the Louisiana Council of War voted on December 2, 1724, to end hostilities on the grounds that

> the Chickasaw had been sufficiently punished and the honor of France had been sustained by their brave Choctaw troops in the field, and it was to the advantage and welfare of the colony to accept the proposals of peace that these Indians are having made to us and that in order to maintain this peace and prevent this nation from joining that of the Choctaws for the purpose of making an alliance and trading with the English.[13]

By early 1725 trade routes were again open and the Mississippi River had become safe for navigation. An uneasy peace settled over the colony.

During the same period that Bienville was organizing his Choctaw cohorts, the Company of the West was being absorbed into the Company of the Indies. This third attempt to garner a profit from Louisiana is significant only in that it too was a failure, and it marked the beginning of a protracted conflict between Bienville and the king's newly appointed *commissaire ordonnateur*, Marc-Antoine Hubert. Hubert's poison pen libelled the Commandant General at every opportunity. Letters to the king became common fare on board ships bound for France.[14]

Pressure for the removal of Bienville was also being applied by the newly formed Company of the Indies. New officials were appointed and

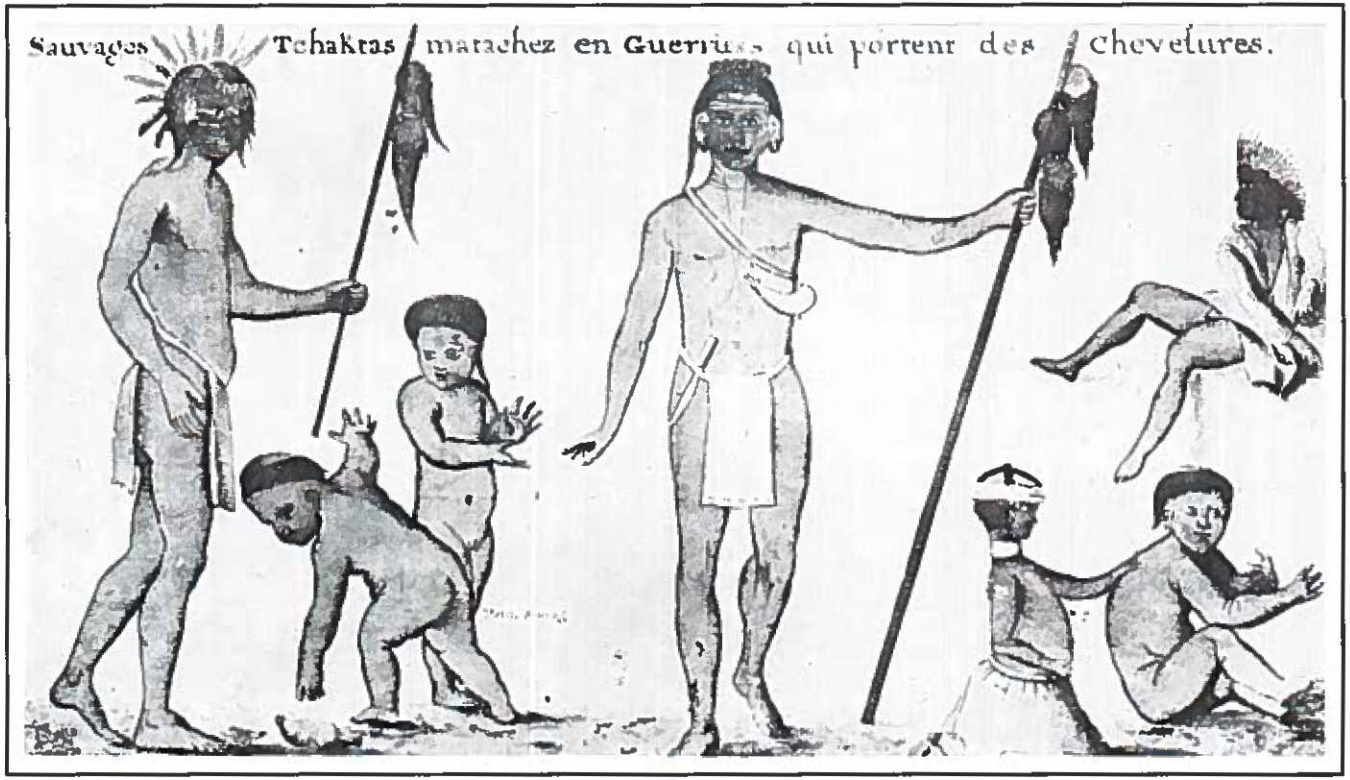
administrative offices and governmental positions in Louisiana were modified in an attempt to consolidate authority. A commandant general was needed who was more sympathetic to the needs of the Company, and Bienville, accustomed to independent action, was not the man. In keeping with the sweeping changes in government, replacement of Bienville became inevitable.[15]

Accused by Hubert of mismanagement and favoritism, Bienville was recalled to France in 1725 on the nebulous charge of maladministration. He anticipated that his departure would signal the beginning of a less than enthusiastic Indian policy, and he knew as well the folly of assigning a secondary importance to these matters. Bienville left the new commandant general, Etienne de Perier, and Hubert with an ominous observation: "These people [Chickasaws] breathe nothing but war and are unquestionably the bravest of the continent."[16]

Under Perier's administration, contact with the Chickasaw became desultory at best. Thus the Indians were afforded secrecy of operation and spared French oppression. The French-Chickasaw armistice left the tribe in a very strong position. Warrior attrition had been virtually nil, relations with the English were at their peak, and no Chickasaw land had been compromised. In addition, the Chickasaw had learned the art of filibuster and intrigue from their English allies, and were employing their new skills liberally among the Choctaw and Natchez.[17]

The furtive activities of the Chickasaw coupled with French expansion and colonization in the Mississippi River valley burst into war in November 1729 with a Natchez massacre of French soldiers and colonists.[18] French retribution was swift and merciless. The few Natchez that escaped sought refuge amongst the Chickasaw. The French demanded the return of the Natchez fugitives; the Chickasaw refused. The ensuing war unsettled the other tribes of Louisiana and created internal crisis in the affairs of the colony. In 1731 the Company of the Indies admitted failure and petitioned the king and sponsoring agency, the Ministry of Marine, to assume the charter of the colony.[19]

Etienne de Perier was appointed first governor of the crown colony of Louisiana, making a lateral step to that position from his post as Commandant General. Perier was adept at company and business matters, but not as comfortable or as agile in handling Indian affairs.[20] By 1732 a solution to the onerous French-Chickasaw hostilities could not be expected under the current leadership. With a bow to expediency, the Ministry of Marine replaced Perier with Bienville with direct crown instruction: "Sieur de Bienville will learn on his arrival what has happened...and he will investigate according to the situation in which he finds matters whether it



Choctaw Warriors, c. 1732

Drawing by A. deBatz,
National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institute

is advisable to terminate this war either by arms or by method of negotiation...."[21]

Whatever plans Bienville may have devised during his voyage were certainly reconsidered after his arrival in New Orleans in February 1733. The colony was in a state of disarray. The food supply had become severely depleted, the population had decreased sharply from its 1725 level, and English intrigue had solidified the Chickasaw and was making dangerous inroads with the Choctaw, Alabamas, and Illinois.[22] Bienville made the re-strengthening of ties with the colony's erstwhile Choctaw allies his primary concern. He maintained that English influence with the Choctaw was directly attributable to a superior offering of trade merchandise and a listless approach to Indian relations.[23] Bienville dispatched emissaries to the Choctaw and began appealing for a renewal of resistance to the Chickasaw.

Throughout 1733 Bienville skillfully recruited Choctaw warriors for an offensive against the Chickasaw. Although no organized attack was carried out, several raids on ammunition packtrains from the Carolinas were conducted.[24]

Count de Maurepas, the king's Minister of Marine, had absolute confidence in Bienville.[25] In the spring of 1734 this faith appeared to be well placed. The Choctaw were beginning to respond to Bienville's suasion. Chickasaw losses had created a schism in the tribe; those in sympathy with the English considering a withdrawal to the Carolinas, and those in favor of the French advocating destruction of the refugee Natchez.[26] Bienville was convinced that a victory over the Chickasaw was imminent and would assure a permanent French presence in Louisiana.[27]

The Chickasaw did not surrender in 1734, nor in 1735. Support from Carolina traders compensated for lost supplies and soothed internal strife, and English packtrains provided badly needed arms and ammunition.[28] No concentrated offensive had been mounted and isolated Choctaw successes were shamelessly aggrandized. The Choctaw had become disgruntled over a continuing dearth of trade goods and an unwillingness by the French to compensate for Indian losses.[29] In 1736 anxious for results, Bienville decided to commit French troops.[30]

In the spring of 1736 two independent French-Choctaw forces were defeated by the Chickasaw.[31] One army, numbering six hundred French and colonial troops augmented by an additional six hundred Indians, was commanded by Bienville; the other, a much smaller contingent of just over one hundred Frenchmen and 325 Indians, was led by an able lieutenant, Pierre d'Artaguette.[32]

The campaign of 1736 was mismanaged and ill-timed. The Choctaw displayed little ardor for battle, logistics were unsatisfactory, and the French grossly underestimated Chickasaw strength. Although military analysis of the dual defeat is left for a separate study, the Chickasaw victory was complete. The question remains as to Bienville's motive for utilizing French troops to wage war on the Chickasaw.

To rethink his position in the fall of 1735 is to speculate on his evaluation of the situation and his resolve to effect a solution. His decision to send French troops against "agents of the English" is reflected in a correspondence of February 3, 1736.[33] Yet, he writes to the Minister of Marine on no less than five occasions between April 1734 and September 1735 bemoaning the shortage of manpower in the colonial garrison.[34] In the short span of five months, September 1735 to February 1736, Bienville reversed a clearly documented position of assumed military inferiority; a position that he had maintained since his return to Louisiana in 1733.

The pressure on Bienville came from a tangible European threat, and a less obvious, intangible source. Of paramount concern was the real danger of English influence among not only the Chickasaw, but the Choctaw as well. English blankets and weapons, two paramount items of exchange, were superior to, and more plentiful than their French counterparts. The colony was rapidly losing the trade "war" against Carolina merchants, and the Choctaw were beginning to respond to Chickasaw peace overtures. Bienville's answer was a war of annihilation against the Chickasaw. Unfortunately, his efforts to motivate the Choctaw to accomplish this goal failed.

The relative location of the Chickasaw Nation endangered French lines of communication along the Mississippi River, thus separating French Canada from French Louisiana. The domain of the Chickasaw ranged from extreme southwestern Kentucky south through western Tennessee and into northern Mississippi and northwestern Alabama. The area was bordered on the east by the Black Warrior and Tennessee Rivers, to the north by the Ohio River, and to the west by the Mississippi River. The southern boundary included the upper third of the present state of Mississippi.[35] Any hopes of containing the British east of the Allegheny Mountains depended upon presenting a strong French front from the Great Lakes to the Gulf of Mexico. As 1736 approached, Bienville was left with very few options other than direct military confrontation or Louisiana was in danger of being lost.

An expert in Indian affairs, Bienville knew that any chance for a Choctaw victory over the Chickasaw would require years of intrigue and funding. He had lost patience with diplomacy, and had no confidence in

a Choctaw military campaign. Furthermore, the French track record of providing trade goods and rewards for the Indians was very poor and not likely to improve. The prognosis for success therefore, was not good.

On a personal level, Bienville was acutely aware of his role as governor of Louisiana. Recalled from obscurity and given a second chance, failure was unthinkable. He had been appointed by the crown to effect an end to the Chickasaw War and curb further English encroachment into French Louisiana territory. The spotlight and responsibility were his. Paris expected results and neither goal had been accomplished.

The use of French troops at this juncture was thus a desperate last resort. Bienville was committing to a course of action in which he had no confidence. Following his failure in 1736, plans were immediately proposed for a second campaign against the Chickasaw. By 1742 this effort too had been thwarted. An era of French-Choctaw entente ended and remained dormant until the advent of the Seven Years' War in 1856. French troops would thereafter bear the entire burden of security on the Louisiana frontier.

Louis XV *USA Archives*

During the winter of 1742, ill much of the time and his sixty-four years beginning to weigh heavily, Bienville asked to be recalled to France. He was replaced by the Marquis de Vaudreuil in the spring of 1743 and left the Louisiana Territory that summer. His departure was significant only in that no honors or fanfare marked the occasion. For forty-four years he had worked in and for Louisiana, yet his failure to solve the Indian "problem" permanently clouded an otherwise successful career. He returned to Paris where, at the court of King Louis XV, he lobbied for his colony in vain until his death in 1767.[36] Le Moyne de Bienville never returned to Louisiana.

Notes

[1] King to Bienville, February 22, 1732, *Mississippi Provincial Archives, French Dominion*, Dunbar Rowland and A. G. Sanders, ed. (Jackson, MS, 1927-32), 3:540-46 (hereafter cited as MPA:FD).

[2] Carl A. Brasseaux, ed., trans., *A Comparative View of French Louisiana, 1699 and 1762: The Journals of Pierre Le Moyne d'Iberville and Jean-Jacques Blaise d'Abbadie* (Lafayette, LA, 1979), 33.

[3] Ibid., 76.

[4] Patricia Dillon Woods, *French-Indian Relations on the Southern Frontier, 1699-1762* (Ann Arbor, MI, 1980), 8.

[5] *Commissaire ordonnateur* was the title given to the overseer of the king's warehouses, and the man responsible for all matters fiscal. As a royal appointment, the commissaire was periodically assigned collateral duties or special projects by the king; many of these "duties" involved intrigue.

[6] Woods, *French-Indian Relations*, 9.

[7] Henry Planché Dart, "The First State Trial in Louisiana," *Louisiana Historical Quarterly* 14 (1931): 6.

[8] Woods, *French-Indian Relations*, 33.

[9] Ibid., 35.

[10] Richebourg Gaillard McWilliams, ed., trans., *Fleur de Lys and Calumet* (Tuscaloosa, AL, 1953), 241, fn 9.

[11] Woods, *French-Indian Relations*, 41.

[12] Dawson A. Phelps, "The Chickasaw, the English, and the French 1699-1744," *Tennessee Historical Quarterly* 16 (March-December 1957): 122.

[13] Arrell M. Gibson, *The Chickasaws* (Norman, OK, 1971), 45.

[14] Charles Gayarré, *Louisiana, Its Colonial History and Romance* (New York, 1851), 367.

[15] Marcel Giraud, *A History of French Louisiana*, vol. 5, *The Company of the Indies, 1723-1731*, trans. Brian Pearce (Baton Rouge, LA, 1991), 33.

[16] Bienville, Memoir on Louisiana, 1725, MPA:FD, 3:358.

[17] Gibson, *The Chickasaws*, 45.

[18] John F. H. Claiborne, *Mississippi, As A Province, Territory and State* (1880; reprint, Baton Rouge, LA, 1964), 44.

[19] Phelps, "The Chickasaw, the English, and the French," 124.

[20] Woods, *French-Indian Relations*, 87.

[21] King to Bienville, February 2, 1732, MPA:FD, 1:553.

[22] Bienville memorandum, May 25, 1733, MPA:FD, 1:193.

[23] Bienville to Maurepas, August 26, 1734, MPA:FD 1:233.

[24] Woods, *French-Indian Relations*, 121.

[25] Ibid.

[26] Bienville to Maurepas, April 23, 1734, MPA:FD, 1:227.

[27] Ibid., 229.

[28] Douglas E. Leach, *Arms for Empire* (New York, 1973), 190.

[29] Ibid., 122.

[30] Bienville to Maurepas, September 9, 1735, MPA:FD, 1:273.

[31] Bienville to Maurepas, June 28, 1736, MPA:FD, 1:297-314.

[32] Woods, *French-Indian Relations*, 124-25.

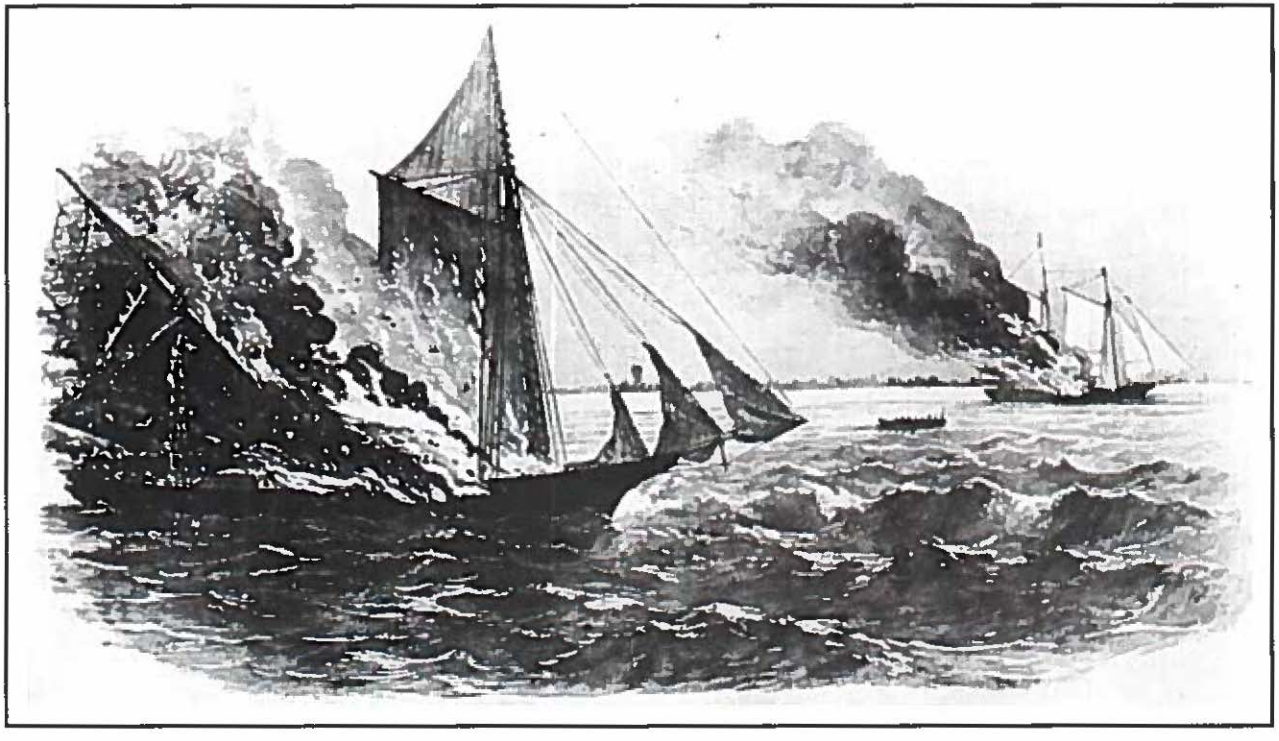
[33] Bienville and Salmon to Maurepas, February 3, 1736, MPA:FD, 1:275.

[34] Bienville to Maurepas, April 23, 1734, MPA:FD, 1:223. Bienville to Maurepas, September 30, 1734, MPA:FD, 1:243. Bienville to Maurepas, April 23, 1735, MPA:FD, 1:261. Bienville to Maurepas, August 20, 1735, MPA:FD, 1:269. Bienville to Maurepas, September 9, 1735, MPA:FD, 1:273.

[35] Gibson, *The Chickasaws*, 5.

[36] John M. Faragher, *Encyclopedia of Colonial and Revolutionary America* (New York, 1990), 38.

Russell W. Strong is a graduate student in the Auburn University History Department.



Destruction of Rebel Schooners off Homosassa River,
Harper's Weekly, *May 21, 1964*

Florida State Photographic Archives

The East Gulf Blockading Squadron and the U.S. Second Florida Cavalry

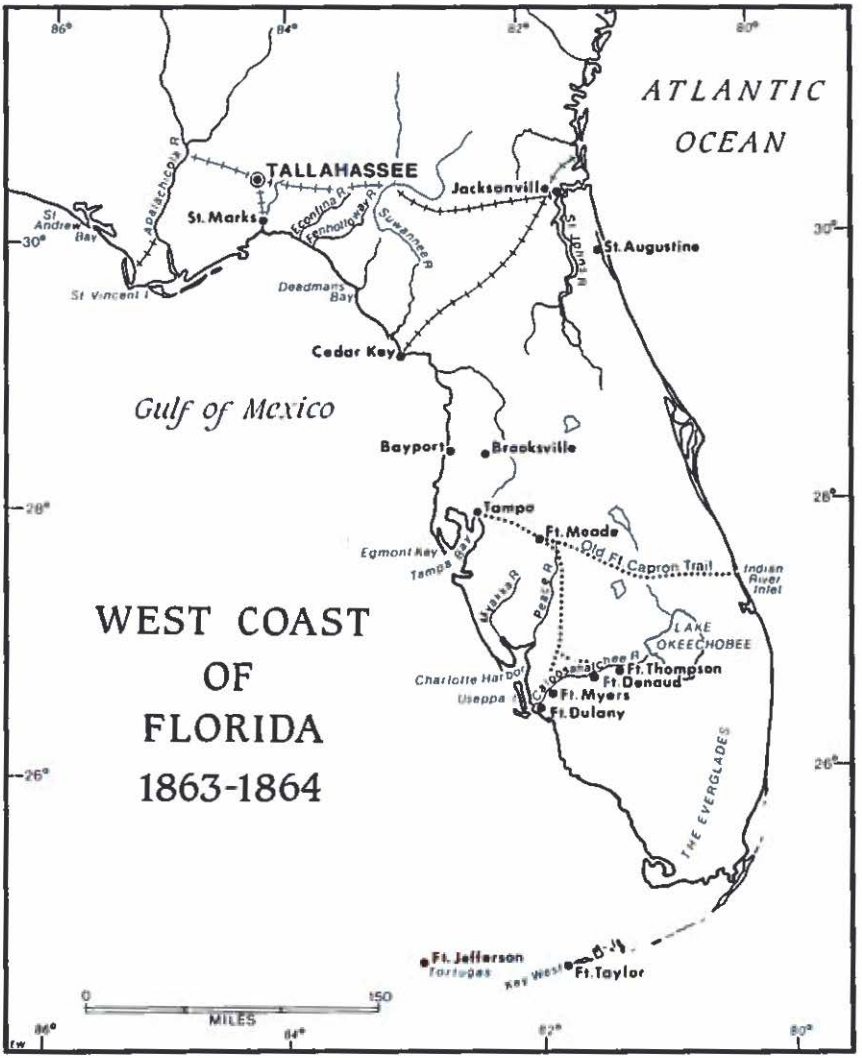
George E. Buker

[The following is an excerpt from Professor Buker's forthcoming book *Blockaders, Refugees, and Contrabands: Civil War on Florida's Gulf Coast, 1861-1865*, • 1993 by the University of Alabama Press, reproduced here by permission.—EDITOR]

Initially the East Gulf Blockading Squadron gave no indication that it would create a civil war along Florida's Gulf Coast. After the squadron established contacts with refugees on shore, those Floridians helped the sailors harass the enemy, cut out blockade-runners, and destroy coastal salt works. Gradually the squadron provided Florida's refugees with the necessary support for them to commence guerrilla operations against the Confederacy. Then the blockaders and refugees engaged in repeated partisan combat actions ashore until Union control of the Mississippi River cut the South's supply of western beef forcing the Confederacy to turn to south Florida. To stop Florida's cattle drives the squadron would have to go deep into the interior, well beyond the operating range of its sailors. So the East Gulf Blockading Squadron virtually created the United States Second Florida Cavalry to deprive the southern armies of this food source. Of the twenty-seven officers assigned to the regiment sixteen were former naval officers or partisan refugee leaders who had operated with the navy, and many of the enlisted men were Floridians who had ties with the blockaders. Even after the army unit was formed, it worked closely with, and depended upon, the squadron.

Enoch Daniels drastically changed the blockader-refugee alliance after he arrived at the navy refugee camp on Useppa Island in Charlotte Harbor. He often talked to his friend Acting Master's Mate Henry A. Crane, who was serving aboard the USS *Rosalie*, about the war and his small part in the struggle. He wanted to recruit and lead loyal south Floridians to stop the flow of beef to the enemy.

Henry Crane thought the idea sound and he wrote Daniels a letter of introduction to General Daniel P. Woodbury in Key West. Crane said that between fifteen hundred and two thousand head of cattle moved north weekly to the armies in Tennessee and Georgia. If Daniels had a company, he could keep this vital food supply from the rebels. Crane described Daniels as an "*Old Hunter*...well known among our army as Indian guide, & better by commanding a company in our Indian Wars."[1] Daniels set out


ATLANTIC
OCEAN
Gulf of Mexico
TALLAHASSEE
Jacksonville
St. Marks
St. Augustine
Cedar Key
Bayport
Brooksville
Tampa
Ft. Meade
Old Ft. Capron Trail
Egmont Key
Tampa Bay
Myakka R.
Peace R.
LAKE
OKEECHOBEE
Ft. Thompson
Ft. Denaud
Ft. Myers
Ft. Dulany
Charlotte Harbor
Useppa
THE EVERGLADES
Ft. Jefferson
Tortugas
Key West
Ft. Taylor
St. Andrew Bay
St. Vincent I.
Deadmans Bay
Apalachicola R.
Econfina R.
Fenholloway R.
Suwannee R.
St. Johns R.
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for Key West. First he visited Admiral Theodorus Bailey who, impressed with his plan, sent him on to the general.

Key West was the headquarters for both the navy's East Gulf Blockading Squadron and the army's District of Key West & Tortugas. The two commands were strikingly similar. The squadron was among the least desirable commands as its backwater duty offered little opportunity for naval action or glory; the district was a small occupational command designed to keep the vital forts on Key West and Tortugas under Union control while offering even less opportunity for military action or glory. Admiral Bailey and General Woodbury commiserated with one another over their isolation. Bailey, having developed some combat actions through his contacts with refugees, suggested that, if the general was interested, he would transport and protect an army unit sent to Charlotte Harbor to explore relations with these refugees.[2] Woodbury accepted his offer immediately. Both men were eager to enlarge their commands' activities.

Daniels wanted to recruit among the refugees at Key West before returning to Charlotte Harbor. He said that there were two to eight hundred army deserters and layouts (conscript dodgers) hiding between the coast and Lake Okeechobee, and that many of these men would join a loyal Florida unit, which he called the Florida Rangers, especially if it was agreed that their first service would be in Florida. General Woodbury adopted Daniels's plan. In less than two weeks Daniels enlisted nineteen refugees at Key West into his ranger outfit.[3]

Initially Enoch Daniels was to be a guide, with the understanding that if he enlisted about eighty men he would be appointed either captain or first lieutenant of the newly formed Florida Rangers. Daniels's second in command was Zachariah Brown, a Floridian who had recently arrived on Key West from middle Florida. Loud in his protestation of loyalty to the Union, Brown had enlisted in the Forty-seventh Pennsylvania serving at Fort Taylor.

Woodbury's command consisted of the Forty-seventh Pennsylvania Volunteers stationed at forts Jefferson and Taylor. He ordered First Lieutenant James F. Meyers, a sergeant, and six privates of the Forty-seventh to join the twenty-two refugees going to the mainland to recruit. General Woodbury was so sure of the success of his venture that when he requested permission from his superior he wrote: "As our mails are exceedingly irregular, I shall not wait for an answer, but commence as soon as possible."[4] His optimism caused him to move even more rapidly than he originally planned; he appointed Daniels captain and Brown first lieutenant of the first company of Florida Rangers before they left Key West. Woodbury told Lieutenant Meyers to establish his base at Useppa

Island, as Admiral Bailey had recommended, and to allow Captain Daniels to communicate freely with the refugees on the mainland.

Admiral Bailey was unstinting in his aid to the Refugee Rangers, as he termed the outfit. Bailey sent the rangers to Useppa Island aboard the *Sunflower* and at the same time he issued instructions to the *Dale* and the *Gem of the Sea* to render assistance. On December 24, 1863, Lieutenant I. B. Baxter of the *Gem of the Sea* dispatched Ensign J. H. Jenks, USN, with fourteen men in four boats to transport the rangers to the mainland and to await their return. Jenks took provisions for eight days. He carried Daniels's party to the mouth of the Myakka River. Two days later when the *Rosalie* arrived from Key West, Baxter sent her to the Myakka to protect Jenks's shore party.

Ensign Jenks set up camp on the beach near his launches, threw up breastworks, and posted pickets. Daniels, who planned to be in the interior for seven days, made security arrangements with Jenks for his return. There should be no misunderstanding between the two groups at their next encounter. With Confederate regulator bands in the area, neither the soldiers nor the sailors wanted to be ambushed by the enemy.

The Florida Rangers departed on the evening of Christmas day and shortly after they disappeared in the underbrush Ensign Jenks saw a large fire flare up. Later another fire glowed in the night apparently in answer to the first. The next day Jenks sent pickets out to examine the ground for several miles while he had others place stakes in the water along the shore at the three foot depth so that his boats would not run aground if forced to leave in a hurry.

On December 27 enemy scouts fired a few shots at Jenks's camp but no damage or further action resulted. The next day Acting Master Peter F. Coffin of the *Rosalie* arrived to take up a defending position. That night the rebels attempted to surprise the sailors but were discovered and driven off. The following morning Jenks made a reconnaissance of the river for a more suitable site. About a mile and a half upstream he found a long projection of land jutting out into the river where the water was deep enough for the *Rosalie* to anchor. Jenks moved his men to his new campsite. Coffin used his anchors to position his ship so that his guns could enfilade the neck of the point providing an impact area between the sailors gathered at the end by their boats and an enemy on the bank.

The first afternoon at the new place refugees in the sloop *Matilda* came alongside the *Rosalie* carrying supplies of beef and venison which they had gathered on a hunting trip. The refugees replenished Coffin's meat locker. That evening about eight, the blockaders heard noises around their former camp. This was followed by a large fire. Jenks, thinking it

might be Captain Daniels returning, lit a signal light and sent two men downstream by boat to check. Shortly after the sailors ignited their signal the strange fire was extinguished. The scouts returned without finding anyone, and the blockaders prepared for action.

About four in the morning the pickets heard men approaching through the tall grass. The first two challenges went unanswered. On the third call the strangers replied that they were Captain Daniels's party. They were ordered to halt, advance one at a time, give the countersign, and disarm. When the sailor finished his instructions, the strangers arose, displayed a half circle formation around the camp, opened fire at fifteen yards, and attempted to cut off the sailors' retreat to their launches.

Ensign Jenks made an orderly withdrawal to the boats while maintaining heavy fire upon the rebels, who greatly outnumbered his men. It undoubtedly would have been a disaster if the sloop *Rosalie* had not been close by. As it was, as soon as Jenks cleared the shelling area, he signaled Coffin to lay down a wall of fire which protected his sailors and drove off the enemy. At daylight Jenks returned to gather up his equipage, and, fearing that something had happened to Captain Daniels, set sail for the *Gem of the Sea* with his wounded. Captain Baxter reprovisioned the shore party and sent it back with instructions to wait six more days for the rangers.

Meanwhile Enoch Daniels had his own problems. On December 27 he sent four men to the settlement at Fort Hartsuff; he took the remainder to Horse Creek. There he left them concealed in a hammock while he visited a Union man to obtain news. He learned that the rebels were rounding up wild cattle and that seven of the drivers would be bringing the animals into the local cattle pen that evening. He returned to camp to make preparations for capturing the enemy that night after the moon came up.

At dusk Daniels posted his sentinels then he lay down to rest. Two hours later one of his men awoke him with a report that First Lieutenant Brown and six men on guard duty had deserted. Daniels sent his friend out to scout for signs. The Union man reported that he found tracks indicating that Brown had headed for the rebel camp. In that desolate frontier it was not safe to let the enemy have too much advantage. Daniels moved his bivouac four miles to the security of another hammock.

The next day the Union man returned with news that the rebels had moved out to cut them off from the blockaders. Daniels immediately set out for Jenks's boats. He traveled all day and night. About two hours before dawn he stopped to rest and have coffee. As he finished he heard gunfire from the engagement between Jenks and the rebels. Daniels

pushed on and found the enemy's trail. "They was too many for us to hold our hand with them. I then made our way for a hammock...for fear of meeting them on their return. We stayed in the hammock until the 31st. We then started for the boats."[5] Daniels and his men were taken off when the *Rosalie* returned to the Myakka River.

The four rangers on detached duty returned later to an empty site, no camp, no boats, no means of leaving the mainland. They crossed over to the Peace River, proceeded up the north bank, and came upon a small schooner loaded with cotton. They captured the two crewmen, took over the vessel, and boldly sailed downstream into Charlotte Harbor where they delivered up their prisoners and prize to Captain Baxter.[6]

Just after Daniels had left Key West to recruit, General Woodbury asked Admiral Bailey for the services of Acting Master's Mate Henry A. Crane. Bailey detached Crane from the *Rosalie* on December 17, 1863, ordering him to report to the general. In his letter to Woodbury, the admiral, after recounting many of Crane's exploits for the navy, concluded that he was "well known and popular among the people of Lower Florida, and will, no doubt, be useful in recruiting."[7] Henry Crane brought three other refugees with him to the army. General Woodbury was so pleased that, even before he knew the results of Captain Daniels's expedition, he decided that Crane should lead his refugees. In a letter to his superior he suspended Daniels's provisional appointment and recommended Crane for the position.[8]

Henry Crane established the first permanent post of refugee soldiers in south Florida. On January 3, 1864, he led two boats from Punta Rassa up the Caloosahatchee River to Fort Myers, a deserted ex-army post built before the Third Seminole War. Just after midnight he sent two men to scout the houses; they returned without finding anyone. At daylight Crane made a more thorough search and surprised three men in the hospital building. Evidently Crane's intentions were known to the enemy, for these three had prepared the hospital to be burned, but they were captured before they could carry out their plan.[9]

As Woodbury was impatient to see his plan succeed, he called upon Bailey for additional transportation to take himself and a company of the Forty-seventh Pennsylvania Volunteers to Fort Myers to supervise the recruitment of Floridians. The admiral directed the steamer *Honduras* to accompany the army's schooner *Matchless* to serve the general.[10] With the addition of the Pennsylvanians, Woodbury thought it best to move his base of operations to the mainland. Useppa Island, while a good defensive position for the refugee families under the guns of the blockaders, was too dependent upon water transportation to allow the army to operate at

maximum advantage. When Woodbury arrived at Fort Myers and learned the results of Daniels's expedition, he immediately placed Henry Crane in charge.

Crane's first act was to set out on a cattle raid into the interior. He took nine men and scouted up the Caloosahatchee River. There was a brief encounter with rebel horsemen which did little damage to either side, and Crane found four barrels of turpentine belonging to Thomas Griffin in a shack in the brush. Two days later General Woodbury returned to Key West and Crane was on his own at Fort Myers. The next day Crane took twenty men on a scout to old Fort Thompson (present day La Belle) where he found and fired at three rebels who fled immediately. However, Crane found a sloop loaded with eight bales of cotton at Griffin's camp on the Caloosahatchee. On January 27 Crane established an advanced picket post inland at Fort Denaud, an older ex-army post of the Second Seminole War era. This was the initial indication to the inhabitants of that region that the army was in south Florida to stop blockade-running and cattle drives for the Confederacy.[11]

Later Bailey reported to Secretary of the Navy Gideon Welles of Captain Daniels's failure. The admiral felt that First Lieutenant Brown and his fellow deserters had made their plans to leave the Union forces before they departed Key West. He was not as optimistic as General Woodbury concerning the mission of "rousing the country to violent opposition against the burden and oppression of rebel rule." In fact he felt that it would take at least three to five thousand soldiers to provide adequate protection before the majority of Floridians who might be willing to risk their fortunes within the Union lines would take such drastic action. Yet he was willing to support General Woodbury and his Refugee Rangers.[12]

When the Department of the Gulf was reorganized General Woodbury lost the Forty-seventh Pennsylvania Volunteers. His First Brigade now consisted of the 110th Regiment, New York Volunteers, the Florida Rangers (now officially designated the Second Regiment, Florida Cavalry), and the Second Infantry Regiment, U.S. Colored Troops. By this time Henry Crane had his commission as captain and had recruited fifty men. The removal of the Pennsylvanians left Fort Myers manned solely by Captain Crane's Company A. This obvious weakness at the fort was manifest in the dearth of new enlistments.[13]

Henry Crane, needing another officer, recommended James Armour. But before his request was acted upon, James D. Green, a personal acquaintance of Crane for fifteen years, came into Fort Myers to volunteer his services in any capacity. Green, born in South Carolina, had moved south prior to the war to settle in Manatee County, where he farmed.[14] He

knew the region well. Crane gave him a detachment to go into the interior recruiting. In ten days Green returned with thirty volunteers. Crane was so impressed he recommended Green for a commission as first lieutenant of Company A. He told General Woodbury that Green "has the *dash* & *daring* necessary for a leader in this peculiar kind of warfare which is different from almost any other—nothing but *skulking Guerrillas* to encounter."[15]

General Woodbury, delighted with Green's success, issued a provisional commission forthwith. Lieutenant Green set out on another mission with his newly enlisted men. On this trek he engaged and repulsed a Confederate force almost three times greater than his own group. A number of horses were captured and another thirty-four refugees returned with Green to sign up with the Second Florida Cavalry. For this action General Woodbury promoted James Green to captain. In less than three months Henry Crane's unit grew to 170 men, much of it due to Green's efforts.

What motivated these refugees to seek Union service? According to a recent study of the Peace River frontier, it was the repeal of the cattleman's exemption which forced the settlers of south Florida to choose sides. "To the Union army flowed principally the less well-to-do nonslaveholding men of families living near and below Fort Meade.... Opting for the Confederacy were the sons and fathers of families living at and above Fort Meade...[including] the leading cattle kings of the region." A Union officer's assessment of these men was: "Each man had a history of his own, sometimes more startling than fiction. In some the burning cottage, the destruction of home and household goods, the exposure of wife and children to cold, penury, and starvation, if not a worse fate, filled the background of a picture not colored by imagination. Nearly all had been hunted, many by dogs. It's not a pleasant thing for a man to be hunted as though human life was of no more value than that of a fox or a wolf, and it leaves bitter thoughts behind. Finally, through many perils, after lying for weeks in swamps and woods, they had straggled one by one into the Union lines."[16]

General Woodbury, eager to enlarge his Florida regiment, turned to the East Gulf Blockading Squadron for support. What excited him most was Lieutenant Commander David Harmony's list of seventy-three members of one of the deserter bands working with his ship.[17] When he heard of the cooperation between the blockaders and the dissidents, he sent ammunition, coffee, and sugar to Harmony to be given to the loyal Floridians to sustain them in their struggle against the Confederacy. He

also asked Harmony if it would be possible to recruit these men for his Second Florida Cavalry.

Harmony answered that, although he had worked with the Floridians and had directed some of their operations, he doubted very much if they would be willing to enlist in the U.S. Army, for the refugees did not want to leave home. But he was confident that given arms, bread, and shoes, he could gather a force of five hundred men in three weeks time.[18]

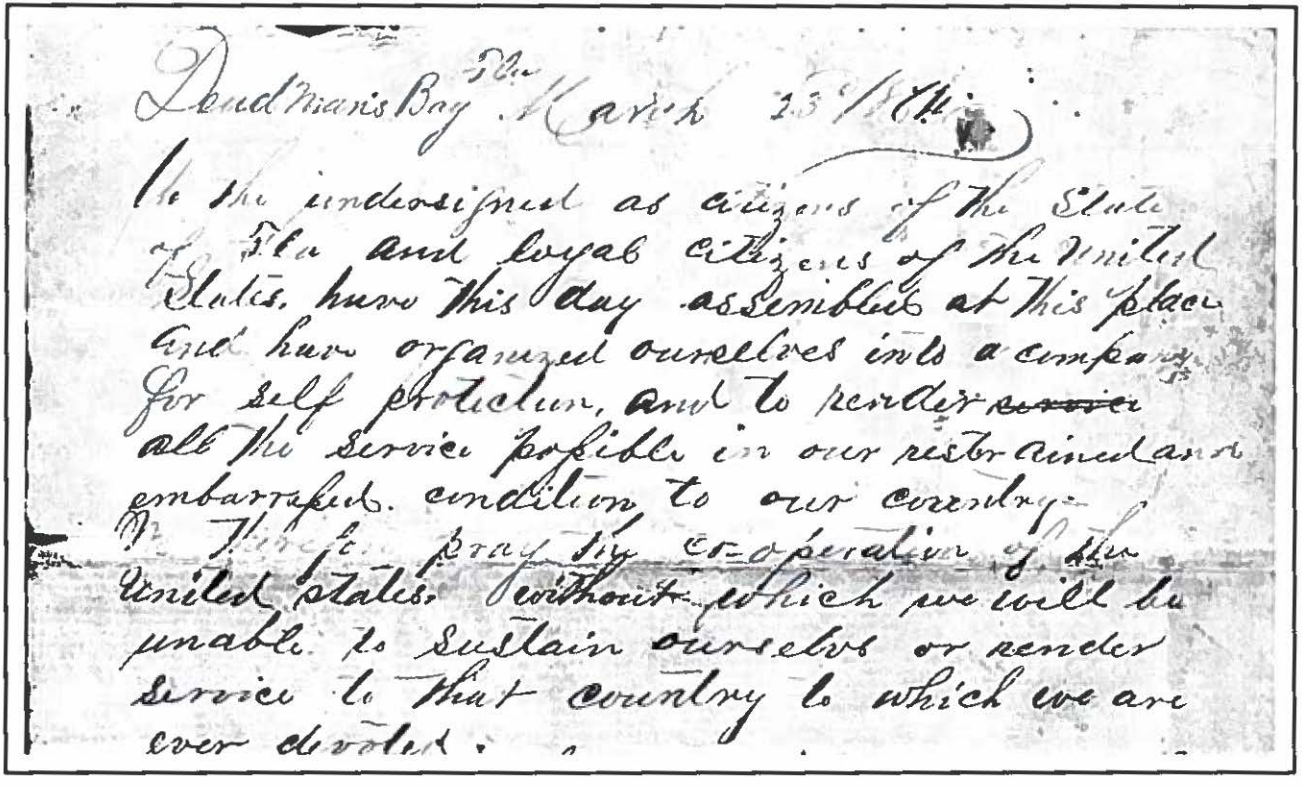
Woodbury wrote his superior that he was leaving as soon as possible for St. Marks to recruit the disparate bands working unofficially with the navy. Still, if the refugees refused to enlist, he requested permission to provision them regardless, for "these men will be useful to us, whether enlisted or not." His commanding general replied that ordinarily he did not approve of offering arms and equipment to men not willing to make the commitment to serve in regular organizations, but, as this was an exceptional case, Woodbury was authorized to act at his own discretion.[19]

General Woodbury sent four of his refugee soldiers north to the *Tahoma* to check on the dissident units operating with the blockaders. They arrived on March 16, 1864, and Lieutenant Commander Harmony sent them to James Coker's band on the Fenholloway River. This was the first of many talks between the army and the dissident Floridians operating with Harmony. A week later General Woodbury and his staff arrived on board the *Tahoma* to continue negotiations. The next day he took his staff to the deserter camp, where they remained overnight. Then he returned to the transport *Nightingale* to await further developments.[20]

Two days later there was a flurry of activity on the *Tahoma*. At 1 P.M. General Woodbury and his staff, with a company of 110th New York Volunteers, arrived on the blockader to continue talks with the dissidents. The general brought with him arms, ammunition, and provisions for the Floridians. Shortly after he arrived a refugee boat came alongside with six men bringing dispatches from Allen A. Stephens, a member of William White's Deadman's Bay group. Stephens, a deserter from the First Florida Infantry, often acted as liaison between White and the blockaders.

About 2:40 P.M. the *Tahoma* got underway to steam closer to the Fenholloway River for a prearranged meeting with William W. Strickland's and Coker's bands. At 7:30 P.M. a refugee sloop came alongside bringing William Martin and Frederick Johnson to meet the general. This was the beginning of an all-out campaign on Woodbury's part to win over the Floridians to enlist in his Second Florida Cavalry, which had been brought about by the efforts of Lieutenant Commander Harmony, USN.[21]

The next day a flotilla headed for shore with General Woodbury, his aide Captain Bowers, and Lieutenant Hunter with Acting Master Edmund



Dead Mans Bay Fla March 23 1864

We the undersigned as citizens of the State of Fla and loyal citizens of the United States, have this day assembled at this place and have organized ourselves into a company for self protection, and to render all the service possible in our restrained and embarrassed condition to our country. We therefore pray the co-operation of the United States without which we will be unable to sustain ourselves or render service to that country to which we are ever devoted.

Excerpt from Deadman's Bay document, March 23, 1864 *National Archives*

C. Weeks in the lead whale boat. The first cutter carried army surgeon, Dr. C. Sturtevant. Eight sailors followed in the launch and the refugee sloop carried the Floridians. Behind this small armada sailed the *Annie* (brought up from Deadman's Bay to transport the soldiers of the 110th New York Volunteers) towing three boats loaded to the gunwales with stores for "the company" on the Fenholloway. The general remained two days with the dissidents before he returned to the *Nightingale* to steam back to Key West.[22]

Circumstances were favorable to General Woodbury, for not only had Lieutenant Commander Harmony established contact with and helped organize many of the disaffected, but Confederate actions also played into the general's hands when the rebels swept through Taylor and Lafayette counties burning homes and driving the women and children off to confinement at Camp Smith, just outside of Tallahassee. In fact the general's timing could not have been better, for he arrived aboard the *Tahoma* on March 23, 1864, the day before William Strickland's house was burned. After that action many of the members of the Coker and Strickland bands were willing to enlist. General Woodbury sent his recruiters into Taylor County early in April where they enlisted seventy-seven men into his Second Florida Cavalry.

Strickland and twenty of his men signed up at that time. Later four more members joined. Strickland, who had been captain of his dissident band, was appointed by his men to that rank after they had enlisted, and he was granted a provisional commission as captain of Company D.[23] Two of the three Coker brothers, William and Allen, also entered Company D.

The rebel sweep of Taylor and Lafayette counties had a repercussion among William White's band also. The same day that General Woodbury arrived on the *Tahoma*, the Deadman's Bay dissidents drew up a document seeking "the co-operation of the United States without which we will be unable to sustain ourselves or render service to that Country to which we are ever devoted."[24] The petition appointed White to act as the company's agent in future talks with officials of the United States. The names of the seventy-two men in the band were appended to the document.

General Woodbury took advantage of the display of rebel force against the dissidents to stiffen his demands. No longer would he cooperate with independent companies on their terms. He insisted the refugees enlist in the army. He instructed Lieutenant Hunter to tell the Floridians that the army could no longer care for their families unless the able-bodied men entered the service of the United States. Woodbury went on to say that: "The United States can have no communications with men on the mainland who decline to enlist but wish to fight as they do on their own hook."[25] He

stipulated that each company of fifty men might elect three officers: captain, first, and second lieutenants. Woodbury ended his instructions authorizing Hunter to move the families of White's band to Cedar Key, after a company had been raised.

Meanwhile, Admiral Bailey continued to open avenues of recruitment for General Woodbury. James Jeffcoat, a refugee from St. Andrew Bay, serving as landsman aboard the *Tahoma*, was transferred to Key West in an invalid status for rest and recuperation. While in Key West Jeffcoat learned of General Woodbury's efforts to create a loyal Florida regiment. He gathered some fellow refugees from St. Andrew Bay about him and asked to be transferred to the army. Admiral Bailey granted Jeffcoat's request.

By the end of April Woodbury's recruiting plans were completed. He sent Lieutenant Hunter out to sign up refugees gathered at the various navy camps along the west coast. Accompanying Hunter was James Jeffcoat with his twenty recruits. Woodbury granted Jeffcoat a provisional appointment as second lieutenant in the Second Florida Cavalry, hoping his group would be the nucleus for a St. Andrew Bay company.[26]

Hunter's itinerary up the west coast was thorough. First, he stopped off at Fort Myers where Captain Crane detached a sergeant and nine men to go to the navy's refugee camp at Egmont Key in Tampa Bay to help recruit. After Egmont Key Hunter went to Cedar Key. Captain Charles E. Fleming of the *Sagamore* told Hunter that he had 250 refugees living under his protection and his ship's rations were low. The Lieutenant transferred a fifth of his provisions to Fleming for the relief of the Floridians before he went ashore to enroll men in the Florida unit.

"I found the men generally willing & ready to enlist so I went to work." Hunter wrote to Woodbury, "I used up all the Blanks I had & still did not get them all enlisted. I told the others to enroll their names & I would consider them as enlisted men from that date & that I would again visit them as early as possible."[27] William White and James D. Butler aided Hunter in organizing the Cedar Key refugees. When Hunter left for St. Marks he took White and Butler with him. On departing he observed that Floridians still were arriving daily from the mainland.

At St. Marks Hunter visited Lieutenant Commander Harmony who took him to the refugee camp at St. Vincent Island where the army officer began recruiting operations. William Strickland and his men had moved to St. Vincent earlier where they prepared the refugees for Hunter's visit. Shortly after Hunter arrived, the refugee sloop brought Nelson Poppell, Darling Sapp, and Levi Jasper Whitehurst to St. Vincent from the Econfina River, along with a number of women and children. The three men,

members of Strickland's band, enlisted as soon as they landed. They also carried two letters from Tallahassee brought down to the coast by the sister of First Lieutenant Mathew H. Allbritton, who had enlisted in Taylor County along with Strickland. Undoubtedly this was the communication link by which the men were kept informed of their families at Camp Smith near Tallahassee.[28]

Lieutenant Hunter decided to repair the dilapidated refugee boat before sending Strickland and some of his men back to Taylor County to scout the situation. Meanwhile, he gave William White and James Butler provisional commissions so that they could continue recruiting at St. Vincent while he took Second Lieutenant Jeffcoat and his men to St. Andrew Bay.

By now it was a familiar story. Hunter contacted Lieutenant William R. Browne of the *Restless* who took the army recruiter to the refugee camp established by the blockaders at St. Andrew Bay. Here Jeffcoat and his men acted as liaisons with the dissident Floridians. On his return voyage to Key West Hunter dropped White and Butler off at Cedar Key to continue the task of forming the Second Florida Cavalry. By this time Hunter had made both men captains, with Butler assigned as the commanding officer of the unit at Depot Key. Apparently the two refugee officers were not authorized to administer the oath of allegiance for the *Sagamore*'s log repeatedly recorded refugees being brought aboard by White and Butler to be given the oath by the ship's captain before being enlisted.[29]

Near the end of May General Woodbury summarized his recent recruiting efforts: Ft. Myers, 158; Cedar Key, 102; St. Vincent, 112; St. Andrew, 56; Key West, 4; total, 432. With the exception of Key West, all of these localities had been refugee camps established by the East Gulf Blockading Squadron. Eventually the Second Florida Cavalry recruited 739 soldiers.[30]

In addition to recruiting in the refugee camps some of the Second Florida Cavalrymen went out into the brush beyond the pale of the Confederacy looking for men. Private Joshua H. Frier, Company B, First Regiment of Florida Reserves, wrote of his experience with these recruiters. His company had been sent to Station 4 on the Florida Railroad, which proved to be too close to the Federals at Cedar Key. The Confederates withdrew about eight miles to Chambers's place where they camped in old slave quarters. One day one of the scouting parties picked up several civilians including Peter H. Davis from Levy County. Davis was impressed into Confederate service in spite of his condemnation of such actions. About July 5 the company pulled back to Bronson, which Frier considered superior to Chambers. The major discomfort at both places was the lack

of food. After a few days in camp Frier was called in by his captain and told he would be the teamster who would go with Davis into "neutral ground" to bring back some provisions for the troops. Davis, a well-known Union man, was to be in charge. The two men took the teams and headed for Davis's home, some ten miles beyond the Confederate outpost.

Davis left Frier at his house while he went off on "urgent business." Frier spent an uneasy night expecting to be captured by "Federals or bushwhackers." Shortly after dawn Davis returned, and the two hitched up the teams and continued on. At 9 A.M. they crossed Otter Creek and suddenly came upon fifteen or twenty men. Frier expected the worst, but Davis seemed to know most of them and shook hands all around. Frier was introduced to several of the men, and discovered a friend of his father among the group. That night they all camped at Chair's plantation close to the banks of the Suwannee, not far from the river's mouth.

Early in the evening forty more men arrived, some were U.S. Second Florida Cavalrymen in their Federal uniforms. Frier realized that these people assumed that he and Davis also were Confederate deserters. He later wrote: "For once I was glad I was in the service of a Government that was not able, or willing to furnish a uniform for had I had on the regulation gray suit I would have seen the sun rise next morning a prisoner at Cedar Keys."[31]

Edmund Weeks *Florida State Photographic Archives*

With the help of Davis's friends, the two Confederates spent most of the night loading supplies on their wagons. While it was still dark, they set out from the deserters' camp. Before daylight they secreted their wagons in a thicket off the road. They remained quiet in concealment all day and at dark took the road through Levyville to Bronson. They were well received by their company when they off-loaded all of the provisions, some of it supplied by the blockaders. Yet Frier wrote: "But even this [praise], was not sufficient to repay for the nervous tension I had

been subjected to, and I mentaly resolved that I would dig stumps the balance of our stay in Bronson before I would make another trip of this kind."[32]

In July 1864 Woodbury again called upon the East Gulf Blockading Squadron requesting the services of Acting Master Edmund C. Weeks. The general told Bailey that his Second Florida Cavalry was in a peculiar situation operating along the west coast of Florida often in close cooperation with the squadron; therefore, he wanted his senior officer to be qualified for both land and sea operations, and Weeks had such a background. Admiral Bailey released Weeks on July 16, 1864. When Weeks reported to the general he was appointed major and given command of the Second Florida Cavalry.[33]

General Woodbury gave Weeks his concept of the strategy and tactics to be employed: never occupy a position where the enemy could reach him without employing boats; always select bases on islands which could be protected by the squadron's ships; and the primary objective of the unit was to raid the mainland and stop the flow of cattle from south Florida to the Confederate armies in the north. He warned Weeks not to expose his troops to the danger of being cut off from the coast, and to impress upon his men that if such a circumstance took place capture would probably mean death. Finally, the general wrote: "You have men under your command familiar with every part of Western Florida, send them out by fours, with orders to travel nights, hide by day, communicate with Union people for information etc.; at least one man in each four should have on the common dress of the country, so that leaving his arms with his comrades, he may talk with the people of the country without exciting suspicion."[34]

Although all blockading squadrons had contacts with refugees, only the East Gulf Blockading Squadron utilized these allies to foster a civil war on its shores. The squadron's creation of the U.S. Second Florida Cavalry elevated the blockader-refugee alliance from guerrilla to conventional warfare. Additionally the Second Infantry Regiment, U. S. Colored Troops, fought beside the blockaders and refugees. Together these three units, spearheaded by the Second Florida Cavalry, carried the war into Florida. The refugees made cattle raids up the Caloosahatchee River, two strikes up the Peace River to Fort Meade, a temporary occupation of Tampa, the destruction of Brooksville, a deep probe into St. Andrew Bay, a strike at St. Marks, and other skirmishes too slight to record. In brief, the Floridians were one of Confederate Florida's most active foes from St. Andrew Bay to Charlotte Harbor. Governor John Milton recognized their efforts saying: "Deserters and disloyal persons have constituted the most efficient force the

enemy has had upon our coast to conduct raiding parties, supply the enemy with beef and enable them to increase their forces with runaway slaves."[35] The uniqueness of the East Gulf Blockading Squadron's wartime role was its organization of, and support for, Florida's civil war on the Gulf Coast.

Notes

[1] Crane to Woodbury, November 22, 1863, U.S. Army Continental Commands, 1821-1920, District, Key West & Tortugas, Letters Received, RG 393, National Archives; cited hereafter as DKW&T, rec. or sent.

[2] *Official Records of the Union and Confederate Navies in the War of the Rebellion* (Washington, DC, 1895-1929), ser. 1, vol., 17, 593; cited hereafter as ORN.

[3] Ibid.

[4] *The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies* (Washington, DC, 1880-1901), ser. 1, vol. 26, pt. 1, 855-56; cited hereafter as OR.

[5] ORN, ser. 1, vol. 17, 605; Daniels to Meyers, January 2, 1864, DKW&T, rec.

[6] ORN, ser. 1, vol. 17, 610-18; OR, ser. 1, vol. 35, pt. 1, 460-61; OR, ser. 1, vol. 26, pt. 1, 874-75.

[7] OR, ser. 1, vol. 26, pt. 1, 875-76.

[8] Ibid., 873-74.

[9] Crane to Woodbury, January 4, 1863 [1864], DKW&T, rec.

[10] ORN, ser. 1, vol. 17, 621-22.

[11] OR, ser. 1, vol. 35, pt. 1, 461.

[12] ORN, ser. 1, vol. 17, 630-31.

[13] OR, ser. 1, vol. 35, pt. 1, 485-86; George B. Drake to Woodbury, February 1, 1864, in Henry A. Crane's Service Record, Compiled Service Records of Union Soldiers, Records of the Adjutant General's Office, RG 94, National Archives; cited hereafter as Ser. Rec.; Department of the Gulf, Special Order No. 41, February 15, 1864, extract, exhibit M, General Court-Martial Record of Major Edmund C. Weeks, Records of the Office of the Judge Advocate General, RG 153, National Archives; cited hereafter as Weeks, GCM.

[14] Crane to Woodbury, February 24, 1864, DKW&T, rec.; Manatee County, Florida, 1860 Census, 1, Records of the Bureau of the Census, RG 29, National Archives.

[15] Crane to Woodbury, April 2, 1864, in James D. Green's Ser. Rec.

[16] Canter Brown, Jr., *Florida's Peace River Frontier* (Gainesville, 1991), 165.

[17] Harmony to Bailey, February 9, 1864, enclosure in Woodbury to Stone, February 15, 1864, U.S. Army Continental Commands, 1821-1900, Department of the Gulf, Letters Received, RG 393, National Archives; ORN, ser. 1, vol. 17, 649-52.

[18] OR, ser. 1, vol. 35, pt. 2, 14.

[19] Ibid., 13; Stone to Woodbury, March 26, 1864, exhibit L, Weeks, GCM.

[20] USS *Tahoma*'s log, March 16, 23-26, 1864, Records of the Bureau of Naval Personnel, RG 24, National Archives; cited hereafter as [ship's name] log.

[21] Ibid., March 27, 1864.

[22] Ibid., March 28, 30, 31, 1864.

[23] Testimony of Strickland, Weeks, GCM, 172-73.

[24] Deadman's Bay, Florida, March 23, 1864, DKW&T, rec.

[25] Woodbury to Hunter, March 31, 1864, DKW&T, sent.; *Official Army Register of the Volunteer Force of the United States Army for the Years 1861, '62, '63, '64, '65* (Washington, 1865), 4:1151.

[26] Woodbury to Stone, April 18, 1864, DKW&T, sent.; USS *Tahoma*'s log, February 10, 1864; USS *Stars & Stripe*'s log, February 10, 1864.

[27] Hunter to Woodbury, May 5, 1864, DKW&T, rec.

[28] Ibid.; all three men's Ser. Rec.

[29] USS *Sagamore*'s log, May 21, 22, 1864.

[30] Woodbury to Stone, May 27, 1864, DKW&T, sent.

[31] Joshua Hoyet Frier II, "Reminiscences of the War Between the States by a Boy in the Far South at Home and in the Ranks of the Confederate Militia," Typescript in the Florida State Archives, Tallahassee, 66-70.

[32] Ibid.

[33] ORN, ser. 1, vol. 17, 732; Woodbury to Bailey, June 4, 1864, DKW&T, sent.; Weeks, GCM, 123-24; Rowland H. Rerick, *Memoirs of Florida* (Atlanta, 1902), 2:714-15.

[34] Woodbury to Weeks, July 14, 1864, DKW&T, sent.

[35] Governor John Milton Letter Book, Florida State Archives, Tallahassee, 142.

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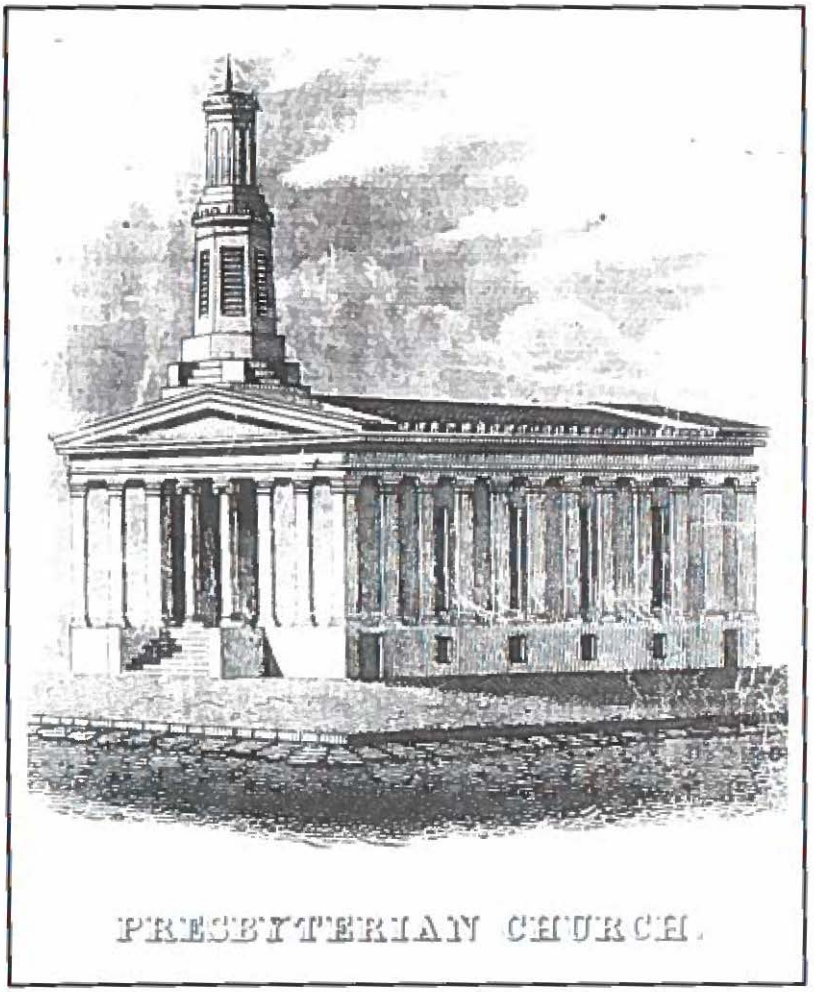


Illustration detail from La Tourrette Map, 1838 — *Mobile Municipal Archives*

An Ornament to the City: Mobile's Government Street Presbyterian Church

John S. Sledge

On August 10, 1992, the National Park Service designated Mobile's Government Street Presbyterian Church as a National Historic Landmark. The Park Service noted that the church is "significant as one of the oldest and least-altered Greek Revival-style houses of worship remaining in the United States today."[1] Government Street Presbyterian Church is only the second Mobile building to be so honored, joining the city's 1853 Italianate-style City Hall. National Historic Landmarks are buildings and/or sites of national importance. Though the designation is largely ceremonial, NHL listed properties do qualify for non-financial technical assistance from the Park Service.

Mobile's Government Street must rank as one of America's most distinctive and scenic downtown corridors. Despite decades of demolition and commercial intrusion, many historic structures still line the live oak shaded street, giving it special character. Among its most impressive and important buildings is the Presbyterian Church designed in 1836 by a trio of New York architects, newly transplanted to the Gulf South. Over one hundred and fifty years after its construction, this elegant Greek Revival church still ranks as one of the best buildings ever constructed in Mobile, and is nationally significant for its quality of design. Indeed, Roger Kennedy, in his recent *Greek Revival America*, called it a "candidate for title of America's most beautiful Greek Revival Church."

Government Street Presbyterian Church represents a significant artistic and financial achievement for Mobile's local Presbyterians. How such an impressive edifice could have been erected just over twenty years after Americans took possession of Mobile from a corrupt colonial power, under whose control the town had languished, is a question worth exploring.

When the Americans acquired Mobile from the Spanish during the War of 1812, the community seemed unimpressive. There were less than a thousand inhabitants, who were a mixture of French, Spanish, blacks, and Indians. They dwelled in squalid, rotting cottages. Streets were muddy, and only one or two wharves jutted out into the river, evidence of the deadening effect of the royal monopoly on trade. The town was overwhelmingly Catholic in faith. This changed as large numbers of American protestants arrived during the teens and twenties.

The Presbyterians were not a significant presence in early American Mobile. In 1821 the Presbytery of Alabama had organized with only three

churches and fifty members.[2] In Mobile their numbers were so small that they formed a union church with local Episcopalians. By 1828 the Presbyterians informally organized under the Rev. Murdock Murphy as the Presbyterian Church on Government Street. Their church building was an unimpressive frame structure. The congregation formally organized in 1831, and in 1836 bought the land on Government Street where they would erect their permanent home.[3]

While the denomination slowly organized and grew, Mobile's fortunes took an upturn as well. If the past had been inglorious and the present difficult, at least Mobile's future looked bright. This of course was due to King Cotton. Alabama's black belt, a broad swath of land stretched across the lower third of the state, and Mississippi's rich prairie lands, proved to be extremely fertile and quickly saw the introduction of a plantation economy. Since the black belt and prairie lands were drained by the Alabama-Tombigbee River system, Mobile, as Alabama's only port, experienced tremendous growth as a cotton market. Indeed, during the decade of the 1830s, cotton production in Alabama tripled, from over 100,000 bales to 300,000 bales a year.[4] During the same decade, Mobile burgeoned with new residents; fortune seekers, bankers, lawyers, land speculators, cotton factors, slaves, and workingmen. Whereas the population stood at about three thousand in 1830, by the eve of the Civil War it would be over thirty thousand, a respectable size for a nineteenth century city. Mobile was second only to New Orleans as queen of the Gulf and was the third busiest port in the nation. The town had a theatre, shell paved streets, and gas lights. In 1837 the U.S. Bank of Mobile had more money on deposit than any other branch in America.[5] It was a logical place for ambitious men of talent to seek their fortunes.

While all this was going on, a local businessman of remarkable energy and talent emerged, without whom the construction of Government Street Presbyterian Church might not have been possible. Indeed, Henry Hitchcock may be considered the midwife of the Greek Revival in Mobile.

Hitchcock was born in New England in 1795. He was a grandson of the revolutionary hero Ethan Allen, but was cynical about the association, once remarking that nothing of any substance had ever come his way of it. He came to the Tombigbee district of the Alabama Territory in 1817 and began the practice of law. In 1818 he was appointed territorial secretary by Governor William Bibb. His involvement in state politics included helping prepare the state constitution and a stint as attorney general from 1819 to 1823. He moved to Mobile and was elected to the Alabama Supreme Court in 1835. He would resign this post during the Panic of 1837 for business reasons.[6]

During the 1830s, Hitchcock gradually shifted his priorities from law to business. He had capital, and soon held an interest in such companies as the Mobile Aquaduct Company and the Mobile Steam Cotton Press and Building Company. During 1835 he built sixteen brick buildings, some with three and four stories, mostly warehouses.[7]

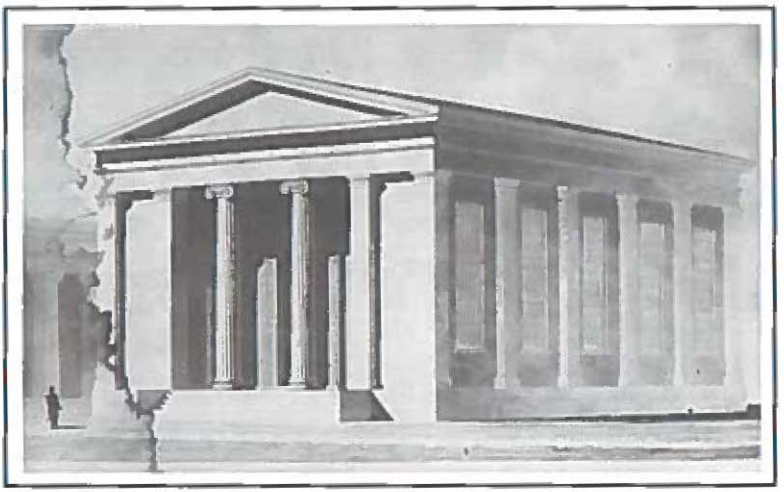
Rev. W. T. Hamilton — *Government St. Presbyterian Church*

Despite his wide ranging personal interest and investment in Mobile's commercial life, Hitchcock was spiritually troubled.[8] Upon reflection he was disturbed by the lack of a deeper meaning to his life. During 1834 and 1835 the new Presbyterian minister in Mobile, William Thomas Hamilton (formerly of the First Presbyterian Church of Newark, New Jersey) boarded with Hitchcock. This association had a profound affect on the businessman/ lawyer. In their conversations Hamilton learned that Hitchcock was "strongly opposed to warm hearted piety, and especially to all religious excitement."[9] Yet Hitchcock confessed to the pastor that "if God does not...change my proud heart, I am lost." In a prayer meeting the day after this statement, Hitchcock broke down in tears, and accepted the salvation "...bought with blood." He was baptized in May of 1836 and ordained an elder in the church the same year.[10] Hitchcock was perfectly placed to facilitate construction of a church for his new found faith. He had the capital, he had the business, legal and construction contacts, and he had the desire. Once this was matched with capable design talent, the results were bound to be impressive.

That talent was not long in appearing. In 1834-35 three architects left New York City to try their fortunes in the Mississippi Valley. They were James Gallier (1798-1866), James Dakin (1806-1852), and Charles Dakin (1811-1839). James Dakin had worked in the New York office of Ithiel Town and Andrew Jackson Davis (who were to become virtual national arbiters of taste) and it was here that he met James Gallier, an Irish-born draftsman. Town and Davis were responsible for much of New York's early Greek Revival architecture. Davis claimed that Town designed the first Greek Revival doorway in that city. Town was most famous for

his invention (or at least exploitation) of the Town Truss, and had a good sense of design.[11] Among Town and Davis's more important buildings was the Carmine Street Presbyterian Church (1831) in New York City. This building featured a distyle in antis facade, that is two columns set between a wall. James Dakin's Washington Street Methodist Episcopal Church in Brooklyn, designed shortly thereafter also featured a distyle in antis facade, and would serve as a prototype for his work in Mobile. The distyle in antis arrangement was cheaper than a full portico of columns across the front of a building, yet still conveyed a monumental feeling.[12] In addition, it had the practical effect of accommodating the stairs in the bays flanking the recessed portico, allowing access to the balconies without disturbing the worship service. This configuration was to be much copied in Greek Revival buildings across America.

While such a firm must have been a heady place for architects just starting out, Dakin and Gallier were inclined to strike out on their own. Gallier formed a brief partnership with Minard Lafever in 1834, but broke it off and headed south with Charles Dakin, James's younger brother, the same year. James Dakin would follow the pair in 1835. These young men, nurtured in the Town and Davis tradition, would play an important role in spreading the Greek Revival style. Indeed, Talbot Hamlin, in his *Greek Revival in America*, commented upon the influence of Town and Davis on



Washington Street Methodist Church, Brooklyn, New York *New Orleans Public Library*

American architecture, writing, "Throughout the southern half of the country at the time and in some of the more northern parts of the West the high standard of this architecture, achieved so soon after the forests had been cut down to allow settlement, again and again stems from...the influence of the New York offices."[13]

Gallier and the younger Dakin's steamer made a stop at Mobile, where the pair learned of a fever epidemic raging in the Crescent City. While waiting out the epidemic they were introduced to many prominent citizens, including Hitchcock. While in town, they submitted a design for a proposed city hall. In his autobiography Gallier wrote, "we made a design for it, which won the first prize of three hundred dollars; though but a trifle, it served to place our names before the public."[14] Though this award winning design was never built, the exposure may have landed them the contract for the St. Charles Hotel in New Orleans, constructed in 1834-36.[15]

After their stopover in Mobile, Gallier and Dakin moved on to New Orleans where James Dakin joined them in 1835. However Charles Dakin returned and opened a branch office in Mobile.[16] The riches of the cotton boom were to prove good for architecture. Being already acquainted with the men of affairs in Mobile, including Hitchcock, Gallier and the Dakins had a perfect entree for their talents.

Hitchcock was to help finance the construction of many buildings in Mobile, including several designed by Gallier and Dakin. Among the most important would be the Government Street Hotel (1836), Barton Academy (1836), and Government Street Presbyterian Church (1836). All of these buildings would be impressive examples of the Greek Revival style, and would serve to place Mobile in the national architectural mainstream. Any appreciation of Greek Revival architecture in Mobile must acknowledge these early buildings, all made possible by Hitchcock.

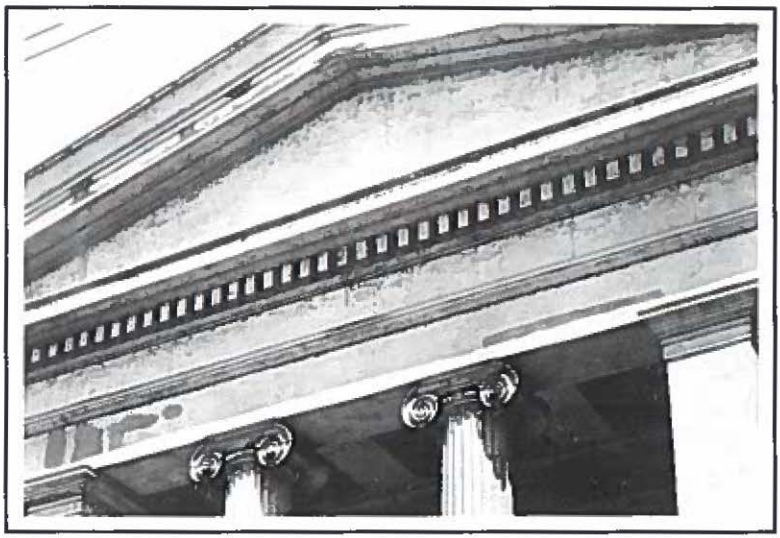
Government Street Presbyterian Church only had 137 members in 1836, but the congregation had purchased another lot on Government Street, west of the original church, and planned to erect a new sanctuary. As a member of the building committee, there can be little doubt that Hitchcock secured the talents of Gallier and the Dakins for the design. In December of 1835, Hitchcock ran the following ad in the *Mobile Daily Commercial Register*:

> To builders: separate proposals from carpenters and masons for building a Presbyterian Church at the NW corner of Government and Jackson Streets in the City of Mobile will be received by the Building Committee until the 24th of December next. The carpenter's proposals will embrace the covering of the roof, and all the carpenters, jointers, builders, glaziers and plumbers work. The mason's proposals will embrace the

> excavations for the foundations, and all the brick, plasterers and stone cutters work, and also a proper stage all around the exterior of the building, the work to be entirely completed by the first of October next [1836]. The specifications and drawings can be seen at the office of the Mobile Steam Cotton Press and Building.[17]

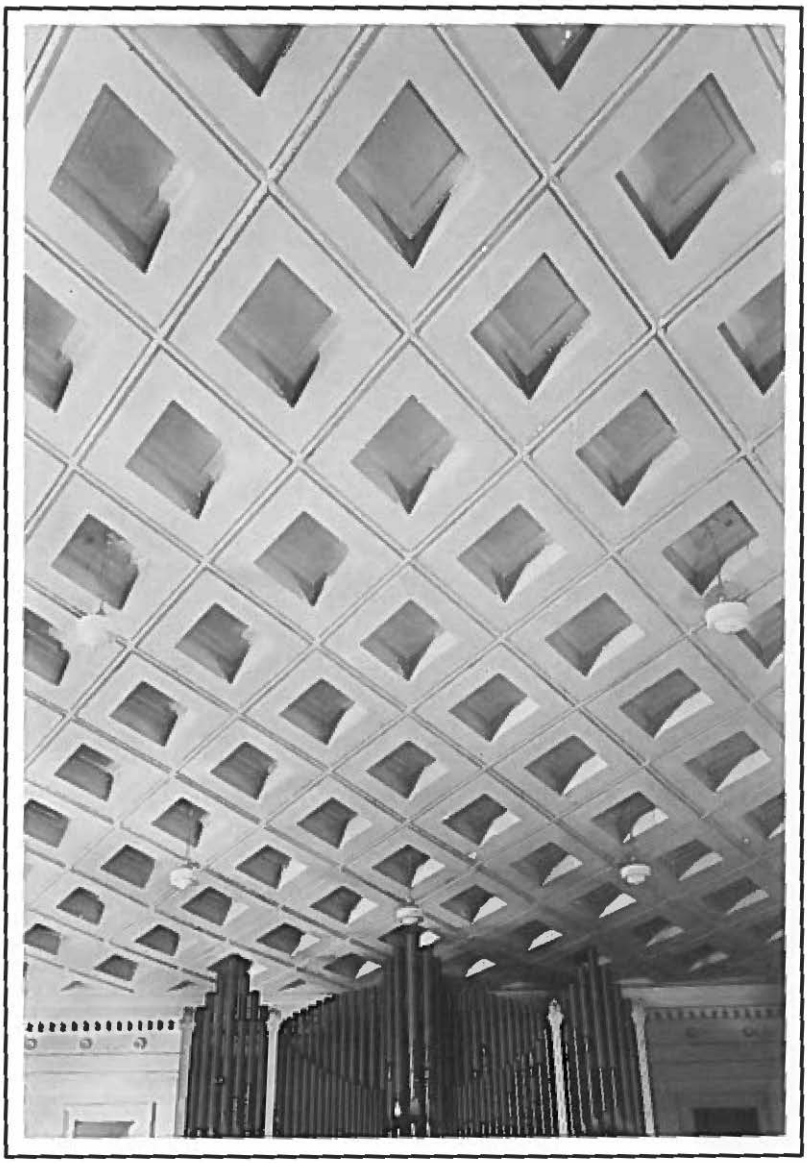
The Presbyterians were obviously confident in their future growth, since the sanctuary was designed to seat almost a thousand.

By the time construction was finished, Government Street Presbyterian Church was an elegant manifestation of the Greek Revival style. Measuring roughly sixty-eight by one hundred feet, the building featured a pedimented gable roof, distyle in antis Ionic columns harking back to James Dakin's Washington Street Church in Brooklyn, flanking pilasters and a full entablature with dentil work (see Glossary for definitions of architectural terms). The interior featured a gallery around three sides, a handsome classical screen behind the pulpit which exhibited Corinthian columns in a battered surround with anthemion cresting. Most impressively, the interior ceiling was coffered and plastered, supported with a wooden truss system.[18] It is difficult to precisely attribute the design of the church. Scholars assign the exterior, with the distinctive distyle in antis facade, to Gallier and James Dakin, and the interior with the screen, gallery and coffered ceiling to Dakin and Dakin.[19] Charles Dakin owned a



Pediment detail showing denticulation and Ionic columns

HABS photo, Library of Congress



Sanctuary coffered ceiling

HABS photo,
Library of Congress

Balcony detail inspired by Plate 48
in The Beauties of Modern Architecture (1835)

HABS photo,
Library of Congress

copy of *The Beauties of Modern Architecture* by Minard Lafever (Gallier's one-time partner) which is inscribed "Mobile, Alabama." Many of the interior motifs are taken straight from this influential pattern book, especially the balcony design. The facade, and the spectacular interior ceiling, demonstrate the influence of Ithiel Town.

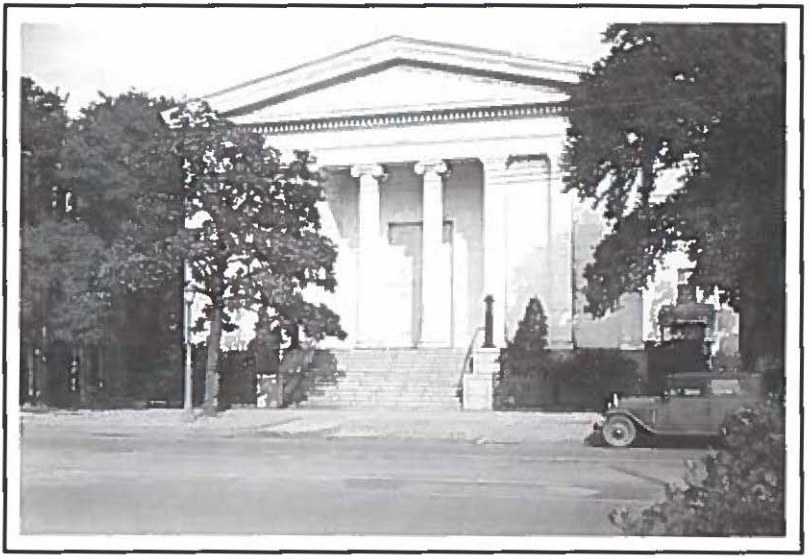
The church cost sixty thousand dollars to build and originally featured a steeple. The bricklayer, Thomas James, claimed over forty thousand dollars of the total, not surprising since the building was almost entirely brick covered in stucco. Granite for the building arrived on the brig *Comet* and "joiners work" from New York aboard the *St. John*.[20] Thus the church was a mixture of local and imported talent and materials.

The local press hailed the new building as "an ornament to the city,"[21] and antebellum travelers in Mobile often commented on it. The Englishman J. S. Buckingham described the church in his book the *Slave States of America* in 1842. "Of the churches," he wrote, "the Presbyterian is the largest and most beautiful. Its exterior is not in the best taste, but its interior is unsurpassed in chasteness of style and elegance of decoration in the United States."[22] Gallier himself noted in 1864, "We made plans for a church and a public school, which were erected there [Mobile], and are still the most important looking buildings in Government Street."[23]

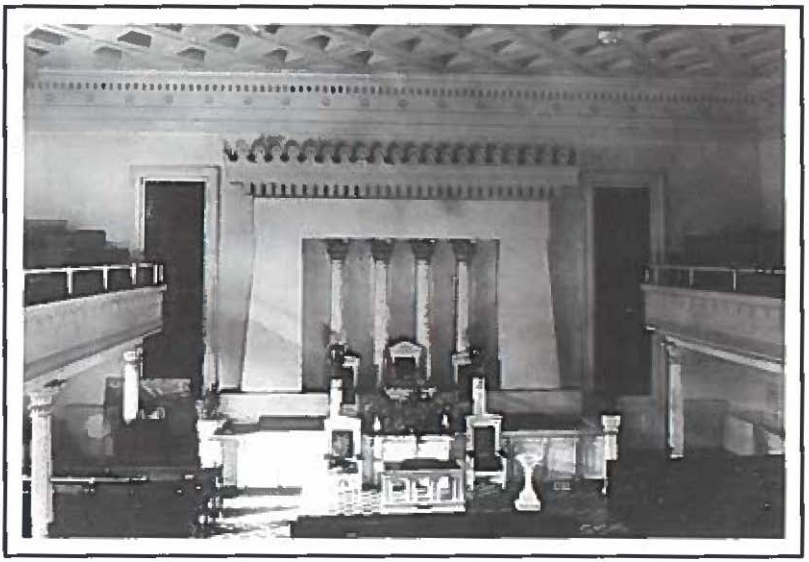
Henry Hitchcock was not able to enjoy his new church for long. In 1839 he succumbed to yellow fever, then ravaging the port city. His old friend, the Rev. Hamilton, was with him on his deathbed. In a funeral discourse before the congregation, Dr. Hamilton recalled Hitchcock's last moments. Concerning the state of his soul, Hitchcock said that "I have no fears, I have no doubts," and he enjoined the congregation to "love one another truly and tenderly."[24]

Charles Dakin, the architect perhaps most responsible for the church's interior, died the same year. Of his passing, Gallier rather sarcastically wrote,

> He made a contract to build a range of brick stores and warehouses (in Mobile) but whether from the want of sufficient experience as a builder or proper care in the construction, the whole range of buildings tumbled down while the roofs were being put on; this misfortune so preyed upon the spirits of the poor fellow that, happening to take a severe cold, a rapid disease of the lungs followed, which carried him off in a little more than a year.[25]



The facade and sanctuary of the church as they appeared in the 1935 HABS survey — *Library of Congress*

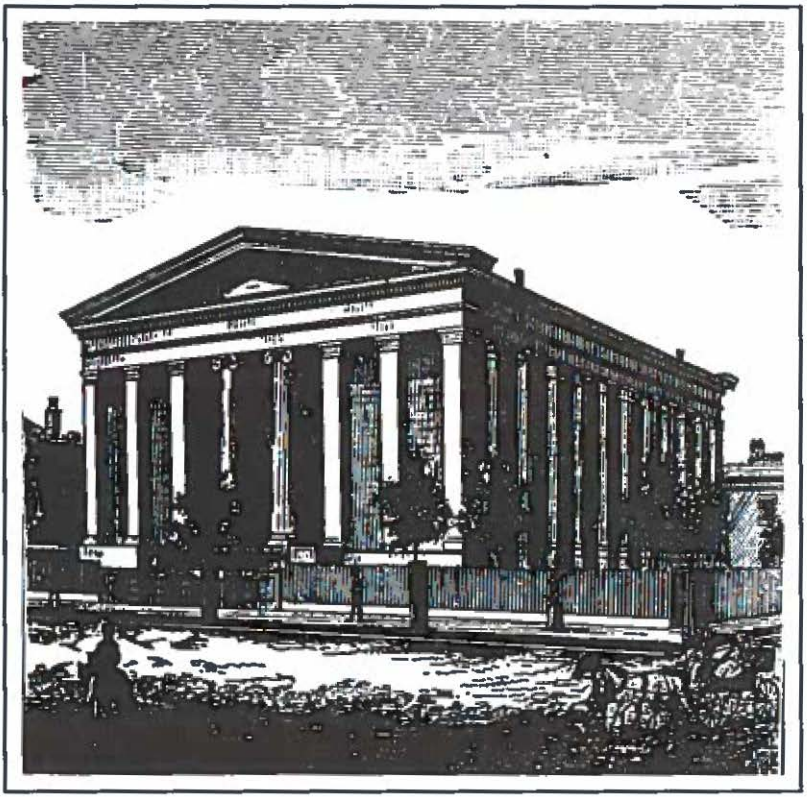


James Dakin and James Gallier went on to illustrious careers in New Orleans, designing many important buildings there. Among these were Christ Church (1835-37) on Canal Street, the New Orleans City Hall (1845-51), and scores of residences and stores. James Dakin's crowning achievement was the Gothic Revival Louisiana statehouse in Baton Rouge constructed in 1847. While Gallier and Dakin are now generally associated with New Orleans architecture, their Mobile work certainly ranks among their most important.

Throughout the nineteenth century Government Street Presbyterian Church was more than adequate for the congregation's needs. Disaster struck in 1852 when a hurricane knocked off the steeple and caused other minor damage. A committee was appointed to "ascertain if it was desirable and expedient to restore the steeple to the church and to ascertain the cost of same."[26] Some of the ladies of the congregation even formed a "Steeple Society" to raise funds but the committee ultimately recommended the steeple not be replaced.

By the turn of the century more space was needed for Sunday school classes and office functions. In 1905 a rear T addition was constructed for these purposes. In 1916 the church was again expanded by a further addition to the rear. Both of these additions matched the original Greek scheme and do not detract from the building.

Today the church stands as a reminder of Mobile's antebellum status and growing confidence. The young city's ability to engage the talents of Gallier and the Dakins, as well as a host of capable masons and carpenters who could execute complex plans, commands respect. Sadly, only one other Gallier and Dakin building survives in Mobile, Barton Academy (1836). The others, including the St. Michael Street Hotel (1836), the Planters and Merchants Bank (1837), and of course the Government Street Hotel (1836) burned or were torn down over the years. Even Gallier and Dakin's principal churches in New Orleans are now lost or significantly altered. Thus Government Street Presbyterian Church stands as an important example of the introduction of the Greek Revival into the Gulf South from its New York seedbed. It also remains to this day an "ornament to the city."



The church as it appeared after the loss of its steeple in 1852. Mobile: The New South, 1887-88, *Mobile Public Library, Local History and Geneology Division.*

Glossary

The following definitions are taken from Robert Gamble, *The Alabama Catalog: A Guide to the Architecture of the State* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1987).

ANTHEMION. A classical decorative motif based on the honeysuckle or palmette (palm leaf).

BATTER. The receding upward slope of a wall, framing, or support which deviates from the perpendicular; hence, in architecture, "battered" means sloping inward from the base.

COFFER. A recessed panel in a flat or vaulted ceiling; especially popular treatment in Classic architecture and its derivatives, such as Renaissance and Greek Revival.

CORINTHIAN ORDER. The most ornate of the three main Classic orders, characterized by a bell-shaped capital embellished with acanthus leaves, and by a slender shaft, usually fluted.

DENTICULATION. A decorative row of dentils, or small blocks, forming part of a classical entablature.

DISTYLE IN ANTIS. In Greek Architecture, a portico with two columns set between the piers (antae) of the flanking end walls; an especially popular facade treatment for churches during the Greek Revival period.

ENTABLATURE. In classical architecture, the ornamented horizontal beam carried by the columns, divided into the architrave (below), the frieze (middle) and the cornice (topmost section); a similar feature as the crown of a wall.

IONIC ORDER. One of the Classic orders used in Greek and Roman architecture and its derivatives, characterized by scroll-like capitals (volutes).

PEDIMENT. In Classic architecture especially, the triangular face of a roof gable.

PILASTER. A shallow, flattened rectangular upright, applied to a wall and treated like a column with base, shaft, and capital.

Notes

The author wishes to thank Nicholas H. Holmes, Jr., AIA and Robert Gamble, Architectural Historian, Alabama Historical Commission, for their assistance, encouragement, and advice.

[1] Robert Gamble and John Sledge, "Government Street Presbyterian Church" (National Historic Landmark Nomination form, 1992), 7. Before a building is declared a National Historic Landmark, it must be thoroughly researched and photographed. The building's importance on a national scale must be convincingly demonstrated to an expert panel. Mobile's Government Street Presbyterian Church passed this rigorous scrutiny because of its high degree of original integrity and because of its survivability. The other Gallier and Dakin churches have been lost or significantly altered over the years, increasing the importance of the Mobile church.

[2] Charles Bates, *The Archives tell a story of the Government Street Presbyterian Church* (Mobile, 1959), 25.

[3] Ibid.

[4] Weymouth T. Jordan, "Ante-bellum Mobile: Alabama's Agricultural Emporium," *Alabama Review* 1, no. 3 (1948): 190. See also Harriet Amos, *Cotton City: Urban Development in Ante-bellum Mobile* (Tuscaloosa, 1985), 21.

[5] Jordan, "Ante-bellum Mobile, 191. See also Amos, *Cotton City*, 23.

[6] William H. Brantley, "Henry Hitchcock of Mobile," *Alabama Review*, 5, no. 1 (1952): 16. See also Thomas McAdory Owen, *History of Alabama and Dictionary of Alabama Biography* (Chicago, 1921), 816.

[7] Brantley, "Henry Hitchcock," 21, 22.

[8] William T. Hamilton, *Funeral Discourse, delivered in the Government Street Church, Mobile, on Sabbath, August 18, 1839 in memory of Judge Hitchcock* (Mobile, 1839), 7.

[9] Ibid., 8.

[10] Ibid., 9.

[11] Arthur Scully, *James Dakin, Architect* (Baton Rouge, 1973), 4. See also Talbot Hamlin, *Greek Revival Architecture in America* (New York, 1944), 137-38.

[12] Scully, *James Dakin*, 6.

[13] Hamlin, *Greek Revival*, 158.

[14] James Gallier, *The Autobiography of James Gallier* (Paris, 1864), 21.

[15] Hamlin, *Greek Revival*, 231.

[16] *Mobile Directory*, (Mobile, 1837).

[17] *Mobile Daily Commercial Register*, December 2, 1835.

[18] Robert Gamble, *The Alabama Catalog: A Guide to the Architecture of the State* (Tuscaloosa, 1987), 298. Government Street Presbyterian Church was the first historic building in Alabama to be surveyed by the Historic American Buildings Survey. The full architectural description from HABS reads:

> Government Street Presbyterian Church (AL-1), 300 Government Street (NW corner Government and Jackson Streets). Brick with stucco scored to simulate ashlar, 62'5" x 98'8", 1 story over raised basement, temple-type facade with pedimented distyle in antis Ionic portico, antalike pilasters along side walls, originally 2 stage battered octagonal tower (removed 1852), full entablature with denticulated cornice once surmounted by antefixae; notably intact Greek Revival interior; open plan with 2 aisles, U-shaped gallery and supports based on Plate 48 from *Beauties of Modern Architecture*, pulpit dias backed by pylon-like screen framing engaged Corinthian tetrastyle and topped by antefixae, coffered ceiling, original pews, twin winding stairways from basement to gallery. Built 1835-37; initial plans prepared by firm of James Gallier and Charles Dakin, Thomas S. James, brick contractor. Burgett Memorial Church School added in 1904, C. L. Hutchisson, Sr., architect. Most outstanding Greek Revival period church in Alabama.

[19] Scully, *James Dakin*, 71. Elizabeth Barrett Gould, in her excellent *From Fort to Port: An Architectural History of Mobile, Alabama 1711-1918* (Tuscaloosa, 1988) agrees with Scully in assigning the interior design to Charles Dakin. Her work also provides excellent interior and exterior descriptions of the building.

[20] Scully, *James Dakin*, 71.

[21] *Mobile Daily Commercial Register*, June 1, 1837.

[22] J. S. Buckingham, *The Slave States of America* (London, 1842), 283.

[23] Gallier, *Autobiography*, 21.

[24] Hamilton, *Funeral Discourse*, 18.

[25] Gallier, *Autobiography*, 2.

[26] Bates, *Archives*, 101.

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

James D. Martin Mobile Press Register

James Douglas Martin and the Alabama Republican Resurgence, 1962-1965

Billy B. Hathorn

Previously relegated to the disbursement of occasional federal patronage, Alabama's Republican party moved to rejuvenate itself in 1962, when Gadsden businessman James Douglas Martin mounted an unprecedented challenge to entrenched Democratic Senator Lister Hill. The activation of the Grand Old Party in the mid-term election injected a new element into Alabama's one-party tradition. Some viewed the Republican attempt to secure a foothold in the "Heart of Dixie" as the latest reaction to President John F. Kennedy's call to desegregate the former Confederacy. Most southern Republicans campaigned on the implied premise that because Kennedy was a pro-civil rights Democrat, whites might thwart desegregation by defecting to the GOP. Such thinking overlooked the fact that congressional Republicans, led by the influential Senate Minority Leader Everett M. Dirksen of Illinois, favored civil rights legislation—"an idea whose time had come." Alabama's "Old Guard" Republicans, who had shunned the injection of race into campaigns, were superseded by political activists committed to Arizona Senator Barry Goldwater. This new leadership tapped into racial resentment among whites by accusing President Kennedy and his brother, Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy, of pandering to blacks to secure the president's reelection. With many whites increasingly disillusioned with the national Democrats, Republicans hence sensed an historic opportunity to make real inroads in Alabama and the entire South.

Political scientist V. O. Key, Jr., likened Alabama's traditional political landscape to a frontier independence inclined to "defend liberty and to bait the [business] interests." Until the 1960s, the political cleavage had melded poor whites of the North Alabama hills and the southeastern wiregrass into an unofficial alliance against the "bourbons," the wealthier whites of the black belt and other plantation counties further to the south. Black-belt elites and "Big Mules," the industrialists and financiers from Birmingham and Mobile, formed the "conservative" or business faction of the Democratic party, whereas whites in the north and southeast comprised a "populist" wing. These factions, whether motivated by ideology or the personalities of competing politicians, united in support of segregation and the "southern way of life." Having no need for permanent party apparati, they established temporary organizations for each election. This dichotomy paralleled political developments in other southern states as well.[1]

The fact that Jim Martin's senatorial candidacy attracted serious attention was a novelty, for earlier GOP contenders 2had been ignored by the politicians, the electorate, and the media. In accepting nomination at the state convention in Birmingham, Martin offered a vision of Republicanism contrary to that in the northern states. He admonished Alabama to "return to the spirit of '61-1861, when our fathers formed a new nation. God-willing, we will not again be forced to take up rifle and bayonet to preserve these principles.... Make no mistake, my friends, this will be a fight. The bugle call is loud and clear. The South has risen! We have heard the call." Martin's utterances prompted Ralph McGill, the Democratic editor of the *Atlanta Constitution*, to compare the Republican resurgence to the Dixiecrat insurgence of 1948.[2] Martin, an oil-products distributor, had no previous political experience but had been president of the Associated Industries of Alabama and was active in business and community affairs. In World War II he had served as an artillery commander in General George Patton's Third Army and subsequently as an intelligence officer with the Army of Occupation. A Methodist bible class teacher, Martin, forty-four, was married and the father of two young children.[3]

Martin's Democratic foe, sixty-seven-year-old Lister Hill, who handily won his primary in pursuit of a fifth full term, seemed uncertain about strategy or tactics for the general election because he had never before faced a real Republican threat. His last GOP foe, John A. Posey, had drawn only seventeen percent of the vote in 1944.[4] Nevertheless, Hill recognized that a backlash among southern whites against the Kennedy administration could weaken his prospects. He devised an effective message: denounce Kennedy's ongoing intervention in the desegregation of the University of Mississippi but simultaneously extol the "Alabama Democratic Party" and deny inconsistency between his status as a Washington insider and his ties to a rebellious state party. Hill blamed the federal judiciary for the desegregation crisis and offered cover to Kennedy and Congress by recalling how President Dwight Eisenhower had dispatched troops to Little Rock, Arkansas, in 1957.[5] Hill gained support from incoming Democratic Governor George C. Wallace and Attorney General Richmond M. Flowers, both of whom decried the intervention in Mississippi. Wallace excoriated critics of "free enterprise...and the social order in the South.... For years, the Democratic party was held together by the people of the South, and we have the right to...tell them [Washington] that we disagree."[6] Wallace, who had narrowly prevailed in a runoff primary and was unopposed in the general election, insisted that Alabama Democrats were unbridled by the national party. Flowers, lamenting "the darkest hour for Alabama and

Mississippi since Lee surrendered at Appomattox," pledged to retain segregation at the University of Alabama and Auburn University.[7]

A champion of New Deal domestic programs, Hill criticized Eisenhower's attempts to reduce hospital funding under the Hill-Burton Act he had cosponsored. Unlike most southern senators, Hill proposed federal control of offshore oil with the proceeds earmarked for education. He hailed rural electrification, subsidized freight rates, and the Tennessee Valley Authority. Martin also defended TVA; noted that the program was conceived in the 1920s by a Republican, Nebraska Senator George W. Norris; and suggested that agency headquarters be shifted from Knoxville, Tennessee, to the original point of development, Muscle Shoals.[8] Hill took credit for the deepening of the Mobile Ship Channel, the building of the Gainesville Lock and Dam in Sumter County, and the proposed Tennessee-Tombigbee Waterway, designed to link the Tennessee River with the Gulf of Mexico. "If Alabama is to continue the progress and development she has achieved..., she cannot do so by deserting the great Democratic party," Hill exclaimed. He pledged to augment funding for the Redstone Arsenal and Marshall Manned Space Flight Center in Huntsville and accused Eisenhower of neglecting the space program while the Soviets were assemblying *Sputnik*. Hill, strongly endorsed by organized labor, accused the GOP of exploiting the South to enrich the North and East, attacked the legacy of former President Herbert Hoover, recalled the "evils" of Reconstruction, and boasted that Alabamians would "bury the Republicans under an avalanche."[9]

Martin, who could not match Hill's skill in landing public works projects, concentrated his fire on the Kennedy administration. He even condemned the candidacy of Edward M. Kennedy, who was elected to the United States Senate seat from Massachusetts which the President had earlier occupied. Martin assailed the "conquest of Mississippi" and the "invasion" of Ole Miss by federal troops. Declaring Hill to be the "number one Kennedy man in the South," Martin claimed that voters were "sick and tired and disgusted" with the New Frontier.[10] Martin demanded that Hill "deny or affirm an ultra-liberal voting record" shared by "liberal" Senators Hubert Humphrey of Minnesota, Jacob Javits of New York, Estes Kefauver of Tennessee, and Wayne Morse of Oregon. Martin charged that Kennedy would have already signed an executive order to integrate federal housing had he not feared such a directive could undermine Hill's reelection. Martin alleged a conspiracy between Hill and Kennedy and declared Hill to be a "hypocrite" because Hill "refused to acknowledge his friendship and support" for the president. Martin joked that his challenge had "finally

brought Hill home after twenty years in an [Washington] isolation booth."[11]

John Buchanan, Jr. *Auburn University Archives*

Other Republicans joined the assault on Hill. Mobile attorney William Brevard Hand, later appointed to a South Alabama federal judgeship by President Ronald Reagan, claimed that Hill had not defended states' rights with sufficient fervor. House nominee John Hall Buchanan, Jr., (Birmingham's Republican congressman from 1965-1981) said that the Alabama delegation had responded to the Ole Miss issue "only after intensive pressure from the home folks." Buchanan joked that Alabama congressmen had "nodded their heads 'yes' when Jack [the president] and Bobby [the attorney general] asked them to, and have come back home and denied they were national Democrats."[12]

Kennedy's role in the mid-term elections was overshadowed by the Cuban missile crisis. Martin joined Hill in endorsing the quarantine of Cuba but insisted that the confrontation could have been avoided had Kennedy acted a year earlier at the Bay of Pigs. Hill claimed that Soviet Premier Nikita S. Khrushchev had "chickened out" because the "one thing the communists respect is strength." The *New York Times* speculated that the blockade may have spared Hill from defeat.[13] Despite the postwar bipartisan consensus for foreign aid, Martin hammered away at Hill's support for such programs. He decried subsidies to foreign manufacturers and workers at the expense of Alabama textile plants seeking protectionism: "These foreign giveaways have cost taxpayers billions of dollars and turned many areas of Alabama into distressed areas." Martin condemned aid to communist countries and the influence of the United Nations on national policy. He belittled Hill's seniority and asked why the lawmaker did not "use his seniority when troops were sent to Oxford, Mississippi."[14]

Martin's candidacy enabled the GOP to conduct an educational mission for the two-party system. "If we show strength in Alabama and

other southern states, we will help to name the Republican candidate for the presidency in 1964," Martin predicted, claiming that the nominee would look favorably on matters important to white southerners.[15] The *Mobile Register* endorsed the two-party format to stimulate the spread of ideas and to improve government: "It takes only an unprejudiced attitude to recognize the potentialities...from two-party political vigor."[16] The *Huntsville Times*, however, noted with amusement that voting the Republican ticket could "constitute a crime or start convolutions in ancestral graves.... [one can] hardly pick up a cup of coffee...without hearing grumbling around the table about Bobby Kennedy's interference in the South...or the need to kick the Reds out of Cuba.... But vote Republican? That is another thing."[17] Though it supported two-party politics in theory, the *Times* endorsed the Democratic ticket on grounds that Alabama could not enhance its delegation by replacing Hill with an untried Republican. The newspaper conceded that Martin had defended "states' rights" but noted that the three key New York Republicans, Governor Nelson Rockefeller and Senators Kenneth Keating and Jacob Javits, were hostile to limited government and local autonomy. The publication urged the GOP to hold primaries in 1964 and field a full slate, rather than "singling out" one contest.[18]

Complicating Republican prospects was the legislature's implementation of the "vote-for-eight" requirement. Voters cast ballots for eight at-large congressional candidates; those desiring to vote for fewer than eight candidates could not have their ballots tabulated. Because the GOP offered only three House nominees, Republicans had either to back five Democrats or to write in five other names. GOP Chairman John Edward Grenier of Birmingham, who would emerge with Martin as a key player in the Alabama Republican resurgence, denounced the "vote-for-eight" clause, which was upheld by the Alabama Supreme Court, as a prohibition against "complete freedom of choice." Republicans objected to diluting the strength of their nominees by being compelled to back five other candidates. After 1962 "vote-for-eight" was struck down by a series of United States Supreme Court decisions requiring single-member districts.[19]

Martin employed country bands to stir up enthusiasm and plastered the state with billboards that omitted his party label. Martin's failure to identify himself as a Republican in campaign literature seemed to contradict the mission of his candidacy. The discrepancy prompted Hill to denounce "glorified pawn brokers...ashamed to admit that they're running as Republicans." Because Alabama lacked a significant GOP base, Martin appealed to "independents, Republicans, and disaffected Democrats."[20] The

Alabama campaign drew considerable national interest. Columnist Drew Pearson wrote from Decatur that "for the first time since Reconstruction, the two-party system which political scientists talk about for the South, but never expect to materialize, may come to Alabama."[21] The *New York Times* noted that the GOP was waging its most vigorous off-year effort in modern southern history. Still the *Times* foresaw that the failure to gauge "bread-and-butter issues" and the "ultraconservatism" of many GOP candidates made their chances of victory remote.[22]

In the end, official results gave Martin 195,134 votes, a hefty 49.1 percent, compared to Hill's 201,937, or 50.9 percent. Turnout dropped sharply in 1962 compared to 1960, when presidential electors dominated the ballot. Republican Julian E. Elgin of Montgomery had received 164,868 ballots, or 29.8 percent, in his 1960 challenge to Senator John Sparkman. Elgin and Sparkman had polled a combined 647,006 votes, whereas Martin and Hill two years later could amass only 397,071 ballots. Nearly 250,000 Alabamians who voted in the presidential race in 1960 hence did not vote in 1962. Martin polled just 30,266 more ballots than Elgin had received, but his share of the vote, due to the lower turnout—more than a third of the voters participating in the May primary failed to vote in the general election—was 19.3 percentage points higher than Elgin's. The stable support given Elgin and Martin indicated the development of a constituency for any statewide Republican candidate in Alabama—Richard Nixon, for instance, had polled 41.7 percent of the vote in 1960.[23]

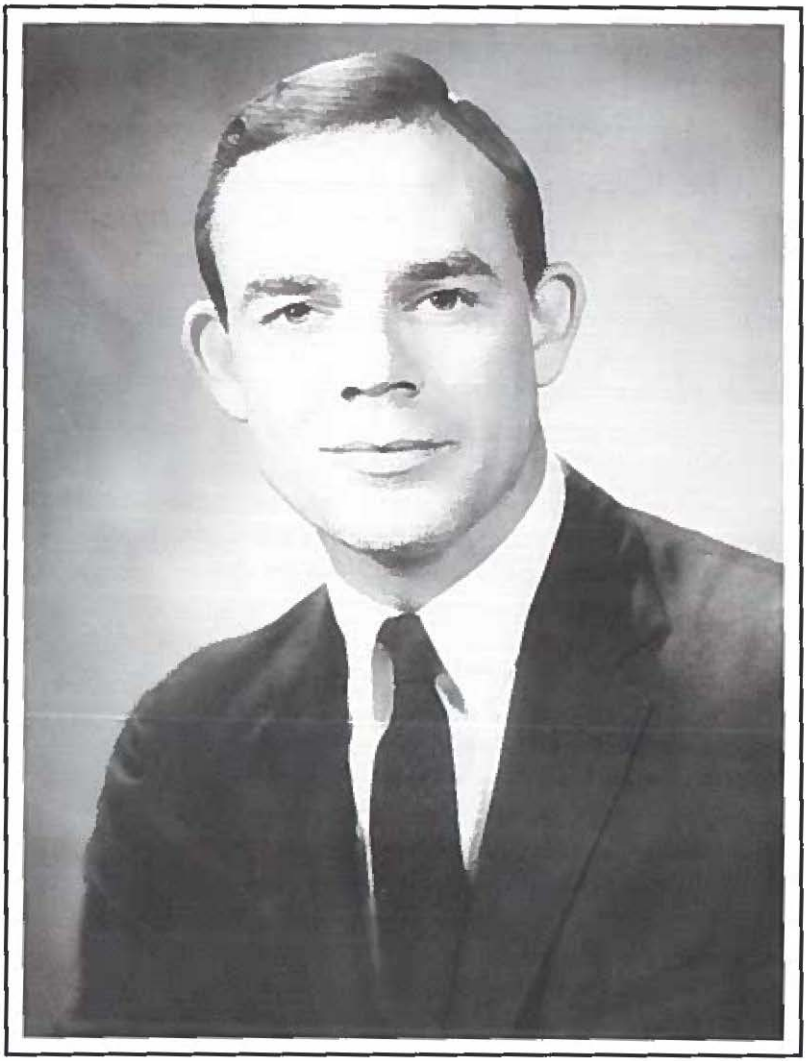
Martin polled majorities in thirty of the sixty-seven counties and carried two of the largest, Jefferson and Montgomery, by sixteen percentage points. He swept Hill's home county of Montgomery and Wallace's bailiwick of Barbour but trailed considerably in his own Etowah County. Indeed Hill's plurality of 2,135 votes in Etowah County represented one-third of his statewide margin. These counties, with GOP percentages listed in parentheses, backed Martin:

Choctaw (71.8)	Montgomery (58.0)
Maregno (71.8)	Winston (57.9)
Houston (70.4)	Conecuh (57.7)
Washington (67.0)	Jefferson (57.6)
Lowndes (66.0)	Covington (56.6)
Clarke (65.3)	Barbour (55.6)
Sumter (65.0)	Pike (55.5)
Autauga (64.7)	Dale (53.0)
Dallas (64.4)	Geneva (52.9)
Baldwin (63.0)	Mobile (52.1)[24]

In House returns, John Buchanan chalked up the best Republican showing, but his 141,202 votes lagged far behind the total received by the last-place Democrat, Congressman Carl Elliott of Jasper. Though Elliott trailed his ticket-mates, he still outpolled Hill by nearly 56,000 votes.[25] The *Mobile Register* theorized that the prestige of the Hill-Burton Act had saved the day for Hill. The real surprise, the *Register* opined, was not that Hill won but that his margin was so thin.[26]

Political scientist Walter Dean Burnham determined the Martin campaign to be an aberration from the traditional issueless, personalist southern primary elections. Martin's campaign was a pacesetter for southern elections in the 1960s and 1970s in that it was waged over national issues—mobilizing the hostility among whites toward the Kennedy administration; stressing economic conservatism, local control, and individual freedom; decrying those federal programs which had not yet gained acceptance in Alabama; shifting emphasis from opposition to desegregation per se to one of preserving states' rights; and stressing that the Republican candidate would safeguard liberty, autonomy, and the state's social system. Burnham described the irony of a Republican from "populist" North Alabama running strongly in the cities and the black belt, while the Democratic senator from Montgomery appealed to the northern hills, where voters appreciated programs like the T.V.A. and were less conscious of race due to the smaller number of blacks in their region. Martin fared best in counties with many non-voting blacks. Fourteen of the fifteen counties which showed a decline in the Republican vote between 1960 and 1962 were in the Appalachian section of northern Alabama, where the GOP had maintained a foothold since the Civil War. Martin's showing along the Gulf Coast and Florida panhandle was paradoxical in that the southeast had been an area of periodic populist strength since the 1890s. Two years after the Hill-Martin race, Burnham accurately forecast that the inroads of presidential Republicanism would continue in the South, but competition at the state and local levels would take root very slowly.[27]

The Hill-Martin race resembled Democratic factional contests in that it divided somewhat along class lines, with wealthier Alabamians voting Republican. Donald Strong joked that though Martin was a "segregationist, it is hard for a rich man's segregationist to defeat a poor man's segregationist."[28] Republican leaders, both ecstatic and heartsick over Martin's near victory, boasted how they had "flipped some places upside down," attracted national attention, and would keep working toward their goals.[29] At a Washington news conference, Martin blamed his loss in part on the failure of the Republican National Committee, then chaired by New



John Grenier *Auburn University Archives*

York Congressman William E. Miller, to commit funds to Alabama. According to Martin, Miller, subsequently Goldwater's running-mate, was unaware that Alabama was "ready to vote Republican."[30] Democratic Chairman Roy Mayhall, viewing the returns with alarm, expressed fear that apathy could "make Alabama a future Republican state," a prospect he found unsettling. Martin's candidacy rekindled demands that Alabama establish a closed primary, register voters by party, and enforce partisan loyalty oaths, but when Martin's showing proved to have been fleeting, the Democrats resumed their complacency and retained primaries without partisan registration.[31]

Because the GOP claimed that Hill's victory stemmed from "irregularities" involving tossed-out paper ballots, Martin declined to issue a formal concession.[32] In February 1963 the Senate Subcommittee on Privileges and Elections rejected Martin's petition to investigate the election. The panel concluded on a party-line vote that even if allegations of discarded ballots were valid, the number involved was insufficient to alter the outcome.[33]

The prestige that Martin gained from his campaign brought requests to address Republican gatherings in other southern states. In February 1964 he joined Grenier, a New Orleans native, at a fund-raising dinner in Shreveport, Louisiana, for Charlton H. Lyons, Sr., the first Republican to wage an active bid for his state's governorship in the twentieth century. Martin told the Louisianians that a Republican governor could attract investments, strengthen the hand of business, and stimulate the two-party system.[34] Martin's claim that a Republican governor would guarantee regular interparty competition proved pre-mature. Numerous Republican who won southern governorships after 1966 lost reelection bids, and none established GOP majorities of significant duration in their legislatures.

Despite the revival of the GOP, few Democratic officeholders defected, a signal that Martin's campaign was perceived as a fluke, not as a trend. One notable dissenter was State Representative Alfred W. Goldthwaite of Montgomery, who described himself as "neither a rabble-rouser nor a demagogue" but "committed to fiscal responsibility." A descendant of a political family dating back to 1822, Goldthwaite became GOP state chairman in 1967.[35]

In the early 1960s the Alabama Republican platform specifically endorsed segregation, a contrast to the more tolerant attitude of Georgia Republicans, who perceived long-range prospects in terms of industrialization and economic growth, rather than race. When John Grenier occupied his new office at the Republican National Committee in Washington, he removed a picture of Abraham Lincoln—an embodiment of

civil rights to many. Congressional nominee Evan Foreman, Jr., a Mobile businessman, even quipped that President Kennedy was "getting ready to register the monkeys to vote," racist invective which would later doom a candidate. Martin, who told Mississippi Governor Ross Barnett that he too would fight desegregation, promised "vigorous action to forestall collusion between the government and the NAACP to integrate schools, unions, and neighborhoods." Martin later denied having injected race in the campaign, stressing "states' rights" and "constitutional government," terms increasingly seen among blacks as code words for segregation. Martin further noted that Hill, like most southern officeholders at the time, was a segregationist.[36]

A liberal Republican magazine, the *Advance*, urged its party's southern wing not to "desecrate the Lincolnian tradition" by alienating the burgeoning black vote. The *Advance* suggested that "moderate" Republicans oppose Democratic Senators James O. Eastland of Mississippi and J. Strom Thurmond of South Carolina, but it failed to calculate that the durable Thurmond, first elected as a write-in candidate in 1954, would switch to the "Goldwater Republican party" and in 1966 secure the first of five victories under the GOP banner.[37] The Ripon Society, which labored for moderate-to-liberal GOP causes in the 1960s and 1970s, recommended that the Republican National Committee require state parties to repudiate discriminatory clauses in their platforms and rules. Even the Alabama Democratic party removed "White Supremacy" as its ballot emblem. Similarly, New York Senator Kenneth Keating warned that Republicans must shun segregationists or risk permanent minority status by forfeiting support from blacks and moderate whites. Keating's advice fell on deaf ears. Goldwater received segregationist support, and Keating was unseated by Robert Kennedy, whose family legacy had become integral to the struggle for civil rights.

By 1964 Alabama Republicans stood to benefit from the unintended consequences of two developments: (1) Wallace's vacating the presidential race, and (2) the designation of unpledged Democratic electors for the general election. Prior to the Republican National Convention, Martin met with Wallace and two gubernatorial aides, Bill Jones and Seymore Trammell, in the Jefferson Davis Hotel in Montgomery. Wallace asked Martin to determine if Goldwater, who had voted against the Civil Rights Act on libertarian and constitutional grounds, would advocate repeal of the law. According to Jones, Wallace thought that Goldwater should endorse repeal of the public accommodations and employment sections of the law. Jones indicated that Wallace concurred with Goldwater's anticommunist stance but was appalled at the senator's iconoclastic statements regarding

"voluntary" Social Security. Jones stressed that Wallace had sacrificed his own opportunity to allow a direct GOP challenge to President Lyndon B. Johnson.[38] It was later disclosed that Wallace proposed at the meeting to switch parties if he could become Goldwater's running-mate, a possibility discouraged because of Wallace's controversial national image.[39]

The unpledged presidential electors chosen in the primary were uncommitted to any candidate but were forbidden to vote for a Republican. The slate included some of the state's best-known Democrats: Lieutenant Governor and future Senator James B. Allen, House Speaker and later Governor Albert P. Brewer, Birmingham Mayor Art Hanes, and former and future Attorney General MacDonald Gallion. At one point Wallace reportedly asked the electors to resign so that Johnson loyalists could oppose Goldwater, but the slate remained intact. Allen in fact proposed another unpledged campaign for 1968. National Democrats balked over Johnson's exclusion from the ballot, but most of the president's backers voted for the unpledged slate. One official who decried the absence of Johnson's name was Richmond Flowers, who had moderated his racial views and planned to run for governor in 1966, when many blacks would be voting for the first time.[40] The *Tuscaloosa News*, which endorsed a two-party system aligned with national issues and parties, agreed that loyalist electors would have offered a clearer choice than the unpledged slate.[41]

Birmingham News columnist Walling Keith opined that while voters might "leave the Democratic party—at least for an election—most of them really would not be too happy in the Republican party."[42] Keith viewed the unpledged slate as a vehicle to allow voters to bolt the presidential ticket without jeopardizing Alabama's Democratic candidates.[43] An advertisement admonishing voters to "Keep the Republican Party Off Alabama's Back—Vote the Straight Democratic Ticket" recalled developments of a century earlier—discredited President Ulysses S. Grant and "Republican carpetbaggers, political flunkies, and scalawags who harassed, plundered, and ravaged during Reconstruction." Democrats rebuffed Republican claims that federal public works constituted "creeping socialism" because such programs economically benefit Alabama.[44]

In its endorsement of Goldwater, the *Birmingham News* decried the "steady erosion of constitutional government...[the GOP] provides a chance for every American to reassert the right to say how much government there should be."[45] The *Huntsville Times* endorsed Johnson though Alabamians could vote for the president only by writing in names of ten possible electors. The publication criticized Johnson's civil rights record but hailed his "toughness" regarding the Tonkin Gulf Resolution.[46]

Senator Thurmond, the object of considerable attention when he defected to the GOP, joined Goldwater in a Montgomery appearance on September 16. Wallace, who was officially neutral but presumably voted for unpledged electors, was in the Midwest on a speaking engagement when Goldwater reached the capital city. Before a cheering crowd estimated at 25,000 at the Cramton Bowl, Goldwater expressed alarm that "government is becoming the master instead of servant." He endorsed a five-year, twenty-five percent federal income tax reduction in amounts of five percent per year, a plan similar to that implemented seventeen years later in the Reagan administration. "The spread of the federal bureaucracy must be arrested before it cannibalizes us all," Goldwater admonished.[47] Former Senate Republican Leader William F. Knowland of California stumped in Alabama for Goldwater. Knowland, editor of the *Oakland Tribune*, discounted polls which pegged Goldwater a sure loser. He likened Goldwater's support to an "iceberg. You see only a small part of it. The full strength will come out when the people go to the polls."[48]

RNC Executive Director John Grenier, who had maintained that fraud cost Martin victory in 1962, unveiled ballot-security plans, citing lingering controversy over Johnson's role in the 1948 Texas senatorial runoff primary.[49] Grenier's prickly personality moreover became a source of controversy when syndicated columnists Rowland Evans, Jr., and Robert D. Novak reported that the Alabamian was "rude" when he told telephone callers: "This is John Grenier. I've got just two minutes for you over the phone right now."[50]

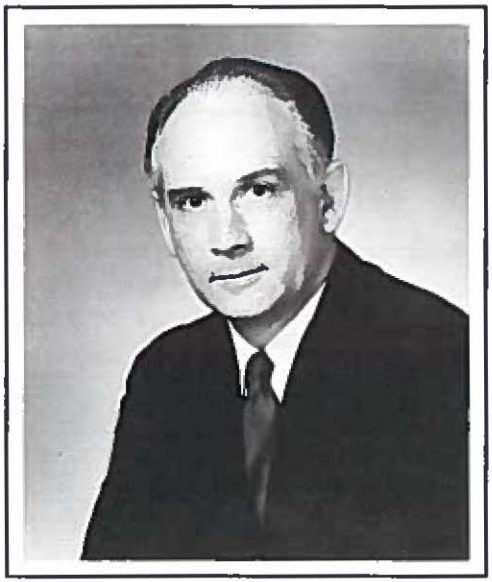
Goldwater-Miller electors easily triumphed in Alabama, receiving 479,085 votes (69.5 percent) compared to 209,848 ballots (30.5 percent) for the unpledged slate. Goldwater won sixty-two counties, losing only in Colbert, Jackson, Lauderdale, Limestone, and Macon. He carried Jefferson County 100,756 to 38,328 (72.4 to 27.6 percent), swept Mobile County 49,493 to 20,351 (70.9 to 29.1 percent), and prevailed in Montgomery County, 23,015 to 7,368, (75.7 to 24.3 percent).[51] Goldwater doubled Nixon's black belt and non-metropolitan percentages and improved on the 1960 Republican totals by fifteen percentage-points in the cities and by seven points in the Appalachian foothills. Like Martin in 1962, Goldwater's greatest success occurred in the black belt, where black registration was then a mere six percent of eligible minority voters. By 1966 black registration soared to forty-one percent.[52]

In 1964 Alabama's eight congressional seats were initially scheduled to be filled again through at-large elections. The GOP nominated eight candidates at the state convention in Montgomery on June 6. The Democrats chose candidates from each of the former nine House districts.

Those nominees ran statewide in a June runoff, which eliminated ninth-place finisher Carl Elliott. A three-judge federal panel in Mobile declared the "9-8 plan" unconstitutional and ordered single-member districts.[53] The GOP chose Mobile attorney William Jackson "Jack" Edwards III, to contest the First District, which embraces the Gulf Coast; William Louis "Bill" Dickinson, a former Lee County Democratic judge, to run in the Montgomery-based Second District; Talladega Republican Chairman Arthur Glenn Andrews, to seek the Fourth District seat; Robert French, a student at the University of Alabama Law School, to campaign in the Sixth District; John Buchanan to run again in the Sixth District, and Jim Martin to challenge his fellow Gadsdenite, State Senate President Pro Tem George C. Hawkins.

Republican hopes of winning congressional seats skyrocketed when Wallace vacated the presidential race. Martin waged a determined campaign in the Seventh District, which had given him 42.9 percent of the vote in 1962. Including Jasper, Huntsville, and Gadsden, the economy of the Seventh [thereafter the Fifth District] is diversified—steel and rubber mills, farm machinery, electronics, military and space installations, poultry, cotton, livestock, and some coal mining. Because the Seventh contained the state's smallest black population—7.7 percent—Martin did not benefit from the racial backlash as he had in 1962. Martin professed a greater interest in Goldwater's success than in his own prospects.[54] His opponent, George Hawkins, unable to generate enthusiasm, was undercut when boosters of Carl Elliott considered boycotting the election or backing Martin on the theory that Elliott could reclaim the seat from a Republican but would not oppose a fellow Democrat. Martin linked Hawkins to Democratic vice-presidential nominee Hubert H. Humphrey, who as Minneapolis mayor had first proposed civil rights legislation in the 1948 party platform. Martin excoriated Humphrey's role as Senate floor leader of the "monstrous" Civil Rights Act of 1964, which he charged had "paved the way for the destruction of our liberties." Martin's opposition to the law paralleled the views of Alabama's twenty pro-Goldwater convention delegates, who declared the measure an affront to "personal freedom of choice in association and employment."[55]

Other Alabama GOP congressional nominees made steady progress. Jack Edwards asked voters to repudiate candidates who boasted of federal funds that they brought to their districts. Edwards's opponent, John Tyson, largely based his hopes of winning on his ties to Wallace. Republican Robert French, who fell short in his bid to unseat Representative Armistead I. Selden, Jr., branded Selden, a future GOP convert, as "a counterfeit conservative who has sold out his soul to Wallace." Buchanan, who



Jack Edwards *USA Archives*

challenged Congressman George Huddleston, Jr., worked closely with Goldwater to coordinate itineraries for the appearances by Thurmond and Knowland.[56]

More striking than Goldwater's triumph in 1964 was the success of five Republican congressional nominees; Alabama became the first southern state in the twentieth century to send a majority Republican delegation to the House, but only for the 89th Congress. Of the five, Buchanan, Edwards, and Dickinson served multiple terms; Martin relinquished his seat to run for governor in 1966, and Andrews was defeated for a second term. Dickinson, who overcame numerous Democratic challenges, retired after fourteen terms on January 3, 1993. Republicans also won several local contests: Perry O. Hooper, Sr., was elected probate judge in Montgomery, and W. S. Hart became Jefferson County treasurer. Hart explained his victory by noting that Alabamians did not tend to split tickets: "They all just pulled one big lever." Republicans also won two legislative seats and four other probate judgeships. The GOP might have swept Mobile and the Gulf Coast, but it offered just one local candidate—for a seat on the county school board. Democratic Executive Director Evelyn Hicks Shannon confidently termed the GOP gains "purely emotional" and temporary.[57]

Alabama's freshmen Republicans made headlines in the Democratic Congress. In early 1965 Dickinson and Martin denounced Martin Luther King, Jr., who staged a voting-rights march between Selma and Montgomery and whose contributions to desegregation were subsequently commemorated through a federal holiday. Dickinson charged on the House floor, where the constitution protected him from slander suits, that orgies had occurred during the march. Both the King biographer David J. Garrow and a "predominantly Republican interfaith team of clergy and laymen" contended that Dickinson failed to produce credible evidence of his allegations. The Ripon Society likened Dickinson's charges to an "effort

Bill Dickinson — *Dickinson Congressional Collection, Auburn University at Montgomery*

to trade the Republican birthright for a bowl of segregationist pottage." The Society contended that Dickinson's "reckless attempt to appeal to racists" undermined the GOP among blacks, the civil rights movement, the clergy, and on campuses.[58] Martin termed King "a rabble-rouser who has

put on the sheep's clothing of non-violence, while he pits race against race, man against law, and whose actions have repeatedly resulted in violence, injury, and death."[59] Martin claimed that King had authorized the printing of stationery which listed King's address as the Selma jail even before King's arrest: "King reached Selma with intentions of breaking the law so that he could be arrested. His love of publicity is above the sacredness of the laws."[60]

The GOP awaited the crucial elections of 1966, when the governorship and the second United States Senate seat would be contested. Senator John Sparkman, who had been Adlai Stevenson's 1952 running-mate, anticipated a tough challenge. Conventional wisdom held that Wallace would challenge Sparkman despite a state constitutional restriction against a governor seeking a Senate seat until he had been out of office for at least one year. However, Attorney General Flowers ruled that prohibition in conflict with the national constitution. The constitution also forbade Wallace from seeking reelection. In 1963 Wallace had obtained initial support for a succession amendment in the legislature but abandoned the issue to secure approval of a stalled $91 million appropriation bill. Had the amendment been approved, voters would have rendered judgment in a referendum, which Wallace would have undoubtedly swept.[61] Flowers attributed Wallace's popularity, measured at seventy-nine percent in 1965 polls, to segregationist attitudes lingering from the attempt to thwart the desegregation of the University of Alabama. Wallace also benefited politically from increased state spending. Flowers, by then a Wallace critic, retorted that Alabamians, despite contrary perceptions, "are not conservative when it comes to spending money. They are too poor."[62]

With promising prospects for growth, the Alabama GOP adopted a 1965 budget of $200,000 and proposed to field a hundred candidates in hopes of gaining a third of the seats in the legislature. Amid grand optimism, Grenier left the chairmanship to prepare to run for governor: "This party of ours now has more depth than I thought was possible to achieve so fast." Grenier later explained that he considered the governorship out of reach but hoped to lay a base for the future.[63] Though the Republicans benefited from lingering segregationist sentiment, Grenier epitomized the party's "new breed" of leadership, which stressed ideology over patronage and appealed to business executives, lawyers, and the upwardly mobile. The revived party was a product of urbanization and industrialization. Samuel Cook pointed to the paradox of southern Republicans, a phalanx of modern conservatism, who were a "product of revolutionary industrial and technical change."[64]

Martin was initially poised to tackle Sparkman, but the *New York Times* emphasized that toppling the "tight one-party oligarchy" would be a herculean task. Though Sparkman trailed in polls, the *Times* speculated that the senator would rebound because Alabamians were accustomed to voting straight Democratic.[65] In time Martin made a critical decision to run for governor, and Grenier switched to the Senate race. The changed plans created friction between the two men which persisted for years afterwards.

In the fall of 1965, Wallace renewed the call for succession by asking lawmakers in special session to submit to the voters an amendment to allow statewide officeholders to seek reelection. Several anti-Wallace senators filibustered against the amendment, and the governor's floor leaders challenged the cloture rule, which requires a three-fifths vote to halt debate. By a six-to-one margin, the Alabama Supreme Court rejected the challenge to cloture on grounds that the issue should not be settled by a judicial body. The filibuster prevailed until 1967, by which time a dozen anti-Wallace senators had left office, and gubernatorial succession became a reality—in time for Wallace to win a third nonconsecutive term in 1974.[66]

Political talk in Alabama thereafter focused on what seemed an unlikely scenario—Wallace might field his forty-year-old wife, Lurleen Burns Wallace, a former dime-store clerk of considerable grace and charm, as his successor. Wallace appeared initially uncertain whether his wife would be a "caretaker" while he, as a "dollar-a-year advisor," ran the state or whether she would be governor in her own right with access to his political skill and advice.[67] The decision to run Lurleen Wallace crippled the fledgling Alabama Republican party; nearly overnight GOP fortunes vanished; most of the party's candidates would be crushed thereafter in election after election. Few doubted that Wallace would prevail in electing his wife, who was conveniently listed on the ballot as "Mrs. George C. Wallace." Though the Republicans struggled to achieve parity in Alabama, the breakthroughs on which they were counting were years ahead. Yet the campaigns of 1962 and 1964 were not entirely aberrations as initially perceived. The Martin-Grenier partisans were political trailblazers whose hard-fought activities ultimately paid off with the election of a Republican senator in 1980, a Republican governor in 1986 and 1990, and GOP presidential electors in Alabama in 1972, 1980, 1984, and 1988.

Notes

[1] V. O. Key, Jr., *Southern Politics in State and Nation* (New York, 1949), 36-37,46; Walter Dean Burnham, "The Alabama Senatorial Election of 1962: Return of Inter-Party Competition," *Journal of Politics*, 26 (November 1964): 800, 803.

[2] *Congressional Quarterly Weekly Report*, June 22, 1962, 1072; Burnham, "The Alabama Senatorial Election of 1962," 810; George Brown Tindall, *The Disruption of the Solid South* (Athens, GA, 1972), 60.

[3] *Biographical Directory of the United States Congress, 1774-1989* (Washington, 1989), 1429; Paul A. Theis and Edmund L. Henshaw, Jr., *Who's Who in American Politics, 1969-1970* (New York, 1969), 760. James D. Martin did not reply to three requests for an interview.

[4] Robert A. Diamond, ed., *Congressional Quarterly's Guide to U.S. Elections*, 2d ed. (Washington, 1985), 609; Bill Jones, *The Wallace Story* (Northport, AL, 1966), 57.

[5] *Mobile Register*, October 2, 1962; *Huntsville Times*, October 26, 1962.

[6] *Mobile Register*, October 2, 1962.

[7] Ibid.; Jones, *The Wallace Story*, 57; Jack Bass and Walter DeVries, *The Transformation of Southern Politics: Social Change and Political Consequence Since 1945* (New York, 1976), 79.

[8] Thomas D. Clark, *The Emerging South* (New York, 1968), 34, 38; David C. Roller and Robert W. Twyman, eds., *The Encyclopedia of Southern History* (Baton Rouge, LA, 1979), 593; *Huntsville Times*, October 26, 1962; Jones, *The Wallace Story*, 57.

[9] *Mobile Register*, October 2, 25, 27, 1962; Burnham, "The Alabama Senatorial Election of 1962," 811.

[10] *Congressional Quarterly Weekly Report*, October 12, 1962, 1832; *Mobile Register*, October 2, 24, November 1, 1962; the *New York Times*, November 7, 1962, 44.

[11] *Mobile Register*, October 23, 24, 26, November 1, 1962.

[12] Ibid., October 7, 23, 26, 1962.

[13] Ibid., October 24, 1962; *Huntsville Times*, October 26, November 2, 1962; the *New York Times*, November 7, 1962, 44.

[14] *Mobile Register*, October 26, 30, November 1, 1962; Alexander P. Lamis, *The Two-Party South*, (New York, 1984), 77.

[15] *Mobile Register*, November 1, 1962.

[16] Ibid., November 7, 1962.

[17] *Huntsville Times*, September 9, 1962.

[18] Ibid., October 28, November 8, 1962.

[19] Ibid., October 2, 3, 5, 6, 1962; the *New York Times*, January 29, 1962, 14. John E. Grenier did not reply to two requests for an interview.

[20] *Huntsville Times*, October 24, 26, 31, 1962; Allan P. Sindler, ed., *Change in the Contemporary South* (Durham, NC, 1963), 190, 193, 220; Stephen Hess and David Broder, *The Republican Establishment: The Present and Future of the GOP* (New York, 1967), 331.

[21] *Huntsville Times*, October 24, 1962.

[22] The *New York Times*, October 31, 1962, 14.

[23] Diamond, *Congressional Quarterly's Guide to U.S. Elections*, 609.

[24] State of Alabama, Election Returns, 1962.

[25] Ibid; *Congressional Quarterly Weekly Report*, April 5, 1963, 475; Burnham, "The Alabama Senatorial Election of 1962," 818.

[26] *Mobile Register*, November 9, 1962.

[27] Burnham, "The Alabama Senatorial Election of 1962," 811-15, 827-29; Bernard Cosman, *Five States for Goldwater* (Tuscaloosa, 1966), 60, 63.

[28] Neal R. Peirce, *The Deep South States of America: People, Politics and Power in the Seven Deep South States* (New York, 1974), 303; Lamis, *The Two-Party South*, 79.

[29] *Huntsville Times*, November 9, 1962.

[30] The *New York Times*, December 1, 1962, 15.

[31] *Mobile Register*, November 9, 14, 1962.

[32] Ibid., November 8, 1962; *Huntsville Times*, November 7, 8, 1962; the *New York Times*, December 3, 1962, 24.

[33] *Congressional Quarterly Weekly Report*, February 15, 1963, 209; The Democrats who rebuffed Martin's call for a recount were Claiborne Pell, Jr., of Rhode Island and Howard Cannon of Nevada. Nebraska Republican Carl Curtis voted to proceed with an investigation.

[34] *Shreveport Times*, February 9, 1964; Theis and Henshaw, *Who's Who in American Politics*, 707; A Louisiana Republican finally won the governorship in 1979.

[35] Sarah Van V. Woolfolk, "Alabama Attitudes Toward the Republican Party in 1868 and 1964," *Alabama Review*, 20 (1967): 31-33; Theis and Henshaw, *Who's Who in American Politics*, 434.

[36] Peirce, *The Deep South States of America*, 303; *Congressional Quarterly Weekly Report*, June 22, 1962, 1072; January 11, 1963, 37-38; the *New York Times*, December 1, 1962, 15; Bernard Cosman and Robert J. Huckshorn, eds., *Republican Politics: The 1964 Campaign and Its Aftermath* (New York, 1968), 23; Donald Strong, "Alabama: Transition and Alienation," in *The Changing Politics of the South*, ed. William C. Havard (Baton Rouge, 1972), 439.

[37] *Congressional Quarterly Weekly Report*, January 11, 1963, 37.

[38] Lee W. Huebner and Thomas E. Petri, *The Ripon Papers*, 1963-1968 (Washington, 1968),41; the *New York Times*, December 1, 1962, 15.

[39] *Montgomery Advertiser*, September 23, 1966; Jones, *The Wallace Story*, 324, 327, 340.

[40] *Birmingham News*, September 1, 8, 9, 28, October 15, 19, 1964.

[41] *Tuscaloosa News*, reprinted in Ibid., September 5, 1964.

[42] *Birmingham News*, September 8, 1964.

[43] Ibid., October 16, 1964.

[44] *Huntsville Times*, November 1, 1964.

[45] *Birmingham News*, September 20, 24, 1964.

[46] *Huntsville Times*, October 17, 1964.

[47] Ibid., September 17, 1964.

[48] *Birmingham News*, October 21, 1964.

[49] Ibid., September 4, 1964; Paul K. Conkin, *Big Daddy from the Pedernales: Lyndon Baines Johnson* (Boston, 1986), 115-18; John G. Tower, *Consequences: A Personal and Political Memoir*, (Boston, 1990), 18; Eric F. Goldman, *The Tragedy of Lyndon Johnson* (New York, 1969), 353-54; Ronnie Dugger, *The Politician: The Life and Times of Lyndon Johnson* (New York, 1982), 323-29.

[50] *Birmingham News*, October 8, 1964.

[51] Luman H. Long, ed., *World Almanac and Book of Facts, 1969* (New York, 1969), 887.

[52] Bass and DeVries, *The Transformation of Southern Politics*, 79; Cosman, *Five States for Goldwater*, 59-60, 63; Strong, "Alabama: Transition and Alienation," 457.

[53] *Congressional Quarterly Weekly Report*, May 1, 1964, 803; September 11, 1964, 2138.

[54] Ibid., September 11, 1964, 2138; *Birmingham News*, October 15, 1964; Michael Barone, Grant Ujifusa, and Douglas Matthews, *The Almanac of American Politics, 1978* (Boston, 1977), 12.; Alan Ehrenhalt, ed., *Politics in America* (Washington, 1985), 26.

[55] *Congressional Quarterly Weekly Report*, June 12, 1964, 1186; October 9, 1964, 2349; November 6, 1964, 2666.

[56] Ibid., October 9, 1964, 2348; *Birmingham News*, October 7, 15, 16, 1964; Buchanan, who later altered his conservative ideology, was defeated in the 1980 Republican primary by Albert Lee Smith, Jr., who represented the district for one term. Smith was defeated in 1982 and was the GOP senatorial nominee in 1984.

After leaving Congress, Buchanan headed the interest group "People for the American Way" formed by film producer Norman Lear to counter the Reverend Jerry Falwell's former "Moral Majority."

[57] *Huntsville Times*, November 4-5, 1964; *Birmingham News*, *Mobile Register*, and *Montgomery Advertiser*, November 4, 1964; Strong, "Alabama: Transition and Alienation," 439, 442; Perry Hooper was reelected probate judge in 1970 and elected circuit judge in 1974 and 1982. He retired to resume the private law practice in 1983. His son, Perry, Jr., is a GOP state representative from Montgomery.

[58] Charles E. Fager, *Selma, 1965* (New York, 1974), 231; *Congressional Record*, March 30, 1965; David J. Garrow, *Protest at Selma: Martin Luther King, Jr., and the Voting Rights Act of 1965* (New Haven, 1978), 127; Huebner and Petri, *The Ripon Papers*, 24.

[59] *Congressional Quarterly Weekly Report*, February 19, 1965, 274.

[60] Quoted in Fager, *Selma, 1965*, 51; *Congressional Record*, February 10, 1965.

[61] *Congressional Quarterly Weekly Report*, February 18, 1966, 387; the *New York Times*, September 7, 1963, 7.

[62] The *New York Times*, January 6, 1965, 25; May 23, 1965, 81.

[63] Ibid., February 12, 1965, 10; Bass and DeVries, *The Transformation of Southern Politics*, 79.

[64] Samuel DuBois Cook, "Political Movements and Organizations," in Avery Leiserson, *The American South in the 1960s* (New York, 1964), 150-51.

[65] The *New York Times*, February 12, 1965, 10; May 17, 1965, 26; October 31, 1965, 63; *Congressional Quarterly Weekly Report*, February 19, 1966, 274.

[66] The *New York Times*, October 2, 1965, 1; October 14, 1965, 40; Strong, "Alabama: Transition and Alienation," 453; Robert Sherrill, *Gothic Politics of the Deep South* (New York, 1968), 295.

[67] The *New York Times*, October 31, 1965, 63; Hess and Broder, *The Republican Establishment*, 356.

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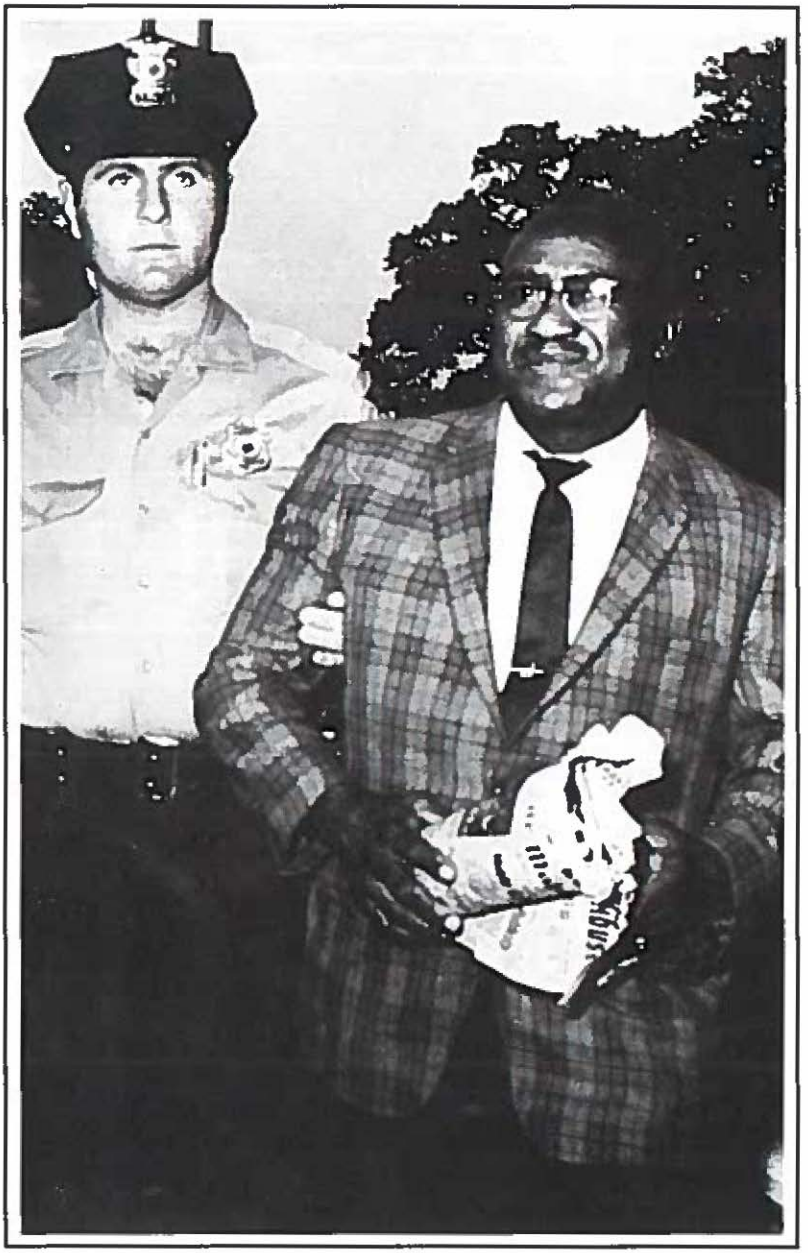


John LeFlore arrested at Junior Miss Pageant, 1969 Mobile Press Register

The Non-Partisan Voters League of Mobile, Alabama: Its Founding and Major Accomplishments

Keith Nicholls

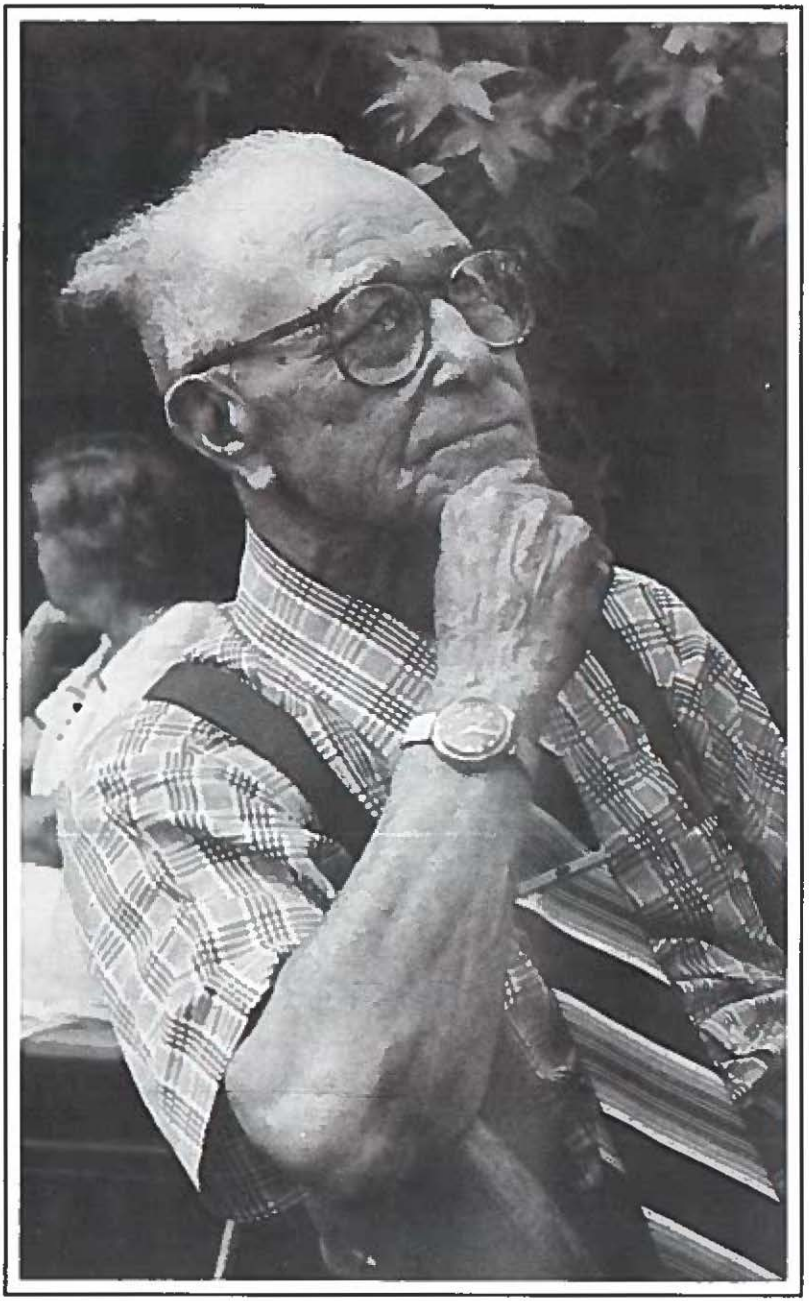
While the history of the Gulf Coast during Civil War Reconstruction has been extensively written, reviewed, revised, and elaborated, regional history of the Second Reconstruction has not received such attention. Of course, it is such recent history, dating back to the Supreme Court's 1954 *Brown v. Board of Education* decision; feelings still run high, wounds are yet to heal, many consider the work to be unfinished.

But as the older generation of civil rights activists "go on to their reward," they may take their histories with them. Not only are unrecorded recollections gone forever, documentary evidence may be destroyed or scattered. Clearly there is the danger that valuable information and insights will be lost.

Such is the case with the Non-Partisan Voters League of Mobile, Alabama. While clearly one of the leading civil rights organizations of the Gulf Coast region, there is considerable confusion in the existing record concerning even so basic an issue as the League's founding. A primary goal of this work is to clear that confusion, with particular emphasis on the timing and purpose of its establishment. A secondary goal is to recount the League's major accomplishments, a process which serves to firmly establish its premier position in the Second Reconstruction of the Mobile area.

This article begins with a discussion of common perceptions and conflicting accounts of the founding of the League.[1] The outlawing of the Alabama NAACP and its impact on the League are reviewed and evidence is offered in support of a definitive version of the founding. This is followed by a brief survey of the League's major accomplishments. The article concludes with an appeal to other scholars and interested parties to help amplify, confirm, and preserve the historical record of the Second Reconstruction.

Interviews of several past leaders and members of the League reveal a general consensus that the founding was a direct response to the outlawing of the NAACP by the state courts of Alabama.[2] Details of the timing and circumstances of the outlawing of the NAACP were typically sketchy and often conflicting, but there was no deviation from the primary assertion that the League was founded to act as surrogate for the NAACP. Corroboration of this assertion can be found in the sworn court testimony of Wiley Bolden, one of the four individuals identified in League documents



Wiley Bolden *USA Archives*

as founding members.[3] Bolden testified as follows during the first federal district court trial of *Bolden v. City of Mobile* in 1976.[4]

MR. BLACKSHER [plaintiffs' lawyer]:
Q ...Describe to the Court the difference between the local [NAACP] branch and the Non-partisans [*sic*] Voters League?

MR. BOLDEN:
A During 1963, when Mr. Patterson was the governor of Alabama, then, and the N.A.A.C.P. was sued and brought into Court in Montgomery, Judge Walter Jones was the presiding Judge or Circuit Judge there, then, and he gave a judgment against the N.A.A.C.P. for a hundred thousand dollars. In other words, the chief counsel for the N.A.A.C.P. refused to turn over to him the list of its membership, because it was commonly conceited [*sic*] that reprisals would be taken against all those who held jobs like teachers and what-not. So, Robert Carter was then the chief counsel for the United States Supreme Court and, of course, we were held up for eight years.

Q What did that have to do with the Non-partisans Voters League?

A When they debarred the N.A.A.C.P., the injunction Judge Jones gave against us debarred us from activity, because our case was pending in the United States Supreme Court. So, we went, what you might call, underground, and organized the Non-Partisan Voters League and we kept the work of Civil Rights going just the same.

Q What year was that?

A Nineteen sixty-three to nineteen seventy-one.

THE COURT [Judge Pittman]:
Q What years were those?

A Nineteen sixty-three to nineteen seventy-one.

MR. BLACKSHER:
Q What happened in 1971, Mr. Bolden?

A The United States Supreme Court gave, you know, the decision–I mean, they ruled in favor of the N.A.A.C.P. So, the N.A.A.C.P. didn't have to turn over the membership list and the fine was set aside.

Q But the Nonpartisan Voters League remained on and is still, today, is a separate branch of the N.A.A.C.P.?

A Yes, sir. Very much so.

This certainly appears to support the conclusion that the League was founded in 1963 to carry on the work of the NAACP; it also adds confusion concerning the relationship between the two organizations. This confusion is compounded by two subsequent newspaper articles.

A 1978 *Mobile Press* newspaper article states "The Non-Partisan Voters League had been formed by Bolden and (John L.) LeFlore, along with others, in 1944 to undertake the political activity—such as registering blacks to vote and advising them on candidates—which was not allowed at the time (by) the NAACP charter."[5] The article also reports 1971 as the date that the U.S. Supreme Court overturned Alabama state court action against the NAACP, ending an eight-year period in which "the NAACP went underground and worked through the Non-Partisan Voters League." This indicates that the League was not founded when the NAACP was outlawed, but rather that the League expanded its activities to continue the work of civil rights in the absence of the NAACP. The article does, however, confirm Bolden's claim that 1963 was a pivotal year for the League. It also helps to explain why Bolden would refer to the League as a branch of the NAACP.

In 1981 a *Mobile Press Register* newspaper article adds to the uncertainty with its report that "LeFlore's activities date back to 1925 when he joined the NAACP. He worked with that organization until the late 1950s. In the meantime, he began working for the Voters League which was formerly the political arm of the NAACP. In 1956, the League became a civil rights organization and John LeFlore became director of Casework."[6] This tends to confirm the assertion that the League was in existence prior to the outlawing of the NAACP, but offers a different date for the expansion of its role. If the NAACP was indeed "debarred" for eight years, dates in this article imply that those years were 1956 to 1964, rather than 1963 to 1971.

On the basis of these findings, the primary point of contention appears to be whether the Non-Partisan Voters League was founded when the NAACP was outlawed or whether it existed previously, expanding its role in response to the constraints imposed on the NAACP. Before addressing that issue, however, it is important to clear up the discrepancy concerning the timing of the outlawing of the NAACP.

Despite Mr. Bolden's sworn testimony, court documents and contemporaneous newspaper accounts reveal that the NAACP was not

outlawed in 1963.[7] Rather, the move was initiated in the Montgomery County Circuit Court of Judge Walter Jones in the summer of 1956.

On June 1, 1956, Alabama Attorney General John Patterson brought suit against the NAACP for failure to register as a foreign (out of state) corporation as required by Alabama law.[8] On that same day, Judge Jones issued an order which prohibited the NAACP from operating in the state. Through subsequent orders, the judge refused to allow the organization to register as required by law and demanded that, in addition to other documents and records, membership rolls be produced.

When the NAACP refused to turn over its membership rolls, Judge Jones issued a contempt order and imposed a fine of $10,000, a fine which would increase ten-fold if the NAACP failed to comply within five days. Claiming that disclosure of membership had previously led "to economic reprisal, loss of employment, threat of physical coercion, and other manifestations of public hostility," the NAACP reiterated its refusal.[9] The fine was increased to $100,000. After two years of legal wrangling and maneuvering, the United States Supreme Court ruled that the State of Alabama had failed to justify its demand for membership rolls, that the contempt order and fine be set aside, and that the issue of corporate registration requirements be remanded to the district court for a hearing on the merits.[10]

As incredible as it might seem in light of today's perspectives on American jurisprudence, the Alabama Supreme Court responded on February 12, 1959, that the U.S. Supreme Court was "mistaken" in its ruling and unanimously refused to remand the case for a hearing on the merits.[11]

The NAACP was forced to appeal to the U.S. Supreme Court on three additional occasions over the following five years before it was finally granted relief. On June 1, 1964, the United States Supreme Court, after a very unusual full hearing on the merits of Alabama's case against the NAACP, issued a unanimous decision demanding that the Alabama courts vacate, in all respects, their unconstitutional orders against the NAACP.[12] The Supreme Court of Alabama responded: "It is our duty to advise the trial court, which did consider the merits, that our affirmance has been reversed and the cause was remanded. That we do, but additional unrequested affirmative relief we neither order, direct or [*sic*] condone."[13] Despite this open invitation for the Montgomery County Circuit Court to defy the U.S. Supreme Court once again, the original order of the lower court was ultimately vacated, and in Birmingham on October 31, 1964, state leaders of the NAACP held their first public meeting since 1956.[14] But in Mobile, the Non-Partisan Voters League had been hard at work over

NON-PARTISAN VOTERS LEAGUE

MEMORIAL

and

ANNIVERSARY BANQUET

Speaker:
MS. VIVIAN MALONE JONES

Theme:
200 YEARS AMERICA - WHERE ARE WE GOING FROM HERE?

Mobile Municipal Auditorium's Expo Hall

August 20th, 1976 7:30 p.m.

NON-PARTISAN VOTERS LEAGUE
"Pioneers in the Fight for Freedom"

Program for Twentieth Anniversary Banquet

Non-Partisan Voters League Records, USA Archives

the previous eight years and appeared unwilling to relinquish its membership, leadership, or institutional role to the reemerging NAACP.[15]

As noted above, the recollections of several surviving League members suggest that their organization came into being after, and as a direct result of, state court action which prohibited the NAACP from continuing its operations in Alabama. Other sources, however, explicitly claim that the League was founded in 1944 as the political arm of the NAACP. A review of the available evidence tends to support the validity of the recollections of League members.

Perhaps the most compelling bit of evidence is found in an undated copy of the bylaws of the League. It states in Article I, Section 3: "Annual elections shall be held between January 1st and 15th, beginning in January of 1957."[16] This would indicate a late 1956 founding consistent with the timing of the outlawing of the NAACP, but it is not conclusive. It is possible that the phrase "beginning in 1957" references the first time elections were held in January, rather than the first time elections were ever held. Also included in the bylaws, however, is a subsequent revision of this section calling for elections to be held "between March 1st and 15th beginning in March, 1976." Had the 1957 election provision been a revision of some earlier procedure, it is probable that the earlier procedure would likewise have been included.

Another indication of a 1956 founding involves a printed program for a Non-Partisan Voters League "Memorial and Anniversary Banquet" held August 20, 1976.[17] While the anniversary is not dated to a particular year, it seems reasonable to suggest that this was probably the League's twentieth anniversary (1956-1976). It is also the case that the program lists League achievements dating back to 1959. If the League had been in existence since 1944, surely it would have had some notable accomplishments prior to 1959. On the other hand, a late 1956 founding is certainly compatible with the first accomplishments of note dating from 1959.

Also, the personal papers of John LeFlore at the University of South Alabama Archives contain numerous references to both the NAACP and the Non-Partisan Voters League. A chronological review of these records is most revealing. In the literally thousands of documents in the LeFlore collection dated prior to 1956, there is not one mention of the Non-Partisan Voters League; the only organizational affiliation referenced is the NAACP. The last mention of the NAACP is May 23, 1956, approximately one week before that organization was outlawed.[18] The first appearance of the Non-Partisan Voters League affiliation occurs in an invitation to a January 1, 1957, Emancipation Proclamation Anniversary Celebration,

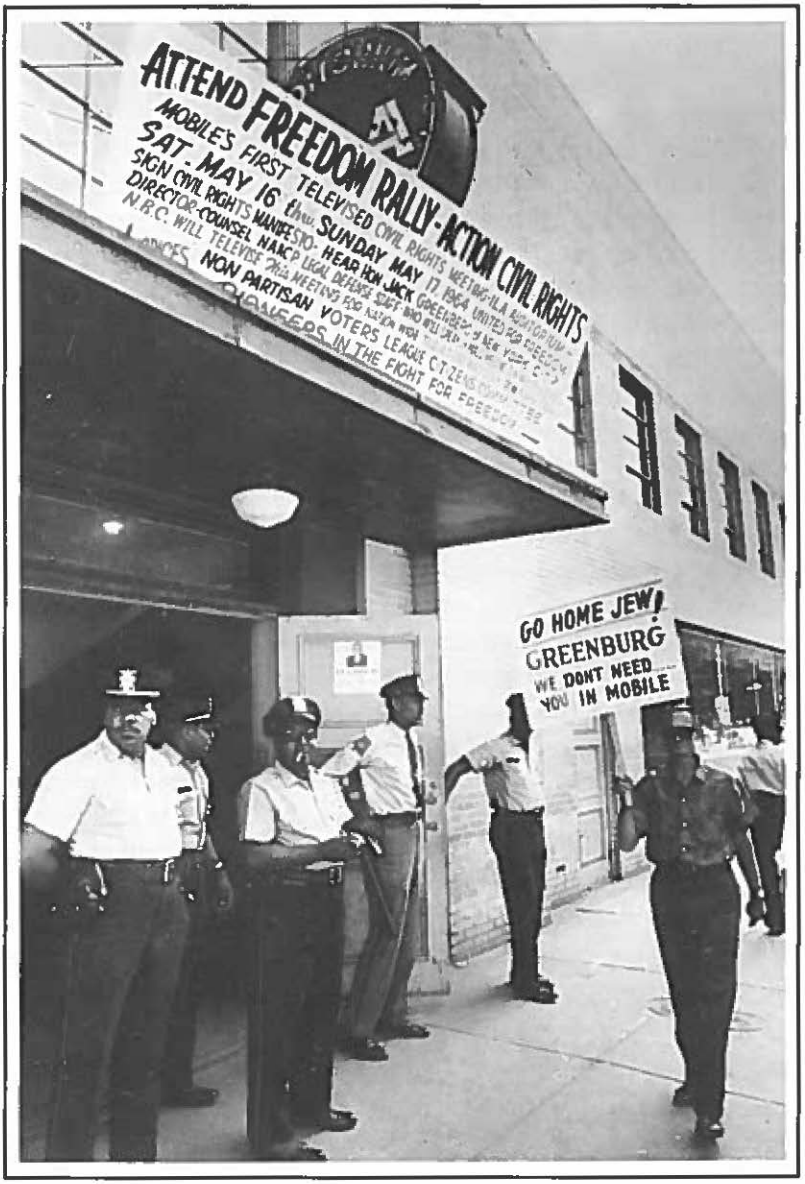
presumably printed in late 1956.[19] In addition, another League document refers to an early 1957 membership drive.[20] While it is not specifically identified as such, it appears quite likely that this was the League's first membership drive.

One final argument supporting the 1956 founding involves the unfettered activity enjoyed by the League as demonstrated by its subsequent successes. Had the League really been the political arm of the NAACP, it is quite doubtful that state authorities would have overlooked the connection and allowed it to continue to operate. In fact, the League was very careful to disassociate itself from the NAACP. League records list Wiley Bolden, Sherman Smith, Raymond Scott, and Reverend Ed Williams as founders.[21] Conspicuously missing are the names of two of Mobile's most active civil rights workers: John L. LeFlore and Clarence Montgomery. Both of these men had been prominently associated with the NAACP. Mr. LeFlore's association dated back to the 1920s and Mr. Montgomery was president of the NAACP at the time it was outlawed in 1956. By design, neither of these individuals initially took high profile positions in the newly formed League for fear that state authorities would prosecute.[22]

Since this evidence all serves to corroborate the recollections of surviving League members, and since research turned up no evidence (other than the newspaper articles cited above) supporting the 1944 founding of the League, it certainly seems reasonable to accept Wiley Bolden's claim that when the NAACP was outlawed the active civil rights community "went, what you might call, underground and organized the Non-Partisan Voters League and we kept the work of Civil Rights going just the same."[23]

The extent to which they kept the work going is quite evident in even a cursory review of the League's major accomplishments, many of which resulted from legal action initiated on behalf of Mobile's black community. According to League records, "hundreds of cases aimed at protecting the rights of black people to equal dignity in our land, particularly in Mobile and Alabama were handled by the Non-Partisan Voters League."[24]

A large proportion of those cases dealt with job discrimination. While the details are far too extensive to describe fully here, it is important to note the wide ranging nature of the cases. League efforts resulted in the integration of Mobile's police and fire departments and helped open job opportunities for blacks throughout city and county government. The League acted formally as third party intervenors in job discrimination complaints against local branches of the U.S. Postal Service. Even the Alabama National Guard was integrated as a result of League efforts.



NPVL Freedom Rally at ILA Union Hall and pickets, 1964

NPVL Records, USA Archives

Not all the suits involved public sector opportunities for blacks. The League initiated successful job discrimination actions against the Alabama Dry Dock & Shipbuilding Company, the telephone company, two major paper manufacturers, and several local retail outlets.

In addition the League regularly conducted "travel surveys" of the air, bus, and train transportation systems of the South to determine the extent to which services and facilities were available to blacks. Some fourteen formal complaints brought before the Interstate Commerce Commission resulted in the integration of waiting rooms, restrooms, and restaurants in travel terminals from New Orleans to Montgomery to Pensacola. After the 1964 Civil Rights Act provided the necessary legal foundation, the League directed "desegregation tests" at some 225 Mobile area food service establishments. Those efforts resulted in seventy-five Justice Department complaints, seven successful lawsuits, and broadly expanded access for blacks. Such efforts continued into the late 1970s when the League successfully challenged the proliferation of "private clubs" which were designed and established to perpetuate segregation.[25]

The Non-Partisan Voters League was also involved in the legal defense of blacks felt to be wrongly accused of crimes. An early example of major judicial significance was undertaken in 1958 after a black Mobilian, Willie Seals, was convicted of rape and sentenced to death by an all white jury. The League fought the conviction on the grounds that blacks had been systematically excluded from the grand jury which indicted Seals and the trial jury which convicted him. In 1963 the U.S. Supreme Court let stand an Appeals Court ruling which overturned the conviction on those grounds.[26] The case had a sweeping impact on the segregated judicial systems then in existence throughout the South. It took much additional legal maneuvering, but the persistence of the League also paid off for Willie Seals who was finally released from prison in 1970.

One of the League's greatest and longest legal battles was the Mobile County public school desegregation suit, commonly known as the *Birdie Mae Davis* case. The original complaint was filed on March 27, 1963, in U.S. District Court.[27] In a 1970 opinion which set the stage for the first major consent decree, Circuit Judge Goldberg wrote: "We do not tarry now to count the many appeals to this court in furtherance of this hope, for we are concerned today with only a single recent episode in this almost Homeric odyssey. We wonder when the epilogue will be written."[28] These words were penned after slightly less than eight years of litigation. It was obviously difficult then to imagine that the epilogue would not be written for another twenty years. What appears to be the final appeal in the case involved a 1990 reversal of a district court judgment that several teachers

be required to pay court costs in a failed job discrimination suit stemming from a 1988 consent order.[29] While the *Birdie Mae Davis* case, especially in the latter stages, seemed to take on a life of its own, it served as a severe test of the Non-Partisan Voters League's willingness to persevere in the cause of civil rights.

Attorneys and plaintiffs in Birdie Mae Davis *Case* Mobile Press Register

The League also fought segregation in education outside the Mobile area. When George Wallace "stood in the schoolhouse door" at the University of Alabama at Tuscaloosa, one of the students he blocked was Vivian Malone, a local high school graduate who had been recruited and financed by the Non-Partisan Voters League.[30]

Another major success of the League resulted from its efforts to force an end to the one-hundred-year exclusion of blacks from the representative institutions of Mobile city and county governments. This was accomplished through two federal court suits contesting the use of at-large elections on the grounds that they unconstitutionally diluted black voting strength: *Brown v. Moore* dealt with both the county commission and county school board; *Bolden v. Mobile* was directed at the city commission.[31] Both actions were originally filed by League lawyers in 1975, both involved long and arduous court proceedings, and both were ultimately successful. The final

action in *Brown v. Moore* occurred in 1984 when the U.S. Court of Appeals affirmed the first black school board member's right to vote on school board business pertaining to integration. That right had been denied by the school board president on the grounds that, as a black, the black board member had a conflict of interest when it came to integrating the public schools.[32] The final phase of the Bolden case was the 1985 election of three black Mobile city council members, the first since Reconstruction.[33]

Based on this brief review of the major accomplishments of the Non-Partisan Voters League, it should be clear that this organization has earned a prominent place in the civil rights history of Mobile. The review of the evidence supporting the 1956 founding of the League is also quite compelling, but it is not ultimately conclusive. That the investigation turned up no evidence of the pre-1956 existence of the League cannot be taken as proof that no such evidence exists. Although it is most likely that the League was formed in 1956, a final incontestable judgment to that effect cannot be made.

This conclusion reveals the rather tenuous nature of our grasp of even so basic an aspect of such an important organization. It should serve to encourage scholars, and other interested students of the civil rights movement, to devote more attention to establishing and preserving a detailed and accurate historical record of the Second Reconstruction in the Mobile area and throughout the South.

Notes

[1] While details are generally beyond the scope of this article, another important question involves the dissolution of the Non-Partisan Voters League. The untimely death in 1976 of John LeFlore appears to have diminished the League's long term prospects. In addition, by the mid-1980s, as the major legal battles approached their ultimate resolution, the reason for being of the League withered and meetings became less and less frequent. Like the founding of the League, there is still some confusion about the timing and circumstances of its ultimate demise, but factional politics in the black community seem also to have played a role.

[2] A series of interviews were conducted as follows: O. B. Purifoy (personal interview conducted by Judy Wilcutt, December 5, 1991); W. C. Patton (telephone interview conducted by Judy Wilcutt, March 6, 1992); Clarence Montgomery (personal interview conducted by author, March 12, 1992); Rev. R. L. Hope (personal interview conducted by author, April 24, 1992); Henry Williams (personal interview conducted by author, May 7, 1992); Raymond Scott (telephone interview conducted by Sheila Flanagan, June 25, 1992.

[3] NPVL Memorial and Anniversary Banquet Program August 20, 1976, Non-Partisan Voters League Records, University of South Alabama Archives, Mobile (hereafter cited as NPVL Records).

[4] Court Reporter's Transcript, Vol. I, *Bolden et al. v. City of Mobile*, Civil Action 75-297-P (1976), 207-8.

[5] "Wiley Bolden has led in fight for civil rights," *Mobile Press*, December 20, 1978, sec. D.

[6] "From postal worker to legislator, LeFlore championed rights," *Mobile Press Register*, February 12-13, 1981, North Mobile County Edition.

[7] This is not mentioned to diminish the memory of Mr. Bolden nor to embarrass his posterity. It is, however, compelling evidence of the fallibility of human memory and the need for preserving a well-documented and accurate historical record.

[8] For extensive news coverage of the case, see: *Mobile Register*, July 12, 1956, sec. A; *Mobile Register*, July 30, 1956, sec. A; *New York Times*, July 1, 1958, sec. 1; *Birmingham News*, December 27, 1961; *Birmingham News*, June 1, 1964, sec. 1; *New York Times*, June 2, 1964, sec. 1.

[9] "Alabama is Denied Access to Rolls of N.A.A.C.P.," *New York Times*, July 1, 1958, sec. 1.

[10] *The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People v. Alabama ex rel. John Patterson, Attorney General*, 357 U.S. 454 (1958).

[11] *Ex parte National Association for the Advancement of Colored People v. In Re State of Alabama ex rel. Patterson, Attorney General*, 109 So. 2d 138 (1959), 139.

[12] *National Association for the Advancement of Colored People v. The State of Alabama ex rel. Flowers, Attorney General*, 377 U.S. 288 (1964); citations for the other two cases: 360 U.S. 240 (1959); 368 U.S. 16 (1961).

[13] *National Association for the Advancement of Colored People v. The State of Alabama*, 167 So. 2d 171 (1964), 162.

[14] "Avoid deep scars, Wilkins tells rally," *Birmingham News*, October 31, 1964.

[15] Gloster B. Current, Director of Branches, NAACP, New York to LeFlore, March 8, 1956: "I think a part of the problem relative to the relationship (between LeFlore and the newly established president of the Mobile branch of the NAACP) arises from some duality of interest that is under leadership of the Non-Partisan Voters League, whose activities in some measure conflict with those of the NAACP." John LeFlore papers, University of South Alabama Archives, Mobile (hereafter referred to as LeFlore Papers).

[16] Constitution and Bylaws (undated), NPVL Records.

[17] NPVL Memorial and Anniversary Banquet Program, August 20, 1976, NPVL Records.

[18] LeFlore to Fred R. Dent, May 23, 1956, LeFlore Papers.

[19] A. S. Chishon to "Pastors, Officers, and Members," undated, LeFlore Papers.

[20] Open letter to "Pasters, Members, and Friends," March 23, 1957, LeFlore Papers.

[21] NPVL Memorial and Anniversary Banquet Program, August 20, 1976, NPVL Records.

[22] Personal interview with Clarence Montgomery, March 12, 1992. This was not an unreasonable expectation. In 1958 Alabama Attorney General Patterson claimed that the NAACP continued to do business in Alabama under the name of a newly formed organization, the Alabama State Coordinating Association. The charges were ultimately dropped. See, "Alabama to Press Fight," *New York Times*, July 1, 1958, sec. 1.

[23] Court Reporter's Transcript, vol. 1, *Bolden et al. v. City of Mobile*, Civil Action 75-297-P (1976), 208.

[24] NPVL Memorial and Anniversary Banquet Program, August 20, 1976, NPVL Records.

[25] Ibid.

[26] Supreme Court ruling: *Martin J. Wiman v. Willie Seals, Jr.*, 372- US 915 (1963); Appeals Court Ruling: *United States of America ex rel. Willie Seals, Jr. v. Martin J. Wiman, Warden, Kilby Prison, Montgomery, Alabama*, 304 F.2d 53 (1962).

[27] *Birdie Mae Davis, et al. v. Board of School Commissioners of Mobile County, et al.*, Civil Action No. 3003-63-H, United States District Court for the Southern District of Alabama (1963).

[28] *Birdie Mae Davis, et al. v. Board of School Commissioners of Mobile County, et al.*, 422 F.2d 1139 (1970).

[29] *Birdie Mae Davis, et al. v. Nettie Carl, et al. v. Board of School Commissioners of Mobile County, et al.*, 906 F.2d 533 (1990).

[30] Personal Interview with O. B. Purifoy, May 20, 1992, revealed that the League even bought luggage for Ms. Malone's trip to Tuscaloosa.

[31] *Lelia G. Brown, et al. v. John L. Moore, et al.*, Mobile County Board of Commissioners and School Commissioners, Civil Action No. 75-298-P in the United States District Court for the Southern District of Alabama (1975); *Wiley L. Bolden, et al. v. City of Mobile*, Civil Action No. 75-297-P in the United States District Court for the Southern District of Alabama (1975).

[32] *Lelia G. Brown, et al. v. John L. Moore, et al.*, 583 F. Supp. 391 (1984).

[33] In October 1985, just prior to swearing-in ceremonies for the new city council, Irmatean Watson, the first and only black woman ever elected to the Council, was approached at City Hall by a black cleaning woman wanting to know if she was "the one." She acknowledged that indeed she was, "and with that she began to shake her hand and hug her and weep." *Birmingham News*, July 3, 1985, sec. A.

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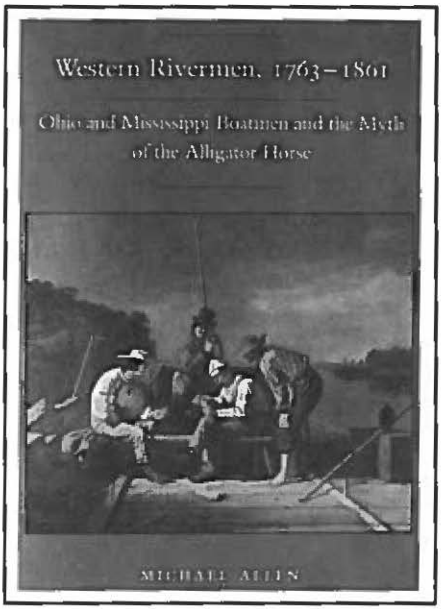
Book Reviews

Michael Allen. *Western Rivermen, 1763-1861: Ohio and Mississippi Boatmen and the Myth of the Alligator Horse.* Baton Rouge and London: Louisiana State University Press, 1990, *xiii*, pp. 261. $25.00 ISBN 0-8071-1561-4



This history of the boatmen who worked on the flatboats, keelboats, and rafts on the western rivers goes well beyond the "Myth of the Alligator Horse" designated in its subtitle. It is a comprehensive study of the western rivermen leaving scarcely any aspect of their work untouched.

The author focuses on the flatboatmen, whose craft carried ninety percent of the nonsteam river commerce. His point of departure is the myth which made these early fabled boatmen the "half-horse, half-alligator" men of popular imagination. Allen finds in this a mystique "based on a grain of truth" in the presteamboat days when the rivermen were a "tough, rowdy set," often given to drunkenness and violence, with larger than life characters which made them American folk heroes. But his thesis is that the men who "actually worked the flats, keels, and rafts...were not, in the final analysis, Alligator Horses." And, he adds, "there was absolutely nothing romantic, swashbuckling, or compelling about the poor, sick, womanless, alcoholic drifters who worked the Ohio and Mississippi rivers...." Moreover, in the steamboat era after 1823, the rivermen "became more civilized; many of them settled down to homes and families and were in most ways indistinguishable from their more sedentary countrymen."

Important as this particular conclusion may be, the broader treatment of western flatboatmen given here seems equally valuable. Allen has quoted liberally from more than eighty first-hand accounts written by flatboatmen, and he also acknowledges his debt to other historians who have written on western river travel. In this account we see the Ohio-Mississippi route and river settlements as the early flatboatmen saw them, as well as the urban development in river cities such as Cincinnati and

New Orleans. Allen describes the flatboats and their cargoes, most of which originated in the Ohio Valley, and he presents flatboat commerce subject to weather, river obstructions, and market forces involving competition, costs, profits, and losses. The boatmen emerge as several types: the merchant navigator such as Henry Miller Shreve, the farmer boatmen who came from Ohio Valley farms, and the agent boatmen such as Mike Fink. Most were Kentuckians but among them were slaves and free blacks, French-Canadians, and Native Americans. We learn about their pay, their sickness and disease, the unsanitary conditions in which they lived, their drinking habits, their fighting and recreation, their life ashore and when they reached New Orleans, and the long walk over the Natchez Trace on their return to Kentucky.

While Mike Fink belongs to the period before 1823, Allen's account of flatboating in the steamboat era (from 1823 to 1861) is especially useful for the changes he describes in flatboat commerce and in the lives of the boatmen. Flatboat commerce boomed and reached its "golden zenith" in 1846 and 1847. By that time at least four thousand flatboats operated annually on the Ohio and Mississippi, manned by more than twenty thousand boatmen. Boats were 100 feet in length carrying 150 tons, and cargoes were more complex, including hay, cattle, hogs, and sheep, and cordwood for steamboats. Crews rode upstream on steamers. They ate better, and were cared for in marine hospitals. Rivers were cleared of snags, boats could run at night, and they were more sanitary and comfortable. In this period, crews were family men, farm boys, and literate observers who left correspondence and journals. Upriver steamboat deck passage was dangerous and uncomfortable, but the maladies of the boatmen were more likely to be boredom and loneliness, while the merchant navigators faced constant anxiety over their business affairs.

The special quality of this volume derives from the first-hand accounts Allen has examined, though his use of the first person to state his own conclusions is somewhat surprising. This book is a major contribution to the study of flatboating on the western rivers in the nearly century long period before 1861.

Ronald E. Shaw Miami University, Ohio

John M. Belohlavek and Lewis N. Wynne, eds. *Divided We Fall: Essays on Confederate Nation-Building.* Saint Leo, Florida: Saint Leo College Press, 1991. *viii*, pp. 264. $15.95 ISBN 0-9457-5903

The contributors to this collection of essays have produced a readable text for undergraduate students as well as the general public. Considering the continuing popularity of the Civil War, this paperbound volume (which includes sketches of the subjects of study) should do quite well. Scholars may also wish to consult this work for short introductions to several topics dealing with the failed Confederate experiment in nationhood. Footnotes do not accompany the text, but each author does provide a short bibliography of secondary accounts as a guide to further reading. Together these essays provide further insight into the causes of the Confederate collapse.

Although the contributors make no claim to originality, they are fully aware of recent scholarship involving the Confederacy's defeat. The editors have wisely selected several lesser-known figures for study. This curious cast of characters may have played supporting roles in the drama of civil war and defeat, but the authors successfully demonstrate how their subjects contributed to the South's lost effort for independence. Ironically, nearly all of the individuals studied were deeply committed to the Confederacy, and each added special talents to the new nation's cause. The retelling of their failures may support the thesis of internal Confederate collapse, yet at the same time question unintentionally the concomitant theory of a failure of popular will.

Only occasionally are the authors carried away with enthusiasm. Considering the Confederacy's total failure, one may wonder at Lewis N. Wynne's statement that those who launched the experiment "possessed the greatest wealth of political experience of any group of Americans." Wynne goes on to refer to Abraham Lincoln's "aggressive posture" during the

secession crisis of 1861, evidently neglecting Confederate seizures of federal posts or James Buchanan's earlier effort to reinforce Fort Sumter via the *Star of the West*. (In this earlier episode it was also Confederate forces that "fired the first shot.") In another instance, Horace W. Raper refers to how the Compromise of 1850 reputedly made territorial concessions to sentiments favoring free soil and popular sovereignty in New Mexico and Utah would suggest Southerners had received concessions in defeating the Wilmot Proviso. Aside from these infrequent lapses, the authors provide carefully crafted arguments dealing with complex issues.

The editors, John Belohlavek and Lewis N. Wynne, begin the volume with strong introductory essays. Belohlavek's study of Florida's Stephen Mallory and his efforts as Confederate Secretary of the Navy sets the tone for the remainder of the work. Like other Confederate leaders and bureaucrats, Mallory confronted persistent problems of scarce resources with dedication and resourcefulness. Despite some success, however, he was unable to overcome the Confederacy's endemic weaknesses. In Mallory's case these misfortunes owed much to bad luck and unforeseen delays, although Belohlavek faults Mallory for leaving New Orleans open to assault (and capture) from the Gulf when transferring vital resources upriver to Memphis. Paralleling Mallory's difficulties were those of his European agent, James Dunwoody Bulloch. Warren F. Spencer's essay demonstrates how the determined efforts of a capable man could be frustrated by forces beyond his control. Although Bulloch successfully negotiated for the purchase of several commerce raiders (chiefly the *Alabama* and the *Florida*), his effort to procure formidable ironclad rams finally ran afoul of Britain's desire to retain its neutrality by seizing the completed rams.

Robert A. Taylor tells an engaging story of Florida's role as beef supplier to the Confederates of the lower South. To Pleasant White fell the onerous task of gathering and transporting thousands of head of cattle to hungry rebels. Part of White's problem lay in disabusing inattentive Confederate leaders of the notion of the limitless bounty of Florida's herd. Beyond this the lack of experienced hands and useable transportation facilities made the job difficult. Yankee raiders and "disloyal" Floridians further complicated White's duties. Such threats were partly countered with the formation of a special unit of "cow cavalry" under the command of Charles J. Munnerlyn. Floridians no doubt will especially enjoy this informative essay dealing with their state's sometimes overlooked role in the Civil War.

White's difficulties further demonstrate the lack of coordination that doomed the Confederate war efforts. Two essays more critical of their

subjects provide additional examples. George H. Daniels presents a careful study of Joseph R. Anderson's role as chief of the famous Tredegar Iron Works in Richmond. While questioning several recent scholars' theory of a government-induced industrial revolution in the wartime South, Daniels also admits that many of the Tredegar's difficulties arose from the lack of foresight by Anderson. Beyond this, Daniels demonstrates that the Jefferson Davis administration actually shrank from more drastic measures that might have further promoted the Confederacy's industrialization. Expectations of a short war and ignorance of the technical details of production promoted continued faith in a "*laissez-faire*" philosophy.

Even more damning is James J. Horgan's essay on John T. Pickett's short tenure as Confederate commissioner to Mexico. In contrast to the American minister Thomas Corwin, Pickett proved to be an inept and offensive diplomat. Besides failing to win recognition or any other concession from the Mexican government, Pickett could not even prevent his private (and embarrassing) correspondence from falling into Mexican and American hands. Reginald Horsman is more appreciative of the efforts of the famous southern physician Josiah Nott, yet he wonders at Nott's inconstant attention to the medical needs of Confederate soldiers. (At Shiloh Nott served as a battlefield messenger rather than as a surgeon.) After several assignments as medical inspector along the Gulf Coast and in the western theater, Nott in 1863 returned to private practice in the besieged city of Mobile.

The problem of internal dissent in the Confederacy receives due consideration in two essays. Nat Jobe examines the career of Richmond journalist Edward Alfred Pollard, while Horace Raper focuses on the peace efforts of North Carolina's editor-politician William W. Holden. Both essays raise the issue of loyalty during wartime. Holden felt justified in attempting to spur a negotiated peace. Yet others, including Holden's former ally Governor Zebulon Vance, felt these activities harmed the Confederacy, and they took action to silence such critics. Did dissent reflect the vitality of Southern society or serve to undermine consensus and thus contribute to the failure of popular will that historians now stress? Yet Jobe also shows how an ardent Confederate such as Pollard added to the new nation's woes by his severe criticism of the Davis administration's handling of the war. Pollard urged the adoption of more vigorous measures—such as invasions of the North and an early conscription policy—yet he too sowed discontent and division. Both essays raise questions about how much tolerance a young nation can afford while striving for survival.

The Richmond government's neglect of the Confederacy's western portions receive careful analysis in Wynne's essay on Albert Pike, the South's representative in the Indian Territory. Pike was another brilliant man whose flamboyant activities did not always benefit the Confederate cause. Wynne shows how poor coordination and neglect contributed to southern misfortunes, in this case the failure to exploit a potential advantage among Indian allies who might have helped secure the Confederacy's western flank.

Despite the vast literature available on the Civil War the authors of this volume succeed in making new contributions. Beyond appealing to casual readers this volume should win some consideration for classroom use—particularly from college teachers located in the former Confederacy. Other instructors should also be aware of this useful work. Students performing research on the Confederacy could be directed to these essays for introductions to various topics. In short this volume can serve a number of needs for both students and scholars.

Vernon L. Volpe University of Nebraska at Kearney

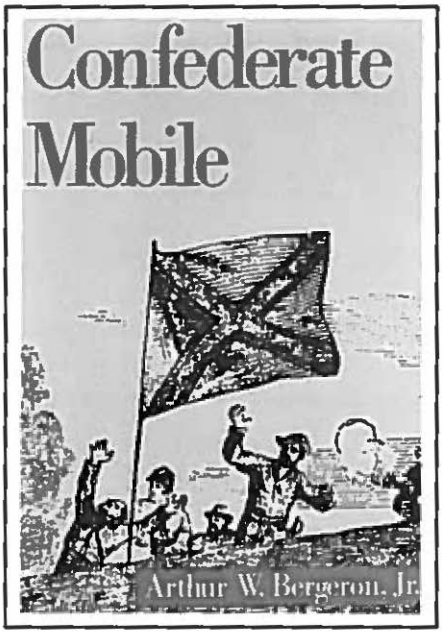
Arthur W. Bergeron, Jr. *Confederate Mobile*. Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 1991, pp. 304. $29.50. ISBN 0-945759-03-07

In the 130 years or so that have passed since the end of the American Civil War over fifty thousand volumes have been written about various aspects of that event. Over the years interpretations of the conflict have changed with the flow of professional scholarship. Yet for more than a century one bias has not changed: the bulk of the literature covers the eastern theater of the war. Consequently, there are large gaps in the information about places and events west of the Allegheneys. Arthur Bergeron has produced a work that will help fill this deep historical cavity.

Confederate Mobile, the final evolution of Dr. Bergeron's dissertation, is a well-written and researched book that is long overdue. The work focuses on Confederate history in a manner that does not include biographies or campaign narratives of the South's "sainted" generals. After all, the southern Confederacy consisted of more than just armies in the field. In order to understand the Civil War one has to come to grips with the domestic problems, political and logistical, that the southern nation had to overcome, in order to make war. The South's well-documented

paucity of industry and rail milage bring home the importance of Mobile and its place in Civil War history.

Bergeron concludes that the port city was an important part of the Confederate government's defense plans. Prior to war Mobile was Alabama's largest city, the South's third largest exporting port, and the terminus of the Mobile and Ohio and Mobile and Great Northern Railroads—both vital links to the southern heartland. It also had the potential to develop some industrial production, most notably Skates and Company or the Mobile Foundry, to manufacture ordinance and mortars for the southern army.



Despite the city's importance to the South, and indeed to the Confederate government, preparation for its defense were never quite finished. To further complicate matters, emergencies brought on by the presence of the Federal army forced matériel and officers to be shifted out of the port city. Consequently, those in charge of defending Mobile were forced to make due with less than they really needed. The major shortage was always troops: the Confederacy often stripped fortifications of their defenders, and the situation in Mobile was no exception. The commanders of the Mobile garrison sent men and artillery to Mississippi, Tennessee, and Georgia as need warranted, and rarely did these units return.

Confederate Mobile successfully connects the city's place and activities to a greater whole. This is a fundamental task that is all too often slighted in historical writing. By demonstrating Mobile's logistical importance as the key to the Confederate interior, Bergeron places the city in the context of the Confederate west. The rail system and the river network that terminated at Mobile Bay offered an easy avenue to the southern heartland, opening the back door to Selma, Montgomery, and Atlanta. In his epilogue Dr. Bergeron explains that the fall of Mobile in the spring of 1865 had no effect on the final outcome of the war. He argues, however, that if the

city's collapse had come any earlier, it would have most certainly speeded the Confederacy's demise.

While primarily about the Civil War military history of Mobile, Arthur Bergeron's book will interest scholars whose primary concerns are with aspects of war other than the military. In chapters seven and eight the author explores both civilian life in the city and the role that blacks played in Mobile during the war. Having studied Mobile in the immediate post-war period, this reviewer can appreciate the problems involved in researching social aspects of Mobile's history: sources are dispersed and often missing altogether. Dr. Bergeron's chapters on the social aspects of the city are brief, but insightful, and they add considerably to the work. Bergeron's style is fluid and the prose reads well. The work's documentation is first rate, while the bibliography for the 197 pages of text is a full 24 pages long. The text needs more maps to enable readers to place the defenders and the attackers in space and time, but that is a minor flaw. Dr. Bergeron does include five maps along with illustrations of various participants.

In the introduction to *Confederate Mobile*, the author states: "Civil War historians acknowledge the importance of the blockade of the Southern coast in the defeat of the Confederacy, yet there are modern monographs concerning the defense of the ports of New Orleans and Charleston. I hope that my book helps to fill that gap." Bergeron's book does indeed go a long way in filling the gap. The work not only examines the place of Mobile in Civil War history but also avoids studying Alabama's port city in a vacuum. Instead it places the city's history within the greater context of the Civil War in the west. Students of Alabama and Civil War history will profit from reading of Dr. Bergeron's history.

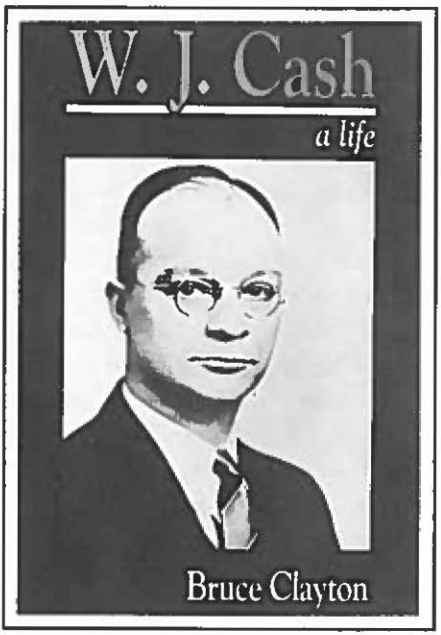
Joseph E. Brent — Kentucky Heritage Council

Bruce Clayton. *W. J. Cash: A Life*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1991, *xiv*, pp. 236. $24.95. ISBN 0-8071-1647-5

The appearance of Bruce Clayton's superb biography and the recent W. J. Cash conference at Wake Forest University underscore the broad imprint of Wilbur Joseph Cash on southern intellectual history as well as on American culture and identity. In many ways Cash's short and troubled life symbolizes the long and tragic inner struggle of the South to analyze itself. Perhaps better than anyone, Cash probed the relationship between

the South's social consciousness and the region's culture and character. No writer, before or since Cash, has offered so forceful, so unitary an interpretation of the Southland and its people.

Born in Gaffney, South Carolina, in 1900, Cash graduated from what was then Wake Forest College in 1922, wrote for the *Charlotte News*, and published *The Mind of the South* in 1941. According to Clayton, this book "was one of those sticks of dynamite that unsettled the mind and has continued to do so." Cash never lived to witness the longterm success and influence of his book. He committed suicide in a hotel room in Mexico City a few months following its publication.



Cash's notoriety stems from the critical acclaim accorded his famous book. In *The Mind of the South* he brilliantly assessed the region's culture. Inanimate forces, including climate, geography, and frontier violence, joined rural Protestantism and the clannishness of southern families, to fashion an identifiable southern culture. In a highly personal, provocative, and sometimes overdrawn style, Cash described the South's "savage ideal"--its hedonistic, anti-intellectual, and racist character. In Cash's opinion, the savage ideal linked the Old South to the New and was unaffected by economic and demographic transformations within the region. The entire white culture of the South was united, Cash wrote, by a "proto-Dorian" bond that unified all Caucasians against Negroes. Such a culture encouraged conformity, fostered violence and excess, and suppressed self-criticism. At the very moment when the Nashville Agrarians were rejecting twentieth-century modernism, looking backward to a simpler South, Cash exposed the white South's self-serving hypocritical romanticism and the class hegemony that lay at its core.

Clayton's beautifully written, thoroughly researched, and thoughtfully argued biography underscores the tragic life of "Sleepy" Wilbur Cash, the insecure, wayward son of Shelby, Cleveland County, North Carolina. By employing a rich array of primary materials, including oral history interviews, Clayton untangles the complex physical and emotional pain

including recurring nervousness and despondency that haunted and tormented Cash until his suicide. The author portrays Cash as a man of unusual intellect, as a gifted literary stylist who used these talents to challenge traditional interpretations of his native region.

However, depression rendered Cash emotionally fragile and virtually unable to focus on the job at hand. He tended toward obsessive, neurotic behavior and was, at times, excessively touchy. Temperamental and deeply sensitive, he reverted to juvenile excuses to explain away his chronic procrastination. Clayton argues persuasively that this erratic behavior had several related causes. First, Cash was a lifelong depressive, suffering from neurasthenia. This explains his debilitating passivity. Second, Cash suffered from an endocrine disorder, hyperthyroidism, which, according to Clayton, left him tired, depressed, irritable, and fearful. Third, Cash was an alcoholic—a condition that exacerbated his endocrine imbalance. To make a serious problem even more severe, his doctor treated his *emotional* symptoms, not his *physical* symptoms. Tormented, desperate, and frightened, Cash finally took his own life.

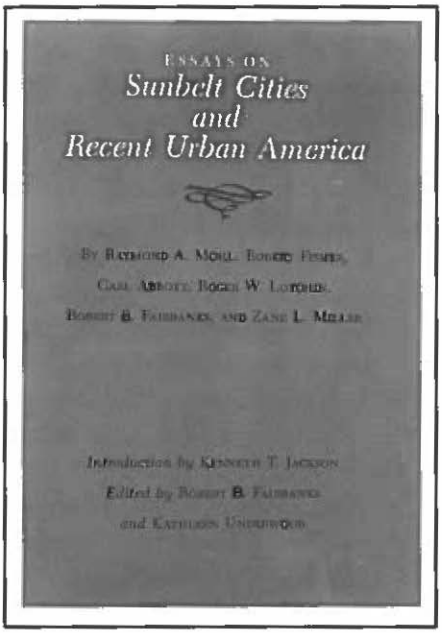
For all of his fine achievement, readers may question Clayton's heavy reliance on psychological insights to explain Cash's moods and behavior. Curiously, he omits references to the clinical literature. But scholars most certainly will welcome Clayton's particularly insightful reading of the role of religion in shaping the mind set of the post-World War I South and his definitive analysis of Cash's *Mind of the South*. In the end, Cash emerges as a prophet for those who love the South yet criticize the region for its intolerance, narrowness, and devotion to conservative values. For five decades Cash's obsession with his native region has helped us to explain, if not to understand the South. And for this all of us remain in his debt.

John David Smith North Carolina State University

Robert B. Fairbanks and Kathleen Underwood, eds. *Essays on Sunbelt Cities and Recent Urban America*. College Station, TX: Texas A&M University Press, 1990, pp. 175. $19.95. ISBN 0-89096-396-7

The annual Walter Prescott Webb lectures at the University of Texas at Arlington honors Texas' most celebrated historian. This book is the publication of the 1988 lectures with the addition of two prize-winning papers.

Historian Kenneth T. Jackson introduces the collection with an overview of Sunbelt growth over the past fifty years. Clearly the regions of the South and West have changed, from a colonial economic dependency upon the northeast that characterized most of their history, to virtual parity. The impact of federal spending beginning with World War II and continuing through the Cold War provided a major catalyst for regional development. So too did the development of sophisticated technology from California's Silicon Valley to North Carolina's Research Triangle. Rapid population growth was another major factor with the influx of Hispanic and Asian peoples creating a more cosmopolitan, international atmosphere. Little is said, however, about the impact of African-Americans, particularly in the political sphere, beginning with the civil rights movement.



In the second essay, Raymond A. Mohl discusses "The Transformation of Urban America Since the Second World War." He describes the white suburban migration accompanied by the influx of Asians, Hispanics, and African-Americans to central cities resulting in a combination of a declining tax base with higher costs for welfare and urban services. Mohl also addresses the impact of federal spending in the South, and notes the recreational-tourist-climatic attractions of the region, which with the aid of air conditioning, drew newcomers. Where only Los Angeles ranked among the ten largest cities in 1950, thirty years later Houston, Dallas, Phoenix, and San Diego had also joined the top ten. The benefits, however, have been unevenly distributed as blacks and Hispanics "have never fully shared in the promise of American life."

One problem with Mohl's essay is its topicality. Written four years ago, it presents a more positive picture of cities before the recent recession. Looming deficits with reductions in services seems to be the urban prospect for the 1990s.

Perhaps the most pertinent essay for Gulf Coast readers is Robert Fisher's examination of Houston, Texas, in the context of other American

and European cities. Sometimes described as the Sunbelt "golden buckle," or the epitomy of American capitalism, Houston exhibited an "unbridled free enterprise-fueling boom town growth" through the 1970s. Land speculation, oil, and unfettered development were the foundations of growth. In comparison European cities were shaped much more by national social policies. Even in the American northeast, cities in the twentieth century sought to insure minimum standards of welfare for their citizens. Not so Houston where minimal city services were seen as the ideal, and federal funds became the catalyst for private sector growth. The result through the 1970s was private prosperity accompanied by enormous environmental pollution. One slum of 400,000 people had an infant mortality rate worse than Zaire with unpaved streets, no sewer systems, or indoor plumbing.

Economic collapse in the 1980s due to declining oil prices along with the quality of life crisis brought changes. Neighborhood activism combined with a successful lawsuit to replace city council's at-large electoral system with district representation led to minority, women, and gay rights supporters becoming public participants. Even the Chamber of Commerce recognized the need for raising taxes and expanding governmental services. The changes are incomplete, but Houston as the "free enterprise" city of the South is no more.

Shifting focus, Carl Abbott sees distinction in southwestern cityscapes where the flat, open spaces, and the automobile led to linear development, building outward instead of upward as occurred in twentieth-century eastern cities. Los Angeles exemplifies the urban sprawl. Yet seen from the surrounding mountains, the southwestern cities are visibly comprehensible, shaped by their Spanish heritage, physical environment, and modern technology.

Next, Roger Lotchin looks at the military-urban complex, particularly in San Diego where the city has used national defense as the means for urban growth. Politicians, business executives, labor leaders, educators, and others lobbied for military contracts to provide jobs. Attempted cutbacks in the 1950s were stalled until replacements contracts were negotiated, suggesting that defense reductions in the 1990s which threaten local economies will be difficult where local support is strong.

In a more traditional essay, Robert B. Fairbanks examines the Citizens Charter Association which shaped Dallas politics from 1930 to 1960. Its "good government machine" provided honest, conservative, nonpartisan, efficient, and economical government until caught in 1959 between neighborhood activist and rightwing ideological candidates, temporarily losing control to the latter.

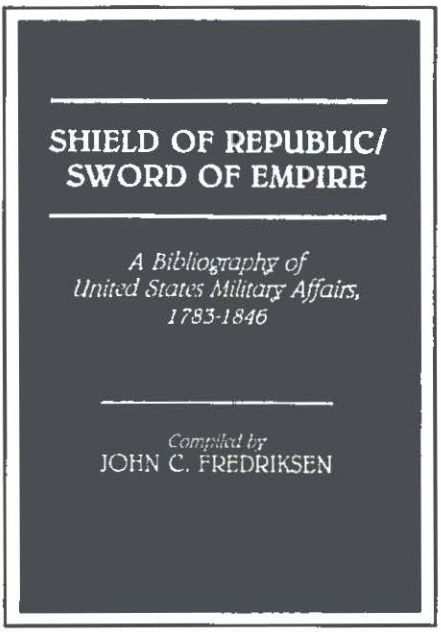
Finally, Zane L. Miller compares the writings of Walter Prescott Webb to the Chicago School of Sociology and cultural regionalism. Miller describes the shifting vision of Webb in his major books from a belief in the environment shaping settlers' beliefs in *The Great Plains*, to pleading for individuals to organize in revolt against the corporate culture in *The Great Frontier*. Along the way, Miller compares Webb's understanding of regional diversity with that of the Chicago sociologists studying neighborhoods. His conclusion (though I am not sure they are Webb's), is for Americans to cast aside their heritage of "place" and "race" to create their own future as Southerners have done since World War II.

Overall, these essays each speak primarily to their own themes with limited connection to one another. They are most likely to be read, individually, or as a group, by historians of contemporary cities of the Sunbelt.

James B. Crooks University of North Florida

John C. Fredriksen, comp. *Shield of Republic/Sword of Empire: A Bibliography of United States Military Affairs, 1783-1846.* Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1990, *xiii*, pp. 433. $65.00. ISBN 0-313-25384-6

Americans have long cherished the self-image of a peaceful people who go to war only on the most serious provocation. Nowhere is this image more vigorous than in the republic's formative period. Yet, in the sixty-three years between the end of the Revolutionary War in 1783 and the beginning of the Mexican-American War of 1846, the United States government used either force or the threat of force to achieve its national ends at least seventeen times. Some conflicts were with foreign powers, most notably the War of 1812 and the quasi-war with France. Others were simply border disputes, saber rattling to support American diplomatic muscle. Still others involved both short and long wars with various Native American tribes. Finally, both Shays' and the Whiskey rebellions required force to maintain internal order. Both large and small, these conflicts were shaped by pre-existing American ideas about military and naval power, the use of force to achieve national objectives, and the size and composition of the land and sea forces necessary to attain those objectives. Similarly, the conflicts themselves also shaped American attitudes about these issues. Thus, the military conflicts of the formative period are critical to an understanding of American military and naval policy in more recent times.



While not so vast as to defy mastery, the literature dealing with the American military and naval establishment and its conflicts between 1783 and 1846 is nevertheless quite massive. Further, much of this literature is largely inaccessible to the casual researcher by virtue of its location in obscure journals or theses. A bibliographical tool to assist both specialists and generalists alike in gaining access to this mass of material has long been needed. To rectify that situation Greenwood Press has published John C. Fredriksen's *Shield of Republic/ Sword of Empire: A Bibliography of United States Military Affairs, 1783-1846*. It contains 6,786 entries, divided into five basic categories: War, Intervention, Border Crises; United States Army; United States Navy; Militia, Canada, Indians; and Biographies. Within each category (except for Biographies), subdivisions make possible more discriminating quests. For example, Chapter 1 organizes entries first by conflict, then, if necessary, into individual campaigns within a conflict. In each category, entries are characterized as either postwar or contemporary accounts. In Chapter 2, United States Army subcategories include: Public Documentation, History, Military Policy, Administration, Personnel, Material, Frontier Exploration, Frontier Policy, Military Life, and Fortifications. Similar categories can be found in Chapter 3 on the United States Navy, along with additional listings for U.S. Marine Corps, U.S. Coast Guard, Diplomacy and Deployment, U.S. Exploring Expeditions, and Ships. The categories in Chapter 4, Militia, Canada, Indians, speak for themselves.

While not exhaustive *Shield of Republic/Sword of Empire* is quite comprehensive. Books, dissertations, theses, and articles are included. If a work is not found in one category, it most often can be located in another. For example, George Buker's *Swamp Sailors* is missing from the section in Chapter 1 on the Second Seminole War, but it turns up in the history section of Chapter 3, United States Navy. There are lapses in

coverage, particularly in Chapter 5, Biographies, but the compiler was forced to draw a line somewhere and his choices are as reasonable as any.

Less defensible, however, is the compiler's decision to limit coverage on the War of 1812 apparently because of the existence of his own earlier work, *Free Trade and Sailors' Rights*. Readers who consult the current volume may not have access to the earlier book and will be rightly disappointed to find limited coverage of a conflict which falls chronologically within the work's parameters. Gulf Coast readers therefore will need both volumes in order to have comprehensive coverage of military events in that region during the period. Even so, Fredriksen's work is a useful tool to aid students of American military and naval affairs during the formative period of the country's history. Both serious scholars and curious browsers interested in those tumultuous times are therefore in his debt.

William Glenn Robertson

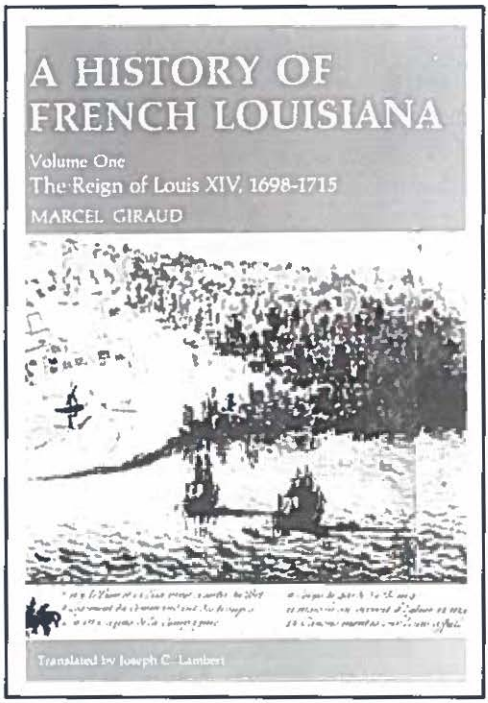
U.S. Army Command and
General Staff College, Kansas

Marcel Giraud. *A History of French Louisiana*. Vol. 1, *The Reign of Louis XIV, 1698-1715*. Originally published in 1953 as *Histoire de la Louisiane française*, Tome Premier, *Le Règne de Louis XIV (1698-1715)*. Trans. Joseph C. Lambert. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1974. Second printing, 1990, *xiii*, pp. 398. $40.00. ISBN 0-8071-0247-4

Marcel Giraud's *A History of French Louisiana* is a multivolume, solid, and detailed history of colonial Louisiana. An example of excellent narrative history, the work is a fundamental source for scholars both of early southern United States history and of the history of French expansion. For this reason historians should welcome the reissue of the English translation of the first volume, "The Reign of Louis XIV, 1698-1715."

Volume one begins not, as one might expect, with the explorations of La Salle. His achievements, Giraud explains, have been more than amply described elsewhere. Rather, Giraud picks up the thread of his story with the struggles of Henry de Tonty and the Seigneur d'Iberville to settle the Gulf Coast between the Mobile River and the Red River. Numerous obstacles stemming from the geography and climate of the region, and the ignorance of the French contending with them, stymied the growth of the small outposts they founded. The French could find few natural resources in the area to exploit. Wheat would not grow due to the poor soil and

humid climate, tobacco was ridden with worms, mineral deposits were located too deep in Indian territory to be exploited and the crown prohibited trade in beaver skins, for fear of diminishing the Canadian economy.



More significant still to the floundering and stagnation of the fledgling colonies were the wars which marred the final years of Louis XIV's reign, and the weak, vacillating policies of Louis's ministers toward the Louisiana settlements. Lack of firm central control and support from France permitted dissension to arise among the settlers, many of whom were unwilling and illsuited to perform the agricultural labor vital for the colony to become self sufficient. The Jesuits quarreled with the Seminary of Foreign Missions, the Canadians with the French, Bienville with La Salle, Duclos with La Mothe Cadillac, and so on in a dreary pattern. These internal rivalries further weakened the French colonization effort in Louisiana. The one bright spot in the scenario was the French ability, especially under Bienville, to establish a firm rapport with many neighboring Indian tribes. This friendly relationship saved the French settlements both from famine and from destruction at the hands of the British Carolina traders. However, even here, the weak leadership of La Mothe Cadillac nearly ruined Bienville's successes. In the face of all these seemingly insurmountable problems, it appears miraculous that the French presence endured even until 1715.

Giraud's volume is likely to be more useful to American historians than to students of French expansion. Whereas the book provides a highly detailed account of the development of the settlements, it offers little insight into the events and personalities in France which influenced and guided the colonization effort and were responsible for its stagnation. Giraud tells the reader next to nothing about the lives of any of the principal actors, in France or in Louisiana. Even Iberville, the most

important colonial leader and explorer, and Pontchartrain, the minister in France charged with oversight of the colonial effort, remain enigmatic figures. Nor does Giraud provide us with much analysis of their motivations, beyond general wartime exigencies.

By the same token, the author rigorously omits any discussion of previous colonization efforts during administration of Colbert. We are told little about the growth of French colonization in the context of European rivalries or the place occupied by the colonies in the political and military strategy of Louis XIV and his advisors. Yet all of this information is central to comprehending the drama unfolding in Louisiana, because the outposts during these early years were entirely dependent on the benevolence of the French king and his ministers. Thus, this book's story of Louisiana seems very isolated, linked neither to French history nor to the older French colonies. Readers lacking a basic knowledge of the reign of Louis XIV may find themselves mystified about the evolution of early French colonial policy in Louisiana and the attitudes and, especially the sheer persistence of those enacting it.

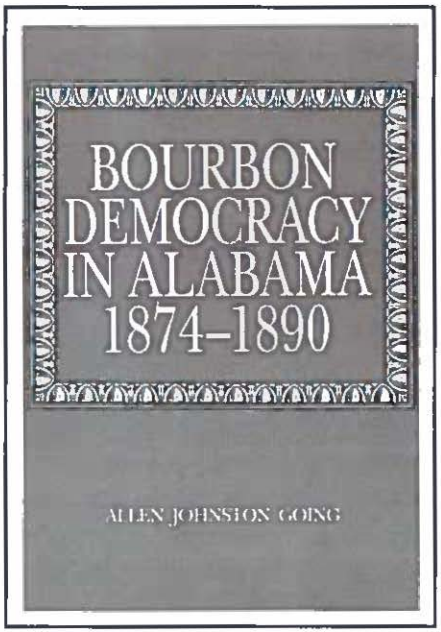
A History of French Louisiana, Volume One, "The Reign of Louis XIV, 1698-1715," is indispensable for those interested in the history of the Gulf Coast and upper Mississippi River regions, as well as for students of French colonial expansion. Firm background knowledge of late seventeenth and eighteenth century French history is required, however, before tackling Giraud's work. It offers the reader only the slightest contextual and analytical framework. Also, the region discussed, with its many interlaced waterways, is complex, and those unfamiliar with it will probably have to consult an atlas to keep track of the colonies and explorations described in the book, because most of the maps Giraud supplies are sketchy and lacking in detail.

Gayle K. Brunelle California State Fullerton

Allen Johnston Going. *Bourbon Democracy in Alabama, 1874-1890.* With a new forward by the author. 1951. Reprint, Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1992, *xviii*, pp. 256. $19.95. ISBN 0-8173-0580-7.

Few scholarly books are reprinted; fewer still are reprinted a second time. Allen J. Going's *Bourbon Democracy in Alabama, 1874-1890* is one of the latter. It was first published in 1951 by the University of Alabama Press, was reissued in 1972 by Greenwood Press, and is now available as

part of the University's Library of Alabama Classics. More than forty years after its initial appearance, it remains an essential work for anyone interested in Alabama history.



Part of the appeal of the book lies in its topical approach. After a brief treatment of Reconstruction, Professor Going takes on the political, economic, and social issues of the Bourbon era. In concise essays, he explains Democratic and opposition politics, state revenue and the fiscal legacy of Reconstruction, industrial policy, railroads, agrarian discontent, education, the convict lease system, and "social welfare." Specialized works have treated aspects of the period in greater detail—Malcolm McMillan's *Constitutional Development in Alabama* (1955) and William Warren Rogers' *One-Gallused Rebellion: Agrarianism in Alabama, 1865-1896* (1970) come to mind. But no one has equalled the scope of Going's coverage, or bettered his clear, unpretentious style. For this edition he has prepared an introduction surveying the historiography of late nineteenth-century Alabama.

Several of Going's discussions remain standard treatments. Who else has laid out so clearly the various devices involved in funding the Reconstruction debt, or the basic nature of Bourbon tax policy? Nor has anyone improved upon Going's exposition of the ways in which Democratic leaders manipulated both law and public opinion to keep themselves in power. The Democratic Party was an uneasy coalition of agrarian and industrial factions; and Going is particularly instructive on the techniques by which the Black Belt Bourbons maintained their influence.

Just as Going wrote (in part) to correct the impression that Alabama "Redeemers" were faultless heroes, so his book is a corrective to the view that Democrats were utterly opposed to the regulation of vested interests. In fact, legislators typically responded to crises by enacting moderately conceived, low-cost reforms. Thus in 1880-1881, when "anti-railroad sentiment throughout Alabama had reached a fairly high pitch," the legislature created a Railroad Commission endowed with significant legal

authority, though not with the power to set rates. Similarly when conditions in the state's convict lease camps had become a scandal—and when laboring men, Greenbackers, Republicans, and members of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union were condemning the practice of leasing prisoners—the legislature passed laws (1882-1883, 1885, 1886) eliminating the worst abuses. The revenue-producing lease system, however, remained in place.

Old as it is, *Bourbon Democracy* contains a number of revelations for present-day students. Professor Going reveals, for example, the existence of several bona-fide political insiders who were also men of principle. Among this group were Black Belt lawyers such as Walter L. Bragg, president (1881-1885) of the Railroad Commission; and R. H. Dawson, president (1883-1897) of the board of convict inspectors. Even Robert McKee, an editor and governor's secretary who was denounced as the ultimate Bourbon, was sympathetic to the plight of farmers and disgusted by the mistreatment of prisoners. As long as these men and their allies held positions of power, reform-minded moderates (Julia Tutwiler, Booker T. Washington) were likely to conclude that change was possible; that working through the Democratic hierarchy would yield results.

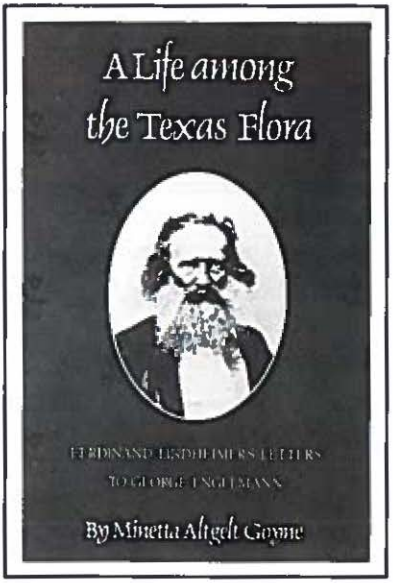
To genuine radicals, of course, the gradual reforms of the 1880s had little to do with the overriding problem of agricultural depression, accompanied by poverty and loss of independence among farmers. To the agrarians of the 1890s, it was clear that there was nothing to be gained by keeping the "Bourbon Oligarchy" (as Populist Joseph C. Manning called it) in office. *Bourbon Democracy* does not cover the Populist revolt. Yet readers of Professor Going's marvelous book will have no difficulty understanding how the Democrats steamrollered Joe Manning and everyone else who posed a threat to them.

Paul M. Pruitt, Jr. University of Alabama

Minetta Altgeld Goyne. *A Life Among the Texas Flora: Ferdinand Lindheimer's Letters to George Englemann*. College Station Texas: Texas A&M University Press, 1991, pp. 236. $44.50. ISBN 0-89096-457-2

Ferdinand Lindheimer (1802-1879), the Father of Texas Botany, earned the title in the 1840s. He pioneered the study of Texas flora, prevailed over Texas-sized hardships, collected specimens, recorded observations, and became a world-class botanist. He communicated what

he learned in spite of what the Republic of Texas called postal service and the vagaries of private shippers and their outrageous charges. George Engelmann—a botanist himself, a German-American like Lindheimer, and the man behind the St. Louis Academy of Science—spoke not only German but also the language of botany as well, and appreciated and encouraged Lindheimer's work. This "dear friend" welcomed the letters from "your Lindheimer," and the plants, leaves, roots, fruits, seeds, and anything else botanical that Lindheimer sent from Texas. Engelmann received thousands of specimens which were examples of hundreds of species and varieties.



He in turn connected Lindheimer with Asa Gray at Harvard, the leading botanist of the United States. Gray recognized what Lindheimer had achieved. Gray to Engelmann, about the cactus named for Lindheimer: "I have saved *Gaura Lindheimereii* by cuttings" potted "last autumn. We shall have it in flower early in the spring" and "exhibit it at the Horticultural Society's rooms in Boston." Lindheimer meanwhile, comparing his observations with Gray's *Flora of North America*, would add to what Gray knew. "*Cynosciadium pumilum*," for instance, "Gray considers to be a form of pinnatum, and rightly so. When it grows on dry, bare, and hard ground, it has an erect umbel." On "damp grassy ground, it becomes tall and branched."

Lindheimer told Engelmann about social, geographical, and political conditions, too, in Texas the colony, republic, and state. Survival itself could be a form of success in the rugged land barely settled and in political transition. Mules give up and horses "bite the dust"; a doctor "runs around drunk in his shirt sleeves"; and a lieutenant "keeps a mistress in addition to his wife" and feels the people in the immigrant camp "nothing but peas, while he lives high off the hog." Lindheimer must shoot his supper after a breakfast eaten at any hour of the morning or at noon. The plainest of fare must suffice for a man "dizzy with hunger" yet revolted by food so long overdue and nauseated while eating so fast "it did one scarcely any good." Could any but the sturdiest survive, let alone succeed? Scottish botanist Thomas Drummond, in Texas in the 1830s, "got drunk for several days at

a time," probably because of the hardships, fled to Mobile, and at age thirty "died there of cholera."

Over a century later this Texas pioneer and great botanist has found his equal in an editor/translator. His neglected letters had lain in disarray. Now they have been recovered in this splendid edition, and the story can be read in English for the first time. Minetta Altgeld Goyne applied knowledge, skill, research, dedication, and effort to the task. Could Lindheimer himself have done anything better? The letters were a mess and the author a shadowy figure in obscure past. Goyne deciphered them, construing meanings where necessary and composed a fluent translation. She researched Lindheimer's life and wrote a biographical essay to introduce the letters. There are lengthy and useful endnotes, a seven-page bibliography, and a thorough index.

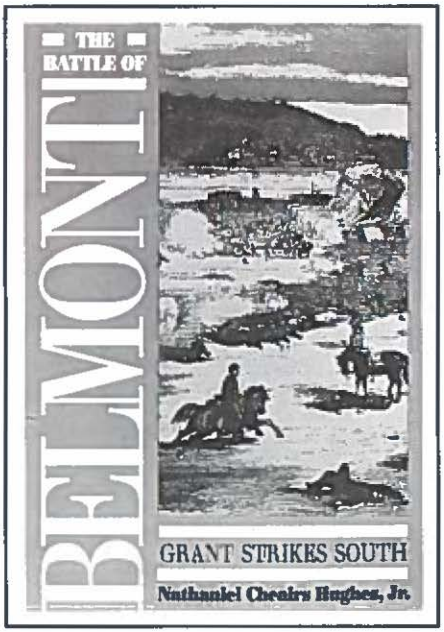
Unfortunately the book includes few illustrations. Worse, there are no maps. True, most of the volume concerns the Texas Gulf Coast and areas adjacent. Houston and Galveston pose no problem, but what of the lesser Colorado and the Brazos, Guadalupe, and San Bernardino rivers, as well as Cat Spring, Industry, New Gockelsdruh, San Felipe, Liverpool, New Braunfels, and Chocolate Bayou? In an effort to solve this problem there are verbal geographical descriptions in the text. Most readers will still need a map. For a book without maps and few illustrations it is very expensive. Fortunately, the buyer gets a book which is neither to be sniffed nor sneezed at: attractive and durable in format; solid, interesting, and significant in content; and outstanding for the scholarship that produced it. Is it readable? This reviewer found it hard to put down.

Frederic Trautmann Temple University

Nathaniel Cheairs Hughes, Jr. *The Battle of Belmont: Grant Strikes South.* Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1991, *xvii*, pp. 320. $24.94. ISBN 0-8078-1968-9

Why write a book about the battle of Belmont? Why research, recount, and analyze such a relatively minor affair? When adding up the number of participants and casualties at Belmont, the one day battle fades into insignificance when compared to the great bloodbaths at Shiloh, Antietam, and Gettysburg. Until November of 1861, the most telling battle had taken place at Bull Run where the Confederates routed the Federals in the opening clash of the war. The Rebels had also won at Wilson's Creek

in Missouri in August 1861 and crushed a Yankee force some two weeks prior to Belmont at Ball's Bluff, Virginia. Except for the campaign in Western Virginia, the North had enjoyed few successes and had little reason to anticipate that a star was about to rise in the West to save the Union.



In *The Battle of Belmont*, Dr. Nathaniel Cheairs Hughes, Jr. described the daring raid of Illinois and Iowa troops into Confederate-held territory led by a virtually unknown general—U. S. Grant. Supported by gunboats, the untested volunteers came ashore on the Missouri side of the Mississippi on November 7, 1861, marched to the hamlet of Belmont, Tennessee, and routed a force of Confederates sent to intercept them. Exhilarated by their temporary triumph, the western soldiers proceeded to loot the abandoned enemy camp, giving the dispersed Rebels time to reform. In the meanwhile, additional Confederate regiments were crossing the river from Columbus, Kentucky, determined to cut the Northerner's line of retreat to their transports. Grant, who had lost control of his men after their initial successes, once again seized the reins and urged his troops to fight their way out of the closing trap. Disaster was at hand for the Union invaders and for Grant's budding military career, but thanks partly to the hesitant response by General Leonidas Polk, commanding at Columbus, and the incompetent leadership displayed by General Gideon Pillow on the field at Belmont, Grant escaped, bloodied but undaunted.

Hughes rightfully abstained from declaring a clear-cut winner at Belmont. He found, nevertheless, that the battle had some important consequences. Grant carried out a dangerous amphibious operation which taught him and the cooperating naval commanders some valuable lessons. Troops under the protection of gunboats, he now fully understood, could be ferried and deployed quickly into the heart of Dixie using the great navigable rivers of the West—the Mississippi, the Ohio, and the Tennessee. On the other hand, according to Hughes, Polk heeded the wrong signals.

Columbus was under the threat of an imminent attack, he thought. Once inflicted with a siege mentality, Polk grew ever reluctant to commit troops from Columbus even when they were badly needed at other points. He kept his garrison intact as Grant seized the initiative using the rivers to take Ft. Henry and Ft. Donelson. Outflanked by these movements, Columbus was abandoned without a shot being fired.

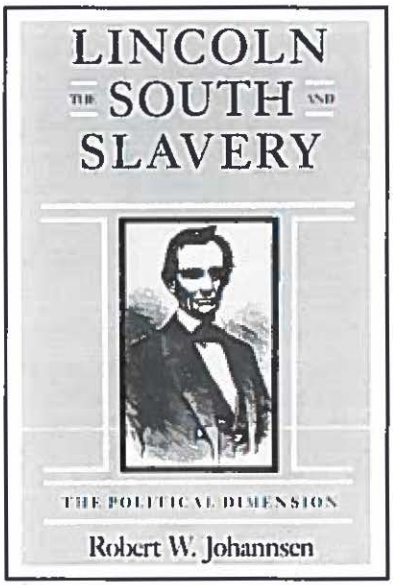
Besides explaining the general strategies and tactics employed by the contending forces at Belmont, Hughes interspersed many graphic stories told by the common soldiers of both sides who fought in the battle. He also provided thorough histories of the regiments involved, concentrating on those areas of the country that enlisted a preponderance of the men—West Tennessee for the Confederates and Illinois for the Federals. Hughes incorporated written sketches and photographs of many of the field grade officers who fought at Belmont, including a probing study into the backgrounds of two Democratic Illinois politicians, John A. Logan and John McClernand. Both men, noted more for their recruiting ability than for their military prowess, conducted themselves well during the hectic fight at Belmont. In addition, the author provided information about many of the participants' activities "beyond Belmont." Some did not survive the war, others proved to be incompetent military leaders and resigned their commands, and one, U. S. Grant, became president of the United States.

There is something about Belmont that stirs up recollections of a Civil War battle fought along the Gulf Coast. Even less known than the battle of Belmont, the battle of Santa Rosa, which took place less than a month before Belmont, provides some interesting comparisons. In this fight, the Confederates were the amphibious invaders, landing down the coast from the Federal bastion of Ft. Pickens which commanded access to Pensacola. After a tiresome march, they formed for battle, routing a Yankee regiment and destroying their camp. Just as at Belmont, the attacking forces, green and overly jubilant about their apparent victory, paused to celebrate and loot. In the meanwhile, reinforcements arrived which turned the tide of battle. The invaders were now in full retreat, intent on reaching their boats before disaster engulfed them. Although less renowned than the officers who fought at Belmont, the leaders of both sides at Santa Rosa were destined for important commands as the war took its course. John K. Jackson, Richard H. Anderson, and James R. Chalmers all Confederate colonels during the battle, later were promoted to generals. On the Union side, Lewis G. Arnold, Harvey Brown, William Wilson, Chauncey B. Reese, James M. Robertson, Richard H. Jackson, and Zealous B. Tower became generals, some only by brevet. Maybe there is enough interesting material about the Santa Rosa fracas to warrant a book. It would, however, require

an extraordinary amount of research to match the scholarship of Hughes's *The Battle of Belmont*.

Charles L. Lufkin Civil War Soldiers' Museum of Pensacola

Robert W. Johannsen. *Lincoln, the South, and Slavery: The Political Dimension*. Baton Rouge, LA: Louisiana State University Press, 1991, *xiii*, pp. 128. $19.95. ISBN 0-8071-1637-8



Robert W. Johannsen, the J. G. Randall Distinguished Professor of History at the University of Illinois, has devoted much of his life to the study of Stephen A. Douglas and is the author of several books on the noted antebellum politician. After probing Douglas' career for many years, it was "inevitable" that Johannsen would "be attracted to Douglas' longtime political adversary, if only to understand the nature of Douglas' opposition and to be able thereby to place Douglas' position in a broader context." Johannsen had this opportunity when he spoke at Louisiana State University, delivering the Walter L. Fleming Lectures in Southern History, and at the Louis A. Warren Lincoln Library and Museum in Fort Wayne, Indiana, where he gave the Twelfth R. Gerald McMurtry Lecture. The revised and lengthened Fleming lectures provide the basis for this book, and are printed in the introduction and chapters one through three. The fourth chapter is from the Indiana presentation, and has been previously published in a pamphlet form.

This short book is in no way intended to cover Lincoln's stand on slavery. Indeed, the author notes that he could only "scratch the surface of the issue." But what he has tried to do is to show how Lincoln's attitude changed in the years preceding the Civil War. Johannsen believes that in the six years prior to Lincoln's election as president, his attitude towards slavery altered dramatically. Lincoln was an experienced politician, and he

recognized how important it was to be on the correct side of a controversial issue. Thus, his position on slavery "was shaped and directed by political exigencies and motivations." There is no question about Lincoln's personal feelings concerning slavery: he had always been against it, yet he was not an abolitionist. Nevertheless, as his political ambitions grew, so did his realization that he would have to take a more radical stance if he were to be successful in the states that were important to his career.

The political evolution of Lincoln's position on slavery began in 1854 with the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska Act and ended in 1860 with his election as president. Prior to this the author points out that Lincoln, not unlike other Mid-Westerners, had paid scant attention to the issue. But as any astute politician, when Lincoln launched his "second political career" in 1854, he altered his own attitude to be in step with the political realities of the time. "Nearly all of his public statements on the slavery question prior to his election as president were delivered with political intent and for political effect," maintains Johannsen. Moreover, when questioned Lincoln was not afraid to employ all of the political strategies he knew, "noncommittalism, evasion, ambiguity, silence—and achieved a success that surprised even himself."

Lincoln was enough of a frontier politician to know when he needed to adapt, and after he linked his fortunes with the Republicans he merged two powerful forces, morality and politics. Lincoln "ultimately argued that the moral character of the republic depended upon the political success of the Republican party and specifically upon his own election to office." Although Lincoln claimed in 1860 that he had not changed his position on slavery, the author argues that in the previous six years he had moved from the middle-ground toward a more radical position. Lincoln, maintains Johannsen, needed an issue to make his name, and the confused and volatile situation surrounding slavery gave him just what he wanted. "Like the abolitionists," asserts Johannsen, "Lincoln found it necessary to adjust to the political realities that followed his affiliation with the Republican party." He therefore began to shift toward the harsh anti-southern convictions of the Republicans.

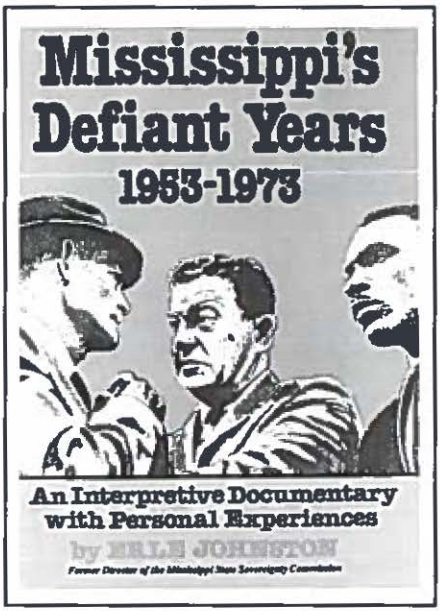
The author traces how Lincoln moved from the moderate Whig position to that of his newly adopted party. As he left behind his Whig beliefs, he also abandoned some of his sympathy for the South and Southerners. Johannsen asserts that by 1858 "Lincoln cared little whether the South noticed him or not. In the coming presidential contest, the South was clearly irrelevant (provided Douglas and the Southerners did not

patch up their differences)." With Lincoln, "the slavery issue became a powerful political weapon."

Lincoln has always been a complex person to understand. In this book Johannsen has taken his immense knowledge of Douglas and used it as a tool to look at Lincoln as Douglas would have. Johannsen has tried to convey that Lincoln knew exactly what he was doing when he used slavery as an issue to further his own political career. This book will be an interesting addition to the continuing debate over Lincoln's role in the sectional crisis.

Anne J. Bailey Georgia Southern University

Erle Johnston. *Mississippi's Defiant Years, 1953-1973: An Interpretive Documentary with Personal Experiences*. Forest, MS: Lake Harbor Publishers, 1990, *xxii*, pp. 430. $24.95. ISBN 0-6818-2857-9



It has been almost a quarter of a century since Erle Johnston resigned as Director of Mississippi's Sovereignty Commission (MSC). Established in 1956 to defend the Magnolia State from the depredations of "the Federal Government or any branch, department or agency thereof," the Commission quickly earned a reputation as Mississippi's official "segregation watch-dog agency." As head of public relations (1960-63) and later as overall director (1963-68), Johnston was at the center of MSC activities for almost half the agency's lifespan. Given that perspective, one might have expected this "Interpretive Documentary with Personal Experiences," as the subtitle puts it, to provide a revealing glimpse into the inner workings of that most infamous bureau in the most notoriously recalcitrant segregationist regime during the most abject era of recent southern history. Alas, such expectations are doomed to disappointment. *Mississippi's Defiant*

Years is neither revelatory nor penitential. There are in it elements of apologia, not a defense of the faith, mind you (the recantation of segregation is unmistakable), but rather a defense by one of the faithful of the nobility with which he fought an essentially ignoble fight. "I could not be called a liberal," Johnston confesses, "and I would deny such a definition. Neither was I a die-hard segregationist. I called myself a 'practical' segregationist...I guess I could be called an unpredictable, editorial maverick, doing my own thinking as various situations arose."

The volume recounts, in intricate detail, those situations, ranging from Mississippi's initial response to the Supreme Court's 1954 *Brown* decision to the recent efforts to open the sealed Sovereignty Commission files. There is little information here that is not available elsewhere—"this book is," Johnston declares in the Preface, "part documentary, which means I used a lot of public sources." Yet there *is* a great deal of information: on the rise of the Citizens' Councils; segregationist politics; freedom rides, freedom summer, and the Freedom Democratic party; the murders of Emmett Till, Mack Charles Parker, Medgar Evers, and the three civil rights workers in Neshoba County; boycotts, marches, demonstrations; and almost everything else related to civil rights in Mississippi between 1953 and 1973. It is all presented, not in narrative chapters—it would be unfair to judge the book by the standards of formal history—but rather in eighty-six roughly chronological, reportorial vignettes, not unlike a collection of newspaper columns. "Chiefly it is," says Johnston, "a record of my own recollections and personal experiences," cast in a style befitting one who for more than four decades published and edited a weekly newspaper in Forest, Mississippi, the *Scott County Times*.

Therein lies the book's value, for Erle Johnston was no ordinary small-town editor. Before coming to the Sovereignty Commission, he had managed publicity for two United States Senate candidates, John Stennis (1947) and James Eastland (1954), and two Mississippi gubernatorial candidates, Fielding Wright (1947) and Ross Barnett (1955 and 1959), all but one in successful campaigns. Among the fruits of those labors was a personal familiarity with virtually every significant personage (and most of the semi- and insignificant ones as well) of the day in Mississippi, an arsenal of acquaintances that proved useful during Johnston's tenure at the MSC as well as in the writing of this volume. Indeed, it sometimes seems as if everyone who lived and moved and had being in Mississippi during the sixties dances across these pages at some point or other, albeit many of them in cameo appearances. Some of the names will evoke almost universal recognition: James Meredith, Ross Barnett, Medgar Evers, Hodding Carter, Jim Eastland, William Kuntsler, and Fannie Lou Hamer.

Others will be obscure to all but those at home among the lush contours of Mississippi's exotic garden of colorful personality: "Hacksaw" Mary Cain, iconoclastic conservative editor who earned her endearing sobriquet by rather forthrightly reopening her newspaper office after the government padlocked it when she refused to pay social security taxes; state representative and Jackson radio personality "Farmer" Jim Neal: country music bandleader and gubernatorial candidate Jimmy Swan; irascible *Jackson Daily News* editor Fred Sullens, who once suggested after Theodore Bilbo's election as governor that the eagle atop the Capitol dome be replaced with a "puking buzzard"; equally irascible P. D. East, liberal editor of the *Petal Paper*, which claimed the "lowest local per capita circulation of any newspaper in the world; and Jackson lawyer, and world's greatest living raconteur, Dixon Pyles.

For one who, during those heady days in Mississippi, struggled through adolescence only vaguely conscious of the import of the wrenching events swirling about him, those names conjure up an ambiguous amalgam of thoughts and emotions, soft warm nostalgia tempered by the cold rigor of mature reflection. This reader cannot but sympathize with Johnston as he groped to understand what former governor William Winter describes in the Foreword as "one state's search for its own soul," and as he struggles with himself to come to grips with his own role in that search.

It would be easy to weigh Johnston's memoir in the scales of currently acceptable racial and political sensibilities and pronounce judgement accordingly. In that spirit, others will no doubt decry its failure to detail the machinations of an agency that state representative Butch Lambert of Tupelo once said made the CIA look like a "kindergarten." Some will view with skepticism Johnston's insistence that he subtly nudged the Commission away from its original mission toward a more constructive role as a troubleshooting agency, "working behind the scenes with civil rights leaders and local power structures to help determine, if possible, compromise solutions" to tense racial confrontations. "It is true," he concludes near the end of the book, that the agency's "chief function was surveillance of civil rights activists and their subversive associates. This could be called 'spying,' of course but it was not harassment. Violence against blacks for demanding voting rights or an end to segregated facilities was perpetrated by local white extremists in a community. There is hardly a public official today who doesn't regret the injustices of the sixties. But apologies, regrets, or commiserations won't heal all the wounds or bring back the dead. It will take deeds, not words, to soothe the feelings of blacks."

However much one chooses to quibble with those distinctions, it would seem uncharitable to deny Johnston's claim to be among "the white people of good will" who "watched in sadness as what I thought to be a workable system of racial accommodations gave way to increasing suspicion and mutual antagonisms." Black Southerners' quest for justice produced, as Winter notes, "the usual villains and heroes." Like most Mississippians, Erle Johnston was neither, but rather a basically decent man caught in the tangled web of a dubious social heritage during an age that placed excruciating demands on common decency. To make heroism the standard of judgement in such circumstances discounts the frailty of the human condition. *Mississippi's Defiant Years* is, in Winter's words, "a sometimes depressing, often disturbing, but always factual account of an era that thankfully has been laid to rest but should not be forgotten." The validity of that assessment must await future developments, particularly the release and objective assimilation of MSC records which, sealed for fifty years by legislative order in 1977, remain the subject of controversy and litigation.

Ultimately, Johnston left the Commission, not so much because it or circumstances or Mississippi had changed. He resigned in 1968 because by that time Erle Johnston had begun to change. "I was appointed," he recalled, "to do whatever was within my power to slow down federal encroachment on the rights of the states, which meant preserving segregation and white supremacy. This, I could no longer do, within my own conscience." In recounting the story of the civil rights struggle in Mississippi, Johnston also offers, unwittingly perhaps, an insight into his own spiritual pilgrimage, one shared in some measure with an entire generation of white Mississippians. However flawed, however painfully slow, however incomplete that communal pilgrimage remains, it is still the final vindication of Martin Luther King's hope that "there are great resources of goodwill in the southern white man that we must somehow tap," as well as his conviction that courageous non-violent protest would prick the conscience of a nation. Heroes, villains, and ordinary men and women all played important roles in the tumultuous events that eventually made life in a biracial society modestly more livable for everyone.

One of Johnston's recollections presents a poignant picture of that human dynamic at work: "During those early years I recall a Negro woman coming into my *Scott County Times* office to ask: 'How much is your cardboard?' I replied, innocently enough, 'Ten cents for white and fifteen cents for colored.' Immediately I realized how it sounded and I hastened to explain. 'What I mean is that the white cardboard costs ten

cents and the red, blue or green cardboard costs fifteen cents!' The woman smiled, nodding. 'I knew what you meant.'"

For those with ears to hear, this book offers a significant contribution to a proper understanding of a difficult period in American, southern, and Mississippi history. That contribution is not so much in the external recording of events, however factual or interpretive. It lies rather in the implicit "internal dialogue," as Allen Tate described it in reference to a similar pilgrimage by another southern white man, Huckleberry Finn, wherein the significant action "is generated inside the characters...a conflict within the self." Erle Johnston has shown us here his own personal conflict regarding the evolution of race relations during his lifetime. Patently, that conflict has not ended, but readers with the grace of that unnamed Scott County woman will know what he means, and learn from the account.

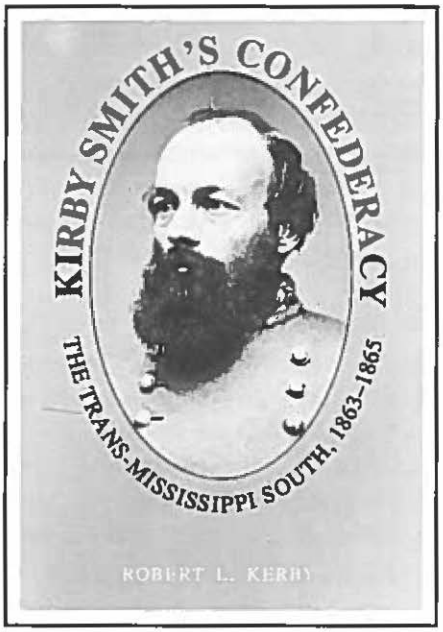
Chester M. Morgan University of Kentucky

Robert L. Kerby. *Kirby Smith's Confederacy: The Trans-Mississippi South, 1863-65*. 1972. Reprint, Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1991 pp. 542. Paper, $18.95. ISBN 0-8173-0546-7

Spanning over 600,000 square miles, and comprising the states of Missouri, Texas, Arkansas, western Louisiana, and the Arizona and Indian territories, the Trans-Mississippi Department was the largest region of the Confederacy. It is also the theatre most overlooked by Civil War historians. Some might argue that this is because the region was of little importance to the Confederacy. As Kerby himself observed, "The Trans-Mississippi Department was never more than a peripheral theater of operations, and its fate hinged upon the fortunes of Confederate arms in the East."

Despite its size, the Trans-Mississippi contained little in the way of industry. Agriculturally, the region was self-sustaining, but could export few food crops to the rest of the South. The state of Missouri, which Kerby describes as "the garden of the trans-Mississippi South," actually "produced more tobacco, wool, flax, hemp, wheat, rye, Indiana corn, oats, and buckwheat,...than the rest of the Southwest put together." That state also contained most of the Trans-Mississippi's factories. Yet, early in the war Missouri was lost to the Confederacy after the Battle of Pea Ridge in March 1862.

The one commodity that was abundant throughout most of the southwestern Confederacy was cotton. It grew in abundance, and was far and away the Trans-Mississippi's chief export and principal source of income. The arms, supplies and money the cotton trade provided enabled the Confederate southwest to remain self-sufficient throughout the war. That product, combined with the growth potential the southwest offered the Confederacy, made the region important to the southern cause.



General Edmund Kirby Smith, who commanded the Department of the Trans-Mississippi from March 1863 until the end of the war, was the seventh-highest-ranking officer in the Confederate army. Yet, like the department he commanded, he, too, has been ignored by historians. While *Kirby Smith's Confederacy* is in no way a biography of General Smith (one of the book's weak points is a lack of personal information regarding that general), it does provide both scholars and Civil War buffs a searching examination of his leadership.

By the time Smith assumed command, the Trans-Mississippi was already in dire straits. Union troops were pressing up from southern Louisiana, and southward from Missouri. Attempts had been made to capture Galveston, the department's most important seaport, and, worst of all, Grant's federal host was closing in on Vicksburg.

Morale in the region was declining rapidly, and would only get worse. Desertion, always a problem in Smith's department, became epidemic. Northern Texas was infested with so many deserters that by the fall of 1863, they actually outnumbered Confederate troops stationed in the area.

After the Federal seizure of Vicksburg, Kirby Smith's problems reached their peak. Cut off from the eastern Confederacy, Smith found it extremely difficult to communicate with Richmond. Orders, supplies, money, and other essentials that were normally transported across the Mississippi River, were slow in coming. As a result, according to Texas Senator W. S. Oldham, the Trans-Mississippi region became "virtually and practically abandoned by the Executive and War Department, and surrendered to Gen.

Smith to be governed according to his own discretion and to be sustained by its own resources."

In effect, Kirby Smith became the chief executive of the Trans-Mississippi. As the author states, "Beginning in August, 1863, and continuing well into the following year, he [Smith] gradually established semiautonomous western branches of most of the War Department's bureaus." Smith even appointed men to command and rank through special orders issued from his headquarters. Most of Smith's actions were eventually sanctioned by Richmond. As Kerby states, "No other general officer, not even Robert E. Lee, was allowed such broad discretion."

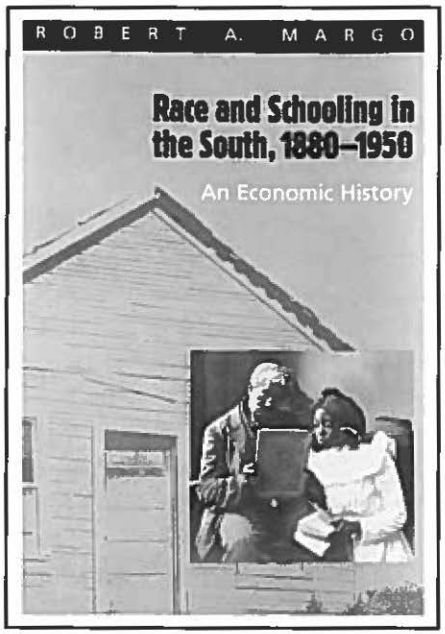
Kirby Smith's abilities as an administrator probably saved the Trans-Mississippi Department from suffering a total economic and political collapse following the Union occupation of Vicksburg. Yet as a strategist, General Smith was wanting. When General Richard Taylor, commander of the District of West Louisiana, became hard-pressed by invading Yankees, as the Federal army probed up Bayou Teche and up the Red River, Smith continually urged Taylor to fall back without offering battle.

During the Red River Campaign Smith was willing to abandon most of Louisiana to the Federals. Only General Taylor's fortitude saved the Red River Valley from permanent occupation by Union troops. At the Battle of Honeycutt Hill, near Mansfield, Louisiana, Taylor made his stand against Banks, determined to "fight Banks here if he has a million men!" Taylor's doggedness and low water in the Red River eventually forced Banks's column back to the Mississippi River. Kirby Smith later claimed credit for this action.

Kirby Smith's Confederacy was an immense undertaking. Because of the scope and period covered, it was obviously essential for the author to paint with a broad brush. Yet, there are certain details that seem to be lacking. A better biographical sketch of Kirby Smith and his chief subordinates would have accented the book nicely. Also, more detailed maps, particularly of the Red River Campaign and its attending battles, seem to be needed. Nevertheless, *Kirby Smith's Confederacy*, originally published in 1972, remains the definitive source of the war in the Trans-Mississippi.

Robert Garth Scott Grand Blanc, Michigan

Robert A. Margo. *Race and Schooling in the South, 1880-1950: An Economic History*. Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1990, pp. 164. $24.95. ISBN 0-226-50510-3



In the "Preface" to *Race and Schooling in the South*, econometrician Robert Margo contends that his work will "deepen our understanding" of how the extreme differences in educational opportunities between blacks and whites resulted in racial earning differentials. The author focuses on the dynamics of this process as it unfolded in the American South and grew to affect the employment opportunities of African Americans, primarily men, throughout all regions. While Margo's conclusions will hardly provoke fresh debate among historians, some may find this work useful for its supportive quantitative analysis and its wealth of relevant data, especially on historical allocation of public resources to education in the South.

Using econometric models, primarily regression analysis, Margo explores many well-known theories regarding the relationship between educational opportunities and occupational attainment. Based on the supply-side "human capital" model and the demand-side "institutional" model, Margo concludes that the color line in education in the late nineteenth-century South resulted in a lasting pattern of unequal income, an example of "intergenerational drag" on income ratios between blacks and whites. Thus, Margo contends that the political economy of segregated education carries important consequences for *all* Americans. It perpetuates a "second-class" status for black Americans and *all* Americans who suffer differences in the quantity and quality of schooling. Although timely—in the sense of the current educational debate over the merits of multicultural education and Afrocentrism—and grounded in solid statistical evidence, Margo's conclusion will not come as news to most readers acquainted with African-American issues during this period. Even so,

Margo presents data and analyses throughout the work which make his commonplace conclusions worth examining.

This type of quantitative approach is fraught with danger for many readers. First, it relies on esoteric, even arcane, economic models which not only challenge the comprehension of the average reader, but also may even confound him or her. The book is not easy reading. Also, such methodology relies on innumerable charts and tables, many of which defy logical explication. The presentation of confusing or incomplete sources is another problem which may trouble scholars as they wade carefully through this work.

Perhaps the greatest strength of this book is to prod readers into new economic views on education. In this sense, it builds on or complements a growing stream of literature which seeks to place race and sex at the center of educational debates. An example of this is Claudia Goldin's *Understanding the Gender Gap: An Economic History of American Women* (1990), and James Anderson's *The Education of Blacks in the South, 1860-1935* (1987). Those interested in the growing debate over the reasons for and the results of the persistent economic disparity between blacks and whites may consult Gavin Wright's *Old South, New South: Revolutions in the Southern Economy Since the Civil War* (1986) and Robert H. Higgs's *Competition and Coercion: Blacks in the American Economy, 1865-1914* (1977), or for a deeper historical analysis, one may consult Robert Fogel's recent exciting work, *Without Consent or Contract: The Rise and Fall of American Slavery* (1990). Readers interested in applying the book to or deriving more information about the Gulf Coast region will find the numerous tables and charts on the quantitative aspects of southern segregation useful, particularly those providing extensive data on Alabama, Florida, Louisiana, and Mississippi.

Margo carries impressive credentials to support his own research into this area. He has published or co-authored fourteen works and articles on related subjects, and he has worked closely over the years with such respected econometricians as Stanley Engerman and Robert Fogel, the latter of whom Margo labels his "mentor." Fogel, along with Clayne L. Pope, edited the series, "Long-term Factors in Economic Development" by the National Bureau of Economic Research, under which this volume is the fourth title. Currently, Margo is an associate professor of economics at Vanderbilt University and a research associate of the National Bureau of Economic Research.

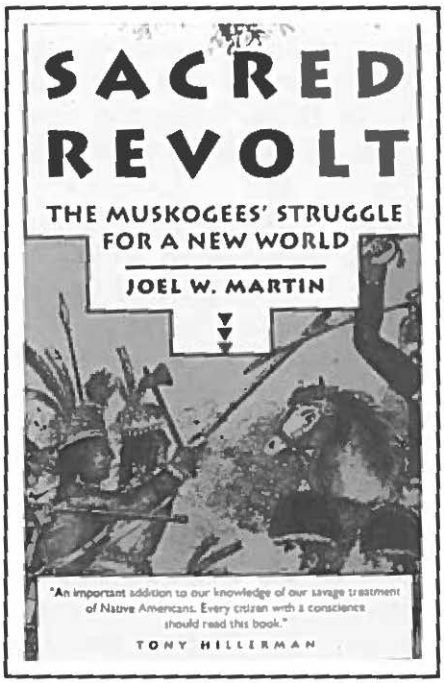
Margo has produced a work rich in data and analyses regarding the causes or at least one cause, educational deprivation—of persistent economic disparity between the races. Conversely, his conclusions neither

challenge prevailing historical consensus nor provide new insight regarding this subject. Rather, his study offers important quantitative underpinnings for the notions most historians accept as obvious.

Irvin D. Solomon

Edison Community College
Fort Myers

Joel Martin. *Sacred Revolt: The Muskogee's Struggle for a New World.* Boston: Beacon Press, 1991, *xii*, pp. 233. $24.95. ISBN 0-8070-5402-X



One of the most neglected areas of southeastern and Gulf Coast historiography is the history of native Americans. Joel Martin in his well-argued critique of the Redstick revolt of 1813-14 closes this historical gap.

Sacred Revolt explains why the Redsticks, a name attached to Muskogee rebels, revolted on their own terms. As Martin observes, his study seeks "not, just to evaluate the Redstick revolt of 1813-1814 from without but also to understand it as much as possible from within, from the perspective of the Redsticks themselves." This, Martin declares, demands a thorough study of Muskogee religion.

Martin describes in chapters one through three the spiritual, economic, and social background of the revolt. This is a brilliant synthesis and analysis of the most recent scholarship in the ethnohistory of the Muskogee and southeastern Native Americans. Chapters four through seven are devoted to the religious dimensions of the history of the Muskogee people. In this section Martin argues that the Redstick revolt was a religious phenomenon.

He points out that the Redstick revolt was a powerful religious movement which authentically dramatized the concerns of thousands of

Muskogees at a critical stage in their history. To meet the crises of 1813-14—the encroachment of their land by American settlers, the loss of many *métis* due to their assimilation into European culture, and erosion of political power—the Redsticks responded by means of traditional rites of passage and world renewal ceremonies which were part of their Native American culture. As Martin declares, "the rebel Muskogees' revolt of 1813-14 was a spiritual movement of profound significance to its participants. It was an anticolonial movement empowered by contact with spirits of earth, water, and sky," and as he concludes, "led chiefly by shamans, patterned according to mythic narrative patterns, and enacted in the form of a grand collective initiation process."

In the final chapters, Martin chronicles the defeat of the Redsticks by the forces of Andrew Jackson and the combined militia units of Georgia, Mississippi, and Tennessee. In the Battle of Tohopeka (Horseshoe Bend) eight hundred of the one thousand Muskogees warriors were killed either in combat or drowned trying to escape. As Martin observes, no other battle between Native Americans and immigrant Americans cost more Native American lives.

With the defeat of the Muskogees at the Battle of Tohopeka and the cession of fourteen million acres of land to the United States, by 1820 over eighty-five thousand Anglo-Americans and forty-two thousand African-Americans had settled on land previously held by the Muskogees. This massive influx of settlers and slaves combined with the land cession created the state of Alabama in 1819 and eventually led to the removal of almost all the Muskogee people by 1835-36 from the Southeast.

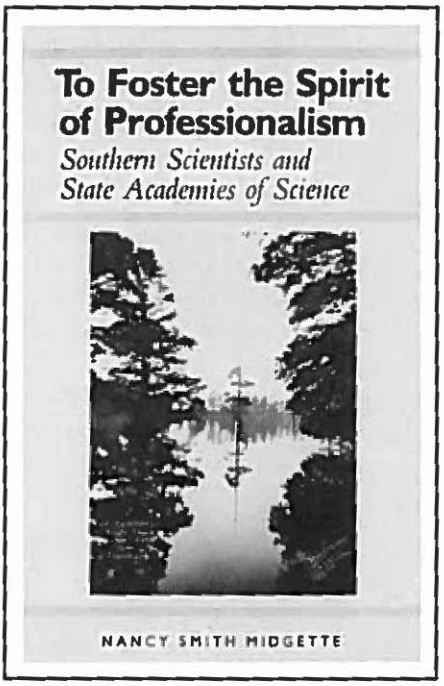
This book is not about the personalities of the Redstick Revolt as was the case with Benjamin Griffith's *McIntosh and Weatherford* (1988), nor about the military, diplomatic and political events of the period, already covered in Frank Owsley's *The Struggle for the Gulf Borderlands* (1981). Instead, this work is a history of a religious millenarian movement, which sparked the Redstick's "Sacred Revolt" and led to massive Muskogee casualties at the Battle of Tohopeka (Horseshoe Bend).

Some scholars may take issue with Martin's characterization of the Yamasee revolt of 1715 as a "prophetic movement," or be concerned at his heavy reliance on George Stiggins's account of the revolt of 1813-14. As Martin pointed out, the revolt was led among the Muskogees by the Alabamas, who profoundly hated white settlers. Martin could have traced this hatred back to the French period when the Alabamas were staunch French allies and enemies to the English. Other readers might also like to see more analysis of the role of *métis* in both supporting and opposing the revolt.

This is a stimulating and original account of how a Native American religious movement captured a large part of the Muskogee nation in 1813-14 and eventually led to war between the settlers and the Muskogees. Martin's study goes a long way in helping scholars of the Southeast and Gulf Coast better understand Native American history in this period and the Redstick revolt of 1813-14.

Joel Wilkins — Livingston University

Nancy Smith Midgette. *To Foster the Spirit of Professionalism: Southern Scientists and State Academies of Science.* Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1991, *vii*, pp. 238. $29.95. ISBN 0-8173-0549-1



Chronologically, this study begins where Ronald L. Numbers and Todd L. Savitt, eds., *Science and Medicine in the Old South* (1989), ends. It is a book about the rise of the New South, and especially a study of the professionalization of science and emergence of state academies of science within changing regional and national economic and social contexts. It is a fine contribution to our historical understanding of the complex relationships between region and nation.

The author makes clear the extent to which the Civil War also wreaked havoc on the scientific enterprise in the southern states. From Reconstruction to the present, however, the author demonstrates that southern scientific institutions grew slowly, with their functions shaped by the forces of national and international trends in the professionalization, practice, and teaching of the sciences. In a number of ways, then, the South's experiences mirror those of other regions and their own interaction with national developments.

Trying to remain optimistic while facing dismal financial prospects, southern scientists, and especially college and university science instructors, founded professional societies to bolster group identity and to encourage general social support. Created in 1883, the Elisha Mitchell Scientific Society in Chapel Hill was the first of its kind in the post-Civil War South. The second came in 1890, the Alabama Industrial and Scientific Society in Tuscaloosa. Organizers wrestled with issues such as who should be invited to join, and how much time, if any, should be devoted to solving the problems of local industry and agriculture. The EMSS was at first largely an exclusive group dominated by University of North Carolina science faculty, but over time it too adopted more inclusive membership policies and generalized professional discourse. A different example is that of the AISS. It would not have existed without the coal and iron interests of northern Alabama. After the turn of the century, state academies of science emerged as the most inclusive formal groups.

Founded in 1902, the North Carolina Academy of Science was the first in the South, followed in 1912 by its Tennessee counterpart. These states in particular, along with Texas and Virginia, also had the most schools, employed more scientists and science teachers, and published the strongest journals among the states considered. For these and other reasons, the author focuses on them. Reflecting nationwide experiences, the functions of state academies changed over time. Academies attempted to build an institutional bridge between university, college, high school students and teachers, scientists in the private sector, and government. During most of the present century specialization in science, as elsewhere in society, diverted interest away from participation in the general activities of state academies. But the interest remains, and the state academies in the South, and throughout the nation continue to make important contributions to science education and research by sustaining junior academies and providing refereed forums.

However, after reading the book, and even after a perusal of the index, it is difficult to know which South we are dealing with. The majority of statistical studies about American scientists published over the last two decades do not include Kentucky in their southern category. Rather, it is generally considered a "Border" state. Midgette's inclusion of the state in this study introduces some difficulties of comparison which this reviewer finds troublesome.

All things considered, this is a good book. This work is shaped by the templates and the networks of communication and specialization in science etched by George H. Daniels, Nathan Reingold, and others. The archival materials utilized are derived from among other sources, programs of state

academy of science meetings, internal and external correspondence, affiliations with regional or national societies, and academy publications. The use and interpretation of these sources enrich our understanding of the historical and contemporary roles played by state academies within an increasingly fragmented "scientific community."

Eric Howard Christianson University of Kentucky

Julian Lee Rayford. *Cottonmouth*. 1941. Reprint, Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1991, xx, pp. 422. Paper, $19.95. ISBN 0-8173-0529-7

Mobile, Alabama, has produced a number of talented writers during this century, including William March, Julian Lee Rayford, Eugene Walter, Jay Higginbotham, Franklin Daugherty, and Winston Groom. Though none of these has achieved the stature of major southern writers such as William Faulkner, Flannery O'Conner, or the more recent Willie Morris, they nevertheless represent a literary heritage of which any city could be proud.

Julian Lee Rayford was born in downtown Mobile in 1908, and died there in 1980. His father was an engineer with the Mobile and Ohio Railroad and worked with the famous Casey Jones during the 1880s. His mother was the daughter of Dick Ogletree, a well-known antebellum minstrel entertainer. In light of these circumstances Rayford's subsequent career seems inevitable. Yet he grew up hard. His father died while he was still a child, and his mother was often preoccupied with civic projects and club work. With his five older brothers, "Judy" as he came to be called, got into constant fights and was by his own admission a "typical small town hoodlum." That his artistic side survived and triumphed is a tribute to the strength of his muse and the intervention of various local teachers and artists who nurtured his talent.

Rayford eventually studied sculpture under Gutzon Borglum, famous for his work at Atlanta's Stone Mountain and Mount Rushmore. Borglum considered Rayford a genius, and referred to him as the "boy with a soul." In addition to his sculpture, Rayford published poetry in a variety of magazines including H. L. Mencken's *American Mercury* and *Scribner's*. He traveled widely, usually hitchhiking, served a short stint in the army, and lived and worked in Nashville, Chicago, and New York before returning to Mobile for good in 1945.

Rayford's reputation was built on his ability as a storyteller, folklorist, and entertainer. He was constantly in demand for readings, recitations, and performances around the country. In 1947 *The American Peoples Encyclopedia* listed Rayford, Burl Ives, John Jacob Niles, and Carl Sandburg as the best American folk singers. Rayford's repetoir included folksongs, stories, chants, and vendors' street cries from Mobile and New Orleans. His literary corps includes five books, four of which fall into the category of folklore. These include *Child of the Snapping Turtle: Mike Fink* (1951) and *Whistlin' Woman and Crowin' Hen* (1957). Yet it is his earliest book, *Cottonmouth*, that secures Rayford's literary reputation. Published by Scribner's in 1941, the book enjoyed good reviews but limited sales of about a thousand copies the first year. After that it faded into obscurity.

Cottonmouth, is a highly autobiographical, coming of age novel set in Mobile. Rayford uses the cottonmouth snake as a metaphor for life, "an enchanter surrounded by a magic aura" beautiful yet deadly.

Cottonmouth is beautifully written, at times almost lyrical. Rayford's description of Mobile Bay is magnificent, "A great flat expanse of water...orange-green dirty-golden water. It is moody water, punished by the sun, polished to a hot, metallic glare, lying quiet, brooding, brooding, moody and muddy and golden, orange-green." Mobile itself is "like a quick vanishing face at a window...a town asleep...but seething in dream."

Rayford's ability to capture accent and dialect is superb. His skill as a folklorist is nowhere more apparent in *Cottonmouth* than in his rendering of everyday speech among children and servants. The novel is earthy, funny, tragic, and moving as it narrates the protagonist Paul's childhood and adolescence. The family servant, Nanny, is virtually a mother to Paul, a woman "toiling down the long decades, being good to people, being useful to people...and almost never leaving her kitchen." Nanny's greatest fear is to be buried in potter's field because Paul's family has no money. Her death, and burial in potter's field while Paul's mother is ill, is one of the most moving passages of the novel. The family's determined effort to have her reinterred in a marked grade demonstrates the strength of ties between many servants and their employers.

Cottonmouth is deeply nostalgic, not unlike Willie Morris's works in this regard, and deeply rooted in the Mobile Rayford so loved. Whether or not *Cottonmouth* will appeal to those unfamiliar with Alabama's port city is not a question this reviewer can answer, given his own deep roots in the city. Rayford creates a definite sense of place in his novel. Indeed, it is impossible to read *Cottonmouth* without experiencing a sense of loss. Rayford's descriptions of Mobile between the world wars reveal a close-knit community with vibrant neighborhoods in the downtown area and a rich legacy of historic buildings. For readers familiar with modern Mobile, these passages will hurt the most.

Despite his numerous other works, literary and artistic, Rayford's masterpiece is *Cottonmouth.* In no other work does he so focus his energy, talent, and love. His editors at Scribner's practically begged him to produce another narrative, and though he attempted one on army life, his restless spirit led him in too many directions. *Cottonmouth* thus stands as his most important literary achievement. The University of Alabama Press is to be commended for bringing this novel to new generations of readers.

John S. Sledge Mobile Historic Development Commission

Robert R. Rea. *Major Robert Farmer of Mobile.* Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1990, *xii*, pp. 184. $31.95. ISBN 0-8173-0505-X

Long recognized as the leading authority on British West Florida, Robert R. Rea describes this study as a "life and times" biography. Major Robert Farmer may be the only possible subject for such a work, for almost alone he was a leading figure in British West Florida during its twenty-year existence. Rea's study is based on prodigious research, mainly in manuscript sources, which obviously represents many years' work.

Robert Farmer was a rarity: an American colonist who made a career in the British army. Born to a prominent New Jersey family in 1717, he was favored with an English education. Commissioned a captain in the "American Regiment" in 1741, he served in the disastrous Cartagena campaign. Later, he established an honorable if not distinguished combat record defending the low countries from France. Shortly after promotion to Major of the 34th Regiment, Farmer returned to America as part of the British force which captured Hanana in 1762. His share of the prize money was £565. Sailing for London in July 1763, Farmer's transport was overtaken, and he and his regiment were ordered to West Florida.

Farmer was not prepared for the situation which awaited him. It fell to him to preside over the French transfer of the Gulf Coast to Britain, to establish initial relations between West Florida and the Indians, and to serve as de facto governor of the colony during its first year. Rea demonstrates that Farmer proved ambitious (unsuccessfully seeking the governorship), opportunistic both for himself and relatives, negligent in communicating with peers and superiors, and prone to quarrels. He nevertheless leaves the impression that Farmer's brief command was generally successful.

Major Farmer appears to have been a competent military commander, but temperamentally unfit to meet the diplomatic challenges his extraordinary position imposed upon him. Farmer had the daunting task of establishing cooperative relations with the French at New Orleans, powerful Indian nations, other British officials, old French colonists, and new British ones. He had serious problems and no triumphs with all of these relationships, and seems to have been unpopular everywhere. "His virtues were of the mundane sort—diligence, application, eventually seniority." These were not enough.

While Rea's scholarship is generally compelling, especially on military matters, he has limited patience with Indian affairs. As a result, he gives little attention to Farmer's most conspicuous shortcoming. Rea duly notes that Farmer's repeated snubs infuriated Indian Superintendent John Stuart, and that Stuart regarded the major as "incompetent to carry out Indian policy." He neglects to explain that Stuart had good grounds for his opinion. Farmer's main blunder (Lieutenant Colonel James Robertson shared responsibility) occurred during the Franco-British conference with the Choctaws in November 1763. As Farmer later avowed, "I thought it most advisable to promise the Indians that the English in all respects would use them as the French had done" (*Mississippi Provincial Archives: English Dominion*, 1: 11). Farmer's naive commitment placed the British in the position of requiring direction on Choctaw policy from both the

French and the Choctaws. Among the many unwelcome consequences was the resentment of the far more dangerous Upper Creeks at British favoritism toward the Choctaws. There are other oversimplifications on Indian relations, and a major error. Rea states that the strengthening of Mobile's defenses in 1770-71 was largely due to "a war between the Choctaw and Chickasaw." The war in question was the 1765-76 war between the Choctaws and the Upper Creeks. The Chickasaws were briefly involved in 1768-70, but as allies of the Choctaws.

The arrival of Governor George Johnstone relieved Farmer of most of his burdens, but a feud with the venomous Johnstone erupted almost immediately. General Gage's order to occupy Fort Chartres saved Farmer from the governor's wrath. The ascent of the Mississippi by oar took over five months in late 1765, and Farmer remained in command of the remote post for five more. The expedition succeeded, but Farmer became embroiled in conflicts with most of his junior officers. Governor Johnstone and Lieutenant Philip Pittman having filed serious charges against him, Farmer was obliged to return to Pensacola to face a court martial. Although he was acquitted on all counts in 1768, Farmer soon learned that his major's commission had been sold out from under him. Again failing to secure the West Florida governorship, he retired to private life in 1770.

Farmer devoted his remaining years to building his West Florida property holdings. By the time he died in 1778 he had amassed over ten thousand acres (along with a bogus claim by Indian gift, apparently fifty-seven thousand acres) and at least fifty-five slaves. As one of the colony's wealthiest and most experienced citizens, he was regularly elected to the assembly. There he played a leading role, most notably in the ouster of Lieutenant-Governor Montfort Browne. When the Revolution erupted, Farmer, though shrewdly critical of the British government, remained a loyalist.

Rea's book succeeds both as a biography of Robert Farmer and as a study of British West Florida. He has given a rather ordinary man who had an extraordinary year his due, and then some. Probably more important in the long run, he has established a dense network of linkages between many otherwise obscure events and individuals in West Florida. Historians of the province will mine his footnotes for decades to come.

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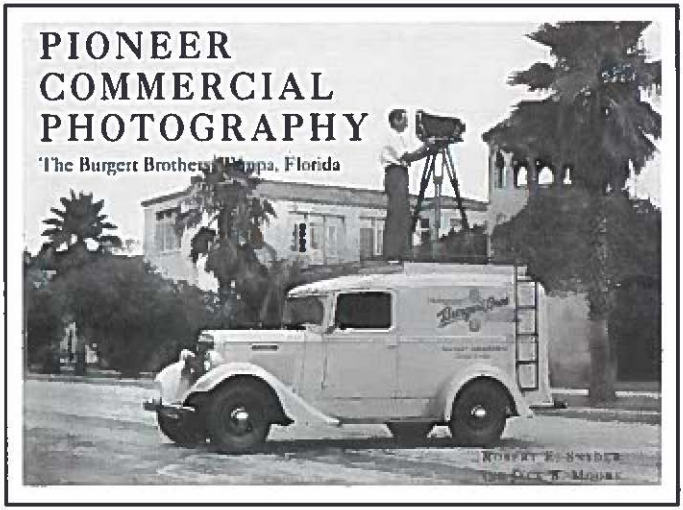
Robert N. Snyder and Jack B. Moore. *Pioneer Commercial Photography: The Burgert Brothers, Tampa, Florida*. Gainesville, University Press of Florida, 1992, pp. 303. $39.95. ISBN 0-8130-1150-7

The authors of this handsome work have set themselves an exceedingly difficult task. Essentially, they attempt to simultaneously tackle four subjects in one work, relying heavily on two relatively new tools of the historical profession, photography and oral history. Given these circumstances, the fact that this work has some serious flaws is to be expected. Indeed, what is more remarkable is the degree to which the authors succeed in realizing their rather complex objectives.



The book is organized by subject, rather than by chronology. After a brief introductory essay about the development of commercial photography and the historian's discovery of its value, the authors turn to the first of their major topics an overview of the history of Tampa. The purpose of this essay is to convey to the reader the realization that the Burgerts did not practice their profession in a cultural vacuum, that because they were commercial photographers their work necessarily reflected the economic development of Tampa and its environs. Drawn primarily from secondary sources and relatively sparsely illustrated, this brief essay essentially accomplishes what the authors had in mind.

The state set, the authors then turn to what is clearly the subject in which they are most interested, the Burgert family. Using a variety of primary sources, both oral and written, they develop a fascinating portrait of a family and a family business. This section is the book's most

significant, because it underscores the significance of family in the commercial life of American cities in the late nineteenth century and the first half of the twentieth. The fact that the Burgerts were photographers is less important than the role family played in their commercial endeavors. Family played a similar role in a number of trades, in the construction industry, for example, a point that the authors, perhaps because of their focus on photography, neglect to make.

The work's third topic, a detailed examination of the manner in which the Burgerts operated their commercial photography business, will be of interest to those with a special interest in photography. Others may find this section a bit dull, although it ends with an excellent essay on how to interpret the visual record left by commercial photographers.

The final section, approximately two thirds of the book, is devoted to the Burgerts' photographs, arranged topically. The photographs are accompanied by captions, thankfully much more detailed than those found in most works on photography. The captions also help relate the photographs to the text which precedes them. The use of captions for this purpose works as a compromise solution to the most difficult problem all authors of works on photography face, namely, how to relate the visual image to the written word. Readers will still experience the dichotomy between the two, if only because the authors chose to place the vast majority of the photographs used in a separate section, rather than to incorporate them into the preceding text. Nevertheless the organization scheme adopted by the authors works. So, too, do the categories into which authors divide the photographs—Farming, Tobacco, Workers, Leisure, and Buildings. The logic behind the selection of photographs for inclusion under each topical heading is readily apparent, except for the final topic. Sights Around the Region, which seems to have no recognizable organizational principle, but rather functions as a method to allow the authors to include what they consider to be good shots.

The inclusion of aesthetically appealing, dramatic photographs, however, is hardly a disadvantage in a photographic history. Without the Sights Around the Region section, the work contains few such images. This is the case, ironically, because the authors faithfully document the work of commercial photographers. The Burgerts worked primarily for industrial and commercial clients, and as a result their photographs lack aesthetic appeal. The candid photograph was not their stock in trade, and the Burgerts seemed to lack the personal motivation to pursue them, a motivation fortunately exhibited by at least some other commercial photographers. More photographs such as those of tobacco graders (135), restaurant diners (211), and snake handlers (275) would have added to the

work's aesthetic and human interest appeal. On the other hand, the photographs are well reproduced and the layout varied enough to maintain the reader's interest. All in all, this is an excellent volume for any one interested in the history of Tampa and environs, the development of commercial photography, or the significance of the photograph as a historical document. And it is fun to read.

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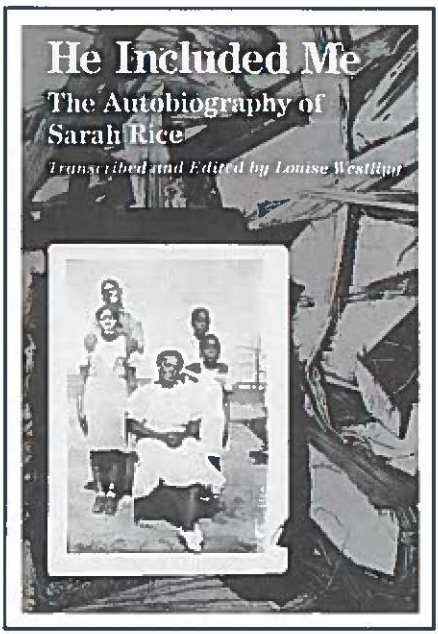
Louise Westling, transcriber and ed. *He Included Me: The Autobiography of Sarah Rice*. Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1991, pp. 181. $11.95. ISBN 0-8203-1141-3

Martia Graham Goodson, ed. *Chronicles of Faith: The Autobiography of Frederick D. Patterson*. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1991, pp. 220. $35.00. ISBN 0-8173-0459-2



With the publication of these autobiographies, two new voices are added to the growing volume of works by African-Americans. Both lives cover most of this century—the one, a woman whose will and determination helped her to overcome trying times to find a satisfying life, and the other, an orphan who rose to become the President of Tuskegee College (now University) and founder of the United Negro College Fund.

These narratives are of that relatively new genre—life stories collated and edited from oral history tapes. Yet as Louise Westling notes in her preface to Sarah Rice's story, "the most vital currents of narrative art in black culture have been oral," continuing a long tradition stemming from the remote African past. Furthermore, work with a collaborator/editor, which oral history requires, continues a unique

American form first developed during slavery days. The oral history process is thus especially appropriate for the recounting of African-American lives.

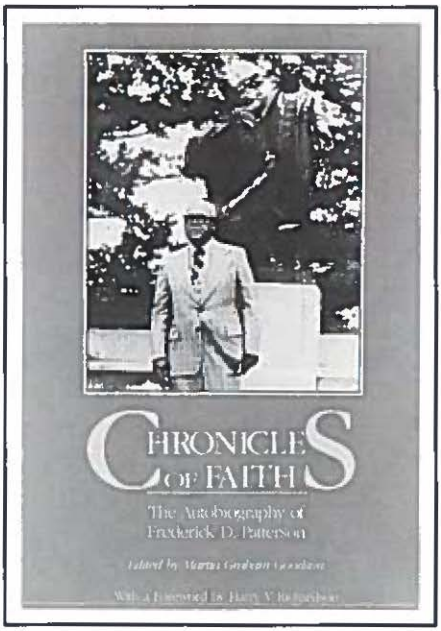
Sarah Rice was born in rural Alabama in 1909, the third of eight children of a country schoolteacher mother and a Methodist preacher father. At that time these vocations could not readily support a black family, so hard-scrabble farming, domestic work, and odd jobs supplemented this meager income. Often the family was unable to follow the father in the frequent moves required by the AME church. The family usually head-quartered during Sarah's growing years near Eufaula, Alabama, where she went through the ninth grade before she began to teach in a rural school. A disastrous first marriage and the difficult delivery of her only son interrupted her career.

After her divorce she was taken under the wing of a white woman, Mrs. Wells, whom she met on a bus and who eventually persuaded her to come to Panama City, Florida, to work for her and her husband, a dentist. This childless couple sheltered Sarah Rice in their large rambling house and encouraged her as well, and after two years found her a teaching position in a nearby school.

This halcyon period of her life was again interrupted by another unfortunate marriage. The timing was terrible. She moved to Jacksonville, Florida, in 1937 with her new husband who in the best of times lost one job after another, but in the depth of the depression was unable to get work at all. Heeding her mother's admonition that it was no disgrace to work with one's hands, Sarah undertook hard work as a domestic, finding her new work situations unlike the family atmosphere at the Wells home. The abusive nature of the marriage accelerated, and again she divorced. There followed a long slow climb to become an integral member of her community. A third marriage, in 1953, to Andrew A. Rice, a solid Christian gentleman, provided the base for her to become a local and statewide leader in their church and a community worker par excellence.

As a child growing up Sarah Rice was a "tomboy," spirited, and "spoiled" by her own admission. Her father thought it unfitting for a girl to plow, but, by the ruse of changing clothes with her brother she managed to learn. Her new skill proved fortunate when her brother ran away at plowing time, and she was able to take over. Nevertheless, as she grew older she modeled after her mother who was of that long tradition of resourceful black women who insured the physical and moral well being of their families—comforting yet stern with the children, a bulwark against the outside world.

The narrative of Frederick D. Patterson began with a series of taping sessions focusing on his part in the initiation of the United Negro College Fund. Later sessions expanded the project into an autobiography, and after Patterson's death Martia Graham Goodson, who was the original interviewer for the UNCF History Project at Columbia University, edited and completed the book.



Frederick Douglass Patterson, was the fifth child of parents who were much more privileged than those of Sarah Rice. Both parents were college graduates. His father was a high school principal and active in the Republican party in Texas. To better themselves and to escape the grinding racism of the South, the family moved to Washington, DC, where Frederick was born in 1901. He was named after the great African-American activist Frederick Douglass whose house was just down the street. Soon after, Frederick's father completed his law degree at Howard University and was ready to embark on a promising career when disaster struck. First the mother and then the father died of tuberculosis.

The five orphaned children were separated. Frederick, less than two years old at the time, was placed with an elderly family friend whom he later called his "Civil War" aunt because she had been born during slavery times. While he was loved and well cared for during the next five years, he was mortified by the little sailor dresses and plaited hair which Aunt Julia thought proper for small boys. Eventually, his older sister Bessie, having finished her studies at the Washington Conservatory of Music, moved back to Texas taking Frederick with her. Thus began a period when he lived with a succession of relatives, friends, and in a school dormitory, while Bessie worked as a music teacher to help support him. The summers he often spent on a family farm in "the primitive country way," helping to pick the cotton.

A poor scholar at the time, and drifting along in life, only the single-minded determination of his spinster sister, Bessie, that he was going to

succeed, eventually put him on the road to become a veterinarian at Iowa State College, and then to his distinguished career as an educator and fund-raiser. At first her autocratic but successful mothering was not balanced by adequate father figures. However, Bessie pushed him towards various successful male role models. Influences included Dr. Edward B. Evans, a black veterinarian; Robert Russa Moton, the preceding president of Tuskegee, whose daughter Patterson married; George Washington Carver, a role model in science and applied technology; and W. H. Canby, professor of higher education at Stanford where Patterson did post-doctoral work.

The struggles to maintain and enhance the academic standing and financial base of the school consumed much of Patterson's time at Tuskegee. Prized projects were the founding of the veterinary program and the aviation program, both firsts for a black college. At Tuskegee and later as founder of the UNCF and subsequently working with the Phelps Stokes fund and the Moton Institute, Frederick Patterson, holder of the Presidential Medal of Freedom, clearly emerges as a leader of the black community nationally and even internationally (he spent some time in Liberia on special projects).

The difference in style in these two books is marked. Sarah Rice's sentences are short, commonly declarative, pungent with meaning. The pictures painted are vivid. Some parts of the book even have an uncontrived poetic quality. One feels her sense of enchantment, for instance, when she describes the walks she took along the Gulf in Panama City early in the morning, experiencing the beauty surrounding her, humming to herself, and wishing that the whole world was like that. There is a forthrightness with which she tells even the most intimate details that is at first startling, then fascinating. The prose fairly sparkles at times with her delightful sense of humor, and the knowledge of self displayed is extraordinary. It is to her editor's credit, and to the warm relation between the two women, that Rice's words and style emerge strongly and clearly.

The Patterson volume is the story of a black man's rise in the white man's world—of leaders, of large scale projects, of world events through the wide sweep of the times. As such it is a formal presentation, packed with facts even dry at times. Frequently absent is the telling detail that makes Rice's life story so vivid.

The difference between the two books could be ascribed to differences in the way the subjects expressed themselves, or in their basic personalities. However, the nature of the collaboration may have been a factor. The relationship between Patterson and Goodson, while cordial

enough, apparently never reached the depth of that of Rice and Westling. Goodson speaks of the idea of probing Patterson's life as "a bit intimidating." There are indications that he may unconsciously have put her in the role of black woman student, even to the point of assigning her books to read. She "had trouble understanding the differences between the various institutions" with which he was associated, and this confusion comes across to the reader in the last several chapters of the book. Withal, and in spite of obstacles, she helped Patterson to describe his public life and the real contribution that he made to his people which was apparently his major intent.

This is all not to say that there is a total absence of informality in the Patterson account. He describes his boyhood experience of playing with his beloved cat for hours and hours under the porch of whatever temporary home he lived in at the time, presaging his future career interest in veterinary medicine. Also the epilogue of the book is a from-the-heart tribute to his sister Bessie. The appendix likewise gives us fuller understanding of the man, especially the semi-humorous piece written by J. R. Otis, entitled "Little-Known Facts about F. D. Patterson."

Rice and Patterson understood both their own minority culture and the dominant white culture very well. Rice, for example, paints a clear picture of the innerworkings of the small black rural communities of her earlier years. She describes some cultural features, doubtless remnants of African patterns, one example being the concubinage system that existed in rural Alabama. The wife often did not object to a dual domestic plan because the concubine and her children were required by custom to work in the fields freeing the wife and legitimate children to be "in the house." Sarah Rice tried this arrangement in modified form in her first marriage (she went off for the summer to get her teaching certificate leaving the girlfriend in possession of the house) but found that as a Christian she could not live with it. In her own pithy words, "I would just as soon for a polecat with his musk on to lick me in my mouth as for Jim to touch me."

Sarah Rice was never an activist in race relations, nor did Patterson follow the lead of his namesake and in fact was sometimes called an Uncle Tom. He effectively countered these accusations by stating that as the representative of an institution his primary role was to work to increase its stature.

The titles of the two books have a similar ring, but actually contain quite different meanings. "He Included Me" is symbolic of the uncomplicated piety of Sarah Rice and her family. Rice's mother, singing this song while at a low ebb financially and personally, and unable to feed her starving family, found a way to convert some seemingly inedible crops

into enough nourishment to get by. In her own life Sarah had a similar experience, and the consequent feeling of being folded into Jesus' comforting circle.

Regardless of the moral life that he led, Patterson was not a deeply religious man, and by his own admission "would rather listen to the world news on Sunday mornings than go to church." His "Chronicles of Faith" refer rather to the faith that his sister had in him and its transmutation into faith in himself.

Read together these autobiographies complement each other nicely. Both books needed to be written. Both books need to be read. Both are an addition to our understanding of the African-American experience in the southern United States in the twentieth century.

Patricia C. Griffin St. Augustine

Tallahassee Bicycle Club, c. late 1880s *Alvin Harper Collection*

From the Archives. . .
Florida State Archives, Florida Photographic Collection

Joan P. Morris

The Florida Photographic Collection in the Bureau of Archives and Records Management, Division of Library and Information Services, Florida Department of State was begun in 1952 by Allen Morris. When Morris, a political columnist, compiled the first *Florida Handbook* (the bible of Florida government and history published biennially since 1947) he realized there was no central location for the collection of Florida photographs and because of neglect and disinterest many early Florida images were being lost. Morris convinced Dr. Doak Campbell, President of Florida State University, that a collection of such images would be a valuable resource and began to assemble photographs of Florida's people, places, and events. The Collection was a section of the Library on the FSU campus until 1982 when it became a part of the Florida State Archives and moved to the R. A. Gray Building in downtown Tallahassee. The collection now contains over 770,000 items which include all types of visual technology from daguerreotypes to video tapes.

Significant collections of images have been obtained from across the state. A group of 1,700 glass negatives made by Alvan S. Harper show Tallahassee from 1885 to 1910. The state's flora is depicted in approximately 2,200 glass and nitrate negatives, taken by botanist John Kunkel Small from 1916 to 1928. Over 15,000 prints and negatives from photographer William A. Fishbaugh portray Miami and Coral Gables through the 1920s and into the 1930s. An album of almost 1,000 prints show Florida Emergency Relief Act projects the length and breadth of the state. The 25,000 negatives by Jacksonville commercial photographer Gordon Spottswood and his son Jack record life in that port city from the 1920s through the late 1960s. The promotional images deposited by the Department of Commerce, Division of Tourism's Photo library consist of approximately 45,000 still photographs with negatives that range in time from 1946 to the present, and over 400 films made from the 1950s to 1970s that have now been transferred to video tape.

Copies of most items in the collection are available to patrons for a nominal charge. Services include archival black and white prints from 5"x7" to 16"x20", 4"x5" copy negatives, 35mm slides and 3/4" SP and 1/2" VHS video duplication. It is open to researchers from 8 A.M. to 5 P.M. Monday through Friday and from 9 A.M. to 3 P.M. Saturdays. The Archives

Jacksonville, c. 1940 *Gordon Spottswood Collection*

is closed Sundays, on state holidays and on the Saturdays of Friday or Monday holidays. The R. A. Gray Building is two blocks west of the State Capitol in Tallahassee. The search room occupies the south end of the first floor of the building. For additional information concerning the Florida Photographic Collection please contact the staff at: Florida State Archives, R. A. Gray Building, 500 South Bronough Street, Tallahassee, FL 32399-0250. Telephone (904) 487-2073.

Strangling Fig (Ficus Aurea), Cutler, c. 1918 *J. K. Small Collection*